

**Policing Across Divides: A Comparative Study of Police Practices in Nyanga
and Sea Point**



In fulfilment of Master of Law in Criminology, Law, and Society

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Abstract:

This master's thesis presents a comparative analysis of police practices in two socio-economic areas of Cape Town, South Africa: Nyanga and Sea Point. The study explores how socio-economic status and crime burden influence policing strategies and how these factors contribute to reinforcing or alleviating social inequalities. The research utilises a qualitative approach, in-depth interviews with police officers provide a nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play. The study finds that policing practices in Nyanga, an area characterised by low socio-economic status and high crime rates, are predominantly reactive, with a strong focus on crime suppression. While addressing immediate safety concerns, this approach inadvertently perpetuates a cycle of mistrust and alienation between the police and the community. In contrast, in Sea Point, an area with higher socio-economic status and lower crime rates, policing is more proactive and community-oriented. This strategy fosters a positive relationship between the police and the residents, enhancing trust and cooperation. The thesis demonstrates that socio-economic factors and crime burden indirectly influence policing practices by affecting crime patterns and community-police relations. The findings emphasise the necessity of a more comprehensive approach to policing that takes into account underlying socio-economic factors and prioritises community engagement, particularly in areas with higher crime rates and lower socio-economic status. This research contributes to the ongoing discourse on policing and social inequality. It provides insights into how different approaches can either mitigate or exacerbate the underlying socio-economic disparities within urban communities.

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1. Introduction

Cape Town, characterised by its pronounced social inequality and notable crime rates, presents a complex landscape where the police are invariably at the forefront, tasked with the state-mandated responsibility of safeguarding the populace. This thesis explores the extent to which socio-economic conditions and crime levels influence the strategies and practices of the Cape Town police. It aims to analyse the intricate dynamics between economic and social factors and their role in shaping the operational approaches of the police. In contrast to the substantial body of research centred on crime control in urban settings, this study fills a critical gap by specifically investigating how varying economic and social landscapes inform and possibly transform police methodologies and police perceptions. This exploration is particularly pertinent in understanding the diverse challenges law enforcement faces in adapting their methods to different socio-economic environments within the city.

South Africa's policing history is deeply entwined with its legacy of ethnic segregation and systemic inequality, where the police were instrumental in enforcing racial and social divisions (Brewer, 1994). In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, there is a compelling need to explore how these historical practices and structures continue to influence contemporary policing. This exploration is crucial to understanding the current dynamics between the police and the communities they serve, as well as the lingering effects of past policies on present-day law enforcement strategies and operations.

The latest crime statistics (2022/2023) released by the South African Police Service reveal a stark contrast within Cape Town: Nyanga endures some of the highest violent crime rates nationally, whereas areas like Sea Point experience significantly lower levels. This disparity in crime rates is mirrored by the varying socioeconomic conditions characterising these neighbourhoods, potentially giving rise to distinct police interventions and strategies. This study seeks to understand how the police adapt their responses to these divergent environments, focusing on the operational impact of such adaptations and the perception of the police officers involved. It aims to investigate the nuances of policing in areas with disparate crime and socio-economic profiles, thereby shedding light on the effectiveness and challenges of law enforcement across different urban landscapes in Cape Town.

This study's objective extends beyond merely enhancing comprehension of the interplay between police practices, socioeconomic conditions, and crime burden. Its crucial focus is explicitly

elucidating the potential disparities in police service delivery among communities with differing wealth statuses. The research is designed to meticulously examine the variations in policing strategies and tactics between affluent and less affluent communities. Additionally, it aims to thoroughly analyse the differences in resources and personnel deployment across these diverse socioeconomic contexts. This approach aims to provide a detailed and nuanced understanding of how and why policing can vary significantly in different community settings, thereby offering a comprehensive perspective on the operational aspects of law enforcement in different socio-economic landscapes.

In this study, a strong focus will be on creating a solid empirical foundation to highlight potential inequalities in police service delivery. This will involve the utilisation of various metrics, including population sizes, the composition of police personnel in each area, the resources available to them, and local crime rates. Central to this empirical research will be conducting interviews with police officers from the respective stations in Nyanga and Sea Point. These interviews are intended to form the core of the study, offering critical insights into the realities of policing on the ground. The goal is to initially present preliminary evidence that vividly illustrates the policing landscape across communities with varying socio-economic statuses. This approach aims to provide a detailed and quantifiable depiction of how socio-economic factors might influence the distribution and execution of police services.

The municipalities of Nyanga and Sea Point in Cape Town present a stark contrast in terms of their socio-economic conditions and demographic characteristics. Nyanga has a population of around 58,000 inhabitants in an area of approximately 19,000 people per square kilometre (City of Cape Town – Census, 2011¹). The district also faces significant socio-economic challenges, with an unemployment rate of 41.5% and a third of the population living in informal housing (City of Cape Town – Census, 2011; Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2016). These factors are reflected in the poverty rates, as 74.4% of people live on an income of 3200 rand or less per month (City of Cape Town – Census, 2011). Additionally, only 5.8% of the population have received higher education (City of Cape Town – Census, 2011). Furthermore, the community of Nyanga faces tremendous problems in terms of understaffing and lack of resources.

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The Census for 2022 unfortunately doesn't provide district-specific information. Nevertheless, there are no significant changes for the Cape Town metropolitan area.

In 2014, for example, 63 police officers in Nyanga were responsible for handling more than 10,000 cases (Makasi, 2016). This figure illustrates the immense workload and pressure that investigators are under. The high number of cases per investigator leads to a considerable workload and poses a challenge for efficient and effective prosecution.

In addition, the police density in Nyanga highlights the problem of understaffing. On average, there are 144 police officers per 100,000 inhabitants, a ratio of 1:695 (Makasi, 2016). This ratio is well below the United Nations norm of 1:220 (Makasi, 2016), suggesting that the police in Nyanga are faced with an overwhelming workload that undermines their ability to fight and prevent crime. These conditions affect not only the efficiency of police work, but also the well-being and performance of officers.

In contrast, Sea Point presents a different picture. It has a population of around 13,300 inhabitants and a population density of 8,400 people per square kilometre (City of Cape Town – Census, 2011), making it significantly less densely populated than Nyanga. Sea Point has a low unemployment rate of 5.1% (Quarterly Labour Force Survey – 2016) and a small informal dwelling population of 0.7%. The poverty rate is 21.9%, with many people living on an income of 3200 Rand or less per month (City of Cape Town- Census, 2011). A notable characteristic of Sea Point is the high level of education among its inhabitants, with 52% having a higher education (City of Cape Town- Census, 2011).

Based on that, this work could provide an evidence-based understanding of the disparities in police practices across communities with varying socio-economic statuses. By examining these variations, the study will highlight how different policing strategies may result in unequal service delivery. The insights gained could be pivotal in guiding the development of more equitable policing strategies. These strategies will be designed to address the unique needs and challenges of each community, promoting a more balanced allocation of police resources and personnel. The overarching goal is not only to illuminate the existence of these inequalities but also to suggest practical, actionable solutions to mitigate them within the framework of policing in South Africa.

The significance of this study lies in its potential to illuminate the role of police within the broader narrative of social inequality and segregation. It addresses a crucial gap in current academic discourse, offering fresh perspectives on how varying socioeconomic conditions and levels of crime exposure can shape police practices. Through a thorough examination of police strategies and policies in diverse socio-economic environments, this research aims to contribute

meaningfully to the ongoing dialogue about policing, not just within the South African context but also in a global framework. It seeks to enrich the understanding of the complexities and challenges of law enforcement in areas marked by differing degrees of wealth and crime, thereby providing valuable insights that could inform future policy and practice in policing.

2. Literature review

The study of policing practices, socioeconomic conditions and their impact on community perception in Cape Town requires an in-depth engagement with a wide range of literature. The literature review is divided into six main categories, each covering different aspects of this vast topic.

2.1 Historical Context and the Development of Policing in South Africa

The historical dimension of policing in South Africa is essential for understanding and perceiving contemporary policing practices. It forms the foundation on which contemporary challenges and conflicts are constituted. In this context, the works of Bruce (2007), Shaw (2002) and Steinberg (2008) make crucial contributions.

Bruce (2007) provides a nuanced and detailed exploration of police practices in South Africa, employing the dichotomy of "good cops" and "bad cops" to unravel the complex and often polarised experiences and attitudes of communities towards the police. This binary framework not only underscores the multifaceted and sometimes conflicting interactions between the community and police forces but also aids in understanding the diverse perceptions that are critical to interpreting the data from this study. Bruce's approach presented an insightful lens through which the variances in community sentiment can be more deeply analysed. By categorising police officers in this way, Bruce offered a valuable conceptual tool that enhanced the analysis of the interview responses, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate dynamics at play within community-police relationships. His work was instrumental in laying the groundwork for a richer, more contextually informed interpretation of how the police operate in South Africa.

Shaw (2002) delivers an extensive and thorough analysis of the evolution of crime control and policing in the wake of South Africa's apartheid era. His insightful exploration is pivotal in developing a comprehensive understanding of the transformative journey policing in South Africa has undergone since the end of apartheid. Shaw's work equipped this study with a crucial historical context, enabling a deeper appreciation of the current landscape of South African policing. It helped shedding light on how contemporary police practices may still be influenced by the legacies of the apartheid era, offering a critical backdrop against which the current policing strategies and

their socio-economic implications can be examined. This historical perspective was essential for understanding the current nuances and complexities of policing in South Africa, providing a foundation from which to explore how past policies and practices may continue to shape present-day law enforcement and its interaction with diverse communities.

Steinberg (2008) concentrates on the tacit rules that govern policing in South Africa, offering a revealing look into the organisational culture and unspoken norms that influence police officer behaviour. The insights gleaned from Steinberg's study was instrumental in guiding the analysis of interviews conducted with police officers in this research. By providing a theoretical framework, his work was helpful for comprehending the prevalence of certain attitudes and behaviours within the police force. Steinberg's observations were pivotal in understanding how the policing environment itself can shape these attitudes and behaviours. This aspect was especially relevant to the outcomes of this research, as it promised to offer a deeper understanding of the internal dynamics within the police force, potentially influencing their interactions with the community. Understanding these internal dynamics was crucial for gaining a comprehensive picture of the factors that drive police practices in different socio-economic contexts.

2.2 Policing practices and their impact

Policing practices and their effects are essential elements in discussing successful policing.

In "The Politics of the Police," Reiner (2000) conducts a comprehensive and critical examination of policing, particularly focusing on its deeply embedded political dimensions. His analysis illuminates the intricate ways in which policing is not merely a function of law enforcement but also a product of broader political contexts and decisions. This perspective was central to my study, as it underscores the imperative of contextualising police practices within the expansive tapestry of South Africa's social and political milieu. Reiner's work offers a foundational understanding that police actions and strategies are often reflections of prevailing political ideologies and policies. This insight was crucial for a nuanced interpretation of the data in my research, as it allowed for a more layered understanding of how policing in South Africa may be influenced or dictated by political forces and historical legacies. By integrating this perspective, the research aimed to uncover the deeper, often politicised undercurrents that may shape policing tactics and approaches in differing socio-economic contexts, thereby providing a more comprehensive and informed view of the contemporary policing landscape in South Africa.

Samara (2010) offers a focused analysis of Urban Renewal, framing it as a manifestation of a neo-liberal security strategy. His incisive examination delves into the positioning of policing practices within the wider scope of political and economic frameworks and, importantly, their association with creating and perpetuating social inequalities. This perspective was particularly valuable for my research, as it affords a critical lens through which to view the intersection of policing with broader socio-economic factors. By incorporating Samara's insights, my study is poised to develop a more profound comprehension of the interplay between police practices and socio-economic environments. This approach significantly enhanced the depth and richness of my data analysis, providing a more layered and contextually grounded understanding of the dynamics at play in the operational strategies of police forces within varying socio-economic landscapes. Samara's work was instrumental in exploring the nuanced ways in which policing can both reflect and influence the socio-economic realities of different communities, a crucial aspect for interpreting the complex nature of police work in diverse urban settings.

Websdale (2001) concentrates on the interplay between police practices and poverty reduction, highlighting how law enforcement can inadvertently contribute to the reinforcement of social inequalities. This perspective was of significant importance to the study, as it informed the exploration of the complex relationship between policing, socio-economic factors, and crime control. By integrating Websdale's insights, the research aimed to unravel the broader consequences of policing strategies, particularly how they impact different communities. This understanding was crucial for comprehensively examining the extent to which police practices might perpetuate or alleviate socio-economic disparities within the communities under study.

Wacquant (2008) and Garland (2001) contribute significantly to the discourse on the interconnection between police practices and societal inequality. Wacquant's critical work on the growing criminalisation of poverty and the rise of 'punitive neoliberalism' offers a pivotal lens through which the relationship between socio-economic status and policing can be examined. His analysis was particularly relevant for understanding how contemporary policing may be shaped by broader economic and policy trends, especially those that disproportionately affect the impoverished. This perspective was essential for investigating how socio-economic factors might influence or dictate police strategies and approaches.

Conversely, Garland's exploration of the 'culture of control' delves into the increasing stringency of crime control measures as a reaction to societal insecurities and transformations. His insights

provided a valuable theoretical framework for interpreting the evolution of police practices in the face of changing social landscapes. Understanding this 'culture of control' is crucial for contextualising the collected data, particularly in relation to how police forces adapt to and reflect broader societal anxieties and changes. Garland's work helped to situate policing within a larger socio-political context, illuminating how law enforcement is not only a response to but also a constituent of societal shifts and perceptions.

2.3 Theory and practice of policing

The theory and practice of policing, particularly concerning the relationship between police and their community, is another critical aspect of the literature.

Newburn's (2012) "Handbook of Policing" serves as an authoritative source, offering an extensive survey of policing theories and practices. The text looks at various facets of policing, providing a detailed and critical examination of law enforcement strategies, operational tactics, and the underlying theoretical frameworks. This comprehensive approach was crucial for the research, as it equips the practical part of this thesis with a robust understanding of the diverse and complex dimensions of policing. The insights garnered from Newburn's work were particularly beneficial in contextualising the policing strategies within South Africa, allowing for a more informed and nuanced analysis of how police operations adapt to and function within different socio-economic environments. This book's depth and breadth in covering a range of policing aspects, from tactical approaches to overarching strategies, served as a cornerstone for understanding the practical applications of policing theories in a real-world context, especially within the unique landscape of South African law enforcement.

Braga et al. (2014) provide a critical analysis of 'hot spots policing strategies', emphasising the efficacy of focusing law enforcement efforts on specific geographical areas characterised by high crime rates to reduce criminal activity effectively. Their approach was crucial for my research, as it brings to the forefront essential considerations regarding how police resources and strategies are allocated and prioritised. The exploration of these 'hot spots' strategies enabled a detailed examination of the decision-making processes in police operations, particularly regarding resource allocation and strategic focus in areas with contrasting crime rates.

However, the work also brings into view concerns raised by some critics about the potential for these strategies to inadvertently contribute to social segregation and inequality. This critique was

particularly relevant to the study as it presents an opportunity to explore the wider implications of such policing methods. By analysing how targeted policing in specific areas might influence or relate to broader socio-economic disparities, the research delved into the complexities of how police practices might inadvertently impact various communities differently. The investigation into these dynamics was a key aspect of understanding the relationship between police practices and their socio-economic contexts, particularly in terms of resource allocation and strategic emphasis in contrasting communities. This analysis provided a deeper insight into the consequences, both intended and unintended, of concentrated policing efforts in diverse urban settings.

Finally, Weisburd et al. (2016) contribute significantly to the discourse on policing strategies with their study on 'problem area policing'. This approach argues for a police response that is tailored to the geographical distribution of crime, focusing on proactive measures to address the root causes of crime in specific locales. Their advocacy for problem-oriented policing strategies highlights the importance of addressing the fundamental issues leading to crime rather than solely its outward manifestations. For the research, this perspective was invaluable as it underscores the necessity for policing practices that are not just reactive to criminal incidents but are also strategically aimed at understanding and mitigating the core factors contributing to crime. This approach necessitates a geographically nuanced and issue-specific understanding of crime, which was a critical element in my analysis of policing strategies within the varied socio-economic landscapes of South Africa. The application of Weisburd et al.'s principles was helpful in dissecting the efficacy and focus on police efforts, particularly in how they align with or diverge from addressing the foundational aspects of crime in different areas.

2.4 Cop Culture

In "Transforming the Culture of Policing: Thoughts from South Africa" (1995) Clifford Shearing offers profound insights into the intricate and deeply ingrained cultural aspects of policing within the South African context. His work offers a thorough examination of the 'cop culture' – a set of attitudes, values, and norms that pervade the policing environment, often characterised by solidarity, a sense of mission, and a particular view of society and crime. Shearing critically assesses how this culture has been shaped by historical, social, and political factors unique to South Africa, particularly the legacies of apartheid and the challenges of transition in the post-apartheid era.

Shearing's analysis was crucial for understanding the often unspoken but powerful influences that shape police behaviour and attitudes. He emphasises the need for a cultural transformation within policing to address contemporary challenges effectively and to foster a policing approach more aligned with democratic values and human rights.

In the context of the master's thesis, Shearing's work was immensely valuable. It provided a critical framework for understanding the underlying cultural dynamics that influence police practices in different socio-economic settings. By integrating Shearing's insights into the analysis of policing in Nyanga and Sea Point, the research explored how 'cop culture' might vary between these communities and how it influences the police response to socio-economic conditions and crime.

Understanding the culture within police forces was essential for a comprehensive analysis of policing practices. It allowed for an exploration beyond mere operational strategies, delving into the deeper, culturally ingrained perceptions and attitudes that drive police behaviour. This perspective was crucial for formulating recommendations for police reform and strategies that are not only effective but also culturally sensitive and conducive to the needs of diverse communities. Shearing's work enabled a more nuanced understanding of the internal and external factors shaping policing in South Africa, thereby enriching the study's exploration of policing in varied socio-economic contexts.

In "Police Culture and Personal Identity in South Africa," authored by Andrew Faull in 2017, the intricate relationship between police culture and the personal identities of police officers in South Africa is meticulously examined. Faull's study focuses on the ways in which the professional culture within the police force shapes and is shaped by the individual identities and experiences of the officers. He explores how this interaction influences their attitudes, behaviours, and approaches to policing, particularly in the unique socio-political landscape of post-apartheid South Africa.

Faull's work had significant impact in understanding the subtle yet powerful ways in which individual identities and broader police culture intertwine, influencing both the perception and practice of policing. He sheds light on the complexities and nuances of police identity, considering factors such as background, personal experiences, and societal influences, and how these factors converge to shape officers' approaches to their roles and responsibilities.

In the context of the master's thesis, Faull's insights were of immense value. They provided a deeper understanding of the internal dynamics within the police force in South Africa, especially

in relation to how officers' personal identities impact their policing practices in different socio-economic areas like Nyanga and Sea Point. This understanding was crucial for a nuanced analysis of policing strategies, going beyond operational tactics to consider the human element within law enforcement.

Faull's research allowed for an exploration of how individual and collective identities within the police force influence their interactions with and responses to different communities. By integrating this perspective, the research offered a more comprehensive analysis of how socio-economic and crime-related factors influence policing practices, not just at the strategic or policy level, but also at the level of individual officer experiences and perceptions. This enriched the study's examination of policing in varied socio-economic contexts and contributed to a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities for policing in South Africa.

Also indispensable in the context of "cop culture" is the 2003 work "Taking Stock: Toward a Richer Understanding of Police Culture" by E. A. Poaline. Eugene Paoline's comprehensive research on organisational culture in the police represents a central contribution to understanding the internal dynamics within police agencies. In his work, Paoline sheds light on how subcultural influences within the police force affect both the individual attitudes and behaviours of police officers and the collective practices and norms of the organisation. Paoline argues that these subcultures are shaped by a variety of factors, including officers' shared experiences, the specific challenges of their work, and the institutional structures of their agencies.

Paoline's work was of particular value to research on the police stations in Nyanga and Sea Point, as it allows us to analyse the different working cultures within these two stations. His concepts provided a framework for understanding how the respective organisational cultures in Nyanga and Sea Point influence the behaviour, attitudes and interactions of police officers both with each other and with the community. In particular, Paoline's perspective allowed for a deeper analysis of the ways in which subcultural norms and values are shaped in a challenging environment like Nyanga or in a comparatively calmer and more stable environment like Sea Point and how these influenced policing practices and policies.

Finally, the work "Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society" by Jerome Skolnick from 2011 should not be overlooked with regard to research in the field of police culture. Jerome Skolnick's work focuses on the police subculture and its socialisation processes. Skolnick

examines how police officers adopt certain attitudes and behaviours through their professional socialisation that are strongly influenced by the unique nature of their work. He emphasises the role of solidarity, distrust of outsiders and an "us versus them" mentality often found in police units. These factors are critical to understanding how police officers develop their professional identity and how this identity shapes their understanding of and interaction with the community.

In relation to the research in Nyanga and Sea Point, Skolnick's analysis was particularly relevant to understanding how officers' social and professional experiences in these different environments shape their perceptions and interactions inside and outside the police station. Skolnick's concepts were used to analyse how the socialisation processes in Nyanga may contributed to increased solidarity and a sense of belonging among officers, while in Sea Point a different type of socialisation may took place, leading to a more open and perhaps less cohesive police culture. These differences may have important implications for police officers' relationships with each other as well as their relationships with the community.

2.5 Inequality and Policing

The thematic core of this master's thesis revolves around the concept of inequality, exploring how it manifests within the realm of policing. This study posits that the potential differences in police practices across various communities are indicative of broader socio-economic and social inequalities. Three works have proved to be particularly instructive and useful with regard to this topic.

"Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa" by Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass (2008) concentrate on the socio-economic disparities within South Africa, mainly focusing on the intersections of class, race, and inequality. For the research, which investigates the influence of socio-economic status on policing practices in Nyanga and Sea Point, this work was especially relevant. Seekings and Nattrass offer an in-depth analysis of the South African socio-economic landscape, which informed my understanding of the broader context within which policing strategies are formulated and implemented. Their exploration of the historical and contemporary dimensions of inequality in South Africa enriched the study, enabling a more informed and contextually grounded analysis of how socio-economic factors may shape police practices in areas with diverse socio-economic profiles. Their work provided a critical backdrop for understanding the complexities inherent in the South African context, which was essential for a thorough analysis of the different policing approaches in varying socio-economic environments.

Forrest Stuart and Steve Herbert's 'Police and Inequality: Tales from Two Cities' (2016) elaborates on the relationship between policing and social inequality, focusing on two distinct urban settings. Through meticulous ethnographic research, the authors provide a detailed account of how policing practices are shaped by and contribute to existing socio-economic disparities. The work was particularly insightful in illustrating how different community contexts – each with its unique set of socio-economic challenges – elicit varying responses from law enforcement. This nuanced analysis was vital for the research as it provided a template for understanding the complexities of policing in diverse socio-economic landscapes, such as those found in Nyanga and Sea Point. Stuart and Herbert's work underscores the importance of considering local socio-economic conditions when analysing police practices, a perspective that was central to the study. Their findings offered a comparative framework that can be employed to dissect and understand the potential variations in police strategies and resource allocation in different socio-economic settings.

Loïc Wacquant's 'Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity' (2009) critically investigates how neoliberal policies have shaped contemporary policing, particularly focusing on the criminalisation of poverty. Wacquant argues that the state, through its penal and welfare institutions, intensifies social inequalities by disproportionately targeting and punishing the economically disadvantaged. This analysis was highly pertinent to my study as it offers a broader socio-political context within which policing practices can be understood, especially in relation to socio-economic status. Wacquant's perspective was crucial for understanding the dynamics between state policies, socio-economic conditions, and law enforcement strategies in urban settings. His work was helpful in exploring the potential implications of neoliberal policies on the policing of different socio-economic groups in Nyanga and Sea Point. Furthermore, 'Punishing the Poor' helped to frame the discussion around the systemic factors that contribute to the disparities in policing and the broader implications of these disparities for social justice.

2.6 Critical Criminology as a theoretical framework

Critical criminology, particularly Taylor, Walton and Young's (1973) model from their seminal work "The New Criminology", served as a valuable theoretical framework for my chosen research question. In their work, they argue that crime and deviant behaviour cannot be viewed in isolation but rather are embedded in the larger social, political and economic context.

The adoption of Critical Criminology, as articulated by Taylor, Walton, and Young, provided a robust column for this study, particularly in examining the nuances of policing practices within varied socio-economic and crime-affected contexts. This perspective was instrumental in understanding policing as a complex social phenomenon influenced by broader social inequalities, power dynamics, and issues of marginalisation.

Taylor, Walton, and Young's work challenges traditional perceptions of crime and control, encouraging an exploration of policing beyond mere crime control to include its socio-political dimensions. Their approach offered a lens through which policing can be understood not just as a response to criminal activities but as an institution deeply embedded within and influenced by societal structures and relations. This framework was utilised to dissect the intricate ways in which socio-economic status and crime levels may shape police practices, strategies, and operational decisions.

Furthermore, the critical criminological perspective espoused by these authors provided an invaluable tool for analysing the intricate interplay between socio-economic factors, power relations, and policing. By focusing on the ideological underpinnings and power structures that inform crime control, this theoretical approach allowed for a nuanced understanding of policing within the broader context of societal inequalities and power imbalances. This perspective was particularly crucial in understanding how different socio-economic conditions might influence the allocation of police resources, the prioritisation of certain policing strategies, and the operational dynamics within the police force.

In essence, the application of Critical Criminology in this study offered a comprehensive framework for examining the multifaceted and often complex relationships between socio-economic factors, crime, and policing. It provided the necessary theoretical underpinnings to explore and understand the deeper social currents that shape and are shaped by policing practices in different socio-economic environments.

3. Research question

The comprehensive literature review conducted for this study indicates that while there is an extensive body of research focusing on various aspects of policing practices and policies, particularly in relation to community policing and the role of the police within communities, a distinct gap is evident. This gap pertains to a detailed exploration of how these elements interact and mutually influence one another within specific, contextualised settings, such as Cape Town.

Moreover, there appears to be a notable scarcity in the literature regarding an in-depth examination of the specific impacts that socio-economic conditions and levels of crime exposure have on these dynamics. Current research often addresses these factors in isolation or in a more generalised manner, without delving deeply into how they intricately shape and are shaped by policing strategies in a specific locale.

Based on that, the research question posed for this study, “How do socio-economic status and crime burden influence policing practices in the communities of Nyanga and Sea Point?”, is meticulously crafted to address a critical societal concern that transcends the unique historical and contemporary contexts of South Africa. This question is pivotal, as it delves into the intricate relationship between socio-economic factors and the operational aspects of policing, a topic of profound significance given the global discourse on social inequality, segregation, and law enforcement.

In South Africa, particularly in urban areas like Nyanga and Sea Point, socio-economic disparities are stark, and the burden of crime varies significantly. Understanding how these variables shape policing practices and vice versa offers invaluable insights into the challenges and complexities law enforcement faces in such diverse settings. This exploration is crucial not just for academicians and policymakers but also for society at large, as it touches upon the broader issues of fairness, justice, and efficacy in policing within communities that differ markedly in terms of wealth and crime rates.

Moreover, a secondary but equally important question arises: “How do police officers in Nyanga and Sea Point perceive their community and their role within it?” This ancillary question seeks to explore the self-perception of police officers and their understanding of their role in diverse socio-economic settings. It aims to uncover the nuances of how officers’ attitudes, beliefs, and

operational choices are influenced by the socio-economic environment of the community they serve. This perspective is crucial in comprehending the spectrum of factors that shape policing practices, from the viewpoint of those who enforce the law.

Together, these questions aim to provide a comprehensive analysis of policing within the context of socio-economic diversity, addressing pressing societal issues of inequality and the role of policing in either perpetuating or bridging these divides. The findings from this research could have significant implications for enhancing the understanding of policing in diverse socio-economic landscapes, offering pathways for developing more equitable and effective policing strategies that are sensitive to the varying needs of different communities.

4. Methodology

4.1 Positionality and Reflexivity

4.1.1 Positionality

In the section on positionality for this master's thesis, it is essential to acknowledge and critically reflect on how my background as a German national with a legal education might have shaped my approach to and understanding of policing practices in South Africa. The distinct differences between policing in Germany and South Africa necessitated a careful examination of any potential biases or preconceived notions I may bring to this research.

The policing system in Germany, characterised by its adherence to strict protocols and a high degree of public trust, contrasts sharply with the South African context, where the police force often grapples with challenges like corruption and escalating crime rates despite increased budgets (Bruce, 2007; Newham & Faull, 2011). As a German researcher, my perspectives on policing are inevitably shaped by these national contexts. The relative efficiency and public confidence in German policing could have inadvertently influence my expectations and evaluations of the South African Police Service, which has faced persistent criticism over issues such as corruption and effectiveness (Gordon, 2009).

Furthermore, my background in law influences how I approach and interpret various aspects of policing. With a legal education, there is a tendency to view police practices through the lens of legality and formalism, potentially overlooking the socio-political and cultural nuances that are critical in the South African context (Wacquant, 2008). This formalistic approach could have* inadvertently lead to a skewed understanding of the dynamics at play, particularly in relation to community-police relations and the social implications of policing strategies.

It was also crucial to consider the societal context of the South African Police Service, which has been subject to criticism for issues such as corruption, rising crime rates despite increased budgets, and challenges in public trust (Faull, 2017). As a researcher, it was vital to remain cognisant of these societal perceptions and criticisms, ensuring they do not lead to a biased view of the police force and its operations. An objective approach was necessary to provide a balanced understanding of the challenges and realities faced by the South African Police Service.

In conducting this research, I strived to maintain an objective and open perspective, recognising the influences of my background while actively seeking to understand the unique context of South

African policing. This approach was crucial in ensuring that the research findings are reflective of the realities in South Africa, rather than being clouded by my personal and national biases.

4.1.2 Reflexivity

4.1.2.1 Reflexivity in research

Following the critical examination of 'Positionality' in the previous section, it is pertinent to address the concept of 'Reflexivity' in academic research, especially within the scope of this master's thesis. Reflexivity involves a continuous process of self-awareness and critical reflection on one's position, perspectives, and potential biases throughout the research process. This practice is not only crucial for maintaining academic rigour but also for ensuring the credibility and validity of the research findings.

In academic discourse, reflexivity is recognised as a fundamental aspect of qualitative research. It demands that researchers continually question and reflect upon the research process, their role within it, and the impact of their position on the interpretation of data (Finlay, 2002). This reflective practice is crucial for acknowledging and mitigating potential biases and assumptions, especially in a study such as mine, which traverses different cultural, socio-economic, and legal contexts.

Considering my background as a German national with a legal education, and the distinct differences between German and South African policing contexts, reflexivity was a constant component of my research process. By continually reflecting on how my background may shape my understanding and interpretation of South African policing, I aimed to maintain a level of objectivity and sensitivity to the unique socio-political landscape of South Africa.

Throughout the research, reflexivity was employed in the design, data collection, analysis, and presentation stages. This approach aligns with the ethos of reflexivity in qualitative research, as advocated by researchers like Malterud (2001), who emphasised its importance in enhancing the transparency and accountability of the research process.

In summary, maintaining reflexivity throughout this master's thesis was crucial for producing research that is not only academically sound but also ethically responsible and culturally sensitive. It is a practice that underscores the commitment to producing work that is reflective of the complexities and realities of the subject matter.

4.1.2.2 Awareness of Privileges

The research included an examination of my own privileges as a white European male, demonstrating a central aspect of reflexivity. This self-awareness was particularly evident when compared to the experiences of a fellow student and friend who was conducting similar research in Cape Town at the same time. During the research, I was granted immediate access to interviewees at the Nyanga and Sea Point police stations and was treated with politeness and respect throughout. However, my colleague faced significant challenges in finding interviewees and encountered disrespectful and hostile behaviour at times. The difference in our experiences can be attributed to our different social identities: I am a white European man, while she is a black South African woman.

This contrasting experience vividly illustrates how social identities and associated privileges can influence research. My skin colour, gender and background - or a combination of these factors - may have contributed to a more positive reception of me by the police officers. This realisation challenged me to critically reflect on my position and the advantages it brings within the research process.

Reflexivity in research involves questioning one's own assumptions and biases, as well as acknowledging one's position within social structures and power relations, and understanding how these factors can influence research findings. This experience has enhanced my reflexivity and emphasised the significance of recognising privilege in academic work. Research has shown that reflexivity is an ongoing process that requires a deep understanding of the complex social dynamics involved (Malterud, 2001).

4.2 Method: Qualitative Case Study in Nyanga and Sea Point

In the "Method: Qualitative Case Study in Nyanga and Sea Point" section of this thesis, it is essential to articulate why a qualitative research methodology is particularly suited to the exploration of policing practices in these distinct socio-economic contexts of Cape Town, South Africa.

The qualitative case study approach is chosen for its strength in providing in-depth, contextualised understandings of complex issues (Yin, 2014). In examining policing practices in Nyanga and Sea Point, a qualitative methodology allows for a detailed exploration of the nuanced and often unquantifiable aspects of police work, including officers' perspectives, decision-making processes,

and community interactions. This approach is particularly advantageous in capturing the complexities of socio-economic and crime-related factors that shape policing strategies in these areas.

Moreover, qualitative research is conducive to exploring the subtleties and variances within each context, which might not be apparent or measurable through quantitative methods. It provides the flexibility to delve into the intricate dynamics of each case study, accommodating the unique characteristics and challenges presented by Nyanga and Sea Point (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

For this research, qualitative interviews were used. Interviews are a widely used method in the social sciences as they offer the opportunity to gather in-depth, detailed and contextual information (Brinkmann, 2013). They provide access to the interviewees' experiences, opinions, attitudes and perceptions, which is crucial for studying police practices and related factors. The interviews with the police officers provide an opportunity to capture various perspectives and experiences concerning policing practices and socioeconomic conditions in their respective communities.

Semi-structured interviews appear to be the most suitable. The semi-structured interview method allows for essential themes to be covered while leaving room for new ideas and perspectives to emerge during the interview (Galletta, 2013). It is a flexible method that allows respondents to speak in their own words and in their own way, which can lead to deeper and more nuanced data analysis (Brinkmann, 2018). By collecting data from the police officers themselves, a wide range of perspectives and experiences was captured, painting a comprehensive picture of policing practices and policies in Cape Town.

However, conducting qualitative research, particularly in diverse and complex settings like Nyanga and Sea Point, is not without challenges. One potential difficulty lied in ensuring the representativeness and reliability of the data. To address this, a rigorous and systematic approach to data collection and analysis was employed, including triangulation of data sources and methods to enhance the credibility and depth of the findings (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Another challenge was the potential for researcher bias, given the subjective nature of qualitative analysis. Reflexivity, as discussed earlier, was a continuous practice throughout the research process to mitigate this issue. Additionally, engaging with local experts and stakeholders during the research process provided diverse perspectives and help in grounding the findings within the context of South African policing (Maxwell, 2021).

In conclusion, a qualitative case study methodology seemed most appropriate for this research due to its ability to provide rich, contextualised insights into the complex realities of policing in Nyanga and Sea Point. While mindful of the inherent challenges, the study was designed to navigate these effectively, ensuring that the research is both robust and reflective of the multifaceted nature of the topic.

4.3 Research Sites

To justify the choice of research sites, one must first elaborate on the key variables: socioeconomic status and crime exposure. These are of considerable importance as several research papers and theories highlight the profound interactions between these factors and policing practices.

The selection of socio-economic status as a key parameter in this study is informed by its comprehensive scope as a measure that encapsulates a person's or community's economic and social standing, encompassing factors such as income, education, and occupation. The literature robustly demonstrates that socio-economic status exerts a significant influence on police behaviour and the manner in which police services are delivered to communities (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). This influence is particularly evident in areas of lower socio-economic status, where policing practices often differ markedly from those in higher socio-economic areas. Empirical research has indicated that in regions with lower socio-economic status, there tends to be a heightened police presence, coupled with a propensity towards more assertive, and at times, aggressive policing tactics (Beckett et al., 2006). This has been associated with increased rates of police contacts, interventions, and arrests in these communities. Such patterns of policing not only reflect the operational responses to crime but also signal deeper issues related to social inequalities and their intersections with law enforcement practices.

The concept of crime burden, encapsulated by metrics such as crime rates or the volume of reported crimes within a specific area, is a critical factor influencing policing. The level of crime within a community significantly shapes the strategies and resources allocated for policing. In areas characterised by high crime rates, law enforcement agencies are often compelled to deploy more resources and adopt more intensive tactics. This approach generally results in an increased visibility and presence of police in these areas, as a response to the heightened crime levels (Sherman, 1995). Such a strategy is predicated on the belief that a strong police presence can act as a deterrent to criminal activities and help in maintaining law and order. However, the flip side of this approach is that excessively high levels of crime can lead to a strain on police resources.

This overextension can potentially diminish the overall effectiveness of policing efforts. As noted by Kane (2002), when police resources are stretched too thin, it can lead to challenges in adequately responding to and managing crime, thereby affecting the quality and efficacy of law enforcement services.

Examining the interplay between socioeconomic status, crime burden, and policing practices is crucial to understanding the factors influencing policing in different communities. Understanding these interactions can help develop more effective and equitable policing practices and policies.

Based on these variables, Nyanga and Sea Point were collected as research sites. Nyanga and Sea Point represent two different ends of the spectrum regarding socioeconomic status and crime burden, providing essential insights into how these factors interact with policing practices and policies.

Nyanga, often described as one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Cape Town, has a high unemployment rate (Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2022) and a low education rate (Education Statistics in South Africa, 2016). Many residents live in informal settlements with limited access to essential services. Nyanga is often referred to as the "murder capital" of South Africa, due to the high crime rate, especially the murder rate, in recent years. According to the South African Police Service's annual crime report 2022, Nyanga had the third highest murder rate in the country (SAPS Annual Crime Report, 2022). These high crime rates and socioeconomic challenges provide a unique opportunity to examine policing practices and policies in an environment of high crime and social inequality.

On the other side of the spectrum is Sea Point, an affluent neighbourhood known for its high property prices, well-developed infrastructure and low crime rates. Sea Point has a well-equipped police station and an active community policing organisation that regularly works with the police. Crime rates in Sea Point are significantly lower than in Nyanga, with property crimes being the most common (SAPS Annual Crime Report, 2022). By examining policing practices in Sea Point, we can better understand how socioeconomic factors and crime pressures influence policing practices in a more affluent, safer environment.

To illustrate the different crime patterns in the communities, Table 4 below lists selected offences and their frequency in Nyanga and Sea Point based on the SAPS ACR 2022/2023

Crime	Nyanga 22/23	Nyanga 21/22	Nyanga 20/21	Sea Point 22/23	Sea Point 21/22	Sea Point 20/21
Murder	235	164	203	6	1	4
Rape	157	162	155	21	8	11
Common Assault	827	834	606	100	91	67
Property Related Crimes	557	593	511	1231	903	803

Source: SAPS Annual Crime Report 2022/2023.

These statistics illustrate the different crime patterns in the two areas. While Nyanga has significantly higher rates of violent crime such as murder and rape, Sea Point appears to be much more affected by property offences. These differences reflect the different social and economic conditions of the two communities and present different challenges for policing in these areas.

Therefore, the choice of Nyanga and Sea Point as research sites allows for comparing two very different contexts and provides a broader perspective on the role of socioeconomic conditions and crime pressures in shaping policing practices and policies. This research can contribute to a deeper understanding of social inequality and segregation in Cape Town and provide essential insights for developing more equitable and effective policing practices and policies.

4.4 Sampling Plan

4.4.1 Sample Composition

The sampling plan for this master’s thesis involved conducting interviews with a selected group of police officers and station commissioners from the Nyanga and Sea Point police stations. The sample consists of five visible police officers from each station, chosen to represent a range of ranks, experiences, and durations of service. This diversity is intended to capture a broad spectrum of perspectives and insights into daily policing practices, challenges, and personal attitudes. Additionally, the plan was that each station’s commissioner will be interviewed to provide a more strategic and administrative perspective, offering insights into police tactics and decision-making processes. Unfortunately, it was not possible to speak to the station commissioner of Nyanga due to scarcity of appointments on her side and my return to Germany.

4.4.2 Approach and Procedure

The selection of police officers to be interviewed was based on a purposive sampling strategy aimed at identifying participants with specific characteristics or experiences relevant to the research question. Initial contact with the police stations was made through formal channels to explain the research objectives and to obtain permission for the interviews. Once permission was granted, the station commander of each station was asked to participate in the study and to assist in identifying potential police officers who met the criteria of the study.

I am aware, however, that this method of selecting interviewees is not fully transparent from a scientific point of view, particularly with regard to why certain participants were selected and others not. The involvement of station commanders or other senior officials in presenting a group of people for interviews has implications and dependencies that need to be taken into account. There is a possibility that this method of selection could result in a biased sample, if senior officers consciously or unconsciously select individuals who might provide a more positive image of police work.

In order to counteract these limitations and to ensure transparency, a two-stage procedure was applied: After initial identification by the station commanders, the potential participants were assessed according to specific criteria related to the research question. These included years of experience, areas of operation and previous involvement in relevant incidents. This process aimed to ensure a balanced perspective by including officers with a variety of experiences and perspectives.

Nevertheless, the possibility remains that the selection by station commanders could have influenced the results of the study by limiting access to a wider range of perspectives. This methodological limitation is taken into account in the analysis of the results, and a critical look is taken at the possible impact of this selection method on the interpretation of the data.

The interviews were semi-structured, allowing for a guided yet flexible conversation that can explore topics in depth. This format was conducive for understanding the nuances of police officers' experiences and attitudes. The interviews were conducted in a private and confidential setting to ensure participants feel comfortable sharing their perspectives candidly.

4.4.3 Challenges during the research

One of the challenges that were anticipated but effectively addressed during the research was the potential reluctance of police officers to participate due to concerns about confidentiality or the sensitive nature of the topics discussed. To mitigate this, the study emphasised the confidentiality of the responses and clarified that the research was for academic purposes with no intention to critique individual performances.

Another challenge was ensuring the representativeness of the sample. While purposive sampling was ideal for obtaining specific insights, it may not have captured the full range of experiences and perspectives within the police stations. However, the study aimed for a diverse sample within the constraints of the research setting. In total, five police officers from each station were interviewed. The gender ratio was balanced, and the interviewees included officers with a variety of experience levels and ranks. This approach helped in gathering a wider range of perspectives, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the policing practices in Nyanga and Sea Point.

Finally, scheduling interviews with busy police officers and commissioners presented logistical challenges. This was addressed by offering flexible interview times and maintaining open and clear communication with the participants. The flexibility in scheduling allowed for successful coordination with the officers, ensuring that the interviews could be conducted effectively without disrupting their essential duties. This approach facilitated meaningful and in-depth conversations, contributing significantly to the richness of the data collected.

4.5 Analysis Strategy

Analysing qualitative data is a creative and interpretive process aimed at understanding the meanings and contexts inherent in the data. To analyse the interviews and observations in this study, thematic analyses was used. Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data". This method is well suited to the proposed research design as it allows complex phenomena to be analysed and deep insights into the experience of policing in different socioeconomic contexts to be gained.

Thematic analysis usually begins with the transcription of the interviews and the detailed recording of observations. This forms the basis for a thorough reading and re-reading of the data to gain a deep understanding and intimate knowledge of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The next stage is

coding, in which the data is systematically searched, and parts of the data relevant to the research question are marked and categorised. This process is iterative and non-linear so that the researcher can switch back and forth between the different phases (Flick, 2014).

The identification of themes follows coding. This step involves reviewing and refining the initial codes and grouping them into higher-level themes, meaningfully organising and interpreting the data. These themes should capture the specific details and the broader patterns and relationships within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The final stage of thematic analysis is reporting. In this step, the researcher interprets the themes identified and links them to the theories and literature discussed in the literature review. It is crucial that the report reflects the diversity and complexity of the data and addresses the research question and objectives (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The thematic analysis allows for flexible and detailed data analysis and provides the opportunity to identify predictable and unexpected themes. It allows participants' perspectives to be appreciated and their experiences and perceptions to be presented in their own words. Therefore, it is an appropriate method for the intended research.

Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software will be used to process and analyse qualitative data such as interview transcripts and observation notes. The software programme NVivo is specifically designed to support and facilitate qualitative data analysis. It provides functions for the systematic organisation, coding and analysis of textual data.

NVivo supports thematic analysis through functions that facilitate the coding and categorisation of text passages. It also allows the visualisation of connections and patterns within the data, which can help identify themes.

Another advantage of using QDA software is that it can bring transparency and traceability to the analysis process. Using such software, the researcher can document the analysis process and make it traceable, increasing its credibility and reliability (Paulus et al., 2017).

4.6 Ethical Considerations & Limitations

4.6.1 Ethical Considerations

Several ethical considerations and concerns are central to conducting this research. First and foremost, confidentiality and maintaining participants' privacy are critical to gaining participants' trust and maintaining the research's integrity.

First and foremost, reassuring participants that their identities and responses will be kept confidential is essential. The collected data is stored on a secure, password-protected digital storage system, accessible only to the immediate research team, in this case only me. This approach not only safeguards the data from potential external security breaches but also restricts access to those directly involved in the study. A comprehensive anonymisation process is applied to the collected data. Each participant will be assigned a unique, randomly generated identifier, which is used in all research documentation and data analysis processes. Personal information that could potentially identify participants, such as their names, specific roles, or addresses, is deliberately excluded from the data collection tools. All research outputs – such as reports, articles, or presentations – will present the findings at an aggregated level. No individual responses are singled out, ensuring that results cannot be linked back to any specific participant. After the conclusion of the research, all raw data will be retained for a period as stipulated by the University's data retention policy, after which it will be securely deleted. This process will be completed in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the Data Protection Act, ensuring the participants' right to privacy is upheld. Participants were informed of their rights regarding the data collected, including their right to access their personal data, correct inaccuracies, and request erasure of their data. This reinforced the transparency of the research process and affirms the participants' control over their data.

Furthermore, in the realm of academic research, especially within the sensitive context of policing in South Africa, it was imperative to approach the subject with a high degree of ethical sensitivity. The existing perceptions of the police in South Africa are predominantly negative, a reality that necessitates a careful and balanced approach to research in this area. It is crucial that this study did not inadvertently perpetuate these negative stereotypes or lead to the drawing of unjustified conclusions. Ethical research in this context demanded a commitment to promoting a nuanced and balanced understanding of police practices. This involved an acknowledgment of the complex interplay between social and structural factors that shape these practices. As Israel and Hay (2006)

articulate, ethical research must consider the broader societal, historical, and institutional contexts within which data is collected and interpreted.

Moreover, ethical considerations are paramount in research, especially when dealing with sensitive topics like policing. As emphasised by Bryman (2016), it was imperative to conduct research that is respectful and ethical towards all participants. This entails ensuring that participants are fully and transparently informed about the nature of the research, their rights as participants, and any potential risks associated with their involvement. Prior to participation, obtaining informed consent was crucial, not only as a formal procedure but as a cornerstone of ethical research practice. These measures were essential not only for maintaining the ethical integrity of the research but also for building and sustaining the trust of the participants. By adhering to these ethical standards, the research ensured that participants feel valued, respected, and safe in their contribution to the study.

The aspect of personal safety has been of significant importance, particularly when conducting research in areas known for high crime rates, as it was the case with the chosen location Nyanga for this study. Practical measures to ensure safety during fieldwork were critical. This included being accompanied at all times while on site, conducting research activities during daylight hours, and having a well-defined emergency plan in place. Additionally, drawing on local knowledge and advice was invaluable in understanding and navigating the specific risks and safety strategies pertinent to each community (Fielding, 1993). Utilising this local expertise not only enhanced my personal safety but also enriched the research process by incorporating a deeper understanding of the community context. Adhering to these safety protocols was not only a matter of personal security but also contributes to the overall quality and effectiveness of the research, ensuring that it was conducted in a responsible and sustainable manner.

4.6.2 Limitations

The choice of data collection and analysis methods in this research has some limitations that must be considered when interpreting and applying the results.

4.6.2.1 Reflections on Methodological Limitations and Researcher's Inexperience in

Qualitative Data Collection

Firstly, the interviews and surveys conducted for this master's thesis employed purposive sampling, a method that heavily relies on the researcher's skills and judgement. As King and Horrocks (2010) emphasise, the researcher's interpretations can be influenced by their own biases

and prejudices, potentially affecting the objectivity and reliability of the results. To reduce this limitation, it was essential for me as a researcher to reflect on my role and understanding in the research process and strive to control and be transparent about my biases as much as possible (Malterud, 2001).

It is worth noting that I had limited experience in qualitative data collection, despite careful preparation. This entry-level position carries the risk of common errors that can impact the quality of the collected data and subsequent analysis. For instance, the interviewer may have unintentionally asked leading questions during the interviews or over-interpreted certain responses from the interviewee. These factors can affect the impartiality and depth of the insights obtained. During the analysis phase, we identified and considered potential biases to ensure the credibility and validity of the results.

4.6.2.2 Addressing Reactivity and Hierarchical Constraints in Police Interviews

Secondly, the interviews conducted for this master's thesis may have been influenced by participant reactivity, meaning that the awareness of being observed or interviewed can alter their behaviour and statements (Maxwell, 2012). This is especially relevant in the context of police work, where interviewees may be apprehensive about the potential negative consequences of their statements. To minimise this limitation, the researcher established a relationship of trust with the participants and provided clear and understandable consent forms that ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of the data (Oliver, 2010).

The South African police force is organised in a strict hierarchy, which may have led to some police officers making false statements or withholding information for fear of reprisals from higher-ranking officers. In the police force, there is a desire to avoid being seen as a 'stain on the nest'. During interviews with police officers in Nyanga and Sea Point, some participants may have been cautious or loyal to their superiors and the organization, leading to incomplete or less authentic data. During the analysis phase of the master's thesis, the focus was on identifying any signs of reticence or bias in the police officers' statements to obtain a realistic picture of their perspectives and experiences.

4.6.2.3 Context Specificity and Sample Size Considerations

Thirdly, the results of this master's thesis have limited generalisability due to the specific context and small sample size. Therefore, the transferability of the results to other contexts or populations

is uncertain. It is important to note that the sample selection was deliberate and based on convenience, which means that the participants may not be representative of the wider population. This is supported by previous research (Battaglia, 2008; Etikan et al., 2016). To reduce this limitation, it was necessary to report the results with caution and take into account the specific contexts and conditions in which the data were collected. Alternatively, statistical techniques could have been used to adjust the data and correct for bias (Battaglia, 2008).

For this study, only five police officers per station were interviewed. While the quality of the interviews was consistently high, it is not possible to draw generalised conclusions from such a small sample size. Therefore, the scientific significance of the results is limited to the two police stations analysed in Nyanga and Sea Point. It is important to consider this limitation when interpreting and applying the findings. The results provide valuable insights into the particular working methods and challenges of these two stations. However, it is important to note that these findings may not be applicable to other police units or contexts.

4.6.2.4 Language Barrier and Communication Problems

During the study, a potential language barrier emerged as all interviews were conducted in English, which is not the native language of either the interviewer or the police officers. This situation poses a risk of misunderstandings that could impact the quality of the data. English is commonly used as a lingua franca in South Africa. However, when dealing with complex or emotionally charged topics, subtle nuances in communication can be lost.

To address this issue, clear and understandable communication was prioritised during the interviews. Additionally, when analysing the data, possible language-related misunderstandings were identified and taken into account. Although Temple and Young (2004) suggest the use of qualified translators or interpreters, this was not done in order to preserve the authenticity of the interviews and avoid additional layers of complexity.

Although precautions were taken, it is possible that miscommunications may have affected some of the collected data. To ensure objectivity, this potential bias was considered during the interpretation of the research results. Efforts were made to minimise its impact through careful analysis and critical reflection.

4.6.2.5 Time Limitation

One issue faced during the research was the limited time available for conducting interviews. The interviews were conducted over a period of only two days, which may have led to an overemphasis on short-term events or phenomena, while more significant, long-term patterns may not have been fully captured (Bryman, 2016).

The interviews only provided snapshots of the current situation and attitudes in Nyanga and Sea Point police stations due to the short time frame. It was not possible to observe developments or changes over a longer period of time. This limitation could be particularly relevant when evaluating policing strategies and their impact, as such processes often require a longer period of time to achieve visible results.

During the analysis and interpretation of the data it was necessary to take the time constraint into account. Care was taken to avoid premature conclusions and to contextualise the results within the short survey period. The research aimed to produce precise and meaningful results within the given time constraints, while acknowledging the limitations of the short time period.

4.6.2.6 Correlation and Causality

Another major limitation of this research is the distinction between correlation and causality. Although the study can show significant correlations between socio-economic status, crime levels and differences in police behaviour in Nyanga and Sea Point, it is important to emphasise that these correlations do not necessarily imply causation. This distinction is crucial because correlational relationships merely show that there is a relationship between two variables without confirming that one variable causes the other. As David A. Kenny emphasises in his work "Correlation and Causality", it is a common mistake to infer causality from correlation (Kenny, 1979). This is particularly true in complex social contexts in which numerous interrelated factors can influence behaviour and decisions. This master's thesis analyses the differences in policing strategies between Nyanga and Sea Point, focusing on the variables of 'socio-economic status' and 'crime burden'. The analysis provides an in-depth examination of the impact of these two variables on policing. It is important to note that while these variables are significant, they are not the only factors that can influence policing strategies.

This study did not address other relevant factors in depth, such as population density, housing conditions, discipline and management within police stations, and the influence of outside security

forces, particularly in Sea Point where Metro Police and private security companies play a significant role. These factors are likely to impact policing and could be considered in a more comprehensive analysis to provide a more complete picture of policing strategies in the two areas.

The selection of variables was deliberate in order to limit the scope of the work and enable a focused investigation. However, it is important to note that this selection is a limitation of the study. Therefore, the findings only reflect a limited sample of the complex reality of policing in Nyanga and Sea Point. Future research could explore additional variables to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence policing strategies in different urban contexts.

4.6.2.7 Selective Openness and Adulteration

The research faced an additional challenge due to the selective openness of the participants. Police work in South Africa is heavily criticised in the media and society, which may have caused the interviewed police officers to be cautious about portraying a negative image of the police and their work. As a result, there is a risk that the participants may have emphasised positive aspects and avoided potentially damaging or controversial topics. To ensure data quality and avoid bias in the results (Maxwell, 2012), the questions for the surveys and interviews were designed to be non-suggestive and non-threatening. Participants were informed that there were no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and that the research aimed to gain a broader understanding of perceptions in the community.

Despite these measures, it is possible that participants may have withheld certain information due to concerns about the public image of the police or their own position within the organization. This potential bias was taken into account during the analysis and interpretation of the research findings. Special emphasis was placed on critically examining the data and being mindful of any signs of withholding or distortion in order to obtain the most realistic and unadulterated picture of the situation in the Nyanga and Sea Point police stations.

4.7 The Research Process

The "Research Process" section will include a descriptive account of my observations and experiences gathered during the research visit to Nyanga and Sea Point police stations. This narrative description will not only provide a vivid picture of the daily operations and atmosphere

in these two different stations, but will also serve as a basis for analysing police practices in these areas in greater depth.

The observations in Nyanga and Sea Point provide valuable insights into the reality of policing in different socio-economic contexts. By interacting directly with police officers and observing their operations, an authentic understanding of how local conditions and challenges affect policing strategies and tactics can be gained. These experiences are critical to grasping the dynamic nature of policing and understanding the impact of factors such as socioeconomic status and crime burden on the day-to-day work of the police.

4.7.1 Sea Point

The Sea Point police station, which is located right next to Greenpoint Park, is a relatively small and well-organised facility. It is easily and safely accessible by public transport. When I entered the police station, I immediately noticed the organised internal structure. Four police officers behind a counter, opposite a counter specifically set up for victims of domestic violence, reflected a structured approach to catering for different community needs.

My interaction with the friendly officer at the counter was informative and laid the initial groundwork for collaborative research. This initial encounter emphasised the openness of the station to community engagement and academic enquiries. The smooth transfer to the station commander's office also demonstrated an approachable and well-organised atmosphere within the station.

Whilst I waited for the station commander, the conversation with a captain, although scrutinising, was indicative of a thoughtful and critically engaged police force. The Captain's questions about my research were not just formal, but seemed driven by genuine interest but also a certain distrust for external co-operation.

This first impression was not confirmed in my conversation with the station commander. The reception of my research plan by the station commander was consistently positive. Her willingness to allow interviews within the station demonstrated a supportive attitude towards academic research and expressed that there were no concerns on the part of the Sea Point police station regarding a critical analysis of the circumstances. The agreement to conduct interviews two days later demonstrated an efficient and accommodating administrative ethos.

On my return to the station, this impression of academic co-operation was reconfirmed. The station commander's offer of the use of her office for the interviews emphasised the confidence in the research process but also in the station itself and the work that is done there. The subsequent interviews with the police officers were characterised by their openness and ease of communication. The officers' willingness to be recorded and their comprehensive responses indicated a high level of comfort and willingness to be transparent.

The average duration of the interviews, around 25 minutes, testified to a smooth and unbiased dialogue. This ease of interaction allows conclusions to be drawn about the culture within the station - one that appears to be rooted in open communication and willingness to interact. The relaxed demeanour of the officers during the interviews created a conducive atmosphere for in-depth discussions and allowed for rich and insightful data collection that will likely be crucial to understanding the policing dynamics at Sea Point Police Station.

The interviews at Sea Point Police Station were conducted in a careful and structured manner to gain deep insights into the police practices and experiences of the officers. Each interview began with a brief introduction in which I explained the purpose of my research and emphasised the confidentiality of the interviews. Participants were assured that their identities and responses would be treated anonymously and used for academic purposes only.

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured conversations to strike a balance between asking focused questions and allowing officers to freely express their thoughts and experiences. The questions covered various topics including their daily tasks, challenges at work, perceptions of crime and socio-economic factors in their area of operation, as well as their personal opinions on policing strategies.

An open and respectful atmosphere was maintained during the interviews, encouraging officers to speak openly and honestly. Some of the officers showed little to no restraint, even when it came to criticising police structures in Sea Point. It was precisely this openness that I had hoped for from my interview partners in advance.

After each interview, a short debriefing was conducted to clarify any ambiguities and to give participants the opportunity to share additional information or thoughts. These debriefings were also an opportunity for participants to provide feedback and ensure that they had felt comfortable during the interview.

Overall, the interview process was characterised by professionalism and respect, both on my part and on the part of the police officers interviewed. The information and impressions gained from these interviews are of great value in understanding the complex dynamics of policing in Sea Point.

4.7.2 Nyanga

The police station in Nyanga is located in the direction of Cape Town Airport. From the highway, it is estimated to be only about 1000 metres to the station. Unlike Sea Point, Nyanga is not easily accessible by public transport, so I had to resort to a private journey. During the journey I had a queasy feeling due to the relevant reports and prejudices about Nyanga. On the way to Nyanga there are many small shops such as hairdressing salons, butchers and stalls. Compared to Sea Point, the police station in Nyanga is much larger and busier. In addition to the significantly higher number of police officers, there were always civilians to be seen in the station. When I asked for the station manager and learnt that she was not present that day, I was referred to another senior policewoman, to whom I explained my concerns. She was extremely friendly and helpful and immediately organised potential partners interview partners for my project, from whom I chose five candidates. The interviews were conducted in three different rooms, which were kindly offered to me by different police officers.

The interviews in Nyanga revealed a fascinating dynamic. Initially, many of the police officers interviewed appeared cautious and wait-and-see. This initial reticence could be due to a natural scepticism towards external research projects or concerns about the personal and professional implications of their statements. Despite this initial caution, the police officers increasingly opened up as the interviews progressed, suggesting that a space of trust could be created.

While the conversations in Sea Point had a more informal and directly open character, the openness in the interviews in Nyanga developed gradually. Once the police officers had overcome their initial reservations, they willingly shared their experiences and views. These conversations were characterised by a mixture of professional reflection and personal insights, which underlined the complexity of their work and the emotional challenges they face.

Interestingly, the opportunity to share their experiences and thoughts in a safe setting seemed to provide a rare opportunity for some of the police officers to self-reflect and express their concerns and hopes. The fact that some of the conversations were unrecorded may also be a sign that it was important for them to share their thoughts freely and without judgement.

The difference in atmosphere and conversational style between the stations in Sea Point and Nyanga may reflect the different working environments and challenges faced by police officers in these areas. In Nyanga, an area with higher crime rates and greater social challenges, police officers may face higher levels of stress and pressure, which is reflected in their initial caution and subsequent ease in sharing their experiences.

Overall, the interviews in Nyanga provided deep insights into the experiences and perceptions of the police officers despite the shorter duration of the interviews. Overall, the willingness to cooperate was also high in Nyanga. After my interviews, I was offered a ride from Nyanga to the airport with a police escort, which I gratefully accepted.

5. Findings

The "Findings" chapter presents the key findings from the transcribed interviews that were conducted as part of the field research at Nyanga and Sea Point police stations. This chapter is of crucial importance as it presents the empirically obtained data in a thematically structured form and thus forms the core of the research work.

The findings are organised thematically to enable a clear and focused presentation of the diverse aspects of policing in the different socio-economic contexts of Nyanga and Sea Point. This structuring facilitates an understanding of the complex dynamics and provides a nuanced insight into the different facets of police practice and experience in these areas. Each theme has been carefully selected based on the most salient and relevant patterns that emerged from the data, with particular attention paid to aspects that directly contribute to answering the research question.

For now, the presentation of these findings is simply a summary of the data collected, foregrounding the voices of the police officers interviewed while providing a critical framework for understanding their statements in the context of the overarching research topic. This chapter thus contributes significantly to fulfilling the central research objectives and developing an in-depth understanding of the impact of socio-economic conditions and crime pressure on policing in these specific urban environments.

5.1 The Participants

As part of the chapter presenting the research findings, it is important to introduce the participants who contributed to these findings appropriately. The description of the participants is deliberately kept general in order to preserve their anonymity while emphasising relevant characteristics that are essential for understanding the research findings.

All participants in the study are so-called "visible police", i.e. police officers who are active in their district on a daily basis and carry out patrol duties. This selection is significant as it provides a direct picture of police practice and interaction with the community. The participants are made up of police officers from both stations studied - Nyanga and Sea Point. They represent a wide range of gender, age, ethnicity, ranks and work experience, although these characteristics are only provided to the extent that they contribute to answering the research question.

To ensure confidentiality, the actual names of the police officers were replaced by pseudonyms. This approach protects the identity of the participants and allows them to speak openly and honestly about their experiences and views.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct interviews with the station commanders of both police stations. Although the station commander of Sea Point had kindly offered me an interview, it was not possible to conduct an interview with the station commander of Nyanga due to the upcoming public holidays and my imminent return to Germany. This is a limitation as the perspectives of the station commanders could have shed light on an important dimension of police leadership and decision-making processes.

Despite this limitation, the selection of interview participants provides a solid foundation for an in-depth understanding of daily policing practices and the challenges faced by police officers in Nyanga and Sea Point districts.

5.2 Theme 1 - Daily tasks and crime pattern

The analysis of the statements regarding the daily tasks and the crime structure in the Nyanga and Sea Point police stations reveals clear differences, both in the types of offences and the density of offences as well as in the tasks assigned to the police officers.

According to the police officers, the criminal landscape in Nyanga is characterised by violent offences such as murder or armed robbery, as well as illegal possession of weapons and cases of domestic violence. This serious and complex crime requires a strong focus on controls and active crime prevention. Police work in Nyanga is, therefore, strongly characterised by proactive measures and responses to unpredictable, often dangerous situations. Daily tasks include, for example, house searches, patrols in crime hot spots and escorts for government employees carrying out checks or measurements. However, the police officers in Nyanga are also often under pressure to respond quickly and effectively to acute and violent incidents, often having to take risks for their own safety. Furthermore, police officers report an extremely high crime density, leaving little room for police activities outside of their prescribed duties. The following quotes emphasise these findings:

“A typical day in Nyanga for me is full of surprises, you never know what to expect. You see, the day can start very calm and normal and all of a sudden turn into chaos.” - Brian

“Some days it's rough, some days it's quiet. Extorsion is the most popular thing now, smash and grab, that's why we are currently staying there. So that's basically the day unless there are murders. There are lots of those. Typically you need to patrol, up and down, up and down, that's how it goes.” - Sandy

In contrast, the focus of crime in Sea Point is said to be on property offences such as theft and burglary. This type of crime and the lower crime density allows police officers to invest time in community engagement and proximity to citizens in addition to directly fighting crime. Policing in Sea Point also includes preventative measures and the use of modern technology, which has led to visible successes in crime prevention. The police officers in Sea Point are responsible for less high-risk activities such as security at Greenpoint Stadium compared to police officers in Nyanga. In addition, the police are regularly involved in community activities such as community events and promenade runs. One police officer described the incidence of crime in Sea Point as follows:

“Sea Point is mainly a property-related station. This means housebreaking, theft of vehicles and so on. It's not a contact-related station like murders, rapes or other crimes where people are involved. Therefore, a typical day is dealing with the reported crimes that occurred overnight.” - Oliver

It is also interesting to note the congruent statements that in the rare event of a homicide, community pressure regarding an arrest is perceived as extremely high.

“When we get a murder in Sea Point, which only happens like once or twice a year, it's a big issue. There is a lot of pressure because it doesn't generally happen. People want a full investigation to take place and they want an arrest. We need a success.” - Brandon

It is clear from the interviews that these different task profiles and crime structures in Nyanga and Sea Point not only reflect the varying socio-economic conditions and the resulting challenges for police work, but also the different risk potentials to which the police officers in the two areas are exposed.

5.3 Theme 2 - Feeling of safety and mental health

In the study, the police officers in Nyanga and Sea Point rated their sense of security on a scale of 1 to 10 in order to gain an effective insight into their perception of personal security. The results show significant differences: In Nyanga, the average score was 3, while police officers in Sea

Point, on average, rated their level of safety as 8. These figures reflect a clear discrepancy in perceived safety between the two areas.

Police officers in Nyanga reported a pronounced feeling of tension and fear during their patrols. They expressed the perception that their badge made them targets, indicating a deep-rooted sense of insecurity and possibly a high level of crime and violence in the area. Many stated that they had learnt to deal with this constant fear over time, indicating a high level of psychological stress. Here are some quotes from police officers in Nyanga:

“You can’t feel safe here. You always have to be alert. I can’t say that I feel completely unsafe because we’re 2 to 3 people in a van, but there is a huge possibility that something will happen. Anything can happen in a split second. You always need to be alert and you always need to look after your partner.” - Hannah

“When your shift is over and nothing happened it’s such a relief. You just pray and hope that the next day will be the same.” - Fezeka

In contrast, the police officers in Sea Point did not express any major concerns about their safety. Although there were also cases of violent crime in Sea Point, these were not everyday occurrences. This perception corresponds with the higher feeling of safety and indicates less confrontation with violent offences on duty.

“I like to walk in Sea Point, not only when I’m on duty, I just like to walk and interact with people. I feel very safe, I would say a 9 out of 10. Obviously we are aware that things can turn dirty very quickly, but overall, I think we are quite okay in Sea Point. Even though our management keeps telling us to wear our bulletproof vests and firearms. I would say Sea Point is the safest place in Cape Town after Camps Bay.” - Andre

Another interesting aspect is the psychological support provided by the Employee Health and Wellness (EHW) Service. While some police officers in Sea Point hardly knew about this service or did not make use of it, the police officers in Nyanga felt let down by this support system. It was reported that although a support system exists, it can only be used in extreme cases and exceptional situations. There is hardly any supervision and trauma management, which means that the few available support options are often not utilised. This indicates a significant gap in the care and support for the mental health of police officers in Nyanga, especially in comparison to their colleagues in Sea Point. This was said by a police officer in Sea Point:

“The EHW only offers assistance in exceptional cases. If one of us has been injured or confronted with several bodies. It's not that no help is offered; the structure is there. It's just that there is little. Most of the colleagues I know have, therefore, never used this service.” - Brian

5.4 Theme 3 - Perception and interaction with the community

Investigating the relationship between the police and the community in Nyanga and Sea Point reveals different challenges and dynamics. In Nyanga, I encountered a widespread complaint among police officers about a lack of respect, especially from the younger generation. This feeling of lack of respect could affect the relationship between the police and the community and poses a challenge to the maintenance of law and order and trust.

“My perception of the people living here definitely changed. The previous station I worked at, people had more respect for you and were more afraid of the police. You see, the people in Nyanga have more guts, which means if they stand their ground against the police, they will stand their ground whether you like it or not. These guys have no problem attacking a police officer.” - Hannah

Another problem in Nyanga is violence against police officers or the fear of it. Police officers repeatedly reported feeling that their badge could make them the target of attacks. This factor also contributes to a tense relationship between the police and the community and could impair the effectiveness of police work and increase the risk of escalation of operations.

“My relation to the people here is very difficult. On the one hand, I want to treat them with respect, but on the other hand, I see a potential threat in every individual I see on a daily basis. I'm thinking this person might end my life if I'm not careful. So I'm living in a kind of fear whenever I'm out on patrol” - Christina

In Sea Point, however, while police officers did not express explicit complaints about a lack of respect, they did report a loss of trust in the police within the community. This loss of trust is also concerning as it can affect the ability of the police to work effectively and protect the community. However, positive and supportive experiences with the community were also reported. This could be due in no small part to the fact that the police officers in Sea Point are also visible in the community and participate in local events, which promotes the building of trust and a positive relationship with the population.

“To be honest with you, Sea Point can also be a difficult community. We have a lot of people in our community who don’t trust us and think all police officers are bad. But we also have a lot of community members who support us. I see it as my job to build trust within the community.” - Thomas

In Sea Point there is an opportunity to focus on specific community issues such as vagrancy or supporting mentally ill individuals, which indicates more sophisticated policing and community interaction. This is in contrast to Nyanga, where language barriers present additional challenges. In particular, police officers who do not speak the local languages find themselves in difficult situations as many residents do not speak English. This language difference in Nyanga compared to Sea Point, where almost all residents speak English, marks a significant difference in communication and interaction with the community.

In summary, these observations show that the police officers in both areas are confronted with different problems in terms of perception and interaction with the community. While in Nyanga the lack of respect and fear of the population is prevalent, in Sea Point the loss of trust is at the forefront. These differences reflect the different socio-economic and cultural contexts in which these police stations operate and emphasise the need for a differentiated approach to policing and community interaction.

5.5 Theme 4 – Relationship between colleagues

While analysing the transcripts of my interviews, it became clear that the issue of collegiality within the police stations in Nyanga and Sea Point plays an unexpected but significant role. The findings on this aspect were so striking that I decided to include it as a separate topic in my work. Particularly notable were the differences in colleague cohesion and trust between the two stations.

In Nyanga, almost all police officers interviewed emphasised the exceptionally high level of trust in their colleagues. The strong cohesion and mutual trust seemed to be an essential part of the work culture in Nyanga. These findings suggest a close and supportive community within the station, which can be of great importance in a challenging working environment such as Nyanga, which is characterised by high crime rates and difficult working conditions.

“I’m talking about my experience now. I have worked with my colleague for a year and a half now and I can say I trust her with all I have. We have been in a few incidents where you can say she

has my back. When I run behind a suspect for example, I always know she's with me. That's why I can say I trust her." - Brian

In contrast, criticism and dissatisfaction in relation to colleagues were voiced at Sea Point. These points of criticism could indicate a less cohesive work culture or at least tensions within the team. Interestingly, the issue of sexism within the station was also raised in Sea Point. Some officers suggested that sexism was an existing problem or could become one in the future. This raises questions about equality and the working atmosphere in the station and could point to deeper structural and cultural challenges within policing.

"There is not that much respect for ranks that existed when I started at SAPS many years ago. The new colleagues who come in now, I feel there is no respect and it feels like it has become a political situation. It's politics only and not a family anymore." - Cassandra

These observations on collegiality are not only interesting in themselves, but could also have important implications for analysing policing in Nyanga and Sea Point. Trust and cohesion among colleagues can significantly influence the behaviour and effectiveness of police officers in their daily duties. In Nyanga, strong cohesion may serve as a coping mechanism for the demanding working conditions, while in Sea Point, the tensions and challenges mentioned may affect morale and team dynamics. These aspects shed light on important facets of the work culture and social fabric within the police stations and contribute to the understanding of the different working environments in Nyanga and Sea Point.

5.6 Theme 5 – Influence of external factors

According to the police officers, police work in Nyanga and Sea Point is influenced by a variety of external factors, ranging from socio-political changes to economic conditions. These factors have a different impact in the two areas and could therefore characterise the approach and effectiveness of police measures.

In Nyanga, an area characterised by high crime rates and socio-economic challenges, socio-political factors play a crucial role. Nyanga is not only affected by poverty and unemployment, but also by a history of marginalisation dating back to the apartheid era. These historical and social contexts have contributed to an environment in which crime is often seen as a symptom of deeper social problems. The police in Nyanga must therefore not only respond to crime, but also deal with the complex social dynamics that favour it.

“You know, working here in Nyanga, it's more than just dealing with crime on a day-to-day basis. It's about understanding where these folks are coming from. A lot of what we see on the streets is because of deep issues, man - like poverty, no jobs, and people feeling left out. We're not just fighting crime; we're up against history here. Sometimes it feels like we're trying to fix things that have been broken for a long time.” - James

Sea Point, on the other hand, as a wealthier and more stable district, is confronted with other external factors. Economic conditions and tourism play a greater role here. The need to ensure a safe environment for residents and tourists leads to a different policing approach, prioritising prevention and maintaining a positive public image. In Sea Point, technological developments are also having a greater impact on policing. The use of surveillance technology and data-driven policing strategies is more pronounced here, which improves the preventive and reactive capacity of the police.

“Certainly, maintaining public safety in Sea Point involves challenges, but they are of a different nature. We're more concerned with keeping the community's trust and ensuring that our presence is reassuring rather than intimidating. While we do have issues, such as occasional altercations involving tourists or dealing with vagrancy, our daily interactions are generally well-received by the public. It's about balancing firmness with understanding and maintaining a professional demeanor at all times.” - Thomas

Another important external factor in both areas is the public perception of the police. In Nyanga, according to the police officers interviewed, the perception of the police is characterised by previous experiences of violence and mistrust, which complicates the relationship between the police and the community. In Sea Point, on the other hand, the challenge may be to maintain trust in effective and fair policing, especially in an environment where expectations of the police are high.

“Yeah, I mean, every day is a challenge here. It's not just about being a cop; it's about being a part of this community. People here, they've seen a lot, and sometimes they don't trust us. We gotta work twice as hard to gain that trust, show them we're here to make things better. But it's tough, you know, when you're dealing with so much violence and fear on these streets.” - Lucas

To summarise, it can be said that the influence of external factors on police work in Nyanga and Sea Point plays an important role and requires a differentiated approach. While socio-political and

historical contexts pose a greater challenge in Nyanga, economic factors and the use of technology are more influential in Sea Point. These different influences require customised strategies and approaches in order to respond effectively to the specific needs and challenges in the respective areas.

6. Analysis and Discussion

In the central part of my master's thesis, the analysis and discussion, the focus will be on analysing and interpreting the collected data and observations in detail. This chapter forms the centrepiece of the thesis, as it builds a bridge between the empirical data collection and the theoretical considerations on which the study is based.

In this section, the results from the interviews with the police officers from Nyanga and Sea Point are analysed in detail. The aim is to develop a deeper understanding of how socio-economic status and crime levels in these two different areas influence police behaviour. Particular attention will be paid to the correlations between the different variables while considering the complexity of the social realities in which these police officers operate.

The discussion will not be limited to highlighting differences in police practices, but will also attempt to understand these differences in the context of broader social, political and economic frameworks. The results will be related to the theoretical concepts discussed in the literature review, and the extent to which the findings confirm, challenge or extend existing theories will be analysed.

In addition, this chapter discusses the influence of external factors such as socio-political context, training and resource allocation as well as the influence of internal factors such as team dynamics and work culture on police work. This provides a comprehensive view of how different factors interact and shape policing in the two areas analysed.

6.1 Daily Tasks and Crime Pattern

Analysing the daily tasks of police officers in Nyanga in light of the concepts of Weisburd et al. (2016) provides a deeper insight into the challenges and consequences of policing in high-crime areas. Weisburd et al. argue in their concept of 'problem area policing' that policing in high crime areas should focus on specific geographical zones where crime is more prevalent. This theory implies that by targeting policing in these hotspots, crime can be effectively reduced.

In the community of Nyanga, an area with a high crime rate, this concept manifests itself in the form of intensive police patrols and checks. Police officers are under constant pressure to respond to immediate and often violent threats, which affects their capacity for preventative work and community engagement. This situation leads to policing that is highly reactive and less preventative. The focus on 'problem areas' means that resources and attention are channelled into

certain areas, which can lead to other areas being neglected. This strategy can also have unintended consequences, such as an increase in community distrust of the police and the possible stigmatisation of certain areas as 'crime hotspots' (Weisburd et al., 2016).

This intensive policing in Nyanga could have unintended consequences for the relationship between the police and the community. Weisburd et al (2016) emphasise the importance of community policing and community involvement in policing to foster trust and cooperation. However, in an environment characterised by rapid responses and high pressure, it can be difficult to adopt an effective community policing approach. Police officers may be perceived as aloof or hostile, undermining trust in the police and making it more difficult to fight crime.

These implications are also in line with the findings of Websdale (2001), whose research shows how police practices are shaped by prevailing social and economic conditions. Websdale emphasises that policing often tends to reinforce existing social inequalities, particularly in areas of high poverty and social deprivation.

In Nyanga, an area with pronounced socio-economic challenges, the daily tasks described by the officers reflect this dynamic. Police officers are mainly occupied with fighting serious crime, which leaves little room for other activities. This situation can lead to a widening of the gap between the police and the community. Community members may perceive the police as a force that is more focused on enforcing laws than on protecting and supporting the community. This perception supports the assumption that trust in the police is undermined and the effectiveness of policing in crime prevention and control is compromised (Websdale, 2001).

Furthermore, Websdale's (2001) findings suggest that policing in areas such as Nyanga is often reactive and characterised by a 'law-and-order' approach that leaves little room for addressing the underlying causes of crime. This type of policing can lead to the neglect of important aspects such as social reintegration, prevention and support for vulnerable groups.

Sea Point presents a contrasting picture to the situation in Nyanga, particularly in terms of policing strategies and their impact on the community. Referring to the work of Braga et al. (2014), it can be seen how policing in Sea Point is characterised by a proactive approach based on 'hot spots policing strategies'. These strategies focus on specific geographical areas with a potentially increased risk of crime, emphasising preventative measures and the use of modern technology.

In Sea Point, the lower levels of violent crime allow police officers to focus on preventative strategies aimed at reducing property crime and minor offences. Officers frequently reported the use of surveillance technologies and data-driven policing strategies. This technology-based approach, as described by Braga et al. (2014), allows for more effective surveillance and rapid intervention in potential crimes. These proactive measures help to create a safe and stable environment that increases community confidence in the police.

This approach in Sea Point differs significantly from the reactive police work in Nyanga. Whereas in Nyanga the focus is on immediate response to serious crime, the situation in Sea Point allows for a greater emphasis on prevention and building a positive relationship with the community. The police officers in Sea Point are able to work more effectively with the community and foster an atmosphere of trust and safety. The resulting increased community trust can in turn lead to increased reporting behaviour, which in turn increases crime detection.

The comparison of policing in these two areas reflects the findings of Stuart and Herbert (2016), who emphasise the importance of socio-economic context to policing strategies and practices. They emphasise that policing in different communities is tailored to specific social, economic and crime-related challenges. In Nyanga, the high level of violent crime and socio-economic deprivation requires a reactive, intensive police presence, while in Sea Point the lower crime rate and better socio-economic conditions allow for a preventative and community-orientated approach.

6.2 Feeling of Safety and Mental Health

The statements regarding the sense of security and the mental health of police officers in Nyanga can be illuminated more profoundly by the concepts of Wacquant (2008). Wacquant's examination of the effects of social inequality on criminalisation processes offers a relevant perspective for understanding the working conditions and mental stress to which police officers in Nyanga are exposed.

Wacquant argues that areas of high social inequality and marginalisation are often characterised by a state of 'hyper-criminalisation' (2008). In such contexts, residents and the community are often perceived as problematic and stigmatised as potential criminals. This perception can be transferred

to the police officers and their work. Police officers in Nyanga are constantly faced with the expectation of responding to violent and criminal activities. This leads to a working environment characterised by mistrust and potential hostility (Wacquant, 2008).

For the police officers in Nyanga, this means that they are in a state of constant vigilance and tension, which can lead to increased stress levels and psychological strain. The constant confrontation with violence and insecurity that Wacquant describes in his analysis can lead to symptoms such as anxiety, burnout and even post-traumatic stress disorder in police officers (Kane, 2002). These stresses are exacerbated by the feeling of being targeted, which not only affects their professional performance but also their mental health and well-being.

In such an environment, the ability of the police to interact effectively and empathically with the community is severely limited. The dynamics of social inequality and criminalisation identified by Wacquant can consequently lead to the police being perceived as a hostile force by the community, increasing the potential for escalation of operations on both sides.

The examination of the sense of safety and mental health of police officers in Sea Point can in turn be deepened by applying Reiner's (2000) findings from "The Politics of the Police". Reiner's work focuses on the political and social dimensions of police work, which have a decisive influence on the working conditions and well-being of police officers.

Reiner's (2000) analysis would suggest that the police officers in Sea Point work in an environment that allows them to experience a more balanced and less stressful police routine. The lower intensity and frequency of violent confrontations allows officers to perform their duties with a lower risk of psychological distress such as stress and anxiety. This contributes to a higher level of general well-being and job satisfaction. Higher levels of satisfaction and lower stress levels can also reduce the risk of misconduct and inappropriate behaviour. Officers who are under less pressure and feel more mentally balanced are less likely to overreact or engage in aggressive behaviour (Kane, 2002).

These contingent findings are particularly relevant in the context of the research question, as they showed how socioeconomic conditions can indirectly influence the quality and nature of police work.

6.3 Perception and Interaction with the community

6.3.1 In and Out Groups

For the topic of "perception and interaction with the community" in Nyanga, Andrew Faull's (2017) perspectives on police culture in South Africa can offer a new angle that goes beyond the conventional view of community interaction. Faull's analysis focuses on the individual identity of police officers and how this is shaped by the culture within police units. This approach makes it possible to understand deeper layers of policing in Nyanga.

In Nyanga, the individual identity of police officers could be strongly characterised by the challenges of their working environment. Faull's (2017) work suggests that this identity is significantly shaped by external factors such as socio-economic conditions or crime rates, but also by internal dynamics within the police force. In an environment characterised by high crime and social challenges, police officers may see themselves as part of an 'in-group' that differentiates themselves from the 'out-group' of the community. This "in-group" mentality in Nyanga could be a direct response to the challenging working conditions. Such a culture could foster a defensive attitude towards the community that does not result from a fundamental rejection of community interaction, but from a need for self-protection and solidarity among colleagues. In this context, policing could be characterised less by mistrust and more by a survival instinct and a need for security.

In an environment where police officers see themselves as part of a close-knit group that stands out from the rest of the community, this can lead to a tendency to use more aggressive police tactics (Faull, 2017). These tactics could manifest themselves in the form of more frequent raids, intensive interrogation methods and an increased use of force during arrests (Bruce, 2007). Officers may be prompted to take a tougher approach by the perceived need to protect their colleagues and assert their authority.

However, it must be noted that the concept of 'in and out groups', as outlined by Faull (2017), is an integral part of police culture that transcends the boundaries of individual stations. This dynamic is recognisable in policing around the world and manifests itself in different forms depending on the specific conditions and challenges faced by police officers. In South African policing culture, which is characterised by a complex history, factors such as the apartheid past, socio-economic

differences and ethnic diversity play a crucial role in shaping these group identities (Bruce, 2007; Shaw, 2002).

This concept helps us to better understand the social mechanisms within police forces, in particular how police officers perceive and position themselves in response to their environment and the challenges of their profession. It provides a framework for understanding how police officers differentiate themselves from the community in which they work and how this differentiation influences their interactions and behaviour.

When considering the 'in-group and out-group' mentality in police stations, it is important to recognise that although this phenomenon is universal in police cultures, it may be particularly pronounced in Nyanga due to several specific factors.

First, Nyanga's unusually high level of crime is a critical factor. Nyanga is often described as one of the most violent areas in South Africa, with high rates of serious crimes such as murder and armed robbery (see above). This constant confrontation with violence and crime can create a sense of siege and constant risk for police officers, especially regarding their own community. This leads to a reinforced "in-group" mentality, where police officers must rely on their colleagues to survive and work in an environment they perceive as extremely hostile. In such a situation, the clear separation between "us" (the police) and "them" (the community) is reinforced, which can lead to harsher and possibly more aggressive police tactics.

Furthermore, the stronger leadership culture in Nyanga plays an important role. In a challenging environment such as Nyanga, it is necessary for the police leadership to take a strong and decisive stance. This can lead to a culture in which officers are prepared for the difficult task of working in a highly criminal environment. Such a culture can contribute to making officers feel that they are part of an elite unit, different from the general population. This mentality can not only influence the way in which police officers perceive their role and their relationship with the community, but also lead to a strengthening of the "in-group" mentality.

Another facet of increased law enforcement measures may be an increased police presence in certain areas. This can be confirmed in Nyanga based on the interview statements. There were reports of more patrols, longer surveillance and generally increased police visibility. While this

aims to reduce crime and provide a sense of security, it can also lead to an atmosphere of surveillance and mistrust in the community, which can exacerbate the problems mentioned in 6.2.

6.3.2 Community Engagement

In the context of "Transforming the Culture of Policing: Thoughts from South Africa" (1995) by Clifford Shearing, a contrasting perspective on policing in Nyanga can be presented when looking at the situation in Sea Point. Shearing's thoughts on the transformation of police culture provide a framework for understanding how different socio-economic conditions and community structures can influence policing.

Consistent with Shearing's (1994) ideas on transforming police culture and officers' testimonies, there is less of a need for aggressive policing tactics in Sea Point. Officers are less likely to resort to measures such as raids or violent arrests, resulting in lower levels of conflict between police and the community. This strengthens trust in the police and contributes to a more positive perception of police work in the community.

Sea Point thus provides an environment in which the police can potentially work more effectively with the community. Through regular interactions, participation in local events and collaboration with community groups, police officers develop a deeper understanding of the needs and concerns of community members, as discussed in 6.1. This leads to a policing strategy that is more tailored to the specific needs of the community and promotes both the safety and well-being of citizens.

It can, therefore, be said that Nyanga and Sea Point have major differences in terms of perception and interaction with the community, which are also reflected in divergent approaches and law enforcement methods. In the analysis, this means that Nyanga, as a potential consequence of a lower socio-economic standard and a higher crime burden, gains less trust from the community and, at the same time, applies harsher methods. This could lead to a further increase in the population's propensity for violence, thus creating a cycle that further intensifies the aforementioned effects. In Sea Point, on the other hand, the literature analysis indicates that community-orientated and less aggressive methods will have the opposite effect.

6.4 Relationship between colleagues

The survey of police officers in Nyanga and Sea Point revealed considerable differences in terms of collegiality and internal cohesion. Based on the literature, various conclusions can be drawn from this. The importance of team dynamics and collaborative problem solving in policing, as emphasised by Eugene Paoline (2003), may be particularly important in challenging environments such as Nyanga. In such contexts, where police officers are often confronted with complex and unpredictable situations, the ability to function effectively as a team becomes a critical factor in the success of police work.

According to the police officers, there is a harmonising team dynamic in Nyanga. This can help police officers to react more quickly and effectively in crisis situations. The mutual knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of each team member enables the police officers to allocate tasks efficiently and thus respond adequately to emergencies (Paoline, 2003).

The ability to solve problems together is particularly important in an environment characterised by high crime and social challenges. By working together, police officers can develop creative and effective solutions to problems that go beyond traditional policing approaches (Fielding, 1988). This is consistent with some of the statements made by police officers who reported having developed special pursuit tactics and their own methods of mutual protection. These are primarily based on mutual trust and a feeling of support.

This team dynamic influences the daily actions of the police officers in Nyanga. Strong team cohesion promotes a co-operative and supportive working style, which is essential for coping with the diverse tasks and challenges in Nyanga. These observations contrast with the findings and interpretations of the previous topics. It could indeed be that the increased crime rate in Nyanga may lead to greater cohesion and thus better policing. However, it should be emphasised that this analysis is limited exclusively to the authors mentioned above. An overly strong sense of 'us' can also lead to damaging enemy stereotypes against one's own community and more ruthless law enforcement methods, as explained in 6.3.

Also worth noting is Skolnick's (2011) analysis of the relationship between the police and the community, which emphasises the importance of shared values and norms. This can also be applied to internal relationships within the Nyanga police station. This is especially postulated in

his work "Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society". According to Skolnick (2011), shared values and norms within a police force contribute significantly to cohesion and morale. In a demanding work environment such as Nyanga, shared beliefs and principles can provide officers with a sense of belonging and common purpose.

These shared values and norms also serve as guidelines for the officers' actions. They shape their decisions, behaviour and interactions both with each other and with the community (Skolnick, 2011). It follows that these shared values and norms influence the development and implementation of policing strategies in Nyanga, but also in Sea Point. They may lead officers to focus on certain aspects of policing and neglect others, depending on what is prioritised within the force.

The observation that there is less collegial cohesion in Sea Point compared to Nyanga therefore raises interesting questions about shared values and norms and their influence on policing. This finding initially appears to contradict the earlier findings, which suggest a less stressful working environment and potentially more open police culture in Sea Point. However, a closer look shows how these aspects can be compatible.

In an environment with less collegial cohesion, the shared values and norms in Sea Point may be less pronounced or uniform than in Nyanga. Police officers may take more individualised approaches and prioritise differently, leading to a greater diversity of perspectives and approaches. This heterogeneity can contribute to creative and innovative solutions, but also harbours the risk of inconsistencies and misunderstandings within the police force.

The lower cohesion in Sea Point may in fact also be a reflection of previous findings suggesting a more open and flexible police culture in the area. In an environment less characterised by serious crime and social challenges, there may be less need for close collegial cohesion. Instead, police officers might have more room for individual autonomy and personal development, leading to a more diverse and less uniform culture.

6.5 Influence of external factors

Based on the findings of the interviews, the influence of external factors also plays a major role in the daily work of the police officers. The historical and socio-economic characteristics of the respective communities were particularly striking.

The historical context of oppression and marginalisation in South Africa, especially in relation to areas such as Nyanga, plays a crucial role in shaping today's policing strategies. This is evident in the work of Bruce (2007) and Shaw (2002), who analyse the impact of apartheid and subsequent social upheaval on policing.

During apartheid, the police were an instrument of state oppression, especially in communities with predominantly black populations such as Nyanga. Bruce (2007) and Shaw (2002) point out that this historical role of the police as an oppressive mechanism has left deep-rooted mistrust and conflict between the police and the community. Shaw (2002) emphasises that experiences of oppression and resistance to the apartheid regime have had a lasting impact on perceptions of the police. In many communities that were oppressed during apartheid, the police remain a symbol of this traumatic past. Even after the end of apartheid, the tensions and mistrust that had built up over decades could not simply be eliminated. As a result, many members of the community in Nyanga continue to view the police with suspicion and scrutinise their actions. This is consistent with the statements of the police officers, who report that they have to fight particularly hard for the respect and esteem of the community.

The effects of a poor police-community relationship have already been discussed in detail in 6.3 and 6.4. With regard to the analysis, it can therefore be stated that historical factors do not independently influence police work, but rather complicate the interactions between police and community and can thus indirectly contribute to a change in police work. Historical problems were mentioned significantly more often in Nyanga than in Sea Point, so that there is an additional problem for police forces in Nyanga.

The influence of socio-economic factors is also interesting. Analysing these influences on policing in Nyanga and Sea Point requires a consideration of the interactions between socio-economic conditions, crime patterns and policing strategies. Stuart and Herbert (2016) and Wacquant (2009) offer important insights in this regard.

Stuart and Herbert (2016) emphasise that socio-economic conditions such as poverty, unemployment and education levels can have a strong influence on the type of crime in an area. In Nyanga, an area with a low socio-economic status, these conditions could lead to a higher rate of violent crime, organised crime and other serious offences. In contrast, in Sea Point, an area of higher socio-economic status, offences such as property crime or white-collar crime may be more prevalent.

Based on this, Wacquant (2009) argues that the social and economic conditions of a community have an indirect but significant impact on policing. While socio-economic factors do not have a direct impact on police behaviour, crimes arising from economic deprivation do. Poverty and despair consequently contribute to the crime pattern described in detail in 6.1.

This analysis emphasises that while the historical and socio-economic factors in Nyanga and Sea Point do not directly determine policing strategies, they have a significant influence on the way the police operate in these areas by shaping community relations and crime patterns. The link between historical characteristics, socio-economic conditions, crime patterns and policing strategies is complex and requires a nuanced consideration of the specific needs and challenges of each community.

6.6 Deepening the analysis through the lense of critical criminology

From the previous analysis in 6.5, it has been shown that the social and economic aspects can influence the relationship with the community and the crime pattern. This, it is suggested, may in turn have an impact on police behaviour and tactics in Nyanga and Sea Point. In this regard, the application of Critical Criminology, particularly in the context of Taylor, Walton and Young's (1973) work "The New Criminology" can provide an even more in-depth and critical examination. This approach opens up new perspectives on the interactions between socio-economic conditions, crime structures and police strategies. Firstly, it would seem useful to provide a more in-depth account of how social and economic elements can influence crime in a community.

6.6.1 Looking at crime as a social phenomenon

Viewing crime as a product of social and economic conditions, as proposed by Taylor, Walton and Young in "The New Criminology" (1973), enables a comprehensive analysis of the causes of crime

in Nyanga and Sea Point. This approach leads to a nuanced view of policing that goes far beyond simply fighting crime to include the social factors that contribute to crime.

In Nyanga, an area with low socio-economic status, high unemployment and limited educational opportunities, the social and economic challenges are enormous. These conditions can become a breeding ground for crime as they often lead to despair and a sense of hopelessness. According to critical criminology, crime often arises in a context of social exclusion and marginalisation (Taylor et al., 1973). In areas such as Nyanga, where high unemployment, poverty and limited access to education are prevalent, feelings of despair and hopelessness can develop. These conditions can lead to a sense of alienation and exclusion from mainstream social resources and opportunities (Taylor et al., 1973).

Crime is therefore often a reaction to perceived injustices and inequalities. Individuals who feel powerless and cut off from society may resort to criminal behaviour as a way to defend themselves against their perceived disadvantage or simply to survive in an environment where legal options are limited (Taylor et al., 1973).

In an environment where daily struggles and confrontations with social and economic obstacles are the norm, violence can become a means of expression or resistance. Serious violent crime in such contexts can be interpreted as extreme manifestations of frustration and feelings of powerlessness (Taylor et al., 1973).

The high crime rate in Nyanga, particularly with regard to violent crime and organised crime, can therefore be understood as a direct product of these social and economic conditions. Police work in this context therefore requires not only reactive measures to combat crime, but also an in-depth understanding of the underlying social problems.

In contrast, Sea Point is characterised by a higher socio-economic status and a lower crime rate. Crime in Sea Point tends to be characterised by property crimes such as theft and burglary. This type of crime is often less driven by social despair, but can be linked to factors such as opportunity and wealth disparities. Policing in Sea Point therefore requires a different approach, possibly more focussed on prevention, surveillance and encouraging community engagement. Here, the police could focus more on gaining the trust of the community and working with them on solutions to increase safety and quality of life in the neighbourhood.

6.6.2 Questioning the power structures

The questioning of power structures, as proposed in "The New Criminology" by Taylor, Walton and Young (1973), enables a critical examination of police tactics and behaviour in Nyanga and Sea Point, particularly in terms of how these reflect or even reinforce social and economic circumstances.

In Nyanga, policing strategies and practices could be seen as a reflection of existing social and economic inequalities. Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) emphasise that in such contexts the police often take repressive measures that maintain and reinforce existing power relations. This was confirmed through the interviews, the police in Nyanga might be more inclined to use more aggressive tactics such as frequent patrols and checks, which in turn might reinforce the sense of surveillance and oppression within the community. This type of policing may be less focussed on the wellbeing of the community and more on maintaining public order in a way that reinforces existing social divisions. People may feel further stigmatised and marginalised as a result of these approaches, increasing the aspects of despair and resistance mentioned above (6.6.1).

In contrast, a different form of policing can be observed in Sea Point that is more focused on preventative measures and community engagement. According to Taylor, Walton and Young (1973), this can be interpreted as a form of social control that is more subtle and more focussed on maintaining the status quo in more affluent communities. As police strategies in such contexts are less aggressive and more focused on ensuring safety and order without too obviously interfering in the lives of community members, feelings of despair and marginalisation are not reflected or reinforced. This increased cohesion and community involvement consequently results in lower crime rates compared to Nyanga.

6.6.3 Summary

In light of the Critical Criminology framework, as articulated by Taylor, Walton, and Young, the examination of policing practices in Nyanga and Sea Point presents a complex interplay of socio-economic factors, power dynamics, and institutional responses. Through this lens, we can understand that policing in these areas is not merely a reaction to criminal activities but is deeply embedded in the socio-economic fabric of these communities.

In Nyanga, the aggressive and enforcement-focused policing in Nyanga could be seen as a manifestation of state power exerted over marginalised communities. This approach to policing not only underscores the deep-seated societal issues but also potentially perpetuates a cycle of mistrust and alienation between the police and the community. The Critical Criminology perspective would advocate for a more holistic approach that addresses the root causes of crime, such as economic deprivation and social exclusion, rather than solely focusing on punitive measures.

Conversely, in Sea Point, Critical Criminology would prompt a scrutiny of how these practices may contribute to the maintenance of social order that favours the more privileged segments of society. The approach in Sea Point could be seen as preserving the status quo, potentially overlooking or minimising the concerns of less privileged groups within the community. Critical Criminologists would argue for policing that is more equitable and sensitive to the diverse needs of all community members, ensuring that the benefits of safety and security are not disproportionately skewed towards the more affluent.

Ultimately, Critical Criminology would assess the situation in Nyanga and Sea Point as indicative of the broader societal dynamics and power structures. It would argue that policing practices in both areas are deeply influenced by and contribute to the existing socio-economic disparities. In Nyanga, the focus might be on challenging the oppressive aspects of policing and advocating for strategies that promote social justice and community empowerment. In Sea Point, the emphasis could be on ensuring that policing does not inadvertently reinforce social divides and that it actively works towards inclusivity and fairness.

7. Answering the research question

The following section of the text is dedicated to comprehensively answering the central research question of the study: "How do socio-economic status and crime levels influence policing practices in the communities of Nyanga and Sea Point?" This question, which is at the core of the study, is answered by analysing in detail the various factors that affect policing in these two different social and economic environments. Taking into account the findings from the interviews, observations and relevant literature, the complexities and nuances that characterise policing practices in these two areas are highlighted.

7.1 Influence of socio-economic status and crime levels on policing practices

The influence of socio-economic factors on policing practices in the Nyanga and Sea Point communities can be understood through an indirect but significant interaction with the crime structure and density in these areas. This correlation significantly shapes the behaviour of police officers and the tactics and strategies they employ.

The socio-economic situation in Nyanga is largely precarious. As a result, the challenges faced by the police are often more direct and intense. The higher crime rate, especially in the area of violent crime and organised crime, can be seen as a consequence of the economic and social conditions. In such environments, where poverty and unemployment are prevalent, frustration and despair can flourish among the population, which in turn can lead to increased crime rates. The police in Nyanga are therefore forced to deal with a range of complex and often violent situations, resulting in a greater focus on reactive measures and an increased police presence. This manifests itself in the form of increased patrols, rapid response teams and a generally higher police visibility. The need to respond to immediate and often violent crime means that less time and resources are available for preventative measures or community outreach. However, these tactics can inadvertently lead to an increased sense of surveillance and marginalisation in the community, which can further undermine trust in the police. This, in turn, could encourage the development of a police culture focused on reaction rather than prevention and could reinforce the perception of the police as a repressive force.

In contrast, the much more affluent Sea Point is characterised by a different type of crime, mainly involving property crimes and minor offences. The economic and social conditions in Sea Point

allow the police to take a different approach to their counterparts in Nyanga. In this environment, policing strategies can be more focussed on working with the community, preventing crime and maintaining public order without the need for excessive use of force. The police can therefore take a more nuanced and proactive approach. The reduced burden of serious crime allows the police to focus on long-term strategies such as community engagement, education programmes and preventative measures. In such an environment, the police could act as a partner with the community working to solve problems, rather than just an enforcer of the law. This leads to a different dynamic in the relationship between the police and the community, with the police possibly being perceived as a partner rather than an adversary. This could increase trust in the police and contribute to more effective crime prevention.

However, these differences in policing strategies are not directly caused by socioeconomic status per se, but rather by the way in which this status influences the crime structure and density. In Nyanga, the socioeconomic conditions and associated high crime rates require a police approach that is focused on rapid response and enforcement, while in Sea Point, the lower crime density and the nature of the crimes allow for a preventative and inclusive approach. These divergent approaches reflect the different challenges faced by the police in both areas and show how socio-economic factors can indirectly influence the choice of policing strategies.

To summarise, therefore, the following can be said. In Nyanga, the police may feel compelled to take tougher measures to respond to serious crimes. However, these tactics may inadvertently create tension and mistrust in the community, especially if they are perceived as overly aggressive or unfair. In Sea Point, however, due to the lower crime density and the nature of the crimes, the police can take an approach that focuses more on community outreach and preventative measures. This can lead to a more positive image of the police in the community and more effective crime prevention.

Ultimately, it is important to consider socio-economic conditions not just as background factors, but as key elements that shape and influence policing. In areas of differing socioeconomic status, the challenges faced by police can vary significantly, which in turn affects their choice of strategies and tactics. Critically analysing these dynamics is crucial to understanding policing and its impact on different communities.

7.2 Cycle of policing: reinforcing negative and positive dynamics in Nyanga and Sea Point

The analysis of policing in Nyanga and Sea Point shows that the respective circumstances and approaches of the police fit into a cycle that tends to reinforce negative aspects in Nyanga, while positive dynamics are promoted in Sea Point. These self-reinforcing cycles have far-reaching implications for the effectiveness of policing and the relationship between the police and the community.

In Nyanga, the high crime rate and the associated intensive police presence lead to an environment in which the police are often perceived as a repressive force. This perception can increase mistrust of the police in the community, which in turn leads to a reduced willingness to cooperate. This mistrust and unwillingness to co-operate can reduce the effectiveness of police work, as important information from the community may not be passed on to the police. This leads to a further reliance on reactive and often aggressive police tactics, which further exacerbate mistrust and tensions. This creates a vicious cycle in which policing is increasingly perceived as hostile and distant, which in turn exacerbates crime problems and social tensions in the community.

In contrast, the situation in Sea Point, characterised by a lower crime rate and better socio-economic conditions, allows for an approach to policing that is focused on prevention, community engagement and cooperation with the population. This approach builds trust in the community and fosters a positive relationship between the police and the citizens. By building trust, the police become more effective in their work as the community is more willing to share information and co-operate with the police. This leads to more effective crime prevention and a further improvement in the relationship of trust. This creates a virtuous circle in which police work is increasingly perceived as supportive and inclusive, which in turn improves safety and quality of life in the community.

These cycles in Nyanga and Sea Point illustrate how the initial conditions and resulting policing strategies can lead to self-reinforcing patterns that contribute to either a deterioration or improvement in police-community relations. In Nyanga, the cycle appears to be characterised by the combination of high crime, socio-economic challenges and a perceived hostility towards the police. This cycle makes it difficult to break out of the pattern of repressive policing and develop alternative, inclusive approaches.

In Sea Point, however, the positive cycle, characterised by reduced crime and increased community engagement, creates an environment in which the police are seen as partners rather than adversaries. This perception enables the police to be more proactive and preventative, and therefore to pursue a more sustainable security policy.

8. Recommendations

The concluding chapter of this master's thesis formulates specific recommendations for the future of policing in South Africa, particularly in the Nyanga and Sea Point communities studied. These recommendations aim to increase the effectiveness of police measures and improve the relationship between the police and the community. The proposed measures consider the specific challenges and needs of different socio-economic contexts. They are based on evidence-based approaches and the principles of equity and community policing.

The strategies range from improving police officers' education and training to promoting community engagement and preventative programmes, as well as continuously evaluating and adapting police practices. The aim is to establish a comprehensive policing approach that not only concentrates on combating crime in the short term but also tackles the root social causes of crime. These suggestions are intended to aid the creation of a more equitable, efficient, and reliable police force, which in turn contributes to the enhancement of South African society as a whole.

8.1 Holistic approach

The holistic approach to policing involves integrating various methods and strategies that go beyond traditional crime fighting and consider the social and economic factors that influence crime. This approach is particularly relevant in areas such as Nyanga and Sea Point, where different socio-economic conditions present unique policing challenges.

Ratcliffe (2016) proposes a holistic approach to policing that involves identifying and addressing the underlying causes of crime. This approach requires a combination of reactive, proactive, and preventative measures, as well as close collaboration with the community and other social services. By doing so, a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and needs of each community can be developed.

Weisburd and Braga (2019) highlight the significance of community policing strategies as part of a comprehensive approach. They contend that involving the community in the planning and implementation of policing strategies can result in more effective crime prevention and a stronger foundation of trust between police and citizens.

Telep (2017) emphasises that a holistic approach to policing requires flexible and adaptable strategies that can respond to changing conditions and community needs. Police agencies must continuously evaluate and adapt their methods and tactics to meet different challenges.

8.2 Training and education

Training and education are crucial aspects of effective policing, particularly in complex social environments like Nyanga and Sea Point. Comprehensive training equips police officers to respond better to the diverse challenges they face in their daily duties.

The significance of intercultural competence and conflict resolution in police training is highlighted by authors such as Skolnick and Fyfe (1993). The authors argue that police officers who can interact effectively with individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds and resolve conflicts in a non-aggressive manner are better suited to serve in diverse communities. These skills are critical to building trust and effectively responding to community needs.

De-escalation techniques are also an essential part of police training, as emphasised by Uchida (2014). These techniques can assist police officers in calming potentially volatile situations and avoiding violence. This is especially crucial in high-crime areas where encounters between police and citizens can quickly escalate.

Additionally, Tyler (2004) highlights the significance of procedural justice and legitimacy in policing. Training in this area can enhance police officers' perceptions of fairness and justice in their interactions with the community. This, in turn, can lead to greater cooperation and lower crime rates.

8.3 Adaptability and continuous assessment

Adaptability and continuous evaluation of policing strategies and tactics are crucial to effectively respond to the ever-changing social and criminal dynamics in communities like Nyanga and Sea Point. This adaptability enables the police to continually improve their approaches and methods and respond to current challenges and community needs.

The literature emphasises the significance of flexibility in policing. Lum and Koper (2017) argue that police strategies can be made more effective by applying evidence-based practices and continuously evaluating their effectiveness. This requires a culture of openness to change and continuous learning within police agencies.

Additionally, Zhao et al. (2010) emphasize the importance of performance measurement in policing. Regular evaluation and analysis of police work can identify strengths and weaknesses in current strategies, allowing for appropriate adjustments to be made. This approach enables quick reactions to changes in crime and community dynamics.

Additionally, involving the community in the evaluation process, as emphasised by authors such as Manning (2010), is crucial. The perspectives and feedback of community members can provide valuable insight into the effectiveness and appropriateness of policing and help to better tailor strategies to the needs of the community.

8.4 Focus on youth and prevention programmes

Preventing crime in areas like Nyanga and Sea Point in the long term requires a focus on youth and prevention programmes. Early intervention with young people can prevent potential criminal careers and create a safer environment in the communities.

According to Sherman et al's (1997) research, prevention work with young people is particularly important in socially disadvantaged areas. It has been suggested that programmes targeting the needs and risks of young people can help to decrease the rate of juvenile delinquency. Such programmes may include educational opportunities, leisure activities, and mentoring programmes.

Furthermore, Hawkins and Catalano (1992) have emphasised the effectiveness of community-based prevention programmes that aim to reduce risk factors and strengthen protective factors. Programmes aimed at positively influencing young people can be offered in schools, community centres, and through local organisations.

According to Farrington and Welsh (2007), early interventions that focus on at-risk groups are the most effective method of preventing crime in the long term. This includes working with families

to create a supportive and stable environment for young people, as well as providing resources and support for young people during difficult stages in their lives.

9. Concluding remarks

This master's thesis provides an in-depth analysis of policing in the contrasting communities of Nyanga and Sea Point in Cape Town. The study examines the socio-economic conditions, crime burdens, and policing strategies in these areas, providing insights into the challenges and opportunities of policing. The research indicates that policing strategies and practices are influenced not only by crime rates but also by the socio-economic conditions of the communities they serve.

The study emphasises the effectiveness of a holistic, community-centred approach to policing, which includes preventative measures and building community trust, particularly in low-crime areas like Sea Point. In contrast, areas with high crime rates and socio-economic challenges, such as Nyanga, require a customised approach that focuses on both immediate crime prevention and long-term improvement of living conditions.

The recommendations that have emerged from this work offer concrete starting points for improved policing and the development of strategies tailored to the specific needs of each community. The police must act not only as enforcers of the law but also as partners of the community to promote sustainable security and social peace.

In conclusion, this master's thesis shows that policing in South Africa faces complex challenges that require a deep understanding of local contexts and flexible adaptation of policing strategies. The thesis tries to contribute to the understanding of these dynamics and provides valuable insights for the further development of policing in South Africa and beyond.

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