

DANGER IN POLICE CULTURE

Perspectives from South Africa

GRÁINNE PERKINS



Danger in Police Culture

This page intentionally left blank

Danger in Police Culture: Perspectives from South Africa

BY

GRÁINNE PERKINS

University of Southern Maine, USA



United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Emerald Publishing, Floor 5, Northspring, 21-23 Wellington Street, Leeds LS1 4DL

First edition 2024

Copyright © 2024 Gráinne Perkins.
Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited.

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: www.copyright.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83753-113-4 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-83753-112-7 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-83753-114-1 (Epub)



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

*In memory of a beloved South African friend who embraced words and championed
my work.*

Mrs Nanette Evans

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

List of Figures	<i>ix</i>
List of Acronyms	<i>xi</i>
About the Author	<i>xiii</i>
Foreword <i>by Clifford Shearing</i>	<i>xv</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>xvii</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 South African Policing	21
Chapter 3 People and Places	33
Chapter 4 Tools of the Trade	57
Chapter 5 Records, Reports and Respect	83
Chapter 6 Routine Danger: Avoidance and Engagement	103
Chapter 7 Memorialising Danger	119
Chapter 8 Discussion and Conclusion	147
Appendix 1: SAPS Organisational Structure	<i>161</i>
Appendix 2: Amazing Grace	<i>163</i>

viii *Contents*

Appendix 3: Asijiki/The March	165
Glossary	167
Bibliography	169
Index	195

List of Figures

Chapter 3

Fig. 1.	Batho Pele Principles Spattered With Blood (Perkins, 2015).	44
Fig. 2.	Shopping Trolley to Store Dockets (Perkins, 2015).	46

Chapter 4

Fig. 3.	Targets on the Ground at Firing Range (Perkins, 2015).	61
Fig. 4.	SAPS Official Firearms (Perkins, 2015).	63
Fig. 5.	A Shotgun and Ammunition at the Ready in the TRT Van (Perkins, 2015).	66
Fig. 6.	An Organisational Safety Poster (Perkins, 2015).	69
Fig. 7.	The Nyala: A Public Order Vehicle (Perkins, 2015).	76
Fig. 8.	Bricks Being Used in Lieu of Wheel Jacks (Perkins, 2015).	78

Chapter 7

Fig. 9.	National SAPS Monument in Pretoria (SAPS, 2017).	121
Fig. 10.	Western Cape SAPS Memorial (Perkins, 2015).	123
Fig. 11.	Blank Headstone at the Western Cape Memorial (Perkins, 2015).	124
Fig. 12.	Police Turnout, at an Irish Police Officer's Funeral (Condren, 2013).	126

Fig. 13.	Traffic Cones Reserving Dignitary Parking (Perkins, 2015).	129
Fig. 14.	The Police Band Following the Procession (Perkins, 2015).	131
Fig. 15.	A Small Funeral Procession at a Memorial Service (Perkins, 2014).	133
Fig. 16.	SAPS Banner at a Memorial Service (Perkins, 2014).	135
Fig. 17.	Public Night Vigil Outside Research Station (Perkins, 2015).	142
Fig. 18.	Community Forum Members at a Vigil (Perkins, 2015).	143
Figs. 19 and 20.	Preparing for the Vigil and a Casspir (Perkins, 2015; SAPS, 2021).	144

List of Acronyms

APC	Armoured Personnel Carrier
AVLS	Automatic Vehicle Location System
BRVs	Bullet Resistant Vests
CAS	Crime Administrative System
CCCF	Cluster Crime Combating Forum
CPF	Community Police Forum
CPU	Crime Prevention Unit
CSC	Community Service Centre/Charge Office or the Client Service Centre.
CSVR	The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
DPS	Directorate of Police Safety
DSO	Directorate of Special Operations (also referred to as the Scorpions)
EHW	Employee Health and Wellness
FLASH	Firearms Liquor and Second-hand Goods Control
HAWKS	The Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation (also referred to as Hawks)
ICD	Independent Complaints Directorate
IPID	The Independent Police Investigative Directorate
MDC	Multi-Disciplinary Enquiry Committee
NIJ	National Institute of Justice (the United States)
NIU	National Intelligence Unit
PCCF	Provincial Crime Combating Forum
PDR	Police Death Rate
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
POPCRU	The Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union

xii List of Acronyms

R5	5.6 mm Assault Rifle
ROC	Resolving of Crime Learnership Course
SAP	The South African Police
SAPS	The South African Police Service
SAPU	The South African Policing Union
SJC	Social Justice Coalition
STF	Special Task Force
SWOT	Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threat Analysis
TRT	Tactical Response Team
VISPOL	Visible Policing Unit
WCOD	Western Cape Organisational Development

About the Author

Dr Gráinne Perkins is currently the Chief of Police and Executive Director of Public Safety at the University of Southern Maine. Prior to this, she held the position of Interim Director of Police Accountability for the Seattle Police Department. Her professional experience spanning three continents working with three different police agencies is complemented with sustained criminological research. She has published works on the occupational and organisational aspects of policing which include, but are not limited to, police trauma including police suicide, memorialisation in policing and the use of body-worn cameras. She holds two Master's from Ireland and was awarded the 2019 Richard Block Award for an outstanding thesis for her PhD in Criminology from the University of Cape Town South Africa. Her police experience ranges from community policing in Ireland to international work with Interpol and she has spent 15 years as an operational police detective investigating serious offences including homicide and organised crime. Dr Perkins was an adjunct Professor at Seattle University and has taught criminology courses and guest lectured at the University of Cape Town, University College Dublin and at the University of Zurich.

The author's proceeds from the sale of this book will be used to support the *Perkins Sióchána Scholarship* which was established to finance the continuous development of South African graduate students in Criminal Justice and Criminology studies in the Global South.

This page intentionally left blank

Foreword

Clifford Shearing

Every so often a book appears that offers a novel perspective on a key feature of police and their policing that encourages scholars and police alike to look anew. This book by Gráinne Perkins, who began career as an Irish police officer and who is now the Police Chief at the University of Southern Maine, is such a book.

It is a book by a sophisticated policing scholar who has skilfully drawn upon her experience as a police officer to explore the relationship between police and danger and its impacts – impacts that shape police, their policing, the communities they operate in and the danger they face itself. This is a book that will transform thinking not simply about South African policing – which is the book's empirical focus, but about police, policing and indeed social studies more generally.

To do this Perkins draws on the theoretical lenses of Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and Theodore Sarbin and couples this with a sensitive empathetic, appreciative enquiry of police and policing in a 'township' community in Cape Town, to provide a novel account of danger, police and policing. South African policing has experienced an extraordinary record of violence by police and to police, including the killing of police officers killed on and off duty.

In her account of policing and danger Perkins' builds upon, and extends, a rich literature on South African policing. This is itself a significant accomplishment.

But Perkins does much more than open wider the window on police and policing within South Africa. What is as significant is Perkins' ability to identify the general in the particular, the global in the local and to advanced police and policing studies generally. In doing so Perkins takes her place alongside an illustrious line of thinkers within police studies who have used ethnographies within particular locations to advance our understanding of policing. In doing so Perkins adds significantly to an expanding body of work from the Global South that is reconceiving policing studies and criminology.

As I have already suggested, Perkins does much more than this by contributing to a material turn in scholarship that insists, that social studies become socio-material studies that recognise that human activity is shaped both by what people do as actors as well as what things do as 'actants', to use Bruno Latour's term. This contribution is evident, for example, in Perkins's insightful analysis of police funerals, where she expands upon Manning's initial observations regarding the dramaturgy of police work. By focusing on this specific aspect, Perkins sheds

light on the significance of both verbal and visual elements within these solemn ceremonies.

Perkins conceptualises danger as both a socio-material phenomenon that is constantly being constituted and reconstituted. One of the ways she does this is by paying attention to the artefacts that police engage with as they go about their work. This focus enables Perkins to break new conceptual ground as she explores how these engagements ‘make up’ – to use Richard Ericson phrase – police, policing as well as the worlds they police, and that ‘police’ them. There is, of course, nothing new in a recognition of the artefacts of policing, as tools of policing – be they weapons, uniforms, vehicles, communications tools, barriers, buildings, computers and most recently the growing assortment of artificial intelligences (AI) that contribute to police work. What is different about Perkins’ examination of these artefacts is the attention she pays to the way in which they shape, police – their mindsets and their actions and, in doing so, their worlds, including danger.

In considering Perkins’ analysis there is much that policing scholars, will be able to draw upon as they explore, and extend, this socio-material turn. There is also much that police will find useful as the worlds they police, and the demands on them, shift.

Clifford Shearing

*Professor Emeritus at the Universities of Toronto
and Cape Town*

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to all those who contributed to the realisation of this book. Without the unwavering support and assistance of the South African Police Service, this endeavour would have been impossible. I extend my heartfelt appreciation to all the police officers, of every rank, who participated in this research and facilitated its execution.

No book is ever created in its entirety by a single individual. Rather, editors and publishers are required to bring a book to life. Every author, in turn, draws on many others' expertise to create a work worthy of publication. As such, I would initially also like to express my sincere gratitude to the team at Emerald Publishers, and the original project supervisors, Professor Elrena Van Der Spuy and Dr Kelley Moulton at the University of Cape Town. I'm extremely grateful for conversations with Professor Clifford Shearing and Dr Simon Howell who graciously gave their time to help shape my thinking and guide this work in its earliest form.

To my South African friends and adopted family members who accompanied me on this incredible journey and became my second family away from Ireland, I owe a debt of gratitude. Your companionship and insights have enriched my experience and broadened my understanding. Special appreciation belongs to Ms Thandi Goxo, who taught me isiXhosa and patiently endured my accent. Her assistance with translations for this book has been invaluable.

To all my international academic colleagues and friends, I am indebted to you for your continuous inspiration and support. Your dedication to research and scholarly pursuits motivates me to push knowledge boundaries.

I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to Mark Condren, an award winning Irish photographer, who graciously permitted the use of his work in this book. A special thanks to Nathan Stasin for permitting me to use his photograph for the cover of this book.

Special mention is given to my own family members, Mam (Pauline) and Dad (Christy). Their unwavering support and belief in my abilities are unmatched. My mam's dedication to meticulously reviewing early drafts of this book was invaluable. I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my incredible in-laws, Barbara and Don McGrail for their constant encouragement. Thanks to my siblings, Sinead, Fiona, Orla, Colin and Maeve, as always, for continually encouraging my endeavours while at times, questioning my sanity.

I would like to acknowledge and thank my closest friends, Deirdre Quinn (McGowan), Grace McGowan, the UCD Sprucey crew, Gráinne Sheehan and my good

xviii Acknowledgements

friend in Seattle, Susan Rotenberg. I am so grateful for all your encouragement as my personal cheerleaders which kept me motivated, particularly during times of tiredness and doubt. A special thanks to my personal ‘Statler and Waldorf’, Sé Mc Cormack and Dave Jordan, for always keeping it real.

Lastly, I want to thank my husband, Chris. Your love and support has made me profoundly grateful to have you by my side, even though you are significantly older than me. The difference that four days can make reveals the true wisdom of individuals.

Chapter 1

Introduction

I sat in the university library surrounded by other postgraduates quietly working. Piled in front of me was a stack of police files. I stared somewhat confusedly at the post-mortem photograph in my hand. I knew I was looking at a cross-section of a body part but even after years of detective experience and attending post-mortems, I couldn't quite figure out what I was looking at. Then, I saw it. The image was of a foetus, still in the womb. The police report revealed that the mother, a police officer, was shot when buying lunch with her colleagues. She was singled out because she was in uniform and believed to be carrying a firearm which could be stolen. She had been shot in the head at point-blank range. The foetus was 12 weeks old. Both of her plainclothes colleagues physically survived the incident. My audible annoyance filled the library space. The image was truly disturbing, and to make matters worse, the investigators had mistakenly filed it under a male officer who had tragically died in a road traffic collision. Having interrupted the silence, I grabbed the files and left the library, aggravated at the danger this woman faced by simply wearing a police uniform and utterly dismayed by the poor standard of the investigation file.

Globally, police practices are under continuous scrutiny. Academic and public debates are continually dominated by complaints about the use of excessive police force. In fact, even before these issues came into the recent spotlight, I was continuously asked why my research did not concentrate on unlawful killings *by* the police as opposed to killings *of* the police. Police brutality in South Africa has a long history which casts an even longer shadow. However, to understand why the police may act in a certain way, you must first examine what it is they believe they are reacting to, which is danger. No matter where in the world danger occurs, how it shapes police culture is relevant when looking at police practices.

From the earliest texts on policing, danger is frequently discussed but rarely explored. Despite this, danger has become an accepted construct within discussions about police culture. Most research, however, fails to define the conceptual parameters by which danger is constituted. Due to this, danger takes on meaning or perception of some risk of physical harm. Many contemporary explanations describe danger as a risk of physical harm resulting from physical activity, most often violence. As a result, violence and danger are often used as interchangeable constructs.

Violence is often regarded as a hallmark of danger (Floud and Young, 1981). While violence and danger may be on the same spectrum, they should not be used

2 *Danger in Police Culture*

interchangeably. The two concepts are not synonymous, even though police officers themselves often use one to explain the other. Rather, these terms should be recognised as overlapping, but independent constructs. Danger is a broad concept that refers to the potential for harm or injury, while violence is a specific form of danger that involves physical aggression or the threat of physical aggression. It is important to note that violence is not the only form of danger, and that danger can exist without violence.

In this book, danger is initially recognised as both a possibility (of occurrence) and a state of being (in the moment), where someone is vulnerable to injury or death. Violence is considered a physical act, while danger is defined by a relationship, a connection between people and objects. This study examines the experiences, perceptions and actions of the South African police in dealing with danger in their communities, as with most relationships, the people in them define and are defined by that relationship.

Homicides, or murders in general, are often used as a proxy for how violent a society is. In South Africa, the general murder rate is among the world's highest (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2011, 2013, 2019). Murder has increased by 62% from 15,554 deaths in 2011–2012 to 25,181 deaths in 2021–2022 (Bruce, 2023). On a global scale, however, it is challenging to compare police officer murder rates to general murder rates. The size of police departments varies, and police murders are rare in many jurisdictions, making direct comparisons difficult. Compared to the South African Police Service (SAPS), the United States has about 18,000 separate police agencies (Blair et al., 2016; Cordner, 2011). In his work on police trauma, Dussich (2003) uses a ratio of officers killed per 100,000 police personnel. Using his calculation method, in 2014, the Police Death Rate (PDR) in South Africa was 49. This rate contrasts with the US PDR, which was 15.3 during the same period. As such, the PDR in South Africa in 2014 was approximately 3.2 times higher than in the United States. According to the *Mail* and *Guardian* (10 June 2015), 'South African police are twice as deadly as American police officers, but are also six times more likely to die in the line of duty'. Indeed, since 2015, the yearly murder rate of SAPS personnel has remained at approximately 80 officers per year (SAPS Annual reports 2015–2021).¹

Comparatively, Brazil, like South Africa, also ranks among the highest homicide rates in the world, with a rate of just under 30 per 100,000 (Braithwaite, 2013; UNODC, 2011, 2013, 2019). According to Larkins (2015), Brazilian police kill and are killed at higher rates than anywhere else in the world. Brazil's government, however, is reluctant to provide data on the number of police deaths, making it difficult to identify the PDR (Larkins, 2015, p. 59). This makes direct comparisons of police murders difficult between Brazil and South Africa. We can say that the general murder rate in Brazil, with a population roughly four times greater, is approximately 7.8 per 100,000 less than that of South Africa.

¹Excluding 2019/2020 which saw a low of 77 and 73 respectively which is attributed to social factors related to the pandemic.

Traversing to a European perspective, when the police services in the United Kingdom are combined, their size is roughly the same as SAPS', and their populations are similar. Despite not being an exact like-for-like comparison, 161 officers in the United Kingdom died while on duty between 2002 and 2014. In South Africa during the same period, 1,184 SAPS members were murdered on duty (SAPS, 2002a–2014). Accordingly, whether a comparison is made based on population and police service size (UK/South Africa) or armed police services in societies with easy access to firearms (USA/South Africa), South African officers are routinely murdered at a higher rate.

Regardless of location, police officers' murder remains newsworthy. Yet police murders are often viewed as occupational hazards, reminding us of the inherent dangers of police work. Although police murders can be attributed to various factors, understanding how police operate can reveal how they perceive and experience danger. Death is not viewed in this book as a proxy for perceived danger, but as a lethal outcome of an encounter with danger. For most police officers, death is the result of definitive danger. Police organisational and occupational responses to danger affect officers' perceptions of danger, which, in turn, influences their likelihood of being murdered. This book examines how police murders then influence police culture and subcultures. It also explores how this process in turn impacts broader understandings of danger in policing.

The Research Prism: Making Danger Visible

Police organisations are all characterised by considerable complexity. The culture and practices, both formal and informal, within the police are multifaceted. It is therefore challenging to use a single theoretical construct to examine police experiences of danger. Aside from actual physical hazards, danger is arguably a subjective concept. What one person or group deems as danger, another may not. As such, the examination of occupational and organisational danger responses is not straightforward. But before one can understand the police response, danger must first be made visible. Both individual and group perceptions of danger can be clarified by using a framework that accommodates and captures danger's ambiguous forms. This study draws on three theorists – Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and Theodore Sarbin – to refract organisational and occupational police cultures into visible responses to danger. These theorists anchor the construction of danger so that police perceptions and experiences can be discussed. One could think of the theories as a prism through which danger would pass to expose police perceptions and practices. Much like light dispersion through a prism, each theorist's selected work allows police culture to be viewed from different angles, as danger filters through the prism.

Foucault

It is important to note, however, that this research is not itself an introspective study of the applicability and relevance of a Foucauldian conceptual framework

4 *Danger in Police Culture*

to policing. Rather, this study will draw on Foucault's work as a conceptual toolbox to explain how, in part, danger has been discursively invented. In examining power, Foucault started from a structuralist perspective, focusing on linguistic, symbolic and discursive narratives. However, he is not considered a structuralist in the sense of one who strictly follows the methodological rules of structuralist analysis. Foucault's approach concerns the identification of structures that define the shape and limits of discourses and institutional practices (Garland, 1990). Semantics matters in Foucauldian analysis. By reorienting an understanding of the contemporary meanings attached to danger, a fresh perspective may be gained on how these elements influence policing. A Foucauldian framework also provides a historical viewpoint to understand how danger is embedded in police culture.

The archaeological and genealogical approach developed by Foucault (1972) provides a framework for analysing discourses surrounding danger as interpreted by the South African police. Using the archaeological method, key tropes and relationships that define the concept of danger, both structurally and conversationally, will be identified in statements made by police. Through such an examination, one can gain an understanding of the complex constructs of danger, all of which are used interchangeably by the police.

By examining how the world was articulated through discourse, genealogy constructs a history of the present. A genealogical analysis can establish what Foucault calls a 'history of the present' through a police lens by examining the 'microphysics' of power as part of danger in the informal responses of the police. In the process, a present-day history is told. The goal of this analysis is to better understand how police identify and perceive danger. In addition to providing a critique of different discourses of risk and danger, adopting a genealogical approach can also provide a framework for comparing and contrasting them. Through the genealogical analysis, we will attempt to understand how policing structures and relationships are manifested in real-life situations. As part of the genealogical analysis this research explores how these structures and relationships manifest in the lived reality of policing, and how they influence contemporary police officers' performances.

The book also uses Foucault's technical term for an 'archive', which refers to the collection of all material traces left behind by a particular historical era and culture (1972, pp. 128–130). Based on his analytical framework, one can view police memorials, SAPS reports and docket files² of murdered police officers as particular types of archives. In fact, the sheer number of police murder dockets constitutes a statistical archive in and of itself. Together, these dockets and reports reveal much more about how police respond to colleague murders and murders more broadly.

²A 'docket' is an official document in which a record is kept of a reported crime and the investigation conducted into such a crime (SAPS, Docket Analysis Learner Manual, 2002b, p. 2).

Bourdieu

In addition to understanding police actions and perceptions through archives, understanding the social context in which danger is perceived and experienced is also important for understanding police actions and perceptions. Bourdieu's (1977) constructs of field, habitus and capital can then be used to describe police practices and the influence of the communities, structures and social spaces in which police officers often work and live. It is possible to gain a better understanding of danger's social context from this viewpoint.

Bourdieu's theory of practice can be considered a science of human practice in its multitude of manifestations (Wacquant, 2006, p. 3). Using Bourdieu's habitus concept, we can explore this social context further. Habitus is a system of dispositions that integrate experience and enable individuals to cope with the diversity of unforeseen situations (Wacquant, 1992, p. 18). The habitus is multi-layered. As a child, you acquire a primary set of dispositions that you use throughout your life. As a person matures, he or she acquires a secondary habitus based on experiences, such as joining the police force. Dispositions acquired over time are also part of this habitus. The primary and secondary habitus then influence how individuals and groups might experience and respond to danger.

Police responses are further shaped by an understanding of 'why things are done the way they are', in what Bourdieu refers to as doxa (Chan, 2004, p. 333). Policing is influenced by many of these assumptions about how the police operate. The doxa here is the taken-for-granted yet often an unspoken aspect that influences how police perceive danger.

For Bourdieu, the notion of doxa is essential to understanding the habitus and the field. Fields are social spaces where there is a set of objective, historical relationships between positions, anchored in certain forms of power (Wacquant 1992, p. 16). A key aspect of the field relates to power and how agents position themselves in relation to it. When evaluating police actions in relation to their perception of danger, it's important to note this.

Bourdieu considers capital as an important metric for gauging a person's or group's power along with doxa, field and habitus. Specifically, he divides capital into three types, based on its field of application: economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Whatever the type of capital, the central tenant is that capital is a form of power (Chan, 1996, p. 114). Capital is also relevant when unpacking habitus in relation to danger. Swartz (1997), for example, draws attention to the role capital plays in determining whether agents are ranked dominantly or subordinately, depending on their volume of capital and where capital volume determines their position. As Bourdieu (1989, p. 21) points out, objective relations of power tend to reproduce themselves as symbolic power relations. As such, danger can be evaluated based on police culture surrounding space and police dispositions within it. To use Bourdieu's terminology, both the field and habitus can affect the perception or experience of danger.

Chan's (1996, 2004) use of Bourdieu's framework highlights how social and political sensitivities in the wider policing landscape have the potential to shape police organisations. In this sense, organisational culture is fluid and responds to

changes in the field. On an occupational level, Chan also explains how individuals react differently to similar situations in different landscapes. Chan places significant emphasis on understanding the interaction between individuals' existing attitudes and the occupational police culture into which they are socialised. Echoes of what one person considers dangerous, whereas another may not, come to the fore. In this sense, the primary habitus directly influences how police officers respond to danger while engaging in routine duties. This response in turn influences the larger occupational culture, where what is often an ingrained response eventually becomes a standard operating procedure.

From a methodological approach, 'Bourdieu's thought and practice is synthetic in the way that they simultaneously straddle disciplinary, theoretical, and methodological divides' (Wacquant, 2006, p. 4). Although Bourdieu did not develop a formal and total theoretical model, he did propose a metatheory that requires continuous changes to empirical conclusions (Navarro, 2006) which lends itself to the methodological approach in this research.

A Bourdieusian approach also encourages researchers to look at the individual as well as the collective dimension (Swartz, 1997). This is important for understanding both the formal (group) and informal (individual) responses of the police to danger. But the individual and group are not separate entities of study. The actions of social groups cannot be explained simplistically as the total of individual behaviours. They should be understood as actions that incorporate influences from cultures, traditions and objective structures within the real world (Crawshaw and Bunton, 2009; Jenkins, 1992). The individual and group can then be examined with respect to each other.

Bourdieu also cautions researchers about their own biases. In his view, a reflexive approach involves self-critical knowledge that helps researchers recognise their biases, belief systems and assumptions (Navarro, 2006, pp. 15–16). In Bourdieu's view, it is almost impossible to be truly objective when doing research, so researchers should critically evaluate their place in the field. Bourdieu argued that researchers should think about methodology critically when studying cultures that are different from their own (Schlosser, 2013, p. 4). According to Loader and Walker (2007), researchers should be conscious of the cultural baggage they bring into the field and how it influences observational objectivity. As a police insider, this baggage was something I needed to incorporate into my own analysis.

Outline of a Theory of Practice (1977) by Bourdieu and *Discipline and Punish* (1979) by Foucault are two of the most influential works in poststructural and postmodern theory, yet their similarities are understudied (Schlosser, 2013). The issue of power, however, is central to both concepts. In response to Foucault's interpretation of power, Deleuze (2006, p. 59) explains that power is a relation between forces, or rather every force relation is a power relation. Building on this understanding, Bang (2014) proposes examining how power behaves and manifests in society in order to gain a better understanding of how society functions and operates. Using the basic concepts within these different theories, we can see that danger is related to power issues.

Sarbin

Where Bourdieu's work looks at the field and the habitus, Sarbin's (1967) work explores how an individual becomes perceived as dangerous. His primary objective is to understand the concept of danger itself. Sarbin uses a model to assess the total value of a person's social identity at any point in time as a means of explaining why prisoners become dangerous (1967, p. 287). It is his contention that words do not evolve without motivation that he points to the Latin derivative of *dominium*, which implies lordship or sovereignty (1967, p. 286). The linguistic root of the word danger is explored as a relationship between roles on a power dimension. In this way danger becomes linked to the individual's positionality. We are encouraged by Sarbin to accept the etymological origins of danger, which departs from the idea of danger as 'falling rocks, dangerous curves ahead' (1967, p. 286). In this sense, danger becomes more focused on the relationship between individuals than on violence or the threat thereof.

Like Foucault and Bourdieu, Sarbin's model also rests on power relationships. These relationships revolve around Sarbin's understanding of the interplay between the individual's role, value and involvement. When components within these roles are displaced, a shift occurs in one's social identity, understanding of the role relationship and social placement. The effect of this power shift is what causes an individual to be perceived as dangerous.

Sarbin's (1967) model isn't used here as a prescriptive template, but his components provide a useful starting point for considering how police realise danger. Instead of assessing how dangerous a prisoner is, Sarbin's constructs are employed to identify shifts in the police-public role-relationship, which then creates perceptions of danger for officers. At a more basic level, his approach helps to unpack the habitus. While this book does not aim to explore the social identity of the police, it uses these individual, overlapping elements to understand how danger becomes conceived and responded to from a police perspective.

My research uses Sarbin's model to assess danger as seen through the eyes of the police, rather than assessing the individual as dangerous. It is useful to analyse historical trajectories with the help of Foucault, while Bourdieu exposes habitus, but borrowing from Sarbin's construct gives us a chance to consider how the habitus becomes operational in policing and how police perceptions of danger are influenced by this.

In using Foucault, Bourdieu and Sarbin, I do not intend to construct a closed, prescriptive framework. Instead, their general constructs are used to situate danger within the larger police culture and subcultures. As mentioned previously, taken together, the works of these three theorists form a prism and as danger passes through this prism, much like light it is dispersed. This makes the constituent parts more visible than passing through a single lens. Although each theorist can see danger from a different perspective, combining them all gives a more comprehensive perspective. By positioning danger in this manner, we are able to examine both the organisational and occupational culture's responses to it.

Police Culture

Although this research is about how danger is perceived and experienced, it is explored in the context of police culture. In the classic work *Organizational Culture and Leadership* by sociologist Edgar Schein (2004), 'culture' is understood as a basic sharing of beliefs and values.³ In this research culture denotes both the shared beliefs and values but also incorporates knowledge of how police act and think about police work. This culture often becomes visible through the vocabulary used (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). In this sense culture is something which the police are socialised into, while also constructing it (Waddington, 1999). In police cultural studies, the concepts of 'organisational culture' and 'occupational culture' have been used interchangeably by many academics (Bacon, 2014; Cockcroft, 2013). Here, however, these two concepts are regarded separately to acknowledge the variation in the responses to danger between the formal and informal cultures.

Paoline (2003) asserts that there is a fundamental difference between organisational and occupational culture where organisational culture is a top down structure driven by management and occupational is bottom up driven by frontline operational members. In this research references to the 'formal organisation' are directly associated with the organisational culture of the SAPS whereas the 'informal organisation' speaks to the occupational culture. The organisational culture is representative of the police organisation at large while the occupational culture speaks to the manner in how the members of the police operate on a day-to-day basis.

In examining the fluidity of the term 'cop culture', Marks et al. (2017) underscore the difficulties in the use of a singular term. They argue that using the singular term has negative connotations which may limit responses and reform by presupposing the existence of the issues being examined. Accepting the heterogeneous nature of police culture, the term has also been used 'to explain and condemn a broad spectrum of policing practice' (Waddington, 1999, p. 287) as if it is a monolithic entity. Although many police organisations exhibit similar traits and characteristics, and as such indicate a singular culture, research has shown the existence of multiple cultures within the overarching occupational culture.

Occupational Culture

In examining organisational and occupational commonalities, Fielding (1984) denotes the occupational culture as one which develops out of police members' responses to official structures and orders. These occupational responses have been examined along the lines of street and management police, uniform and detective ranks, and variations within single police units (Hobbs, 1991; Manning, 1992, 2012; Muir, 1979; Ruess-Ianni and Ianni, 1983; Young, 1991). While there have been

³Schein's full definition of culture is 'a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved problems of external adoption and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems' (Schein, 2004, p. 14).