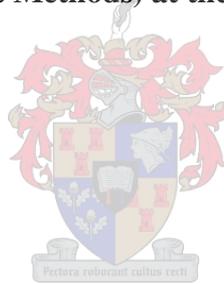


**METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES IN THE MEASUREMENT OF POLICE
CYNICISM: A CRITIQUE OF THE NIEDERHOFFER'S POLICE CYNICISM
SCALE AS APPLIED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS)**

BY

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Philosophy (Social Science Methods) at the University of Stellenbosch**



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MARCH 2010

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Niederhoffer developed a scale in the early 1960s to measure the level of cynicism among police officials. Niederhoffer concluded that cynicism is prevalent among police officials and that professionalization of the police occupation is the root cause of cynicism. The Niederhoffer scale was subjected over years to a number of methodological tests. It was found to be multi-dimensional whilst some authors found that the scale is invalid. In this study, we confirmed these findings to some extent in that it was found that the Niederhoffer's scale is indeed multi-dimensional and that it has a low internal reliability. This study also replicated some of Niederhoffer's substantive hypotheses which were supported by our empirical data. The various dimensions of scale were also correlated with an Attitude Towards Organizational Change scale. It was found that cynicism is related most strongly to both fear of change and acceptance of change.

ABSTRAK

In die vroeë 1960's het Niederhoffer 'n skaal ontwikkel om die vlakke van sinisme onder polisie-amptenare te meet. Niederhoffer vind sinisme onder polisie-amptenare en skryf dit toe aan die professionalisering van dié beroep. Niederhoffer se skaal is geruime tyd al aan 'n aantal metodologiese toetse onderwerp en die bevinding was dat dit meerdimensioneel is, hoewel sommige outeurs dit ongeldig bevind het. In hierdie studie is ook bevind dat Niederhoffer se skaal meerdimensioneel is met 'n lae interne betroubaarheidstelling. Die studie herhaal sommige van Niederhoffer se hipoteses en bied steun aan die meeste van sy hipoteses. Die verskeie skaaldimensies is met die Houding Teenoor Organisatoriese Verandering-skaal in verband gebring en die bevinding is dat sinisme aan beide vrees vir verandering en aanvaarding van verandering verwant is.

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God bless you all.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the rationale for conducting a methodological study on police cynicism in South Africa. Three interrelated issues are dealt with. Firstly, the chapter defines the problem that this dissertation seeks to address or to respond thereon. Secondly, the chapter sketches the context within which police cynicism is being measured. Finally, the research hypotheses are stated and the chapter outline for the dissertation is provided.

Police cynicism is a concept that was developed in the 1960s to describe an attitude of hopelessness and powerlessness that was prevalent among police officials. Two studies were previously conducted in South Africa, one in Johannesburg and the other in former Transkei homeland. The two South African studies were conducted in the mid-1980s, and were mainly replicating Niederhoffer's study. Both studies found that cynicism is prevalent among South African police service.

This study focuses primarily on methodological challenges of the measurement of police cynicism, and also on the relationship between cynicism and organizational change. However, the measurement of cynicism is still relevant in that the police in this country are perceived to be failing to curb the rising tide of crime, and cynicism is regarded as one of the many reasons that are attributed to this apparent failure. Some of the factors that are related to cynicism include, low police morale, poor remuneration, lack of supervision, poor management, paramilitary culture, continuous organizational change and the police's lack of interest in their work.

The findings of this study, it is hoped, will acquaint policy-makers to the concept of police cynicism and how it manifests in an organization as well as how it relates to other variables. It is expected that this will assist to address the service delivery challenges that the police are faced.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Forty years into the existence of the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale there is still no agreement among researchers about its reliability and validity (Langworthy 1987). Arthur Niederhoffer was the first social scientist to develop an index to measure police cynicism (Regoli, Poole and Hewitt 1979; Regoli, Crank and Rivera 1990). Niederhoffer's intention

was to find the determinants of police cynicism and how this attitude manifests itself among police officials in the United States of America. He also tested eleven hypotheses by measuring the correlation of variables such as age, length of service and educational level with police cynicism. Niederhoffer's study was conducted towards his doctoral thesis and then was published in his book, *Behind the Shield* (1967).

Two types of studies on police cynicism have emerged since the publication of Niederhoffer's seminal work; firstly, methodological studies that were designed and intended to assess the reliability and validity of the Niederhoffer's index (Crank *et al* 1987; Regoli, Crank and Rivera 1990). Secondly, there are studies that applied the Niederhoffer's scale in different cultural or group contexts such as, those that were conducted in the (former) Transkei region in South Africa and Taiwan (Regoli, Poole and Hou 1981; Regoli, Crank, Potgieter and Powell 1990). The instrument was also applied to different groups of police officers such as, police chiefs and black police officers.

However, the studies on the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale do not agree on whether or not the scale is reliable and valid (Regoli and Poole 1979; Anson *et al* 1986). The various studies also indicated that the items that constitute the latent factors in the index changes each time when the scale is applied in a different context (Wiechman 1979; Anson, Mann and Sherman 1986). What is generally agreed upon is, however, that the police cynicism scale is multi-dimensional, and that improvements on the scale must be rigorously pursued.

In general, the studies on the multi-dimensionality of the police cynicism identified five broad latent factors of cynicism from the Niederhoffer's scale, namely, the attitude towards the public, attitude towards the organization, cynicism toward police management, cynicism about police dedication to duty and cynicism about training and education (Regoli 1990). It should also be noted that the items that constitute the factors were later adapted to particular environments where subsequent studies were conducted. For instance, in the study that was conducted in the Transkei, the items were adjusted to suit the circumstances of that area (Regoli, Crank, Potgieter and Powell 1990). Similarly in the study of cynicism among police chiefs items were also adapted to be appropriate to senior police management (Crank *et al* 1987).

There are also police cynicism studies that test the relationship between the latent factors and some variables such as police performance (Regoli *et al* 1990) and work alienation (Regoli 1979). However, most of these studies were conducted within police agencies that are almost demographically homogenous. This applies to studies that were conducted in Taiwan where the officers share a fairly common cultural heritage. In a recent study on police cynicism it was found that the environment within which the police operate impacts on the relationship of the cynicism with police problem behaviour and other constructs (Hickman 2008).

The problem is that Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale has been in existence for 40 years and it is being applied in various contexts whereas there has been no agreement on its reliability and validity. There is also very little research that has been conducted on the applicability and the qualities of this scale within the police South Africa. This study applied the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale among police officers in South Africa to test its reliability, multi-dimensionality and validity as well as to test some of the hypotheses in the Niederhoffer's study.

This study also tested Niederhoffer's claim, which has never been tested in any other study, namely, that police reforms and change affect the levels of cynicism. The measurement of the relationship between police cynicism and police reform is important in that it may offer police policy-makers a platform to research further on the pervasiveness of cynicism and the failures of change as well as the poor performance of the South African police organisation.

1.3 Context: The Police Reform and Organizational Change in South Africa

The police institution in South Africa has undergone a multitude of reforms and changes ever since the first police officials were appointed by Governor Jan van Riebeeck in 1658. The changes that were implemented throughout these years had to do with the content of policing and the structure of the police organization. Prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa, each of the four provinces had its own police agencies and in 1913 a national police force was established.

Our survey of the literature indicates that prior to 1994 there were basically two policing approaches, namely, a metropolitan approach that was used to police the White areas and a colonial approach that was used to police Black areas. The police reforms and changes that have been implemented since 1994 have challenged the policing philosophy of the past and

introduced a community policing approach. The organizational structure of the police has been overhauled, and all the existing police agencies including units of the liberation movements were amalgamated into one police agency. It is assumed that police officials will react differently to these changes, and that police cynicism will mitigate against such reactions. Conversely, it is assumed that police cynicism will influence the levels and nature of police's response to these changes.

1.4 Purpose of this study

This study intended to do three things; firstly, to assess the reliability and multi-dimensionality of the Niederhoffer's scale in a multicultural context. Secondly, the study tested the relationship between police cynicism and the police's attitude to organizational change. Thirdly, the study tested whether various biographical factors such as race, length of service, marital status, age, education and rank are relevant in determining police cynicism. In this context, organizational change refers primarily to the police reform process that has been implemented since 1990 to date.

In 1986 a study on police cynicism was conducted in South Africa among white South African police officers to determine the relationship between occupational socialization of the police officers and cynicism (Pretorius). The primary focus was not to critically assess the internal consistency or external validity of the scale. The author formatted the scale into a two dimensional scale with cynicism towards the profession and cynicism towards the organization as the two factors. This study was published in Afrikaans and the researcher had limited access to it as he has only basic knowledge of the language.

This study uses the re-worked Niederhoffer's scale as developed by Regoli *et al* (1990), and modified by Regoli and others in their study of police cynicism in the (former) Transkei homeland (Regoli *et al* 1990). The initial Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale had 20 questions, and each question had three responses. The response that could be interpreted to be a cynical response was graded 5, the neutral was graded 3, and the professional was given the value 1. Thus, a high score indicated that the police officer is cynical and low score indicated that the police officer is professional. Regoli *et al* changed the scale into a 5-point Likert scale. The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale was tested for reliability and was also factor analyzed.

A change index that was developed by Nieva *et al* was also used in this study to measure the levels of response to change by the police. The Change Adaptation scale has three dimensions, namely, cynicism, acceptance of change and fear of change. In this study only the latter two dimensions were used because the former, cynicism, is measured by the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale. A factor analysis of the change index was conducted to assess whether the scale had further underlying dimensions. The dimensions of the Niederhoffer's scale and those of the Change Index were then correlated.

1.5 Relevance

This study is relevant in that it is the first methodological study of the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale in post-Apartheid South Africa. This study is also the first to correlate police cynicism with change adaptation. Most countries in the former East European and Africa are undergoing change which also necessitates police reforms, and therefore this study could be a benchmark for future studies on the relationship between police cynicism and police reforms. The interaction of the dimensions of both the police cynicism scale and the change adaptation index may provide some insight into the challenges that the police management are grappling with, namely, staff morale and change implementation.

1.6 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this study.

1. Hypothesis 1: Cynicism is present among the members of South African Police Service (SAPS) in Tshwane.
2. Hypothesis 2: The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale is a multi-dimensional scale (has underlying factors).
3. Hypothesis 3: The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale is unreliable.
4. Hypothesis 4: Rank is a predictor of police cynicism.
5. Hypothesis 5: Race is a predictor of police cynicism.
6. Hypothesis 6: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism.
7. Hypothesis 7: Education is a predictor of police cynicism.
8. Hypothesis 8: Age is a predictor of police cynicism.
9. Hypothesis 9: Marital status is a predictor of police cynicism.
10. Hypothesis 10: Desire to quit the police service is a predictor of police cynicism.
11. Hypothesis 11: Police cynicism is related to fear of change.
12. Hypothesis 12: Police cynicism is related to acceptance of change.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: *Statement of the problem*

In Chapter 1 the problem statement and the purpose and relevance of the study are explained. The chapter also lists the 12 hypotheses as tested in the study.

Chapter 2: *Literature Review on Police Cynicism*

In Chapter 2 a literature review of cynicism is conducted. However, this chapter does not focus on the Police Cynicism scale. The aim was to trace the origins of the construct and how this migrated to or was usurped in sociological studies of the police.

Chapter 3: *Literature Review on Policing in South Africa and societal change)*

In Chapter 3 an extensive review of the history of the police and the subsequent transformation of the police in South Africa is presented. Furthermore, the chapter sketches different approaches to policing.

Chapter 4: *Literature Review on the Reliability and Multi-dimensionality of the Niederhoffer's Scale*

The literature on reliability, validity and multi-dimensionality of the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale was reviewed. It was observed that there is general finding that the scale is multi-dimensional. However, some studies concluded that the scale is reliable whereas others found the scale to be unreliable.

Chapter 5: *Methodology*

The chapter also explains the survey methodology for data collection for this study, and also discusses the biographical data that was collected.

Chapter 6: *Findings and Analysis*

In chapter 6 the findings of the study are presented. This includes the results of the factor analysis of both the police cynicism scale and the change adaptation scale.

Chapter 7: *Conclusion*

The overall conclusions and possible recommendations flowing from the study are presented in the final chapter of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON CYNICISM

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the cynicism literature. The initial studies on cynicism in organizations were conducted in police institutions in the 1960's and 1970's (Niederhoffer 1963, 1967; Regoli 1976; Poole and Regoli 1979). Thus far, the largest body of research on cynicism in organizations is on police cynicism (Andersson 1996). Following Niederhoffer's seminal work on police cynicism, two types of studies emerged, the first category of studies consist of those that replicated the Niederhoffer's studies with the intention to assess the extent and manifestation of police cynicism in different settings (Hou, Poole and Regoli 1983; Regoli, Crank and Rivera 1990; Crank, Culbertson, Poole and Regoli 1987).

The second category of cynicism studies that emanated from Niederhoffer's seminal work were essentially methodological studies that aimed to validate and improve on the cynicism scale (Hickman *et al* 2004; Langworthy 1987; Regoli, Culbertson and Crank 1991). These studies also investigated how the items in the cynicism scale configure into different dimensions (Regoli and Poole 1979; Regoli 1976b). These studies also correlated police cynicism with other organizational characteristics such as, work alienation and occupational socialization (Regoli, Poole and Hewitt 1979; Ulmer 1992). The first category of studies will be discussed in this chapter and the second will be discussed in chapter 4.

Organizational cynicism studies are also discussed in this chapter. The academic interest in cynicism in organizations shifted from police departments to corporate institutions in the 1980's and beyond. These are studies that focus on cynicism that is directed at the business organizations and its leaders (Andersson and Bateman 1997; Dean *et al* 1998; Delken 2004; Andersson 1997:1400). Organizational cynicism studies also tend to show the relationship between cynicism and other constructs such as job satisfaction, commitment to work, trust and work alienation (Abraham 2000; Dean *et al* 1998). More recently, the concept of Psychological Contract Violation (PCV) has been adopted in organizational studies as a model to explain the causes, manifestation and effects of employee behaviour and attitude, including cynicism

(Wanous *et al* 2000; Morrison and Robinson 1997; Johnson and O’Leary 2003; Andersson 1996).

2.2. Origins of Cynicism

There is a general agreement among authors that cynicism as a philosophy or world-view originated in ancient Greece and to a large extent was influenced by the teachings of Socrates (Sayre 1945; Holzman 1980; Regoli, Crank and Rivera 1990; Dean *et al*: 1998). However, scholars disagree about who the founder of cynicism is and, invariably, also about the period within which cynicism emerged. McKirahan (1980:388) states that the debate about the founder of cynicism could never be resolved because the problem is not only ‘of taxonomy, but a philosophical and historical one’.

Fortunately, the contention about the founder of cynicism has always been limited to two ancient philosophers, namely, Antisthenes (c.444 – 365 BC) and Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412 – 323 BC). There are scholars who argue that Antisthenes was the founder of cynicism (Holzman 1980; Dean *et al* 1998; Sloterdijk 1984) and that Diogenes was one of his disciples (MacCunn 1904). Andersson (1996) argues that Diogenes founded the cynic philosophy and not his teacher Antisthenes. Lastly, there are authors who argue that Diogenes was the founder of cynicism and that he had no links with Antisthenes (Dudley 1937; Sayer 1945).

2.2.1 Antisthenes (c. 444 – 365 BC) as the founder of Cynicism

The common view within the Police Cynicism literature with regards to the origins of cynicism is that Antisthenes is the founder of the cynic philosophy (Holzman 1980). Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, left the Socratic school to establish his own at a gymnasium called *Cynosarge*, near Athens (Holzman 1980:13; Dean *et al*. 1998). Antisthenes’ followers, who were referred to as the *Cynosarges*, preferred to live a life of squalor and deprivation and thus they discarded all material and physical comforts. Antisthenes expressed some of the virtues of cynicism by the way he led his life, and he often crudely but satirically scorned all forms of authority. He expended his time and efforts on promoting his philosophical education and was also determined to show that his philosophical thought is practically linked with Socrates.

McKirahan (1980:374) claims that whereas the assertion that Antisthenes established a 'school of philosophy in Athens' might not be validated, it can be said with certainty that he had disciples who left the Socratic school and practiced his philosophy. McKirahan states that a thorough study of Antisthenes scholarly works, of which most is lost, clearly shows that he had written on subjects such as ethics, logic, grammar, political philosophy and religion. Antisthenes should, therefore, be credited as a 'philosopher of note'.

2.2.2 Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412 – 323 BC) as the founder of Cynicism

Dudley (1937:1) asserts that Diogenes of Sinope is the founder of cynicism, and the notion that Antisthenes is the founder of cynicism cannot be validated. It is further argued that the Stoics were the ones who, for selfish reasons, created the notion that Antisthenes is the founder of cynicism. Apparently, the Stoics wanted to create a historical link between stoicism, cynicism and Socrates, and they formulated the notion that Antisthenes is the founder of cynicism as it was widely accepted that Antisthenes was a student of Socrates. The Stoics believed that cynicism represented the ethical traditions of Socratic thought, and therefore they had to find a historical and philosophical connection with Socrates (Dudley 1937:4).

Dudley claims that there is not even a philosophical or intellectual link between Antisthenes and Diogenes, and thus the notion that Diogenes was a student of Antisthenes cannot be true. Dudley further contends that there are sharp differences of 'thought and practice between Antisthenes and Diogenes' so much so that it would be folly to assume any philosophical connection between these two Ancient philosophers. Dudley states that Antisthenes wrote authoritatively on ethics whereas Diogenes disliked ethics, and Antisthenes led a luxurious life whereas Diogenes preferred to live the life of a destitute. Sayre (1945) also argues that Antisthenes is not the originator of Cynicism in that the connection between him (Antisthenes) and the cynics only appeared centuries later after the concept was widely known.

Sayre (1945) further asserts that Diogenes and Crates wrote extensively on cynicism in the *Letters of the Cynics* which were written in the 1st century BC. Apparently, reference to Antisthenes is made in only a few of the *Letters of the Cynics* by Diogenes and in only one of the thirty-six *Letters* of Crates. Furthermore it is said

that the *Letters* that make reference to Antisthenes appear to have been written much later than others in the scripts. Sayre is of the opinion that most of the *Letters* credits Diogenes and not Antisthenes as the originator of Cynicism (1945:117). Diogenes of Sinope is regarded as the ‘archetype of the cynic figure’ (Sloterdijk 1984), and was also described by Plato as ‘Socrates gone mad’ (Regoli *et al* 1990:133).

2.3. Values, Principles and Virtues of Cynicism

According to Sayer the *Letter of the Cynics* defines a cynic as a ‘dog’, and this is apparently derived from the manner in which the early cynics lived (1945:116). Holzman (1980:14) says that *cynos* means ‘dog-like’ or curish in Greek and that there was an unintended transformation of meaning to the word such that the *cynosarges* no longer referred to people who lived at the Ancient Greek gym but those who lived like dogs. The view that the word ‘cynic’ seems also to be similar in meaning and spelling to the Greek word for ‘dog’ is also supported by Dean *et al* (1998:342). Accordingly, with time the concept took on a ‘negative meaning’.

Dudley, on the other hand, indicates that the word cynic was first used by Diogenes in a ‘hostile manner’, and he gives the following four reasons as to why the early cynics were likened with dogs. He states that,

‘Firstly, their indifference to their way of life, and that they form a cult, eat and make love in public, go barefoot, and sleep in tubs and crossroads. Secondly, is that the dogs are shameless animals, and that they make a cult of shamelessness. The third reason is that a dog is a good guard, and that they guard the tenets of their philosophy. Lastly, is that a dog is a discriminating animal which can distinguish between its friends and enemies. So they recognize as friends those who are suited for their philosophy, and receive them kindly, while those unfitted they drive them away, like dogs, by barking at them’.

MacCunn (1904) writes that the early cynics can be described as people who have given up on the pleasures of life as a means to attain higher levels of moral authority. The cynics deliberately separated themselves from the world as they were of the belief that the rest of the world’s population is leading a decadent and morally destructive life. The cynics’ self-alienation and their attitude towards the world became known as a cynical attitude. According to Sayre, Bion of Borysthenes had the

greatest influence on early cynicism and ‘he linked cynicism with apathy, indifference, poverty, improvidence, suicide and atheism’ (1945:115). The other cynic virtues are total abstinence from sex, leading a simple life and suicide.

The Cynics rejected the Greek culture and ‘they gave alternatives to the moral bankruptcy, false religions and hollow materialism that the Greek culture espoused’ (Loeb 2002:1). Apparently, the early cynics believed that in order to attain higher levels of spiritual and physical purity they had to cleanse themselves through self-deprivation of material things. Cynics were of the opinion that the things that seem to be intrinsic to human life, such as government and organized religion, are actually unnatural and should be undermined and scorned at (Dean *et al* 1998:342).

The early cynics regarded freedom of speech as the most important freedom of all. Sayer states that ‘freedom from the opinions of others made them extreme individualists and prevented them from having any organizations or schools’. Diogenes apparently referring to the main lesson he had learned from Antisthenes boasted that,

‘he taught me what was mine and not mine. Property was not mine. Kith and kin, acquaintances, friends, fame, intimate associates, places of abode, occupation – all these he taught were no concern of mine. What was then thine? The exercise of my thoughts. This I possess unhindered’. (MacCunn 1904:192)

Among the early cynics, Antisthenes is generally acclaimed to have used humour and satire to express his cynic thinking. He is known to have walked around the city holding a lamp because he was ‘still trying to find one honest man’ (Dean *et al* 1998:342). Once as Diogenes was lying in his tub, the Emperor Alexander the Great called on him to make any demand, and that the king will oblige to any of his demands. In his usual humour, Diogenes asked the Emperor to move away as he was obstructing the sunshine.

Eventually, the classic Greeks gave cynicism its negative connotation and then the notion of being cynical began to imply ‘self-righteous, pomposity, and unjustly critical nature’ (Holzman 1980:14). Today a cynic is described as someone who has

unfounded and/or exaggerated distrust to the motives of fellow human beings. Modern cynics do not embrace ethics and morality they instead alienate themselves from all forms of institutional power (Andersson 1996:1396).

2.4. Police Cynicism

Arthur Niederhoffer is generally accepted to have been the first scholar to critically investigate the prevalence of cynicism within police institutions and he was also the first sociologist to coin the construct 'police cynicism' (Bublitz 1973:37; Holzman 1980:5). Arthur Niederhoffer's book, *Behind the Shield*, is generally acclaimed as the first sociological study of the concept of 'cynicism' in an organizational setting (Anson 1986:296; Holzman 1980; Hickman *et al* 2003). Niederhoffer's (1967:99) assertion is that cynicism is pervasive at all levels of police hierarchy as well as in the different forms of law enforcement agencies.

Niederhoffer (1967) designed a twenty-item scale on cynicism and applied that to 226 officers in the New York Police State Department. His main hypothesis was that cynicism is linked to the officers' years of service. He asserted that when a new recruit joins the service he exhibits very little cynicism and with time, cynicism increases and reaches a peak when the officer is at his seventh to tenth year of service in the police organization. The level of cynicism in police officers then begins to decline once the officer has been in the service for more than ten years. At fourteen years of service the cynicism has almost diminished. Follow-up studies on police cynicism have validated Niederhoffer's assertion that cynicism is pervasive in police agencies and that it is linked with years of experience (Regoli 1976)

Over and above designing the scale to measure cynicism and its pervasiveness within law enforcement agencies, Niederhoffer also sought to investigate the relationship of cynicism with other attitudinal constructs such as work alienation (Regoli, Poole and Hewitt 1979). In his study, Niederhoffer, however, adopted the dictionary meaning of cynicism wherein 'cynical' is defined as,

1. Given to or affecting disbelief in commonly accepted human values and in man's sincerity of motive or rectitude of conduct;
2. Accepting selfishness as the governing factor in human conduct. Exhibiting feelings ranging from distrustful doubt to contemptuous and mocking disbelief.

Apparently the conditions that give rise to anomy are prevalent in the police organizations and cynicism is the 'typical way of adapting to anomy in the police occupation (Regoli 1976:7). In this context Niederhoffer defines police cynicism as, 'a stage of psychological latency in which the connection is established between the strain toward anomy in the social structure of the police organization and the personality of the policeman'. Cynicism is regarded as the 'antithesis of idealism, truth, and justice – the very virtues that law enforcement officers swear to uphold' (Graves 1998). On the other hand cynicism is sometimes viewed as a coping mechanism that enables law enforcement officials to adjust to the harshness and brutality of their occupation. It is a response to the frustration, disillusionment and strain that is intrinsic to law enforcement (Poole and Regoli 1980:303). A cynic expects nothing but the 'worst in human behaviour' (Graves 1996).

Holzman (1980:94) asserts that cynicism, like other sociological concepts, is a concept whose definition is difficult to operationalize for purposes of measurement. He defines police cynicism as,

'A specific attitude which policemen may have about every-day work and also about the rules of the organization. It is expressed as a negative attitude toward the job in which there is no thought of doing the job well or conscientiously. It also represents an attitude in which the rules of the department are either ignored or opposed'.

Andersson and Bateman also caution that cynicism must be distinguished from other constructs such as trust and job dissatisfaction. They define cynicism as, 'a generalized and specific attitude involving frustration, disillusionment, and negative feeling toward and distrust of a person, group or object'. Needless to say, cynicism in the police organizations specifically, and in the workplace generally, is acknowledged as a useful construct in our understanding of employee behaviour (Regoli 1979; Andersson and Bateman 1997:451), though it has 'eluded a generally accepted definition across the social sciences' (Andersson 1996:1397).

2.5. Anomy and Cynicism

Niederhoffer (1967:98) adopted Emile Durkheim's theory of anomy as a theoretical framework for the development of cynicism as a construct. Durkheim explains that social cohesion is maintained by power that is gained through respect and not coercion. The acceptance of order in the society and consequently a state of equilibrium is brought about by cultural bond and social values. However, once this bond is disturbed and people lose the respect that they had towards the values and the norms, a situation of anomy is then created (Holzman 1980).

Holzman's interpretation of Durkheim's theory of anomy is that individuals in the society occupy certain positions or statuses that have their own values and norms. An abrupt change in these positions may impact on such values and norms and will eventually lead to an imbalance or state of disequilibrium that result in anomic conditions. Durkheim's concept of anomy, whilst conceptualized at the social level, is applied and equally relevant at an individual level.

Anomic conditions exist when people 'can no longer respect social order, and they feel that society is no longer structured or functioning along just lines' (Holzman 1980:16). These conditions also exist when people are estranged from social groups as well as from the values and norms of those groups (Regoli 1976:4). The state of powerlessness and normlessness in a society breeds cynicism 'about the rules of the society and their application, regardless of individual's values' (Sampson and Bartusch 1988:782).

The concept of anomy as conceptualized by Durkheim became an important sociological construct that was used to further understand social interaction and even individual behaviour. Robert Merton advanced the concept further and applied it widely to explain various deviant behaviour such as, crime. Unlike Durkheim who used the concept to explain why and how individuals end up committing suicide, Merton's focus was on social order (Holzman 1980:17).

Merton quoted in Holzman (1980) defines anomy as,

‘Breakdown in the cultural structure occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them... When the cultural and the social structures are mal-integrated the first calling for behaviour and attitudes which the second precludes, there is a strain toward the breakdown of norms, toward normlessness’. (Holzman 1980:18)

Merton (1964:218) explains that western societies regard success as an absolute value and that citizens continuously aspire to material gains and status because the ‘opportunity-structure’ is relatively accessible to everyone. However, accessibility to this opportunity-structure is, in reality, not equally open to all the members of the society. Merton’s argues that social background and class play a role in determining ‘access to the forms of success represented by wealth or recognition or substantial power’. Accordingly, lower class citizens, in the main, are now faced with the contradiction wherein they are promised equal access to success whereas in reality such an opportunity is denied.

It is this contradiction that leads these members to be alienated from a society that ‘promises them in principle what they are denied in reality’. Merton concludes that this estrangement from this social standard is referred to as anomie. Merton refers to this type of anomie as the ‘anomy of deprivation’ as opposed to the anomy of success. He describes the anomy of success as the social condition wherein people who have accumulated wealth and success respond to such success in a deviant manner as in the case of a person who would commit suicide or get into a depression after achieving their long-term goals. Merton reckons that this type of anomie should be studied from a sociological rather than narrowly only from a psychoanalytical angle (1964: 220).

Merton’s concept of ‘anomie of success is quite similar to Durkheim’s explanation of the increase in suicide rates during periods of sudden and abundant prosperity in society. Durkheim explains that large numbers of people in periods of prosperity struggle to adjust to new ways and demands of a prosperous community. Thus, the impact of the gains in their lives is the same as a loss in that there is ‘confusion and disorientation’ in both (Clinard 1964:5).

In times of transitions, where people achieve considerable wealth and status, people generally tend to believe that they can achieve whatever they want because the 'sky is the limit'. Clinard (1964:5) explains that during these periods of sudden and abundant success there is a general disregard of norms and standards which then leads to anomic suicides. The anomic conditions in the prosperous societies arise out of the struggle to succeed (Regoli 1976:4).

Featherstone and Deflem (2003:472) explain that Merton primarily developed two theories, namely, the theory of anomie and theory of strain, and that very often scholars tend to confuse the two theories. They argue that Merton largely contributed to this confusion in that he used terms inconsistently through his writings (2003:477). In a bid to show the differences between the two theories the authors define, on one hand, anomie as 'the deinstitutionalization of norms that occurs when there is a distinction between the emphasis on cultural goals and the institutional means'. On the other hand, they define the theory of strain as, 'theory of deviant behaviour that holds that people are more likely to pursue illegitimate means of attaining culturally prescribed goals when they are blocked from accessing the institutionalized means to these goals' (Featherstone and Deflem 2003:472).

A society is said to be in a state of anomie when, according to Featherstone and Deflem (2003:478), the quest to attain culturally approved goals is emphasized to the extent that the means of attaining such goals are almost muted. In the broader context Merton's theory refers to the disproportionate emphasis on cultural goals and institutionalized means (Featherstone and Deflem 2003:478). The strain theory postulates that the individual's deviant behaviour is manifested by the blocked access to opportunities and culturally preferred goals.

Following their study on the relationship between society's perception and legal cynicism, Sampson and Bartusch (1988:782) observed that, contrary to what the literature generally posits, anomie is conceptually a distinct construct from the concept of 'tolerance for deviance'. The authors argue that the individual's support for the norms of the society does not necessarily imply that the individual promotes the means or mechanism to support or sustain those values and norms.

Merton's *Modes of Adaptation Model* identifies five ways in which one can respond to the anomic conditions, namely, conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion (Merton 1964:221; Niederhoffer 1967:98; Holzman 1980:6). After careful study of Merton's writings, Niederhoffer identified the sixth adaptation called *resentiment* (Niederhoffer 1967:98; Regoli 1976:6). Niederhoffer argues that out of all the modes of adaptation in Merton's model, cynicism is resembled best by *resentiment* - which can be loosely translated as resentment. According to Niederhoffer (1967:98), *resentiment* has three intertwined elements: 'firstly, the diffuse feelings of hate, envy, and hostility; second, a sense of being powerless to express these feelings actively against the person or social stratum evoking them; and third a continual re-experiencing of this impotent hostility.'

Niederhoffer notes that *resentiment* has all the characteristics of cynicism and the key among these are feeling of hatred, envy, latent hostility and 'sour-grape pattern' (1963:204). Niederhoffer further asserts that the 'anomy of the police organization is reflected in the police officer'. He claims that the first indication of the presence of anomy is the 'loss of faith in people, loss of enthusiasm for the high deals of police work, and finally a self image bereft of pride and integrity.' This is then followed by indifference. The presence of these conditions makes police officers susceptible to cynicism and corruption (Niederhoffer 1963:198).

Niederhoffer also refers to two studies, one on authoritarianism which was conducted by Krug and the other by Mcdill on anomy and authoritarianism. In both studies, factor analysis was conducted and a dimension that has the same description was identified. In the former study it was referred to as *negative Weltanschauung* and in the latter it was 'tentatively' referred to as cynicism. It was concluded therefore by Niederhoffer that there is a connection between anomy, cynicism and the police authoritarian personality.

2.6. Professionalism and Cynicism in the Police Organization

2.6.1 *The origins of professionalism in the USA*

Niederhoffer explains that at the turn of the twentieth century a number of committees were appointed to investigate the functioning of police agencies in the United States of America. The committees found that the police departments were afflicted with the

scourge of corruption and gross violation of human rights. Following these findings, most agencies developed strategies to ‘clean-up’ the departments and also to improve police community relations. Accordingly, police departments had to adopt new ways of carrying out their functions, and the most common approach that was adopted was to embrace professionalization of these police agencies (Regoli 1976:1). The move towards professionalization of police departments was supposed, therefore, to be the panacea to these ailments that were afflicting the police organizations, including cynicism (Regoli 1976).

2.6.2 Professionalization as a social movement

Niederhoffer (1963:312) argues that in the early days, professionalization of the police occupation had all the elements of a ‘social movement’. A ‘small group of officers’ established themselves as the vanguard of the professionalization movement and sought to commit ‘to high ideals and a code of ethics’ (Niederhoffer 1963:15; Regoli 1976:2). Police were seeing themselves more and more as deserving the status of a profession because the knowledge about policing increases, police work was becoming more specialized and that police organizations were adopting codes of ethics (Poole and Regoli 1979:201).

However, this new approach to policing was met with resistance from the old conservative guard who wanted to maintain the status quo. The division between the two groups is so sharp and acute that it is only the ‘centripetal pressures that are preventing rupture’ in police organizations (Niederhoffer 1967:4). For instance, the ‘old guard’ was resisting attempts to bring into the police a person at any level other than at the recruit entry level (Regoli 1976:1). The professionals also wanted to raise the entrance qualification from a high school diploma to a college degree. Paradoxically, the police officers that have college degree have high expectations from the public with regard to status role and recognition because they are now trained as social scientists and ‘experts in human relations’.

These educated officers then see themselves as underpaid and unappreciated as compared to other professionals who also have college degrees. They become disillusioned and swell the ranks of those who are frustrated in and with law enforcement. Niederhoffer (1963:203) argues that the insistence on college degrees

for law enforcement officers increases the frustration that it was supposed to cure. The emphasis on higher training has ‘unintentionally raised police aspirations while not providing legitimate avenues for attaining them’ (Regoli 1976:13). This frustration makes police officers more vulnerable to anomy. In general, the proponents of the professionalism movement in the law enforcement occupation are held responsible for the increasing levels of anomy. Niederhoffer contends that this very new approach to policing is fuelling this cynicism instead of quelling it.

2.6.3 Resistance to professionalization

The two contending groups, namely, the conservative group that is intent on upholding the past and the professional group that wants to bring about innovation in the police system exist side by side. On one hand, the ‘tough cop’ image of the police is fading while the new policing paradigm of community-oriented and value driven is not gaining support (Niederhoffer 1967:4). This situation creates a split of loyalty within the ranks. Unfortunately, the low ranking officers shoulder the brunt of this tension among these powerful groups and, as a result, they suffer a conflict of norms and values (Regoli 1976:1).

Furthermore, the proponents of the professionalism movement in the law enforcement occupation are held responsible for the increasing levels of anomy. Ironically, these two groups have so much in common that they are closer together in thought with respect to their resolve to fight crime than the differences that they have. The external pressures such as, introduction of civilian review boards to oversee police work, the human rights orientation of the judiciary forces officers from both camps to close ranks.

2.6.4 Contradictions

There are contradictions in Niederhoffer’s explanation of the relationship between cynicism and professionalization in the police organizations. On the one hand, Niederhoffer asserts that professionalization was intended to solve the problems in police organizations and, on the other hand, he claims that professionalization fuels this frustration and eventually cynicism in the organization. Clearly, the explanation by Niederhoffer was merely conjecture based on subjective observation, as he never empirically tested the relationship between the two concepts.

A better explanation of the relationship would be to describe professionalism as a change process, which was intended to eradicate the ailments that were pervasive in law enforcement. However, like all change processes employees tend to resist such changes and they also display frustration towards the changes themselves and to those who are seen to be implementing the changes. Thus, the relationship is somewhat recursive in that the more changes the organization implements the more frustrated the employees become even though such changes are meant to address the very frustrations. The relationship between professionalism and cynicism can better be explained by introducing the concept of organizational change cynicism, a concept that is discussed later in this chapter.

2.7. Organizational Cynicism

Niederhoffer argues that there are two types of police cynicism, the first one is directed at the community that the police department is serving, life and the world, and the second one is directed at the police department (1969:100). The former came to be referred to as occupational cynicism and the latter as organizational cynicism. However, Brandes *et al* (1999) assert that the authors O'Connell, Holzman and Armandi (1986) were the first to identify the two dimensions of police cynicism, namely, organizational cynicism and cynicism about the occupation and society at large. The cynicism against the community is pervasive and prevalent among the police of all ranks, while organizational cynicism seems to afflict the lower ranking officers, excluding those who have embraced professionalism.

High-ranking officials and professionals in the police do not seem to display organizational cynicism primarily because both play the roles of change implementers and thus are responsible for creating and maintaining a system and culture that is disadvantageous to the low-ranking police officials. The relationship between police professionals and cynicism was discussed in the preceding section.

Organizational cynicism is generally defined as a negative attitude towards the organization (Anderson and Bateman 1997:450). It is a reflection of negative feelings towards the rules, processes, policies and procedures made by that organization (Holzman 1980:8). Bommer *et al* (2005:736) view organizational cynicism as a

‘complex attitude that includes cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects resulting in increased beliefs of unfairness, feelings of distrust, and related actions about and against the organization’. In bringing these various dimensions of the construct Organizational Cynicism, Dean *et al.* (1998) and Brandes *et al* (1999) defines it as:

‘A negative attitude towards one’s employing organization, comprising three dimensions: (1) a belief that the organization lacks integrity; (2) negative affect toward the organization; and (3) tendencies to disparaging and critical behaviours toward the organization that are consistent with these beliefs and affect.’

Organizational cynicism is also associated with the belief held by employees that the organizational values are not congruent with those of the employees and that management or senior executive are only interested in their own comfort and success (Dean *et al* 1998). The organization’s leadership is seen to lack honesty and sincerity, in that they do not act fairly towards subordinates and they have hidden agendas (Abraham 2000:2). In police departments where corruption among the police is rampant and there is no sign that the situation will abate in the near future, the junior staff, who would usually still uphold the vow of serving people with integrity, tend to lose faith in the organization which they now see have no values.

Organizational cynicism is also associated with disillusionment with regards to both successful and unsuccessful efforts by management to implement organizational change. Reichers, Wanous and Austin (1997) quoted in Brandes *et al* (1999) define organizational cynicism as a ‘learned attitude that includes a pessimistic outlook for change’. These change management efforts include, relocation of operations, mergers and acquisition, rationalization of the company, usage of contract employees and lay-offs. Reports of large-scale unethical executive conduct, corporate greed and high executive salaries further fuel employees’ negativity and frustration (Brandes *et al* 1999).

The expectations of employees who survive the changes are that these transformation processes will result in better salaries and improved working conditions. On the contrary, employees experience ‘violations to traditional employment’ and unfulfilled expectations that are generated by promises of better working conditions and an

improved standard of living (Johnson and O'Really-Kelly 2003:627). Change is seen as only benefiting a few and the majority of the workforce's positions remain the same or worse. Most change processes create an environment of uncertainty and pessimism as staff is likely to be laid-off, transferred or instructed to work less hours. The result of these processes is less money in the pockets of the employees and more in the pockets of the executive and the shareholders.

Dean *et al.* highlight the affective component of Organizational cynicism. They explain that cynicism is an attitude and also has an element of emotional reaction; it is a feeling as much as it is a thought. Cynics experience a variety of negative emotions such as distress, anger, contempt 'and even shame when they think about their organizations' (Brandes *et al* 1999). The other dimension of cynicism is the expression of a negative or disparaging behaviour towards the organization (Abraham 2000:1). In the main, this behaviour is characterized by 'strong criticism of the organization'.

Often cynics will speak badly about the organization and state that the organization has no values, integrity, honesty and sincerity. Cynics also use parody to scoff at organizational actions, and are also highly pessimistic about the success of any new or different operational or procedural measure that the organization intends to implement (Brandes *et al* 1999). Dean *et al.* (1998) caution that when we conceptualize organizational cynicism, 'we are targeting an individual's cynicism as the focal construct to be explained'. Therefore, in order to observe and explain organizational cynicism, one must look at it as an attitude that is held by individual employees.

Delken (2004:10) rejects definitions of organizational cynicism that incorporate attitude, belief and behaviour. Based on the 'expectancy-value model' developed by Ajzen, Delken argues that belief precedes attitude or is the cause of an attitude and therefore cannot be part of an attitude. He further states that attitude should not be defined in terms of their consequences, that is, behaviour nor should they be defined in terms of their affective components. Delkens (2004) defines organizational cynicism as 'an attitude of rejection of the employing organization, or parts of it, as a viable psychological contract partner'.

2.8 Cynicism and other Constructs

Organizational cynicism is closely related in meaning to other constructs such as trust, job satisfaction, work alienation, burnout and Psychological Contract Violation (Dean *et al* 1998; Johnson and O'Leary 2003; Storm and Rothmann 2003). For purposes of measurement it is important that these constructs be clearly defined and conceptualized, such that areas of overlap and any common underlying factors could be exposed. Dean *et al* (1998:348) assert that there is a need to differentiate organizational cynicism from other established constructs 'in order to avoid the appearance of old wine in new bottles'.

2.8.1 Trust

There is generally agreement that trust and cynicism are two opposing constructs (Dean *et al* 1998; Andersson and Bateman 1997). Trust is considered as an important predictor of cynicism, and that in organizations lack of trust precedes cynicism. However, in an organizational setting, employees are able to differentiate 'groups or echelons that they can trust and 'toward whom they direct their cynicism' (Thompson *et al* 2000:7). Trust is defined as 'a belief held by an individual that the word, promise, or oral or written statement of another individual or group can be relied on' (Andersson and Bateman 1997:451).

An individual has trust in another once he/she is prepared or willing to subject him/herself to be susceptible to the consequences of actions of another person. In contrast to trust that requires one to be vulnerable to another's action, a person can be cynical without being vulnerable to the actions of another party. Trust is different from organizational cynicism in that it does not have an affective component and it is, therefore, never defined as an attitude. Trust is a belief and can therefore be a precursor to an attitude.

Thus, distrust can precede organizational cynicism (Delken 2004:10). However, organizational cynicism is indicated by intense emotional affects such disappointment and frustration, feelings of shame and disgust. These emotional aspects are absent in trust (Dean *et al* 1998:348). Trust also differs from organizational cynicism in that it is not always a function of interaction or experience with the other party. One can

have a lack of trust of the other party without having had any interaction with that person. In contrast, organizational cynicism is always generated after the individual had an experience with the organization (Dean *et al* 1998:348).

2.8.2 Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction is an attitude that reflects how people feel about their work (Knights and Kennedy 2005:58). As an attitudinal variable, job satisfaction is confined to a specific environment where the employee performs his or her tasks, and it is reflected only in the responses that immediately arise out of those task environments. Job satisfaction has a number of elements, notably, job security, remuneration, employment conditions, supervision, prospects for promotion (Lester and Butler 1980:45).

An employee may experience job dissatisfaction when there is disjuncture between what was expected of the elements and what was actually realized. The employee who is experiencing job dissatisfaction may end up being incessantly absent from work or leaving the institution. In a cross-national comparison study between officer in the United States of America and those in Britain, it was observed that police officers who are dissatisfied with their work are more likely to show signs of cynicism than those who are satisfied (Lester and Butler 1980:44).

2.8.3 Organizational commitment

Organizational commitment is a bond between the employee and the organization, which is determined and influenced by the employee's level of identification with and the extent of involvement in the organization concerned (Knights and Kennedy 2005; Brandes *et al* 1999). Organizational commitment has three factors, namely, (1) a strong belief in and embracement of the values and goals, (2) self-less contribution towards the goals of the organization, (3) and a desire to maintain organizational membership (Brandes *et al* 1999). These attitudes are largely influenced by employees 'perceptions of 'distributive and procedural justice' in the organization (Knights and Kennedy 2005:59).

Commitment takes a long time to develop and it is nurtured by the nature of the relationship between the employee and the employer. Employees who have high

levels of organizational commitment generally exert more effort in their work, defend the reputation of the organization and would like to be associated with the organization even beyond their term of employment. On the contrary, cynical employees will do as little work as possible, leave as early possible, and quit the company given the slightest opportunity and would not want to ever be associated with the organization. Accordingly, cynical employees cannot have high levels of organizational commitment, as this would create 'cognitive dissonance in one's attitude and behaviour – someone who questions the integrity of the organization could scarcely be personally attached to it' (Brandes *et al* 1999). Employees who score low in cynicism score demonstrated high levels of commitment to their work.

2.8.4 Work alienation

Regoli *et al* argued that there is a connection between work alienation, anomy and cynicism (1979:336). Police officers who experience high levels of work alienation are more likely to be cynical and eventually anomic. This relationship between work alienation and cynicism, however, applies to the following categories of police officers; those with more than two years of service and are of lower middle-class status, those who have more than two years service and have less than two years of college training, and those with less than two years of service and are working in small law enforcement agencies.

2.8.5 Burnout

The police occupation is regarded as one of the most stressful occupations (Rothmann 2003; Pienaar and Rothmann 2005). Police work has a number of stress factors such as a rigid bureaucracy, hostile clients (public), unappreciative management, the command-and-control management style, long working hours, low salaries, threat to injury and violence. In South Africa, a combination of high crime levels, poor resources and end-less transformation process add to the high stress levels (Pienaar and Rothmann 2005).

High levels of stress lead to mental exhaustion or burnout; the indicators of which in South Africa are early medical retirement and high levels of suicides among police officers and high levels of femicides committed by police officers (Storm and Rothmann 2003:219). It was also found that the levels of suicide ideation are high within the South African Police Service (Pienaar and Rothmann 2005).

Schaufeli and Enzmann, quoted in Storm and Rothmann (2003), define burnout as ‘a persistent, negative, work related state of mind in normal individuals that is primarily characterized by exhaustion, which is accompanied by distress, a sense of reduced effectiveness, decreased motivation, and the development of dysfunctional attitudes and behaviours at work’. The effects of burnout on the organization include high levels of absenteeism, resignations and reduced productivity.

The Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey, a scale that is used to measure burnout, has three dimensions, namely, exhaustion, cynicism and professional efficacy. It was found that the cynicism dimension of the scale is strongly related to exhaustion (reference). Accordingly, employees who show high levels of exhaustion are more likely to be cynical. The conditions within the South African Police are not unique to them and are probably experienced by most other police departments.

The conceptualization of the relationship between PCV, cynicism and burnout is that cynicism may also affect the employee emotionally as well. Thus, the weariness that accompanies cynicism is more likely to be associated with a ‘chronic state of emotional and physical depletion’ (Johnson and O’Leary-Kelly 2003: 633). The employee’s perception that the organization has failed to deliver on its promises directly results in the emotional exhaustion such that the perceived breach does not only result in negative behaviour but also in emotional and physical burnout.

2.8.6 Psychological Contract Violation (PCV)

Psychological Contract Violation (PCV) framework has been introduced in literature, especially in organizational behavioral and management studies, as a tool to explain the underlying causes of the ever-growing negative attitude by employees towards their employing organization. The notion of psychological contract is traced to the writings of Argyris and Schein in 1960 and 1980 respectively (Knights and Kennedy 2005: 57). PCV seems now to be a dominant or widely used construct to explain employee behaviour and has since been linked at a conceptual level with organizational cynicism (Johnson and O’Leary-Kelly 2003). However, PCV has not as yet been extended to explain police cynicism.

Psychological contract is defined as ‘a set of individual beliefs or perceptions regarding reciprocal obligations between the employee and the organization’ (Andersson 1996:1401; Knights and Kennedy 2005:57). The psychological contract develops when an employee believes that the contributions and sacrifices he makes for the organizations require that organization to somehow return the performance. A number of these obligations are formalized and the majority of the expectations are implied. The more specific these obligations are the ‘greater the individual’s sense of entitlement’ (Andersson 1996:1402)

The psychological contract also emerges when employees expect that the employer must fulfill certain obligations such as, incentives, higher positions, remuneration, empowerment and job tenure, irrespective of the employee’s own contributions. These expectations develop out of the employee’s belief that management made promises to deliver on these obligations. However, management does not necessarily have to make such promises explicitly nor should they (management) be aware that they are creating such expectations (Johnson and O’Leary-Kelly 2003:629).

2.9 Stages of Cynicism

Niederhoffer observes that police officers’ level of cynicism is dependent on the number of years of experience in policing. The first stage of cynicism is called Pseudo-cynicism; this is the cynicism that is experienced by the new recruits at the training college. The second level of cynicism is Romantic cynicism. This is experienced mainly by young police officers that have just started to work in the field and have come to realize that their idealized world of policing does not exist. They become disenchanted about the occupation and they are often the most cynical. The third level of cynicism is defined as Aggressive cynicism. This is the peak stage of cynicism and it is prevalent at about the tenth year of service and characterized by very high levels of resentment and hostility.

The final stage of cynicism is the Resigned Cynicism. At this stage the officers are nearing retirement age and they just stay-on and mark time. Their cynicism is passive. They have amassed enough experience and their lackluster attitude towards work is undetectable as they are able to work around the system. They spend most of their time just coaching the younger officers. There is also another form of passive

cynicism whereby the police officer realizes that he has been too long in the service to be cynical about the organization and the profession. He instead begins to see the better side of the occupation.

Niederhoffer cautions that these levels overlap and are always chronological. The conclusion here is that cynicism increases with the length of services and then tippers off at about the tenth year. This assertion is supported by Bublitz (1973).

2.10 Forms of Organization Cynicism

There are different kinds of organizational cynicisms and the concept of organizational cynicism encompasses all of these, namely, personality cynicism, societal/institutional cynicism, organizational change cynicism and occupational cynicism (Andersson and Bateman 1997; Abraham 2000).

a) Personality Cynicism

Personality Cynicism is defined as the innate trait of an individual and is characterized by a general negative attitude towards other human beings' motives (Abraham 2000:2). It is reflected in the general belief that other human beings are distrustful and act in bad faith and intentions. Employees with this type of cynicism generally lack trust and faith in others. Personality cynicism is also seen as the 'pathopsychological variant of organizational cynicism', and plays a bigger role in influencing the general levels of organizational cynicism (Delken 2003:17). This attitude manifests in 'anger, bitterness, resentment, and manipulation', but it does not necessarily lead to aggressive behaviour. This type of cynicism is also characterized by 'weak interpersonal bonding' (Abraham 2000:2).

b) Societal cynicism

A social contract is agreement entered into between the society and the individual that the state will consistently provide opportunities for a better living for its citizens and protection from harm. For instance, a social contract between the American citizens and the state is encapsulated in the American Dream which is basically a promise for a better life (Abraham 2000:2). The contract is entered into with or without the explicit consent of the state and that the state does not have to explicitly state its

willingness to participate in the agreement. In essence it is basically an expectation by citizens that the state will look after the citizens.

Contract violation is the failure by government to realize the promise it made to its citizens. This social contract violation leads to loss of trust and faith in the 'system', which then leaves the citizens with bitterness and cynicism – societal cynicism. (Delken 2004:17). Societal cynicism is further characterized by people suffering from frustrations and various forms of insecurities such as, possibilities of job losses, social alienation and even possibilities of lack of food. Societal/Institutional Cynicism is fuelled by the perceived failure of social institutions to deliver on the opportunities were promised by democracy, freedom, and the free market economy.

Citizens with societal cynicism express their disillusionment by detaching themselves from social, political and economic institutions. They may choose, for example, not to vote, not to register for social benefits and not to pay for municipal services. Within the police environment, this form of cynicism might be relevant in that new dispensation has not made the police occupation any better, especially with respect to the image of the police institution and relationship with the society. Instead, the image of the police has dropped even further whilst their work is made even more complex by the new legal framework.

c) Organizational Change Cynicism (OCC)

Reichers *et al* (1997), quoted in Bommer *et al* (2005:736), define organizational change cynicism as 'an attitude consisting of futility of change along with a loss of faith in those who are responsible for the changes'. OCC is described as a response by employees to failed change efforts in the past, and it is characterized by pessimism about future efforts (Abraham 2000:3). Organizational change cynicism also occurs when the employees believe that changes that have been brought about by management have failed to materialize or attain the desired results.

OCC may also be experienced where employees see the change agents as unmotivated, incompetent to effect the desired changes (Wanous *et al* 2000:133). Accordingly, OCC is experienced when the changes have actually failed and when

employees believe that these changes have failed as well as when those responsible for the change process are seen as unable to effect the changes.

In the institutions where change processes in the operations and the structure of the organization are continuously implemented, employees tend not to cooperate with these changes, and the change processes fail because of their resistance. The belief that the change process will not succeed accompanied by the failure of the change process, leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby employees no longer give full cooperation to subsequent change processes, which in turn may fail because of employees' lack of cooperation (Delken 2005:15; Bommer *et al* 2005:737; Wanous *et al* 2000:134) Cynical employees are resistant to change processes in organizations (Bommer *et al* 2005:737).

d) Occupational cynicism

Occupational cynicism is sometimes referred to as work cynicism. It is the kind of cynicism that is directed to the work itself, and very often associated with burnout at the workplace. It differs from organizational cynicism in that it is experience within the content of the work whereas organizational cynicism takes into consideration the context of work (Delken 2004:16). Two sources of organizational cynicism are identified, namely, person-role conflict and the thwarted social competence (Abraham 2000:3)

2.11 Predictors and Sources of Cynicism

2.11.1 Background

In the workplace, occurrences such as high salary packages for executives, retrenchment of employees and failure of the organization to achieve set objectives generate dissatisfaction and subsequently disillusionment towards the organization itself (Andersson 1996; Andersson and Bateman 1997:452). Employees assume a psychological contract with the employer more like a social contract that the citizenry develops with the government. Violation of this contract is perceived as an injustice, and it induces attitudes such as mistrust, alienation and disbelief, and it is a precursor of cynicism. New advances in business environment such as, restructuring, downsizing, use of temporary labour, diversity, foreign competition have huge impact

on the psychological contracts. This is so because these advances bring so much uncertainty in the organizations to the extent that neither the employees nor employers know what they owe each other (Morrison and Robinson 1997:226).

According to Andersson (1996:1407) there are three categories of factors that might engender psychological contract violation in the organization and thereby influence the levels of cynicism, namely, a) organizational characteristics, b) business environmental characteristics and c) work and role characteristics.

2.11.2 Organizational Characteristics

1. Social Strain

Cynicism, as it illustrated earlier, is usually preceded by some kind of tension or strain that then leads to the breakdown in relationships within a social structure. The strain itself arises because of lack of clarity, conflict and relative deprivation with respect to the norms and values within that social structure. Regoli *et al* (1990) assert that the organizational constraints such as, inflexible rules and regulations give rise to cynicism. They also assert that the paramilitary culture that is present in police departments further ‘strains’ relations between commissioned and non-commissioned officers in that junior officers are told what to do and are rarely ever given a chance to express their opinions.

In the former Transkei Police Force the senior officers related to junior officers through a highly formalized ‘command and control’ system, and this meant that the junior officers’ right to make decisions was taken away. Thus junior officers were left frustrated because they were unable to give inputs and suggestions regarding both organizational and operational issues (Regoli *et al* 1990:136; Ulmer 1992:432).

In the workplace sources of strain also include supervisory practices such as enforcement of disciplinary action and supervisory evaluations. The other source of strain is the normative change brought about by external agencies such as courts and the legislature (Bublitz 1973:235). In a study conducted among officers in Salt Lake Police Department and the Utah State Highway Patrol in the United States of America, it was found that police officers who are cynics tended to be more negative

towards supervisory practices, disciplinary action and supervisory actions than non-cynics (Bublitz 1973:235).

2. Occupational anomy

Niederhoffer (1963) argues that police departments seem to be unable to overcome challenges that have for a very long time afflicted these institutions. Police brutality, organized corruption and abuse of authority, especially when they are dealing with marginalized groups, are identified as the main organizational ailments that are almost organic to policing. Solutions to deal with these challenges have been suggested and these include, stricter recruitment guides, more supervision of junior officers and introducing more theory on law and human rights into the training programs of police officers. The most noted solution was to embrace professionalization of the police occupation.

Various solutions that have been employed to address cynicism in law enforcement agencies have failed dismally. The only explanation that can be accorded to the pervasive cynicism is that the large police departments are 'a breeding ground of anomy' (Niederhoffer 1963:187). Merton says that anomy occurs where there is a 'disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them'. Such a condition prevails once there is a struggle between the old and new or envisaged culture and norms. (Niederhoffer 1963:198) Anomy, Niederhoffer claims (1963:189), has been associated with different concepts such as 'maladjustments, alienation, isolation, self-estrangement, despair and demoralization, and cynicism'.

Most police departments have undergone tremendous institutional and occupational changes. These have resulted in a situation where old norms had to be replaced by new ones which have not, in most cases, been clearly defined. Thus a vacuum is created where the old norms are buried and the new ones not yet born. Police departments are experiencing a cyclical wave of anomy and cynicism, thus inducing a breach of psychological contract in that employees feel that the organization will not be able to deliver on its promises of ensuring normal conditions for them.

2.11.3 Business Environment Characteristics

1. Reforms or changes

Reforms in law enforcement such as, the establishment of oversight structures, more community participation and emphasis on human rights for the suspects, arrestees, accused and convicts have created a situation where law enforcement agents feel that they are being sold out by their superiors who readily endorse these reforms (Poole and Regoli 1980:305). A study that was conducted on prison guards concluded that the guards felt that such reforms have compromised safety as the guards' powers to use coercive force to control prisoners' behaviour is scrutinized and has been greatly curtailed (Poole and Regoli 1980:305).

Poole and Regoli (1980) observed that the introduction of 'due process' in the resolution of disputes in prisoners' discipline in the US resulted in a situation where the adjudicator ruled against prison guards, and this led to guards feeling less confident in doubting their authority and powers. The consequence of the guards' feeling of doubt and uncertainty coupled with the conflict-nature of the prison work is frustration and disillusionment and ultimately cynicism towards the occupation and the institution itself.

2. High salary packages of executive

The issue about high salary packages of executives compared to staff has received much attention in the last decade or so. In South Africa, it has even been suggested that companies must disclose salary levels of their executives. Recently it was reported that the CEO of a cash strapped national airline was getting a golden handshake running into millions of Rands. In the South African Police Service it is found that the salary of the National Commissioner of Police is 20 times more than that of a lowest paid employee (student constable).

The high salary packages of the top executive contribute towards 'a strong anti-corporate and anti-management sentiment' (Andersson and Bateman 1997:452). There is also no correlation between the high packages and performance of the organization. Lower paid employees who feel that they make the bulk of contributions towards the organization feel the benefits are not equitably distributed. Accordingly,

the wide salary gap between top executives and employees is perceived as an injustice and it therefore generates negative attitudes towards the organization and the leadership.

3. Organizational Performance

Employees and the society in general build their perceptions about an organization on the basis of whether that organization is doing well financially or not and also on how the company conduct itself in other sphere of business such as, the company's corporate responsibility programs, the company's attitude towards the environment, how it treats its worker and the involvement of foreign investors. Once an organization is seen to be performing poorly in some of the areas a negative attitude is developed. A study that was conducted on firms that were dissolved found that the society had developed negative attitudes towards that firm and their management (Andersson and Bateman 1997:452).

When a company fails to yield profit the critical audience (employees and the public) tend to put blame on the executive of that company. Therefore, a negative attitude that is directed at the company itself is also directed at its management. Poor company results generate cynicism towards both the company and its management (Andersson and Bateman 1997:452). When the company pays its executive very high salary levels whereas it is performing very poorly, the level of cynicism towards management and the organization seems to be stronger than when it is performing well (Andersson and Bateman 1997:453).

Similarly, when a public institution is seen to be failing to deliver on the services that it ought to, employees generally feel ashamed to be associated with the institution and develop cynicism towards the institution and its management. The levels of crime in the country are very high and the SAPS is regarded as failing dismally to reduce the crime to acceptable levels. Opinion polls indicate that crime is the number one issue that is affecting development in the country. The media constantly rate the performance of the leadership of the SAPS very low. Accordingly, the employees feel betrayed by the incapacity and management incompetence to direct and lead the institution to become victorious in the fight against crime.

4. Retrenchment of workers

In the quest to remain competitive, organizations continue to strive for a competitive edge over their competitors and thus continually undergo changes to retain or attain such an advantage. Some of these changes include, merging with or acquiring other organizations, reducing costs – which may include relocating to other places where the costs of material or labour may be low or reducing current staff. Invariably these changes especially those that will result in job losses, generate anxiety and a feeling of job insecurity among the low level employees and those that are not performing (Andersson and Bateman 1997:453).

Employees who survive retrenchments also develop negative attitudes towards the organization, especially if they view the treatment of those who have been retrenched as unjust. In the South African Police Service scores of mainly senior white officers took voluntary retrenchment largely because management mutely encouraged them to do so and also because they felt that the new environment brought about by the democratic changes would be hostile to them. Those who stayed behind were skeptical about the rapid changes that were introduced and also unsure about what the future held for them. Therefore, retrenchment of workers is regarded as an injustice especially when management is seen to have inadequately compensated the retrenched workers.

2.11.4 Job and role characteristics

1. Occupational socialization

The thesis of Niederhoffer's study is that the occupational socialization of the police officers makes them more vulnerable to cynicism. He argues that the recruitment process is of such a nature that only young, energetic persons with clean criminal records are brought into the system. However, only a few months down the line these well mannered and highly trained officers begin to ignore the code of conduct and gradually participate in acts of corruption, bribery and the like (1963:15). He argues that:

'A typical police recruit starts his career without a trace of cynicism, but after a short time at the Academy, the alert student begins to realize that the professional atmosphere that surrounds him is partly a sham. The intuition may arise from the innuendos of his instructor; more often it is the result of the demeaning restrictions imposed upon his private life' (1969:47).

Ulmer (1992:435) posits that new correctional officers become cynical very soon after working in the prison mainly because they arrive in the hands of custodians of a subculture of cynicism. These custodians are ready to impart their cynical views on the new recruits, through among others things, sharing 'horror stories' about the organization or the profession. The subculture group becomes the main reference group to the new recruits and thereby creates protégés that will perpetuate cynicism in the organization (Ulmer 1992:434).

In police organizations the high-ranking officers positively reward junior staff members that embrace and exhibit the traits of a typical police subculture. Since the personality traits of the police subculture are those that show distrustfulness towards the organization and the public, the superior officers will positively evaluate those junior officers who are cynical (Anson, Mann and Sherman 1986:305). With reference to the Psychological Contract Violation Framework, the new recruit experiences what is referred to as a cognitive dissonance, in that, the values that he embraced as a trainee are in sharp contrast to the conduct and practices that are of him expected by his superiors.

2. Role ambiguity and the 'Reality Shock'

Officers experience role ambiguity when there is no clarity with regards to expectations associated with a particular role, the activities involved in executing a role or the outcomes of performance of particular role (Andersson 1996:1408). Niederhoffer explains that newly graduated law enforcement officers experience a 'reality shock' in the line of duty just after they have completed training. This shock comes about once the officer realizes that the community that he is serving does not appreciate him as much as he had expected. Instead the job that he is doing is not accorded any high status, and more often the police are despised by the underclass for heavy-handedness and brutality, and they are ridiculed by the upper class for incompetence.

Graves (1998) explains that it is the

‘sordid reality of the streets, particularly in large cities that have higher crimes rates and more anonymity, often shocks officers fresh from the academy. As a result, many of the situations they experience cause them to lose faith in others and develop an us-versus-them view in the process. They soon begin to trust only police officers, the only people who they believe understand how the world really is’.

The new officer realizes that what was taught to him at the college about the role of an officer was not clearly articulated to the extent that he should expect particular outcomes from the community. The new police officer experiences role ambiguity in that role that is assigned to him ‘is not clearly articulated in terms of the expected outcome and behaviour’ (Andersson 1996:1413).

3. Role conflict and the reality shock

The cynicism that grips the recruits is increased further when they begin to work at the police station. There the recruit is told by the more experienced police officers that for the rookie to make the grade as a policeman he must first forget everything that he has learned at the Academy. The recruit is then afflicted by a syndrome referred to as ‘reality shock’, which is characterized by the grim realization of the discord between what was learned at the Academy and the real world (Niederhoffer 1969: Graves 1998). The unfulfilled expectation of the recruit with respect to the nature of the work constitutes a breach of psychological contract.

2.12 Adaptation to Cynicism

Niederhoffer argues that in the social structure, anomic conditions give rise to cynicism, which may pave the way for personal anomy or anomia. However, cynicism does not always result in personal anomia because there are three other ways in which cynical police officers may adapt to cynical conditions (Niederhoffer 1967:103).

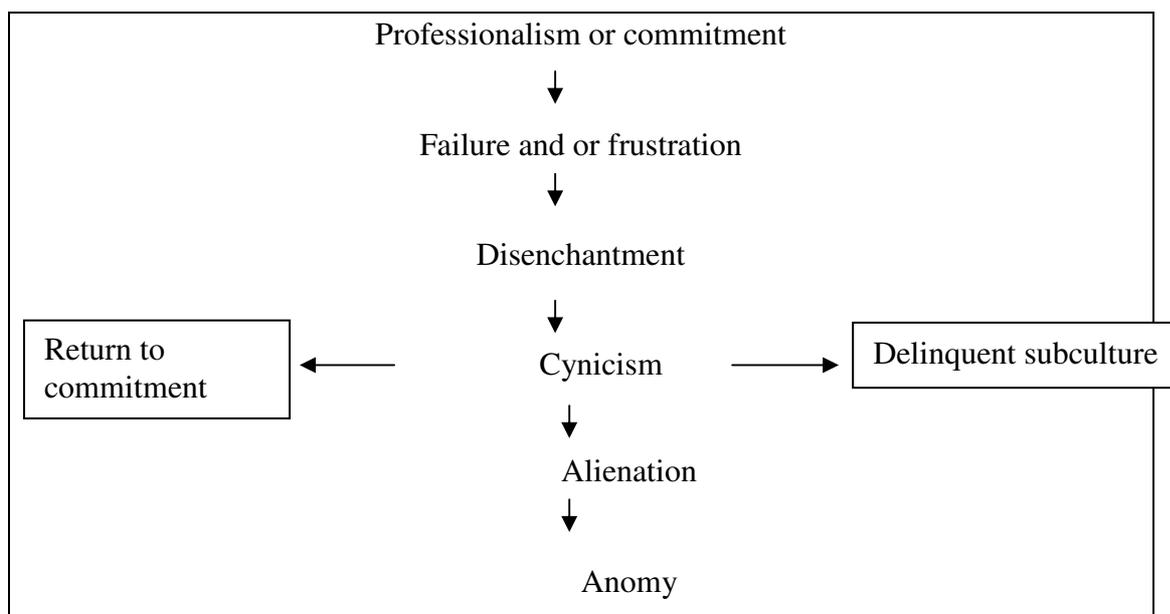
Firstly, the officer may become a lone ranger. As he becomes more disenchanting he is further separated from his colleagues and will slide down to the anomy. This is the stage in which police officers who commit suicide are most likely to pass through (Niederhoffer 1963:209). This is exactly the same stage that Durkheim defines as

anomy in his study of Suicide. Secondly, the other way to adapt is to become a member of a ‘delinquent group’ that has embraced an alternative way of coping with alienation, frustration and normlessness. This group of long serving and cynical officer becomes a refuge for those who are cynical, and thereby create their own group solidarity and culture.

The third way of adaptation is to overcome the cynicism and recommit to the ideals of the institution and the profession. This approach is normally embraced by police officers who have been in the institution for longer periods and are yearning for the ‘good old days’ when, among other things, cops were cops and not social scientists or human relations experts. Those who are about to retire come to realize that their experience is only applicable to and recognized by other law enforcement agents and that the only other job that they can do is to be a security guard. They therefore look back into their career and cherish and appreciate it more. These officers stay away from the ‘delinquent group’ as this group may put them in trouble with the employer as they would stand to lose their jobs and pension payouts and medical benefits if they are to be fired for engaging in corrupt activities.

Diagram 2.1

Diagrammatic representation of Niederhoffer’s Adaptation Model



2.13 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter the early philosophical roots of cynicism were first discussed as well as the subsequent shifts in meaning. The classical meaning of cynicism reflected a virtuous attitude that 'one cannot depend on other people to be trustworthy and sincere'. The early cynics held the view that formal institutions of governance are there only to oppress the poor and the invalid. The cynics chose a life of squalor and deprived themselves of any form of physical comforts.

The contemporary meaning of cynicism implies an attitude of frustration, disillusionment and feelings towards and distrust of a person, group or objects. Today cynical people are those who have unfounded or exaggerated distrust towards the motives of other people. The concept of cynicism has since been applied to the police organization by Arthur Niederhoffer. Since then the concept has been extended to other organizations.

Niederhoffer explained that cynicism is preceded by anomic conditions. Drawing on Merton, he discusses the strains that the police organization is subjected to and the relatively deprivation that the police members undergo brings about a state where there is confusion of the roles and values. These conditions give rise to the state of normlessness, and powerlessness. Niederhoffer and other authors on police cynicism asserted that the police organization is fertile ground for the condition of anomy to flourish.

There are three categories of factors that influence the levels of cynicism, namely, the organization, the business environment as well as job and role characteristics. Firstly, with respect to organizational characteristics, it was explained that the police organization is under strain which is brought about by, among other things, inflexible rules and regulations, the existence of a paramilitary culture with a highly formalized command and control system. The police also have or exhibit some endemic tendencies that seem to contribute towards the occupational anomy. These include, police brutality, corruption and abuse of authority. Unfortunately the police organization seems not to be able to eradicate these completely as they tend to rear

their head from time to time. Niederhoffer concluded that the professionalization of the police organization was thought to be a panacea to the conditions that influence the levels of cynicism but instead exacerbated the levels of cynicism.

Secondly, the police organization also has some business characteristics that contribute to higher levels of cynicism. The most common among these are the reforms and changes, organizational performance and high salary packages of executives. Police agencies have in the past two decades implemented various reforms that have been instigated by external and internal factors. However, these reforms which include, establishment of oversight structures, implementation of human rights culture and community participation were, by and large, resisted by the police. The rank-and-file-police are disgruntled by the readiness with which senior police officials accept and implement such changes (Poole and Regoli 1980:305). Poor organizational performance is one other business characteristic that seem to negatively impact on the image and confidence of the police members.

Lastly, the job and role characteristics that give rise to cynicism include occupational socialization of the police, role ambiguity and reality shock that police experience in the workplace. Regarding occupational socialization, it has been argued that the police organization socializes the new recruits into an already existing attitude of socialization. The new recruits hear about horror stories and unhappy encounters with the community from a reference group, which is usually comprised of experienced and cynical officers (Ulmer 1992). The senior police officers are more likely to positively reward junior police officers who show typical traits of the police sub-culture, including, authoritarian personality and cynical attitude. Niederhoffer concluded that the police organization is a breeding ground for cynicism.

There are traces of almost all of the characteristics that influence the levels of cynicism in the South African Police Service. The most relevant factor for this study is that the South African police organization has been undergoing structural and operational reforms since the police were appointed in 1652.

However, since 1990, the reforms seem to have taken a faster and more intense pace. The nature and history of the reforms will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3. In

this dissertation the police cynicism scale that was developed by Niederhoffer will be tested for its reliability and validity. Whereas the scale's reliability will be tested by assessing the inter-item relatedness of the variables in the scale, the validity of the scale will be assessed by measuring the correlation of the factors in the Niederhoffer's scale with the factors in the Change Adaptation Scale. The South African Police Service will also be tested for the presence of anomic conditions.

CHAPTER 3

The history and transformation of the police in South Africa, from the colonial era to 2007

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine whether there has been any significant change or reforms in the South African Police to warrant a study on the relationship of such changes with police cynicism. Accordingly, this chapter aims to do three things; firstly, to provide a historical analysis and development of the police force in South Africa from the colonial period to 2007; secondly, to determine if, over the years, there have been any significant reforms or changes in policing approaches and; thirdly, to analyze the transformation process that took place in the 1990s. It is expected that this review of the history of the police, the policing approaches and the experience of reforms might assist either to confirm if there has been any significant changes and, furthermore, to explain or to bring to the fore any reform or change-related factors that might contribute to the current levels of cynicism in the police organization.

The review will show that since the first formal policing structure was formed in 1652 in South Africa, the organizational structures of the police have been continuously reformed. There have been instances where the police structures were divided along functional lines or areas of specialization as in the case of the creation of the South African Constabulary in 1900. There have also been periods where different police units were amalgamated into a single unit. The unification of the various police forces in 1913 and again, almost 80 years later, in 1994 illustrates the point (De Witt Diepenaar 1988; Burger 2007).

The review also indicates that there has been little or no changes in respect of policing approaches (Brogden and Shearing 1993; Cawthra 1993); or, that attempts to change policing approaches have failed (Shaw 2003). This chapter supports the notion that, from the very outset, there were two policing approaches that co-existed. Firstly, a 'civilized, disciplined and mannered' policing style that was implemented in the urban white communities (Shaw 2002); and, secondly, the colonial para-militaristic style that was designed to police the indigenous black population and also to patrol the rural or farmlands occupied by white farmers (Cawthra 1993; Shaw 2003; Rauch and Van der Spuy 2006).

Lastly, some insight into the imperatives of police transformation is shared by drawing some parallels with the policing reforms that took place in the 1990s in the East European countries. The comparison with these countries is relevant and important to this study because the transformation of the police in those countries, much like in South Africa in the early 1990's, came as result of changes in the political and social landscape and not, like in most western countries, due to the imperative to implement new approaches to crime combating or prevention (Bayley 2006; Kadar (ed) 2001; Edwards 2005).

3.2 Emergence of Modern Policing in the Western World

3.2.1 Emergence of modern policing

There are generally two contrasting views about when and where policing in the modern world began. The conventional view is that the modern police institution started with the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police in Britain in 1829 (Germann 1969:91; Shaw 2002). The opposing view is that 'modern' policing predates the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police and that many of the features of the early Metropolitan Police were neither a novelty nor were they uniquely English (Styles 1987). Brodgen (1987:4) writes that the organized and state paid police forces were not an 'invention of the Anglo-Saxon race'. However, the London Metropolitan Police has been embraced in the literature on the history of policing as the important milestone and a mirror against which subsequent police agencies were modeled (Brodgen 1987:4).

The London Metropolitan Police was established following an appeal by Sir Robert Peel to the English parliament to pass a law that will establish a modern police structure (Edwards 2005:25; Germann 1969:91). There were numerous factors that necessitated the formation of the London Metropolitan Police, including the rising crime levels that were brought about by the social changes that came with industrialization (Burger 2007:29).

The structures that existed prior to formation of the London Metropolitan Police were unable to deal with a sudden rise in crime levels that were apparently committed by the landless who flocked to the cities to find opportunities that were created by rapid industrialization. The large number of soldiers who were returning from the Napoleonic wars also added to ranks of the landless and unemployed who were apt to disturb the peace and order. These

circumstances created a dire need for a permanent and disciplined police force that would maintain peace and order in the city (Edwards 2005:25).

In 1829, Sir Richard Mayne, one of the first two Commissioners of the London Metropolitan Police, summed up the role of the police as follows:

‘it should be said at the outset that the principal object to be attained is the prevention of crime. To this end every effort of the police is to be directed. The security of person and property, the preservation of public tranquility and all other objects of a police establishment will thus be better effected than by detection and punishment of an offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime’ (quoted in Edwards 2005:25; Burger 2007:30).

Burger (2007:29) argues that prior to 1829, the functions of the police were limited to order maintenance, law enforcement, street patrols and guard duties. It was only with the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police that crime prevention was specifically mentioned as a police function. The definition of the functions of the London Metropolitan Police influenced the formulation of the Constitutional provision for the establishment of the South African Police Service.

3.2.2 Alternative theory of the emergence of policing

The alternative theory on the emergence of the modern police claims that there are three types of policing that predates the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police, namely preventative policing, administrative policing, private commercial police work (Brodgen 1987:8). In preventative policing, the function of the police is to protect the state by acting as the ‘early warning system’. This form of policing was prevalent during the reign of Louis the XIV. The administrative policing model prescribes the role of the police as administrators of the affairs of the state and to safeguard the welfare of the members of the state. This model was applied in France in the eighteenth century and was common in the Victorian City.

The third model, the private commercial policing, was in existence in various jurisdictions in Europe and the United States. This model professes that the object of police is to make profit, and hence police were paid for ‘thief-taking’ and bounty hunting. Private police in the United States of America were responsible to transfer convicted prisoners across state line and also to investigate cross-border cases until the Federal Bureau of Investigation was established and fully functional (Brodgen 1987:8).

3.3 Policing approaches

3.3.1 Principles of policing

Burger (2007:31) states that the founder of modern policing in Britain, Robert Peel, listed the principles according to which the London Metropolitan Police had to operate within. These principles have, seemingly, since been embraced by police institutions all over the world, and include the following: a) that the object of the police is to prevent crime and disorder, b) the police must demonstrate impartiality when performing their duties, c) the police may use lethal force only as a last resort, d) that the police must seek cooperation of the public, e) the police must also not usurp the work of the judiciary or other state agencies.

A number of policing models can be explained by the thrust and extent to which these principles are applied by the police agencies in various jurisdictions. Three policing approaches or models are discussed below, namely, the Colonial or Frontier Model, Metropolitan Model or Community-focused and the crime-focused model. The models are discussed below to provide a lens through which the evolution of policing in South Africa can be studied. One would therefore be able to label the type of policing at any given time and thereby able to note any changes. The importance hereof is to see whether the reforms or changes that took place at any point were significant.

3.3.2 Colonial model or Frontier model

In general the key characteristics of the colonial police are that; firstly, they are structurally more centralized and operate very much like the military, secondly, they priorities order maintenance and often engage in administrative duties and, thirdly, they derive their legitimacy from the colonial power and not from the local population. The police will also be drawn from people who are culturally different from those who are policed. However, the commanding officers of the troops will be deployed from the colonizing country. For instance, the commissioned officers of the police in British colonies will be of British extraction and mainly retired soldiers (Brodgen 1987:11). The colonial model, which is also referred to as frontier model, was not about ensuring safety and security to the natives but to oppress them (Brodgen and Shearing 1993:3).

Whereas the colonial model was implemented in most of the colonized world, it was perfected by the British in Ireland and then imported to various colonies (Brodgen 1987:

11).Mackenzie, quoted in Mawby (2001:22) cautions that policing approach in colonial setting changes with time, and can be classified into three stages, namely, the early, stable and final stages. In the early stage the colonizer is concerned with maintaining order and crushing resistance. In this phase the police operate very much like the military. In the second phase, the police tend to focus on crime prevention as the opposition against colonial rule seems to have abated.

In the final stage, the colonized people reject the system often with armed insurrections. According to Andersson and Killingray (1997) quoted in Mawby (2001:22), in the final phase the response of the state 'is to accentuate the core features of colonial model. For example, the number of police officers is increased, central control of the police is tightened, the police are insulated from the new democratic influences, the police are better armed, specialized units are established and the links with military are extended'.

3.3.3 Community focused policing

Community-focused policing includes concepts such as community-policing and community-oriented policing. Burger (2007:54) notes that the 'thinking behind community-oriented policing is that this approach should enable the police, with the assistance of the community, to solve all kinds of community problems such as risk factors, root causes of and other factors and conditions conducive to crime'. Cawthra (1993:9) refers to the community focused approach as the metropolitan model or the 'Bobby on the beat', so named after Robert Peel, the founder of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829.

In South Africa prior to the political changes that took place in the 1990's, the variations of community-focused policing or Metropolitan approach were implemented largely in the white areas. The system of policing in white areas was intended to insulate the white areas from crime violence that was prevalent in black areas (Shaw 2002:1).The South African Police Service's manual on Community Policing (1987) states that objective of community policing is

'to establish an active partnership between the police and community through which crime, service delivery and police-community relations can jointly be analyzed and appropriate solutions designed and implemented. This, however, requires that the police should consciously strive to create an atmosphere in which potential community partners are willing and able to co-operate with the police.' (Community Policing: Policy Framework and Guidelines 1997:1)

According to Stone and Ward (2002:26), effective implementation of the community policing approach requires that the police should at least do the following four things: 1) organize crime prevention programs with the consent of the community; 2) priorities non-emergency policing activities; 3) allow the community to oversee their activities; 4) and should devolve policing responsibility to the lowest level.

Community-oriented policing requires, therefore, a different breed of police officer, one that is aptly described by August Vollmer quoted in Germann as 'no longer merely the suppressor of crime, but the social worker of the community as well'. The crux of community-focused policing is to prevent crime through mutual cooperation between the police and the community (Germann 1969:90).

3.3.4 Crime-focused model

Crime-focused policing encompasses concepts such as the 'broken window' theory and the zero-tolerance approach. The basic tenet of this approach is that the police should direct the resources on combating crime and also to target its perpetrators. The premise of this approach is that disorderly behavior creates an impression that the habitat is no longer safe and this encourages responsible citizens to leave the area. As more responsible law-abiding citizens move away, they leave with them the cohesion that was keeping the social and moral fabric together. The consequence is that the area then becomes a haven for even more serious crime. Wilson and Kelling quoted in Burger (2007:56) assert that the violent crime flourishes in areas where the petty crime is not dealt with effectively.

The broken-window theory suggest therefore that in order to eliminate or reduce crime in an area, the law must be enforced even on minor offences, however, not through arrests but through active mobilization of the community. According to this approach, arrests must be used only as a last resort. On the contrary, the zero-tolerance approach, which also purports that petty crime leads to serious crimes if unchecked, provides that the full might of the law must be applied to combat disorder and other less serious offences so that the criminals can be 'prevented from believing that they are in control, and that a broken window of neglect and decay must be prevented from becoming a breeding ground for crime and disorder' (Dennis quoted in Burger 2007:56).

3.4 A brief history of the South African Police, the early years from 1652 to 1806

3.4.1 The early days

Only a few months after the arrival of Governor-General Jan van Riebeeck in the Cape in 1652, the settlers began to experience intolerable levels of crimes, mainly theft and vandalism (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:2). The Governor-General then established a corps led by a sergeant from volunteer burgers and the freemen. The unit's main function was to provide 'security against marauding Hottentots' (Hattersley 1960:9).

3.4.1.1 The first police official

Jan van Riebeeck replaced the corps of volunteers (when) by appointing a *gewildeger* to deal with and respond to the rising crime levels in the Dutch settlement (Brewer 1994:42; De Witt Diepenaar 1988:2). The common offences that the *gewildeger* had to deal with were drunkenness and theft of livestock. In 1658 the *gewildeger* had to investigate the first serious crime since it was inception, which was the murder of Mr. Dirck Vreem who was stabbed by his carpenter friend, Mr. Pieter Cleij. Apparently, the culprit was never brought to book as he hid along the coast line and jumped into one of the passing ships and sailed back to Europe as a stow-away (Hattersley 1960:9).

A few years later the Governor appointed the first formal police structure known as the Fiscal whose main duty was to look after the properties of the Dutch East India Company. The duties of the Fiscal were judicial; however, the members were given policing powers and were recruited mainly from retired soldiers and sailors (Hattersley 1960:14; Brewer 1994:42). Apparently, the members of the Fiscal were armed with swords and cutlasses, and their policing methods were extremely harsh and atrocious. Their behaviour became obviously despicable and 'befitting a bunch of rogues' and thus they were disbanded (de Witt Diepenaar 1988:3; Hattersley 1960:15).

3.4.1.2 Improvements in the police structure

A new police force referred to as the *Ratelwag* (Rattle watch) was established in 1686, and its main function was to prevent crime. The members of the *Ratelwag* also acted as information officers to the new settler community (De Witt Diepenaar 1980:4). According to the police historian, De Witt Diepenaar (1988:2), in 1792, the *Ratelwag* was then reconstituted into two separate policing units in 1792, the *Nagwag* (night watch) and the *Dienaars* (law officers).

The *Dienaars* responsibilities were also to prevent crime but they also had an added responsibility to arrest and detain people who desert from the army or the passing ships. They worked from sunrise until nine o'clock at night whereupon the *Nagwag* took charge (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:4).

3.4.2 Policing in the British Colonies

3.4.2.1 Policing in the Cape colony

Following the British annexation of the Cape colony in 1806, the two policing units, *Nagwag* and the *Dienaars*, were replaced in 1835 by the Cape Constabulary that was 'founded on the principles of the London Metropolitan Police' (Brewer 1994:15). During this time there were already rural policing units in the outskirts of the Cape metropolis whose main role was to protect the settlers against attacks from the native populations. All these rural units were later united into a single police unit referred to as the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police (FAMP). The FAMP was successful mainly in prevention of stock theft and came out victorious in many of the small-scale skirmishes with the black population in the surrounding areas.

The FAMP was later 'reorganized and absorbed into' the Cape Mounted Riflemen in 1878 (Brewer 1994:17). This force then became responsible for policing in the rural areas and also for external defense, mainly from the opposition from the black population. The name was changed again in 1882 to Cape Mounted Police. Finally in 1904 the unit was called the Cape Police (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:5).

3.4.2.2 Policing in the Natal colony

The Natal Mounted Police, the first police agency in the British colony of Natal, was established in 1884 (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:7). However, Brewer (1994:17) writes that the unit was established in 1874. For the same reasons that the Cape rural unit, FAMP was established, the Natal Mounted Police was established 'to control a population of tribesmen scattered over a mountainous territory and in possession of almost inaccessible locations' (Hattersley 1960:154). The Natal Mounted Police was apparently excellent in 'suppression of disorder and patrolling remote areas for the suppression of stock thefts', however, they were not a regular policing unit that was capable to conduct regular policing functions such as investigation of crime (Hattersley 1960:154).

According to various commentators, the police agencies in the British colonies were 'responsible for continuing the conquest and subjugation of the black population' through brutal force (Cawthra 1993:8; Brewer 1994:16). The force in Natal was engaged in regular wars with the Zulu population and participated in the *Battle of Isandhlwana* and also vehemently protected the Rorke's drift. The British colonists also established a paramilitary unit that was constituted mainly of Zulu men and officered by a British soldier, the Zululand Mounted Police. The officers in this unit also participated in the *Battle of Isadhlwana*, 'against their kinsmen' (Brewer 1994:22).

However, it was also in Natal where the earliest municipal police was established, the Durban City Police (DCP), which was founded in 1854. The DCP was based on the British policing model of 'bobby on the beat' (Shaw 1996:42; Cawthra 1993:8). The primary function of the Durban Police was to enforce city by-laws, to patrol the city centre and the beachfront.

By and large, the forces that were operating in the rural areas in the British colonies were modeled on the Royal Irish Constabulary. They were largely paramilitary, they maintained military discipline and conduct, resided out of the areas that they were policing, imposed colonial culture and norms on the local population, and were poised to quash any form of resistance or 'simply showed a colonial presence' (Brewer 1994:17)

3.4.3 Policing in the Boer Republics

3.4.3.1 A two-tier approach in the Boer Republics

In the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Oranje-Vrystaat there were also policing units, namely, the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek Politie* (ZARP) (South African Republic Police) founded in 1881 and the *Oranje Vrystaat Republiekeinsche Politie* (OVRP) established in 1862, respectively (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:5). The ZARP was also responsible for policing the border areas of Swaziland, a function that was carried out earlier by the Swaziland Border Police.

When the Anglo-Boer war broke out in 1899 these units participated in the war effort, although they maintained their separate identities and command structures. The police agencies in the Boer republics were 'extensions of the military commandos' and were regularly engaged in battles with the black tribes in those areas (Cawthra 1993:8).

De Witt Diepenaar writes that the two police units were disbanded shortly before the end of the war and then a number of smaller units were established in both provinces (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:6). Brewer (1994:28), however, argues that the British annexation of the Boer republics led to the dissolution of the two police units in those provinces. These two units in the Boer republics were then replaced in 1900 by a new force called the South African Constabulary under the command of Major-General Baden Powell. The new unit was formed by direction of the Lord Milner, the Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (Godley 1935:82).

3.4.3.2 Attempt to centralization of the police forces in Boer Republics

The duties of the South African Constabulary were ‘those of a permanent garrison for the annexed territories as well as to take over the responsibility of policing the rural areas of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Brewer 1994:28; Godley 1935:82). According to the Notes and Instruction For the South African Constabulary authored by its first Inspector General of the Constabulary, Major-General Baden-Powell, the duties of this new frontier force were, ‘in times of peace, to act as the police for the maintenance of law and order in the Orange River Colony and Transvaal; and in times of war, to act as a military force wherever its services may be required in South Africa’ (Baden-Powell 1900:9). At its birth the Constabulary had a strength of 10 000 mounted officers (Godley 1935:82). The South African Constabulary was disbanded in 1908.

Two new forces were established in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, namely, the Transvaal Police and Orange River Colony Police (Brewer 1994; De Witt Diepenaar 1988:6). These units replaced all the other units in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, respectively, and were responsible for policing in both the rural and the urban areas (Brewer 1994: 28).

3.5 Towards a single national police force in the Union of South Africa

3.5.1 Background

General Hennie de Witt, the Commissioner of the South African Police in 1988, asserted in the Commemorative Album of the 75th Anniversary of the South African Police that,

‘to page through the history of South African Police is to page through the history of South Africa. From its small beginnings in 1913, the weal and woe of the South African Police has been an accurate mirror of the destiny, the progress, and the reverses of South Africa’ (1988:xi).

De Witt Diepenaar (1988:6) writes that after the formation of the Union South Africa in 1910, a multitude of police agencies were formed in the various provinces in terms of proclamations and acts. However, the Union Government sought already to create a single police force for the country and without haste appointed Theodorus Gustaff Truter as Chief Accounting Officer and Chief Commissioner of the envisaged centralized police force of the Union (Brewer 1994:32; Godley 1935:108). Truter was also simultaneously appointed Commissioner of the Transvaal Police following the resignation of the Commissioner of Transvaal, Burn-Beggs. The new commissioner, a former magistrate from Standerton, was accorded the rank of Colonel and he immediately worked on a plan to centralize the command of the forces (Brewer 1994:32).

The Governor-General signed the Police Act 1912, Act 14 of 1912 on the 13 of June. In the proclamation 18 of 1913 it was indicated that the new national police force shall come into existence on the 1st of April 1913 and shall be called the ‘Zuid Afrikaansche Politie’ (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:8). The new South African Police (SAP) had initial numerical strength of 5938 members (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:12). The new police force, however, retained its colonial character and militaristic traditions (Marks 2005:33; Cawthra 1993:8).

A separate national police service, the South African Mounted Riflemen (SAMR) was established in 1912 by promulgation in the Defence Act of 1912 and took over the responsibility to patrol and police the rural and outskirts areas, including the black areas in the entire country (Cawthra 1993:8; Brewer 1994:38). The SAMR had five regiments throughout the country and it was also intended that in times of war it should be ‘used for military purposes, but in times of peace they were used exclusively for police duties’ in Black areas. The SAMR operated very close with the new Union Defence force and was mobilized

for active duty in South West Africa during the First World War. In 1920 the SAMR was disbanded and most of its members were given a choice to join either the SAP or the Union Defence Force (Godley 1935:108; Brewer 1994:40; Cawthra 1993: 8).

3.5.2 Recruitment into the new SAP

When the new national force was established, the criteria for enlisting were of a high standard such that most of the applicants were unable to meet both physical and educational requirements. Thus, the only reliable reservoir for recruitment into SAP was the British armed forces, thus active and retired members of these armed forces in any of the colonies joined the new SAP in droves (De Witt Diepenaar 1988:14; Cawthra 1993:9).

However, Godley (1935:109), who was an active police officer and soldier at the time, observed that the soldiers were absorbed into the police service because the ‘authorities apparently considered that anyone [soldier] could make a policeman, with the result that we had many “square pegs in round holes”, and the general type of recruit proved very far from satisfactory’.

In the 1920s the poor white Afrikaners joined the force in larger numbers especially at the lower ranks (Cawthra 1993:9). Tension over language and other cultural issues arose primarily because the commanding officers in the new SAP were of British extractions whereas the junior officers were Afrikaners. The ratio of English-speaking declined over the years because most young English speaking men chose to work in the blooming private sector which was fuelled by rapid growth in the mine industry. By 1977, enlistment of English-speaking white recruits declined to 12% of the annual intake of police cadets (Brewer 1993:240).

With the institutionalization of grand apartheid and the creation of Bantustans, there was a need to increase the number of police officials because of the huge burden of administering the segregation laws. Among the initiatives that the government implemented in order to swell the ranks, was the amendment of regulations which barred retired police officer from re-enlisting and instead enticed them to rejoin the police force. The government also made provision to accommodate into the police force white people from other colonized countries with police experience (Brewer 1993:240). The government also allowed conscripts who did

not want to do their national service in the South African Defence Force to serve in the South African Police for double the period they could have served in the former.

In 1960 the requirement for entry into the police was raised to standard eight. At the time the intake of white staff was almost 'entirely from the Afrikaans community' (Brewer 1993:240). The industrialization also affected the recruitment of Afrikaans speaking cadets in that those that ultimately joined were poorer, less educated and largely from the rural areas.

Black people were brought into the police service only as auxiliaries and could only rise up to the level of sergeant. However, there were units that were staffed only by black people but they were commanded by a white police official. The first police station to be wholly managed by Africans was established in Zwelitsha in 1951. The number of such stations rose steadily, and by 1968 37 such stations were created. Changes to rank structure for black people were slowly brought in and in 1961 the rank of chief sergeant was introduced and thereafter in 1972 black could rise up to the rank of lieutenant (Brewer 1994:232). The percentage of black people in the SAP rose steadily from 37% in 1927 to 46% in 1952.

Women were initially only allowed to hold clerical positions within the police force, and it was only in 1972 that the women could join the South African Police as police officials. The women recruits underwent the same training as men, including training on the handling of weapons and drills. The number of women in the police force rose rapidly and by 1985 there almost 2750 women in the South African Police service, mostly were Afrikaans-speaking (Brewer 1994:241).

3.5.3 Militarization of the South African Police

3.5.3.1 Apartheid years

The National party took over in 1948 and immediately began to implement the Grand Apartheid plan which was intended to maintain white domination by enforcing segregation of racial groups. To achieve this gigantic task, the regime had to rely on a security apparatus that would enforce these racial laws, most of which placed extensive administrative burdens and resources utilization on the police. It was inevitable, therefore, that the police in South Africa came to represent the face of Apartheid. Authors (Brogden and Shearing 1993; Cawthra 1993; Grundy 1988; Marks 2005) observe that the history of the police in South Africa is intrinsically linked to the history of repression, strife and transformation of the society as a

whole. From its inception the police force primary role was to implement repressive laws and that turned them, in the eyes of the black population, into symbols of oppression and later Apartheid.

From the mid-1950's opposition to the apartheid system gained momentum culminating in mass protests and low-level insurrection in the early 1960s. However, the state arrested many of the leaders of the liberation movements at the time and many were given long-term prison sentences. Thus, in the decade that followed, the 'black politics became quiescent, relying on external movements' (Brewer 1994:241). These armed forces operated from exile and made many attempts to infiltrate the country. The police geared themselves even more resolutely to respond to such insurrection with more lethal force.

3.5.3.2 The Security Branch of the Police service

The Security Branch was created to gather, analyze and disseminate intelligence on the activities of the liberation movements as well as on anti-apartheid activities and opposition. In 1963 the Security Branch was reorganized and Colonel Hendrik van den Bergh was appointed as its commander (Sanders 2006:34). As early as 1964 the Security Branch began to train police officers in various aspects of internal security and within a year 5000 police officials had received the training (Brewer 1994:254)

3.5.3.3 Role of the police in Counter-insurgency

In the 1960s the South African police became involved in counter-insurgency operations whereby ordinary police officers were conscripted to perform military duties in the neighbouring countries in order to crack down on the members of the exiled opposition forces or liberation movements. In 1966 members of the South Africa police force were dispatched to the former South West Africa for paramilitary duties, and in the following year they began operations in Rhodesia (Cawthra 1993:17).

The cooperation between the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the South African Police increased during this time as a consequence of securitization of the government in line with its 'total strategy' approach. There were joint operations, even in the townships, between the police and the members of the SADF, and through the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), the intelligence between the two was streamlined. The cooperation between the two contributed greatly towards the militarization of the South African police (Brewer 1994:255).

The South African Police started to train its own members for counter-insurgency operations in 1968, and released some of its members to fight on the side of the Rhodesian army. Because of the pressure to increase the pool of skilled police officials to clamp down on terrorism, the training on anti-terrorism was opened to any police officer and many applied took up the challenge. Apparently the anti-terrorism course became the most popular in-service training within the SAP (Brewer 1994:255). The police officers who received this intensive military counter-insurgency training were then dispatched for periods of about three months in a year to patrol the borders (Eloff 2006:56 (in Rauch and Van der Spuy editors)).

The experience of the police officers who served in the neighbouring countries is best accounted for by a former police operative Captain Eugene de Kock, who is currently serving double life sentences for murders he committed during the apartheid era while serving as a commander of the C1 section of the Security Branch of the police. De Kock recounts that he was called up for his counter-insurgency training in 1968, and by the end of the year he was posted for duty in Victoria Falls in Rhodesia. Between 1968 and 1975, he completed an overall of nine tours of duty in Rhodesia (De Kock 1998: 58).

3.5.3.4 Personal account by a police officer

However, it was in the then South West Africa (now Namibia) where he honed his counter-insurgency skills. He was seconded to Namibia to assist with the implementation of ‘Operasie Koevoet’ in 1979. Koevoet was involved in many skirmishes with fighters and supporters of the South West African Peoples’ Organization (SWAPO). De Kock reports that by the time left Namibia in 1983 his unit had killed close to 400 SWAPO fighters and supporters (De Kock 1998:82).

Eugene de Kock writes that the experience of continuous participation in the bush wars in former Rhodesia and South West Africa turned police men into killing machines. Sanders (2006:203) referring to de Kock’s posting in Koevoet, writes that ‘Koevoet was the perfect training ground for a future commander of a South African death squad: life in Ovamboland and across the border in Angola was cheap’. However, a number of the police official who did the counter-insurgency duties came back home suffering from battle-fatigue or ‘bush – exhaustion’ or *bosbefok* in Afrikaans, a condition that disoriented them from normal life activities (De Kock 1998:86)

Eugene de Kock, was reassigned to do duties in South Africa in 1984. On his return to the country, he was assigned to the Security Branch and given the command of unit C1 which was operating from a farm known as Vakplaas in Pretoria. This unit was a sub-unit of the C section which had overall responsibility and command over intelligence gathering, counter-insurgency and operations specifically on the African National Congress (ANC) (De Kock 1993:95).

3.5.3.5 Expose of police violence

An inmate awaiting death sentence, Mr. Almond Nofomela, was the first to expose the activities that were carried out in the farm as a 'killing farm of political activists' (Sanders 2006:198). Nofomela's confession about the 'killing farm' was later corroborated by Captain Dirk Coetzee, a former commander of the unit. The macabre operations of Vlaakplaas and Unit C1 were later revealed by the various Commissions of Enquiry, the Harms and the Goldstone Commissions.

Before commanding Vlakplaas, Dirk Coetzee also served in Rhodesia as a dog-handler and spent some time assisting the Rhodesian Special Branch to bury the bodies of slain opposition fighters. He was later posted to work along the Swaziland border and headed a number of missions into that country to capture or kill opposition fighters. Following his tour of counter-insurgency duties he was instructed in 1979 to establish C1 Unit which was to operate from Vlaakplaas, primarily as a base for re-training of captured fighters of the liberation movements (Sanders 2006:199).

3.5.3.6 Political violence and the role of the police

By the 1980's most parts of the country were affected by political uprising and violence. The political violence reached its peak towards late 1980s and into early 1990s. This experience of the police in the bush wars in the neighbouring countries was used to police the political violence in the townships in the 1980s and 1990s. The state response to the uprisings was equally vicious, and the state resources that were allocated for policing of ordinary crime were shifted to curbing of opposition.

Accordingly, the police force became increasingly a 'militarized agency' in that the police who were entering politically charged townships were heavily armed. The policing approach

during the periods of heightened political conflict resembled the colonial approach in that the police came in to the areas more like a 'fire force' that was intended to eliminate the enemy (Shaw 2002:12).

The paramilitary activities and actions of the police were lauded and promoted by both senior officers and political leaders of the ruling party at the time. De Kock (1998:95) sums up the activities and militarization of the police as follows:

'During my time at Vlakplaas, a significant number of people were killed by the members of C1. Many more people were also killed by Inkatha with weaponry supplied by C1. This death and destruction was nothing but state-sanctioned violence'.

It was the application of these counter-insurgency activities onto the township residents that created a further cleft between the majority of the black population and the police in the country.

3.5.3.7 Bantustandisation and policing

The apartheid policy of separate development or Bantustandisation resulted in the creation of police forces in the different self-governing territories and homelands. The police in these Bantustan were in most cases headed by a retired white SAP official and very often with experience of and links with the Security Branch. The police officers in these areas operated very much along para-military lines and received all of their training from the SAP. They played a large role in identifying political activists and to quash any form of resistance in their territories.

Brewer (1994:230) asserts that the police of separate development 'led to a reinvention of the old SAP-SAMR split, with the latter's role being taken over by the homeland police'. The creation of the police in these homelands boasted, in way, the strength of the police in that the SAP could focus on the problematic urban areas and the launch its members in the neighbouring countries while the Bantustan police keep the law and order in the periphery.

3.5.3.7 Creation of Special Units

Apart from establishing the SAP and the SAMR to do policing duties, the Union government created the South African Railway and Harbours Police (SARHP) in 1916. The SARHP was conferred the same powers as the SAP when they conduct their duties within the railways and harbours. This police unit was absorbed into the SAP in 1986. The SAP created a number of specialized units, beginning with the Criminal Investigation Division (CID) in 1913, the Counter-Insurgency Units (COIN) in the 19060s, the Security Branch in 1960s, the Firearms Unit in 1973, the South African Bureau of Narcotics in 1974 and the Riot Control and Stability Units in the 1970s (Brewer 1994). Many other sub-units were created at station level, including the murder and robbery squads, dog units, equestrian units and missing persons units.

3.6 Transformation of the South African police: 1990 and beyond

3.6.1 A new dawn for policing

The unbanning of the ANC and other political parties in 1990 ushered in a new era in South African politics and had a major impact on policing (Shaw 2002:22). Primary concern to most parties was the transformation of the security services, and specifically the reform of the police. President FW de Klerk set the context within which the police must operate in the anticipated during the transitional period and in the anticipated new dispensation. De Klerk, leader of the National Party, made the following declaration in January 1990:

“We want to take the police out of the political arena. We don’t want to use you any more as instruments to reach certain political goals. We as politicians must take full responsibility for politics...This are the direction we are taking and I want you to make peace with this new line” (quoted in Haysom undated: 4)

The position of the African National Congress on the transformation of the police is articulated in a document titled “Policing the transition: transforming the police” (Haysom undated). The African National Congress proposed in this policy statement that the new police service should be created on principles such as, impartiality, professionalism, non-racism, respect for human dignity, fair distribution of resources, accountability to internal and external bodies and representivity (Haysom undated:2).

3.6.2 Legislative framework for police reform

Following the unbanning of the liberation movements various negotiation processes were initiated, and the one which had profound effect on policing was the National Peace Accord which was signed by 23 political parties. Chapter 3 of the National Peace stipulates principles for police and policing in the transitional period and beyond. Some of the principles referred to are very similar to those proposed by the individual political parties, and including the following as listed by Hough and du Plessis (quoted in Burger 2007:70):

- 1) The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa.
- 2) The police shall prevent crime.
- 3) The police are accountable to the community.
- 4) The police shall expect a higher standard of conduct from its members.
- 5) The police shall exercise restraint and shall use minimum force.

These core principles were enshrined in the Interim Constitution of 1993. In 1994 the Minister of Safety of Security published the Green Paper on Safety and Security which also embraced more or less the same principles. The policing principles were then enacted in the Constitution of 1996 and the Police Services Act.

3.6.3 Imperatives of reform

Wietzer and Tuch (2004:397) argue that the police reforms in a democratizing state should focus on racial diversification of the police, accountability, and sensitive policing.

The African National Congress proposed in the policy document that the police reform process must include the following elements, namely: demilitarization and promotion of a visible and service-oriented police; correcting racial inequalities in the police; training of the police on community skills rather than military tactics; rationalization of the structures in order to remove duplications caused by separate developments and over-specialization (Haysom undated:9).

3.6.4 Implementing the police reform

3.6.4.1 Rationalization

The rationalization and amalgamation forces began in earnest in 1994. The South African Police and 10 other Bantustan forces and members of the non-statutory forces were amalgamated into a single national police service. The strength of the new service in 1994

was 140 686 members. The process of amalgamation was managed by the Amalgamation Management Team (AMT) which was co-chaired by a senior police official and a civilian member appointed by the Minister (Rauch and van der Spuy 2006:24). The most notable success of the rationalization process was with the integration of the South African Police's Internal Stability Units with the Riot Control Units of the homelands into the Public Order Police Unit (Omar 2006:30)

3.6.4.2 Accountability

The South African Police Services Act, 1995 provided for the establishment of the Secretariats for Safety and Security and the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). The National Secretariat and that the provincial secretariats for safety and security were established in and around 1995, the latter being created in the offices of the Members of the Executive Council (MEC) responsible for policing in the provinces. The ICD was established later in April 1997 and was headed a former human rights lawyer. Bruce (2007:17) observes that 'the SAPS has a consistently good record in complying with the accountability requirements imposed by government, and in subjecting itself to the authority of the courts'.

3.6.4.3 Demilitarization of the police force

The demilitarization of the police force in South Africa had two aspects, namely, the removal of all military practices and symbols in the service and the re-orientation of service from 'colonial' type to community-focused approach. The demilitarization process included the changing of names of ranks from military to civilian ranks; the changing of weapons (from automatic sub-machine guns to hand-guns); phasing out of military-type Casspirs; and changes to the basic training of police recruits – de-emphasizing military tactics and emphasizing community-oriented skills (Rauch and Van der Spuy 2007:30).

3.6.4.4 Community-oriented policing

The South African Police Service Act provides for the establishment of community-police forums at all police stations. These structures provides for a formal interaction between the police and the community in that area. The act provides that the CPF shall assist to identify priority crime areas and also participate in the allocation policing resources. In most of the areas the CPFs were established and functioned effectively (The White Paper on Safety and Security 1998:35). However, the election of the executive members and to some extent the functioning was politicized in some areas.

The management embraced community policing as a driving philosophy for policing in the country, and a course on the subject was offered during basic training. Most stations appointed a community-police relations officer to facilitate the interaction of the police and the community. A manual on Community Policing was published and workshops were held at various centres for in-service training of the police. The police renamed the charge offices to community-service centres to reflect the change in orientation. The outcome of this process was that the legitimacy was steadily increasing and the trust between the police and the community was also increasing.

However, the community-oriented policing was dampened by the urgency of the police to reduce the levels of crime and the focus change to 'old-style' crime combating tactics. The police adopted the National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS) whose core essence is the mobilization of large contingents of officers and move them into a 'crime-infested' area to plug out criminals. This approach proved a re-sounding failure in many respects, for instance, that the mass-invasion of the police in one area simply displaces crime to other areas, and secondly that crime is sophisticated and most of it happens behind closed doors, thus patrolling the street does not impact on this form of crimes.

3.6.4.4 Affirmative Action

Following the amalgamation of the forces, the new SAPS sought to address equity challenges in the service. The majority of police officials in the middle and senior ranks were white and most of the specialized units, such as the Bomb squad and Equestrian and Dog Units in the service were entirely occupied by white people. The Affirmative Action (AA) Policy was passed towards the end of 1997. However, the appointment of black officials to senior positions predated the AA Policy; these include the appointment of 2 black provincial commissioners in 1995. The SAPS implemented a programme referred to as Representivity and an Equal Opportunity Programme (REOP) while a formal AA policy was drafted (Eloff in Rauch and Van der Spuy 2006:53).

In 1995, Blacks (Africans, Coloured and Indians) occupied 25% of senior ranks and White people 75%, and then at junior ranks the proportion was almost the opposite, with Blacks comprising 66% and Whites 34% (Rauch and Van der Spuy). The target for the AA policy was that the SAPS shall strive to obtain a 50% representation of black people at middle and

senior management level by the year 2000. SAPS implement initiatives which were aimed at boosting the representivity of blacks at management level, and these included a strategy to attract black people from outside the SAPS through the lateral entrance program. The other initiative was called the Fast Track Promotion Project and through this initiative, 219 black constables were promoted to the ranks of sergeant and inspector in Soweto (Masiloane 2001:67).

3.6.5 Reflection on reforms

The reform processes in the police service, measured against the principles set out by the political parties and later provided for in the legal and policy framework were relatively successful. Bayley writes that in comparison with the reform processes in East European countries, “South Africa is generally considered a heartening success” (quoted in David Bruce 2007:15). However, one area where the reform process seems to have failed is what Bayley (in Bruce 2007) refers to as the ‘critical caveat’ for the imperatives of reform, that is, the inability of the police to tackle crime in the society. In South Africa crime levels are very high and thus far the police have been unable to make a serious impact in this regard. The other concerning factor is the high levels of corruption and involvement of police officials in criminal activities.

The other area where the police failed to transform is with respect to the implementation of the community policing philosophy. The SAPS created community-police forums in most of the 1120 police stations in the country, but these structures failed to function as prescribed by the South African Police Services act primarily because the police saw this as an appendage of the station rather than as a body that fosters partnership and consultation between the police and the community.

3.7 The East European Experience on police reform

3.7.1 The end of the Cold War

The end of the cold war in the late 1980’s and the democratization of the Eastern European countries and former Soviet states unleashed a universal movement for societal change everywhere else in the world. The Eastern European countries were under Soviet authoritarian rule from just after the Second World War up to the late 1980’s. Undoubtedly the police reform process in the Eastern block was linked to the democratization process in

that region. Poland was the first country in the Eastern bloc to be free from Soviet Union egalitarianism, and unleashed almost a domino effect. In quick succession, country after another gained independence, amid some resistance from Communist elite in those countries and Soviet sympathizers.

3.7.2 Policing under an authoritarian regime

In communist countries the function of the police was to secure the functioning of the state. The police in these countries were charged with a wide range of administrative duties. In Czechoslovakia they were responsible to register citizens and to issue identity cards (Mawby 2000:22; Dimovne in Caparini and Marenin 2004). The state security police had enormous powers and the uniformed police were usually subordinate to them. The multi-role of the police in ensuring the communist state resulted in a situation where the 'borderline between public security policing, political policing and secret services became blurred' (Dimovne in Caparini and Marenin 2004).

The main legacy, however, of the Communist rule in Eastern Europe is that there remained a fine line between the military and the police. For instance, in German Democratic Republic, the ranks of the secret police were similar to those of the military and that some of the police units, like the military, stayed in the barracks. In Hungary the police officers had military status and in Romania the Ministry that the police was accountable to was a military entity (Macovei 2000:108)

3.7.3 Imperatives for democratizing the police

In countries that are democratizing, the premise for prioritizing police reform is that the citizenry, many of whom have fresh memories and wounds from the past regime, believe that the police - as the instrument of oppression - must be changed. The conduct of the police during this period critically determines the 'character of the new government', and their actions have an influence on the public's perception of the government. The conduct of the police at this critical juncture also impacts on the public's trust in the legitimacy and ultimate success of the very processes of democratizing the country (Bayley 2006:17).

It becomes self-evident that the democratization of the police is an essential ingredient for a democratic society. A democratic state and a democratic police service exist in a symbiotic relationship. Caparini and Marenin (2004:4) concludes that 'without a supporting democratic

context – a culture of tolerance and trust, supporting legal framework and system of functioning criminal justice institutions – democratic police cannot be created’.

In 1996 the Commission on Policing Structures of the United Nation’s International Police Task Force was mandated to assist the Bosnia-Herzegovina with police reforms in that region. The Commission set out seven basic principles of policing a democracy, and these have become the hallmark for standard behaviour and conduct for the police in a democracy (Stone and Ward 2000:14). These principles are similar to what Bayley (2006:22) describes as the imperatives for institutional reforms for the police.

The principles are that; 1) the police must be accountable to the law rather to government; 2) the police must protect human rights; 3) the police must be accountable to people outside their organization; 4) the police must give top operational priority to servicing the needs of the individual citizens and private group. In addition to these common principles, Bayley include what he refers to as a ‘critical caveat’ for a democratic police. He names this caveat as ‘the capacity to control crime and disorder’ (Bayley 2006:22).

3.7.3.1 Police Accountability

However, the principles that really set apart policing in a democracy and policing under authoritarian rule are that the police must be accountable to the public that they serve, and also that the police must be responsive to the needs of the community. These principles are commonly known as police accountability and police responsiveness. The Commission on Policing Structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina defines the role of the police in democracy as follows:

‘A democratic police force is not concerned with people’s beliefs or associates, their movements or conformity to state ideology. It is not even primarily concerned with the enforcement of regulations or bureaucratic regimens. Instead, the police force of a democracy is concerned strictly with the preservation of safe communities and the application of criminal law equally to all people, without fear or favour’ quoted in Stone and Ward (2000:14).

The police are held accountable primarily because they are powerful (Caparini and Marenin 2000:5). They are held accountable for ensuring public safety and also for their action and conduct. The police are expected to account to three levels of control, namely, 1) to the

department or internally; 2) they must account to the state or government control; 3) and, they must account to the social control or control by civil society.

The process of holding police accountable is sometime referred to as de-mystification of policing. The assumption is that in authoritarian regimes police operate under a veil of secrecy and their actions are mystified. However, as the police are held accountable, the veil that covers its operations is removed and all the mysticism disappears.

3.7.4 Programs essential for reform

Bayley (2006:51) states that there are five important steps that countries that are implementing police reforms must follow. Firstly, there must be a concerted effort to articulate and adopt a legal basis for the establishment of the new police service. Usually, conditions allow this as police reforms occur against the backdrop of broader political changes. Secondly, the reforms must take place within a set of agreed rules and that the parameters for such reforms must be clearly articulated upfront. Thirdly, the enabling law must provide for the establishment of external accountability structures for the police. Fourthly, it is also suggested that the new police force must be staffed with people who are willing to change the mind-set and also that the senior managers in the police must be capacitated to manage the reform process. Lastly, the new police force must also focus on crime-prevention as its main strategy.

An assessment of the progress by the South African Police Service to implement the reforms suggest that much has been achieved in this regards, especially with respect to the creation of an enabling legislation and the rules as well as parameters. The SAPS has successfully amalgamated the various forces and has, to a great extent, achieved the affirmative action targets. The police service was also able to significantly de-militarize and, was able to gain some level of legitimacy within the communities that they serve. However, there are two areas in which the police are struggling to perform in respect of the reform processes. Firstly, the police failed to fully implement the community-policing philosophy as the guiding principle as provided for in the legislation. In this regard, the police also failed or resisted to implement accountability mechanisms such as, the civilian Secretariats for Safety and Security.

Secondly, the police were unable to curb the tide of rising crime levels. To this end, the police implemented various crime-combating initiatives which failed to reduce crime. The crime combating approaches were 'colonial' in nature in that large groups of police officers from outside a targeted area were deployed in that area to conduct house-to-house searches and also to erect roadblocks. Many crime combating operations were conducted in areas such as, Hillbrow in Johannesburg and Sunnyside in Pretoria.

3.8 Conclusion

3.8.1 Dual - approach

In this chapter the history of the police from the colonial era to end of the millennium was discussed. The three policing approaches were briefly discussed to provide a benchmark to compare the various styles that the police in South Africa applied at various times in history. It was indicated that since its inception, policing in South Africa has undergone a number of structural changes and that, at various points attempts were made to change the policing approach. It was shown that there were two dominant approaches to policing. Grundy (1988:8) best describes the approaches as follows:

‘the armed forces[police and military] in South Africa for years displayed a multiple split personality. They were very much the product of a dual heritage. First, they were an outgrowth of the British imperial tradition of a standing professional force. Second, South Africa grafted onto the regular vestiges of the commando model employed earlier by the Afrikaner or Boers, especially as they defended the frontiers, organized raiding parties against indigenous black people and their property, and as they resisted British expansionist efforts to seize the subcontinent’.

The South African Police, argues Brewer (1994:230), wanted to portray itself as a civil police force and to a large extent acted in this way when it was policing the white communities and occasionally towards blacks. In general, the police attitudes and actions towards blacks were in most instances very 'colonial'. It was indicated that even before the Union of South Africa, the Boer republics and the British colonies had the dual policing approaches, the 'community-oriented' approach that was used to police in the white areas and the 'colonial or frontier-type' that was applied in the black areas.

3.8.2 Nationalization of policing

The Union government continued the dual-approach and applied it on a grand scale with the establishment of two national police forces, the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Mounted Riflemen (SAMR), and the former was to operate along the metropolitan model whereas the latter was specifically created to apply the colonial or frontier approach. SAMR was disbanded in 1920 and the SAP took up on its duties. Accordingly, at the early age the SAP had to institutionalize the colonial approach while purporting to operate as a civil force. This approach is what Grundy refers to as the split personality. In the words of a police officer-soldier, Godley (1935:109) paradoxically stated: ‘the majority of policemen can, in a very short period, be turned into quite useful soldiers’.

3.8.3 Policing in the apartheid state

The creation of the apartheid state demanded of the police to play more administrative roles and also to police race-relations. With resistance against apartheid gaining momentum and becoming more violent, the police responded with more violent tactics and thereby became increasingly militarized. In the 1960s, faced with the threat of insurrection, the police established counter-insurgency units (COIN), and these were essentially para-military units. A large number of police officers were sent to do border duties and also went on tour of duties in neighbouring countries to fight alongside the armed forces of those countries against the liberation movements or to attack the exiled soldiers of the South African liberation movements (De Witt Diepenaar 1987).

The police used the very tactics that they use in the bushes inside the country in order to quell down resistance in the 1980s. Police officers with bush experience, such as Eugene de Kock and Dirk Coetzee, were given responsibility to establish units inside the country to continue the fight against the members of the liberation movement who might have infiltrated the country or their supporters. The situation in the 1980s up to 1994 was described by many as a ‘low-scale civil war’. It is estimated that close to 20 000 people died as a result of political violence between 1986 and 1994.

3.8.4 Imperative of police reform and challenges

With the dawn of democracy in 1990 police had to change and adapt to the new environment. Several reform processes were engaged upon. Key among these include 1) the creation of a legal framework for police reforms 2) structural and organizational changes 3)

demilitarization and de-politicization 4) de-mystification 5) professionalization. The South African Police Service achieved in most of the criteria that were set for the reform process. However, the greatest challenge with the reform process for the South African police is what Bayley referred to as the 'caveat', that is the capacity to fight crime and maintain order.

Crime in this country remains high and all efforts for reforms will not mean much for as long as they do not impact on the levels of crime. In the 1990s the police implemented a crime combating initiatives which were characterized by the deployment of large numbers of Public Order Police Units to high crime areas in order to, among other things, conduct house-to-house searches and erect roadblocks at regular intervals. In Gauteng these initiatives were referred to as High-Density Operations and later as Crime-Combating Operations. This approach yielded very little success to reduce the levels of crime in the urban areas.

3.8.5 Lessons from East Europe

There are common features between the experience of the East European countries and South Africa with respect to the police reform experiment. Among the features are that: 1) the countries share an authoritarian past; 2) the police force was politicized and militarized; 3) the police reform processes took place simultaneously with the democratization of the society in general 4) the countries experienced higher levels of crime during and after the rising crime levels; 5) most these countries transitions to democracy went relatively peacefully; 6) overwhelming majority of the police officials who served in the past regimes stayed on.

3.8.6 The relationship between police reforms and police cynicism

Given the history of the constant structural changes of the police in South Africa and their role in ensuring and defending the existence of colonial and then an authoritarian rule, it is important therefore to seek an understanding as to how will they then view and relate to the changes that seek to change their core values. How will this history impact on their current conduct, behaviour and attitude towards the police organization and the public that they serve? In a sense, how is this history affecting or impacting on their levels of cynicism?

The changes that were initiated in 1990 created conditions of anomie by advocating new set of values that was clashing with the old. The police organization was struggling to embrace the new ones while they were not letting go of the old ones. A clear example of this dilemma is the attempt by the police to implement the community-policing philosophy (which is

advocating a partnership between the police and the community) while at the same time trying to implement the crime-combating initiatives that were essentially 'colonial' in approach. The police were also unable to implement accountability mechanism such as, the Community Policing Forums, and the Secretariats for Safety and Security. The assertion therefore is that the level of police cynicism is related to the changes in the police organization.

CHAPTER 4

Literature review on the reliability and multi-dimensionality of the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the methodological elements of the Niederhoffer's police cynicism study, and then discusses other methodological studies that have been conducted on Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale with specific focus on aspects that are concerned with the reliability, validity and multi-dimensionality of the scale.

4.2 Background

In Chapter 2 it was noted that, *Behind the Shield*, a publication by Arthur Niederhoffer on his study on police cynicism in 1967 at a New York police station is generally considered the first empirical study on the subject within a police organization and among police officials (Holzman 1980: 5; Regoli and Poole 1979: 38). In this New York study Niederhoffer (1967: 100) states that major cause of cynicism is the growing movement in the police organizations that is advocating for the professionalization of the police. The professionalization movement is characterized by 'a concern for higher standards of education, selection, training, departmental performance, and recognition of existing inadequacies' (Regoli and Poole; 1979: 44).

4.3 Sampling in Niederhoffer's study

Niederhoffer conducted his study at the New York Police Department. The sample consisted of 220 policemen, 34 of whom were newly appointed recruits, 60 were new appointees who were still on probation, 84 were patrolmen, 15 detectives and 27 senior police officials. Niederhoffer designed a scale consisting of 20 questions and additional biographical data. The totality of the questions in the police cynicism scale covered the most important aspects of the functioning of the police.

The questionnaire included topics such as; newspapers attitude toward the police, the attitude of senior police officials, the fairness of the method for allocating special assignments, the qualities of average detectives, the treatment of the police officials at court, the public's attitude towards the police and the effect of requiring a college degree for admission to the police department.

In the scale, three possible answers were given to each question. The first choice (a) resonates with the opinion of the professional as to how a police department should be. The second (b) indicates a neutral 'commons-sense' response, and the third choice (c) depicts a cynical or disparaging view. The choices were allocated numerical scores values ranging from 1 to 5. Thus, (a) was allocated 1, (b) was allocated 3 and (c) was allocated the value (5). The minimum score would be 20 and the maximum would be 100. Low score indicated that the respondent is professional and high score indicates that the respondent is a cynic. Accordingly, Niederhoffer's held the view that the scale is uni-dimensional and he also asserted that the scale had both face and logical validity.

4.4 Hypotheses in Niederhoffer's study

Niederhoffer (1967: 237) developed 11 hypotheses and all are listed below:

1. Cynicism will increase with the length of service, and reach its maximum at some point between five and ten years of service. Thereafter, it will tend to level off.
2. Men newly appointed will show less cynicism than will new recruits already in the Police Academy for some time.
3. Superiors will be less cynical than patrolmen.
4. Among patrolmen, those with college educations will show a higher degree of cynicism.
5. Patrolmen with preferred assignments will be less cynical than other patrolmen.
6. Foot-patrolmen will be more cynical than other patrolmen.
7. Patrolmen who receive awards for meritorious duty will be less cynical.
8. Jewish patrolmen will be more cynical than their non-Jewish colleagues.
9. When members have completed 18 years of service and they approach the time for retirement, they will be less cynical.
10. Members of the Vice squad will be more cynical than members of the youth division
11. Middle-class patrolmen will be less cynical than working class patrolmen.

Niederhoffer found that, in general, the New York police officers are cynical and that the average computed figure for cynicism among all the officers was 62.24. The figure for the police recruits was 60.27, patrolmen with 2 – 12 years experience increase to 66.5 and then dipped for patrolmen with 13 – 19 years of experience.

He also found that 'it is possible to be committed to the organization while criticizing its faults' and that less than one-third of the respondents chose responses that were very critical of the police system. Niederhoffer further observed that the majority of the new police officials held a more favourable view about the police department. With respect to findings on specific hypotheses, he found, for instance, that the data supported hypotheses number 1 to 4, 6-8. Hypothesis 5, 9 and 11 were inconclusive and 10 were not supported by the data.

4.5 Reliability, Multi-dimensionality and Validity of Niederhoffer's Scale

Niederhoffer's cynicism scale was tested for validity and reliability in a number of subsequent empirical studies (Regoli 1976; Anson *et al* 1986; Crank *et al* 1987; Regoli, Crank and Rivera 1990). There are studies that also tested whether or not Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale has latent factors (Wiechmann 1979; Regoli: 1976). Some authors also applied the scale outside the United States of America so as to measure the levels of cynicism in different cultural settings. For instance, Regoli *et al* (1990) measured the levels of cynicism among police officials in the Transkei. Another study was conducted among police officials in Taiwan by Regoli *et al*.

There are also studies that compared the levels of cynicism against other police attributes or constructs such as, professionalism, work ethic, work alienation, judicial processes (Poole and Regoli 1979; Regoli *et al* 1991; Wiechmann 1979). The literature review on police cynicism indicated that Robert Regoli dominates the field of police cynicism studies and has, jointly with other social scientists, conducted a number of empirical studies and produced a number of scholarly articles.

4.5.1 Reliability (Inter-item relatedness of the scale)

Reliability refers to the ability of a measurement instrument to yield the same results or observations when it is applied to different settings (Mouton 1996: 144; Durreheim and Painter in Blache *et al* 2006: 152). Reliability is also sometimes referred to as the internal qualities of a measurement scale (Anson *et al* 1987: 296). There are various forms of measures for reliability of a scale and the most commonly used is internal consistency. This measure of reliability is approximated by determining the extent to which an item in a scale correlates to other items in the scale. The common estimate that is used in the measure of internal consistency is Cronbach's coefficient alpha, which measures between 0 (no internal

consistency) and 1 (maximum internal consistency). As a rule of thumb, a Cronbach alpha of more than 0.75 implies that the scale is reliable (Durreheim and Painter in Blache *et al* 2006: 154).

Regoli (1976) was the first to subject the Niederhoffer Index to reliability and validity test. He modified the Niederhoffer's scale by changing the questions in the scale into a five-point Likert format with responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Niederhoffer formulated questions in the scale in a form of a statement that is followed by three possible answers, the first indicating a professional attitude and the last being cynical as indicated below;

The average police superior is:

- a) very interested in the welfare of his subordinates
- b) Somewhat concerned about the welfare of his subordinates.
- c) Mostly concerned with his own problems

The first response was allocated 1 point, the second 3 points and the third 5 points. The respondent's responses were then added together to get a sum score. High scores indicated high level of cynicism.

Regoli (1976) modified the questions into a five-point Likert scale and formulated the question in a form of statement with five possible answers. For instance, the first question in Niederhoffer's scale was modified as follows:

Statement: The average police superior is interested in his subordinates

Possible responses: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, strongly disagree

Regoli then applied the scale to 324 police officers working in the nine police agencies in the Pacific Northwest Area in the United States. He tested the interrelatedness of the items in the scale and found that the mean inter-item correlation was 0.095 with an alpha of 0.66. He concluded that since the inter-item ratio is low, the scale is therefore unreliable. Hickman *et al* (2004) also used the Niederhoffer's scale as modified by Regoli to measure the inter-item relatedness of the scale. They concluded that the scale needs to be modified and that some items in the scale are gender and race biased and should therefore be removed or reformulated. Anson *et al* (1986) conducted a six-month longitudinal study of cynicism among two groups of police officers who were attending a six-weeks training course. The first group had 40 police officers and the second had 22 police officers.

The authors applied the same test to the same officers at the beginning and the end of the training course and found that the correlation between the two tests were significant ($r = .32$; $p < .05$). However, the coefficient of determination showed that only 9% of the variance in the second test could only be attributed to the association of the second test with the first one. Therefore, Anson *et al* asserts that this finding, to some extent, discredits the replicability and internal stability of the scale (1986:297). The findings also indicated that the first test yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .53 whereas the second yielded .64, implying that for both tests the reliability is too low. In other words only 53 percent of the total scale variance in the first test is a true variance and only 63 percent of the scale variance in the second test is attributed to a common set of factors in the scale. The difference in the reliability coefficient itself indicates the instability of the scale.

Regoli and Poole (1979: 39) observed that there is a huge variation in each item's contribution to the scale, and that the average inter-item correlation was 0.21. They noted that the item-to-scale correlations ranged from a reliability coefficient of 0.07 to 0.72. The authors concluded that some of the items in the scale should be removed or put together to form a sub-scale.

4.5.2 Multi-dimensionality of the scale

Regoli (1976) sought to determine the interrelatedness of the items in the Niederhoffer's scale and also to examine the assertion that cynicism is a unitary attitude. He computed a principal factor solution with varimax rotations. He observed that almost all the items loaded well with one dimension. Where an item loaded on more than one factor, a decision was taken as to which of the factors should the item be assigned. He found that the scale gave rise to five factors, namely, cynicism toward relation with the public (CYNPUB), cynicism toward organizational functions (CYNORG), cynicism about police dedication to duty (CYNDED), cynicism about police social solidarity (CYNSOL) and cynicism about training and education (CYNEDU).

Similarly, Regoli and Poole (1979: 42) concluded that the Niederhoffer's scale is multi-dimensional and the factor analysis of the scale yielded three factors, namely, 1) cynicism towards other's effect on police work 2) cynicism toward ideals of police work and 3) cynicism toward the conduct of police work. In the study of cynicism in the Transkei Police

Force, Regoli *et al* (1990) examined the latent structure of the scale and they observed three dimensions. Two of the factors that emerged were concerned with organizational cynicism, namely FAIRPLAY and POLICE IDEALS and the third with cynicism against the public, PUBLIC.

In a study where Canonical Factor Regression Method was used to identify the latent structure in the Niederhoffer's scale, Regoli *et al* (1997) observed that the scale yielded three factors, namely, cynicism toward the police organization (POLICE ORGANIZATION), cynicism towards outsiders (OUTSIDERS) and commitment towards the profession (COMMITMENT).

4.5.3 Validity (External or construct validity)

Measurement of construct validity implies the determination of the extent to which a scale measures what it is supposed to measure. Durrheim and Painter (in Blache *et al* 2006: 146) explain that the instrument should 'provide a good degree of fit between the conceptual and operational definitions of the construct, and that the instrument should be usable for the purpose for which it was designed'. There are different types of measurement of validity, namely, criterion-related validity, content validity and construct (external validity).

External validity measures the extent to which a construct or variable is related to other similar constructs or variables within the broader theoretical framework (Anson *et al* 1987: 296). The extent of a scale utility, asserts Regoli and Poole (1979: 42), is measured by how the scale relates to 'some theoretically salient criterion variable'. In testing the validity of the police cynicism scale, Regoli and Poole (1979) conducted a factor analysis of the police cynicism scale and then yielded three dimensions which were then correlated with some attributes of police personality, namely, authoritarian personality, role conflict and professionalization.

In the study on Police Cynicism in Transkei, Regoli *et al* (1990) measured the external validity of the scale by correlating the factors derived from the police scale with the three composite measures, namely, perception of the police about the interpersonal and departmental support (Social isolation), officers' perceptions about relations with senior police officers (Superior) and arbitrariness of departmental policy (Policy).

In this dissertation, the external validity of the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale will be measured by correlating the dimensions of this scale (provided it is multi-dimensional) with the dimensions of the Attitude Towards Organizational Change scale as developed by Nieva *et al* (2005).

4.6 CONCLUSION

Niederhoffer's study on police cynicism was a pioneering piece of work in the field of police culture and sociology. Following his study, the concept of police cynicism was widely embraced and generally accepted as a useful construct in the study of police culture. However, the scale that he introduced as a tool to measure the level of cynicism became a source of contention among researchers for decades.

Some of the studies on the reliability of the scale indicate that it has a low internal consistency and that some of the items are gender and culturally biased. There are also studies that espouse a view that the Niederhoffer scale is reliable. However, authors generally agree that some of the items in the scale should be removed in order to make the scale more reliable.

It was observed that the scale is also multi-dimensional, which basically means that some of the items in the scale correlate with each other more than with others. However, the dimensionality of the scale resonates with Niederhoffer's assertion that police have specific attitude towards public, media, police organization and police occupation. The studies on the multi-dimensionality of the scale indicated that the scale has latent factors, ranging from three to six dimensions.

The different dimensions in the Niederhoffer's scale were shown to provide meaningful correlations with established constructs. The scale has been correlated with construct such as professionalism, work ethic and trust and it was found to be valid.

In this study, the reliability and multi-dimensionality of the scale were tested. This study also correlated the scale with the dimensions of the Attitude Towards Adaption to Change scale. Further, the study also tested some of Niederhoffer's hypotheses; others are excluded as they are not applicable to our context. For instance, Niederhoffer hypothesis that tested whether Jewish officers are more cynical than Non-Jewish is not applicable or appropriate in the

South African context. However, this study instead tested the hypothesis that race is a predictor of cynicism.

CHAPTER 5

Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology that was used in this study and also highlights the challenges that were encountered in the execution of the research methods. The chapter begins first by providing an overview of the sampling techniques, and then the fieldwork is described, and lastly the questionnaire is discussed synoptically. The chapter also provides the demographics of the SAPS and then provides, for purposes of comparison, the results of the biographical data of the respondents. Finally, the chapter describes the techniques that were used to test the hypotheses.

5.2 Background - Sampling of police stations

The survey for this study was conducted among 250 randomly selected police officials who are based in 10 of the 30 police stations in the Pretoria/Tshwane area. The stations are situated in the residential areas with only 1 (one), the Central Police Station, situated in the Central Business District. The choice of the stations for this study was informed largely by demographic factors which are a product of our historical past.

These demographic factors were important criteria because it was anticipated that the background of police officials influences how they respond to organizational change processes, their relationship with the community that they are serving as well as their levels of cynicism. For instance, it was hypothesized that race is predictor of cynicism, and it was expected that Black police officials will be more cynical than White police officials because they are not respected by the communities that they serve.

The rationale is that the police have been viewed with resentment in black areas because of the manner in which these areas were policed in the past. The stations in these areas are normally poorly resourced and the police in turn provide a service that is below par, further fuelling a negative and even hostile relationship with the community. Similarly, the police in the white areas were seen as protectors and the stations in these areas were well resourced thus policing in the area was more effective. Accordingly, the residents of these areas held the police with respect, and the police respond by providing a satisfactory or world-class service.

However, with the changes that have taken place in the country and the reforms that were implemented in the South African Police Service (SAPS), the demographic of the police members who are serving in the different areas has, to a large extent, changed. In the past black people will be posted in black areas and white people in white areas, except that the commanders in the black areas will be white officers. With respect to the residential areas, however, the dynamic is slightly different in that there has been inflow of black people to formerly White, Indian and Coloured areas but there is no influx of the other population groups to the townships, formerly black-only areas. The high-density and inner-city residences in Pretoria are now largely populated by Black residents.

5.3 Selection of the sample stations

A combination of random and stratified sampling was conducted in the selection of the stations. The objective of the researcher was to select a large enough sample of stations because the socio-economic demographics of the suburbs are quite vast. For instance, within a radius of five kilometres one finds an upper class security estate such as Silverlakes and poorest of the poor area such as Stanza Bopape settlement in Mamelodi.

The challenge for sampling, however, was that the policing areas or jurisdiction do not correspond with municipal boundaries and, therefore, it was found that a police station in a particular municipal area provides services to an area that is in an adjacent or different municipal area. For instance, Atteridgeville police station which is situated in a previously African area now also serves an agricultural area which is part of the Hartebeespoort municipal area-a previously white area. The other challenge was that the Tshwane Metropolitan City which is in the province of Gauteng, includes areas such as Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa, and the stations in these area also provides service to areas that fall under the jurisdiction of the North West Province.

The aim of the study was to include 30% (thirty percent) of the stations in the sample, accordingly 10 stations were selected, 6 through stratified random sampling and the other 4 through random sampling.

5.3.1 Stratified sample

A stratified sampling was deemed appropriate because the police stations in Pretoria are located in areas which previously have been demarcated along racial lines, and most are located in previously white areas. Thus, it was important to stratify the sample so that stations that are located in previously segregated areas along racial lines could be selected. As stated in the previous paragraph, the challenge was that the policing areas do not necessarily correspond with municipal boundaries, thus a station may serve a previously African area and some parts of the previously White area. Atteridgeville station was a case in point. This scenario challenges the premise for our selection as it is based on racial demographics of the past. However, the straddling of the boundaries was not affecting the majority of the stations, and therefore the rationale for demarcation was continued with.

In stratified random sampling the units are classified into strata on the basis of a characteristic that, if not properly represented in the sample, might skew or bias the inferences (Krathwohl 1998: 167). According to Barbie (1998: 86), the purpose for a stratified sampling is to arrange the population into groups with similar characteristics and to choose elements from each group. Thus, the effect of stratification is to 'ensure the proper representation of the stratification variables in order to enhance representation of other variables related to them' (Barbie 1998: 87).

In Pretoria/Tshwane City there were only three residential areas reserved or allocated for Black people, namely, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve/Mabopane. Laudium is the only area that was reserved for Indians, and Eersterus was the only area reserved for Coloured people. Accordingly, Laudium and Eersterus Police Stations were selected as part of the sample stations on the basis that they are the only police stations in the areas that were previously demarcated for Indian and Coloured populations, respectively. Out of the three formerly Black areas, Mamelodi was randomly selected. Sinoville police station was similarly selected from stations that are located in previously White areas.

Sunnyside police station was deliberately selected because it is located in a high-rise densely populated area, and Pretoria Central police station was selected because it is located in the Central Business District and it is basically serving a commuting community.

5.3.2 Random sampling

The other 4 (four) stations were randomly selected from the remaining 24 stations and these are, Pretoria West, Pretoria North, Brooklyn and Atteridgeville police stations. In a study conducted on Affirmative Action in the SAPS, a similar approach for choosing stations was adopted. Police stations were chosen on the basis of ‘geographic locations ... and the other three were chosen because they respectively have predominantly White, Coloured, and Asian members’ (Masiloane 2001: 13). Table 5.1 lists the police stations and indicates the racial compositions of the area that is serviced by the station.

Table 5.1

Name of police station	Pre-1994 demographic	Current demographics	Additional information on the area
Atteridgeville	African	Predominantly black, huge squatter area and low cost houses	There are some developments in the area, revamping of stadium and shopping complexes, tarring of the streets
Brooklyn	White area	Pre-dominantly white	Area preferred by Ambassadors for residence
Eersterus	Coloured	Predominantly Coloured area, black settling in the area	Area is fairly developed
Laudium	Indians	Predominantly Indian but blacks are steadily moving in	Upmarket area built side by side to low cost housing, area renowned for drugs-pushing
Mamelodi	Africans	Predominantly black, huge squatter area, and low cost houses	Some development projects in the area
Pretoria Central	Central Business District – Mainly white owned businesses and government buildings	Growth of black-owned businesses, mainly cafes, clothing shops and hair salons.	Inner-city residential complexes built
Pretoria North	White area	Predominantly white	New areas built nearby
Pretoria West	Whites	Predominantly white, blacks moving in large numbers	Huge industrial area, large population of poor whites
Sinoville	Whites	Predominantly white, blacks settling in the area	Fast developing areas in Pretoria
Sunnyside	Whites	Large occupation by blacks	Densely populated area with high rise residential complexes

5.4 Fieldwork and distribution of the questionnaire

5.4.1 Background

The police management requires that researchers must request permission first from the Provincial Commissioner in the province that he/she wishes to conduct research. Thus, a request was forwarded to the Provincial Commissioner of Gauteng to request for permission to access the 10 police stations in Pretoria. The request was approved and a communication was sent to the Station Commissioners of the 10 police stations that were selected to provide access to the researcher. A letter of approval was also sent to the researcher to submit to the station commissioners when visiting the police stations.

The researcher then visited the police stations and made appointments with the station commissioners to requests for station lists in order to conduct the sampling of participants. The police stations did not have an updated composite list of all the members, however, lists of various shifts for visible policing and detectives were instead provided. It was explained that the reason police stations do not have an updated composite list is that the Area Offices and specialized units were recently closed and that the police officials who were working in those offices were deployed to various police stations. It was also explained that the police officials who served in the disbanded Area Commissioners' Offices were also deployed to other stations.

5.4.2 Sampling of respondents

Using the station lists that were available, every 3rd officer on the list was selected as a respondent. Where an officer is not available, a substitute was given the questionnaire to complete. The questionnaires were distributed to selected police officials through the assistance of either the station commissioner of the selected station or his/her delegate. Because the police officers work shifts and very often are out of their offices, the period for filling in the questionnaire took a considerable length of time. The questionnaires were distributed in the ten stations from the 14th of January 2008 to the 3rd of February 2008 and were collected from the stations from Mid-March to the end of April 2008.

A total of 550 questionnaires were distributed to the police stations and 279 were received. A total 29 questionnaires were rejected because 18 were not filled at all and the other 11 had little usable information. Four police stations, namely, Sinoville, Mamelodi, Pretoria North and Atteridgeville stations had a high percentage of questionnaires that were properly filled

and returned. The reason for the high return rate was the Station Commissioners and the senior leadership at those police stations assisted with the distribution and collection of the questionnaires. In Atteridgeville and Pretoria North the Station Commissioners led the process, whereas in the other two senior police officials were appointed to assist the researcher.

In Brooklyn, Pretoria West, Eersterus and Sinoville Police Stations the distribution and collection was done with the assistance of civilians or non-police personnel who were working at the Human Resources and Communication sections of those police stations. In Sunnyside and Pretoria Central Police Stations senior police officials initially personally provided assistance to the researcher but delegated the tasks further to administrative officials.

An observation that was made is that at the stations where the Station Commissioner actively assisted in the distribution and collection of the questionnaires the rate of return is much higher than at the stations where non-police personnel assisted the researcher. One can deduce that the only reason for this discrepancy is that police officials seem to respond positively to requests or directives from senior police personnel than from non-police personnel or junior police officials. The table 5.2 below shows the distribution of questionnaire and the response rate.

Table 5.2

Station	<i>Questionnaires</i>				
	<i>Total employees</i>	<i>Distributed</i>	<i>Received</i>	<i>Rejected</i>	<i>Accepted</i>
Atteridgeville	178	65	39	1	38
Brooklyn	232	70	31	0	31
Eersterus	79	20	9	2	7
Laudium	61	20	11	0	11
Mamelodi	219	60	44	0	42
Pretoria Central	1297	120	32	12	20
Pretoria North	241	60	41	0	41
Pretoria West	257	60	12	2	10
Sinoville	96	30	21		21
Sunnyside	294	90	38	9	29
	2954	550	279	29	250

5.4.3 Challenge in respect of sampling of respondents

The main challenge in respect of the sampling of respondents is that there were different sources of lists for officials deployed at the station that were providing different figures for the number of officials in those stations. There were basically three sources, the station establishment, the list of officials generated by the personnel information system (PERSAL), and the station list. The station establishment provides for the ideal number of officials in that station, the PERSAL provides the figures for officials who are paid from that station, and the station list gives the figures for actual members in those stations. In this study the station lists were used for the sampling, however, some of the stations had the same figures for station list and PERSAL even though some of the members on the establishment do not report at that station. For instance, the establishment figures for Pretoria Central Police indicate that there are 1297 members whereas the figures for the station list are 385.

The difference in the figures in respect of other stations was not as great. However, the challenge is the differences in the figures may result in sample that excludes officers or a sector that should be included thus resulting in a bias sample.

5.5. Overview of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire had three components, the 20-item Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale as adjusted by Regoli (1976), the adapted Attitude Towards Change Scale with 18 items, the 5-item Anomie Scale and questions on the biographical information. All the items for the three scales were constructed into Likert format. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix 1.

5.5.1 The Police Cynicism Scale

With respect to the Police Cynicism Scale, the more cynical responses were coded 5 and the least cynical were coded 1. However, in order to reduce bias in the responses, Regoli reconstructed the questions such that one half of the questions have a cynical ending and the other half had a non-cynical completion. Thus, the values of some of the responses in the questionnaires had to be recoded, and these include items 2, 3, 4, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20. In all of these items the value 1 was re-coded as 5, the value 2 was replaced with 4, value 4 was replaced with 2 and 5 was replaced with 1. The minimum score will be 20 and the maximum 100.

The items in the questionnaire were checked for language to ensure that the concepts used are understood and appropriate for the police in South Africa. For instance, in term supervisor in the original scale was changed to commander in the questionnaire.

5.5.2 The Attitude Towards Organizational Change Scale

5.5.2.1 Introduction

Alvin Toffler (1970: 12) defined change as ‘the process by which the future invades our lives, and it is important to look at it closely, not merely from the grand perspectives of history, but also from the vantage point of the living, breathing individuals who experience it’. Change is falling upon humankind like an avalanche, however, most individuals are not prepared for it, warns Toffler. Change is gripping all aspects of our lives, including processes and relationships at the workplace with accelerated speed. The current of change is so strong that it cripples institutions and greatly impacts on our values (Toffler 1970:12; Collins and Porras in Harvard Business Review [HBR] on Change 1998: 23)

Duck (in HBR on Change 1998:56) asserts that change is a personal experience and that institutions that intend to implement change programs must convince employees one at a time. Employees often resist change because they experience it differently from managers who are pressed to implement it. When employees are not convinced about the content of the change, they often see this as a deviation from or violation of the compact that they have with management (Strebel in HBR on Change 1998: 142).

Most companies today have undergone one form of change or the other, and some companies have implemented a number of change programs so much that employees are beginning to be sceptical. There are individuals who have become ‘change survivors’ and cynical people who’ve learned how to live through change programs without really changing at all’ (Duck in HBR on Change 1998: 63).

5.5.2.2 Construction of the Attitude Towards Organizational Change Scale

The Attitude Towards Organizational Change (AOC) Scale that is used in this dissertation was extracted from an instrument that was designed by the authors Nieva *et al* (2005). These authors developed a 50-item AOC Scale after consultations with managers in public and private industry, as well as with professionals in Brasilia. The scale was first piloted on individuals with different educational levels and then the necessary amendments were made

for 'proper comprehension' (Nieva *et al* 2005:82). The scale was then applied to 409 individuals in two organizations in Brasilia and was tested for reliability and validity. Nieva *et al* (2005) concluded that the Organizational Change (AOC) Scale has three dimensions, namely. 1) Acceptance of Change, 2) Fears about Change 3) and Cynicism.

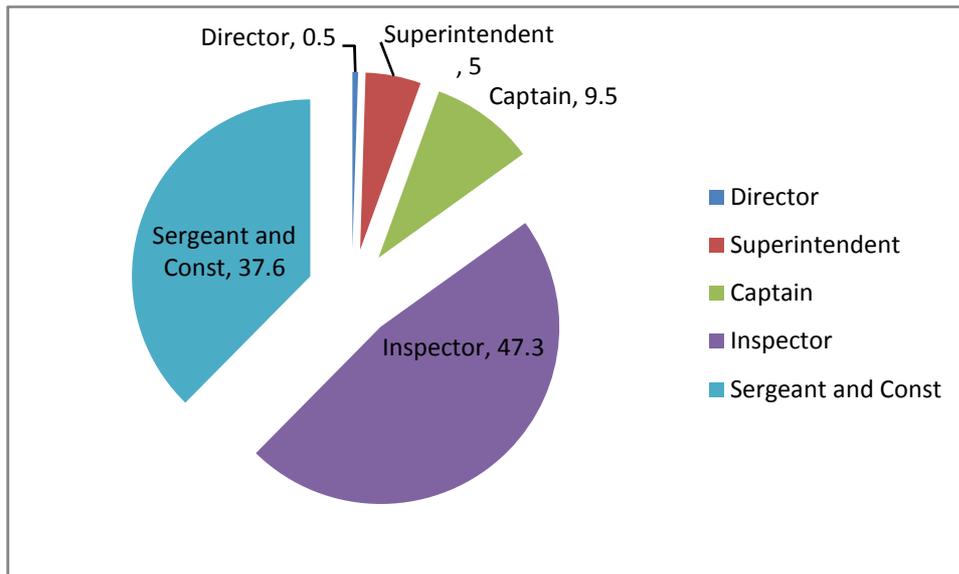
For purposes of this study, the first two dimensions of the AOC Scale, namely, Acceptance of Change and Fears about Change were extracted and included in the questionnaire that was distributed at the ten police stations in Pretoria. However, the questions were slightly modified to suit the language appropriate in the South African Police Services. The questionnaire was discussed with senior police officials to check appropriateness and shared with others to see whether it is understandable. A total of 20 questions were extracted and a factor analysis, which will be discussed in chapter 5, was computed. The outcome of the factor analysis of the selected twenty questions resulted in two dimensions that almost entirely replicate the two factors, namely, Acceptance of change and fear of change in the original scale.

5.6 The National Demographics of SAPS

The information on the demographics of the SAPS nationally was drawn from the 2007 – 2008 Annual Report and reflects the status quo as at the 31st of March 2008. The levels of seniority of the employees or police officials were recorded as salary bands and occupational categories as prescribed by the Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998 and not in terms of rank. The total number of employees for the SAPS as at 31 March 2008 was 173 241, including categories of employees who are not classified as police officials. Accordingly, in order to draw comparison with between the national statistics and the sample which was drawn from the police stations, the categories of employees classified as clerks and elementary occupations were excluded from the total figure because this category was not included in the sample.

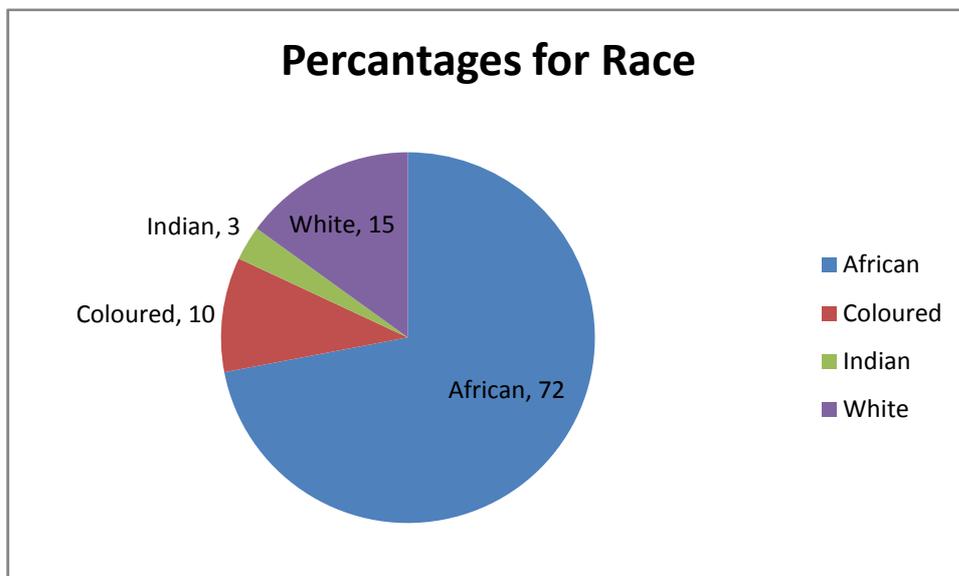
With respect to Rank, the extracted statistics from the Annual Report 2007 – 2008 indicate that the police officers who are at rank of Inspector constitute about 47% of the total population of the police, followed by Sergeants and Constables at 37.6%, Captains at 9.5% and Superintendents at 5%. The Directors and Commissioners make up about 0.5%. The diagram below illustrates the distribution.

Diagram 5.1



The composition of the police in terms of Race is reflected in the diagram below. It is indicated that Africans constituted the largest group at 72% of the police population, Whites at 15%, Coloured officials at 10% and Indians at 3%.

Diagram 5.2



5.7 Demographics in Tshwane Police Stations

The figures for the demographics in the 30 police stations in Tshwane were received from the Personnel Management Section at the police headquarters in Pretoria. These figures were extracted from PERSAL, a personnel management information system for the South African Police Service and other government departments. The system is able provide only the

aggregate figures for the salary level of the employees, and race. Other biographical data cannot be aggregated, for instance, the system is not able to provide the total number of employees who are married, or the total number of police officers who have degrees. The data that is provided reflects the situation as at the 28 February 2008.

5.7.1 Race

The table below shows that representation of race at the stations.

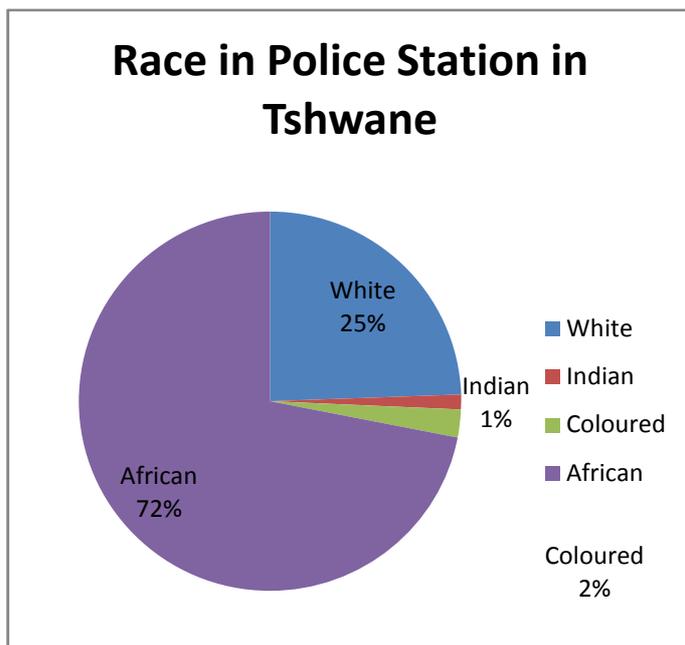
Table 5.3

FIGURES FOR RACE IN THE 34 POLICE STATIONS IN TSHWANE

Race	White	Indian	Coloured	African	Total
Akasia	123	0	3	113	239
Atteridgeville	11	5	2	160	178
Boschkop	12	0	3	38	53
Brooklyn	72	4	7	149	232
Cullinan	37	0	3	58	98
Eersterust	13	1	17	48	79
Erasmia	28	7	1	74	110
Ga-Rankuwa	10	0	3	261	274
Garsfontein	45	2	4	111	162
Hammanskraal	8	0	1	102	111
Hercules	57	2	0	54	113
Kammeldrift	21	1	1	43	66
Laudium	12	5	0	44	61
Loate	3	0	0	149	152
Lyttelton	83	7	5	111	206
Mabopane	5	0	0	181	186
Mamelodi	36	4	9	170	219
Mamelodi East	17	1	10	171	199
Pretoria Central	308	14	29	946	1297
Pretoria Moot	50	0	4	66	120
Pretoria North	117	1	4	119	241
Pretoria West	81	5	5	166	257
Silverton	74	5	9	217	305
Sinoville	47	1	2	46	96
Soshanguve	21	0	0	182	203
Sunnyside	66	4	13	211	294
Villieria	58	3	4	21	86
Wierdabrug	61	4	7	97	169
Wonderboompoort	36	1	1	41	79
Temba	2	0	0	306	308
Total	1514	77	147	4455	6193

The diagram below shows the graphic representation of the racial composition of police officials in the 30 Tshwane Police Stations. The figures indicate that white police officials constitute 25% of the total force and Africans make up 72%. The figure for African employees in Tshwane is the same as the National figure. There is some variation in respect of the White officials, and this can be due to the fact that Pretoria has quite a large number of stations that were situated in White Areas which were served by White police officials in the past and the situation has not changed much.

Diagram 5.3



5.7.2 Rank

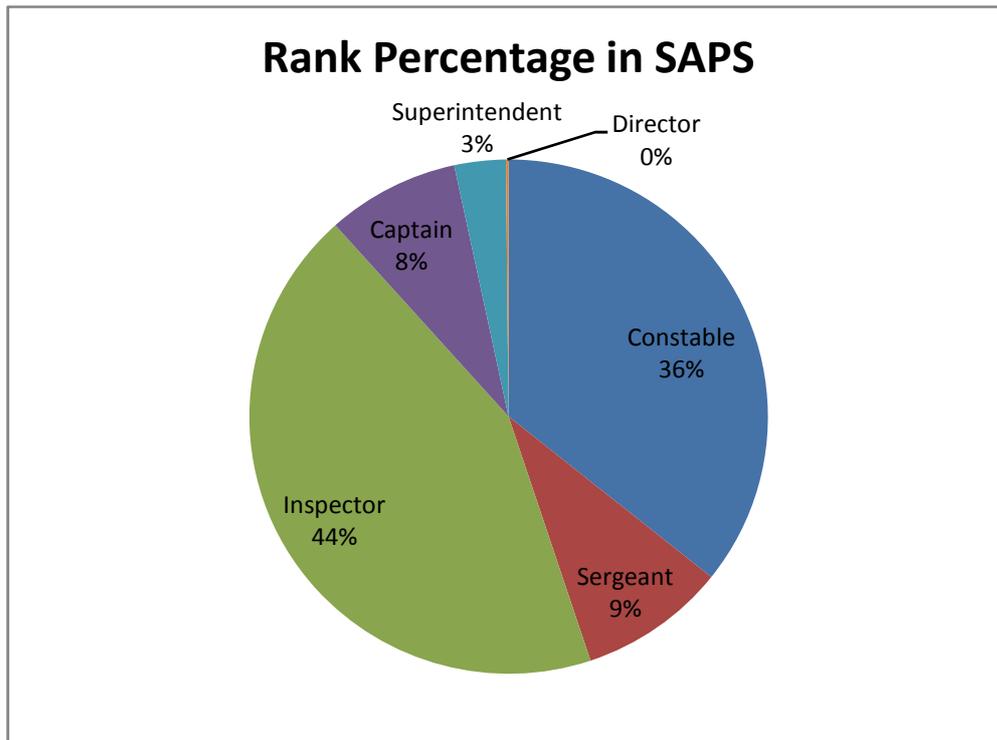
Table 5.4 below shows the figures for rank of police officials in the 30 Tshwane police stations. The police officials in the inspector rank constitute about 45% of the total force of the officers in Tshwane. This figure is almost the same as the National figure. The highest rank at station level, constitute less than 1% of the staff complement. This resembles the national picture of rank distribution in the police service.

Table 5. 4

FIGURES FOR RANK IN THE 30 TSHWANE POLICE STATIONS

RANK	Const	Sergt	Inspt	Capt	Sup	Dir	Total
Akasia	60	102	57	16	4	0	239
Atteridgeville	62	18	75	16	7	0	178
Boschkop	24	7	20	2	0	0	53
Brooklyn	97	23	71	27	13	1	232
Cullinan	29	11	48	9	1	0	98
Eersterust	46	5	21	5	2	0	79
Erasmia	36	15	50	7	2	0	110
Ga-Rankuwa	96	14	131	20	12	1	274
Garsfontein	93	11	38	15	5	0	162
Hammanskraal	37	14	52	7	1	0	111
Hercules	41	15	43	13	1	0	113
Kammeldrift	32	5	25	3	1	0	66
Laudium	32	8	14	6	1	0	61
Loate	59	10	67	13	3	0	152
Lyttelton	90	15	72	22	7	0	206
Mabopane	43	5	117	16	5	0	186
Mamelodi	75	10	102	22	10	0	219
Mamelodi East	52	21	104	8	12	2	199
Pretoria Central	303	129	702	110	52	1	1297
Pretoria Moot	49	11	42	16	2	0	120
Pretoria North	80	22	113	20	6	0	241
Pretoria West	86	25	119	20	7	0	257
Silverton	126	20	124	27	8	0	305
Sinoville	52	11	27	5	1	0	96
Soshanguve	91	17	70	22	3	0	203
Sunnyside	156	18	83	19	16	2	294
Villieria	28	10	42	4	2	0	86
Wierdabrug	71	21	52	21	2	2	169
Wonderboom	27	8	36	7	1	0	79
Temba	133	9	137	16	12	1	308
Total	2206	610	2654	514	199	10	6193

Diagram 5.4



5.8 Biographical data of respondents

The questionnaire included 10 questions on biographical data of the respondents. The biographical data was important in that Niederhoffer included these variables in the hypotheses. For instance, he hypothesized that police officers with higher educational qualifications are more cynical than those with lower qualifications. Niederhoffer also found that married police officers are on average less cynical than those who are not married. The questions on the biographical data that were included in questionnaire cover the race, highest qualifications, length of service in the SAPS, rank occupied, service in the current rank, age, marital status and number of children of the police officials. The biographical data is depicted below.

5.8.1 Race

81% of the sample population is African and the White officers make up almost 14%. This distribution differs slightly with the demographics of the SAPS in Tshwane as well as National. The national statistics indicate that Africans constitute 72% of the population of SAPS and Whites make up 15%. However, the Tshwane statistics indicate that Africans constitute 72% and whites constitute 25%. The diagram below (table 4.5) shows the

frequencies for race in the sample population of the ten police stations that participated in the survey in Pretoria.

Table 5.5 **RACE**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	African	200	80.0	81.0
	Indian	8	3.2	3.2
	Coloured	4	1.6	1.6
	White	34	13.6	13.8
	Other	1	.4	.4
	Total	247	98.8	100.0
Missing	System	3	1.2	
Total		250	100.0	

The difference in the distribution for race for the sample stations and the Tshwane is probably due to the fact majority of the recruits are black and are placed at station level whereas significant percentage of whites occupy officer positions and are placed at cluster stations which are primarily stations that play a role to coordinate operations at city level. The other explanation is that white officers also make up a higher percentage of specialized units, such as the Canine and Diving Units which also operate at a cluster rather than station level. Invariably members of these specialized units would not have been part of the sample for the stations.

5.8.2 Rank

The ranks in the SAPS were de-militarized in 1995 and were renamed with ranks similar to those of the London Metropolitan Police. For instance, the ranks of Brigadier and Major were renamed Director and Superintendent. Prior to 1999, the percentage of police officers at lower ranks was higher than police officers at upper ranks. This ratio has since changed, and currently the percentage and actual numbers of police officers occupying lower ranks in the SAPS is lower than police officials in middle and higher ranks. There are a number of factors that contributed to this anomalous situation.

Firstly, the SAPS put a moratorium on recruitment for about four years, from 1996 – 1999 and this contributed to a situation where no new officials, especially at lower ranks, were

brought into the organization. However, during the period of the moratorium on recruitment, police officials were promoted, thus creating a vacuum at lower ranks. Secondly, in 1998 the SAPS promoted en masse police officials who were at the ranks of sergeant and inspector to next rank. Thirdly, it was believed that just prior to amalgamation of the 11 police forces, the homeland police forces and SAP promoted their members to higher ranks as hand-shake for loyal service. Table 5.6 shows the distribution of police official according to rank in the 10 stations.

Table 5.6 **RANK**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Student Const	23	9.2	9.3
	Constable	40	16.0	16.3
	Sergeant	13	5.2	5.3
	Inspector	113	45.2	45.9
	Captain	36	14.4	14.6
	Superintendent	17	6.8	6.9
	Director	2	.8	.8
	Commissioner	1	.4	.4
	civilian rank	1	.4	.4
	Total	246	98.4	100.0
Missing	System	4	1.6	
Total		250	100.0	

5.8.3 Age

The SAPS is aging and there seems to be inadequate replenishing of personnel. Officers below the age of 35 constitute only about 14% of the sample. Again here factors such as moratorium that was placed on recruitment contributed to the dearth of new recruits. It is also important to note that studies on cynicism have asserted that age has a linear relationship with police cynicism, and only at about the age that the police are about to retire does cynicism decline. With the majority of police officers at middle-age, it is expected that the levels of cynicism will be high.

It is also important to note that as most police officers are middle-aged, this means that they have served in the former SAP and homeland forces and were subjected to the reform processes that the new SAPS initiated from about 1994 to the current. It is also assumed that

most of the police officers who are currently serving went through the ‘bush wars’ and that the white police officials also went through the compulsory military service. Accordingly, the most experienced police officials served during the height of militarization and almost overnight they were expected to embrace and implement a community policing approach, which is an antithesis of what they were raised to believe in practice, namely, militaristic style of policing. The table 5.7 shows the age distribution in the ten stations in Pretoria.

Table 5.7

		AGE			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 19yrs	5	2.0	2.0	2.0
	20 - 24 yrs	12	4.8	4.8	6.9
	25 - 29 yrs	34	13.6	13.7	20.6
	30 -34 yrs	35	14.0	14.1	34.7
	35 - 39 yrs	53	21.2	21.4	56.0
	40 - 44 yrs	62	24.8	25.0	81.0
	45 - 49 yrs	33	13.2	13.3	94.4
	50 - 54 yrs	12	4.8	4.8	99.2
	over 55yrs	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	248	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.8		
Total		250	100.0		

5.8.4 Marital status

The question on marital status was included because Niederhoffer found that married police officials were less cynical than those who were not married. He explained that married people seem to aspire to be stable and guarded, and thus are more willing to conform to situations around them. This will be an interesting hypothesis to measure in South Africa given the fact that marriage is viewed differently in this country than in the United States of America. For example, polygamy is socially acceptable and legal in South Africa where in the USA it is illegal and socially unacceptable. The statistics on marital status indicate that 60% of the police officials in the sample are married and 9% were divorced. The cross-tabulation of marital status and age showed that 70% of police officials who were never married are below 35 years old. Table 5.8 shows frequencies for marital status in ten police stations.

Table 5.8

MARITAL STATUS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Married (civil)	151	60.4	61.4
	Divorced	22	8.8	8.9
	Never married	63	25.2	25.6
	Other	9	3.6	3.7
	5	1	.4	.4
	Total	246	98.4	100.0
Missing	System	4	1.6	
Total		250	100.0	

5.8.5 Cross Tabulation

Cross-tabulations were conducted on rank and age, rank and qualifications, rank and race, marital status and age. It was found – as one would expect - that there is a linear correlation between rank and age in that rank increases with age. 100% of police in the rank of Director are above 50yrs, 80% of police officers who are in the 25 – 29yrs age group are constables, 38% of Captains are in the 40 – 44 yrs age group and 47% of Superintendents are in the 45 – 49 year age group. It was also found that 39% of inspectors fall within the ages of 40-44 years.

5.9 Statistical Techniques applied in testing the Hypotheses

The hypotheses in this study are tested primarily by applying three statistical techniques, namely factor analysis to determine underlying factors of the two scales, independent t-test for comparing means, and correlation to determine relationships between variables.

5.9.1 Factor Analysis

Factor Analysis is described as a data reduction technique that is aimed at ‘removing the redundancy from a set of correlated variables and representing them with a smaller set of derived variables or factor’ (Kachigan 1991). The purpose of factor analysis is ‘to describe, if possible, the covariance relationships among many variables in terms of a few underlying, but unobservable, random quantities called factors’ (Johnson RA and Wichern DW, 2007).

According to Kachigan (1991) factor analysis is used for identification of factors, screening of data, summarization of data, sampling of variables and the clustering of objects.

Factor analysis, like other data reduction models, is intended to give an approximation of the covariance matrix and to determine whether the data is consistent with some predetermined or observed structure (Johnson RA and Wichien, 2007). Essentially, factor analysis identifies variables in a scale that have a high correlation and then cluster these together as a factor. In this study factor analysis was applied to determine the underlying factors in the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale as well as to confirm the factors in the Attitude Towards Organizational Change scale.

5.9.2 Independent t-test for Comparing Means

The t-test is generally used to determine whether or not the means of two samples are statistically different from each other. The t-test was applied in this study to examine whether the differences in the cynicism scores of various samples are significant or not. For instance, in order to decide whether to accept or not the hypothesis that marital status is a predictor of cynicism, it is important to determine whether the difference in the mean scores for cynicism for married police officer and officers who are not married are statistically significant or not. The t-test was used extensively by Holzman (1980) in the study of organizational and professional cynicism among police officers in order to test the hypotheses.

The Independent t-test for Comparing means is executable only when the variables are dichotomised. The t-test is also functional when a null hypothesis has been created. Masiloane (1999) defines a null hypothesis as a statement which claims that 'no relationship exists between the variables that are being studied'. In this study, the null hypotheses were postulated where the independent t-test was used to measure the difference between the means of two groups.

The null hypothesis makes an assertion that there is no difference in the means of the two groups. If the null hypothesis is supported, the researcher can reject the assertion that there is meaningful relationship between the variables. With regards to an independent t-test, the null hypothesis is that $\mu_1 = \mu_2$, therefore if the results show that $\mu_1 = \mu_2$, the researcher can accept that there is no significant or meaningful difference between the two samples, provided that the p-value is greater than alpha which is normally set at 0.05. If $\mu_1 \neq \mu_2$, the

researcher can reject that there is a meaningful difference between the means of the two samples provided p-value is less than alpha (0.05).

5.10 CONCLUSION

5.10.1 Overview

This chapter described the research methodology employed in the study and further highlighted the challenges that were experienced in the execution of the research methods. In particular, the chapter discussed in detail the various sampling techniques as well as other statistical techniques that were used in the study. The biographical data that was generated from the study was also discussed against the backdrop of the Tshwane stations' data and national police biographical data.

5.10.2 Sampling

The survey for this study was conducted among 250 police officials who are based in 10 police stations in Pretoria. A stratified sampling was conducted to choose the stations and the participants were selected using systematic sampling techniques. The sampling of stations through stratification in terms of demographics was challenging in that the policing areas do not correspond with the municipal boundaries. Thus, the premise for stratification was somewhat compromised. For instance, the stations were selected on the basis of racial demographics of the population that they served in terms of previous racially segregated groups. However, there are stations that are located in an area previously served a particular racial group but now also serve people in an area that previously served a different racial group. The other challenge is that the demographics of some of the areas have completely changed in the past few years, for instance, Sunnyside is now predominantly African.

There was also a challenge in respect of the selection of the respondents in that the different sources that provided figures for staff complement at the various stations gave different numbers. However, it was decided in this study to use the functional lists that were provided by the stations themselves. This was the most practical way of resolving the dilemma. The consolation in this approach is that the difference in the figures provided in the personnel system does not differ much from the functional lists at the stations.

5.10.3 Biographical data

Frequencies on the biographical variables were computed. The realized sample shows that Africans constituted 81% of the sample population, with Whites another 14%. This distribution adequately reflects not only the demographics of the country but also the population of the officers in Tshwane and the general SAPS population. Accordingly, the result of the research on the sample can be confidently inferred to population of Tshwane and to some extent to the general SAPS' population.

It was also shown that inspectors comprise the largest category (45%) in respect of rank in the sample. Inspectors also comprise majority at 44% of the Tshwane population and 47% of the National figure. Again in this regard, the variance in the distribution of the rank within the sample and the Tshwane population is small and thus one can confidently draw inferences on the characteristics of the sample and the Tshwane population.

The age distribution shows that police officials who are between the ages of 35 – 50 years constituting almost 60% of the population. Cross-tabulation of rank and age showed that most of officers in the inspector rank are between the ages of 35 – 50 years. The implication for SAPS is that in the next 15 to twenty years half of the police population will be of pensionable age, and thus SAPS should start now to recruit in way that it does not loose staff en masse as it is now invariably going to happen.

5.10.4 Questionnaire

This study intended to explore the scale further by introducing a different construct, Change Adaptation, against which the cynicism scale can be correlated in order to measure external validity. This approach has not been taken before in any of the police cynicism studies. However, there are studies that measured the relationship between cynicism and other constructs in private institutions or organizations. For instance, Bommer *et al* (2005) measured the relationship between employee cynicism and organizational change.

The Attitude Towards Organizational Change (AOC) scale which was developed by Nieve *et al* had been applied but only two dimensions of the scale were used namely, the Acceptance of Change and Fear for Change. An initial factor analysis of the scale yielded two dimensions which resembled the factors in the Change adaptation scale. The reliability coefficient was .74 which meant that the scale is fairly stable. It was hypothesized that

Acceptance of change is inversely related to police cynicism. However, this and other hypotheses as listed in chapter 1 will be discussed in the following chapter.

5.10.5 Statistical Techniques

In this study factor analysis was used to examine whether or not the Niederhoffer's Cynicism Scale and Attitude Towards Organizational Change scale have underlying factors. The results thereof will be discussed in the next chapter. Another statistical technique that was extensively in this study was the Independent t-test for difference between means. This technique is executable only when the variables are dichotomized. The police cynicism scale dimensions were correlated with those of the Attitude Towards Organizational Change scale.

CHAPTER 6

Analysis of Results

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the results of the study. The object of this study was to replicate the Niederhoffer's study on police cynicism and also to test the reliability and validity of the Police Cynicism Scale as applied among the members of the South African Police Service in Tshwane police stations.

In his study of the police in New York, Niederhoffer tested the relationship between cynicism and a number of variables, including, length of service, race, rank, level of education, type of police work, marital status and age. Niederhoffer assumed a single factor scale; it was only through subsequent studies that the scale was found to have underlying dimensions. In this study the following twelve hypotheses were tested.

Hypothesis 1: Cynicism is present among the members of South African Police Service (SAPS) in Tshwane.

Hypothesis 2: The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale is unreliable.

Hypothesis 3: The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale is a multi-dimensional scale (has underlying factors).

Hypothesis 4: Rank is a predictor of police cynicism.

Hypothesis 5: Race is a predictor of police cynicism.

Hypothesis 6: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism.

Hypothesis 7: Education is a predictor of police cynicism.

Hypothesis 8: Age is a predictor of police cynicism.

Hypothesis 9: Marital status is a predictor of police cynicism.

Hypothesis 10: Desire to quit the police service is a predictor of police cynicism.

Hypothesis 11: Police cynicism is related to fear of change.

Hypothesis 12: Police cynicism is related to acceptance of change.

6.2. Hypothesis 1: Cynicism is present among the police in Tshwane Police Stations.

SPSS 16.0 was used to calculate the sample mean for the variables in the 20-item Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism scale as revised by Regoli. The maximum score in the scale is 100 and the minimum score is 20. The Police Cynicism scale is constructed such that a high scale score indicates high levels of cynicism and a low scale score indicates low levels

of cynicism (Regoli, Poole and Hewitt 1979). It is generally accepted that a scale (group) mean of more than 60 in the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale indicates a cynical attitude (Regoli 1976:232). In the Niederhoffer's study of the police in New York, the group mean was 62.2.

The sample mean for the police in the ten Tshwane police station for police cynicism is $X = 60.99$, and this basically indicates that cynicism is present among the police in Tshwane, and further that the levels are high. The table 6.1 below shows the output from the SPSS.

Table 6.1

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
60.99	43.836	6.621	20

It was expected that cynicism will be present in the South African Police Service and that the levels will be high. However, the score is slightly lower than what Niederhoffer observed in the New York Police department. However, the presence of cynicism corroborates Niederhoffer's assertion that the police organisation is a breeding ground for cynicism. With the high crime rate in South Africa, including the high incidences of murder of police officials, low salaries of police officials, continuous transformation programs, legacy of militarisation and public dissatisfaction with the police performance, it was expected that the police officers will have a cynical attitude towards their work, profession, public and police organisation.

6.3 Hypothesis 2: The Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale is unreliable.

The inter-item correlation measures the reliability of a scale. The inter-item-analysis examines the relationship between the composite scale and the items in the questionnaire. Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient is used to measure the levels of reliability of a scale. The coefficient ranges from 0 to 1 and the closer the Alpha coefficient is to 1 the greater is the internal consistency of the scale. The Alpha correlation is determined by the formula $= r \times k / [1 + (k - 1) r]$, where r is the mean of the inter-item correlation and k = the number of items considered (George and Mallery quoted in Gliem J and Gliem A 2003).

A rule of thumb is that an alpha coefficient greater than 0.7 implies that one can accept that the scale is reliable, and that a coefficient of 0.6 implies that one may accept that the scale is reliable with some caution, and further that a reliability coefficient of less than 0.5 implies that the scale is not reliable (George and Mallery quoted in Gliem J and Gliem A 2003).

The results are shown in table 5.2 which indicates that the mean inter-item correlation is 0.034 and in table 3 it is shown that the Cronbach's alpha is 0.235. This implies that the Niederhoffer's 20-item scale as moderated by Regoli has a low internal consistency and therefore unreliable.

Table 6.2

Summary Item Statistics							
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Maximum / Minimum	Varian Ce	N of Items
Item Means	3.036	2.134	4.397	2.263	2.061	.399	20
Item Variances	1.291	.644	1.818	1.174	2.821	.089	20
Inter-Item Correlations	.034	-.261	.380	.640	-1.457	.017	20

Table 6.3

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.235	.216	20

The correlation matrix at the end of the chapter shows that a large number of items have low correlations and, thus they can be excluded from the scale. In the table below, it is shown that the Cronbach's Alpha can be increased significantly if some of the items are excluded from the scale. Accordingly, the Cronbach's Alpha increases significantly, thus increasing the reliability of the scale, when the following items were excluded from the scale, namely; INSIGHT, COOPERATE, HUMANITY, YOUTH and PROFESS.

Table 6.4

Item-Total Statistics					
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
HARDWORK	40.02	33.555	.276	.298	.501
YOUTH	40.67	34.383	.108	.271	.530
INTEREST	41.09	30.677	.351	.232	.474
WITNESS	41.69	33.274	.117	.259	.533
FAULT	41.94	31.912	.260	.297	.497
MERIT	42.01	33.600	.158	.240	.520
RESPECT	42.16	32.138	.280	.212	.493
SUMMON	40.68	34.869	.117	.116	.526
DETECT	41.81	32.081	.226	.217	.505
ARREST	40.35	33.845	.194	.187	.513
PROFESS	41.15	35.201	.021	.169	.551
TRIAL	41.48	31.726	.259	.263	.496
FAIR	41.10	31.941	.258	.152	.497
DEGREE	41.15	32.780	.161	.110	.521

The Cronbach's Alpha increases to .530 when these items, namely, INSIGHT, COOPERATE, HUMANITY, YOUTH and PROFESS are excluded from the scale. The mean Inter-item correlation increases to 0.084.

Table 6.5

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.530	.537	14

Gliem and Gliem (2003), however, caution that a higher internal consistency in the scale does not necessarily mean that the scale is uni-dimensional. Accordingly, factor analysis was computed to determine the multi-dimensionality of the scale.

6.4 Hypothesis 3: The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale is a multi-dimensional scale

6.4.1 Initial Factor Solution

The 20-item police cynicism scale was subjected to principal component factor analysis with a command for an initial solution. The scale yielded 7 possible components as shown in the table 5.6 below. It is therefore apparent that the scale has underlying factors, and that it will be important to determine whether the initial factor structure corroborates with the conceptual framework that asserts that the Niederhoffer's scale gives three or four factors, namely, attitude towards the public, attitude towards the occupation or work, attitude towards the courts or judicial system and attitude towards the organisation.

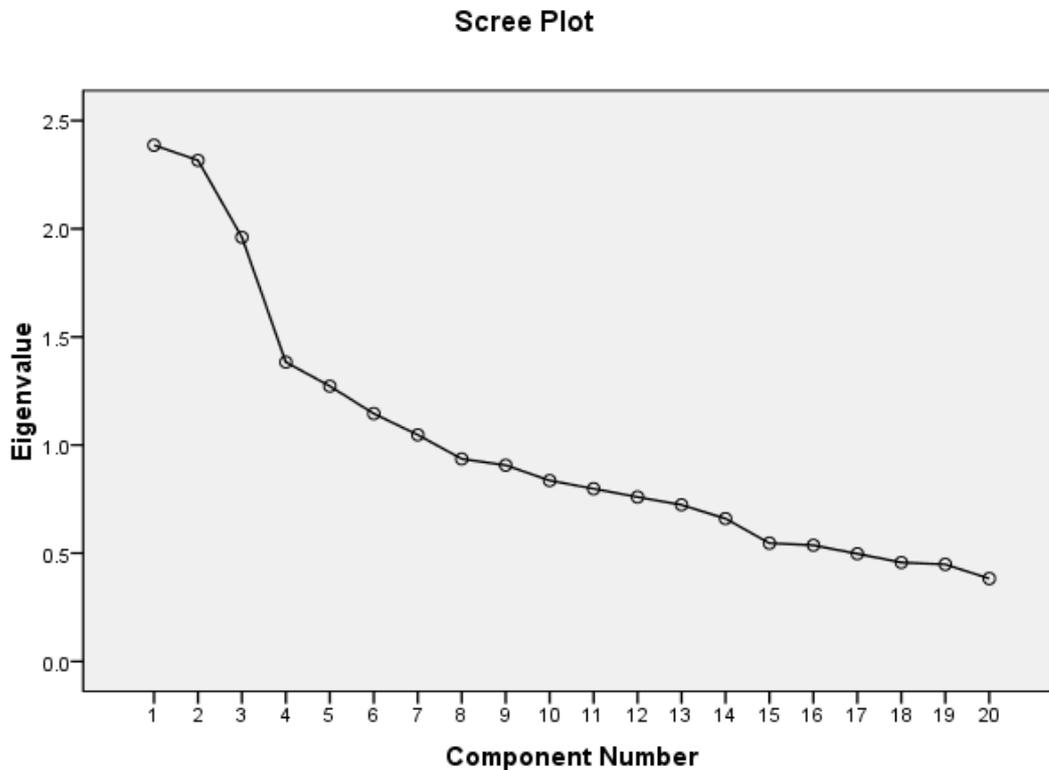
6.4.2 Factor Extraction

There are various methods that one can apply in order to extract factors from an initial factor solution, these include the Eigen values greater than 1 'test' and the Scree Test (Child 2006:58). The rule when applying the Eigen value greater than 1 test is that only factors that have Eigen values that are greater than one should form part of the common factor. The Eigen value test is most appropriate when Principal Component Factor is used and where the variables are between 20 and 50 (Child 2006:59). SPSS is programmed to set to Eigen value on 1 by default. Studying the graph above, the factors 1 to 7 have Eigen values of more than 1 and all the others factors have values that are less than 1.

In the Scree plot, the Eigenvalues are plotted against the component or factor number and the graph or curve is used to determine the cut-off point for the desired number of factors. Kachigan (1991) asserts that the factors at the tail of curve 'represents random error variance' and one could select factors that are located just 'prior to the levelling of the curve'. Child (2006:60) asserts when extracting factors in a Scree Plot the researchers should determine the points in the graph that almost result in a linear relationship and then draw a straight line, and that the factors that are situated above the first factor on the straight line should be extracted.

In this study the Eigen value and the Scree Test were used to extract the factors. The Eigen value generated 7, as stated above. The Scree Test was then used to validate the results. First it was observed that there is a sharp curve between factor 1 and 4 and then there is a steady decline between factor 5 and 20. The graph is almost a straight line between items 5 and 20. Applying the Scree test as asserted by Child's (2006), the factors 5 to 20 are therefore excluded and only 1 to 4 are extracted. The assertion therefore in this study is that the Niederhoffer scale has 4 dimensions.

Diagram 6.1



6.4.3 Factor loadings

It is generally suggested that items with factor loadings of .3 should be included as a part of a factor. The criterion is that items should contribute at least 10% of the variance of the factor. Accordingly, items with factor loading of more than 0.3 contribute to at least 9% of the variance. According to Child (2006) the factor loading criterion is applicable where the sample size $N \geq 80$. In this study, a factor loading of .4 was set in order to increase the significance levels.

Accordingly, the variables INSIGHT, HUMANITY, YOUTH, COOPERATE were excluded from the index that was used to compute the four desired factors because they did not have loadings of more than 0.4 in any of the components that were formed in the initial factor solution. The variable PROFESS was also excluded from the scale because its exclusion resulted in a higher Alpha value for the scale. It was further observed from the initial component matrix that yielded 7 factors that only four factors have two or more variables

with loading of more than 0.4 thus, confirming that only four factors are extractable for the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale.

6.4.4 Four factor solution

The cynicism scale was then factor analysed using varimax rotation with a request to compute the four factors. The table below shows the SPSS output for the four factors.

Table 6.6

Rotated Component Matrix ^a				
	Component			
	1	2	3	4
HARDWORK	-.132	.090	.693	-.032
INTEREST	.331	.072	.228	.614
WITNESS	.072	.740	-.082	-.207
FAULT	.057	.677	-.085	.245
MEDIA	.613	-.051	.033	.200
DEDICAT	.107	.054	.539	.273
MERIT	-.259	.239	.131	.621
RESPECT	.596	.360	-.164	.185
SUMMON	.161	-.204	.542	-.055
RECRUIT	-.445	.384	.244	-.051
DETECT	.670	-.088	.190	-.010
ARREST	.026	.004	.705	.065
TRIAL	-.095	.679	.116	.260
FAIR	.209	.032	-.043	.557
DEGREE	.500	.209	.211	-.383

The items for the factors were as follows:

Only variables that score more than .4 in a factor are considered in the constitution of the factor.

6.4.4.1 Factor I: Cynicism towards the judiciary - (WITNESS, FAULT and TRIAL)

Factor I is comprised of variables that are conceptually very close to each other and they collectively represent the attitude of the police towards the judicial bodies or system. The variable WITNESS measures perception of police about the way in which the police are treated by the courts. The variable TRIAL refers to the perception of bias of trial officers against the police in the internal disciplinary hearings. FAULT captures the view that the senior police officials tend to find wrong-doing that can result into a charge against junior officials. Factor I is renamed cynicism towards the judicial system, CYN_COURT.

6.4.4.2 Factor II: Cynicism towards Police duty (HARDWORK, SUMMON AND ARREST)

This factor is constituted by items that represent the attitude or cynicism towards work, namely, HARDWORK, SUMMON and ARREST. The variable HARDWORK measures the view that the ‘best arrests are made as a result of hard work and intelligent dedication to duty’. The variable SUMMON measure the perception of the police about the rationale for issuing of summonses in the police department. The variable ARREST measures the perception that the police officers make arrest because they are dedicated to the performing their duties properly. All of these variables relate to the view that success in various police duties is related to hard work and dedication to duty.

The cynical view is that good police work and positive results such as arrest and summonses are not necessarily a factor of hard and honest police work. It is expected that the police in this study will hold a cynical view about dedication to duty because the dominant view in the police sub-culture is that police do not have to work extra hard to achieve good results. Through the socialisation process the police are taught by ‘old timers’ to cut corners in order to generate statistical figures for ‘good’ arrests and summonses.

For instance, in order to generate higher arrest figures for a period of time the police simply raid a few illegal night clubs and shebeens where they will obviously ‘net’ people for alcohol-related violations, and possibly some for illegal firearms, others for weapons and drugs. Police may also drive through inner city parks and high density apartment areas where they know that they can possibly ‘net’ people for public drinking and may also arrest a few illegal aliens. The scores of the items on that constitute this factor were the highest compared to other items in the Niederhoffer scale. Factor II is renamed CYN_POLDUTY.

6.4.4.3 Factor III: Cynicism towards the police system - (FAIR, MERIT AND INTEREST)

The variable FAIR measures the perception of police regarding the fairness of the rules and regulations on the conduct of the police. MERIT measures the perception about the fairness in the allocation of special duties. These two variables basically measure the fairness in the organisational systems. The third variable, INTEREST, is concerned with whether or not the supervisor cares about the well-being of the junior officials.

The point of intersection of the INTEREST variable with the other two variables is that a supervisor who cares about the junior officials will be more likely to ensure that the organisational systems are fair towards the junior officials. Leaders and managers of an organisation are generally deemed to be the carriers of the culture of that organisation. Accordingly, an organisation can only be fair towards the employees to the extent that the supervisors create an environment that brings about a system that is fair.

In this study a view is held that police officials are cynical towards police organisational systems. The growing perception of corruption and nepotism in the police service adds to the view that the system is manipulated to advance those employees who are favoured by their supervisors. This dimension of cynicism is renamed CYN_POLSYS.

6.4.4.4 Factor IV: Cynicism towards the police occupation (RESPECT, DETECT and DEGREE)

Factor IV is constituted by two kinds of variables, namely, those that generally indicate the perception of the police about how others relate to them (RESPECT) as well as those that indicate the impact of qualifications on police's efficiency on doing their work (DETECT and DEGREE). The factor brings together the perception of the police about how others view them with the assertions that better qualifications yield improved policing service. The factor therefore suggests an interconnection between the public perception about the police occupation and the police's perception that better qualification brings to the work of the police. In essence there seems to be a nexus between public perception of the police and the levels of qualifications of the police. The attitude that is reflected by this factor can be regarded as status of the occupation. This factor is renamed CYN_POLOCC.

6.5: Hypothesis 4: Rank is a predictor of Cynicism

Hypothesis 4.1: Rank is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

Hypothesis 4.2: Rank is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty

Hypothesis 4.3: Rank is a predictor of cynicism towards police system

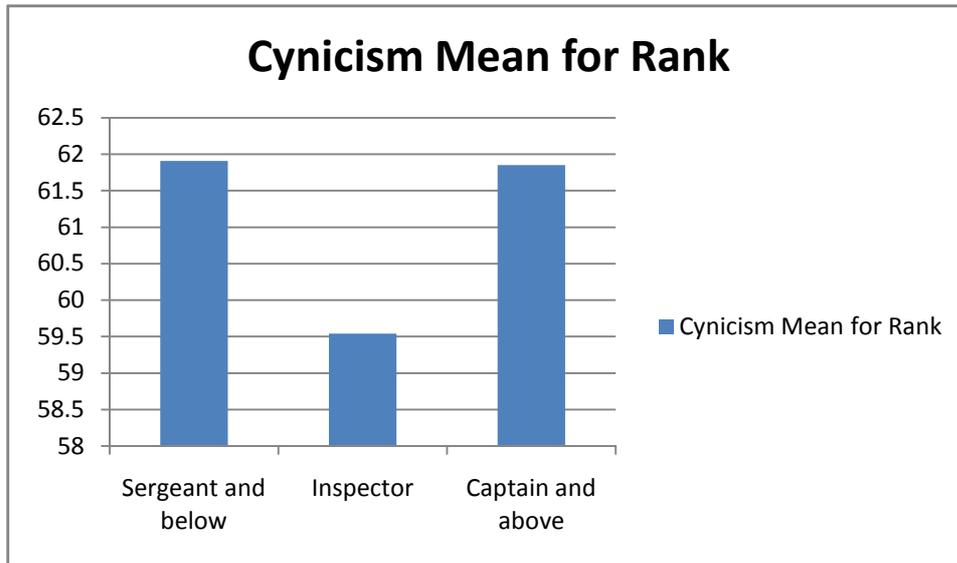
Hypothesis 4.4: Ranks is a predictor of cynicism toward the police occupation

In this study the variable for rank was re-coded and the values of all of the ranks below captain were clustered together and the new value was renamed junior officer. The values for rank of captain and above also were also grouped together and the new value was renamed senior officials. The assumption was that the difference between the means of the junior officials and senior officials is significant and therefore Rank is a predictor of cynicism in any of the factors. The police organisation is a hierarchical institution and the management approach is militaristic and it is based on the principle of command-and-control. In the majority of the instances, management or high ranking officers take decision without consultation with junior officials or ranks.

With the dawn of democracy and the culture of human rights, unionisation of workers and proliferation of progressive management principles, junior ranks in the SAPS often find themselves stifled as their expectations of a free and democratic society is not realisable in their organisation. The lower ranking officials also earn very low salaries as compared to the high ranking officials. It was determined that the highest ranking police official earns forty times more than the lowest ranking official. Accordingly, it was expected that the low ranking officials will be more cynical than the high ranking officials. In a study conducted among police officials in the East Rand, it was found that police officials who hold the rank of captain and superintendents were more positive about the achievement of transformation of SAPS than the lower ranking officials (Mandate Molefi).

In this study the mean for junior officers and senior officers were calculated on the Police Cynicism Scale, and the results show that the cynicism mean for officers with a rank of Sergeant and below is 61.91, for Inspector rank the mean is 59.54 and for officers with a rank of Captain and above mean score is 61.85.

Diagram 6.2



The groups were clustered into two groups, namely, junior officers comprised of non-commissioned officers with rank of inspector and below, and senior officers group which is comprised of officers that are on the rank of Captain and above, commissioned officers. An independent t-test for means was conducted to measure whether these differences were significant in respect of the four cynicism factors, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. The results of the means are shown in table 6.7 below.

Table 6.7

Group Statistics					
	NewRank_1	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Junior Officers	173	-.0927531	1.01503516	.07717169
	Senior Officers	51	.3556232	.90078072	.12613453
CYN_POLDUTY	Junior Officers	173	-.032500	.9940095	.0755731
	Senior Officers	51	.128209	1.0387049	.1454478
CYN_POLSYS	Junior Officers	173	-.0520063	.98697419	.07503826
	Senior Officers	51	.1987830	1.03272463	.14461037
CYN_POLOCC	Junior Officers	173	.0114813	.97617346	.07421709
	Senior Officers	51	-.0785257	1.10759732	.15509465

6.5.1 Hypothesis 4.1: Rank is predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

The mean difference for junior and senior officers in respect of CYN_COURT is -0.39, and the p-value is 0.005. Since the p-value in this instance is less than 0.05 the null hypothesis cannot be accepted. This implies that there is a significant difference in the means of the junior and senior police officers. Junior officers and senior officers hold different views in respect of judicial processes within and outside the police organisation with senior officers being more cynical than the junior officers. The hypothesis that rank is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system is therefore supported.

6.5.2 Hypothesis 4.2: Rank is predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty

The null hypotheses postulated that there is no difference in the means of the two groups in respect of cynicism towards dedication to duty. The t-test results showed that the mean difference of the two groups for CYN_POLDUTY is -0.13, and a p-value of 0.316 was attained. The null hypothesis is accepted because the p-value is greater than 0.05. Accordingly, police officers of all ranks are of the view that dedication to duty or hard work does not necessarily yield positive or good results in the police profession. The levels of cynicism towards work among police officers of all ranks, is similar. The observed difference is therefore due to chance or other influence. The hypothesis that rank is a predictor of the cynicism towards work is therefore rejected.

6.5.3 Hypothesis 4.3: Rank is predictor of cynicism towards the police system

The mean difference for junior and senior police officers in respect to CYN_POLSYS is 0.22. A p-value of 0.116 was attained; therefore the null hypothesis which posits that there is no difference between the means of the two groups cannot be rejected. The implication is that the police officers of all ranks hold a similar view in respect of the fairness in the police organisational system with respect to awarding of merits and the allocation of duties. The hypothesis that rank is predictor of cynicism towards the organisation is hence rejected.

6.5.4 Hypothesis 4.4: Rank is a predictor of cynicism towards the CYN_POLOCC

The null hypothesis stated that there no difference between the mean of junior officers and senior officers groups in respect of their views on police occupation. The results showed that the mean difference for CYN_POLOCC for the two groups is 0.18 and a p-value of .270 was attained. Since the p-value is greater than 0.05, the null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

Thus, it was concluded that there is no significant difference between the scores for the junior officers and senior officers in respect their cynicism towards the police occupation. The hypothesis that rank is a predictor of cynicism towards the public is therefore rejected.

6.6: Hypothesis 5: Race is a predictor of cynicism

Hypothesis 5.1: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

Hypothesis 5.2: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty

Hypothesis 5.3: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards the police systems

Hypothesis 5.4: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation

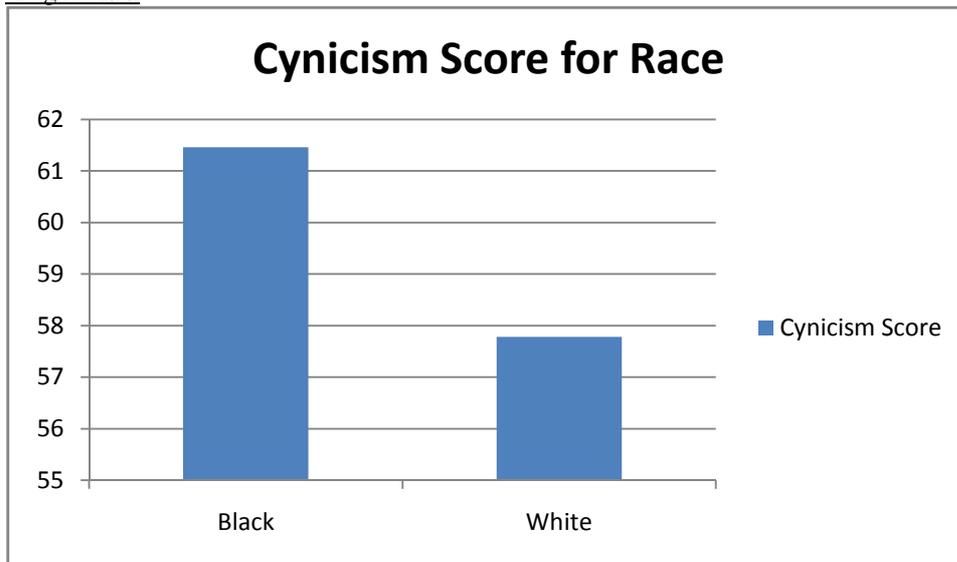
The variable for RACE was re-coded and the values for Africans, Indian and Coloureds were clustered together and renamed Black. The value for Whites and 'other' were also clustered together and renamed White. South Africa is a country with a deeply divided racial past, and it is expected that the police from different racial groups will have different levels of cynicism because their experiences of policing is different. Prior to 1994, police officers of different races worked under different circumstances with white police officers working under more privileged conditions than black police officers. It was not until the mid-1980s that black police officers were allowed to rise to the rank above that of a captain. The first black police general in the South African police force was only appointed in 1992.

After 1994 blacks were promoted to higher ranks in large numbers and they continue to enjoy promotion opportunities in the police service. A considerable number of white officers left the police and most joined the private security industry because they viewed affirmative action as stifling opportunities for them to be promoted. Resources for policing were also shifted from formerly white areas to the formerly black areas which did not have adequate resources.

It was expected in this study that White Officers would be more cynical than Black police officers because the transformation process that has been introduced since 1994 disadvantages them in that they are often overlooked for promotions and senior positions. However, a study that was conducted among police officers in the East Rand showed that Africans are 'more negative about achievement with regards to transformation' (Mandate Molefi). The study further showed that Africans are more negative about management style,

participation and teamwork in the SAPS, and Whites are more negative about morale, people management and service delivery. The score for Blacks in cynicism scale is 61.46 and it is significantly higher than the mean of the entire sample (60.99). Interestingly, the mean for Whites is 57.78, which is significantly lower than the mean of the sample. In fact, since a score of 60 and above indicate that the group is cynical and a score below 60 indicate that the group is not cynical, the score for Whites officers implies that white police officers are not as cynical as expected.

Diagram 6.3



An independent t-test for the means was conducted for the two groups, Black and White, with respect to the four cynicism factors. The results of the t-test with respect to group statistics are shown in table 6.8 below.

Table 6.8

Group Statistics					
	NewRace	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Black	184	-.0349312	1.05585938	.07783899
	White	42	.1434888	.72006418	.11110832
CYN_POLDUTY	Black	184	.130283	.9886306	.0728828
	White	42	-.578761	.8639263	.1333067
CYN_POLSYS	Black	184	.0801024	.99401484	.07327975
	White	42	-.3344360	.96949076	.14959567
CYN_POLOCC	Black	184	.0003691	1.01653063	.07493963

Group Statistics

	NewRace	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Black	184	-.0349312	1.05585938	.07783899
	White	42	.1434888	.72006418	.11110832
CYN_POLDUTY	Black	184	.130283	.9886306	.0728828
	White	42	-.578761	.8639263	.1333067
CYN_POLSYS	Black	184	.0801024	.99401484	.07327975
	White	42	-.3344360	.96949076	.14959567
CYN_POLOCC	Black	184	.0003691	1.01653063	.07493963
	White	42	-.0459022	.88261217	.13619001

6.6.1 Hypothesis 5.1: Race is predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system.

The t-test results indicated that the p-value for CYN_COURT is 0.229 and the mean difference is -0.217. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no difference between the means of the two groups which was created is not rejected because the p-value is greater than 0.05. The inference drawn is that Black and White officers have similar attitudes towards the judicial system and processes within and outside the SAPS. Both Black and White Officers share the perception that the courts and other judicial bodies are biased against the police officers. The hypothesis that race is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system is not supported.

6.6.2 Hypothesis 5.2: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards police duty.

The null hypothesis stated that there is no difference in the means of Black and White officers in respect of cynicism towards police duty. The p-value for CYN_POLDUTY is 0.000 and the mean difference is 0.829 for Black and White police officers. The null hypothesis is rejected. Thus, Black and White Officers have significantly different levels of cynicism towards police duty.

Black and White Officers have different views with respect to the assertion that hard work in policing yields positive work outcomes. Blacks are more cynical about police dedication towards duty than White police officers. Put differently, the level of cynicism towards work is higher among Black officers than with White police officers. The hypothesis that race is a predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty is supported.

6.6.3 Hypothesis 5.3: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system.

The difference in the means for the two groups in respect of CYN_POLSYS is 0.400 and the p-value is 0.015. With respect to this cynicism factor, the null hypothesis cannot be accepted because the p-value is less than 0.05. It was thus concluded that there is a significant difference between the levels of cynicism towards the organisation between the Black and White Officers. The interpretation is that Black and White officers have different views with respect to the fairness of the rules and regulations in the SAPS and also with respect to the assertion that the special duties are allocated on the basis of merit. In this instance, Blacks police officers are more cynical than White police officers.

6.6.4 Hypothesis 5.4: Race is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation.

As far as views regarding the police occupation are concerned, the null hypothesis posited that there is no difference between the means of Black and White officers. The result of the t-test indicated that the mean difference of the two groups, Black and White police officers, for CYN_POLOCC is 0.187 and the p-value is 0.786. The null hypothesis for RACE with respect to CYN_PUB is therefore accepted because the p-value is greater than 0.05. This implies that the difference in the means of the two groups is not significant and any observable difference is probably due to sampling or some other influence. Thus, Black and White Officers in the SAPS hold similar attitudes towards police as an occupation.

6.7: Hypothesis 6: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism

Hypothesis 6.1: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

Hypothesis 6.2: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty.

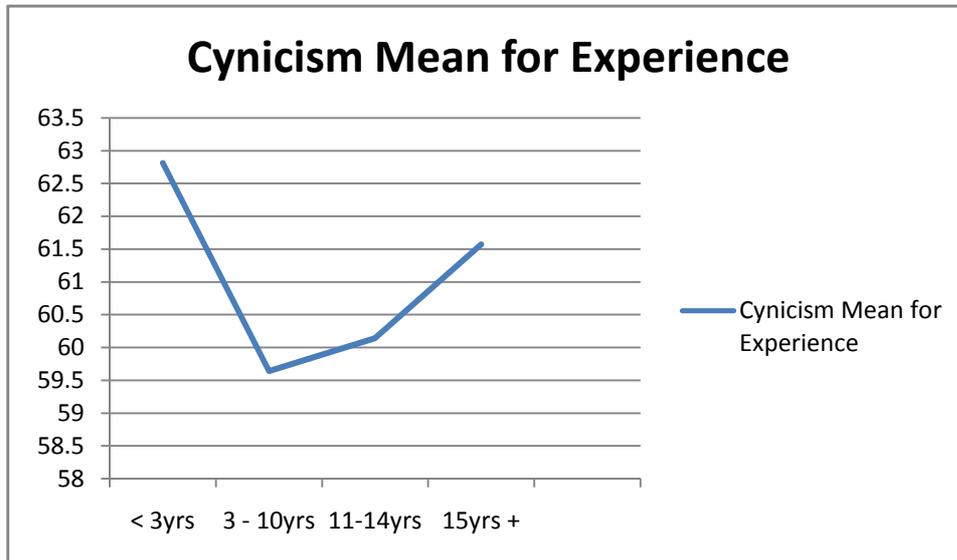
Hypothesis 6.3: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system.

Hypothesis 6.4: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation.

Niederhoffer asserted that length of service is a predictor of cynicism and that junior officers develop cynicism as they gain experience and that the cynicism reaches peak when the officers have 10 – 14 years experience and that afterwards the levels decline. The relationship of length of service is described as a curvilinear relationship. In this study the levels of cynicism on the Niederhoffer scale were compared among officers with different years of experience and it was observed that officers with less than 3 years of experience score the

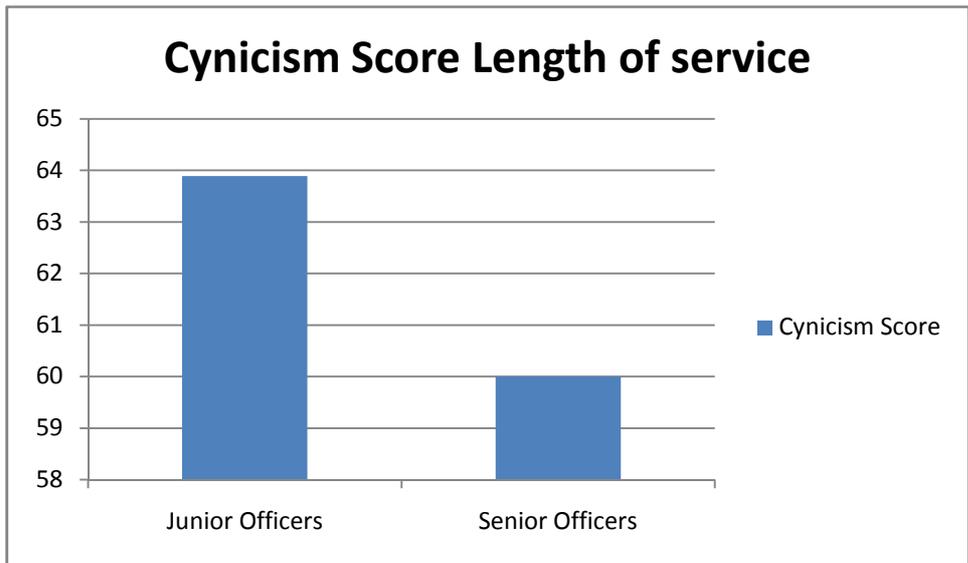
highest level of cynicism and that those with 3 – 10 yrs of experience scored below the sample average. The level of cynicism increased slightly for the group of officers with 11 – 14 years of experience (Diagram 6.4).

Diagram 6.4



In order to allow for a t-test to be conducted the groups were dichotomized and re-coded into two groups, namely, a group with less than 10 years of experience (junior officers) and another group of officers who have more than ten years of experience (senior officers). However, the means were determined for the two groups for the Niederhoffer's Cynicism Scale. Contrary to the results of Niederhoffer's study, the results indicate that the group with less than 10 years is generally more cynical than the group with more than 10 years of experience. (Diagram 6.5)

Diagram 6.5



T-test Results

An independent t-test for the difference between the means of the two groups, Black and White officers, was conducted for the four cynicism factors, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. Part of the results for the t-test is shown in the table 6.9.

Table 6.9

Group Statistics					
	New_Exp_1	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	10 yrs or less	78	.0106610	1.02401278	.11594662
	More than 10 yrs	149	-.0033851	.99369639	.08140678
CYN_POLDUTY	10 yrs or less	78	-.149728	1.0485070	.1187200
	More than 10 yrs	149	.074705	.9707499	.0795269
CYN_POLSYS	10 yrs or less	78	.1286945	.97078107	.10991931
	More than 10 yrs	149	-.0591770	1.01051897	.08278494
CYN_POLOCC	10 yrs or less	78	.2157121	.91035409	.10307730
	More than 10 yrs	149	-.1288234	1.01166048	.08287846

6.7.1 Hypothesis 6.1: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

A null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the cynicism means of the junior and senior officers. The t-test results show that the difference between the means of the two groups for CYN_COURT is 0.000 and that the p-value is 0.920. With the value p-value being much greater than 0.05 the null hypothesis is accordingly accepted. Length of service is therefore not a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system. Police officers, irrespective of the length of experience are of the view that the judicial system within and outside of the police organization is biased towards police officers. Officers are of the view that they are judged very harshly by the courts and by the internal disciplinary processes. The hypothesis that the length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system is not supported.

6.7.2 Hypothesis 6.2: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty

The t-test results indicate that the mean difference for junior and senior officers is -0.22 and the p value is 0.109 for CYN_POLDUTY. The null hypothesis that there is no difference between the two means is therefore accepted. Hence, the hypothesis that length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards police dedication to duty cannot be accepted because there is no significant difference between the two means of the officers with less than 10 years of service and those with more than 10 years of service.

6.7.3 Hypothesis 6.3: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation.

The null hypothesis was stated that there is no difference in the means of cynicism towards the police occupation for junior officers and senior officers. The t-test results indicate that the mean difference for CYN_POLOCC for the two groups is .446 and the p-value is 0.012. The results indicate that the mean of group of police officers with less than 10 years of working experience is not equal to those with more than 10 years of experience.

There is a large difference between the two means and that the group with less than 10 years of experience is more cynical than the group with more than 10 years of experience. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected. Police officers with less than 10 years of experience are cynical towards the police occupation than officers with more than 10 years of experience.

The hypothesis that the length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the public is supported.

6.7.4 Hypothesis 6.4: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system

The null hypothesis postulated that there is no difference between the means of the junior and senior officers with respect to cynicism towards the police system. The results of the independent t-test for difference between means show that the mean difference is 0.18 and that the p value is 0.179. On the face of it, the officers with more than 10 years of service seem to be more cynical than officers with less than 10 years of service. However, since the p value is greater than 0.05 the null hypothesis is accepted and this implies that the difference in the two means is not significant. The hypothesis that length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system cannot be accepted. Police officers, irrespective of the length of service, have a similar cynical attitude towards the police system.

6.8: Hypothesis 7: Education is a predictor of Cynicism

Hypothesis 7.1: Education is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system.

Hypothesis 7.2: Education is a predictor of cynicism about police duty.

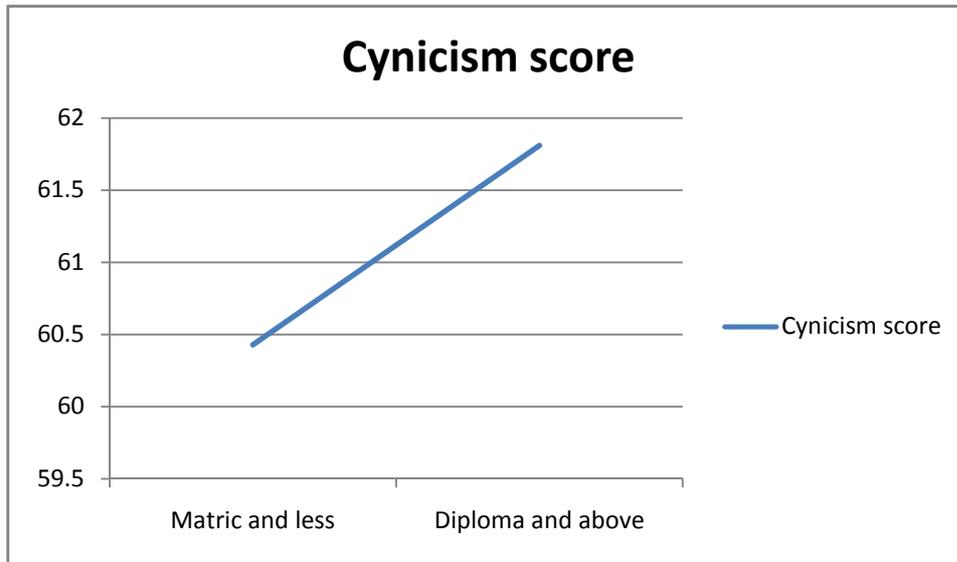
Hypothesis 7.3: Education is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system

Hypothesis 7.4: Education is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation.

Niederhoffer found that police officers who have a college (university) degree are more cynical than officers who do not have a degree. The source of cynicism is that officers who are better qualified have higher expectations of promotion which tend to be unfulfilled because promotion in the police organisation is generally based on factors other than just better qualifications. Police officers with degrees also feel that they have underachieved as compared to people with similar degree who are in different professions. Niederhoffer, however, indicated that this assertion applies to officers who are in the uniform branch and less so to specialised units and detectives. In this study the mean difference between the two groups in the composite scale was determined; it was observed that police officers with a degree scored a group mean of 60.4 where those without a degree scored a group mean of 61.81 (Diagram 6.6). Accordingly, officers with a degree seem to be more cynical than officers without a degree.

The variable QUAL which provides for the level of education was dichotomised and re-coded into a new variable NEWQUAL_1. The values for QUAL were re-coded into new values for NEWQUAL as follows: 01 for Standard 8 and 02 for standard 10 were re-coded as 01 for Matriculation. The values 03 through 07 for the variable QUAL were re-coded as 02 for NEWQUAL and renamed Diploma.

Diagram 6.6



Independent t-test was conducted in order to check whether the difference in the means of the groups with respect to the factors in the cynicism scale is significant. The group statistics results of the t-test are captured in table 6.10 below.

Table 6.10

Group Statistics					
	NewQual_1	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Matric and less	131	-.1906614	.98853562	.08636876
	Diploma	95	.2754632	.96280502	.09878171
CYN_POLDUTY	Matric and less	131	-.029540	.9650832	.0843197
	Diploma	95	.056098	1.0374767	.1064429
CYN_POLSYS	Matric and less	131	.0825053	.96996834	.08474653
	Diploma	95	-.1021269	1.03812905	.10650979
CYN_POLOCC	Matric and less	131	-.0479592	1.01445824	.08863363
	Diploma	95	.0429555	.96257778	.09875840

6.8.1 Hypothesis 7.1: Education is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

It is expected that officers who have a degree should be more cynical than officers without a degree. The t-test results show that the mean of the officers who have a degree/diploma is higher than the group without a diploma with a difference of 0.4. The p-value for CYN_COURT is 0.000, and since this value is less than 0.05, thus the null hypothesis cannot be accepted. Since the difference between the means of the two groups is significant the hypothesis that education is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system is therefore supported. Accordingly, officers with a degree were found to be more cynical towards the judicial system than officers without a degree.

The cynical attitude of the officers with a degree can be attributed to the perception that the officers feel undermined by people who have similar qualification in the prosecution and magistracy. They also feel that they are not accorded the same status as the counterparts in the judiciary and the prosecution departments albeit they have almost similar qualifications.

6.8.2 Hypothesis 7.2: Education is a predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty

With regard to attitudes toward police dedication to duty, the results of the independent t-test show that the mean difference is 0.08 for the two groups and that the $p = 0.524$. The null hypothesis that there is no difference in the mean values of the two groups is therefore accepted. The results imply that police officers with degrees and those who have a high school education have a similar cynical attitude towards dedication to duty. The level of education does not seem to affect the perception that hard work and dedication to duty does not necessarily result in 'best arrests'. The corollary to this assertion is that 'good policing results' such as arrests and maintenance of peace are not necessarily achieved because of hard work and dedication to duty in the police organisation. The hypothesis that education is a predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty is not supported.

6.8.3 Hypothesis 7.3: Education is predictor of cynicism towards the police system

In this study the items that constitute police system are concerned with the fairness of the rules and regulation as well as the fairness in the allocation of merits and special duties. It is expected that the officers who are more educated will be more critical of the inflexible and the highly regulated police environment. A null hypothesis is created that there is no difference between the means of the police officers who have college degrees and those with

only a high school education. The results indicate that the mean for the officers with only a high school education is slightly higher than those with a college diploma or degree. The mean difference is 0.18 and the p value = 0.172; the null hypothesis is therefore accepted. Accordingly, the hypothesis that education is predictor of cynicism towards the police system is rejected. It is concluded that officers of all levels of education have a similar cynical attitude towards the police system.

6.9.4 Hypothesis 7.4: Education is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation

The dimension of CYN_POLOCC is comprised of items that are concerned with the impact of better qualifications on the police work and the respect that the public accords to the police. The cynical attitude means that the police are sceptical about the impact of better qualification on their performance and also that the police doubt the respect that the communities have on the police and the police occupation. It is expected that officers with higher qualification will be less cynical about the impact of qualifications on police efficiency and effectiveness.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the means of the two groups. The results of the t-test show that the difference between the two means is -0.09 and the p value is 0.498. The hypothesis that education is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation could therefore not be accepted. Accordingly, police officers, irrespective of their levels of education, hold the cynical view that better qualifications do not necessarily have a positive impact on police performance or on the perception that the public has about the police.

6.9. Hypothesis 8: Age is a predictor of cynicism

Hypothesis 8.1: Age is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system.

Hypothesis 8.2: Age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty.

Hypothesis 8.3: Age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system.

Hypothesis 8.4: Age is predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation.

Niederhoffer found in his study on police cynicism that officers who served more than 10 years in the police organisation seem to be less cynical than those who have lower length of service. By the same token, it can be assumed that older officers will be less cynical than younger officers. However, Niederhoffer found that age did not show any consistent pattern

of effects on the levels of cynicism. It might be that the effect of age are neutralised or contaminated by other variables such as Race, Length of service and education.

It was expected in this study, that AGE should have significant impact on the levels of cynicism given the fact that officers of different ages joined the SAPS at different stages of transformation of the society as a whole which could impact on the way they experienced the police organisation and the public's response to the police organisation. Officers who were present in the 1980s experienced high levels of community rejection and scorn because of the role they playing in defending the apartheid state. At that time police group solidarity was at its highest, and the members were looking up to the organisation to defend them against growing public hatred.

In the mid-1990s police efforts to curb political violence were highly supported by public, and in most communities partnership with the local police agencies were developed. In the first decade of the 2000's police are generally viewed by the public as incompetent and hopelessly failing to curb the rising crime levels. Police officers who are in their late 40's and above are expected to have gone over the top and are basically pushing the envelope towards retirement to ensure that they do not get fired from the service as they are bound to lose heavily on their pension fund and medical benefits should they be discharged.

Niederhoffer (1967) asserted that the 'veteran policeman has become accustomed to, and moreover expects a certain level of public deference. Upon leaving retirement he may discover when seeking employment somewhere that his police experience counts for little in the competitive world'. In this study it was expected that officers who are forty years and older would be less cynical than officers who are below the age of 40. The variable AGE was re-coded into NEWAGE, and the values 01, 02, 03, 04 and 05 in the AGE variable were re-coded into 01 for the NEWAGE, and 06, 07,08 and 09 were re-coded into 02 for NEWAGE.

Basically, all the values with ages less than 40 years were grouped together and labelled Less than 40, and those above 40 years were group together into a single value and labelled Over 40. An independent t-test was conducted on the dichotomised variable with the four cynicism factors, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. The group statistics is shown of the t-test is shown in table 6.11.

Table 6.11

Group Statistics					
	NewAge	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Less than 40	5	-.1227693	1.13455264	.50738737
	Over 40	71	.1201926	.94487478	.11213601
CYN_POLDUTY	Less than 40	5	-.422785	.9318174	.4167214
	Over 40	71	-.076477	.9684248	.1149309
CYN_POLSYS	Less than 40	5	.5219191	1.00876960	.45113548
	Over 40	71	.0064491	.96466263	.11448439
CYN_POLOCC	Less than 40	5	.7793535	.60812629	.27196234
	Over 40	71	.1920651	.94252060	.11185662

6.9.1 Hypothesis 8.1: Age is predictor of cynicism towards the judicial process.

The null hypothesis postulated that there would be no difference between the means of the police officers who are below 40 years old (younger officers) and those who are 40 years and older (older officers) in respect of cynicism towards the judicial process. The results of the t-test indicate that the mean of the older officers is slightly above that of the younger officers. The p-value is 0.585 and since this figure is above the alpha (0.05) it is concluded that the null hypothesis is accepted. The observed difference is accordingly insignificant. It is further implied that police officers of all ages have similar cynical attitudes towards the judicial system. Officers hold the cynical view that they are treated like criminals when they are giving evidence in court or that the presiding officers in internal disciplinary hearings have already made up their minds to find police officers guilty even before the trial is concluded. The hypothesis that age is a predictor of police cynicism towards the judicial system is therefore rejected.

6.9.2 Hypothesis 8.2: Age is a predictor of cynicism towards police duty (CYN_POLDUTY).

The factor “cynicism towards police duty” is constituted by items that measure the attitude of the police towards the relation between hard work and results. A cynical attitude insinuates that the police do not have to work hard to accomplish excellent results. The police scored the highest mean (4.3) on the items that constitute this factor compared to the scores in the other items on the Niederhoffer scale.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the means of the younger and older police officers' groups in respect of CYN_POLDUTY. The results show that the 'over 40' group has a mean lower than that of the 'below 40' group with a difference of 0.34. However, p-value is 0.441, which is greater than alpha (0.05) thus the observed mean difference is not significant. Hence, the hypothesis that there is age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty is rejected.

6.9.3 Hypothesis 8.3: Age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the means of the younger and the older police officers in respect of cynicism towards the police system. The results of the independent t-test indicate that the mean difference is 0.55, which is among the highest recorded thus far between the means of any two groups. The p-value is 0.253, which is greater than Alpha (0.05). The null hypothesis that there is no difference between the means of the police officers, who are younger than 40 years and those who are 40 and above, is accepted. Therefore, the hypothesis that age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system is rejected.

The cynicism factor CYN_POLSYS is comprised of items that measure the attitude of the police officers towards the police system, and these include the perception of the police that the system of rewarding performance and allocation of duty is not fair. The results of the independent t-test for means indicate that the police officers of all ages have more or less the same levels of cynicism towards the police system even though the observed mean difference score was much higher than the mean differences between other groups that were tested in this study.

6.9.4 Hypothesis 8.4: Age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation

CYN_POLOCC measures the attitude of the police towards police as an occupation. The cynical attitude is that the public has no respect for the police and also that better qualifications do not necessarily improve the image or efficiency of the police. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference in the mean of the younger and the older police officers with respect to cynicism towards the police occupation. The independent t-test results show that the p-value is 0.175 and the mean difference is 0.58. The null hypothesis is accepted because the p-value is greater than 0.05 (alpha). Accordingly, the hypothesis that age is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation is not supported.

6.10: Hypothesis 9: Marital Status is predictor of cynicism

Hypothesis 9.1: Marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the judiciary (CYN_COURT).

Hypothesis 9.2: Marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty (CYN_POLDUTY).

Hypothesis 9.3: Marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system (CYN_POLSYS).

Hypothesis 9.4: Marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC).

Niederhoffer found that police officers who were not married scored significantly higher than officers. Niederhoffer found in his study that the mean score for the entire sample is 62.2 and the officers who were not married scored 74. The plausible explanation to the difference in the cynicism score between married officers and those who are not married might be attributed to the age and the rank of the police officers. In this study a cross-tabulation for the variable NewMarriage and Age indicated that 91% of officers who are between the 20 – 24 years and 82% of those who are between 25 – 29 years are not married.

The cross-tabulation results for New Marriage and Rank shows that 95% of student constables and 68% of constables are not married. It was determined that younger officers and those officers who occupy lower ranks and are more cynical than older and senior officers. Since age and rank are somewhat correlated to marital status, the attributes of married officers can thus be ascribed as well to higher ranking and older officers.

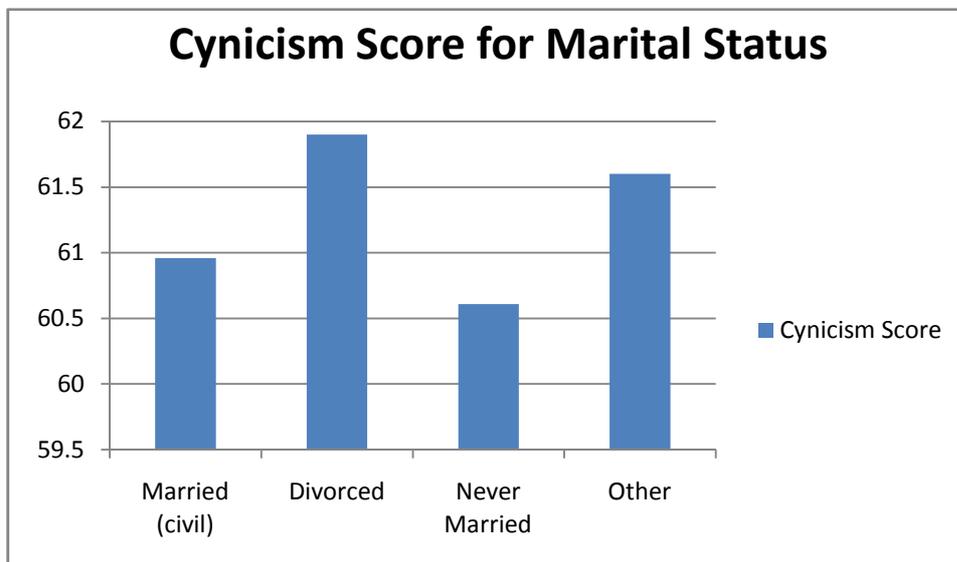
Niederhoffer also suggests that married officers might be compelled, or influenced, by the need to provide for their families and to create a stable environment within which the married officers can raise their families, in order to express a positive attitude and commitment towards work more readily than unmarried police officers.

In this study, it was expected that police officers who are not married will, on average, be more cynical than officers who are married because the demographic characteristics of the former include factors such as, youthfulness, college graduation and low rank, which are associated with a higher propensity to cynicism. South Africa is a multi-cultural society

where people have different ideas and perceptions towards the institution of marriage. However, the institution of marriage is still respected and upheld in most of these different cultures. The law now recognises most forms of marriages, including same sex marriages, cultural marriages and polygamous marriages. Recently, the courts have accorded rights to a woman who was married in accordance with Muslim rites.

In this study the cynicism scores for police officers of different marital status ranged from 60.6 to 60.9. On the face of it, there seems to be no consistent pattern, except that the officers who were never married score the lowest score (60.6) and those who are divorced scored the highest (60.9) as shown in Diagram 5.7 below. However, these differences are minuscule.

Diagram 6.7



The values were dichotomised into married police officers and officers who are not married; the latter included those who were divorced, never married and others. An independent t-test was conducted using the dichotomised values in respect of the four cynicism factors, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. The group statistics are shown in table 6.12.

Table 6.12

Group Statistics					
	NewMarried	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Married	140	-.0119864	1.05379732	.08906213
	Other	83	.0120515	.88694439	.09735480
CYN_POLDUTY	Married	140	.044037	1.0265356	.0867581
	Other	83	-.107181	.9619749	.1055905
CYN_POLSYS	Married	140	-.0404573	1.00752833	.08515169
	Other	83	.0321784	.97546605	.10707131
CYN_POLOCC	Married	140	-.1112994	.99590204	.08416908
	Other	83	.2343755	.95979195	.10535085

6.10.1 Hypothesis 9.1: Marital Status is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system (CYN_COURT)

The null hypothesis stated that there is no difference in the means of the officers who are married and those who are not married in respect of CYN_COURT. The results of the t-test indicated that the mean difference is -0.02 and the p-value = 0.058. Since the p-value is greater than alpha (0.05) the null hypothesis is accepted. The hypothesis that marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the judiciary is not supported. It is concluded, therefore, that police officers, irrespective of their marital status, have similar levels of cynicism towards the judicial system.

6.10.2 Hypothesis 9.2: Marital Status is a predictor of cynicism towards police duty

In this study it is held that cynicism towards police duty (CYN_POLDUTY) refers to the negative attitude of the police officers towards the ideals of police duty. The null hypothesis is that there is no significant difference in the levels of CYN_POLDUTY between married officers and those who are not married. The null hypothesis is accepted because the results of the independent t-test for the means show that the p-value (0.599) is greater than alpha (0.05). The observed mean difference is shown to be fairly low (0.15). Accordingly, the hypothesis that marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty is rejected.

6.10.3 Hypothesis 9.3: Marital Status is a predictor of cynicism towards police system

The expectation with respect to cynicism towards the police system was that the mean of married officers would be significantly lower than the mean of officers who are not married. A null hypothesis was formulated that posits that there is no difference in the means of the two groups; namely, married officers and those are not married. An independent t-test for the means was conducted and the results show the observed mean difference to be relatively low (-0.7), and the p-value (0.599) to be greater than alpha (0.05). On the basis of these results, the null hypothesis is therefore accepted and the hypothesis that marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system is not supported.

6.10.4 Hypothesis 9.4: Marital Status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC)

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the means of the police officers who are married and those who are not married in respect of the levels of cynicism towards police occupation (CYN_POLOCC). The results of the independent t-test for means show a relatively high observed mean difference at -0.3 and the p-value (0.012) which is lower than alpha (0.05). Therefore, the null hypothesis is not accepted. Therefore, the hypothesis that marital status is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation is accepted. Married officers and those who are not married have different views about their experiences of the public and with regard to their perceptions of the relationship between qualification and police image.

6.11. Hypothesis 10: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism

Hypothesis 10.1: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system.

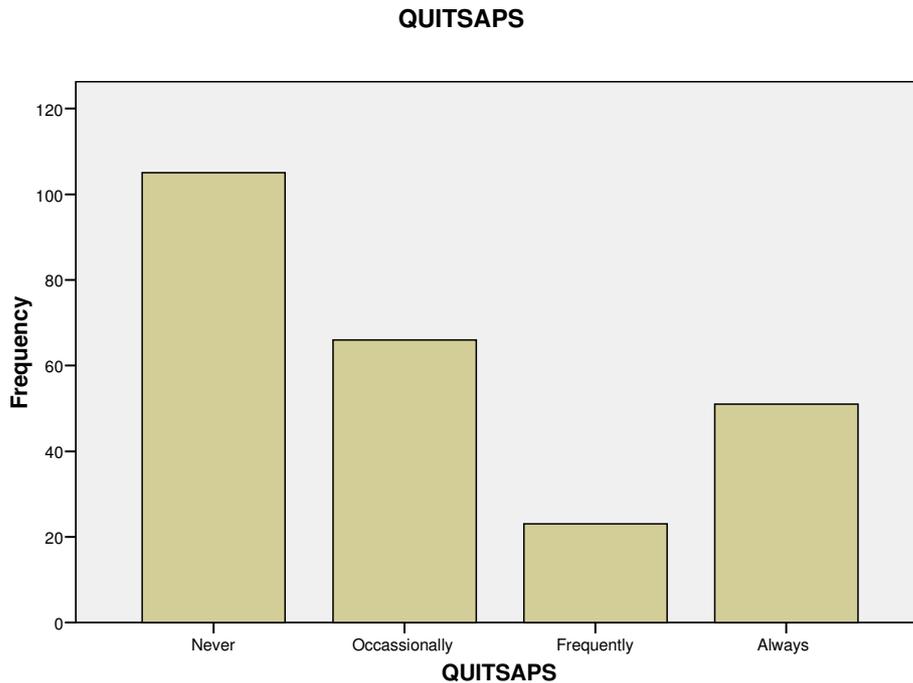
Hypothesis 10.2: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty.

Hypothesis 10.3: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system.

Hypothesis 10.4: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation.

42% of the police officials in the sample indicated that they never considered quitting the South African Police Service. 26% of the sample indicated that they occasionally contemplated, and about 30% frequently or always considered quitting the SAPS. Considering the low morale in the police service, it was expected, however, that there would be more officers who consider quitting the SAPS than those who never considered. It was also expected that the officers who considered quitting the SAPS would be more cynical than those who do not want to quit. The table below shows the frequencies of the responses of the police officials in respect of the variable QUITSAAPS (Diagram 6.8).

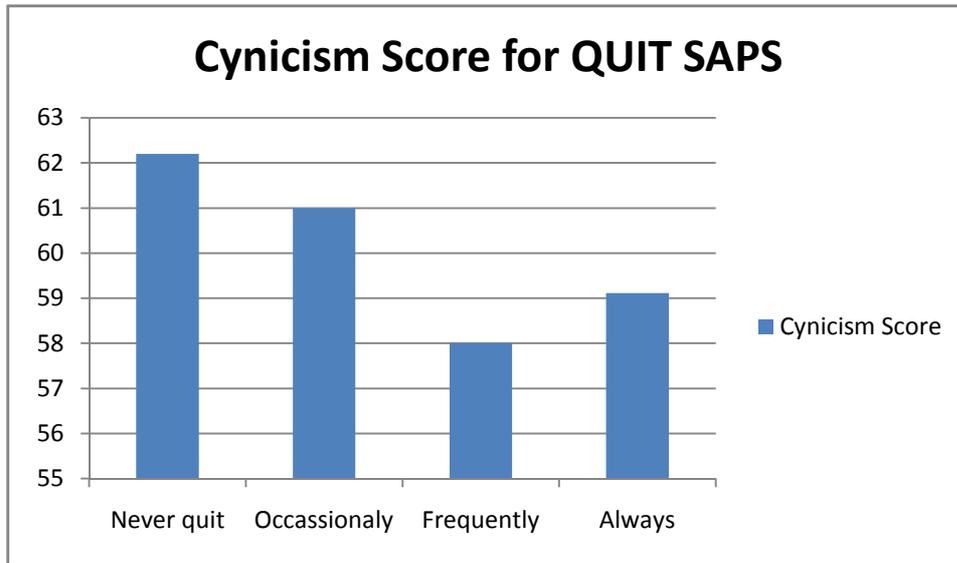
Diagram 6.8



Cynicism Score for the variable QUITSAAPS

Contrary to the expectation, the cynicism score of the police officers who indicated that they had never considered quitting the SAPS is the highest at 62, followed by those who occasionally thought about quitting at 61. It is interesting to note that those who frequently thought about quitting scored 58, which is below the mean average of 60.9. In fact, these police officials who frequently thought about quitting the SAPS are considered not to be cynical as the cut off point for someone to be considered as a cynic is when they achieved a score of above 60 on the Niederhoffer's cynicism scale. It is also worth noting that, similarly, those who always thought about quitting SAPS scored 59 on the Niederhoffer's Scale and are therefore not cynical. The graph below show the cynicism scores for the variable QUITSAAPS (Diagram 6.9).

Diagram 6.9



The variable QUIT SAPS was dichotomised into new values, namely, 1-Do not quit and 2-want to quit so that the independent t-test can be conducted for the means of the variables in respect of the four cynicism factors that were determined, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. The results of the t-test indicate that the mean of officers who want to quit SAPS is higher than that of those who do not want quit SAPS in all four cynicism factors (Table 13)

Table 6.13

Group Statistics					
	New Quit	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYN_COURT	Do not quit	157	.1108408	1.03560405	.08265020
	Want to quit	67	-.2819033	.87253109	.10659664
CYN_POLDUTY	Do not quit	157	.058977	.9276659	.0740358
	Want to quit	67	-.155280	1.1436635	.1397207
CYN_POLSYS	Do not quit	157	.1572105	.93569333	.07467646
	Want to quit	67	-.3956823	1.02793715	.12558251
CYN_POLOCC	Do not quit	157	.0868469	.99459670	.07937746
	Want to quit	67	-.2016521	.95931405	.11719886

6.11.1 Hypothesis 10.1: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system

Police officials generally hold the perception that the courts are against them, and also that they are generally treated like criminals when they testify in court. Accordingly, it was expected that the police who want to quit SAPS will be more cynical about the judicial system. The null hypothesis is that the means of the police officials who want to quit the SAPS and those who do not want to quit SAPS are similar. The results of the independent t-test for means show that the mean difference is 0.39 and the p-value is 0.007. Since the p-value is smaller than alpha (0.05), the null hypothesis is rejected and the hypothesis that the desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the judiciary is, therefore, supported.

6.11.2 Hypothesis 10.2: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police duty

It was expected that the police who want to quit SAPS would be more cynical towards police dedication to duty than those who do not want to quit the SAPS. The results of the t-test show that the mean difference is 0.21 and the p-value is 0.142. The implication is that the mean difference is not significant. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted and the hypothesis that desire to quit SAPS is a predictor of cynicism towards the police dedication to duty (CYN_POLDUTY) cannot be accepted.

6.11.3 Hypothesis 10.3: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police system (CYN_POLSYS)

The factor CYN_POLSYS is comprised of variables that indicate the perception of the police about the police system. It is expected that the police officers who want to quit SAPS will be more cynical about the police system than those who do not want to quit SAPS. The null hypothesis postulated that there is no significant difference between the means of the two groups. The results of the independent t-test for the means of the two groups in respect of CYN_POLSYS show that the p-value is 0.000 and the mean difference is 0.55.

Accordingly, the null hypothesis is rejected and the hypothesis that the desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism is accordingly accepted. It is concluded that the police officers who do not want to quit SAPS are more cynical towards the police system than those who do not want to quit. The possible explanation might be that the police officers

who want to quit SAPS have alternative employment options and thus they do not feel stuck to the police occupation.

6.11.4 Hypothesis 10.4: The desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC)

The null hypothesis stated that there is no difference between the groups, namely, those who want to quit SAPS and those who do not want to quit in respect of the cynicism factor, CYN_POLOCC. The results of the independent t-test show that the mean difference of the two groups is 0.28 with a p-value of 0.046. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected and the hypothesis that the desire to quit the police service is a predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation is accepted.

Since the mean difference is significant, it is concluded that police who want to quit SAPS are more cynical towards the police occupation than those who do not want to quit. The probable explanation to this somewhat unexpected result is that the officers who want to quit SAPS have alternative future plans for their personal growth and career and do not feel confined to the police occupation.

6.12: Police Cynicism and change

6.12.1 The index on Attitudes to Organisational Change

The index on Attitudes to Organisational Change (AOC) was used to measure the attitude of police officials towards change. The 36-item scale was first developed by Neiva *et al* and has three factors, namely, fear of change, acceptance of change and cynicism (Neiva *et al* 2005). In this study, only two factors of the AOC were used, namely, fear of change and acceptance of change. The cynicism factor was not used because the Niederhoffer's scale was used to measure police cynicism. The adapted AOC scale with two factors was subjected to a reliability test and was found to be reliable because it yielded Cronbach's alpha of 0.747 as shown in table 6.14 below.

6.12.1.2 Factor Analysis of the Change Index Scale

Table 6.14

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.747	.754	17

The scale was also subjected to principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation. The scale yielded exactly two factors as in Nieva et al, namely, fear of change (CHG_FEAR) with 9 (nine) items and acceptance of change (CHG_ACCEPT) with 8 (eight) items. The factors also had relatively high factor loading. The two factors of the AOC are therefore validated (table 6.15).

Table 6.15

Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
JOBLESS	.551	.057
CHANGE	.656	-.207
INFORM	.691	-.046
EXPECT	.587	-.001
RESIST	.420	.198
WAGECUT	.597	.035
UNCERTAIN	.675	.070
DEVOLVE	.588	.007
FEARLOSS	.701	.030
ATTITUDE	.150	.374
GROWTH	-.113	.610
FUNCTION	.168	.689
RELIEVE	.039	.757
OPPORTUNE	.226	.600
SELFNESS	.434	.379
BENEFIT	-.153	.670
MAJORITY	-.278	.516

6.12.1.3 Determining the relationship between Police Cynicism and change

A correlation matrix was executed for the two AOC factors (CHG_FEAR and CHG_ACCEPT) with the four police cynicism factors (CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC) in order to test if there is a relationship between police cynicism and change.

6.12.2 Hypothesis 11: Police cynicism is related to fear of change

It was expected that increase in police cynicism would be related to increase in fear of change. Theoretically it was asserted that employees who are cynical about some aspect of organisation are also fearful of organisational change. SAPS has been undergoing continuous planned changes since 1994 and as recent as 2007, a major structural change was implemented whereby the Specialised Investigation Units and the Police Area Offices were abolished. It is amidst these changes, coupled with the potential of the police organisation to generate cynicism, as Niederhoffer asserts, that a relationship between police cynicism and fear of change was expected.

The results of the correlation matrix indicate a significant positive correlation between CHG_FEAR and CYN_POLSYS as well as CHG_FEAR and CYN_COURT. The Spearman's Rho for the correlation between CHG_FEAR and CYN_COURT is 0.282 at 0.001 significance level. The Spearman's rho for CHG_FEAR and CYN_POLSYS is 0.216 also at 0.01 significance. The hypothesis that there is a relationship between police cynicism and fear of change is supported only with respect to CYN_COURT and CYN_POLSYS.

6.12.3 Hypothesis 12: Police Cynicism is related to acceptance of change

Police officers who embrace change are expected to be less cynical. Niederhoffer asserted that one of the roots of police cynicism is that police officers are resisting professionalization of the police service. Basically, the prevalence of cynicism in the police organisation is fuelled by resistance to change. On the other hand, the officers who embrace professionalization of policing are less cynical. It is expected therefore that police cynicism will be related to acceptance of change, more specifically that officers who are more ready to accept change are less cynical.

The correlation results show that there is a significant inverse correlation between CHG_ACCEPT and three cynicism factors, namely, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. The Spearman's rho scores at 0.01 significance levels for the factors are -0.266, -0.316 and -0.181. Accordingly, the hypothesis that police cynicism is related to acceptance of change is supported.

6.13 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The object of this study was to test the reliability and validity of the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale. The study replicates Niederhoffer's police cynicism study on the New York police by testing the hypotheses among the police in Tshwane police stations. This study is different from two other studies that were previously conducted in South Africa because in this study a relationship between Cynicism and Change was examined.

6.13.1 Hypothesis 1: Cynicism is present among the members of the South African Police in Tshwane

The results of this study showed that police in Tshwane police stations are cynical. The score for group mean for the police in Tshwane is 60.99 which is quite compatible to the group score of the police in New York. This confirmed Niederhoffer's assertion that the police organisations are themselves breeding grounds for cynicism.

6.13.2 Hypothesis 2: The Niederhoffer's scale is unreliable

The reliability of the scale was measured by determining the inter-item correlations as well as the Cronbach's alpha. It was found that the scale had a low inter-item correlation (0.034) and also that the Cronbach alpha was significantly low at 0.235. It was found, however, that the reliability could be increased to an acceptable level of 0.530 by excluding some of the items from the scale. Accordingly, the items, INSIGHT, COOPERATE, HUMANITY, YOUTH and PROFESS were excluded from the scale.

6.13.3 Hypothesis 3: The Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale is multi-dimensional

A number of studies found that the Niederhoffer's police cynicism scale has underlying factors ranging from three to five depending on the size and type of the police organisation as well as cultural context within which the police operate. In this study it was found that the

scale had four dimensions, namely, Cynicism towards court (CYN_COURT), cynicism towards police duty (CYN_POLDUTY), cynicism towards police system (CYN_POLSYS) and cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC).

6.13.4 Hypothesis 4: Rank is predictor of cynicism

Most studies confirmed that there is a relationship between rank and police cynicism and further that the low ranking officers are more cynical than higher ranking officers. In this study it was found that score for cynicism on the Niederhoffer's scale for various ranks ranges from 60 to 61.9. Inspectors scored the lowest score of 59.5. The ranks were dichotomised in order to conduct an independent t-test for the difference between the means in respect of the various cynicism factors. It was found that rank is a predictor of cynicism only with respect to cynicism towards the judicial system (CYN_COURT). It was found that, contrary to the expectations, senior officials are more cynical than junior officials.

6.13.5 Hypothesis 5: Race is a predictor of cynicism

Niederhoffer compared the levels of cynicism between Jewish Officers and Non-Jewish officers with the expectation that the Jewish officers would be more cynical than the other groups. In South African race is expected to be a critical determinant in that the police have been responsible to implement race-based laws during the apartheid era and that officers of different races were treated differently where Black officers were denied opportunities whereas White officers had ample opportunities for promotion and access to resources. The findings indicated that Race was a predictor to two cynicism factors, namely, cynicism towards the police duty (CYN_POLDUTY) and cynicism towards police system (CYN_POLSYS). It was also found, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, that Black officers are more cynical than White Officers.

6.13.6 Hypothesis 6: Length of service is a predictor of cynicism

Niederhoffer found that cynicism increases from about year two and then levels off at 10 years and begin to taper down by the 14th year of service. In this study it was found that cynicism is highest among officers who have three years or less experience and then the cynicism decreases to a minimum of 59.7 at ten years and increase slightly again reaching 61 for officers who have more than 15 years working experience. The results are compatible with the findings on rank in that most inspectors have about 10 – 15 years of working experience and thus the results for rank and length of service should be compatible given that

the inspectors constitute the largest category of officers in the police. The variable years of experience, YRSINSAPS, was dichotomised and the independent t-test for difference between the means was conducted for all the cynicism factors. The results show that length of service is only a predictor of cynicism towards police as an occupation (CYN_POLOCC).

6.13.7 Hypothesis 7: Education is a predictor of cynicism

In the past qualification for entry into the South African police service was standard six (eight years of schooling) for black officers and standard eight (ten years of schooling) for white officers. The entry qualification for municipal police and railway police officers were much lower than SAP, and these units were subsequently absorbed into the national police force. To date college or university qualification is not a requirement for entry into the South African police, though necessary for promotion to higher ranks.

Needless to say, officers who enlisted many years ago invariably occupy higher position even though they do not have college education, and those who have higher education have gained it through in-service training or distance education. In this study, education was expected to be a predictor of cynicism because officers who are more educated usually feel stifled by the police bureaucracy that is usually managed by old-school high ranking police officials who are not as educated. Education variable was dichotomised into police officers who have a matriculation certificate or less and those who have college/university degree or higher.

The results of the independent t-test for means show that education is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system (CYN_COURT). It was also found that educated police officers are more cynical than officers who are less educated. The reason for this finding might be that police officials who are more educated are more frustrated by the lack of respect apparently accorded to them by their counterparts in the judiciary and prosecution whom they believe have equivalent qualification.

6.13.7 Hypothesis 8: Age is a predictor of cynicism

The expectation was that younger officers will be more cynical than older officers. Niederhoffer's observation was that the results on the relationship between age and cynicism were inconsistent. In this study the AGE variable was dichotomised and an independent t-test for difference between means was conducted. Interestingly, it was found that there were no significant differences between the means of the older officers and younger officers in respect

of all the cynicism factors, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. Therefore, it is concluded that Age is not a predictor of police cynicism.

6.13.8 Hypothesis 9: Marital Status is a predictor of cynicism

Police officials are reputed for embracing conservatism, and are more likely to uphold traditional values of the society, such as marriage, than members of other occupations. In the police service there is differential treatment for married officials and those who are not married. In the past one would also find that the families were encouraged to join the police service, and there are anecdotes that suggest that it was not odd to find married couples, siblings or fathers and sons working at the same station. Niederhoffer found in the New York study that marital status is a predictor of cynicism, where married couples are less cynical than officers who are not married. In this study the independent t-test for difference between the means of married police officials and those who are not married show that marital status is predictor of cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC).

6.13.9 Hypothesis 10: Desire to quit SAPS is a predictor of cynicism

The desire to quit SAPS was measured by the item which determined the frequency with which the police official thinks about leaving the SAPS. The responses range from 1) always think about leaving SAPS to 2) never think about leaving SAPS. It was expected that police officials who have the highest desire to quit SAPS would be more cynical than police official who rarely or never think about leaving the SAPS. The independent t-test results show that the variable QUITSAPS was a predictor in three of the four cynicism factors, namely, CYN_COURT, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC. Interestingly, it was found that police officers who want to quit SAPS are less cynical than those who do not want to quit SAPS. One possible explanation to this finding is that police officers who want to quit SAPS have learned to “overcome” the cynical attitude and are looking forward to new job opportunities.

6.13.10 Hypothesis 11: Police cynicism is related to fear of change in the organisation

The main source of cynicism in the police organisation, argues Niederhoffer, is the attempt or move to professionalise policing. The old-timers in the police force resist the professionalization and see this only as a ploy by politicians and administrators to gain absolute control of policing. Invariably police officers are more than likely to fear any

changes that are being initiated irrespective of whether such changes are motivated by extraneous or endogenous factors.

The paramilitary nature of the police organisation have for many years encouraged a sub-culture and a close-knit comradeship among police officials more so in South Africa where the police were for many years regarded as the pariah. It was expected in this study that there will be a relationship between police cynicism and fear of change. The correlation matrix for the four cynicism factors and fear for change (CHG_FEAR) show that there is a significant positive relationship between fear for change (CHG_FEAR) and cynicism towards the court (CYN_COURT) as well as for cynicism towards the police system (CYN_POLSYS).

6.13.11 Hypothesis 12: Police cynicism is related to acceptance of change

Studies have shown that employees who are doubtful of organisational changes are also cynical about some aspects of the organisation. Employees who are cynical do not accept change or employees who are less cynical are more likely to accept change. Thus, increase in cynicism is related to decrease in acceptance of change. In this study a negative relationship was expected between the CHG_ACCEPT and the cynicism factors. The results of the correlation matrix show that there is a negative relationship between CHG_ACCEPT and three cynicism factors, namely, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC.

6.14 CONCLUSION

The object of this chapter was threefold: Firstly, to replicate the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism scale among the police officials who are working in ten police stations in the Tshwane area in South Africa. Secondly, the study also measured the reliability and further tested the multi-dimensionality of the Niederhoffer's Police Cynicism Scale. Thirdly, the factors of the Niederhoffer's cynicism scale were correlated with factors of a valid scale on Attitude of Organisational Change in order to determine the relationship between cynicism and change.

A total of 12 hypotheses were tested. As expected, it was found that cynicism is present among the police officers in the Tshwane area. It was also found that the Niederhoffer's scale as applied was somewhat unreliable and that some items needed to be excluded in order to achieve stability in the scale. In this study six items had to be excluded in order to raise the reliability to an acceptable level. The scale was also found to have underlying dimensions and

a factor analysis of the scale yielded four factors, namely, cynicism towards the court (CYN-COURT), cynicism towards the police duty (CYN_POLDUTY), cynicism towards the police system (CYN_POLSYS) and cynicism towards police occupation (CYN_POLOCC).

The hypotheses testing revealed that different variables are related to different cynicism factors. For instance, it was found that rank is predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system (CYN_COURT) and that length of service is a predictor of cynicism towards police occupation (CYN_POLOCC). The other important findings are that AGE is not a predictor of cynicism, and also that the desire to quit SAPS impacted on three of the four cynicism factors, namely, CYN_POLDUTY, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_POLOCC.

This study is different from other studies on cynicism in the police service in South Africa in that it is the first study that studies the relationship between cynicism and change among police officials. This investigation of the relationship between change and cynicism was important because the South African Police Service has embarked on a conscious organisational change process since 1994 and to date there are still structural changes that are being implemented. The winds of change seem to be blowing forever in the SAPS.

Finally, it can be concluded that Niederhoffer's scale is sensitive to cultural context though not totally unusable. The scale has to be refined for each context and that it should be accepted that this scale has underlying factors and, therefore, each factor must be investigated on its own as to how it relates or is affected by other variables.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) investigated the prevalence of cynicism among police officials in a New York police department in the 1960s. In his study, Niederhoffer designed a twenty-item scale which he assumed to be one-dimensional. Following his study, a number of authors explored the concept of police cynicism further, and basically two types of studies arose, namely, methodological studies which aimed at testing the validity and reliability of the scale, and studies that were essentially exploring the manifestation of cynicism in different contexts.

The aim of this study was to explore the methodological challenges in the measurement of police cynicism in South Africa. The literature review indicated that only two such studies had been conducted before in South Africa before, one in Johannesburg and the other in the former homeland of Transkei, now the province of the Eastern Cape. The difference between this study and the other two is that in this study the factors in the Niederhoffer's scale are correlated with factors in a valid Attitude Towards Change Scale. Thus this study is the first to compare cynicism with change.

Cynicism as a philosophical concept originated in Ancient Greece. Ancient Cynics were described as people who despised the physical or material wealth, and were highly critical of authority. There is no agreement among scholars about the person who founded cynicism as a philosophy and way of life. Some authors argue that Diogenes of Sinope is the founder whereas others proclaim Antisthenes as the founder. However, there is no disagreement among authors about the essential aspects of ancient cynicism: these are self-alienation, rejection of culture, apathy, indifference and atheism. Cynics are notable for using satire and humour to express their thoughts.

In modern times, cynicism acquired a different meaning, and it is now described as a feeling of distrust and rejection of commonly accepted values. Niederhoffer asserts that in the police organisation the characteristics of cynicism include, hatred, envy and latent hostility and an attitude of 'sour-grapes'. The sources and predictors of cynicism in the organisation are

grouped into three categories, namely, Business environment characteristics, Job and Role characteristics and Organisational Characteristics.

The elements that typically breed cynicism in the organisation are reforms and change, organisational performance and retrenchment of workers. The Job and Role Characteristics that give rise to cynicism are occupational socialisation, role ambiguity and role conflict. Lastly the characteristics that creates cynicism in the Organisation include, strain and occupational anomy. This study focused on the relationship between cynicism in the police organisation and an aspect of Organisational Characteristics that predicts cynicism, namely change. To this end, the factors of the cynicism that were derived through factors analysis were correlated with two dimensions of the Attitude Towards Organisational Change Index.

It was important, therefore, in this study to review the transformation and change in the SAPS in order to assess the extent and scope of the changes and reforms in the organisation. Transformation and change in policing in South Africa has been on-going since the establishment of the formal policing structure by the Governor-General of the Cape, Jan Van Riebeck, in 1652. These changes are still continuing today in more or less the same areas as in 1652, namely, the nature or approach to policing and the structure of police.

The important milestones for the police reforms in this country are, firstly, the establishment of different police units and style for different areas, as early as 1660 in the Cape. A semi-military force was established to police the rural (white areas) and black areas, and a cosmopolitan force was created to establish urban (white) areas. This policing approach was implemented in the 1800s in the two Boer Republics and British Colonies of the Natal and Cape. The second milestone in police reforms was the creation of the South African Constabulary in 1900, the first force to operate at a national level, across provincial boundaries. This force was, however, policing only the rural (white) and black areas. This force was disbanded in 1908.

The third milestone was the amalgamation of all of the police forces of the four provinces into one national South African Police (SAP). Interestingly, a para-military force was created almost at the same time, the South African Mounted Riflemen, to police the rural and black areas. This force was disbanded in the 1920's and its members were either absorbed into the SAP or the Union Defence Force. The fourth milestone was the creation of the municipal

forces and the police force in the various Bantustans in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s the SAP became increasingly militarised and participated in so-called Bush Wars in the neighbouring states of Namibia (then South West Africa) and Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia).

The fifth important landmark reform was the amalgamation of the SAP with all the Bantustan police force and the armed wings of the ANC and PAC. This amalgamation was largely influenced by political and social changes that were taking place at the time and thus the policing approach had to resonate with the political changes. Thus, the police embraced a human rights culture and professionalization was introduced in the force. The police service also ceased to use military insignia and ranks to signify the community-policing approach. However, the newly appointed National Commissioner of Police, Mr. Bheki Cele announced that the police will revert to the military-style of command and also that the police should use lethal force in instances where they are faced with armed criminals. The implication for the police if these proposals are implemented can only be that change is continuous in the police.

The literature indicates that all efforts to introduce a community-oriented police approach were not successful. In the 1990's the new SAPS introduced many other changes in the structure and new aspects of policing, for instance, the following were established; Area Offices, Specialised Units, Community-Police Forums and Civilian Oversight structures. It is against this background that reforms and changes in the police service were expected to have impacted on the employees, and thus it was decided to study the experiences of the police officers against the expected prevalence of cynicism in the police organisation.

There are a number of studies that criticised the validity and reliability of the Niederhoffer scale. The scale was subsequently also applied in different cultural settings to test the prevalence of cynicism and its manifestations. There are authors who found that the scale was reliable and others who rejected its reliability. However, authors generally found that the scale was multi-dimensional and has about five underlying factors, namely: Cynicism toward the public (CYN_PUB), cynicism toward organisational functions (CYN_ORG), cynicism toward duty (CYN_DUTY), cynicism toward education and training (CYN_EDU) and cynicism toward police solidarity (CYN_SOL).

The results of the study found that cynicism indeed exists among the police in the Tshwane area. Niederhoffer concluded that a score of 60 on his scale indicates the presence of

cynicism in Tshwane the score was 61. The finding was expected though there was an expectation that the level of cynicism would be much higher because of the fact that the police in this country have lost favour and credibility across various communities. They are seen as ineffective, inept and corrupt, and generally treated with contempt and circumspect.

The lower than expected score could be the result of the fact that the scale was found to be very unreliable (a Cronbach Alpha of 0.235). This also points to the fact that the scale is sensitive to cultural context. In this study, five (5) items had to be excluded from the scale in order to increase the reliability to an acceptable minimum Cronbach Alpha score of 0.537. More work needs to be done in order to improve the reliability of the Niederhoffer's scale.

As was expected, the scale was found to be multi-dimensional and yielded four cynicism factors. These were labelled cynicism towards the judicial system (CYN_COURT), cynicism towards the duty (CYN_POLDUTY), cynicism towards police system (CYN_POLSYS) and cynicism towards police occupation (CYN_POLOCC).

With respect to Rank it was found that the cynicism is high among low ranking police officers (those with a rank of sergeant and lower) and then dips to below 60 within the Inspector rank and then up again among captains and higher ranks. The interesting finding was that White police officers were less cynical, with an average score of 57.8, than Black police officers who averaged 61.4. This was unexpected considering the fact that the changes that took place in the South African Police since 1994 seem to have disadvantaged the progression of white police officers. A possible explanation of these unexpected results is that a considerable number of white officers opted to leave the police organisation by taking severance packages when this option was made available. Thus, those who remained did so with an expectation that the environment might not be conducive, and therefore developed ways, other than cynicism, to adapt to the new environment.

The cynicism score for the variable Length of service generally confirms Niederhoffer's assertion that officers with less experience are more cynical than those with more years of service. In Tshwane, police officers with less than ten years of experience were found to be more cynical, with an average score of 63, than officers with more than 10 years of service (with an average score of 60). With respect to education, the findings also confirmed

Niederhoffer's assertion that officers with a university education are more cynical than officers who only have high school diploma.

The four cynicism factors were also correlated with the two factors of the Attitude Towards Organisational Change Index. The results of the T-test showed, in general, that a variable can only predict a specific cynicism factor.

It was found that Rank is a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system and not of any other cynicism factor. It was observed that senior officers were more cynical towards the judicial system than the junior officers. The T-test for Race and cynicism factors indicated that Race is a predictor to cynicism towards police duty and cynicism towards the police system. Black officers were found to be more cynical than White officers in both instances. Again one may conjecture that black police officers are more cynical because the system might not have changed as much as they have expected or hoped or the change did not result in a system that may further be of advantage to them.

The hypothesis that Length of service is a predictor of cynicism could only be supported in respect of the factor, cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC). As expected, it was found that officers with less than ten years are more cynical than officers who have more than ten years of service. With regards to the variable, education, it was found to be a predictor of cynicism towards the judicial system. The police officers who have a university or college qualification were found to be more cynical towards this cynicism factor than officers who do not have a university or college qualification.

One of the most interesting findings is in respect of the variable, Age. It was found that this variable is not a predictor of any of the cynicism factors. This finding supports Niederhoffer's assertion that Age is not a predictor of cynicism. The hypothesis that marital status is a predictor of cynicism is supported only in respect of one factor, namely, cynicism towards the police occupation (CYN_POLOCC). It was found that officers who are not married are more cynical towards police occupation than those who are married. It is not obvious why this would be the case although it could be argued that married officers have made a more significant "investment" in their careers and have more responsibilities (including to their families) which requires a longer commitment to their profession.

Another interesting finding is that the desire to quit SAPS is a predictor of two cynicism factors, namely, cynicism towards the judicial system and cynicism towards the police occupation. It was, however, unexpected that officers who do not want to quit SAPs would be more cynical than those who want to quit. All in all, it was found that the factors, cynicism towards the judiciary and cynicism towards the police occupation are more sensitive than the other factors. The implication is that the elements of judicial system such as, internal tribunals, disciplinary processes and the application of rules and regulations, as well as elements of police occupation such as, public perception about the police and some aspects of professionalization should be prioritised for reform in order to bring down the levels of cynicism in the SAPS.

The four cynicism factors were correlated with two dimensions of the Attitude Towards Organisational Change Scale. It was observed that two cynicism factors, namely, CYN_POLSYS and CYN_COURT had yielded a positive correlation with CHG_FEAR. Thus, officers who fear for change are more likely to have higher levels of cynicism towards the police system and judicial system. The implication is that the fear for change in the SAPS is most likely to decline with a decrease in cynicism towards the police system and judicial system.

It was also found that the dimension, Acceptance of Change has a negative correlation with three cynicism factors, namely, cynicism towards the police duty, cynicism towards the police system and cynicism towards police occupation. This implies that police officers who are less cynical about police occupation, police duty and police system are more likely to accept change.

This study tested the Niederhoffer's assertion and supported the assertion, namely; that length of service, educational qualifications, rank and marital status are predictors of cynicism. However, this study went further to test these assertions by comparing the means of these variables with the four dimensions of the cynicism scale. The results are significant in that it is now more appropriate to associate a variable with only particular factors of cynicism and not cynicism in general. This helps in that policy-makers can then fine tune programs that are aimed to reduce cynicism. These results are also significant in that they also show a relationship between change and cynicism and change in the organisation. Again, the results are significant in that certain factors of cynicism relate to particular change factors.

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Annexure 1

QUESTIONNAIRE ON POLICE CYNICISM

Please tick the most appropriate answer in the relevant box.

1. When you get to know the police department from the inside, you begin to feel it is a wonder it does one-half as well as it does.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

2. The best arrests are made as a result of hard work and intelligent dedication to duty.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3. The youth problem is best handled by police officers who are trained in a social service approach.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

4. The average police supervisor or commander is interested in his/her subordinates.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

5. Police officers have a peculiar view of human nature because of the misery and cruelty of life which they see every day.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

6. When testifying in court, police officers are treated as criminals when they take the witness stand.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

7. The average departmental complaint is the result of pressure from higher authority for superiors to dig for faults on the junior officers.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

8. The newspapers try to help police departments by giving prominent coverage to items favourable to police.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

9. The average police officer is dedicated to the high ideals of police service and would not hesitate to perform police duties even though she/he may have to work overtime.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
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1	2	3	4	5
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10. The majority of special assignments in the police department depend on who you know, not on merit.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

11. The public shows a lot of respect for police officers.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

12. The public is more apt (ready) to obstruct police work than to cooperate.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

13. Police department summonses are issued by officers as part of a sensible pattern of law enforcement.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

14. Police academy training of recruits might as well be cut into half.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

15. The average detective has special qualifications and is superior to line or uniform officers.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

16. The average arrest is made because police officers are dedicated to performing their duty properly.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

17. Professionalism of police work is already here only for some groups of police officers.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

18. When a police officer appears at a departmental trial room s/he will probably be found guilty even when s/he has a good defense.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

19. The rules and regulations of police work are fair and sensible in regulating conduct on and off duty.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

20. A college or university degree as a requirement for appointment to the police department would result a much more efficient police department.*

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

21. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average person is getting worse, not better.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

22. These days a person doesn't really know whom s/he can trust.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

23. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

24. Nowadays a person has to live much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

25. Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average person.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

26. When change is taking place people are afraid that they will lose their jobs.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

27. Pressure for change in the SAPS generates dissatisfaction

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

28. Lack of information about change in the SAPS generates misunderstandings in the organization.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

29. Lack information about change in the organization generates fantasies and unrealistic expectations in police officers.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

30. Police officers who lost position because of change generally oppose the process.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

31. Police officers react negatively to change that lead to wage cuts.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

32. Police officers are afraid because of the uncertainty generated by the new way of working.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

33. Decentralization of power generates fear because there is a sensation of loss of control and competence.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

34. In the process of change, fear of loss generates resistance in people.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

35. Police officers most involved in the process of change have the most favourable attitude to change.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

36. Change in the SAPS generates opportunities for personal growth.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

37. Change involves the need for more detailed knowledge of the way things work.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

38. Changes are beneficial because they can 'air' this organization (SAPS)

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

39. Change generates opportunities for employees who know how to take advantage of it.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

40. People accept change when they realize they can benefit from it.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

41. Changes in SAPS are important because they can bring benefits to the police officers.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

42. Police officers realize that the majority of their colleagues support the changes in the organization.

Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

43. What is your race?

African	01
Indian	02
Coloured	03
White	04
Other	05

44. What is your highest qualification?

Standard 8	01
Standard 10	02
3 year Diploma	03
Bachelors Degree	04
Honours and above	05
Masters	06
Doctors	07

45. How long have you been in the SAPS?

Less than 1 year	01
1 - 3years	02
3 – 6 years	03
6 – 10 years	04
10 – 14 years	05
15 – 20 years	06
More than 20 years	07

46. What rank are you currently occupying?

Student constable	01
Constable	02
Sergeant	03
Inspector	04
Captain	05
Superintendent	06
Director	07
Commissioner	08

47. How old are you?

Less than 19 years	01
20 – 24years	02
25 – 29 years	03
30 – 34 years	04
35 – 39 years	05
40 – 44 years	06
45 – 49 years	07
50 – 54 years	08
55 +	09

48. What is your marital status

Married (civil)	01
Divorced	02
Never married	03
Other	04

49. How many children do you have?

No children	01
1 child	02
2 children	03
3 children	04
More than 3	05

50. Have you considered quitting the SAPS?

Never	01
Occasionally	02
Frequently	03
Always	04

THANK YOU.