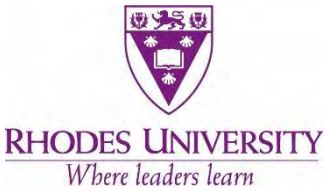

The dark side of emotional labour of South African Police Service officers, working in KwaZulu-Natal.

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Contents

Abstract

This research paper explores the concept of emotional labour through the lens of the dark side of emotional labour, which includes emotions such as anger, aggression, intimidation, and neutrality. The concept of the dark side of emotional labour seeks to investigate the experiences and effects the performance of these emotions has on police officers as required by the SAPS organisation. These experiences are explored using three central themes: emotional neutrality, emotional toxicity, and emotionally dirty work. This paper places emphasis on emotional labour not only restricted to the performance of positive emotions such as smiling and presentable appearance such as Arlie Hochschild (1983) account of air hostesses but also extending to the expectation or requirement for the performance of dark emotions, which is quite evident in the case of police officers.

This study was conducted in KwaZulu Natal, with Police Officers that have acquired the necessary training to be police officers and have worked a minimum of 2 years. The research methodology used was qualitative, and data were obtained from semi-structured interviews. These were then analysed and presented in line with the research objectives.

The research found evidence of how individuals' different positions influence how frequently they perform and express negative emotions. It found that the gender difference also contributes to the diverse experiences of dark emotions. Furthermore, it found that the continuous experience of negative emotions has, to an extent, affected the police officers in their lives outside of the organisation. This study concluded by discussing the implications and recommendations for further research.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 Introduction

The dark side of emotional labour has acquired new resonance in academia in the last decades. Several scholars, such as Ward & McMurry, 2015; Vaughn, 1999; Linstead et al., 2014, have shown particular interest in emotional labours' dark side in organisational settings. Ward & McMurry (2015: 3) described the dark side of emotional labour as the asocial side of organisations, whose behaviours are viewed by society as abnormal and dysfunctional. This work is often pertinent to the function and organisation of the general public and society at large.

To understand in-depth the dark side of emotional labour, the understanding of emotional labour is imperative. The study of emotional labour is founded by the scholar Arlie Hochschild. In her well-known book '*The managed heart',* Hochschild (1983:7) defined emotional labour as "labour that requires one to induce or suppress feeling to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others". Emotional labour requires workers to perform and display certain emotions to fulfil organisational requirements and expectations and has gained momentum from various scholars such as Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; and Payne & Cooper, 2004. The importance of emotional labour lies in the research of organisations that can no longer look at just the physical aspects of work. It is imperative to recognise emotional labour as important as the physical aspect. Hence, emotional labour is essential when referring to service work, such as retail work, police work, etc. Besides the organisations' request to perform or conduct themselves in a certain way, the organisation also requires negative emotions to fulfil their tasks adequately. In addition, negative emotions extend beyond the organisation's requirement and alter or affect the worker outside of the organisation. As explained by Hochschild (1983), emotional labour is embedded in the theory of symbolic interactionism.

Symbolic interactionism forms the basis of the understanding of the performance and experience of the dark side, which can be understood in detail using the dramaturgical perspective. The dramaturgical perspective refers to individuals as social actors who perform certain emotions depending on certain circumstances (Goffman:1959). Emotional labour occurs through impression management, where employees need to perform certain emotions

by manipulating their feelings to fulfil organisationally required ones. The organisation achieves the performance of emotional labour on their workers through surface and deep acting. On the one side, surface acting is the performance of specific emotions, while the individuals' feelings remain unchanged (Ozcelik, 2012:295). On the contrary, deep acting is the performance of particular emotions, where the individual has to alter their feelings to feel the ones that should be displayed (Haung et al., 2015: 3). Surface acting and deep acting are essential in understanding and addressing how the experience of the dark side of emotional labour by police officers and how they achieve the performance of and display certain emotions as required by the organisation.

This study's primary goal was to explore the dark side of emotional labour experienced by the SAPS in KwaZulu Natal. Many scholars have theorised emotional labour with regards to front line service jobs such as flight attendants as explained by Hochschild (1983), call centres (van Jaarsveld, 2013), and cashiers (Rafaelli & Sutton, 1987). However, the dark side of police work, discussed in the work of Bhowmick & Mulla (2016); Gumani (2017); Dick (2005) & Goodrum & Stafford (2003), is of particular interest in this study as the dark side offers a different perspective of emotional labour as opposed to the standard display of cordial, pleasing emotions.

This study was conducted through the use of three notions, which include: ‘emotionally dirty work’, which is work that is regarded as disgusting and is tainted by society as immoral and distasteful as it can involve tasks that are not always favourable to society; ‘emotional toxicity’, which is the continuous exposure to negative emotions within the organisation, these negative emotions can harm the individual emotionally and psychologically; and lastly, through ‘emotional neutrality’, which is the organisational requirement of the worker to convey emotions that are rational and conceal emotions that are considered as irrational or unreasonable.

Two main phenomena, among others, have influenced the transformation of the SAPS post-apartheid: the global transformation of police work and the legacy of apartheid in South Africa. This paper explores the changes experienced by police officers in a police branch [or sectional] in KZN and how these two phenomena have influenced the performance of emotional labour. The above has reinforced the importance of this research, exploring the dark side of emotional labour by police officers.

1.2 Objectives of the research

This section outlined the general and the particular objectives of the research.

Primary objectives

To examine the dark side of emotional labour on the South African Police Service (SAPS) officers working in KwaZulu Natal.

Secondary Objectives

- To explore the emotional perceptions and attitudes of the SAPS officers about the SAPS organisational requirements and working demands.
- To analyse on what occasions, do police officers express anger, disgust, aggression and irritation with the public as part of the organisational requirements, and if they sometimes use these feelings to avoid the rules and disturb social order expressed in the SAPS documents.
- To study if the SAPS requires the police officer to act in a rational, neutral and impartial manner when interacting with the public during their working time.
- To investigate if police officers experience a long-time suppression of anger, frustration and resentment due to interpersonal conflict with other colleagues and/or superiors and how this affects the police officer relationship with the public and with the private sphere.

1.3 Research methods and methodology

To explain the methods and methodology used in this research, it is necessary to describe the research paradigm. A research paradigm is a perspective or a set of shared beliefs that inform the meaning or interpretation of the research data (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017: 26). Khun (1962) offers a more precise definition in which he states that a paradigm is a way of viewing the world and a framework used to understand the human experience. The research paradigm adopted in this research was that of social constructivism. This paradigm is one that understood social reality as varying, socially constructed and everchanging. The belief here is that knowledge is socially constructed through language and interaction; there is a shared and collective creation and understanding of reality known through society's cultural and ideological categories (Tracy, 2013:4). This paradigm was ideal as it helped the researcher

understand how different people comprehend their lived experiences and their different interpretations of these experiences.

Social constructivism related to the chosen methodology given that Mouton & Marais (1996) described a research methodology as developing and articulating strategies and methods to validate and credit the research results in the social sciences. The methodology used in this research paper was that of a qualitative nature. A qualitative research methodology is founded on the principles of understanding the thoughts, feelings, and meaning behind an individual's actions and intentions (Sutton, & Austin, 2015: 226). Qualitative research emphasises the use of words rather than measuring the quantity of something (Bryman, 2008: 366). It illustrates how many interpretations of one phenomenon experienced by individuals can have multiple variations and seek to honour the participants' local meanings (Tracy, 2019:5). Different individuals may interpret a particular phenomenon differently; however, all these interpretations are deemed necessary in analysing and assessing the phenomena. This methodology gave insight into the different lived experiences of the dark side of emotional labour and the different interpretation of these experiences. Flick et al. (2004) described qualitative research as consisting of thick descriptions that seek to depict already existing reality and make use of the deviant and unexpected parts of social reality as a source of insight for the unknown to be perceptible to the known.

The use of qualitative methodology assumes the use of qualitative methods. Qualitative methods, according to Lune & Berg (2017: 15), seek answers by examining various social settings and the groups or individuals that inhibit these social settings. Qualitative methods consist of interviews, historical-archival documents, and observation. The techniques used are ‘in-depth interviews and the analysis of ‘documentaries and newspaper articles. However, this research primarily focused on in-depth interviews as they were ideal for capturing detailed information (Yin, 2011:32). In-depth, semi-structured interviews mainly take the form of a conversation; this helped understand the respondents' underlying motivations, feelings, and desires. In-depth interviews allowed for the respondents' flexibility and ability not to be restricted in their answers and to add any other information they deemed crucial. In-depth interviews allowed the participants to construct their lived experiences in their own words whilst constructing the meaning behind their experiences simultaneously (Seidman, 2006:15). The instrument used then is an interview schedule or guideline. The structure of each objective of the research was communicated as a general topic consisting of open-ended questions. The researcher arranged meetings with the participants according to their convenience and provided

a brief overview of the research purpose. These interviews took place in an environment where the participants were most comfortable, and social distancing protocols were achieved. The interviews were approximately an hour, and the interviews were entirely voluntary, respecting anonymity and confidentiality. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analysed.

The analysis unit was black SAPS officers working in a particular police sectional of KwaZulu Natal, from both genders. These police officers needed to belong to the age interval from 18 to 60 years old, been trained by the SAPS and observed all protocols required to be a police officer in the SAPS organisation. This included being a permanent resident of South Africa and having taken the oath of office. In addition, police officers needed to have been part of the organisation for at least two years, as the research is centred on the police officers' experience.

This research's sample size was ten police officers 7 males and 3 females; they were divided according to gender following the latest statistics related to police officers' demographics in South Africa's post-apartheid, which showed that approximately 30% of police workers are women as stated in the annual SAPS report (2018/2019). The number of the participants was carefully selected to allow the researcher to cover a variety of opinions and allow for in-depth analysis of the data collected within the stipulated timeframe of the research. Most importantly, the number of participants negated the risk of data saturation while allowing for the collection of real data to produce a rich and holistic material to tackle the research objectives.

Considering the sample size and data participants, the snowball sampling method seemed appropriate to use. The snowball sampling method involves identifying a core group, which then identifies other participants that may be eligible to participate (van der Stoep & Johnson, 2009:27). Snowball sampling is thus the recruitment of participants through referrals from other participants who have already been recruited. The advantage of using this method was that it allowed the researcher to have access to individuals who had a particular interest in participating in the research (van der Stoep & Johnston, 2009:27). Another advantage of this method was that the interviews' population worked in the same organisation (SAPS).

Masks were always worn for the duration of the interviews. The researcher and the participant were encouraged to use sanitisers. Before coming into contact or touching surfaces, alcohol-based sanitisers were used before entering or leaving any premises.

Ethical approval was obtained from the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC). In addition to this, verbal consent was acquired from the respondents. It was

obtained before the commencement of the interview process; participation in the research was voluntary.

CHAPTER 2 – CONCEPTUALISING EMOTIONAL LABOUR

2.1 Introduction

Emotional labour plays an intricate part in police work. It therefore requires an in-depth understanding of the importance of it in the performance of organisational duties and how workers may experience emotional labour, especially the dark side of emotional labour. This chapter seeks to explore the dark side of emotional labour and therefore outlines the main theoretical and contextual aspects of the dark side of emotional labour of the SAPS organisational practices. It begins with a short explanation of the theory of the dark side, followed by the relation of the dark side of emotional labour, which is supported by a brief analysis of symbolic interactionism and the dramaturgical perspective. Subsequent to that is a short analysis of surface acting and deep acting concerning the theories mentioned above. This research used three central notions to theorise the impact of the dark side of emotional labour on police workers; these include emotional neutrality, emotional toxicity, and emotional dirty work.

2.2. Theorising the dark side of emotional labour and its origins

2.2.1. Unpacking the dark side of emotions

The dark side of emotional labour is the negative, asocial side of organisations (Ward & McMurry, 2015:3). Society understands the dark side of organisations as experiences or behaviours viewed as abnormal outcomes of dysfunctional relations. Abnormal or deviant behaviour is not usually displayed or seen as the standard organisational setting. These behaviours include intimidation, violence, and inciting fear. Vaughan (1999) adds to the previous definition by arguing that the dark side constitutes to the things that go wrong in socially organised settings or institutions due to workers' mistakes or misconduct.

The dark side consists of work that the rest of society prefers to not think about. Work that is often unseen is emotionally disturbing, exhausting, upsetting, and stigmatising. Work that is simultaneously undesirable and rewarding but whose tasks are an integral part of organisations and society, such as police work. Certain emotions are attached and associated with the dark side and are performed by workers for organisations' success.

The dark side is part of everyday organisational practises, just as much as ‘normal’ organisational activities (Linstead et al., 2014:166). Workers intentionally and unintentionally

experience the dark side whilst performing their everyday duties in their respective organisations. The dark side is also understood as non-conformity or deviance by the organisation to the work's standard design. The generic origins are labelled as undesirable work and its social origins, and harmful outcomes may affect the public (Linstead et al., 2014:171). Furthermore, organisational deviance is a by-product of social systems and social organisation, as societal contexts are powerful determinants of human behaviour which shape organisational structures and behaviours (Bella et al., 2003:67). Emotional labour plays an essential role in the dark side as organisations require the performance of certain emotions to fulfil the requirements of the job. The dark side consists of organisational duties such as the performance of unfavourable, emotionally disturbing and exhausting work.

This paper uses the empirical work of Hochschild (1983) as the point of reference when tackling the dark side of emotional labour, focusing on the darker elements of emotional labour. The dark side concerns emotionally dirty work, emotional neutrality and emotional toxicity. The dark side of emotional labour highlights a very peculiar form of emotional labour. The richness of this research lies in exploring police officers' experience in relation to the dark side of emotional labour.

2.2.2. Conceptualising emotional labour

The founding scholar of emotional labour is Arlie Hochschild. In her book (1983), *The Managed Heart*, she makes a fundamental argument that the employer goes beyond just the physical control of the workers. She argues that employers also play a role in the management of emotions in the workplace. Often neglected is the importance of emotions in the workplace, where organisations are assumed to have been functioning on an emotion-free and rational basis. According to Myakhalenko (2011), the expression of emotions in the workplace has been viewed previously as unacceptable and unprofessional. The lack of interest in scholarly research about emotions in organisations is primarily due to the above, including the assumption that emotions contribute to irrationality within the workplace. On the contrary, however, emotions play a significant role in the workplace, and the way work tasks are carried out and achieved. Payne & Cooper (2004) acknowledge that since the 1960s, there has been a considerable rise in the interest of emotions employees experience in the workplace.

Workers, especially in service-oriented organisations, are trained to express certain emotions as part of their work. The performance of these emotions in exchange for a wage is known as

emotional labour. Hochschild (1983:7) defines emotional labour as the management of one's feelings through suppression or inducing certain feelings to display a particular observable facial display. Magnus et al. (2012:6) argue that emotional labour requires workers to suppress their genuine emotions to comply with those which are consistent with the work role expectations.

Muhr & Rehn (2014:212) states that the management of meaning through the performance of emotional labour plays a vital role in organisations in contemporary society because organisations are no longer limited to communicating facts about the products and the services they provide. Organisations have become quite complex objects which are performative in the way they present themselves to the people they render their service to. A critical point Muhr & Rehn (2014:212) make, is that the relationship between organisations, customers and the broader society is rarely stable, and this is something organisations may not have complete control over, regardless of their performed theatrics of emotional labour. The point above is a key aspect in this research, which attempts to explore the unstable and uneven relationship between the dark side of emotional labour of the SAPS, the police officers working for the organisation and civil society. Emotions are central to everyday interactions, especially in the workplace, as they motivate behaviour and contribute to self-control and social control. Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical perspective that the prominent scholars of emotional labour use to understand the contribution of social interaction or relations to the understanding of the performance of emotional labour.

2.2.3. Symbolic interactionism

Symbolic interactionism places focus on the individual and their day-to-day interactions with their surroundings. The work of Hochschild (1983) is embedded within symbolic interactionism because this theory argues that the actions and beliefs of an individual are determined mainly by the interactions that they have with other members of society. According to Aksan et al. (2009:903), symbolic interaction is based on three elements. The first element argues that individuals adopt different meanings and interpretations of these symbols, which contribute to how they act or behave. The source of data for knowledge is human interaction, and humans are the social actors that attach meaning to objects; therefore, the facts or the meaning of the objects or symbols are centred on personal perceptions through interaction and experiences. The second element argues that the same thing can have different meanings or interpretations for different people. It is important to note that societies do, however, have a

more or less common understanding of what these symbols mean. The last element argues that the meanings attached to these symbols are subject to change or modification over time. In sum, meanings are all subject to change according to the interactions we have with one another. A mode of illustration, when a person is still young, he/she perceives the police as the authority who is helpful, and it is the first people you call when you need help. However, as the person grows up, they start to pay attention to the dark side of police work, which involves violence and intimidation of the public. Therefore, symbolic interaction changes over time based on life experiences. Through the communication process, people can add onto or change their views or knowledge of certain things accordingly (Maines, 1977:235).

Emotions embody a kind of experienced realities and are performed in the form of cognitive control, arising from the social world as part of the dramaturgical skills used to cope with the demands of the social order (Fine, 1993:74). The interactionist perspective argues that emotions are lived experiences that are linked to social meaning like emotional labour. This link is known as the interactional strategy of impression management (Fine, 1993:74). The dramaturgical perspective is then used by Hochschild (2003) as part of her theoretical framework that guides her concept of emotional labour, through understanding that within the work organisation, workers need to perform multiple roles as per their duties. Below is a more detailed discussion on the dramaturgical perspective.

2.2.4. Dramaturgical perspective

The dramaturgical perspective focuses on how emotion is performed as a consequence of the demands of social institutions. Goffman (1956:18) states that when an individual appears before others, they will have many different motives for trying to control the impression which they may receive of the situation. Goffman (1959) emphasises that emotions are strategic and that social actors are socialised in their use of and performance of these emotions. Therefore, emotions are linked to the identity of the individual, because individuals display certain emotions through social or organisational demands or requirements which may alter how they feel. Fine (1993:75) argues that these emotions are not only learnt behaviours but are also controllable, which allows the individual to determine which emotions should be displayed. The need to show these emotions validates the idea that organisationally required emotions are now part of the identity of the individual, even though they can control when and where these emotions are displayed. When individual displays a specific emotion, there are seldom influenced by independent variables, but rather their behaviour is induced by their

interpretation, definition and understanding of that particular situation or symbol (Shott, 1979: 1321). For instance, if a police officer reacts violently towards a criminal, it is not so much what the criminal did, but the interpretation of the police of the actions of the individual which trigger the police officers to act or perform with a specific emotion.

According to McCoy & Mateas (2009:75), the dramaturgical analysis is one that views social interactions in the metaphor of a drama, where there are engagements with actors, roles, props, settings, an audience and a stage. McCoy & Mateas (2009:75) argue that humans are active and knowledgeable beings who do not wait for things to happen and act on instinct, but instead, we are rational and have the knowledge to decide how to behave. Goffman (1959) argues that humans are devious and want to guide and control how other individuals see them. Thus, individuals act differently in social settings and around other people, than they do when they are alone. Individuals have to perform in a manner that is expected of them; they have to put on the most appropriate presentation of themselves. Goffman (1959) argues that we could do this through the process of dramaturgy. He argues that life is like a stage, there's a front stage and backstage and, and when we are in social settings, we're on our front stage. In this stage, we are like actors, and we use the tool of impression management to try and put our best character out. The backstage is when we are alone, and we practise how to be social in an interactive environment.

Young & Massey (1978,79) argue that interactions between individuals and organisations are deliberately managed by the generations of images of service, quality, agency, and the projection of these on the populations that benefit these organisations. According to this, the cultural hegemony of organisations can be understood in terms of critical dramaturgical analysis. The way society presents itself takes on the features of theatre, due to the performance of certain emotions, where workers become the actors/ performers. This is achieved by acting as emotions that need to be performed do not erupt spontaneously or automatically. According to Grandey (2003:87) surface, acting and deep acting are two approaches that have been identified. Through surface or deep acting, the employee can shape or modify their emotions to organisationally desired ones.

2.2.5. Surface acting and deep acting

Surface acting occurs when employees perform certain emotions to meet organisational expectations. However, their true feelings remain unchanged and are inconsistent with their

displayed feelings (Hochschild, 1983; Johnson & Spector, 2007). The employee may modify their feelings and expressions on the outside through the performance of emotions; however, this conflicts with the emotions they genuinely feel, which remain unchanged, thereby experiencing emotional dissonance. These performed emotions conflict with the employee's authentic feelings because they do not feel the displayed emotions (Prati et al., 2009:368). Therefore, the individual conceals the difference between felt emotions and displayed emotions. Hochschild (1983:33) supports this by stating that in surface acting, we can deceive others about how we feel through the expressed emotions; however, we cannot deceive ourselves. For example, a person may feel anxious or scared but will appear as calm and relaxed as per the organisation's requirement.

There is an apparent deviation from the genuine emotions felt and the ones presented. Surface acting is enacted in interactions with customers and their colleagues, making the organisation desirable and creates and maintains its desired social images and perspectives. The performance of emotions through modification of their behaviours to hide certain emotions to conform to organisational expectations is known as surface acting (Ozcelik, 2012:295).

On the contrary, deep acting refers to the cognitive change of felt emotions. Before an employee displays these emotions, the employee internalises these emotions, changing their initially felt emotions completely. Scholars (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Ma & Haung, 2006) argue that deep acting is considered less demanding than surface acting because people adopt the expressed emotion to the felt emotions. Though less demanding, however, deep acting still requires effort, as it consumes emotional resources. Deep acting requires effort in self-regulation, which compels the individual to generate new thoughts, images, and memories in an attempt to feel the emotions required (Haung et al., 2015:3). Various scholars (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983) refer to deep acting as acting in good faith, due to the complete change in felt emotions to coincide with the displayed emotion expected by the organisation and thus showing a more 'authentic' presentation of the self (Chapman, 2016:480). Work that requires interaction with the public is argued by Hochschild (1983:33) to want workers to be sincere, convincing, and go beyond the displayed of organisationally required emotions on the outside.

In sum, deep acting is when an individual internalises organisationally required emotions and makes them their own emotions, which coincide with is expressed, to the emotions needed for

the organisation (Spencer & Rupp, 2009:429). This results in the alignment and balance of emotions that are felt and are displayed.

Surface acting and deep acting are deeply relevant to this research as they provide more knowledge to the theoretical approach and contribute to understanding the performance of the dark side of emotional labour by the SAPS officers. In the analysis chapter, these concepts are used to give insight into the three central notions related to the dark side of emotional labour, namely emotional neutrality, emotional toxicity, and emotionally dirty work.

2.3. Three conceptualisations of the research

2.3.1. Emotional neutrality

Organisations strive for the reality that they can rationalise. McMurray & Ward (2015: 35) support this by stating that organisations are viewed primarily as places of rationality exclusive of feeling and emotion. However, we cannot ignore the fact that emotions are inherently part of organisations. The idea of emotions in the workplace extends to individuals being neutral. McMurray & Ward (2015:36) view the concept of the absence of emotions in the working place as a myth. Rationality is considered as a mechanism of emotional control instead. Sliter et al. (2010:468) argue that in most instances of service work, employees endure complaints and frustrations of customers and other stressors and are often required to remain neutral.

The assumption is that the emotions that employees convey are an intentional effort to produce feelings that are required by the organisation and aid the employee's situation. Employees display these emotions in a sequence that ranges from positive through neutral to negative. According to Rafaeli & Sutton (1987:26), employees learn of emotions that ought to be expressed through interactions with customers and understand which emotions they should display in the presence of co-workers.

Emotional neutrality requires the employee to stay calm in the face of tragedy, where the customers behaviour is aggressive and insulting because employees facilitate emotional responses (Tracy, 2005:261). Emotional labour serves as a condition of control. Emotional neutrality is commonly displayed in service work, where the individual can neither perform positive nor negative emotions nor express their genuine emotions (McMurray & Ward, 2015:43). Morris & Feldman (1996:991) argue that display rules that emphasise neutrality's performance convey the authority of the workers status.

An example of this would-be individuals who embark on work that exposes them to sights and smells that most of the lay public would find disgusting and repellent, such as workers from a funeral parlour. Their work needs them to engage with grief-stricken clients without seeming insensitive and unsympathetic, handle death certificates, obituaries, and funeral arrangements (Cahill, 1999:101). Therefore, whilst the feelings of the customer/consumer are not controlled, the worker providing the service is obliged to control their emotions through the display of unemotional behaviour to cope with demanding customers or challenging encounters (McMurray & Ward, 2015:44). The felt emotions are denied by the workers' emotional neutrality, just as the customer's aggression is ignored.

2.3.2. Emotional Toxicity

McMurray & Ward (2015:77) state that emotional toxicity suggests that certain elements can affect or poison the individual's ability to function effectively in the organisation. These elements result from what Lawrence (2008:17) refers to as emotion-induced toxicity, which is a combination of negative emotions and repeated suppression of these emotions in response to organisational events. Suppression is a response that inhibits felt emotions. It is imperative to note that this research's type of toxicity arises due to the emotional content of occupational tasks (McMurry & Ward, 2015:77). When one inhibits negative emotions, which are a reoccurring act, this may lead to the build-up of toxicity within the individual.

An example can be how the emotion of anger may have been addressed in the workplace as a result of humiliation or unjust treatment. In some occupations, employees need to suppress their anger which is left unresolved. Employees respond to toxic organisational events by hiding emotions associated with distress by expressing aggressive emotions, resulting in counterproductive work behaviours (Lawrence, 2008:13). Hence, Hochschild (1983) argues that the constant emotional suppression in social interactions such as those that take place within organisations is a source of anger, frustration, and resentment. These are more evident in organisations with high inter-personal conflict and lack of worker autonomy (Chamberlian & Hodson, 2010:455). Victims of these organisational toxins show post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, which is a clear indication of the presence of emotions that produce toxicity in workers. Therefore, employees experience psychological issues due to the suppression of the emotional experience within the organisation.

According to Stein (2007:1229), employees who cannot absorb toxic experiences carry the effect of these toxic experiences for significantly extended periods. The continuation of situations like these that acknowledge unresolved negative emotions creates toxicity through constant exposure and the slow degradation of emotional capacity, which may spread to those who encounter the affected individual. Toxicity arises from the absence of organised mechanisms which acknowledge and effectively deal with the toxins emerging from the work environment. Toxicity can erupt, causing breakdowns and other health-related issues for the individual and bad publicity and poor service for the organisation.

The fundamental element in emotional toxicity is its subtleness when exposed to negative emotions for very long periods, result in the slow erosion of feeling. The process of toxicity is slow and long term. According to McMurry and Ward (2016:78), the ongoing continuous sources of emotional distress resulting in organisational tasks affect the individual by slowly degrading the individual's capacity, turning toxic, corrosive and at times contagious. Kiefer & Barclay (2012:600) state that the short-lived nature of negative emotions suggest that their effects have transient rather than long-lasting consequences on both the employees and the organisation. However, Lawrence (2008:1) speaks on how organisational events lead to certain emotions and essentially categorises certain circumstances that can lead to toxicity in organisations. He further states that toxic organisational events fall into seven major categories consisting of; intention, such as bullying; insensitivity which includes the lack of empathy; incompetence because of poor interpersonal skills; infidelity providing for lack of loyalty to others or the organisation; institutional forces, such as the way justice is perceived and certainty such as the inevitability of change in organisations. These toxic events may result from managerial behaviours or structural processes and policies within organisations and generate unfavourable negative emotions that may become destructive to the psychological and physiological health of individuals within and the organisation (Lawrence, 2008:1).

Negative emotions are experienced differently by employees, according to Kiefer & Barclay (2012:601). The way employees perceive and respond emotionally to adverse organisational events and the combination of intense negative emotions and emotional regulation strategy is vital before the toxicity builds up in the mind and body to the employee (Lawrence, 2008:18). Therefore, it is not the negative emotions that are toxic, but the combination of the emotional reaction of the intense negative emotion and the continuous suppression of negative emotions which form part of the toxic mechanism. Emotional toxicity arises from the nature of the work required of the individual within the organisation (McMurry &Ward, 2016:79). The intense

negative emotion itself does not create toxicity. Besides, Frost (2004:11) argues that as a by-product of organisational life, emotional toxicity drains the vitality from individuals and the organisation, especially if not handled in healthy constructive ways. Stein (2007:1229) argues that emotional toxicity may remain with employees well after the end of the working day and may affect not only their working lives but also their relationship with their families and friends.

2.3.3. Emotional Dirty Work

According to Dick (2005:1353), dirty emotions are characterised by anger, disgust and contempt, and this also includes the moral occupational activities which symbolise degradation. Through dirty work, we can analyse and explore the ethical dilemma faced by organisations such as police organisations and police officers using coercive authority. What is argued as being dirty work is identified as dirty from the perspective of the observer. Due to society holding specific moral values on what is deemed clean and standard work, dirty work shows us society's moral value, social order, and how they compete and exist together in one overlapping social setting (Dick, 2005: 1352).

Dirty work is an occupational activity that is perceived as disgusting and symbolises degradation. Dirty work wounds the individual's dignity, such as refuse collectors, correctional officers, and police workers, which are regarded as dirty. This kind of work is tainted by society and the common understanding of what constitutes as dirty work due to the tasks entailing elements that are viewed as physically or morally distasteful (Dick, 2005:1365). It is essential to take note that a job or occupation is not universally designed as dirty. For work to be considered dirty work, we ought to understand and analyse social organisation norms and social settings. Dirtiness is a social construction imputed by individual part of a society and is based on the subjective standards of cleanliness and purity (Ashforth et al., 2007:415).

Dirt is a matter out of place that offends against the order; hence, removing dirt is not a negative thing but is a positive effort to organise the environment (Dick, 2005:366). Dirt is not only a material matter, as one would assume but can also be designated as criminals and other objects that are considered flawed by society. Dirty work symbolises the contravention of society's ordering and is thus society's way of addressing the confusion of contradiction that dirt poses to the organisation of society (Dick, 2005:1366). The symbolic significance of dirt is that it is transferred through the avoidance of rules, which disturb the social order and thus requires specific individuals to fix this and restore the social order. These are some of the reasons why

some occupations dealing with dirty work are deemed undesirable because their work usually surpasses society's moral terrain. For example, it can be illustrated by police officers who, in the natural course of their duties at times, inflict harm to individuals, breaking the rules of the organisation or following their interpretations of the rule. The task of dirty work is addressed in this paper through exploring and dealing with occupational contexts and their relations with the police officers work, which can be particularly difficult, uncomfortable and sometimes traumatic.

Dirty work is required to enact feelings of fear, frustration, aggression and irritation, toughness and the suppression of weakness and disgust. They must express these feelings and express/display authority and power, making the work dirty. Social control agents like the SAPS use negative and unpleasant emotions due to the nature of their work. According to McMurray (2012:7), Dirty work is an activity embedded with meanings that also regarded as emotional. Emotion management tends to be considered as a by-product of physical, social or moral dirt. The nature and the effects of dirty work have primarily been understood in terms of physical, social and moral taints that result from the engagement of dirt or dirty tasks, making physically dirty work particularly disgusting. A person involved in work associated with garbage, death, a cleaner, or funeral director, or it is work performed under dangerous conditions, such as police officers (Ashforth et al., 2007:414). Social taints are one where an individual is involved in work; they have to contact people or groups that are stigmatised.

An example of this is generic termination nurses who are the ones that carry the social dirt of the termination of a pregnancy and must deal with the grief of patients when health practitioners have stepped aside (Ward & McMurry, 2014:7). Moral taints occur when an occupation is regarded by society and societal norms and values to be sinful or dubious. Other examples can be exotic dancers, sex worker or tattoo artists. In this instance, the worker involves methods that are deceptive, intrusive, and defy norms of civility. The boundaries between physical, social, and moral taints are fragile, and there are many occupations in which these may overlap.

In its simplest forms, dirt is one that many desires to keep at a distance and is a matter that is most often out of place. Society creates the separation of us (the clean) and them (the dirty). Dirty work is stigmatised as work taken by individuals who have few other alternatives or of a lower level of an organisational hierarchy. Dirty workers are cast out and regarded as inadequate and devalued and flawed in various degrees because of the stigma that arises from

their work. Even when dirty work is viewed as a necessary evil for society's functioning, the others may regard themselves as clean and therefore superior (Ashforth et al., 2007:416).

2.4. Conclusion

As demonstrated above, the connection between the theory and the SAPS officers is quite evident. This literature review begins by theorising the dark side of emotional labour through theoretical analysis of emotional labour. This is followed by the explanation of symbolic interactionism, which is key in this research. It speaks on individuals' interactions with their daily surroundings and how this links with Goffman's dramaturgical perspective and with deep and surface acting. This paper then uses emotional toxicity, emotional neutrality, and emotionally dirty work to review police work's dark side in conjunction with emotional labour.

CHAPTER THREE: EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE POLICE ORGANISATION

3.1. Introduction

South Africa police officers are generally known or understood as being primarily tasked with eliminating crime in communities. Their work includes being the first respondents to crimes, investigating crimes, arresting criminals, and are regarded as the general protectors of South African civilians. The organisation has not always been so, as can be traced back to pre-1994. The organisation consisted of violence and brutality by the police to some of its citizens to advance the political ideology prevalent at the time.

The literature context of this chapter discusses in detail the transformation of police organisations globally, affected by the spread of neoliberalism and the growing role of control and surveillance executed by policies due to the advancement of new technologies. Secondly, the transformation of police in South Africa post-1994 through the shift to a neoliberal social order, the interaction of the SAPS with the current global policing methods and the introduction of a new policing framework in South Africa. Thirdly, the advancement of neoliberalism and technological control in South Africa. Lastly, a critical perspective on the increase of visibility of violence performed by the police, responses to violence by the SAPS organisation and their interactions with the public. The four topics explore the effects of transformation of the SAPS organisation in conjunction with the experiences of the police officers of the dark side of emotional labour.

3.2. Global and local transformations of police institutions

3.2.1. Global changes experienced by police organisations.

Global policing is continuously changing and adapting to new standards of social organisation. Key developments that have taken place globally include significant reforms in public policing. These include transnational policing organisations, organisational practices, changes in public police forces' management, and the impact of technologies upon policing and crime control (Jones & Newburn, 2002: 129). Policing changes or advancements are interpreted not as fragmentations of policing parse but rather as an ongoing formalisation process for social control. According to Shearing (1997:29), the police and police organisations should be democratically accountable and nonpartisan. However, people's understanding and

interpretation of democracy and policing have been outstripped of these values of accountability because of individual practices and knowledge of police work.

Democratic state governments are required to develop state institutions that operate with liberal democratic principles. The police form part of these state institutions because they ensure social organisation and enforce some of these principles. This compliance has been put into question, requiring urgent transformation to meet these intended goals of accountability. Shearing (1997: 29) argues that police change through policy initiatives focus on two main areas. The first of these are police operations, where initiatives draw attention to the institutional structures that police organisations operate, particularly police culture, which guides and shapes police practices. The second is the lack of accountability outside the governing elite (Shearing, 1997: 30).

The police's continuous transformation is imperative for society through the constant development of frameworks for continuous monitoring and regulations of the police functions and power. These frameworks safeguard the public against political authoritarianism and economic inequalities and to ensure that the police are an instrument of a partisan government (Shearing, 1997:30). The above is achieved through police being directly responsive to ordinary citizens' safety. Arguments have arisen that transformation of police organisations done at an institutional level can be undermined by the police culture that is biased and has the power to create an autonomous organisation that use their abilities to indulge in institutional prejudices rather than following the law (Shearing, 1997: 30).

Globalisation has a significant bearing on policing globally. According to Laffey & Weldes (2005: 62), globalisation brings about challenges, new sources of instability and conflict, which requires economic, social, and humanitarian calls for collective responses and new approaches to security. Instability caused by social unrest such as protests and uprisings that emerge globally bring attention and tackle these social ills of which the police organisation is the standard response. The continuous change in policing reflects social relations and organisation. Neoliberalism, which Kaplan-Lyman (2012:177) defines as a system of economic ideas and policy initiatives that emphasise small government and market-based solutions to social and economic problems, has become the dominant economic governing principle.

Neoliberalism has affected policing principles and strategies significantly due to the shift in social conditions. It has reshaped crime and communal patterns due to the implementation of new governance and new governmental regimes. Corporations and elites influence and access

government decision-making, making police more responsive to the elite and corporate interests. As a result, it has increased social and economic insecurity for a large portion of the world due to the continuing centrality of state power. Poverty and instability caused by neoliberalism have led to many social unrest forms such as protesting, criminal entrepreneurship and migration (Laffey & Weldes, 2005: 65).

The influence of technology is also one of the most significant transformations of the police globally. The shift to digitisation signifies something different for developing countries and their economies. These advancements include using technology to store data and information, the shift from physical documentation to digital storage and the rise in digital warfare. The use of technology to improve the efficiency of police work can be associated with challenges such as the disruption of social values, the restructuring of the economy, low infrastructural development, lack of skills capacity to integrate new technologies and the loss of employment due to poverty and inequalities (Shava & Hofisi, 2017:203). This leads to increased and deepening of the already existing technological, economic, and social gaps (Hlatswayo, 2019: 26). Should the advancement of technology be successful, there is a possibility that more than five million jobs will be lost globally, and it is most likely to affect the livelihoods of even a higher number of people according to Shave & Hovisi(2017:203). This may result in devastating economic conditions for many people in developing countries.

Modern technology gives rise to digital warfare such as cyber terrorism and cyber-attacks used by criminal organisations to target countries and threaten their public administration (Shava & Hofisi, 2017:211). This type of warfare suggests that there are new modalities of social control and repression. Robinson (2014: 84) speaks on a global police state to reiterate three interrelated developments because of the latest technological inventions. The first being systems of mass social control, repression and warfare promoted by the ruling class to contain the potential rebellion of the working class; the second being the global economy and the accumulation of capital through this warfare, social control and repression; and lastly, the shift towards a political system characterised as the twenty-first-century fascism or totalitarianism. The modernisation of war means introducing new weaponry, such as drones, robot soldiers, hypersonic weaponry, biometric identification, and global electronic surveillance to track and control every movement (Robinson, 2014:84). These are some transformations in policing that have taken place or are still in the process of change.

3.2.2. Transformation of the SAPS organisation in post-apartheid South Africa

The South African Police has a long history that begins from the formation of the Dutch Watch in the Cape by the settlers in 1655. This military organisation aimed to protect (white) civilians and was later adapted to maintain law and order (Montesh, 2010: 55). British officials assumed control over the Dutch watch, and in 1840 it became the Cape Town police force. In 1914 different police forces were integrated and formed one police force in 1992 (Kopel & Friedman, 1999:99)

According to Weitzer (1993:1), the South African Police (SAP) had an international reputation of being highly repressive, politicised, unaccountable, and based on white supremacy to enforce apartheid laws. The SAP functioned as a specialist riot squad whose main concern was the black townships. The police were the main perpetrators of violence and had a reputation for relying on excessive force, abusive behaviour, and reliance on intimidation. (Bruce, 2002:1). According to Kopel & Friedman (1999:99), being a police officer at the time of apartheid was like being a mortuary assistant picking up mangled charred bodies with faces shot off and bodies that have been lying around for a while and have become carrion for roving packs of dogs. Police officers were exposed to a variety of traumatic stressors. This exposure to traumas highlights the main features of the dark side of emotional labour and the performance of dirty work. Many police officers were declared medically unfit and forced to retire because of stress-related psychological disorders due to a very toxic environment of control and punitive practices.

The South African police have since gone through significant transformations. Steyn & Vries (2007:1) state that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, implicitly prescribes community policing as the policing style to be adopted by the renamed South African Police Service (SAPS). This Constitutional prescript requires a reassessment and transformation of the nature of policing in South Africa, from denying citizens the fundamental human rights during the ‘apartheid-era (De Vries 2005:39,40) to gaining the trust and respect of all.

Some of the SAPS's public policies were the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Affirmative Action (AA). These policies intended to promote access to education, training, and employment for the historically socio-politically non-dominant group. It also sought to redress the effects of the past and current wrongful discrimination and encourage public institutions to represent the population (Montesh, 2010:56). As a result, there was a notable rise in the

inclusivity of the SAPS. According to the annual SAPS report (2018/2019), 77.4% of the total police employees are black Africans. 1972 was the first-time women (white) were enlisted as police officials; however, their purpose was to fulfil administrative duties. African, Coloured, and Indian policewomen were only enrolled in 1982 in the SAPS. To date, according to the annual SAPS Report (2018/2019), over 28.6% of the total SAPS officers in South Africa are black women because of the implementation of policies. According to Martin (1999:124), women within the organisation still face gender-related dilemmas that question their ability to perform their job-related responsibilities.

Montesh (2010:57) asserts that the SAPS productivity during the first five years of the new government was relatively low due to lack of personnel. Transformation of the SAPS after 1994 was accelerated by the need for increased representation of previously disadvantaged/oppressed groups in society. Low productivity may also be the result of act 108 of 1996 of the constitution, which sets the statutory framework for service delivery where the police agency needs to be serving providing services to the broader society or community-oriented (Gopal et al., 2015:23). Police centres required an influx of trained police officers, which may not have been available or were in short supply during the first five years of the democratic government.

Under the democratic government (since 1994), the police have been accountable' to society, and not only the government. The SAPS organisation is guided by Chapter 11 of the South African constitution, which states that the responsibility of the organisation is to prevent, combat and investigate crime; to maintain public order; to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property; to uphold and enforce the law; to create a safe and secure environment for all people in South Africa; to ensure that criminals are brought to justice and participate in efforts to address the cause of crime; lastly, to heal the divisions of the past and to establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights, through a democratic society based on the will of citizens equally protected by law.

According to Faull (2017:1), after 1997, the SAPS updated their code of conduct, to one where they commit themselves to create a safe and secure environment for all the people in South Africa through:

- Participating in endeavours to address the root causes of crime in the community.
- Preventing action which may threaten the safety or security of any community.

- Investigating criminal conduct which has endangered the safety or security of the community and bringing perpetrators to justice.

The SAPS in their Code of Conduct also states that they will:

- Uphold the constitution and the law.
- Be guided by the needs of the community.
- Give full recognition to the needs of the South African Police Service.
- Cooperate with the community, government at every level and all other related role-players.

Steyn & Vries (2007:5) notes that during police training, the SAPS used psychometric test batteries (specifically personality measures) to select the most suitable newcomers to the organisation. These were based on the skills, abilities and knowledge profiling of past recruits who completed their basic training programme. Information on the characteristics of police officers is obtained and analysed later by the interviewer.

3.2.3. The neoliberalism and technology of control in the SAPS

The functioning of the police and the way their ability to function effectively and efficiently is vital in social organisation. However, the advancement of neoliberalism in South African democracy has, according to Mkhize & Madumi (2019:1), resulted in institutional fragility and has become prone to criminality and violence. They argue that the police's pressure to tackle crime and increase their responsiveness has led to repressive and authoritarian police responses. Furthermore, Mkhize & Madumi (2019:1) argues that this increased pressure comes from the pressure to transform communities' socially disorganised nature. Economic transformation is another major issue in the transformation of the SAPS. Gastraw & Shaw (2001: 262) argue that the majority of South Africans had been policed more for control rather than for crime prevention. One of the reasons for this is related to neoliberalism and the introduction of the ANC's rightist neoliberal GEAR policy in 1996. The shift to a neoliberal economic policy has resulted in the rise of social and economic inequalities (Bond & Mottier, 2013:283). In addition to this, there has been a steady rise in the economy's instability due to systemic exploitation embedded in neoliberalism which has seen a notable surge in living costs, unemployment and poverty (Sebake, 2017:2). The outcome of this has been service delivery protest action, and public outrage of which civilian was met violently by the police at arms as a means of social control. There have been many strike actions, whether for service delivery, higher income,

gender-based violence and other societal ills since 1994. The police have had to adapt and engage the public; accordingly, however, in recent years, the police have become increasingly violent, thereby questioning the SAPS transformation from its previous military form to civilian-friendly.

The government of Mbeki (1999-2008) and Mandela (1994-1999) imposed neoliberal policies on the state, rewarding millions of people with welfare funds. However, these did not amount to more than an additional 5% of the gross domestic product (GDP). In contrast, more houses were built, yet; family sizes increased, people had more access to electricity and water. However, they could not utilise these as they could not pay. According to Bond & Mottier (2013: 284), 2.1 million people were disconnected due to their inability to pay five years after 1994. Therefore, the police have been met with a new wave of social movements and social action to address the lack of genuine socio-economic transformation, which would benefit the citizens. There have been many changes to policing and how crime and protest action is approached post-1994. According to Van Gelderen (2011:516), the police exercised increased emotional labour when embarking on the social organisation process and interaction with protesters. Hence, the police have to undertake work that is asocial and requires the display of intimidation, inducing fear and inciting violence; these form part of the dark side of emotional labour of police officer and taking into consideration the different situational encounters during the line of duty in our current society. The emotional labour that policework demands include the need to suppress emotions engage in emotional neutrality and the longitudinal experience of these resulting in emotional toxicity. Police officers are frequently confronted with emotionally taxing situations and human sorrow.

Technology and digitisation have played a key role in transforming the SAPS and has gained momentum in the SAPS as the world continues to shift towards an era of digitisation. Albertus (2019: 1) states that information and communication technology (ICT) has become the key to developing and implementing digital policing in South Africa. However, in South Africa, the implementation of ICT has been lagging due to the socio-economic and political turmoil and the increase in crime which result in low international investment. Due to this, the SAPS is staggering behind due to poor service delivery and bureaucratic leadership (Albertus, 2019:1). For a country like South Africa, known as one of the most dangerous crime-ridden countries globally, one would assume more investment in the SAPS. However, police officers fail to respond effectively due to underfunding, shortage of trained officials, police vans that are not roadworthy and the likes. Albertus (2019:1) argues that technology can assist with social

control and the management of crime and can improve the efficiency of the police. Here we take note of how the contribution of technology can enhance the functioning of the SAPS. Technology has led to effective policing worldwide and is also essential in that criminals now also operate using technology to perpetuate crime. Albertus (2019:3) argues that the lack of progress within the SAPS creates stressful working conditions for some police officers and states that technology has the potential to aid the police with expediting the prosecution of criminals, improve police responsiveness as well as contribute to the accountability of police through minimal corruption and minimal mismanagement of cases as data will be stored online.

Though the kind of technological transformation mentioned above stated that the SAPS is lagging, we also ought to acknowledge the little progression towards digital policing achieved by the SAPS. According to the SAPS ICT strategy, there are real-time surveillance through CCTV cameras and sensors across cities, crime data visualisation on the GIS system and digital case and file workflow. The SAPS, though slowly, is also evolving and embracing the use of technology to achieve its objectives. Minaar & Mistry (2004:48) argues that in 1998 the State Information Technology Agency (SITA) was established to attend to the needs of government departments; however, the SAPS outsourced the provision of its IT needs. Technology has an essential role in the SAPS. Mashiloane (2013:110) argues that it has so far enhanced or has played a role in analysing crime and visual displays of crime locations. Furthermore, it plays a role in the rapid response to calls for service. Mashiloane (2013:203) argues that this era of policing is dominated by tactics and technology such as computers which play a significant role in capturing data and analysis.

According to the Daily Maverick (November: 2019), the purchase of new guns and ammunition in the Police organisation has been stagnant. They argue that the shortage of ammunition dates back to 2017, when the Eastern Cape had run short of ammunition to train new police officers. Ammunition shortage was also reported by IOL News (28 August: 2019), stating that the training of incoming police officers could not commence due to the shortage of ammunition. Thus, due to their incomplete training, the trainees had to report to work with guns that they could not use because they did not possess the necessary licence and training for the use of their firearms. This meant that they could not carry out their operational duties and reported to have been in situations where they could not adequately protect themselves. They essentially had to rely on the performance of dirty emotions such as intimidation and inciting fear to achieve their duties. Police Minister Bheki Cele, responding to a parliamentary question, said

the SAPS had lost more than 9.5 million rounds of ammunition over the past six financial years. According to IOL News (28 August 2019), 4537 firearms were stolen during the same period.

The introduction and use of new weapons and ammunitions for social control have led to the need for regular training as older members were reported to have a low level of shooting skills and could not use 9mm pistols, shotguns and R5 rifles (Omar, 2007:46). Ammunition improved over the years includes Tonfa's (rubber batons), gas masks, 12-gauge shotguns, batons/rubber guns, and stunt grenades. Also, most of these amours are used as psychological tools to intimidate demonstrators as per the performance of dirty work and the use of tonfa's to beat protesters repeatedly.

Lastly, Omar (2007:57) states that these armaments are upgraded according to the intensity of the nature of the gatherings and public protests, meaning that the more intense the gatherings are, the more "appropriate" (understood as dangerous) equipment is used. This meaning that the intensity of the performance of dirty work through social organisation also increases and the experience of the dark side of emotional labour may be affected as the individual has to perform an intense demonstration of violence towards the public.

3.2.4 Police culture and violence in the SAPS

We cannot deny that within the SAPS organisation, a type of culture known as police culture has played an essential role among police officers working experiences since the beginning of democracy. Organisational culture is described by Cockroft (2013: 4) as the values shared by colleagues in an organisation that manifests through the occupational practices adopted in that environment. There are many contributing factors (internal and external) that can influence the direction or intensity of the organisation's cultural dynamics. Internal factors may include history and the organisation's structure, and external factors may consist of societal cultures and socialisation.

Roberg et al. (2000:265) describe police culture as the occupational beliefs and values that officers across the whole country share. Different cultural aspects of organisational activity are drawn together into a whole, united by commonly held values and shared ways of thinking (Crank 2004). From a social scientific perspective, Cockroft (2013:5) explains that despite the concept of culture being abstract and non-tangible; however, it is real and exists across a range of organisational and occupational life. Therefore, though culture lacks physical substance, it plays a significant role in stimulating certain behaviours and beliefs that become commonly

accepted in organisations. Faull (2017:332) argues that police culture is a product and producer of narratives. The SAPS and organisational culture are understood as the entanglement of narratives from society, the organisation, and individuals.

Police culture is associated with a negative connotation, and according to scholars such as Kappeler et al. (1998), police culture endorses the misuse of police authority and coercion. Efforts to address this gross misuse of power and authority have commonly met with resistance (Paoline, 2003:200). According to Steyn & de Vries (2007:8), police culture is transferred to new police recruits/members through socialisation and different interaction during and after their training. Though the new members may value the police's commitment to the noble cause of social organisation and believe that they can make a positive contribution to society, the negative connotation of the police and police culture overshadows this desire. This negative connotation is where the importance of symbolic interactionism lies. The value and commitment of the individual, such as wanting to make a positive contribution to the community, are not emergent police culture property, resulting in them ascribe to the deviant police culture (Steyn & de Vries, 2007:2). Thus, it becomes difficult to transform the SAPS as institutionalised socialisation tends to encourage conformity rather than innovation and transformation.

In addition, Paoline (2003:200) argues that the environment of policing is one that requires police to cope with the hostile and unpredictable citizenry and with an oppressive, unjust, and inconsistent bureaucracy. Police culture also creates an occupational environment that anticipates the potential for danger and violence. Due to access to coercive power and authority, the element of risk in the occupational environment is intense and induces emotional barriers to police work (Paoline, 2003:200). Being granted the legitimate use of coercive power, police officers are expected to create, display, and maintain their authority by performing emotionally dirty work with unfavourable emotions and enacting violence to maintain their control and maintain their coerciveness.

Violence is understood by Cooper et al. (2004:1109) as the power to use force, the excessive use of force, and the abuse of the privilege to use force, or means of gaining control and reasserting power, through the performance of anger and aggression. Van der Merwe (2013: 65) argues that in South Africa, violence is a form of communication as the result of apartheid and the advancement of neoliberalism with its concomitant programmes of structural adjustment, which affect the majority South African population, as people resort to different

forms of violence in the face of adversities and the failure of the government to provide adequate channels for a more constructive communication to achieve a more productive society (Van der Merwe, 2013:65). These issues are important in understanding the effect on police officers, old and new social processes have on police officers and the consequences of these on their emotional experiences, especially when they have to resort to violence when engaging with the community. It is crucial to question whether this is caused by the lack of proper communication channels in society or the absence of these channels within the police organisation.

Minaar & Mistry (2006: 36) states that the most frequently used tool by police officers in the last decades were firearms; however, in most incidents, no shots were fired. However, this shows the first response of the police in situations that engage the public. Making us question the extent of the dark side of emotional labour embedded within the organisation or the abuse of coercive power among police officers.

Hornberger (2013:598) speaks of the year 1996 when the South African Police abolished the military rank of 'General' and replaced them with a civilian rank 'Commissioner', but in 2010, military ranks were reintroduced, and Commissioner is now again General. The military nature of the police pre-1994 was condemned and labelled as one of the organisational features and policing style that gave leeway for the abusive nature of apartheid. Several articles written during and shortly after apartheid by scholars such as (Grundy, 1988; Brewer, 1994; Huggins, 1998) argued that the police operated through warfare, which made the police treat people as though they were enemies. Therefore, the bureaucratic and militarized command style was done away with and replaced with a 'peacetime style of policing'. In 1999 the minister of safety and security stated that criminals need to know that the SAPS possess authority, both morally and politically, to ensure that the people of this country are not deprived of their rights (Jensen, 2014:459). This was about the use of lethal force, which alluded to the police function's return as the South African Police Force. Such suggestions made by the organisation leaders, such as Susan Shabangu, deputy minister of safety and security for the year 2004-2008, where she stated in a rally that "you must kill the Basterds (criminals) if they threaten you or the community, you must not worry about regulations. I want no warning shots. You have one shot, and it must be a kill shot" (Mkhwanazi, 2008). This gradual return of this function (the militarisation) questions the police's commitment to a civilian outlook and the cooperative relationships with communities (Omar, 2009; Minnaar, 2010).

There have also been efforts by the SAPS to change legal provisions that govern the lethal force used by the police in instances where people are arrested very violently and forcefully (Hornberger, 2013: 601). There have been many cases of police violence since 1994, which have been condemned and criticised by human rights activists and, in some cases, by the ANC government due to an Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) report on the increase of police brutality. One can establish that the SAPS organisation and the reforms in terms of violence and brutality remain unchanged. Jensen (2014: 458) states that one of the worst cases of police violence in South Africa after 1994 was on the 16th of August 2012. The Marikana massacre occurred when the police shot and killed about thirty-four miners and injured approximately eighty. Just a week before the Marikana massacre, the then Minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, referred to police's need to use maximum force, stating that the police must return fire with fire (Neethling, 2012).

The police give the impression of being comfortable inciting violence and creating a lack of accountability. Police violence can manifest in many ways; most identified forms of violence are primarily related to police interrogation, crowd control, police shooting, assault, and detention. Below are just some cases of the SAPS acting in the most inhumane manner. For instance, in 2013, an airport heist in Benoni was marked as a crime, where money was stolen from a SAPS safe at Benoni station east of Johannesburg. The case pointed to the involvement of some police officers. During the investigation, the policemen were said to have been interrogated in ways that can qualify as torture. One of the accused officers were said to have been doused with boiling water by other police officers in his home (Jensen, 2014: 467). Even more disturbing was that the judge that warned the police not to 'harm' the prisoners and stated that "Dit moet end kry", meaning that "this must cease" (Beeld, 2006; Saturday Star, 2006a).

In 2013 the SAPS dragged a man handcuffed in Deveyton in Johannesburg behind their van for about half a kilometre (The Guardian, March: 2013). Knoetze (2020) argues that police abuse, torture, and brutality is very pervasive and outstrips the state's capacity to enforce oversight and accountability.

Before the South African lockdown, which began on the 26th of March 2020, Cyril Ramaphosa addressed the police. According to Knoetze (2020), he asked them to act compassionately and respectfully with humility. He further stated that "this is not Skop (kick) and donder (assault) moment. However, one can argue that the first 72 hours of the lockdown in South Africa will be primarily remembered for the inhumane actions of the police towards the public, which

included the civilian deaths of Collins Khoza (Dhlamini, 2020) and Nathaniel Julius, a 16-year-old boy who was shot dead by Gauteng police, Seleka, (News 24, 08 September 2020)

The above cases exemplify how the police have a culture of violence that, according to van der Merwe (2013:74), imply that violence is normative rather than exceptional. Therefore, this attracts little condemnation, lack of accountability, and decisions to use violence based on whether it works or not, rather than on whether it is justifiable. Secondly, violence is valued and serves a positive social function constituting to the dark side of police work. In this formulation, violence becomes an effective, commonly used form of communication. Dhlamini (2020) states that violence and police brutality have also been normalised in the media. The symbolism shows us that the common social understanding and normative use of violence is used to address specific problems and societal ills as interpreted by the SAPS through the interaction with their colleagues who foster a culture of violence.

Frewin et al. (2006:244) argue that our understanding of police officers' conduct and their experiences lie in the access to their everyday life stories, where notable features of the police world and police culture are articulated. This is the fundamental reason for the importance of this research which engages with the police officers to understand the emotional labour they experience because of the dark side of their occupation. Studies on emotional labour in South Africa, particularly on the dark side of emotional labour of police officers, are very few or do not adequately explore the dark side, which consists of the performance of unfavourable emotions as a job requirement and the experiences of those that perform these emotions making this research of particular interest and relevance.

3.3 Conclusion

Emotional labour within the SAPS and the work of the organisation performed by police officers is quite important, especially as their duties pertain to the dark side and the performance of negative emotions such as anger and neutrality. Based on the literature, many factors contribute to the police officer’s performance of specific emotions, such as being exposed to the dangers of arresting suspected criminals. The police review globally, in South African post-1994 and police violence in South Africa, highlights the context and function of the police concerning the dark side and the transformation of the police organisation. This assists in contextualising the police officers' experience working within the SAPS organisation using information technology and the purchase of new ammunition and tools.

CHAPTER 4: POLICE WORK EXPERIENCED AS THE DARK SIDE OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR

4.1 Introduction

Police work is often characterised by its physical and aggressive nature. Therefore, we must explore the emotional side of police work and bring light to the dark side of emotional labour of police officers. This literature critically examines the experiences and interaction of emotional labour by police officers within the organisation and the public. This chapter contributes towards further knowledge of the dark side of emotional labour by examining the working experiences of police officers employed in the SAPS.

This chapter analyses data based on interviews conducted with ten police officers, three women and seven men. These police officers work for and have been trained by the SAPS organisation. Their ages ranged from 25-60, and the study consisted of 4 Warrant officers, 3 Constables, a Detective sergeant, a Detective and a Captain. Their years of experience range from 5 years to 32 years in the province of KwaZulu Natal. This data was interpreted through the lens of Hochschild (1983), Goffman (1959) and McMurry & Ward (2015). This chapter's discussion is in line with the research objectives noted in the introductory chapter.

Arranged into four central themes, this chapter explores the emotional perceptions and attitudes of the SAPS relating to the requirements and their working demands. First, it explores the level to which police officers understand the emotional requirements of the SAPS and the execution of their emotional duties. Second is a critical examination of the extent to which police officers' express emotions of anger, aggression, and irritation as per the organisational requirement and the extent to which they must perform these emotions. Furthermore, to analyse the use of these feelings to avoid organisational rules and regulations which disturb social order for their personal gain. The third is assessing the requirement of the SAPS for police officers to act in rational and impartial ways because of being exposed to unfavourable dark emotions such as anger and irritation. Lastly is investigating the long-time effects of the performance of these dark emotions and the continuous suppression of negative emotions.

The themes above assist in understanding the dark side of emotional labour and allow us to draw specific conclusions from the captured data regarding the experiences of various police officers and their interpretation of the performance of these emotions in the organisation of the SAPS.

4.2 The emotional perceptions and attitudes of police officers concerning police work.

The emotional perceptions and attitudes of police officers working in the SAPS seem to differ significantly due to the differences in their age, gender, positions, and the number of years they have worked for the SAPS. The data collected consisted of two police officers who started working for the SAPS pre-1994. Both these officers hold the position of warrant officer and are male, and have over 29 years of experience. Their standard answer for joining the SAPS was to be a catalyst for change and contribute to the decrease of brutality and treatment of black people by the police.

"I joined because I had a passion for protecting the community and South Africa at large. When I grew up, the SAPS was very brutal and didn't work for the benefit of the black community, so I wanted to represent black people and make sure that they have a police organisation that they can trust. We grew up terrified of the SAPS because when they came to you or your house or when they were in the streets, it meant that there was trouble. I wanted to contribute to changing that so that when the people see the SAPS, they feel safe and they see someone that they can trust" (57year old, male, 29 years of experience, warrant officer).

Two other police officers who joined the SAPS shortly after 1994 and have more than 20 years of experience hold the position of Warrant Officer and Captain. They share the same sentiments as the police officers above; however, in both their explanations, we start to see an addition to 'making the communities safe'. The police officers begin to acknowledge the existence of crime and want to contribute to the decrease of crime and advocate for justice. This speaks to symbolic interactionism, as the meaning and reason for joining the SAPS is altered. This change in meaning coincides with the change in social organisation as how society shifted from an apartheid led government to a democracy. Therefore, the police working during the apartheid regime had different reasons for joining the SAPS than compared to the police officers that joined at a later stage, proving the theory that symbolic interactionism changes overtime (Aksan et al.,2009:903).

"I wanted to be part of the people that help decrease crime and make sure that the people that need to receive justice get it…" (48year old, male, 24 years of experience, captain).

The symbolic interactionist perspective argues that meaning attached to things is subject to change and modification over time through interaction and communication (Maines, 1977:235), and to an extent, the difference in social organisation. This is further reflected in

the following discussion. A continuation from the report above comes from the police officers who have working experience of 10 years and above. One of the police officers expressed their reason for joining to be the exposure to crime from a young age and thereby wanting to combat crime, while the other two consisting of a male and female, express that they joined the SAPS due to not being able to go to university, being a police officer was one of the options available to them. The last three officers who have worked for less than 10 years are constables consisting of two females and one male. They all mention not being able to go to university, with two having the desire to attend but lacking the funds and one saying that they had no desire to attend university.

The common answer between the two of the officers was the desire to help at home and contribute to the daily necessities. We note here that as the years progress from 1994, policework becomes work that the police officers partake in because of the lack of better opportunities and better work. Police work has significantly shifted from work intentionally chosen by the police officers to contribute to change in their communities, to work that they choose because of job scarcity and inadequate funds for further education. The above shows that joining the SAPS organisation can have different meanings for different people, with the common understanding of elevating crime, however, supplemented by different reasons depending on the individual and the state of society at that time. Therefore, the experienced realities of the police workers contribute to the meanings they attach to becoming police officers, proving that the facts of the meanings of objects are attached to personal perceptions (Aksan et al.,2009:903).

None of the police officers overtly speak on performing certain emotions as part of their duties when asked about their daily duties/requirements. This may result from not having adequate knowledge and understanding that the performance of certain emotions as a work requirement is labour performed in exchange for a wage (Hochschild: 1983). This assumes that police workers or the organisation do not entirely regard the performance of certain emotions as labour. However, the performance of emotions forms a part of their duties, as will be discussed below. This supports the argument of Hochschild (1983) that the use and importance of emotions in the workplace are often overlooked and undermined. In this case, even the workers seldom acknowledge the performance of emotional labour within the organisation. When interrogating the police officers' training, most of them expressed that their training was primarily based on the physical aspects of their jobs. Interestingly, conditions experienced by police officers trained under apartheid and those who were trained post-apartheid were

significantly different. Those who were trained during the apartheid regime seem to have encountered harsh unfavourable conditions:

"…the training was very strict, sometimes it was unnecessary, but under the guise of discipline, we used to wake up at 4am, our uniform needed to be in a certain condition. If the crease was not straight you would be punished, if your bed wasn't made in time you would be punished, if the pillow wasn't straight you would be punished, sometimes it was for the smallest things which were unnecessary. They would make you wash with cold water, clean their toilets which they would deliberately mess, it was just very bad. It made you feel very scared and anxious because you had to doublecheck everything you did to avoid punishment, and even when you got the punishment, you could not show them that you were angry because they would humiliate you…" (57year old, male, 32 years of experience, warrant officer).

The police officer above speaks of feeling very scared and anxious during the training, showing us the effects of these punishments on the police workers emotional experiences during training. It also appears that the abuses the police officers endured as part of their training before 1994 are similar to the ones that they display towards prisoners and citizens as means of performing their organisational duties, so much so that they have to be warned by a judge to halt their abusive tactics "Dit moet end kry" meaning that "this must cease" (Beeld, 2006; Saturday Star, 2006a). It is evident that the dark side begins during training as a means of "toughening" the police officers up by exposing them to a series of abuses disguised as punishment which is then projected on the citizens. The traces of the misuse of police authority from as far back as their training is a point discussed by Steyn & DeVries (2007:8) of which he states that new police recruits learn and internalise police culture, which is the common reason for the violent demonstrations by the police through socialisation and interactions during and after their training.

The standard design of training pre-1994 was harmful and resulted in long-term emotional effects on the police workers. The internalisation and by-product of this training is the expression of these kinds of brutal punishments towards the public. This has produced an unstable relationship between the police officers, the organisation, and the public, as the public understands the police to be brutal and violent towards them, validating Muhr & Rehn (2014:212) statement that the relationship between organisations, customers and broader society is rarely stable, due to or emanating from their performance of emotional labour.

The police officer above further speaks of having to conceal emotions of anger towards these abuses because of the fear of humiliation projected on the public. What seems to be apparent is the conditioned response of aggression and anger due to the training. The dark side reveals itself here as the performance of unfavourable emotionally disturbing work due to inhibiting negative emotions such as anger and fear.

However, this experience differs from the recruits trained post-1994 who speak more of the difficulty of the academic side of training, such as learning the different statutes and general administrative work such as filling in dockets and registering complaints and needing a more spaced-out academic plan for their training. This further validates the claim of symbolic interactionism, which understands the modification and change of meaning of objects (Aksan et al., 2009:903). One may assume that the SAPS training may have decreased the brutal punishment as the younger recruits do not mention harsh punishments when asked about their training.

The police officers attest to being trained to respect people and empathise with them, and they state that they cannot shout at or hurt the public. Police officers have to perform emotions that will promote good standing with the public and develop trust-filled relations. On the contrary, when dealing with suspects, they are taught not to show emotions of fear or sadness. These emotions need to be concealed as they may affect their duties. They need to appear as intimidating, brave, or neutral to perform their duties adequately or suspects/criminals will not take them seriously nor will the public respect them. Through Prati et al. (2009:368) understanding of surface acting as the display of required emotions by the workers which they do not feel and concealing the ones they do; it is evident that the police use surface acting to fulfil their organisational. The performance of surface acting is also understood by Hochschild (2003:25) as the performance of certain emotions by workers which they deem to be of benefit to their duties. For instance:

"...when you are entering a crime scene you have to be intimidating because it is a serious situation and the suspects might still be around, and you have to show that you are ready for anything that might happen such as a shoot-out. The same when there is a deceased, you have to be neutral because you can't be too emotional and cry and you can't laugh, you have to observe the situation and apply the appropriate emotion" (30year old, Male, 7 years' experience, constable).

The emotions mentioned above are also means of protecting police officers in situations where they would otherwise be in danger and successfully perform their duties. Police officers suppress their felt emotions and adapt to emotions that will help them fulfil their duties, such as neutrality and intimidation. This is experienced so often that many refer to this suppression of feelings as normal. In this regard, research shows and proves Bella et al. (2003:67) argument that social systems and social organisation are a huge contributing factor in determining human behaviour and the shaping of organisations. This is evidenced by the gradual change and shift of reasons for joining the organisation and the change in training activities, which is assumed to gradually shift as society changes.

A fascinating phenomenon captured validates Rafaeli & Sutton (1987:260) claims that employees learn of emotions that ought to be expressed through interactions with the people they provide the service for. This phenomenon, being the need for the police officers to balance soft and kind emotions with emotions of intimidation, aggression and neutrality depending on a specific task or duty, such as when an individual is laying a charge. This requires police officers to be kind and empathetic, but they must appear as intimidating and/or neutral when entering a crime scene. This also speaks to symbolic interactionism, which argues that social actors attach meaning to objects centred on personal perceptions through interaction and experiences (Aksan et al., 2009:803). Therefore, in instances where the police officers interact with innocent civilians, they display different emotions than when they interact with a suspect or in an environment that might otherwise be dangerous. They have, however, spoken of the difficulty of balancing such emotions so far as feeling nothing at all in the long term:

"feelings are very difficult to control, but after working so many years, I have felt so much that sometimes I simply do not feel anymore, there is just nothing" (38year old, female, 15years of experience, warrant officer).

It is equally remarkable that the police officers who hold lower positions acknowledged both empathetic emotions and emotions such as aggression and intimidation when performing different duties for the organisation. The performance of said emotions speaks on Goffman's (1959) statement that people act differently when certain expectations are expected, such as employees, when performing certain emotions through impression management. Impression management is understood as displaying emotions police officers want the world or rather the public to see in certain circumstances. On the contrary, the Captain (which was the highest position interviewed) spoke mostly of calmer positive emotions, the emotions of kindness and

empathy and described the working environment as somewhat peaceful. It seems that the power which comes with holding a higher position also plays a role in the experience and the performance of certain emotions more than others. This supports Linstead et al. (2014:66) claim that the dark side is part of everyday organisational practice; however, it applies more to certain workers within the organisation more than others. The above mentioned supposes that the SAPS is organised in a way that exposes the dark side to workers below the hierarchy, making the experiences of the police officers on the dark side subject to your position within the organisation.

It seems after being questioned on the emotional side of their training, and the police officers acknowledge that their training did indeed include both elements of physical and emotional contents. The description below sums up the general understanding of the police officers:

"...there was also an element of both physical and emotional because you have to conduct yourself in a certain way, you can't allow feelings you to get in the way of doing your job, if they are going to affect your job you have to put them aside. We are taught that your judgement influences the way you conduct yourself and so it is very important to be impartial and not let your own biases and emotions affect you because they can affect the case and cloud the way you approach the case. You must always question whether or not you are being impartial, if you can feel that you are not, you have to step aside or act accordingly" (35year old, male, 10 years of experience, detective).

This discussion expands further when the police officers speak emotional engagements with their superiors and co-workers. Quite a large majority seem to express a lot of frustration and anger towards their superiors, which they can seldom express. Shott (1979:1321) speaks on dramaturgy and how when an individual displays a certain emotion, their behaviour is induced by their understanding and interpretation of the situation; this speaks mainly to the police officers trained pre-1994. These police officers have maintained the need to respect their superior regardless of their workplace dissatisfaction, showing the extent of the indoctrination for the respect of a superior such as a Captain. Even in moments where they need to be confronted or corrected, they still find it challenging to do so because 'a superior cannot be questioned'. The above reverted us to their training when individuals shared that they were not allowed to question their punishments when they were brutally punished. This assumes that the interpretation of the older police officers that they are not to question their superiors.

Goffman (1959) argument that individuals need to put on the most appropriate presentation of themselves. This is reflected when police officers also spoke on the inability to engage with their co-workers for various reasons, including the fear of being mocked, bullied, and seen as weak and over-emotional. Both female and male officers share these sentiments. However, gender seems to play an important role in how certain emotions are received in the workplace. The women face more challenges than male police officers when expressing themselves and their emotions because women are 'expected to be emotional. Therefore, their ability to perform their duties are constantly tested on whether they can control their emotions or not. Consequently, they need to continually present themselves in a way that will validate their abilities to be police officers and abilities to perform their duties as well as their male counterparts.

" It is also quite difficult if you are a woman because it becomes the conversation of you being too emotional unlike the men that we work with because they rarely speak of emotions, they just display them through being violent such as being violent with a suspect and as a woman you don't want to be reduced to being the emotional one, so you just keep it to yourself rather" (26 year old, female, 5 years' experience, constable).

Women have found it hard to engage on issues, especially if they are single (woman) issues and do not affect males. To be taken seriously, it must be a united issue with the male police officers. The women state that the men rarely speak of emotions but rather display them through violence. This is notably easier to justify as the police officer already perform unfavourable emotionally disturbing work, which then shapes their behaviour. Myakhalenko (2011) spoke of emotions in the workplace is viewed as unprofessional and unacceptable. However, the above statement shows the importance of the acknowledgement of emotions in the workplace because, if not acknowledged, they reveal themselves in ways that taint the reputation of the organisation, such as the police officers being violent towards innocent civilians as a way of coping due to their internalised emotions. This also speaks to how deeply patriarchy and masculinity are entrenched within the SAPS. Evident here are the social pressures that men usually internalise, such as not showing emotions as they would otherwise be viewed as weak. Women exist within the organisation as subordinates, exposing them to the sexist bias within the organisation. The internalisation of these experienced emotions of dissatisfaction, anger, and frustration towards their superiors appears to have affected their work. In particular, the women have expressed their inability to mask emotions when dealing with softer emotions of

pity and empathy than men who found it difficult to conceal their darker emotions of anger and rage.

Apart from expressing intimidation and aggression with criminals and expected 'bad people', the police also have to deal with civilians who have no respect for them and are often entitled and arrogant. In this instance, police officers mention the requirement to remain neutral. One police officer speaks of a civilian that insulted the police and referred to the SAPS as a department dominated by 'kaffirs':

"*This made me very mad I wanted to react very violently and thank goodness I was on the other side of the counter, I shouted at him back. It was a shouting contest because you can imagine how angry a person can be when they are referred to with that word, they started speaking Afrikaans and I shouted at him and scolded him using his own language because he thought I could not understand it, he must have forgotten that their language was forced on us back then, I swore at him"* (43year old, male, 24 years of experience, captain).

The evidence agrees with McMurray & Ward (2015: 25) that emotions are an unavoidable part of who we are, and thus the requirement of neutrality can sometimes be impossible or very difficult. There has been more than one description of Boers feeling entitled and being rude, by the police officers. This shows the racist aggression existing within the population which affects the emotional experiences of the police officers and undermines their duties. Furthermore, police officers shared how the organisation and the people at the top are still largely whites and those who hold minor positions are black. This being revealed through complaints about the difficulty of upward mobility within the SAPS. Thus, assuming that minimal transformation has taken place regarding the separation of duties and inclusivity within the organisation. Leaving the question of whether Weitzer (1993:1) analysis of the SAPS as being unaccountable and based on white supremacy applies to the current SAPS.

Relief is the pattern for the older police when asked about the change or improvements of their ammunition. They state that they are no longer required to use big guns such as AK47s and are now handled by the SANDF, replaced with handguns and pepper sprays for daily use and rubber bullet weapons for crowd control. The use of less deadly armaments has had a positive review from the police officer as he states that:

" I think it is better for me emotionally because it means that we see fewer dead bodies on the streets and the fact that we do not have to use them is a huge relief because it affects you really

bad when you have to harm another individual, especially with a gun. It gives you sleepless nights that thing, so it is very good for our emotions because we do not have to experience the guilt that comes with having shot someone or hurt someone" (53year old, male, 29 years' experience, warrant officer).

These are some of the outcomes of the dark side, which are the result of the performance of emotional labour due to the organisational duties such as fatally shooting people, which affect the police poorly that they end up having sleepless nights, this is a clear display of the dark side. Therefore, the improvement of ammunition for the older police officers is one that significantly improved their emotional experiences in terms of the use of firearms and ammunition.

On the contrary, newer recruits speak on little to no improvements on their ammunition, in addition to not having access to adequate ammunition in instances where they need to restore public order during protests and are at times given orders by their superiors to use live ammunition. One may assume this exposes them to stressful situations due to being required to inflict harm which may be permanent or even death on civilians. This part of police work is grossly disturbing but is expected to be assumed as 'normal' or 'expected' organisational practices (Linstead et al., 2014:166). With the increase of public outrage and service delivery protests, the experiences of using live ammunition towards citizens seem to be anticipated, as seen with the Marikana massacre in 2012.

The old police officers experienced the use of technology and the shift towards technology as they speak on the introduction of computers, after using books and paper-based tools shortly after 1994. The use of cell phones and access to the internet also made the working environment less stressful and more orderly. The use of cell phones has made it easier to communicate with informants and work associates. The post-1994 police officers commented on the use of old computer systems and software and seemed to feel indifferent on whether technology has improved their emotional experiences or not. This contradicts the claims of the enhanced role technology within the SAPS has played over the years, as claimed by Mashiloane (2013, 110). However, there is a clear consensus in the SAPS on the slow implementation of technology that would otherwise be of assistance and contribute significantly to the police officers' work, enhancing their emotional experiences through being easier to work with and more accessible. However, one of the police officers expresses that:

"The sad thing is that the higher ups will probably receive the funds to upgrade but they will waste it or keep most of the money for themselves and we have to find our own ways on how to deal with such crimes that come with this. It will weigh heavily on us because I think we would need to have training that will at least help us with the knowledge of what we are up against and equip us with some skill on how to approach such crimes. But these people will sleep instead of trying to prepare before much damage is done. It frustrates me so much because it's not like they are not aware of such things. It is very upsetting, because it is us at the bottom that will suffer with the most work to do" (35year old, male, 10 years of experience, detective).

The above is an unfortunate result of South African corruption; Mkhize & Madumi (2019:1) speak on how the advancement of neoliberalism in South Africa has resulted in institutional fragility and criminality of the police officials involved in mismanaging state funds. The continuous looting decreases job satisfaction and increases stress and frustration within the police, which will be made more evident in the analysis. Furthermore, this also speaks on Albertus (2019:1) argument that the SAPS problems are primarily due to the inefficient bureaucratic leadership that is notorious for unaccountability and corruption.

4.3 Occasions when police officers are required to express dirty emotions by the SAPS.

Dirty emotional work consists of emotions of anger, disgust, aggression, and irritation, which police officers often experience as part of their organisational requirement. In this section, police officers speak to the occasions where they perform these emotions and the experiences of performing these emotions.

Emotionally dirty work comprises situations where workers often need to work in unfavourable and life-threatening circumstances, which required them to use coercive authority and enact certain emotions (Dick, 2005:1353). Emotions such as intimidation, aggression and anger were experienced by most of the participants to be performed when in danger or met with resistance from suspects or the public. One of the police officers states that they need to incite fear through aggression and anger to fulfil their organisational duties, such as arresting a suspect or evading danger.

McMurry & Ward (2015: 59) argue that emotionally dirty work involves handling expressed feelings that threaten the expected order of a given individual and act in a manner that is unfavourable to the community through the labour of emotions which are otherwise regarded as contextually impropriate, burdensome or taboo. This is evidenced by women in the

organisation who particularly speak on having difficulty in the workplace. They need to incite fear in the situations mentioned above and as a way to avoid disrespect within the organisation and outside of the organisation. Within the organisation, they speak of being belittled and assumed not to effectively perform their duties whilst outside the organisation because of the sexualisation by the suspects and civilians. The women, in this case, can be the dirt that men in the organisation feel offend the order of the organisation (Dick, 2005:366).

In an attempt to address the invasion of the masculine ordering of the SAPS, the male police workers constantly interrogate whether the women can perform their duties. Men in the organisation have also reported to have a dilemma on having to perform anger and aggression more than usual if they do not fit or possess a type of physical appearance that is assumed to be intimidating, masculine or police officer worthy. These officials express that they tend to be mocked and bullied by other police officers, criminals, and members of the public. It appears that the performance of aggression and anger tends to be more meaningful for them by using these emotions as a means to reinforce their capabilities of being of performing their duties. Therefore, this undesirable work of having to over-perform dirty emotions to prove your worth is a substantial contributing factor to the dark side of emotional labour because only are the police required by the organisation to perform these emotions, but they also have to do it to solidify their space in the working environment.

There seems to be a disconnect between the police workers regarding the organisational requirement to perform dirty emotions. The dominating response is the organisation not necessarily requiring the performance of dirty emotions but advises using these emotions. The disconnect becomes evident when the police officers then go on to disclose that the organisation has on various occasions requested them to be aggressive towards the public during public protests led by their Commander or through their autonomy. It seems that they are trained to assume that the public is already violent before they are even present. One police officer with 32 years of experience mentioned that in their experience working in the SAPS, it was rare that the police approach public protests with the intention of non-aggressive/violent means of resolving public unrest. Thus, society labels the police as dirty workers because of this stigma of using these emotions resulting in violent demonstrations, as stated by Ashforth et al. (2007:416). Similarly, few other police officers validate this by saying people only listen to the police when they are aggressive. The organisation seems to support the above because it is easy for the police officers to justify their actions and the display of these emotions of anger

and aggression, without any accountability from the organisation apart from frivolous warnings from their superiors.

Furthermore, the police are given autonomy to perform and express emotions of anger and aggression as they see fit or have a reasonable belief that such emotions need to be performed. The performance of these emotions is communicated by police officers has altered their lives. Working for the SAPS has made them accustomed to or has made it easier to be angry, frustrated and intimidating because it happens so often. One confesses to resorting to anger when they discipline their kids, which was not the case before, they started working for the SAPS. This speaks to McMurry & Ward (2015: 62) when they argue that the burdensome task of performing dirty emotions disrupts the worker's personal and family life, which adversely demands that the police officer responds with the appropriate emotional performance. This reflects the common emotion experienced at work.

However, a different response was from a male police officer that stated that:

"I think it is changing my personality because I used to react to a lot of things very fast with anger and frustration and I used to get upset a lot to the point where I would get heart palpitations, but now I understand that I do not have to and so I conceal my feelings. I just keep things to myself and tell them to my wife, she is like my therapist sometimes because she listens to me all the time" (30year old, male, 7 years' experience, constable).

The actions of the police officer above are a blatant example of surface acting, whereby the police officer chooses to conceal their felt emotions to perform his duties, however, him telling his wife when he gets home shows that his felt emotions were present and remained unchanged, but were concealed to perform his duties, showing us the inconsistency between the felt and expressed emotions performed as per the requirement of the organisation (Hochschild, 1983; Johnson & Spector, 2007).

There were also concerns that the autonomy to perform these emotions has led to the abuse and misuse of power. The dominant reason why the police often misuse their power was related to the threat of their families. They express that criminals often threaten their family's safety, and because these are local criminals, they have access to their families and their location. Therefore, the use and expression of power and authority through the performance of dirty work and the expression of frustration and aggression is the only ways to ensure the protection of their families. This may be regarded as moral and physical taints of the work performed by police workers as they work in dangerous conditions that are sometimes a threat to their

families and includes dubious experiences that defy society's norms (McMurray & Ward, 2012:7).

For women, it is their families being threatened and the disrespect of being sexualised, having the public and criminals/suspects share sexual remarks or sentiments and making rape suggestions to the extent where they can no longer act neutral. These acts included the expressions of anger and frustration through shouting, scolding, and beating. Some of the police officers understand that at these moments, they are avoiding the rules of the organisation, but due to the intensity of the situation and the dangers that may result of such situations, they are overwhelmed by these felt emotions and the pressure to act on these feelings McMurry & Ward (2015: 63) speak on the difficulty of emotionally dirty work due to its unpredictability, and the need to find the appropriate type and level of emotional performance which can be difficult, as it the case with police officers:

"...sometimes the anger that you feel inside is very hard to control, also when you have to act angry towards suspects or criminal it is very hard for that anger not to become physical because emotions alone sometimes do not help, they have to be followed by physical actions" (35year old, male, 10 years of experience, detective).

Given the different situations shared by the police when they could not control their emotions of anger and frustration, which resulted in physical violence and name-calling, most seem to argue that the media reports regarding the violence of the police is exaggerated or conspired to give a negative impression of the police and the organisation. They argue that the media reports often lack adequate research and fact checks as means of portraying the police as "ill-disciplined, violent, brutal and "loose on the hand". The irony is that this clashes with their confessions of often acting against their organisational requirements and disturbing the public by expressing their anger and frustration through violence and other performances. They state that many of these behaviours can go unchecked because of some officers' proximity to their superiors, who do not discipline them. Many articles written on the violence and brutality of the police have validated by the people who have witnessed the gruesome oct of the police, such as that of the deaths of Collins Khoza and Nathaniel Julius. The use of violence by the police also proves the argument of van der Merwe (2013:74) that the culture of violence within the SAPS has become normative rather than exceptional with little to no accountability. Furthermore, the argument that the decision by the police officers to resort to violence is based on whether it works rather than whether it is justifiable (van der Merwe, 2013:74), which is

what is evidenced below that violent demonstrations are acted out on mostly black people, because somehow aggression and anger enacted on black people 'works':

"... I think the police culture of violence is subject to the colour of your skin, and I think a lot of people are aware of this. So, there is a long way to go in getting rid of this culture within the SAPS because it is something the old police officers learnt from their baas, and the newer generation learnt from them and so the cycle keeps repeating itself, but slowly there are police officers that question this" (30year old, male, 7 years of experience, constable).

The uncontrolled aggression seems to be an active part of the police officers' experience as there are stationed in mainly black communities, of which these emotions of aggression seem so be commonly displayed. The male police officers give ambiguous answers when asked if violence is part of the organisation. In contrast, women are more open and expressive and share that the police are incapable of finder alternative other than violence when resolving conflict. The police's actions contradict the code of conduct of the SAPS of preventing action which may threaten the safety and security of communities (Faull, 2017:1). This is evident as the police fail to live up to their code of conduct, but are the ones threatening the safety of civilians.

Together with the government, the organisation has carried through some of the worst human indignities towards black people, proportional to the crimes exercised by the apartheid government. This is evident in the Marikana massacre cases and, more recently, the police's exercise of force towards the citizens as means of enforcing the covid-19 lockdown rules in South Africa. It appears the police are somewhat obsessed with "teaching people a lesson", even in moments where there is no need or in moments where alternative means can be used. The extent to which the organisation carries a culture of violence is expressed by a policewoman who states that:

"most times when something has happened maybe a crime committed by little boys whom you can't arrest because they are underage you also hear chatter of "badinga induku labafana" meaning these boys need a hiding. It is not let us have a talk with them and tell them why this is wrong because they are children. And if a disrespectful person has left the offices very often you hear "ngizomshaya lomfana ung'jwayela kabi" which translates as "I'm going to beat this boy because he doesn't see me". For most people within the organisation the first instinct is to resort to violence, and I think the organisation fosters and nurses this behaviour" (26year old, female, 5 years of experience, constable).

This proves how violence is an inherent part of the organisation. Though there seems to shift of blame on the existence of violence within the organisation, the police argue that aggression and violence are due to the public and their behaviour. Some argue that it is due to the police and their own personal and organisational choices. Therefore, they use force to reassert their power (Van der Merwe (2013:65). However, a concern of one of the police officers was that due to the continuous exposure to emotions of anger, aggression and irritation and traumatic events has resulted in the inability of the police to discern between the appropriate time to act aggressively and when to apply other means. This speaks to Paoline (2003:200) argument that police officers use dirty emotions they create, display, and maintain their authority. The police seem to be of the idea that the enforcement of the law means the direct use of aggression, hence they speak the language of violence so eloquently. The use of violence controls and maintains their coerciveness, as stated by (Paoline, 2003:200). One of the female police officers' states that the police are the ones that have power over the public, and they "ought" to act in a way that does not cause them harm. However, a male police officer state that:

"…the police get their anger out by being violent, so they were probably violent to the next person they came across or when they had access to" (43year old male, 21 years of experience, warrant officer).

However, Cooper et al. (2004:1109) argued that the power given to police officers to use force to gain, assert or control the power they have over citizens through dirty emotions show that violence is an inherent part of the organisation. Hence the dark side of emotional labour is evidenced by the use of dirty emotions by the police workers resulting in violence instead of the use of alternative, non-violent means of communication.

4.4 The requirement of emotional neutrality, rationality and impartiality in police work

The police officers seem to have been taught how to approach different situations using different methods and emotions. This includes the use of rationality and neutrality in situations where they might otherwise be bias or which their personal emotions might affect their performance. The practice of rationality is quite important as the police officers have shared that many of their co-workers get overwhelmed by their own personal emotions such as anger which they sometimes cannot control and tends to get out of hand. A police officer shared that their anger gets out of hand due to expressing feelings they have kept inside for too long. Based on this, the police officers advocate for the need to remain neutral and maintain rationality when fulfilling their duties.

One way an officer shared how they can act rationally is by approaching the situation with a mind of an infant. A child has little information and consumes what is given to them without exposure to information that may affect their approach or judgement of a certain situation. This means that such situations require police officers to rid themselves of their felt emotions completely. Tracy (2005:261) mentions that emotional neutrality needs the workers to be calm in the face of tragedy and serve as a condition of control, however, this can lead to quite traumatic experiences as police personnel face difficult situations where they are not able to express their felt emotions because due to being required to remain neutral and rational:

"I see many murders, any which are very gruesome and just very bad, but I have to be neutral in front of the family, I cannot look away or cry or look disgusted. I have to remain neutral and look at the scene with a straight face. I have to reserve whatever I may be feeling about the situation at that moment and set it aside for later, there are moments where you feel very emotional, but you can't be, you have to be neutral" (36year old, Male, 12 years of experience, detective sergeant).

Over and above the organisation's requirement, the need to remain neutral is expressed by the workers as a coping mechanism as they find it easier to perform their duties by concealing their felt emotions and remaining neutral. The workers thus resort to surface acting to be able to fulfil their organisational duties. McMurray & Ward (2015:44) also argued that the worker, in this case, police officers have to control their emotions by displaying unemotional behaviour to cope with challenging encounters. However, the organisation's need and requirement to be neutral maintains the public's view of the police as heartless and emotionless individuals who lack empathy. Contrary to this, quite a few police officers, male and female, shared how they felt empathetic feelings but needed to hide them because they were on duty, some even to the extent of sharing emotional attachment to the victim, which they had helped and felt great sadness when they needed to detach themselves. They speak to feeling pain and sorrow, but not being able to express these emotions because there are on duty:

"I shed a tear or two because of how painful it was to witness that, I had to call myself to order and put aside those emotions and wipe the tears and remind myself that I am here to work" (35year old, male, 10 years of experience, detective)

This supports the dramaturgical perspective of Goffman (1959), that when the police are on duty they are 'on stage' and have to wear masks to perform a certain role. This mask hides or conceals their felt emotions and they show/perform emotions which are not true to self to fulfil

organisational requirements. This further speaks to symbolic interactionism as police officers perform negative emotions such as emotional neutrality, so it is easier to detach from the victims, feeling the opposite of empathy. The police understand and feel emotions of empathy which are commonly understood by society to be felt in instances such as the case above. However, police officers have to adopt a different perspective from society and act neutral or emotionless and conceal their real felt emotions.

Fine (1993:72) further substantiates the above by stating that emotions are performed in the form of cognitive control, so when the police officer speaks on having to remind themselves that they are there to work and thus must be neutral, they are also using cognition as means of calling themselves to order and as a reminder of their required and expected emotional labour. This also speaks to a different kind of acting which is deep acting as the police officer had to resort to self-regulation and had to generate new thoughts through reminding themselves that they are at work and must perform the organisationally required emotions (Haung et al., 2015:3).

The police understand that these feelings of neutrality have negative consequences when it comes to the public's perception. They believe that the public does not feel protected or feel as though the police are against them. However, the police argue that their jobs come with a level of professionalism that they cannot compromise on. This professionalism requires the performance of neutrality and rationality in their capacity as employees of the SAPS organisation. This confirms the argument of Fine (1993:75) that organisationally required emotions are thus part of the individual, even though they can control when and how they display them. However, the workers' adoption of such emotions and those which they can compromise on signals that they have been adopted and internalised by the individual. This is further illustrated below when the police officers speak of the extent to which certain emotions' performance has made the workers feel inhumane.

What seems to be apparent, through careful analyses of the responses by the police officers, is that those who occupy lower positions seem to acknowledge that their jobs can make them inhumane. Among many, a police officer spoke of a moment when they could not perform their requirement of neutrality due to witnessing a child's death due to rape. He stated that the mother of the child was in a deplorable state and shared his experience as follows:

"I think in that moment I could not be a cop (police officer) I had to be a human and with that I did tear up a bit because I thought of my own daughter and even though I am a policeman, I

just thought of how I would be feeling or acting in that moment if it was my child, I had to manage the situation by pretending that I had an incoming call that I had to take outside and used that moment outside to gather myself and revert back to being a police officer" (36year old, male, 12 years of experience, detective sergeant).

Other relations were female police officers who have often complained about their treatment in the organisation and the exposure to harassment. In these moments of experiencing harassment, a police officer shared that they reacted with anger and violence towards the person and justified their actions by stating that:

"I just reacted as a normal human would, in those instances I wasn't a policewoman but a woman whose chances are 1/3 to be taken advantage of… I think in that moment I was clouded by my personal emotions of feeling violated and because I got so angry that I was shaking, in the moment of feeling so violated I wanted to physically harm anything and everything that was in front of me, I think for the remainder of that shift I did not engage with my colleagues because I was so angry, I think I left early. I had to call myself to order and put aside those emotions and wipe the tears and remind myself that I am here to work" (38year old, female, 15 years of experience, warrant officer)

The above is quite imperative as they bring the humanness back to police work, making us understand that though their job is primarily premised upon the performance of neutrality, however, underneath their uniforms lies humans who feel, have emotions of their own and are not exempt from the experiences of ordinary people as well. The pressure for them to mask these feelings and be expected to perform their duties effectively speaks to the inhumanness of the organisation. Confirming McMurray and Ward (2015: 35) statement that emotions are an unavoidable part of who we are and are an inevitable facet of the human condition, however the dark side the organisation seeks to control this through the absence of feeling which may seem rational when met with dark encounters such as the above. Interestingly, the captain who is in the highest position interviewed attempts to humanise the organisation and sanitise the workers' emotional experiences through statements such as the organisation requiring calmness, kindness, and other positive emotions when the workers in the lower ranks have stated otherwise.

Though there seems to be a consensus among the police that the organisation is more humane now than compared to the apartheid times, however, it does not adequately match with their descriptions of how they enact violence on suspects and sometimes cannot comply with the

organisational requirements of which they face little to no repercussions. This is also apparent in how the officers blame the citizens for their violence. The police express that the organisation remains violent even in the most "mundane" ways, such as slapping people who committed petty theft instead of giving them the appropriate punishment or warning violent acts seemingly being the result of micro-aggressions by the police officers. This proves Cockroft (2013:5) claim that the concept of culture, specifically the culture of violence within the organisation, is real and exists across organisational life.

In addition, all the police officers agree that the police's violence towards the citizens is still race and class-based due to many reasons, such as the black people not having access to information such as being able to report the police. It seems as though such information is controlled and kept from the people or is not widely available. A police officer gives his statement as follows:

"I think from what I've witnessed it is easier to enact violence to people who have less power or have a lower class and who are black, because the stigma is that the 'tsotsi' will be black, and if black poor because you are stealing because you lack something. So, when you are poor you didn't get much schooling so you don't know that you can lodge a complaint against a certain police officer who harassed you and even when you have lodged this complaint there are , many processed that need to be seen to and there are times when you need representation so you see when you are poor not only do you not know this but it is not you primary concern. The police know this and so they use it to their advantage to be more violent and they mostly receive repercussions when the media get a hold of the story because it has gained public momentum" (26year old, female, 5 years of experience, constable)

Furthermore, they state that the organisation's violence reflects the social and systematic organisation of South Africa. The practice of impartiality as per the organisation's requirement seems to be ill practised by the police officers because of a range of reasons such as adhering to their commander's orders or just choosing not to. The above makes us question the police officers' ability to adequately respect and perform their organisationally required duties. This is consistent with the question of Omar (2009), Minnaar (2010) on whether the police are committed to cooperative relationships with the communities they serve. Women specifically have expressed that some men have a problem with following the organisation's rules and being led by black women, which is discussed in the next theme in conjunction with the long-time suppression of emotions.

The use of technology received mixed reviews as the police officers communicated that it would help not have to deal with rude, disrespectful people and make them able to help these people effectively without any biases experienced through face-to-face interactions. This bias means that the police officers are not complying with the rationality and neutrality expected of them. Vaughn (1999) noted that this might result from the dark side of being taught what to think/feel and react when met with a certain situation or being exposed to certain experiences for long extended periods, thus already expecting certain outcomes in certain situation. There were also valid concerns regarding the use of technology, such as filling in forms online instead of having to physically approach a police station because, in the instance of victims of sexual abuse, they need comfort. The delivery of certain questions needs to be met with the utmost sensitivity, which cannot be found with technology and questionaries' boundaries.

The presence of empathetic emotions by the police workers further shows the importance of the existence and recognition of emotional labour in the workplace. Furthermore, this speaks to the role of the dramaturgy, as police officers have to assess and interpret the situation and apply the appropriate emotion (Shott, 19179:1321). This is done to make the victim comfortable with sharing their testimony which a technological device cannot achieve. However, on the upside, technology can work for some victims who are afraid to lay charges because some of the police are friends with the perpetrators or are perpetrators themselves. The use of technology to maintain anonymity and the likes could be beneficial. These forms could be accessed on the internet using a computer or a cell phone.

However, most police officers appreciate how the role of rationality can enhance their emotional experiences by reducing stress and other negative emotions in the workplace, especially the reduced interactions with people. The police would then perform less emotional labour as they will not be in the face of those they are attending to, but rather will be in the form of a screen. However, this does not mean the absence of negative emotions and having required organisational emotions as they would still have to interact with their co-workers. However, the use of technology within the SAPS remains circumstantial with pros and cons for both police officers and the community.

4.5 The experience and effects of emotional toxicity on police officers

Prevalent in this analysis is the dissatisfaction and unhappiness of the police officers in their line of work due to frequent exposure and experience and long-time suppression of negative emotions such as anger, frustration, and resentment. Most of the reasons for the suppression of

negative emotions are centred around the disrespect the police officers experience at the hands of their superiors.

"There are superiors who think that the SAPS is their tuckshops. They think that they own us, and they do not see us as workers like them, they do not see us as rendering a service for the SAPS like them, but they think that we work for them personally. It can get quite frustrating because you have to constantly remind them that you are not there for them, but you are there for the organisation" (36year old, male, 12 years of experience, detective sergeant).

The above being a statement by one of the junior police officers. These emotions are fuelled by the inability to express their anger and frustration towards their superiors and the organisation. Many workers have reported that they would much rather remove themselves from situations that ignite their anger and cool off in an isolated area. This inability to express their anger and frustration followed by the continuation of the experience of these emotions they inhibit is described by McMurray & Ward (2015:77) as the build-up of toxicity within the individual. On top of not being able to express themselves, they endure working in a corruption infested environment, which results in the constant lack of resources, misuse of funds and the breaking down of police vans:

"Sometimes there are lack of resources, there are no cars, the cars are broken, and you get frustrated because how are you going to do your job if you don't have the necessary resources because it affects the way you do your job, it affects the outcome of your job". (57year old, male, 32 years of experience, warrant officer)

McMurray & Ward (2015:77) speak on the effects of emotional toxicity as affecting the individual's ability to function effectively in the workplace. This is evident as the workers speak of how the effects of corruption have long-lasting effects on the workers, as evidenced by the constant complaints of how this affects their job performance and leads to frustration and stress. They speak of corruption as something that is present and has become a norm in the organisation. This normalisation of corruption is one element of the poison affecting the workers they are exposed to for an extended period in their working experiences.

Women specifically speak on their long-time hardships of always having their authority questioned by their male counterparts. In addition to this, they cannot share their feelings or express themselves regarding the above but pretend as though they are unaffected because they risk being labelled or mocked as 'moody' or 'hormonal'. The long-term effects of this are

reflected when the policewomen expressed that they tend to remember the bad things said to and about them by male police officers questioning their competence, leadership, and skills and how they felt inadequate and constantly doubt themselves and their abilities. They speak of the organisation dismissing their feelings by not taking them seriously, which makes them suppress their feelings or constantly bite their tongues when addressing certain issues. One can refer to this as emotion-inducing toxicity due to the continuous suppression of negative emotions (Lawrance, 2008:17). These include negative emotions such as anger, humiliation, and unjust treatment, which is left unresolved, resulting in workers responding with aggressive emotions, which result in counterproductive work behaviours (Lawrance, 2008:13).

Evident in the above is the common understanding of what a leader/superior should look like and who gets to be respected, which is deeply patriarchal. Thus, the respectability politics of the organisation are also centred on the organisation's patriarchal values. Therefore, anyone that falls out of this figure of superiority is invisible or is not acknowledged. Members of the SAPS have been said to end up not coming to work due to the hostile non-welcoming environment where police officers are exposed to different complex hardships due to different experiences of the long-lasting effects of the suppression of anger frustration. The women also have to constantly enact feelings of aggression and anger to earn the respect of the men that they work with and the general society.

Furthermore, though the police have access to psychological services, only two of the interviewed police officers expressed that they were able to use this department and receive help. Others noted that they have access. However, they felt that they never really needed such services or avoided them. One such incident was of a male police officer who works in a department he identified as traumatic. The unit dealt with crimes against women and children. He states that:

"...with us that deal with traumatic cases such as those of the abuse of women and children mostly and sometimes men. We are required to go to the department and see them every three months. We are supposed to, but this does not really happen, I do not remember the last time I was there because they are over saturated, and they do not have enough workers to see all the police officers that need help. So, what they do is that they help you if you absolutely need help at that moment, and they don't really keep track of those like us that need to go there every 3 months..." (38year old, female, 15 years of experience, warrant officer).

The oversaturation, lack of resources, and department personnel was the frequently used reason behind not receiving psychological help, together with their engagement with other police workers who seem to have concluded that they do not need psychological help and are completely closed off to the idea. However, taking note of their frequent exposure to trauma and negative emotions, one would assume that this would automatically make them legible to receive help and seek help, especially seeing how it not only affects them on a personal level but extends to their families and loved ones as well. Stein (2007:1229) further argues that this leads so the slow degradation of emotional capacity, which spreads through to the people (colleagues or family) that interact with this individual, as most police officers have expressed that the continuous exposure to toxicity has had unfavourable effects in their personal lives.

By stating that they do not feel the need to get help even though they are continuously exposed to traumatic events and toxins from he is working environment, the police officers show the subtleness of emotional toxicity and the slow erosion of feeling, which has negative effects on the individual which may be toxic and corrosive, as argued by (McMurray & Ward, 2015:78). This is further indicated below when the police officers speak of the effects their experience has had in their private lives.

As expressed above, the experience of negative emotions has affected the police officers in their working environment and their private sphere. The older police officers try and mask or seem a bit hesitant to share how they have personally been affected, however the other recruits, especially women, freely express that they carry some of the negative emotions experienced at work back to their personal spaces, which have resulted in creating hostile environments for their families and friends. Some even express how they project these experiences on their kids, like one of the policewomen who state:

"When I hit my child as a form of punishment, I can feel that I am no longer hitting them because of something they had done wrong because that is the way I discipline my child, but sometimes I can tell that I am projecting my own frustrations from work on my child" (25-30year old, Female, 5 years of experience, Constable).

One may also assume that there seems to be a lack of acknowledgement of the internalised trauma experienced by the police officers, as evident in the above statement, which results in the rejection of psychological help supported by the organisation's shortcomings, such as lack of resources and personnel. Here we take note of the availability of psychological services to help the police officers. Psychological services cannot be considered effective when many

police officers avoid using their services. It is evident that the police officers choose not to see them even though they are required to. Only a few police officers' avail themselves to seek psychological help, which assumes that most police officers remain with toxins emanating from their working environment, which leads to the eruption of toxicity.

Job and income security seemed to the theme behind why many would not leave the profession, expressing that due to many people losing their jobs, they are lucky to be part of the working class. Contrary to this, one of the individuals expressed their desire to leave the organisation:

"There is so much corruption and irregular expenditure of funds, we don't get paid for our overtime on time and sometimes we don't receive it, there is poor management of the state resources such as service for van which eventually break down and we can't effectively do our jobs. It is just very tiring and for a job that eposes you to so much trauma the rewards are close to non-existent because I believe we are not even being paid our worth" (26year old, female, 5 years of experience, constable).

The above is a powerful statement that speaks to the kind of environment that most police workers choose to remain in regardless of their constant expression of frustration, resentment, and anger. This internalisation of toxicity whilst continuing working for the environment can be linked to one of the seven major categories of toxic organisational events, which is 'institutional forces' which speaks to the certainty of the inevitability of change (Lawrance, 2009:1), because the police officers need income as well, they choose to accept this reality and continue working for the organisation and accept the exposure and experience of emotional toxicity. The different testimonies and experiences of emotional toxicity show the complexities of emotional toxicity and the various toxins that constitute to this toxicity. Therefore, the effects and experiences of emotional toxicity affect individuals differently.

Crime is a social issue before it is a police issue, and this is reflected in the many statements of the police who argue not only that as long as there are people in a society, but crime will also always exist:

"Violence is growing a lot and crime, because people don't have jobs the government promises jobs but every single year the unemployment rate seems to just be going up and up. People need money and they need to eat and feed their families. Sometimes I do not blame them when they steal from people, take their phones and rob the shops and other petty crimes because I would also do anything to feed my family" (26year old, female, 5 years of experience, constable).

The above statement speaks to the difficulty of police work as police officers seem to understand the root cause of crimes perpetrated in society. However, even with this understanding, they are still required to fulfil their organisational requirements regardless. Even though they may be affected negatively by this through not only the crimes rate continuously rising, but also the increase in the gruesome crimes that they experience, such as one encounter where they witnessed the murder of a child whose eyes and genitals were extracted from their body and a nail was placed on their forehead. They describe the rise of crimes such as these also affect and increase their traumatic experiences, but they still commit to doing their jobs effectively and as best they can. This speaks to how the experience of negative emotions does not in itself create negative emotions, but rather, is a by-product of organisational life (Frost, 2004:11).

4.6 Conclusion

The dark side of emotional labour is apparent in the work performed by police officers. It is reflected when the police officers perform their organisational duties and reflected in how it impacts the performance of work and the personal lives of the police workers outside of the organisation. This is critically analysed in this report, which shows in-depth the lived experiences and effects of the police officers' performance of negative emotions. Police officers have confirmed the organisations' requirement to perform emotions of anger, aggression, to fulfil the emotional dirty work of the organisation and neutrality rationality, which have adverse effects on their lives and thus exposed them to different toxins in the workplace which eventually turn to emotional toxicity. The performance of these emotions has been linked to surface and deep acting through concealing or omitting certain emotions solidifying the existence of emotional labour in the organisation.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the dark side of emotional labour experienced by the SAPS officers in KwaZulu Natal. The specific aim of the study was to explore the following aspects: the perception and attitudes of the SAPS officers about the SAPS organisational requirements and working demands; occasions when the police officers express anger, disgust, aggression and irritation as per their organisational demands and if these emotions are used to avoid organisational rules and disturb social order; if the SAPS organisation require police officers to act in a rational, neutral and impartial manner when interacting with the public while on duty; lastly the long-time suppression of anger, frustration and resentment as a result of interpersonal conflict with other colleagues and/or superiors and how this affects their relationships with the public and in their private lives.

This conclusion seeks to provide a summary of the main arguments and the key findings discussed in this research paper, followed by the contribution of this research to the existing literature on the dark side of emotional labour.

5.2 Reflections

Studies about the dark side of emotional labour are not as prevalent in academia yet. The exploration of the dark side in this research is quite an essential contribution to literature and academia. This study adds to the knowledge of the dark side of emotional labour through critically engaging with police workers about their work as the protectors of society and state property from harm and on the emotional labour they are expected to perform whilst conducting their duties. What the study found was that the performance of emotional labour by police officers whilst conducting their work affected their job satisfaction and their overall well-being. Their experience of the performance of emotional labour and the extent to which they perform emotional labour differed according to the position they held and their gender. The effects of emotional labour also extend to their private lives outside of the workplace and the way they conducted themselves around their family and friends. The dark side of emotional labour is one that contributed to police officers resorting to different forms of emotion management due to the suppression of emotions and continual exposure to trauma which contributed to violent outbursts by police officers towards the public, their family and sometimes their colleagues and other acts of violence as mentioned throughout this paper. The

dark side of emotional labour is one that is an integral part of some service providers in society such as police officers, this paper adds on to the knowledge of the existence of emotional labour and interrogates some of the complexities that lie with the existence of emotional labour in the SAPS.

The first chapter introduces the research paper and sets out the main objectives and goals of the study. The second chapter conceptualised emotional labour and theorised the dark side through unpacking the dark side of emotional labour to provides an in-depth understanding of the basis of this research. This was followed by a comprehensive discussion on the conceptualisation of emotional labour using Hochschild's (1983) interpretation and the discussion of symbolic interactionism and the dramaturgical perspective. The discussion of dramaturgy brings forth the symbolism of emotional labour in the workplace and the understanding of the performance of emotional labour in organisations. This is cemented by the discussion on surface and deep acting that solidified the understanding of the performance of emotions and the process of performing these emotions required of them.

This paper uses three conceptualisations to understand and put into perspective the dark side of emotional labour. These three conceptualisations consist of emotional neutrality, emotional toxicity and emotional dirty work. The key contributors to the theories above consist of (Hochschild, 1983; Goffman, 1959; McMurray & Ward, 2015). These scholars are key to understanding emotional labour and provide the conceptual and theoretical understanding of the dark side of emotional labour.

Chapter three comprised of the discussion of emotional labour within the police organisation in the wake of neoliberalism. The chapter addresses the transformation and changes experienced by police organisations globally. This is followed by the discussion of the transformation of within the SAPS organisation in post-apartheid South Africa. The discussion of post-apartheid begins with a brief analysis of the SAPS organisation during apartheid to provide context on the origins and the development of the organisation. Neoliberalism and technology control in the SAPS is discussed in depth. Lastly is the discussion of police culture and violence within the SAPS. The discussions above are imperative for this research paper because police officers are required to perform emotional labour to fulfil their organisational duties in the wake of these social and organisational issues. The performance of emotional labour proves to be quite enthralling.

Chapter four addressed the research objectives and the research themes, all of which contribute to understanding the dark side of emotional labour and the extent to which the police officers experience the dark side of emotional labour. This study suggests that the dark side of emotional labour is an inherent part of the SAPS organisation and is imparted on the duties that the police officers have to perform daily. Furthermore, this research found a lack of understanding of emotional labour by the officers, which was evident in their confusion when asked about the involvement of emotions. This solidifying the assumption that policework is most often viewed as work that consists mainly physical labour as is devoid of emotional labour. The experience of emotional labour and the dark side differs due to different variables that contribute to their experiences such as gender, age, years of experience, and their position in the organisation.

The research has also highlighted various complexities faced by the police officers due to the transformation of the SAPS organisation post-1994 followed by the continuous social changes and adaptations such as neoliberalism, which deepens the inequality gap that assumes the rise poverty and crime. The shift from apartheid also introduced the increased use of technology and increased police stations in communities to aid and assist citizens. This has led to the need for more police workers. Policies such as the Employment Equity Act assume the employment of more black police officers and more female police officers. The transformation of the SAPS also meant that police officers have to balance different conflicting emotions depending on their duties. When met with suspects and criminals' police officers have to enact negative emotions such as anger and aggression. However, when dealing with civilians laying charges in the charge office or who require assistance, they have to perform positive emotions such as kindness and empathy, highlighting the complexities of the performance of emotional labour by the police officers.

As briefly highlighted above, the first objective found that there seems to be very little understanding of the existence of emotional labour by the police officers; however, this did not mean the absence of emotional labour. The research had to specifically mention the existence and use of emotions in the police officers' daily work for there to be a more concrete discussion on the experiences of emotional labour by the police officers. Furthermore, younger police officers with less experience and occupying lower positions appeared to express more experiences of negative emotions such as anger and aggression than police officers occupying higher positions. In addition, female police officers proved to be more likely to perform negative emotions to demonstrate their abilities to exist within a patriarch and masculinity

inundated working environment and hence more exposure to the dark side of emotional labour. This speaking to the different experiences of emotional labour.

The second objective uncovers the existence of dirty emotions and the police officers' requirement to perform these emotions to fulfil their organisational duties. However, the prevalent argument in this objective, as per the data collected, was that over and beyond performing dirty emotions to fulfil their responsibilities, the police officers felt the need to over-perform these emotions, which at most times have led to violence as means of asserting their ability to fulfil the masculinity attached to the organisation as pressure from their co-workers. And because the police are given autonomy to perform these emotions, it is evident why there is little to no accountability or repercussions when this power is abused and misused. Furthermore, police officers expressed that the constant performance of these emotions has resulted in the inability to control these emotions when performing their duties and in their private lives.

The third objectives discussion focuses mainly on suppressing natural human empathetic feelings when faced with scenarios where the organisation requires one to be rational and neutral. This illuminates the difficulty in masking felt emotions for the fulfilment of one's duties. Almost all the police officers shared commentaries of situations where they failed to perform neutrality and rationality, though some speak on having better control than others. This is only true when one assumes that rationality and neutrality only speak to concealing positive emotions such as kindness and empathy. However, most police officers struggle greatly with rationality and neutrality when it comes to the performance of aggression and anger.

The final objective makes it evident that violence is an inherent part of the organisation. An integral part of the experience of the dark side is the effects the long-time suppression of emotions has on the police officers, the relationships they have within the organisation with their co-workers and superiors. Furthermore, not only does this suppression led to building up toxins resulting in toxicity, however consequently, the inability of the police officers to access psychological help, whether intentionally or not, has affected their trauma's unexplored and undealt with affecting their relationship with themselves as many have spoken of their change in personality since working for the organisation, however, has also affected their relationships with their families and friends.

5.3 Suggestions and Recommendations

The significance of this research paper was to explore the dark side of emotional labour through the experiences of police officers. Thereby proves the existence of emotional labour within the organisation of the SAPS and confirms the existence of a dark side within the performance of certain emotions to fulfil organisational duties. These emotions have proven to include dirty emotions, but there has also been evidence of emotions of empathy and kindness, contributing to the complexity of the dark side of emotional labour. This study then proposes increased interactions and conversations regarding the dark side with police officers and the implications of the exposure to dirty emotions and emotional neutrality to curb the continued and inhibited emotional toxicity. It is of utmost importance that these suppressed emotions be acknowledged and addressed. The acknowledgement of these emotions will prompt the need for a healthier working environment and contribute to the acquisition of healthier mechanisms to deal with workplace conflict. It is imperative that the management of the SAPS thoroughly consider the well-being of its employees as their experienced trauma's turned to toxicity affect how they fulfil their duties. The trauma left unchecked has proved to contribute to the violent outbursts of the police officers not only to the public as stated by the research participants, but they have also confessed to such affected the way their engage with their families outside of work. Therefore, the consideration of the well-being of the SAPS workers will not only be of benefit in the workplace but will also contribute to healthier engagement styles in their personal lives as well, which foe some have been negatively affected. This can include more capacity of the psychological workers that the SAPS have access to, workshops on the de-stigmatisation of mental health and perhaps added understanding during training of emotional labour and the effects that continuous exposure to negative emotional labour may have on an individual.

5.4 Areas for further study

Though police work is broadly understood to be physical work, it is evident that emotional labour co-exists with physical labour if not supersede it. Additional research I suggested to contribute to the broader implications of emotional labour in the workplace, especially the dark side of emotional labour. While this body of literature stipulates the existence of the dark side of emotional labour, however, this must be followed by a theme that will seek to demonstrate and extend the research of previously overlooked side of emotional labour such as the dark side to embrace and continue the work of brilliant scholars such as Arlie Hochschild. Emotional

labour is a complex phenomenon with various aspects to explore, the dark side mere just being one of them.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-structured Individual Interview Schedule

- **To explore the emotional perceptions and attitudes of the SAPS officers about the SAPS organisational requirements and working demands.**

1. Why did you choose to join the SAPS? How many years have you worked in the organisation? Please explain.
2. What is your current position in the SAPS? Can you describe the duties you perform for the organisation?
3. Did you receive training before you started working for the organisation? What kind of training did you undergo to be part of the organisation and how did you find this training, is there anything you would limit or change? How do you think your training prepared you for the actual work?
4. In training, were your taught how to think/feel in each situation when engaging with members of the public (to display some emotions and not to display others)? Do you agree with the requirement of the organisation? Please explain.
5. During your training, what did you understand about the service that you are providing? Did the training give the impression that the work was of a physical nature or did they also train you about the emotional nature of the job and how to display certain emotions? Please elaborate.
6. What do you understand by emotional engagement? Do your responsibilities at work require any emotional engagement with your superiors or co-workers? Please elaborate if yes or no.
7. Does your position in the SAPS allow you to freely express your emotions with your co-workers and the members of the public? Please explain.
8. Has there been a situation where you were not able to fulfil the physical and emotional requirements of your daily duties? What did happen to you? Please elaborate.
9. Have the rules changed in any way since you started working in the SAPS? Have this affected you? Please elaborate.
10. Have there been any improvement in armfires or defence tools in the organisation since you started working, such as better guns, defence machines, armament tool, etc.? How has this influenced your practical and emotional experience at work? Please explain.

11. Have you experienced information technology changes in your work requirement? If yes, can this help your organisation to have better control over the population and be more effective with assisting the public? Do you think digitisation has the ability to enhance or negatively affect your emotional experiences at work?

- **To analyse in what occasions, do police officers express anger, disgust, aggression and irritation with the public as part of the organisational requirements, and if they sometimes use these feelings to avoid the rules and disturb social order expressed in the SAPS documents.**

1. On what occasions are you requested to act and incite fear and intimidation to fulfil your organisational role? Please illustrate with examples.
2. Has your organisation required you to be aggressive and/or irritated in particular circumstances with the public? Please explain extensively.
3. Are you able to express openly your feelings of anger and disgust with the public? Does your organisation support you in that regard? Please explain.
4. Do you agree with the SAPS in the need to display such feelings? Do you think that the performance of these emotions has changed your beliefs and personality? Please explain.
5. Beside the possible SAPS requirement, have you ever felt that you cannot control feelings or emotions of anger, aggression and/or irritation when interacting with a member of the public? What was it about? Do you feel you are disturbing the public and avoiding the rules of the organisation? Please explain.
6. Do you think these expressions of anger, aggression and/or irritation has led you to act in a violent or brutal manner towards the public? Please explain.
7. What do you think about the media articles about police violence? Have you experienced such situations? Please explain.
8. Why do you think the police act in a violent manner towards the public? Is it embedded within the culture of the organisation? What do you understand by the SAPS culture?
9. Do you think that the police are more aggressive and violent every day? Why? Please explain.
10. Do you think that police officers are justified by the organisation in the violence and brutality that they inflict on the public? How does the SAPS manage such situations with police officers? Please explain.

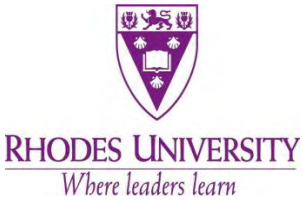
- **To study if the SAPS require from the police officer to act in a rational, neutral and impartial manner when interacting with the public whilst on duty.**

1. Does the SAPS train you to become rational in all moments you are working? Please explain what they do and if you think this is an effective method.
2. Do the SAPS also train you to be absolutely neutral in front of the most trying circumstances suffered by the public? Explain if you have been able to apply such neutral feelings to your work. Please provide examples.
3. How do you think the public perceives your impartial attitude in relation to suffering or any other negative situation experienced by the public? Please explain.
4. Can you describe a situation where your personal emotions have affected your professional duties as a police officer where you were unable to remain neutral? How did you manage this situation?
5. How difficult is to remain neutral in situations where members of the public want to get a reaction from you? What do you do to control your emotions in situations like these? How do you control the emotions of others? Please, explain.
6. Do you think that technology assists you in maintaining you rational, impartial feelings with the public due to people are able to use technology to complete forms or to ask certain questions?
7. Do you think the changes occurring post-apartheid in the SAPS contribute to the acquisition of a more rational, neutral or impartial response from the police officers to the public? Please explain.
8. If so, how do you explain the reoccurring violent and brutal actions of the police officers?
9. Do you think that police culture considers impartiality and impartial responses before the demonstration of violent action? Please explain.

- **To investigate if police officers experience a long-time suppression of anger, frustration and resentment due to interpersonal conflict with other colleagues and/or superiors and how this affects the police officer relationship with the public and in their private sphere.**

1. Do you think that police officers have experienced repetitive problems with members of the SAPS? Have you experienced recurrent problems in your workplace, with your colleagues and superiors? Do you think that in the organisation there is a clear authoritative and powerful structure in place? Or do you feel that you have freedom to discuss your feelings and problems related to your work?
2. Do you feel that you need to supress feelings of anger, frustrations and resentment at your workplace? How does this affect you in your workplace? Please explain.
3. Has this suppression of negative feelings affected the different ways you respond to certain situations? Have these responses changed from when you first started working? How do you react to them now that you've gained some experience?
4. Do you think that some of the rules or regulations of the SAPS brought you resentment or frustrations due to disagreements with them or your colleagues' practices? Have you experienced these emotions for a prolonged period of time? Have they affected you psychologically?
5. Does the organisation have a psychology or social work department prepared to deal with psychological issues or traumas of the police officers? Do you think that these services are useful to police officers? Please explain.
6. Do you feel sometimes the need to leave this profession? What are the main reasons for that?
7. Have these feelings of frustration, resentment and/or anger affected your relationship with your private environment (community, family and friends etc.)? Please explain in detail.
8. What you and other police officers feel in front of a growing level of social violence in the communities? How do they react and prepare for this and how does this affects your work?

Appendix B: Consent Form



PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(Participant)

Project Title: The dark side of emotional labour of the SAPS officers, working in KwaZulu Natal

Fezeka Thwala from the Department of Sociology Rhodes University has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the research project is to provide information about the Emotional Labour experienced whilst working for the organization of the SAPS.

2. The Rhodes University has given ethical clearance to this research project and I have seen/ may request to see the clearance certificate.

3. By participating in this research project, I will be contributing towards the production of academic knowledge of the researchers and the department of Sociology at Rhodes University and contributing to the knowledge of the dark side of emotional labour within the SAPS experienced by police officers.

4. I will participate in the project by responding the questions of the interviews and adding any other piece of information I may think is important.

5. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.

6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.

7. There may be risks associated with my participation in the project. I am aware that

   a. the following risks are associated with my participation: I may feel frustrated and with discomfort when asked to share certain experienced which may be triggering.
   b. the following steps have been taken to prevent the risks: I do not have to answer all questions especially those that I find uncomfortable. If I do not want to continue responding, I can stop any moment.
   c. there is a medium level chance of the risk materializing

8. The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of a research report. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and that my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conduct of the research.

9. I will receive feedback in the form of a written email regarding the results obtained during the study.

10. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Ms. Claudia Martinez Mullen, email: c.martinezmullen@ru.ac.za, office number 046 603 8862.

11. By signing this informed consent declaration, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

12. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

13. Request to take pictures, video and voice recording for this study

I, …….. have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

…… . ……

Participants signature **Date**

RHODES UNIVERSITY

Where leaders learn

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