Money matters:

An anthropological perspective on corruption and consumption in the police

By
Leanne Govindsamy

Student number: 0304353P
Supervisor: Dr Julia Hornberger
Department of Anthropology

Research report presented for the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Witwatersrand

This research paper explores corruption within the South African Police Services, with a focus on non-commissioned police officers working at the Honeydew Police Station. Utilising ethnographic research in observing the spaces in which the police officers worked and conducting interviews with various participants, I was guided towards a specific approach to understanding corruption in the police, one which places class and consumption at the centre of my research. This paper therefore delves into whether class and consumption influences the choices of police officers and any involvement in unlawful activities. By adopting a particular ethnological perspective in the study of corruption, this research paper interrogates often-overlooked aspects of police officers daily lives and experiences which I think are vital in being able to understand corruption in the police.

CONTENTS

Introduction: Why Police Corruption

"The people themselves, as we have seen, had become more cynical than their leaders and were apathetic into the bargain. "Let them eat," was the peoples opinion… The important thing then is to stay alive, if you do you will outlive your present annoyance. The great thing, as the old people have told us, is reminiscence; and only those who survive can have it. Besides, if you survive, who knows? It may be your turn to eat tomorrow. Your son may bring home your share." – ***Chinua Achebe, Man of the People***

The local police station which serves the area in which my family and I reside, regularly appears in the news for all the wrong reasons.[1] The Honeydew Police Station ("the Station") serves a large and diverse community in the North West of Johannesburg, which includes Cosmo City, Honeydew, Zandspruit and parts of Roodepoort, a "fast growing area, both informally and formally."[2] During an oversight inspection at the Station by a member of the Gauteng provincial legislature, Solly Msimanga ("Msimanga"), he found that the under resourced Honeydew Police Station was struggling to ensure resident's safety, having the second highest amount of violent crimes reported in the country, and with 23 922 crimes reported for 2017/18, it was the fourth worst performing police station nationally.[3] Some of the challenges cited by Msimanga included a lack of adequate resources, a high volume of cases, high vacancy rates for detectives and the huge area under its jurisdiction, with some areas having inadequate infrastructure, such as proper roads, making visible policing almost impossible.

The dire situation at the Station is reflective of a larger policing crisis in South Africa, which according to the annual Victims of Crime Survey ("VOCS"), shows that crime has increased, fear has risen and public trust in the criminal justice system has dropped.[4] These statistics indicate that while the general level of crime estimated by the VOCS has been declining during the past five years, it increased over 2016/17 and 2017/18.[5] The failures of the police to

[1] https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-04-02-one-cop-100-cases-problematic-honeydew-police-station-on-solly-msimangas-to-do-list/
[2] https://roodepoortnorthsider.co.za/293147/sollys-plans-for-struggling-honeydew-police-station/
[3] https://www.dagauteng.org.za/2019/04/under-resourced-honeydew-saps-struggles-to-ensure-residents-safety
[4] http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=737&id=5=5
[5] Ibid

effectively address crime is however, not the only source of distrust by the general public, with corruption perceived as being a key problem in the police. In fact, according to the Global Corruption Barometer for 2019,[6] the police were perceived by most or all people as being the most corrupt[7] institution in South Africa.[8]

During an interview, in 2017, with a former station commander for the Station, he was surprisingly forthright in acknowledging the nature and extent of corruption in the South African Police Service, confirming commonly held perceptions about the police and providing invaluable insight into the state of affairs within the police, as it relates to corruption and bribery. One of the most interesting observations made by the former station commander was his emphasis on the importance of an individual's choice. He stated that any individual's participation in corrupt activities was a deliberate choice. This was an observation which I found interesting because it held a simple truth in circumstances which appeared more complex and nuanced but given the station commander's extensive experience in the police force, his observations were also important and relevant. The Brigadier began his training as a police officer in 1993, having almost 25 years of uninterrupted service in the police force in a variety of jurisdictions and contexts, both political and cultural. His observations were therefore important in my construction of a reflective critique of corruption within the police.

According to him, everyone is supposed to have integrity, irrespective of whether they are rich or poor. He stated that "corruption arises not from having too little money but from wanting too much money and that as long as you compare yourself to someone else you will always be at risk of being corrupt". He elaborated on what integrity meant to him, by relating the simple story of a person who gets up at night to get a drink from the fridge, sees a bottle of milk and has to make a decision about whether or not to drink from the bottle. He said that this is the moment that you show integrity, either you drink from the bottle because no one is looking and by doing so, expose your family to any germs you may have, or you drink instead from a glass.

[6] With more than 47,000 citizens surveyed in 35 countries, the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) is the largest, most detailed public opinion survey of citizen views on corruption and bribery in Africa.
[7] Corruption is defined by Transparency International as being the abuse of entrusted power for private gain and can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and sector where it occurs. See https://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption
[8] See https://www.transparency.org/files/content/feature/GCB_Africa_2019_Country_cards.pdf

He also said that his own experience had taught him that "tackling corruption was less about threatening people and more about teaching lessons and giving people guidance so that they could choose the right path as individuals and police officers". In particular, he said that "officers needed to be treated with respect and shown the correct path and that the police mantra of command and control was not useful in dealing with corruption, as lessons on integrity needed to be taught to police officers, flawed human beings as they were and as we all are".

His view was that leaders within the police force had to provide guidance and ensure that police officers are placed in the best possible position to make the correct decisions. This included being provided with financial training in order to manage their finances and become financially literate, and being exposed to examples of good leadership. His views were indicative of a human centred approach to addressing corruption in the police versus the often lauded disciplinary and sanctions driven approach demanded by the public and touted by Ministers and politicians as being the measure of success in addressing corruption even when leaders in the police do not necessarily provide the best examples of integrity (Khumalo, 2018).

In this regard, Hasty (2005:293) notes in her study on corruption in Ghana that, "in general, global strategies of anti-corruption attempt to tighten the grip of the modern rational state through abstract, bureaucratic practices of discipline (such as the courts and codes of conduct), criminalising and trivialising the affective and highly personalised dynamics at the very heart of postcolonial political culture. Such global strategies are bound to fail…Thus only when the act of anti-corruption mimics the very act of corruption itself can the dynamic of desire and discipline be reconfigured in the interest of the state and its political subjects." Hasty's study of the effectiveness of sanctions is important because it aligns with the Brigadier's observation, which places 'highly personalised dynamics' at the heart of understanding corruption.

The difficulty with an investigative and sanctions driven based approach versus one which focuses on understanding the causes of corruption, was further highlighted in an interview with a social worker for the provincial police department. Under privilege of anonymity, the social worker said that corruption in the police is rife and entrenched, affecting varied ranks and

positions, and that for most members, the kickbacks and money "is never enough". The social worker said that almost all police officers would need to be sanctioned if the focus was on discipline and sanctions. It is important to note that both the station commander and the social worker occupy immense positions of trust within the police and that I regarded their views and perspectives as being important in framing my understanding of corruption within the police, especially when access to the daily experiences of non-commissioned police officers were limited for a variety of reasons which are explained in more detail below.

My interviews and observations revealed the complexities in understanding and addressing questions of corruption in the police. Importantly it showed how consumption and class aspirations within the police service could be an important lens from which to view corruption and the 'choices' being made every day by police officers around the country. My interview with the former station commander was incredibly revealing because although he spoke about the individual and focused on appeals to morality and integrity as being part of the solution in addressing corruption, his analysis of corruption in the police was in fact about the choices which police officers make every day, choices which are made on a social basis and which appeared to translate into questions of social aspiration.

His analysis prompted me to ask what it means to want more money and to compare yourself to someone else, what the standards of success or failure within this comparison are, and how an ordinary police officer creates and replicates the relationships or connections to support his or her acquisition of money, goods or favours. What does it mean to have an "inadequate salary" and particularly what does this mean within the police? There are police officers who do not engage in corruption so an "inadequate salary" as such does not explain corruption in a satisfactory manner. Ultimately, the question, which emerged as central to understanding corruption in the police, is whether and to what extent are social and economic aspirations relevant to the choices being made by police officers on a daily basis?

The daily dynamics of consumption and the social aspirations which influence choices, particularly at a station level, have not been considered previously and as a result, we have a

limited understanding of why or how police officers become susceptible to corruption, particularly petty corruption.

Although the value of money in what is termed grand and petty corruption may differ considerably, and some may argue that "petty corruption" is too insignificant to be considered as being detrimental to society or to proper governance and accountability, one cannot ignore the cumulative effect of petty corruption, particularly in relation to the perception of police officers by ordinary people who interact with them at a local level. Also, one cannot isolate the exchange of small amounts of money or goods from the social relationships and networks which support these exchanges. Both the exchanges and the relationships are symbiotic in nature and driven by some need or desire.

Within Weber's western bureaucratic approach (Weber, 1978), corruption of all types is understood as the abuse of public power and resources for public gain and there are various models which aim to explain corruption, especially within the African context. These explanatory models range from crude and moralistic attributions of greed and selfishness to more complex models dealing with embedded cultural practices of corruption which hark back to gift giving and the maintenance of respectful relations within structures of authority and community.

The models of understanding and explaining the existence and prevalence of corruption through morality, greed or gift giving are not in my view satisfactory. Each model presupposes particular tendencies and simplified socio-economic realities, which do not fully explain why one person chooses to engage in corruption whilst another does not. In particular, the moral choices made by each individual are often separated from their social and economic context, which necessarily shapes their moral choices.

Through my research, I have found that in attempting to answer these questions and to understand corruption more generally, one must explore the social conditions which give rise to corruption and importantly the value of both social connections and monetary exchanges

which Sardan (1999) refers to as some of the logics of a "corruption complex". This type of exploratory model may hopefully enable the design of more effective and contextualised solutions to corruption in South Africa.

Therefore, in light of the various unsatisfactory models of explaining corruption and in particular, corruption in the police, I explored the social and socio-economic desires and aspirations of police officers in order to understand whether this model offers the basis of a more nuanced understanding of corruption within the police.

In my ethnographic research, I attempted to explore the layers of social and socio-economic pressure within the police with a view to understanding whether these socio-economic conditions contribute to corruption within the police and I considered whether police officers are at the edge of a social class with aspirations of belonging to a higher social class? Conducting interviews with officials and employees of the police service who were willing to talk to me and spending time in the unrestricted public reception area for the Station, for a few hours per week during July 2018, comprised the extent of my ethnographic research. My research could have been greatly enhanced by better participation and a longer time spent in the field but logistical and access issues prevented me from carrying out the in depth and long term study which I initially intended. However, my research has nevertheless provided an important lens from which to view and analyse the important questions which I set out to interrogate.

Are there particular markers of belonging to a higher social class which could reveal these aspirations and is there an economic fragility or precarity which makes the police particularly susceptible to corruption, in its various forms? I also asked whether the acquisition and distribution of power by the police has an effect on the development and maintenance of social connections. Although there may be aspects of social pressure through networks of police camaraderie that may come to bear on police corruption, I focused on understanding the socio-economic pressures which may make the police susceptible to corruption.

Ultimately the question being considered is whether social pressures, socio-economic and social conditions and social and class aspirations among non-commissioned police officers influence their choices in respect of engaging in the abuse of public resources or power for private gain.

An overview of literature

A modern bureaucracy

Weber deals extensively with the characteristics of a modern bureaucracy which is rigidly rule bound and in terms of which the modern organisation of the civil service segregates official activity from the sphere of private life (Weber, 1978). This ideal bureaucracy is the standard to which most nation states are held and through which a powerful imaginary of the state is produced.

Although Weber's bureaucratic model provides the theoretical framework for this study, and despite the aspirational importance of this model, ultimately the ideal Weberian state must be understood through the lens of the current South African state, a state which appears to have always been an extractive state and where it's everyday legitimacy is questioned and challenged. In understanding the role of police officers and their susceptibility to corruption, we must understand them within the nation state and within society. The officers are not operating in a vacuum of ideal values and the ideal state, in fact they have inherited a multitude of historical problems and they face the challenges of being held to the standards of an ideal Weberian state whilst having to negotiate the reality of an extractive and highly unequal state.

According to Sissener, a narrow definition on corruption makes it difficult to explain how behaviour that transcends Weberian borders of what is deemed acceptable for holders of public office, are seen as legitimate and even laudable to those involved. She goes on to say that in order to explore the legitimacy of various practices, a broader understanding of the phenomenon is essential. This will have to include a contextualised assessment of what practices are the most important *seen from the actors' point of view* (Sissener, 2001:11).

Therefore, perspectives on the anthropology of the state have informed my understanding of the police within a state which has emerged from colonial rule into democracy all within the changing landscape of neo-liberalism and capitalism. The important work of Cooper (2002), Sharma & Gupta (2006), Gupta (1995) and Hyslop (2005) provided an important theoretical framework insofar as understanding the challenges faced by the police. Some of this work focuses on the political history of nation states in Africa while others reveal how ordinary discourse on corruption can situate people's imagination of the state and therefore affect their relationship with state bureaucracy. All of their work illustrates the nuanced and complex context within which police here and around the world operate.

Cooper's work in "Africa since 1940" provides an in depth understanding of Africa in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times and how, many African countries can be regarded as gatekeeper's because they control the interface between domestic and world economies, forging new identities as nation states. Cooper's theory of a gatekeeper state therefore offers a good framework for understanding the processes of power and shifting state – society relationships.

Hyslop shows how administrative and political legacies brought to the present by both the old South African state structures and the new political leadership produce varying types of corruption. Hyslop's examination of our post-apartheid state contextualises this research within a national political dynamic, an essential context for the proper analysis of police in South Africa.

Importantly, both Cooper and Hyslop provide a framework for understanding South Africa as being subject to forces, both internal and external, which come to bear on the ideal Weberian state. It is evident from these readings that the South African state is powerfully imagined as Weberian in nature but as a gatekeeper state, it always has and continues to function as an extractive state. Therefore, one must recognise that although an ideal model exists to which all public officials may strive towards, the actual extractive state provides a very different stage

for state actors, a stage which may or may not lead to the increased susceptibility of such actors to corruption and other illegal activities.

In a deviation from a bureaucratic understanding of state, citizen relations, Smart describes corruption and collusion in Hong Kong and how strict bureaucracy, enabled through legal mechanisms can even give rise to further, more technical abuse, saying that:

> "Opportunistic rent-seekers may find it easier to skirt closer to the limits of legality while still being safely on the legal side when that side is explicitly inscribed. In such circumstances, they can adhere only the letter of the law, without concern for its "spirit". Exact formalisation of what counts as corrupt may make things worse for ordinary people, or for anyone who cannot afford lawyers. If this is a common result, then we should carefully scrutinise reforms intended to end or reduce corruption. Good intentions do not guarantee good and equitable outcomes. Sharp boundaries between corrupt and non-corrupt may offer more impunity to look admirable in the light of bureaucratic measurements of achievement. While governments may change the rules of the game, the rules are transformed through the manoeuvring of citizens."

The socio-economic and political context of South Africa and the police is also important in framing a meaning of corruption and the contested concept of "corruption as a cultural practice". The work of Newham (2002), Haller & Shore (2005), Banfield (1958)) and Lazar (2005) are therefore important in exploring the various definitions and perspectives on corruption.

Newham (2002) deals with station level politics, considering questions around integrity as well as the complexities of adopting a 'zero tolerance' tolerance approach to combating police corruption. His work provides insight into station level politics while looking at the role, which individuals play in negotiating the politics of what he finds to be a highly complicated workplace.

Shore & Haller (2005) provide a great theoretical framework for understanding corruption, making clear the usefulness of the anthropology of corruption, saying that, "we may not be able to unravel the paradoxes surrounding it, but we can learn a great deal about the world by interrogating the idea of corruption and exploring its many different manifestations. Indeed, we would go further than this. Corruption is not only conceptually useful for anthropology; we believe anthropology has much to offer to debates on corruption. In particular, it can help us to understand what corruption *means* in different parts of the world and how it is embedded in everyday life; why intolerance to corruption is greater in some places than others; how it becomes institutionalised and reproduced …" It is incredibly important to note that this research aims to do exactly what is posited in the work of Shore and Haller, and that is to interrogate the idea of corruption and explore its many manifestations. The term corruption, particularly in the police, is used widely in the media and ordinary discourse but its referenced banality, within an institution as important as the police necessitates interrogation.

In a discourse around morality, Banfield (1958) sees backwardness and underdevelopment as a product of the 'moral' basis of certain societies, a colonial discourse relating a lack of morality in the state of development that a society finds itself. This work is useful in prying out issues of morality in relation to the state although it offers little in respect of the ethnology of corruption, which when explored, challenges those same notions of morality.

Banfield's idea of the moral basis of a society is most starkly contrasted with Lazar's work which looks at how ordinary Bolivians define and perceive corruption and which shows how the interaction between perceptions of corruption and the delivery of public works (*obras)* enables Bolivians to imagine themselves as a 'Bolivian people' Lazar (2005). The interaction between people and state which unifies and defines a people is therefore not an interaction which is easily explained in the moral basis of a society especially when linked to development.

Haller (2008), finds that "philosophy, theology and the social and political sciences approach corruption broadly speaking, from two perspectives: structuralist and interactionalist" both of which may be different in detail but which characterise corruption along three premises or basic assumptions: "corruption takes place between the public and private sphere, corruption is an

indicator of instability; and corruption is morally reprehensible and therefore a clandestine activity." In dealing with these basic assumptions, he considers the role of ethnology saying that, "it is, therefore, a genuine task of *Ethnologie* to correlate actualised definitions of corruption with a local understanding of corruption, and on this basis to work out culturally sensitive definitions, for example of corruption as an avoidance of norms and rules considered binding with regard to the practice of power and influence – whether in the political or the economic, the public or the private sphere or in between – by the flow of material, social or symbolic capital."

In regard to the discourse on corruption, Gupta (1995) uses the discourse on corruption in India, in everyday discussions as well as in public culture to ethnographically demonstrate people's situated imaginations of the state. Gupta's work shows the importance of acquiring knowledge about the discursive power of corruption. The different ways in which information about corruption is distributed and discussed, how it is spoken about, reported on or used for political ends was incredibly important when conducting interviews and observing spaces in the field. Due to the difficulty in directly accessing incidents and first-hand accounts of corruption, public and social discourses around corruption become incredibly important in being able to provide an ethnographic account of corruption. Sharma and Gupta (2006:167), raise an important issue when stating that, "at a basic level, how we imagine the state shapes our engagements with it. If, for example, oppositional practices reify "the state" how does that limit their effectiveness? At another level, if boundaries of the state are not given, but culturally produced and historically shifting, then how does one resist "the state"?"

My research was therefore informed by a critical examination of various texts on the anthropology of the state and discourses and perspectives on corruption, however it is important to note that these texts merely frame my research, which is primarily focused on whether certain experiences of social class and certain modes of consumption influence or explain corruption.

Consumption and Class

In understanding issues of class and consumption within the police, I do so by following and examining the markers for social class be they material goods or social connections.

I rely on Bourdieu (1984) to show how class fractions are determined, and how the cultural tastes of a dominant class tend to dominate the tastes of the other social classes, thus forcing individual men and women of economically and culturally dominated classes to conform to certain aesthetic preferences, lest they risk societal disapproval by appearing to be crude, vulgar, and tasteless persons.

Some anthropological research has focused on indebtedness and economic pressure in neo-liberal South Africa and show how burgeoning expenses due to extended family relations, marital and funeral expenses and various other social pressures are affecting South Africans across the salary scales and I draw on this research in order to better understand the economic fragility of policemen and policewomen in our country. In this regard, James (2012) focused on personal economies of wealth, aspiration and indebtedness and found that it is not flashy goods like branded clothes or expensive cars that are being purchased on credit but often items of much greater long term worth and value such as marriage and tertiary education. I question whether indebtedness and social pressure among the police force them to live beyond their means and to seek alternative income streams or alternative social connections which perhaps allow their children to access better schools, create conditions for better food and drink to be offered free of charge or even to enable them to access more prestigious social and sporting clubs.

When social mobility and the ability to break one's class boundaries become of such great importance that any means, available or unavailable, are used to attain it, then these social conditions become conducive to the emergence of corruption and the abuse of power. As indicated, social conditions and societal pressure in relation to consumption were considered by James (2012: 30, 31) in her work around indebtedness, particularly within the black middle class. Participants in her research said that, "people are pressurised by competition in the township, if someone has something, someone else will want to have it, without considering the cost" while another stated "some people want to be equal with other people" and a third

saying “people are challenged by other people, the pressure comes from society.” She also cited the statements of a well-paid officer in a government department who put consumerist aspirations down to the fact that people want to be seen to have the same things as other people and that some people are too inclined to worry about what others think.

In considering the value which is attached to these material goods and social connections, the work of Krige (2012) becomes very important. In this regard, Krige conducted research on the rise of Ponzi schemes and found Bloch & Parry’s (1989) evaluation of production, consumption and exchange in moral terms to be insufficient insofar as there is an under emphasis on larger structural contexts. He considers several factors to have assisted this process, the growing logic of finance in everyday life, including risk taking, the development of price bubbles as the state pushes its redistributive policies while also liberalizing sectors of the economy, positive valuation of wealth and risk taking in new churches, low levels of financial literacy and the value citizens attach to fast upward social mobility – a value that traverses class and race boundaries.

In considering how socio-economic aspirations or the need to belong to a particular “class” has an effect on morality, I considered Sardan (1999) and his work on the cultural embeddedness of a corruption complex. Sardan uses the term moral economy to refer to certain social norms widely represented in modern Africa, which communicate with or influence the practices of corruption. He uses this term to provide a better understanding as to why corruption finds, in contemporary Africa, such a favourable ground for its extension and generalisation, in short for its banalisation.

In dealing with the morality of socio-economic aspirations I have considered the work of Bukuluki (2013) where he examines how in some societies in Uganda, corruption or theft can be acceptable as long as it is perceived to bring benefits to the family, kinship or community. In the same way, I consider Hasty (2005) which shows how “the issue of corruption is grounded in different, sometime conflicting moralities and social desires which are profoundly shaped by local notions of articulation, pressure, and flow and are mobilized by communal desire as well as the material.”

As Zinn (2005:238, 239) states, "it is essential that we recuperate class as an analytical category in the anthropology of corruption…more work needs to be done on class, but it might very well be that striking class differentials and the status hierarchies associated with them actually play a role as both causes and effects of corruption in given settings. For this reason – although this is just an unsubstantiated hunch – I suspect that it is no coincidence that Canada and Scandinavian countries, which consistently seem to feature the least corruption on various indices, are nations which stress egalitarian policies." Zinn therefore states that class and gender should be recuperated as a key analytical category for future projects on corruption and my research paper specifically recuperates class as an analytical category regarding the ethnology of corruption.

I have therefore considered how the state is imagined within the context of modern bureaucracies, taking into account the complexities which arise from historical and current political landscapes, and find that inasmuch as structuralist and interactionalist models for understanding corruption in the modern state (Haller: 2008) is important for framing any discussion around corruption, one must also take into account the actors point of view.

The discourse of corruption around the world, particularly anthropological findings in Latin America, Asia and India, has been instrumental in helping me understand the common threads, which run through how corruption is spoken about and interacted with by actors in varying socio-political contexts. However, such discourse serves to emphasise how, even when the language and gestures of corruption are understood and studied, there is a sense that we are only engaging with the surface of relations between actors in a "corruption complex" as opposed to understanding the actors themselves.

I was however able to rely on Bourdieu, Sardan and Krige in order to inform my work around what corruption means to individuals in their daily lives, with their daily struggles, aspirations and desires. Haller (2008) has been immensely useful in illustrating the importance of ethnological perspectives and insights in researching corruption. Relying on James, Zinn and Hasty, proved immensely useful in critically engaging issues of economic precarity, indebtedness and desire.

Identifying and negotiating a complex field site

The Honeydew Police Station, located in the North-West of Johannesburg in an industrial area just off Beyers Naude Road, was an ideal location for my ethnographic study as it was conveniently located whilst also serving an area comprised of communities which are varied in size and composition. Having obtained permission from the Gauteng Provincial Department for the South African Police Services, I was able to interview station commanders, a social worker and a number of non-commissioned police officers, while also spending time observing the general environment in which they worked for a few hours every week.

Although I attempted to complete my questionnaires and conduct in depth interviews with non-commissioned police officers, there existed a general hesitation to engage with me, even in respect of rather ordinary questions. At least with non-commissioned officers, there existed a general scepticism, which was later explained to me during in an interview with a social worker for the provincial police department. The social worker explained that police camaraderie and commitment to a code of silence would stand in the way of me being able to discuss even questions which were not directly related to corruption and which dealt with issues of consumption. I understood that strict silence around anything to do with how police interacted with money and goods, legally or illegally was the norm and that I would have to rely on participant observation and interviews with more senior ranking officers in order to effectively conduct my research.

I had aimed to understand the police officers social conditions, their hopes, dreams and aspirations and to understand whether such conditions give rise to particular perceptions about corruption including the abuse of power through the development and maintenance of social connections for private gain and benefit. I had prepared questionnaires and surveys which dealt with how they used their salaries and the types of goods which they valued, however these methods were not very effective during my research.

I did however, gain extensive insight from senior ranking officers and the social worker and through participant observation, I was able to identify moments in which issues of consumption and class ideology arose in the context of the ordinary day to day work of the police.

Ethical Considerations

Field research on corruption presents a number of difficulties; one is the interpretation of statements and views presented by the police officers. During the observations at the Station, which consisted of 4 – 5 hours per week over 3 weeks in July 2018, officers were not willing to refer to issues of corruption with any specificity. Many refer to the experiences of friends, to corruption and general terms involving "the other" or some refrain from making any reference to it at all, preferring to focus on the non-involvement of the police in corrupt activity. This presents a great deal of difficulty since it appears that there is a concerted resistance to avoid honest answers to my research questions, often in an effort to protect themselves or the organisation that is the police.

Smart, in his study of low level corruption in Hong Kong also emphasises that corruption is challenging to study and that even leaving aside the fundamental question of what exactly it is and even when people speak frankly about it, their perceptions and narratives of the prevalence and operation of corruption may still be at odds with "reality". Citing De Herdt and Sardan (2015) and Gupta (2012), Smart also finds that although government officials have incentives not to disclose particulars to researchers, long term ethnography can provide excellent material on what is "really going on" behind the party line discourse of conforming to policies and rules (Smart 2018:38). Caplan (2003) deals with a similar issue in a section of book entitled "dodging deceptions: ethics of the anthropological gaze" where he questions the ethics of social science research and finds that such research cannot be used to merely record practices or traditions but that as social analysts we should recognise and realise spaces of culturally creative types of social science.

My focus on socio-economic precarity and social aspirations in respect of the choices which police officers make was challenging but did present an opportunity to access a perspective on corruption that has not been fully explored before.

Chapter outline

Chapter 1

In order to inform my research on corruption and consumption in the police, it was useful to explore the realities of policing and what those realities mean for police officers, particularly in relation to the "choices" which they make. In this chapter, I engage with particular insights around the reality of being a police officer in South Africa, which include socio-political factors as well as the reality of belonging to the working class but having a desire to be part of the middle class, or at the very least, to be perceived to be a part of the middle class. This examination of diverse factors relating to an individual police officers interaction with society, his or her counterparts as well as family and friends, provided a firm basis on which to begin understanding consumption in the police in a more detailed manner.

Chapter 2

In a very revealing interview with a social worker, who provided a perspective on consumption and corruption, previously made invisible by interactions with non-commissioned officers as well as more senior ranking officers, the "choices" of police officers in relation to their social, collegial and institutional constructs become more apparent and complex. The perspective of the social worker is mediated through concern for police officers and the social worker understands and explains that corruption and the "choices" being made by police officers are complex and difficult. This chapter therefore builds upon the factors highlighted as relevant to the daily realities of police officers and allows for a more in-depth understanding of such realities, providing a perspective which would have otherwise remained by hidden within the networks of secrecy that were explained as being prevalent and important within policing structures.

Chapter 3

In order to further reveal the complexities of the "choices" made by police officers, this chapter explores these choices in relation to consumption and morality, with an interview with an acting support head for the Honeydew Police Station, being central to understanding a particular understanding and perspective on consumption and ideals of morality within the police force.

While morality and an appeal to morality in order to prevent and address corruption is understood as insufficient for purposes of understanding the nuanced and complex nature of choices being made by police officers, it is still important to unpack what morality means in this context, as it is raised a number of times as being central to solving the corruption crisis in South Africa and in the police service.

This chapter is therefore incredibly important because it highlights the insufficiency of appeals to morality, no matter how much people in senior positions within the police may think that making such appeals are effective and the "right thing to do".

Chapter 4

Consumption, class and camaraderie emerge as being central to understanding "choices" which are made on a daily basis and the meanings ascribed to these themes are revealed as integral to unlocking the "corruption complex" Sardan (1999). Observations of the daily habits of police officers, particularly during less busy periods also reveal particular interests which provide insight into economic aspirations and desires. This Chapter gives some insight into daily and ordinary interactions of police officers with issues of consumption and desires for ordinary household goods, which are nevertheless seen as a sign of advancement and progression. This chapter is important because it is based on direct interactions with police officers as we well as participant observation and provides a different context and meaning to consumption compared to those described by the former station commander for Honeydew Police station, the senior ranking officer or the social worker.

Chapter 1 – The realities of policing

The South African Police Service is regarded as an immensely corrupt institution, plagued by corrupt leadership, lacking people's trust (Faull, 2018), and perceived to be failing in its efforts to realise the vision, contained in its 2018/19 annual performance plan, for a "*safe and secure environment for all people in South Africa*." (SAPS Annual Performance Plan, 2018/2019).

These issues are however not new, as Newham (2002) highlights, the police force during the apartheid era was not constituted to provide services to a community in a manner consistent with human rights and democracy and given the closed militarist and hierarchical nature of the apartheid police force, corruption remained well hidden. In addition, the amalgamation of approximately 40 000 police officers from the 10 'homeland' police services into the new national police service resulted in the continuation of corruption, as the homeland administrations already had entrenched levels of corruption (Newham 2002:24).

According to 2017 data, there are 102, 059 visible policing officers, with an additional 39, 069 people employed in the 'Detective Service', 9,153 people employed in 'Crime intelligence' and 6,595 employed in 'Protection and Security Services'. These numbers pale however, in comparison to the number of people employed in the private security sector, with 2,36 million security officers reported to be registered with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (Staff writer, Businesstech, 2018). The rise of the private security industry reveals to a large extent, how distrusted our police are and a number of surveys illustrate that bribes and corruption involving police officers were among the main drivers of corruption, with public confidence in the police and judicial system, declining steadily over the years. (Mbude, City Press, 2017).

This distrust of the police, clearly revealed by the astonishing numbers in the private security industry in comparison to the number of police officers, is a major component of understanding the context in which police officers operate. In one rather short conversation with a police officer during my weekly observation in a public waiting area at the Honeydew Police Station,

an officer remarked, on hearing about my research, 'What's the point? The police are not respected by anyone anyway'. He said this as he walked away, not wanting to engage further.

Whether or not he was having a bad day or if these were his long-standing views, I could not be certain but I also observed in this same public waiting area, on numerous occasions, that most members of the public held the same view. They openly expressed their disdain at long waiting times or perceived lack of commitment by police officers to handling their issues, with one member of the public saying that he was sure that if you gave 'them'[9] something they would act quickly enough.

It appeared from my observations in this public waiting area and from numerous statistics about public perceptions of the police, that there is a breakdown of trust between police officers and the general public, a breakdown which appeared to affect how police officers viewed their own role in the police service. The social worker for the provincial department made a number of comments, which provided insight into this issue, saying "police officers don't often feel valued or appreciated by the broader public and so are less concerned with issues relating to the broader public as they are with issues relating to themselves, their families and their colleagues".

The social worker thought that this was important in understanding why police officers made certain choices. She said that "there are often no incentives for serving the public in a lawful manner, with the general public often being rude to them and media always representing them as being corrupt or inept".

I therefore found that police officers are shaped by how they are viewed in society and by the media, making their daily interaction with the public, whom they are supposed to serve, incredibly difficult and layered with considerations of power, respect and disrespect. This, in

[9] I assumed this was a reference to the police officers present in the waiting area on that day as well as a general reference to police officers in South Africa.

my view results in their field of choices being limited to their direct, immediate and personal interests versus the broader community based interests, which police are supposed to serve. This is important, as in the ideal Weberian state (Weber, 1978) officials of the state are rule bound and perform certain bureaucratic functions as the state in relation to the broader public however, the individual desires and aspirations of a state functionary, together with immense discretionary power over public non-state actors reveals complexities which cannot be explained in a rational bureaucracy.

It occurred to me that this was in fact an incredibly important aspect in considering the daily lives and realities of police officers, as their particular status within broader society appeared to be quite different to the status that they enjoyed among each other as colleagues or among their family and friends. The conclusion to be drawn was that some police officers would be more likely to abuse their power in order to gain some private benefit in circumstances where they were expected to be corrupt, where people already distrusted them and where their allegiance was first to their circle of colleagues and their immediate social relations versus the mandate of the police.

In considering the realities of being a police officer in South Africa, we should also not lose sight of the realities of living in a neo-liberal democracy, one in which capital is highly sought after, revered and lauded over. Smart (2018:39) deals with the issue of capital and corruption saying that, "neoliberal times have seen near-universal disdain for corruption paralleled by acclaim for social capital as a cure for social and developmental problems. Overlap between the two phenomena is rarely acknowledged. Networks, trust, obligation and reliance on informal arrangements are all part of both corruption and social capital. Only by assuming that corruption is clearly defined and distinct from social capital is it possible for their simultaneous condemnation and celebration to be maintained."

There is therefore an important added complexity which needs to be considered in assessing corruption in the police. It is vital to acknowledge that police officers in South Africa do not live separately from the rest of the society, as automated extensions of the arm of the state or of officialdom, they exist as all people do and work towards the same aspirations as others do,

particularly within a neo-liberal democracy in which the promise and pursuit of wealth and status underpins economic growth and social status. It also seems that in some instances police officers served their individual and families interests in addition to performing a role within the police that some in society would regard as positive albeit unlawful, further complicating a police officer's realm of decision-making.

Over the course of interviews with the social worker, the former station commander and the senior ranking police officer, the concept of favours for people arose again and again, whether as a perspective on why police officers engage in unlawful activities or as a rejection of the notion as a justification for engaging in such activities. It seemed that favours for people, which were based on connections and networks denoted a positive connotation even when unlawful, as it was seen as "doing the right thing" for people.

Favours seemed to be within the realm of what Yang explores in China as *guanxi,* a set of activities and relationships, its meaning relating to connections but with wider connotations. According to Yang, corruption could be seen as being for selfish, individual gain purposes but *guanxi* practice was used only for reasonable demands and connoted human sentiments, friendship, long-term relationships and the image of people helping one another. (Yang 1994: 62-63).

Similarly, according to Smart, whether or not something is corrupt depends not just on its category but also on its context, the attitude of the perpetrator and the effects of the action. He goes on to state that in some circumstances, corruption was part of local development. Using the example of China during the early reform era, he stated that in circumstances where economies are not in equilibrium, rent seeking on the part of officials may generate new wealth, not just redistribute it, and may contribute to development. He states that 'corruption, like social capital may in certain contexts promote local development' (Smart 2018: 39, 40).

Similarly, in Kondo's research around what favouritism meant in Nepal, (Kondo 1987:18), "helping kin" is known as 'natabad' and helping others as 'crypabad'. *Natabad* and *crypabad*

are translated as favouritism. Kondos considers what favouritism means for Nepalese people in their everyday encounters with central administration. This is compared to how the idea of favouritism is constructed by the Westernised intellectuals to mean corruption, he finds conflict between the two opposing ideologies and argues that, what academics tend to label as instances of corruption, those involved will view as obligations to family and friends. Kondos concludes that because favouritism constitutes a legitimate way of going about things in a highly traditional Hindu culture these practices are not regarded as corruption by the participants.

I am not in any way suggesting that these factors justify a police officer's individual choices to engage in corrupt and unlawful activity, instead I am providing a broader context, drawn from my own observations and the perspectives of those within policing structures, for assessing the choices, which police officers make when it comes to corruption. This context illustrates the complexities which police officer's must navigate in making choices as they are individuals whose lives are defined by so much more than their title as a police officer or their role as a state functionary. In this regard, the daily realities of police officers, their desires, motives and aspirations are often negated by considerations of morality and a strict understanding of what is right and wrong. My research shows that corruption in the police is so much more complex, and that certainly any policy or legislative reform cannot be based on a narrow understanding of what corruption means within the South African police.

Sissener (2001:18) in addressing the value of anthropology in corruption more generally states that: "anthropology has an inventory of methodological tools and analytical approaches appropriate for capturing people's own assessments of courses of action. Using these methods and approaches enables us to disclose what is corruption and what is not corruption seen from the actor's own point of view. Corruption is very much an issue in public debates and everyday conversations both in Africa, Russia and South Asia. The intention has not been to excuse illegal actions by providing an explanation by "culture", but to show that the borderline for acceptable behaviour is not universal. Knowledge of peoples own views and their discourses of corruption provided by anthropologists will bring to light possible discrepancies between official and practical norms and practices. Unless practices are seen as unacceptable to the practitioner, reformations may prove hard to implement. Any "anti-corruption" policy must face up to this."

In considering further, the factors which contribute to police corruption, Newham usefully cites perspectives on the environment in which police officers operate which results in them 'turning a blind eye' to illegitimate markets and exploiting their powers over those that work in these markets. People involved in selling liquor illegally, drug dealing and prostitution and illegal migrants are all vulnerable and marginalised and therefore regarded as 'task environment factors', which lead to the conclusion that 'police corruption arises from the inherent nature of police work' Newham (2002, 25 - 27).

It appears however, that the task environmental factors which form a part of the inherent nature of police work also includes the discretion of police officers in their daily work. In Smart's analysis of corruption involving marine police, squatter control officers and boat squatters in Hong Kong, he finds that anything that is regulated creates opportunities for profits by those with discretion over control of the activity. In this regard, he finds that domains where government tolerated informal practices such as squatting, were particularly prone to corruption and that unlicensed street vendors were perhaps the most vulnerable (Smart 2018:41).

In my view, the wide discretion afforded to police officers form part of the context in which they operate because they interface with the public daily while having immense power and authority to decide on matters of great importance to those who are affected. This discretion both allows for police officers to operate in an unlawful manner whilst also doing the very thing which is circumscribed by law creating immense complexity in respect of the choices which they make and the ways in which those choice are influenced by task environmental factors, their daily lived experiences and other factors which may arise from the inherent nature of police work.

The inevitable question then, is why some police officers engage in corruption whilst others do not. Once again, questions of consumption, social conditions, aspirations and the salaries of police officers become relevant.

In an assessment of whether police salaries were unfair and perhaps too low, it was found that in 2018, constables earned between R175 000 and R213 000, sergeants between R270 000 and warrant officers between R278 000 and R407 000, all positions being non-commissioned ranks which can be attained without post-school training Faull (2018). However, it was also found that there is no "clear link between police salaries, work ethic and abuse of power in South Africa. This, evident from an examination of both relative wages, and relative job access and job security. Reflection on each shows that "employment in the SAPS is immensely valuable." (Faull, 2018)

In addition, Faull states that despite being among the best paid workers in South Africa, senior SAPS officers are regularly found guilty of corruption, with both former national commissioner Jackie Selebi and ex-Western Cape Commissioner Arno Lamoer, earning more than 99% of South Africans, (Faull, 2018).

However, in the my interview with both a social worker for the police and another senior ranking officer at the Honeydew Police Station, the difficulties faced by police officers and their financial constraints and difficulties were acknowledged and recognised, with a consistent conclusion being, at least in relation to lower ranking, non-commissioned officers, that salaries were too low.

The senior ranking officer (Officer) spent a great deal of time explaining the challenges faced by police officers who had limited resources to support their families, extended families and support a particular way of life. There was a particular focus on transportation, with the Officer highlighting the long distances between a police officer's place of residence and where they were stationed, indicating that police officers are expected to work wherever they are stationed, their employment contracts being quite clear about this particular aspect of their work. Their place of residence is not taken into consideration when being placed at various stations, the capacity needs of the station and other executive decision-making, being more important than assessing the distances which police officers had to travel in order to reach their place of work. According to the Officer, this was particularly difficult for female police officers who had to leave township areas under cover of darkness, often at risk of being attacked or raped. The cost

of transportation especially for those living further away from where they were stationed as well as the threats to their own safety, made the entire experience of going to and from work an entirely disruptive, overwhelming and almost unbearable experience.

The Officer emphasised that the issue of transportation is important in explaining why some officers seek other forms of income through corruption, as they operate in an environment where they are expected to be at work at any hour of the night or day, depending on their shift in addition to their journeys being immensely tiring and sometimes humiliating.

It also appeared that taking public transport in a police uniform was also highly problematic, with some police officers feeling embarrassed or uncomfortable and sometimes even threatened during their journeys to work. The Officer indicated, on reflection over this issue, that the police uniform offered protection in some instances but potential threats in other instances while at the same time, going to work in plain clothes, meant that you had to carry a whole set of extra clothes which you needed to change into, whilst also already running the risk of being late for a shift. Linking to the issue of how travelling in uniform made police officers feel uncomfortable, the Officer highlighted the unbearable nature of the experience as being even more unbearable for officers 'given the status of police officers'.

Status, it was explained, was important to police officers who felt that, they should have the means to be able to support the lifestyle that should come with the title of being a police officer, a lifestyle which should be respected and admired by their friends and family and certainly a lifestyle which included having a proper vehicle so that they did not have to take public transport. The Officer said that most police officers, especially of the younger generation, would say, "*Can you imagine, us police officers not having cars and having to take taxis and buses to get to work, so that we can be looked down on by others*."

It is abundantly clear that by virtue of joining the police force, and by being regarded by themselves and those around them as moving into a higher class, the financial demands on police officers increase considerably. There is a perception of moving from one class to another

that triggers a number of other consequences for a police officer such as buying a nice car, or not being seen taking public transportation while dressed in uniform. These issues, which appear at first to be mundane and irrelevant, are in fact very relevant to the social and symbolic capital, which Bourdieu would regard as distinguishing factors for class considerations.

I found the statements of the Officer in relation to status as particularly compelling bearing in mind how Bourdieu (1985), describes capital as being the socially valued goods we all desire and strive to attain, such as money or status.

Status as a concept within a working environment, exists for some as the embodiment of certain qualities and features, a particular manner of dressing or speaking, particular office locations, titles, certain uniforms and importantly for some, the type of vehicle which you drive. The attainment of a particular status is more than just belonging to a particular profession but also about the performance of that status in society and the commodification of that status appears as being centrally important.

Particularly for police officers, belonging to the police means not belonging to a working class of people, and not having to deal with the daily inconveniences which working class people have to contend with, such as public transport. The relativity of social positions is therefore a crucial aspect of understanding what status means in this context. Attaining this status was important and as Hornberger (2018) finds in her study of students who negotiated issues of corruption in applying for their drivers licences, 'moving around in a private car instead of being dependant on informally organised and crowded public transportation provides for security and social discreteness and counts as an indicator of class membership.' She notes that in South Africa, while 'there have been a few attempts at establishing forms of public transportation that are truly public and even appeal to people who have cars, generally speaking, trains, minibus taxis and metro buses are for the working class, who, on top of having to travel long distances, are being further inconvenienced with irregular schedules, overcrowding at peak hours, and lack of security' and that 'of course minibus taxies develop their own vibrant sociality and normativity that often endear them to those travelling on them, but this also precludes the discreteness that marks a certain middle-class way of life.'

Inasmuch as Faull concludes that police officers, even low ranking police officers are paid enough money, an assessment of salary alone does not explain the 'corruption complex' and it is clear that there are certain factors and social conditions which affect the choices made by police officers in respect of how to use their salary which then affects their choices around how to find ways, even unlawful ways, to supplement their income.

The question around "choices" has arisen a number of times and it is clear from the interview with the senior officer that these choices are informed by social conditions and societal expectations. Police officers aspire to a way of life which both supports their policing function whilst also exemplifying their importance and elevated status in society. They regard their position in society as being elevated by the fact of their role as a police officer and expect such position to be accompanied by all the perks and privileges associated with a higher standard of living.

Moving from a working class way of life to a middle class way of life underpins the exploration of a corruption complex and in addition, it appears not only important to move from one class to another but to be perceived to be doing so, making the performance of upward mobility as important as the mobility itself.

This issue is explored in more detail below as I consider more carefully, the practical aspects of consumption and connections or *gaunxi* in the context of those connections being not just in relation rent seeking but also within the context of police camaraderie.

Chapter 2 – No other Choice

This brings us to the observation of the social worker for the provincial police department, who previously highlighted aspects of consumption, stating that for those locked into corrupt conduct, ‘money is never enough’.

A well-dressed, neat and articulate person who displayed a real commitment to the health and wellbeing of police officers, the social worker was easy to reach over the phone and timeous in attending the meeting we arranged. In a large police station boardroom, with sparse well-used furniture, and windows, which looked out into the parking lot and entrance, the police station we arranged to meet at, was unusually quiet, almost peaceful, lacking the hustle and bustle of the Honeydew Police station.

The social worker clearly stated at the onset, that corruption in the South African Police Services, was rife both in junior and senior ranks. It all starts at the very beginning, the social worker stated, when constables fresh from college enter the force. Those who work in the employee, health and wellness department, such as social workers, have the privilege of conducting an array of workshops with these constables, and corruption and ethics in the workplace is standard topic of discussion. The constables, having worked in the field for few months before attending these workshops, most often raise questions about being posted with someone of a higher rank and the difficulties that arise from this situation.

The social worker gave an illustrative account of relationships between constables who are placed with higher-ranking officers, who know the area in which they work much better and who are also very familiar with the communities and business people in the area. The higher-ranking officer would be accustomed to getting certain kickbacks, like a plate of food at a local business which requires the protection of the police, and so provides daily lunches in exchange for such protection. The constable being new, follows the orders of the higher ranking officer, accepts the food for several days, even weeks, slowly becoming accustomed to this routine and

thinking, this is okay, no one is being hurt and they not being asked to do anything unethical. Except, the day does come when the higher-ranking officer, asks for a favour, to make a docket disappear or ignore a blatant crime.

Now the constable is in a difficult situation and moreover, he is aware of several other, possibly grander acts of corruption and abuses of power but is aware of the repercussions of resisting involvement in these acts and the even greater repercussions of speaking out against them. If he doesn't do what the others are doing, he will be thought of as someone not to be trusted, excluded from the circle of officers who are his colleague and friends, even worse, if he speaks out and becomes a whistle-blower, he is branded a sell-out, someone who doesn't care about the fact that the other officers need to pay their bonds, school fees, car loans and generally support their families.

Importantly, breaking allegiance with the other officers could also mean a physical threat to your person, your car could be tampered with or you could be assaulted when making your way back home. There were any number of reasons to both participate in the corruption and to remain silent about others participation, irrespective of whether the petty corruption had dire consequences or eventually morphed into grand corruption.

The social worker indicated that the experience of most constables that attended workshops or meetings, were generally the same and that there was very little that could be done to assist them or advise them. It was clear to me that the social worker struggled with being in a position where members of the police would share personal and confidential information about the struggles which they faced, particularly this particular struggle within the "corruption complex" and that it became a heavy and complex burden for the social worker to carry.

In explaining the conduct of the police officers, both senior and junior in rank, and the psychosocial factors which influenced choices, the concept of a 'black tax' arose a number of times, this being a term used to describe the additional burden placed on working and middle class people who were expected to provide for the basic living expenses of parents and

extended families, particularly those still living in rural areas. The social worker said that police officers did not earn enough money to meet these obligations, which were not just moral but cultural and which defined a person's success and impacted on whether or not they were respected. The statements made by the social worker are in contrast with Faull's assessment of whether or not police officers earn enough money as it takes into account factors which are not ordinarily considered as direct expenses.

The social worker acknowledged that the expense and needs as articulated, were not solely responsible for a police officer's decision to engage in corrupt conduct and it was fully acknowledged that poor financial and consumer choices were another important factor. The social worker provided an example of Constables who resided in the police barracks and who perhaps earned R11, 500 would spend R8000 on a Golf 5 and that is before including expenses such as fuel, insurance and repairs. According to the social worker, these bad decisions were central to police officers being locked into a corruption complex, as a way of life and a standard of living from which they could not escape.

It was explained that all police officers, but particularly newly graduated cadets, want to be able to show people that they "have arrived". In my research, this phrase has arisen in other contexts, particularly during participant observation and it is clear that it denotes a particular meaning, one that aptly captures the movement from working to middle class. It means that a person has made it in life, has accumulated both economic and social capital and is not just fully independent but also rich, in relative terms, and therefore deserving of the respect and admiration of those around him or her.

The social worker stated that "even though financial literacy workshops were held regularly and were available to all police officers, these workshops were never taken seriously, with police officers viewing them as a chore, often bored and inattentive when the workshops were being conducted." The social worker recounted how "at some stations, attendance levels were so low for these mandatory workshops that the station commander had to intervene, in order to ensure that the police officers attended."

Similarly, for the higher-ranking officers, the social worker explained that, once a police officer became accustomed to a particular way of life, inhibitions about ethics and morals dissolve and police officers at this point, become brazen about their participation, demanding more money and going further in returning the favours asked of them. It was explained that, it was at this point that community members would become disgruntled, when even the camaraderie between police officers would break down and the 'system' of corruption would break down sometimes resulting in those involved being reported to anti-corruption channels. An example was given of how, 16 out of 18 people in a single shift were involved in corruption for many years, their involvement enabling their lifestyles and habits and their collective involvement being a guard against any 'snitches'. The two who did not participate refrained from saying anything for fear of being attacked. However, on one single occasion, one of the participants in the corrupt activity was not paid their share and reported the others, resulting in the breakdown of the system of corruption.

It was clear to me that I had, through the mediated concerns articulated by the social worker, obtained, an important insight into the immensely complex considerations, which came to bear on police officers. In considering choices around consumption and class, the statement of the social worker around how new constables found themselves locked into a cycle of corruption, whether through naivety or active participation reveals so much about how difficult it is to assess choice in the context of police corruption. The new arrivals to the police force clearly grapple with how to deal with their senior's involvement in corruption, which involvement then extends to them. Each new class raises this issue as being a serious concern but even with the assistance of the social worker, it does not appear that they are able to escape the cycle of corruption which they find themselves in. It is incredibly interesting to see the complex layers which make up choices in respect of police corruption.

Haller (2008:136) acknowledges the immense importance of anthropology in unpacking these nuanced layers, stating that, "more attention should be paid to the relevance of apparently marginal social practices and secondary social structures for the functioning of the primary political and administrative institutions. *Ethnologie* is well equipped for this. Particularly useful are approaches devoted to customs and rituals that, symbolically and socially create and reinforce indebtedness, including fraternisation rituals and hospitality customs – primarily

gastro-ethnology (who eats with whom?) and the examination of domesticity (who is invited by whom into the personal space of a house?)".

The social worker also confirmed the immense importance of commodities. It appeared that particularly fashionable and highly desired commodities, like a Volkswagen Golf 5, were a key marker for progress and movement from one class into another. Those who join the police force are immediately expected to show that they "have arrived" and that they are no longer struggling financially but in a position to afford not only a car, but a highly desired and expensive car.

There is also appears to be value in collective achievement, so the social workers comments around codes of silence and police camaraderie relate not only to the keeping silent about corruption but also relate to the protection of the group and the protection of the value of accumulated wealth and advancement within and for the group involved. When the social worker speaks of the protection that officers have over one another, the protection and secrecy appear to relate not only to a sense of guilt but also to a sense of genuine concern for disrupting the lifestyle of those in an inner circle.

The value to be attributed to the accumulation of commodities through illegal means are therefore not just an individual concern but within the police, a group concern. It appears that only when the group or members of the group betray the trust of others, that this group concern shifts to an individual concern. Again, Haller (2008:135) is instructive in providing meaning to these arrangements when he states that, "corruption needs to be treated as a comprehensive social fact, that one cannot view it exclusively in legal terms through supposedly a-cultural and a-historical models, but one needs to include the level of everyday practice, the 'indigenous' meanings, values and norms. In these, the tight corset of fixation on the material flow of capital for personal enrichment at the expense of the public welfare is often expanded by the inclusion of social and symbolic forms of capital, as Bourdieu would have it."

For the social worker, the fact of the interview and being able to tell me the details of experiences as it related to corruption and consumption in the police force, appeared to be almost therapeutic, a chance to discuss views long held and carefully thought about. The social worker said that these were such complex issues and that any research which focused on really understanding the people who were facing these issues versus the issue itself, would be of great value.

Chapter 3 – More about Morality

I first met the senior ranking officer, who I mentioned earlier, while she was still stationed at the Honeydew Police station. On a cold winter morning in 2018, I arrived at her office and she was seated upright in her neat, heavily curtained office with its dim lighting, and small high windows, offering no glimpse of the outside. She had a bible on her desk, which was also orderly, as were her files and other documents.

She requested not to be identified during the course of my research, not because anything that she said would implicate her or others in any wrongdoing but because she would be speaking about issues personal to her and about her own private views on the questions I had asked.

She began describing corruption within the police as being "everywhere", she said that "it was quite known how bad corruption in the police is and how so many of our young people joining the police are now also involved." She was very maternal in her mannerisms and her way of speaking about those that she worked with, especially young, female officers, saying several times that "she was very concerned about where things were going and how these young people are getting involved".

She then said that she was a "person of faith, a Christian, not that she believed everyone should be Christian, but most people believe in God and should do the right thing when they are faced with these types of challenges". She had a very clear view about morality being at the centre of making decisions and that everyone should be able to resist corruption and do the right thing when they are faced with difficult choices.

She did however, acknowledge the challenges that face people when making decisions and she described in detail how so many police officers had difficulties in getting to work. As I described earlier, in reference to her statements around transportation, most police officers

were stationed very far from where they lived and so spent a great deal of time and money travelling to and from their homes and the place where they were stationed.

From a class perspective, and based on her description of why having a vehicle was not only important for issues of safety and convenience but was also important because of what others would think of you, it becomes clear that police officers who join the police expect and are expected by others to have certain commodities, which exemplify their movement from one class to higher, more prestigious and respected class.

In this chapter, my focus is again on her statements around transportation but this time, I analyse her interaction with police officers in respect of the transportation issue and how this interaction allows her to offer moral perspectives around their decision-making.

In her explanation of the various challenges being faced by police officers in respect of transportation, she describes how she had attempted to assist some police officers to get to and from work by offering a car pool service in her area. She was however, deeply affected by the situation that police officers found themselves in. She explained how there were a number of issues related to this issue of transportation and distances from work, one being the rate of absenteeism, because sometimes police officers just did not have enough money to get to and from work. She said that "although she was responsible for disciplining police officers for absenteeism, she was very aware that they were just human and found things very difficult". She said that she "just wanted to see them live good and proper lives, especially since they were police officers". She admitted that police officers often confided in her about the true extent of their circumstances, their struggles with work and daily life and how they struggled with making the right choices in life and she said that she was placed in a very difficult situation.

However, she also believed that people had a choice, as she had a choice, and that if you followed certain morals and values, irrespective of what religion you belonged to, and if you lived a simple life, without worrying about what others thought of you, you could be a good

police officer who always did the right thing. She said that she lived a simple life and worked hard and although she understood that other people wanted these things, she always tried, especially with female police officers, to convince them of the value of living a humble life, being faithful to your partner and taking care of your family. She recounted her own path to becoming a senior officer, one that was not easy, and said that if people just did the right thing, they would also be given privileges that made their lives easier. She used the example of police vehicles which used to be made available quite widely for police officers to use but was now restricted because of the way the vehicles were abused for private use. She indicated that there were a number of other perks and benefits which were previously available to police officers and which were done away with as a result of abuse.

She therefore understood and sympathised with police officers and the situations they were placed in but also regarded their own conduct as self-defeating and often undermining any efforts for professional progress.

She firmly believed that police officers could be moral and upright people and make the right decisions, particularly if they belonged to a religion, which could guide these decisions. She was very secure in her beliefs and in her faith and was able to articulate very clearly her reasoning around morality and religious beliefs, which she said should be at the centre of decision making when it came to corruption.

The question which arises is how can one square morality with the complex and layered choices which have been highlighted above. The previous sections have revealed the complexities of these choices and how morality for an individual police officer could also be considered in the context of doing what it is right for him and his family or for upholding his or her reputation as being a successful and "having arrived".

A moral choice for a particular individual could therefore still be an illegal choice, one in which having a nice car and house and being able to support ones family and extended family, and providing for your children's education was important and valued. There are therefore

considerations, which relate to an individual's choice between doing what may be procedurally and legally correct versus doing what is right for their families and creating, sustaining and being loyal to networks of people and connections that support an alternative and illegal stream of income.

The strict moral basis on which the senior ranking officer approaches corruption in the police, in spite of her knowledge of the challenges faced by police officers, perhaps indicates her lack of understanding around the complexity of the choices or perhaps an expectation that police officers are just as supported in their own communities as she is in her religious community.

Perhaps her own religious community provides her with a sense of belonging and recognition which makes her more independent from people who are outside her religious community. She could feel a sense of support and have shared values with her religious community and therefore not care about what people outside her religious community think or feel about her. Therefore, while some police officers felt a sense of community and camaraderie within the police and cared deeply about the shared values and sense of community which arose from those relationships and networks, she could have felt this sense of community with her religious community.

So while she believed in her own ability to always make the right choices and to be able to base those choices on moral grounds, her experience of shared values within her religious community would have allowed her to feel supported in making those choices. However, the police officers who she advised as well as other police officers would not necessarily have belonged to those same religious communities and would therefore have not based their choices on religious or moral grounds.

It would therefore seem incredibly difficult for moral considerations to be widely considered as being the most important and overriding factor when it came to making choices about corruption. It appeared that these considerations were individualistic and presupposed a notion

of support from outside religious communities which support was more important and more valued than the support from a community within the police.

The senior ranking officer's appeal to morality also presupposes that moral considerations to resist corruption based on religious grounds would always be supported within religious communities and that all religious and faith-based communities offered an alternative way of life that called for a humble way of life, with an emphasis on the faith of those communities instead of material wealth.

However, a number of religious and faith-based communities do not advance a humble way of living but in fact, place a premium on wealth accumulation, as being a sign of advancement within such religious community. It may well be that for some police officers, their religious communities regard wealth and status as being part of the broader aims of the religious community, which would in turn add another complex layer of considerations that did not support a moral basis for making a decision to resist corruption. This particular observation also counters Banfield's classification of societies as being backward if decisions in such society were not underpinned by moral considerations (Banfield, 1958).

It becomes clear from having interviewed the senior ranking officer that there is perhaps an expectation from senior members of the police, that mere appeals to integrity and morality could be the silver bullet in resolving corruption and that by influencing junior police officers to act in a more moral and therefore less corrupt manner, that such police officers would respond positively and change their behaviour. However, on her own admission, this sort of moral intervention does not seem to work and she remained deeply concerned about the involvement of more junior police officers in corrupt activities. Moreover, my analysis thus far around how police officers value certain commodities from a class perspective reinforces the limitations of moral appeals in respect of choices on whether or not to engage in corruption.

Chapter 4 – All consuming

During a rather cold winter's day, I visited the Honeydew Police Station, intending to interview some of the police officers however, as usual, I encountered a resistance to my interviews, most likely as a result of the threat that I posed in asking questions, even questions unrelated to corruption directly.

I did however spend my usual weekly observation time at the station. It was not a particularly busy evening, with the entire office in a sort of lull, it being miserable and cold outside. From where I was seated, I could observe one particular officer who had collected a number of catalogues for stores like Game, Makro and Pick n' Pay. The catalogues he had selectively chosen and placed on a pile on his desk, all contained prices and specials for home appliances. From the time I arrived at the station, till the time I left, which was a few hours later, the police officer remained engrossed in slowly, carefully and meticulously going through the catalogues. He resisted attempts at conversation, preferring to trawl through the catalogues. He circled some appliances, while seemingly noting and comparing the prices of others. It appeared that he was completely consumed by his desire to find a specific or several home appliances, to such an extent, that he barely said a word to any of his colleagues. This was also not the first time, I had seen him going through these catalogues, and perhaps because of the lull at the station, it was the first time that I had recognised his fixation with them and the clear desire to acquire some of the items.

It was not so much the fact of going through the catalogues which struck me as interesting, as it was the manner in which police officer went through them, in a meticulous, slow and deliberate fashion, which seemed to altogether consume him.

On another occasion, a different police officer who was looking at similar catalogues which seemed to have been left behind by someone else, was a little more open to speaking to me and said that "there are so many nice things and some good specials come up!" He went on to say, "the problem is everyone wants different things, the kids want the latest T.V because all their

friends now have ‘smart T.V’s but my wife wants the top-loader washing machine and I just want to get a better fridge because the one we have is going to break down any day now.”

It was quite clear that this particular police officer was concerned not only for himself but also for his children and wife and was unsure in how to balance the various demands from his family members. It was also clear that his children’s choices around certain commodities and their desire for a new more expensive T.V was tied to their own status and competition with other children and what would be most impressive to other children. The police officer was therefore not only bound up in his desires to move into a higher social class but was also responsible for his ensuring the various family members could also be seen to be in a different social class, depending on what that meant for them.

He appeared pressured by these choices and it seemed that the first police officer that I described was even more pressured, as he barely spoke during the many hours of going through his catalogues. This pressure is an important part of the ‘corruption complex’ as it illustrates how choices are not limited to a police officer’s individual desire for certain commodities but also by his immediate family’s desire for commodities that they see as being important for improving their status. The pressures are also practical in respect of more convenient washing machines, which the wife of the second police officer regarded as important. These pressures may or may not influence a police officer to engage in corruption but it was clear from the painstaking manner in which these catalogues were examined, that a police officer’s salary does not allow for these goods to be purchased easily and that ‘specials’ on appliances are incredibly important to meet some of these pressures.

Undoubtedly, all salaried workers feel a similar sort of pressure and experience how limiting their salaries are in relation to the commodities, which they desire. However, not all salaried workers are located within a workplace where corruption is as banal as it is in the police force, where the axes of power are so skewed and within an institution which is the least trusted of all state institutions.

As indicated by the social worker, from the time cadets join the police force, they become locked into corruption and they then face their own pressures ranging from transportation difficulties to desires to move into a higher economic and social class, to wanting to be respected and seen as a successful police officer, to being able to provide for family and extended family and fulfilling their roles from a cultural and social perspective.

Importantly, not all salaried workers have the opportunity and discretion afforded to police officers in negotiating bribes and other kickbacks from the general public, on a daily basis. Discretion is necessary within a police force but adds another layer of complexity for decision making as this discretion is not just exercised unilaterally but often, police officers are called to exercise this discretion by members of the public or by other colleagues in the work place, creating networks of trust and obligation underpinned by a system of favours and collegiality (Newham, 2002).

Conclusion – Money Matters

It is abundantly clear from participant observation and interviews with various police officials, including a social worker for the provincial department, that any attempt to understanding corruption in the police has to be foreground in a more careful study and understanding of class and consumption and how this relates to the choices, which police officers make on a daily basis.

I have been able to show how police officers are bound up in perceptions about themselves as police officers, and how they should be viewed, how others should view and respect them and how a lack of respect creates an "othering" of police officers. This "othering" which I have described, makes them more allegiant to each other and their own community of police officers, often to the detriment of serving the community in the ordinary course. My previous conclusion around this was that some police officers would be more likely to abuse their power in order to gain some private benefit in circumstances where they were expected to be corrupt, where people already distrusted them and where their allegiance was first to their circle of colleagues and their immediate social relations versus the mandate of the police.

There are also particular perceptions about what it means to be a police officer. The story of the police officers who feel too embarrassed to take public transport and who decry the possibility of having to take public transport shows that there are so many class ideals and aspirations, which emerge from the fact of being a police officer. These ideals and aspirations make the fact of being a police officer important because certain class identities emerge from the very fact of being a police officer and therefore fundamentally affect the choices of police officers, creating a desire to be rapidly upwardly mobile and to enter a new, higher and more respected class of people.

It follows from this that most police officers are therefore not just interested in a mere vehicle to travel to and from work but are also interested in specific types of expensive vehicles that are valued and admired within their networks and circles. These vehicles indicate social and

symbolic capital and not only denote membership of a certain class but denote belonging to the upper echelons of such class of people.

Police officers also carry the class aspirations of their individual family members and experience the pressures of not only meeting their demands but also demands of other extended family members. These demands arise from the very fact of becoming a police officer and engaging in salaried work and create pressures which far exceed what any police officer can afford to pay for.

The police officer bound up in all these aspirations and desires then finds himself or herself in an environment in which almost everyone accepts bribes and does favours for people. These favours, which are often regarded in quite a positive light, serve to cement a police officer's belonging to a community of police officers and to a larger community of citizens who value police officers for the role that they play in providing some sort of favour or the other. The value to attributed to how police officers feel that they should be respected is therefore of incredible importance in assessing their field of choices.

Appeals to a moral basis for decision making is in the context of a police officer's daily experiences, aspirations, class ideals, desires to belong to and support work, family and extended family networks, as well as to help immediate family members meet their own class aspirations are therefore much more complex and layered than what I could have imagined when setting out to understand what Sardan terms the 'corruption complex'.

I have also used a variety of texts and literature to inform and frame my research and have discovered how little has been written about class and consumption in the context of corruption. Most texts focus on the discourse of corruption or methodologies and perspectives on corruption but stop short in really unpacking what corruption means for individuals who are faced with a slew of choices every day. A study which came close to understanding desires in this context but still focused primarily on discourse was one done by Hasty (2005) in Ghana, in which she examined the public discourse of corruption as well as practices of investigation

and interrogation and attempted to demonstrate the 'dialectic of desire and discipline that punctuates moments of corruption and anti-corruption in Ghana'. She states that the flow of desire - desire for sociality, indigeneity, and political legitimacy as well as material wealth – channelled through and beyond the state and back again stimulates the exercise of discipline, both global and local. Likewise, the rigorous imposition of state discipline, in national and transnational forms, provokes and accelerates those same desires for political, material and sociocultural plenty."

I have therefore found that writings on corruption thus far, have not unpacked what underlies those choices and the how those underlying factors, which are so much broader than concepts of inequality, greed or favouritism, allow for corruption to become commonplace and even normal.

It should however, be noted that my research did have its limitations in that I experienced difficulties in having my questionnaires and surveys filled out, difficulties which were expected and which are common but are nonetheless important to mention. There is therefore, still a great deal to be learned about the more detailed aspects of the commodities being consumed by police officers, the different types of value ascribed to those commodities and the range of aspirations which police officers have in relation to social and symbolic capital as well as desires to belong to a higher economic class. The importance of exploring these aspects of social and economic aspiration has however been clearly highlighted in this paper and the complexities involved in understanding these aspirations have emerged as abundantly and surprisingly clear.

It is undoubtedly clear, that, in the field of anthropology, we need to take issues of class and consumption exceptionally seriously when it comes to understanding corruption. My research has shown that, far from being at the periphery of anthropological analysis, issues of class and consumption need to be at the centre of the study of corruption, particularly in relation corruption in the police where "individual men and women of economically and culturally dominated classes are being forced to conform to certain aesthetic preferences, lest they risk societal disapproval by appearing to be crude, vulgar, and tasteless persons" (Bourdieu 1984).

Ultimately, it appears that when one considers the factors which give rise to those choices around corruption, there appears to be considerations which make choices exceptionally difficult and in some instances, inevitable, giving little leeway for people to make those choices themselves. This brings up a genuine concern around the efficacy of any policy, which focuses on sanction and investigation as being the salve for corruption in the police. We must, if serious about creating long lasting solutions to addressing corruption in the police, first have a much more detailed and nuanced appreciation of the field of choices which police officers make in respect of consumption of commodities and social class and I hope that this study goes some way in unravelling some of that complexity.

Bibliography

AF Robertson. 2006. “The Anthropology of Grey Zones.” *Ethnos* 71 (4): 569–73.

Akhil Gupta. 1995. “Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics and the Imagined State.” *American Ethnologist* 22 (2): 375–402.

———. 2005. “Narrating the State of Corruption.” In *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Haller, Dieter and Chris Shore. London: Pluto Press.

A Kondos. 1987. “The Question of Corruption in Nepal.” *Mankind* 17 (1): 15–29.

Blundo, Giorgio. 2007. “Hidden Acts, Open Talks. How Anthropology Can ‘Observe’ and Describe Corruption.” In *Anthropology of Corruption and the Secrets of Law*, edited by Nuijten, Monique & Anders, Gerhard. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bo Rothstein and Davide Torsello. 2013. “Is Corruption Understood Differently in Different Cultures? Anthropology Meets Political Science.” *Quality of Government, Working Paper Series* 2013:5.

Botello, Rivera and Reding. 2000. “Everything in This Job Is Money: Inside the Mexican Police.” *World Policy Journal* 17 (3): 61–71.

Daniel Jordaan Smith. 2007. *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

Darshan Vijay Vigneswaran. 2011. “Incident Reporting: A Technique for Studying Police Corruption.” *Policing and Society* 21 (2): 190–213.

Davide Torsello. 2011. “The Ethnography of Corruption: Research Themes in Political Anthropology” 2011:2.

Deborah James. 2012a. “Introduction: Popular Economies in South Africa.” *Africa* 82: 1–19.

———. 2012b. “Money-Go-Round: Personal Economies of Wealth, Aspiration and Indebtedness.” *Africa* 82: 20–38.

Detlev Krige. 2012. “Field of Dreams, Field of Schemes: Ponzi Finance and Multi-Level Marketing in South Africa.” *Africa* 82: 69–92.

Dieter Haller & Chris Shore 2012. *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*. Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.

Dorothy Louise Zinn. 2005. “Afterword - Anthropology and Corruption: The State of the Art.” In *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*, 229. Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.

Drackle Dorle. 2005. “"Where Jeeps Come From: Narrative of Corruption in the Alentejo (Southern Portugal).” In *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Haller, Dieter and Chris Shore. London: Pluto Press.

Dusek, Libor, Ortmann, Andreas and Lubomir Lizal. 2004. *Understanding Corruption and Corruptibility through Experiments*.

E Banfield. 1958. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: Free Press.
Edited by Jonathan Mendilow & IIan Peleg. 2014. *Corruption in the Contemporary World: Theory, Practice and Hotspots*. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Faull, A. 2018. "Are South African Police Salaries Fair?" Retrieved from Institute for Security Studies website: https://issafrica.org/iss-today/are-south-african-police-salaries-fair

Frederick Cooper. 2002. *Africa since 1940 - The Past of the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gareth Newham. 2002. "Promoting Police Integrity at Station Level: The Case of the Hillbrow Police Station." *Urban Forum* 13 (3): 21–50.
———. 2005. "Strengthening Democratic Policing in South Africa through Internal Systems for Officer Control." *South African Review of Sociology* 36 (2): 160–77.

Giorgio Blundo & Pierre-Yves Le Meur. 2009. *The Governance of Daily Life in Africa: Ethnographic Explorations of Public and Collective Services*. Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers & VSP.

Haller D. 2008. "Corruption in the Context of the European Welfare State: Ethnological Perspectives" In *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 17: 130-144.

Hornberger, J. 2018. "A Ritual of Corruption: How young middle-class South Africans get their Drivers Licenses" In *Current Anthropology* 59:138.

J Andvig. 2001. *Corruption: Critical Assessments of Contemporary Research*. Christian Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway.

Janine R Wedel. 2012. "Rethinking Corruption in an Age of Ambiguity." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 8: 453–98.

J C Scott. 1972. *Comparative Political Corruption*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Jennifer Hasty. 2005. "The Pleasures of Corruption: Desire and Discipline in Ghanaian Political Culture" 20 (2`): 271–301.

Jonathan Hyslop. 2005. "Political Corruption: Before and After Apartheid." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 (4).

Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria. 2011. "Ordinary States: Everyday Corruption and the Politics of Space in Mumbai." *American Ethnologist* 38 (1): 58–72.

J.P Olivier de Sardan. 1999. "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1): 25–52.

Khumalo, J. 2018. "SAPS launches new strategy to root out corruption within its own ranks" City Press Available at: https://city-press.news24.com/News/saps-launches-new-

strategy-to-root-out-corruption-within-its-own-ranks-20180629 (Accessed on 12 March 2019)

Maribeth Erb. 2011. "Talk of Corruption in Eastern Indonesian Communities: Reactions to Local Government in the Post-Suharto Reform Era." *Asian Journal of Social Sciences* 39 (2): 171–95.

Max Weber. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline in Interpretative Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mbude, P. 2017. "Stats indicate crime is going down, but so is police confidence" City Press Available at: https://city-press.news24.com/News/stats-indicate-crime-is-going-down-but-so-is-police-confidence-20170214 (Accessed on 12 March 2019)

Michael Johnston. 2005. *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Michele Rivkin-Fish. 2005. ""Bribes, Gifts and Unofficial Payments: Rethinking Corruption in Post-Soviet Russian Health Care." In *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

N Bubandt. 2006. "Sorcery, Corruption and the Dangers of Democracy in Indonesia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12: 413–31.

Paul Bukuluki. 2013. "'When I Steal, It Is for the Benefit of Me and You': Is Collectivism Engendering Corruption in Uganda?." *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences* 5: 27–44.

P Bardhan. 1997. "Corruption and Development: A Review of Issues." *Journal of Economic Literature* 35: 1329.

Pierre Bourdieu. 1984. *Distinction, a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Sharma, A and Gupta, A, ed. 2006. *The Anthropology of State: A Reader*. Maldern: Blackwell.

Sian Lazar. 2005. ""Citizen Despite the State: Everyday Corruption and Local Politics in El Alto, Boliva." In *Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

Simon Turner, and Nuijten, Monique & Anders, Gerhard. 2007. "Corruption Narrative and the Power of Concealment: The Case of Burundi's Civil War." In *Anthropology of Corruption and the Secrets of Law*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Sissener, T K. 2001. "Anthropological Perspectives on Corruption" In Working Paper for the Chr. Michelsen Institute 5: 1 - 18

Smart, A. 2018. "The Unbearable Discretion of Street-Level Bureaucrats, Corruption and Collusion in Hong Kong." In *Current Anthropology* 59: 37

South African Police Services. 2018/2019. "Annual Performance Plan" Available at: https://www.saps.gov.za/about/stratframework/strategic_plan/2018_2019/annual_performance_plan_2018_2019_updated.pdf (Accessed on 12 March 2019)

Staff Writer. 2018. "Private Security vs Police officer numbers in South Africa" Businesstech, Available at: https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/251121/private-security-vs-police-officer-numbers-in-south-africa/ (Accessed on 12 March 2019)

Steven Sampson. 2010. "The Anti-Corruption Industry: From Movement to Institution." *Global Crime* 11: 261–78.

Van Wyk I. 2012. *Tata ma chance: On Contingency and the Lottery in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Africa 82: 41 – 68

Yang, M. 2002 "The resilience of Guanxi and its new deployment: A Critique of some new Guanxi scholarship" Chin Quarterly 170: 459 – 476