WHITE HOBBY/ BLACK OPPORTUNITY

Perceptions and motivations of police reservists in Johannesburg

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This article discusses the racialised and dichotomous way in which suburban reservists articulate their motivations for joining the South African Police Service (SAPS); namely, that white reservists are believed to join as a hobby whereas black reservists join for an opportunity to gain employment. Using interviews, this article illustrates how these perspectives are tied to broader societal expectations, which are informed in and through race and class relations. It concludes with a call for further research to build on this largely exploratory research.

South Africa is home to more academic material on policing than any other police service on the continent. However, there is a glaring gap in available literature: the failure to research reservists, despite the reserve being operational since the early 1960s.[1] South African reservists comprise just over 16% of the entire SAPS workforce in Gauteng.[2] However, little is known about why these individuals choose to use their spare time to police their communities.

This article is a portion of findings that came out of research done to understand the perspectives of suburban reservists in Johannesburg. However, the aim of the research was not only to understand their perspectives but to question how such perspectives were shaped by difference, namely through race, gender and class. Owing to space limitations this article focuses on one of the most dominant discourses to emerge during the interviews with the 23 reservists, that is, the racialised way in which motivation for joining was articulated. Due to most of the interviewees being white men, this article is primarily about their views, but it must be noted that the four white women and three black men interviewed did tend to corroborate the views of the white male reservists. Interviewed reservists were of the opinion that black people joined the police reserve in the hope of gaining access to permanent employment, whereas white people joined for fun and excitement.[3]

Constable 2[4] succinctly summed up this view when she stated, 'Most white people do it as a hobby. Most black people are looking for jobs.'[5] These assumptions (or at the very least perceptions of these divergent motivations) can be tied to broader societal expectations, which are informed

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by both racial and gendered rhetoric but are also indicative of varying class positions.[6] I found the prevalence of such a discourse both interesting and unnerving. Why was there such a common belief that white reservists joined for pleasure but black reservists joined out of need? Due to the dominance of this discourse as well as its extremely binary construction I felt it necessary to further deconstruct it.

WHAT IS THE POLICE RESERVE?

In South Africa very little is known about, or has been written on, police reservists or the reserve. In fact, there is no academic material on the reserve and the only written account of reservists' experiences is a colloquial book written by Andrew Brown about his experiences as a reservist in Cape Town.[7]

With this in mind, I was unable to track down any documentation that explicitly stated the start of the reserve. However, I was able to infer that the reserve began in the early 1960s, firstly because Colonel L (white male, 73 years) stated[8] that he started working as a reservist in 1964, two years after it was started in 1962. Secondly, I found a speech in which Minister of Justice JP Vorster opened up the reserve to non-whites (that is, Indian and coloured, not black, people) in February 1962, meaning that the official start of the reserve may have been earlier.[9] Despite the uncertainty regarding the exact start of the reserve, it is not surprising that it was established in the early 1960s, because the country was in a state of emergency following the Sharpeville massacre, the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC), as well as the arrest of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.[10]

A reservist, simply put, is 'a member of the community who performs policing duties or activities for the SAPS on a voluntary basis without being paid for those services.'[11] This article is mainly concerned with A type reservists, as these are the most common types of reservists and are the ones who look and perform like regular police officers while on duty.

Table 1: Types of reservists[12]

Types of reservist	Function and allowances
A	Carry out the same operational duties as regular members
	May wear a uniform
	Undergo training about functional policing
B	Carry out support duties
	May not do functional duties
	May not wear a uniform
	May undergo legal training that pertains to their tasks
C	Have specific skill or expertise than can be utilised by the SAPS (such as divers, doctors, or pilots)
	May wear a uniform if their commander permits it
D	May carry out operational duties in specific sector
	May wear a uniform depending on duties
	Trained in aspects of sector or functional policing

In order to become an A type reservist one has to fulfil several criteria as set out by the SAPS. These include being between the ages of 18 and 70, having a matric (grade 12) certificate, and being willing to undergo both physical and psychometric testing.[14] During the course of the interviews it also emerged that reservists should have access to full-time employment and that the reserve should not be seen as a 'fast track' to becoming a permanent member.[15] These requirements in and of themselves are racialised, gendered and classed, as they are tied to broader societal processes.[16] For example, needing to have a certain level of education and English proficiency may exclude those (and their children) who were previously disadvantaged by Bantu education.[17] Furthermore, it was found in my research that the term 'reservist' implicitly means 'men', as more emphasis tends to be placed on the physical requirements of the job (which, I am told, actually make up a small portion of the work), than administrative skills (which are perceived to be feminine). Although ever present, discussing the gendered ways in which reservists understand their work is beyond the scope of this article. However, in many of the quotes I have italicised the use of masculine orientated words so as to indicate how taken for granted the profession is as being male.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND[18]

In order to analyse both subject formation and broader social practices a mosaic of theories were needed, not only to capture the voices of reservists themselves but also to take into consideration organisational constraints and processes. Below I give a glimpse into the theoretical framework used for my broader research,[19] which considered how reservists' perceptions of their labour are informed through difference, and allowed my analysis to cut across micro, meso, and macro levels while emphasising agency within structural constraints. The theories used included Joan Acker's[20] 'inequality regime', Anne McClintock's[21] 'situated psychoanalysis' and Foucault's[22] concept of 'bio-power'.

The theory of inequality regimes premises that class is both racialised and gendered and that the workplace is a site of 'conflict' or, rather, a place from which inequality and difference are practised and reinforced through various forms of control and compliance. Differential treatment (or inequality, as it were) is based on broader societal processes, but the visibility and legitimacy of said inequalities (whether based on race, gender, class or other social structures) can vary from organisation to organisation.[23] Therefore, inequality regimes is a very context-specific theory and is important for understanding reservists and how they function, as it provides a means of accessing how work, within organisations, is practised through difference. Despite this intersectional[24] approach (looking at class, race, and gender), inequality regimes, as a theory, fails to account for how these differences are articulated in and through discourses.

McClintock[25] shines here, as the psychoanalytical terms she uses such as fetish, disavowal, anachronistic space, and abjection are useful in the analysis of spoken language – although she herself uses them to analyse texts such as diaries and books, as well as images such as adverts and photographs. Nonetheless, her theory (situated psychoanalysis) is sensitive to essentialism and rather focuses on discussing how inequalities are articulated through one another in historically informed but also deeply personal ways. As such, it is the 'no-go zone' between Marx's material history and Freud's psychoanalysis as it seeks to highlight how the individual subject is formed through historically informed discourse and practice. This is important here, as the racialised ways in which motivations are expressed are historically located and loaded with conflicting desires and attachments.

Central to both these theories, and any discussion on inequality, is power. However, for the purposes of this analysis, Foucault's[26] concept of 'bio-power' is particularly useful. For one, it helps to bring the body into the picture. It is necessary to understand how bodies are disciplined (anatomo-politics) and chosen (bio-politics) to perform in the police, as perceptions of race tend to be coupled with preconceived ideas of worth and function. Furthermore, Foucault's concentration on discourse is attractive as it helps to access people's world views through language without losing sight of structures and history.

Hence, this article serves as an analysis of discourse (as opposed to discourse analysis) in that it focuses on the political ways in which certain issues are given prevalence. That is, my analysis will target taken-for-granted assumptions of the interviewed participants, and link them to broader social relations.[27]

METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

During the course of six weeks in March/April 2013 a series of interviews was conducted with reservists operating in suburban Johannesburg. Access was gained through a friend of the author, who is also a reservist. He acted as my gatekeeper, introducing me to reservists he knows. For fear of bias I did not interview my gatekeeper, but he served as a valuable resource during the research process. A further two reservists were found on the professional social media site LinkedIn by sending them messages (after noting they had mentioned reservists in their list of work) to ask whether they would be interested in participating in interviews and could introduce me to more

reservists. These three reservists were all middle-class, white South Africans, living and working in suburban Johannesburg. This had implications for the research as they directed me to their reservist networks, which tended to be racially and geographically homogenous – a noticeable limitation of this study but one that was, unfortunately, unavoidable.[28] The skewed demographic of my sample is clearly evident in tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Individual interview – demographics

Name	Acronym	Type	Age	Gender	Race	Home language	Date of joining	Current status
Constable A	CA	A	34	M	W	English	2001	Inactive since 2010
Constable B	CB	A/C	36	F	W	English	1999	Active
Constable I	CI	A	30	M	B	Setswana	2008	Active
Constable M	CM	D	27	M	B	Sepedi	2008	Permanent from 2009
Constable P	CP	A	66	F	W	English	2001	Active
Constable Q	CQ	A	29	F	W	English	2006	Active
Constable T	CT	A	34	M	W	English	2006/7	Active
Constable W	CW	A	49	M	B	isiXhosa	2006/7	Inactive 6 months
Sergeant R	SR	A	59	M	W	English	1993	Active
Warrant Officer B	WOB	A	64	M	W	English	1996	Active
Captain D	CD	A	63	M	W	Afrikaans	1982	Active
Captain K	CK	A	40	M	W	English	1991	Active
Captain P	CAP	A	39	M	W	English	1994	Active
Colonel L	CL	A	73	M	W	English	1964	Retired 2010

Ordered from lowest rank to highest, then alphabetically.[29]

Table 3: Group interviews – demographics

Name	Acronym	Type	Age	Gender	Race	Home language	Date of joining	Current status
Group 1	**G1**							
Constable R	CR	A	30	M	W	English	2009	Active
Sergeant B	SB	A	45	M	W	English	2001	Active
Sergeant C	SC	A	39	M	W	English	1996	Active
Sergeant Z	SZ	A	42	M	W	English	1996	Active
Group 2	**G2**							
Constable E	CE	A	50	F	W	English	2007	Active
Constable S	CS	D	48	M	W	Afrikaans	2007	Active
Constable Y	CY	A	32	M	W	English	2000	Active
Warrant Office G	WOG	A	38	M	W	English	1995	Active
Captain X	CX	A	65	M	W	English	1982	Active

Ordered according to group, then from lowest to highest rank and alphabetically.[30] *These two groups of reservists were interviewed together and at different stations.*

Table 4: April 2013 – Reservists at five stations in northern/western Johannesburg

Station/area	Black male	Black female	White male	White female	Coloured male	Coloured female	Indian male	Indian female	Total
Randburg	2	0	14	3	1	0	1	0	21
Honeydew	7	9	21	7	3	9	0	0	56
Florida	3	3	5	3	10	2	3	0	29
Roodeport	3	11	9	2	1	0	0	0	26
Honeydew 2	0	0	21	0	1	0	0	0	30
Total	15	23	70	15	16	11	4	0	154

Honeydew cluster stats, SAPS[31]

The overrepresentation of white men in the sample is partly due to an inherent shortcoming of the snowball method, which was used both due to time constraints and because of the organic way it can illustrate affiliations and networks (which tend to be historically and racially constituted). Furthermore, the snowball method was useful because I was conducting interviews in areas that remain predominantly white (that is, northern and western Johannesburg) due to the country's racist past. Table 4 is an indication of how overrepresented these areas are by white reservists, particularly white men.

However, this is not representative of the province. Looking closely at the demographics for reservists currently serving in Gauteng, it is clear that black men make up the majority (73%) – despite interviewees being of the opinion that white male reservists make up the majority of recruits. That said, white men are over-represented in the reserve, making up 17% of reservists, despite only being 7,5% of the total population in Gauteng.

Table 5: April 2013 – Demographics of reservists in Gauteng province

Gender/Race	Black	White	Indian	Coloured	Total
Male	3 030	1 291	116	154	4 591
Female	2 470	394	18	55	2 937
Total	5 500	1 685	134	209	7 528

As provided by the SAPS[33]

I am sensitive that in trying to discuss the motivations for joining the reserve, the voices mainly being heard are those of white male reservists. However, one must be careful to assume that the views of white reservists are homogenous and/or that the views of those coming from other racial groups are not in line, or do not overlap, with those of white reservists. A community (such as reservists or the police more generally) may tend to share common views within the group, meaning that people from different racial backgrounds do not necessarily have different views, although their history and class positions may differ. These views come from within the community and are informed by the community's history and the relationship of members with one another: '[E]ven when we talk in our own words, these words may not be "ours" at all … [because] … within any community there is a finite range of things it is con-ventional or intelligible to say about a given concern.'[34] That is, language is inter-subjective (as opposed to being objective or subjective). It is awarded validity when groups agree on an aspect, and is reinforced again in discourse.

This became evident in that the views of the white female reservists and black male reservists interviewed tended to corroborate those given by the white male reservists. Furthermore, I picked up little conflict with these views during my informal (and largely unstructured) interactions with permanent force members (who were mainly black men and women). The SAPS gave me official approval to carry out observations and talk to permanent members in two of Johannes-burg's police stations. These were not done in a systematic manner, as officers tended to be working when I was around and seemed

uncomfortable in my presence. I rather used the opportunity to learn about police processes as well as to engage in informal discussions with those who were willing, so as to gauge the permanent officers' perspectives of reservists and their working environment.

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Of the 23 reservists interviewed, 17 stated at some point that they had joined the reserve because it was fun, exciting, or they viewed it as a hobby (something they did in their leisure time). On the other hand, only one of the individual interviewees, Constable B (white female, 36 years), did not express the opinion that black reservists joined out of a desire for employment and opportunity.

These were of course not the only motivations to emerge. Many (eight of the 14 individual interviews) said that community engagement and wanting to make a difference informed why they joined. However, several respondents openly stated that, if they were to be honest, they had joined out of a desire for adrenaline and excitement. Take for instance my conversation with Captain D (white male, 63 years) below:

> **CFT: Why did you become a reservist to begin with?**
> CD: The ulterior motive I think was, at that stage, I'm a little ashamed to say, just the adrenaline … To us there's no such thing as a police reservist, when you're booked on duty, you're a policeman full stop. We wear the same uniform, undergo the same training, same weapons, same vehicles, same duty, and same authority. When you booked on duty you are simply a police*man* … If somebody had asked me in those days 'Why do you do this?' I would say something noble sounding like 'well, it's a community service and there's not enough police*men*'. Somebody once commented, 'nonsense, it's the little boy in you still playing cowboys and crooks', and that was probably closer to the truth.[35]

Even though reasons for joining the reserve are complex and often involve processes of subject formation (being seen as a police officer and wanting others to see you that way too), reservists tended to construct reasons for joining in a very binary fashion. However, a comment by Warrant Officer B (white male, 64 years) nicely illustrates some of the other reasons for joining that inform reservists:

> WOB: … you've got us as people who want to serve the community. We want to have fun, we enjoy the camaraderie of being a group and we are a little bit elite from the general public and it's something about the uniform. When we put that uniform on there is a slightly elitist sort of feeling that we are doing something special and you've got the uniform, you've got the gun, albeit the gun is sort of a badge of rank in a matter of speaking, and you go out there to do your bit to protect the society but it's not without altruistic motives in terms of 'Okay that is what I am here for' but there is the excitement and enjoyment of driving fast cars …[36]

Warrant Officer B joined not only to help the community but also out of a desire to feel special ('elitist sort of feeling'), belonging ('camaraderie'), nationalism ('protect society'), and excitement.[37] Although I recognise just how complex the reasons for joining the reserve can be, the fact that the discourse of white hobby/black opportunity was so prevalent means that it requires further attention and should be deconstructed. It is valuable to know, so that changes can be made that help to shift and alter this common perspective and hopefully create a more inclusive working environment.

Why is it thought, overwhelmingly, that one group of people joins the reserve because they think it is fun work, while the other does so for employment? One of the overarching justifications for this was the assumption that white people had better access to higher paying jobs. Take for instance Constable T (white male, 34 years) explaining to me the 'spectrum' of people who join the reserve:

CT: Well, you know, if you look at the reservists, there's a huge spectrum, right from *guys* who are business owners, CEOs of quite big companies, corporates, right down to *guys* who live in rural areas who just want to use the reservists as a stepping stone to become a permanent force, and to get a job. I mean, it's a fact, it's a reality …
CFT: Is that also racially divided, because you're speaking about rural areas?
CT: Ja well, generally there's not that many whites living in rural areas. I mean, there are but I think those whites are just trying to survive, you know, the other *chaps* there are trying to survive, but they're trying to find jobs and things and it's so difficult for people to find jobs, so the police … I think through friends and connections … word of mouth has spread and the *guys* join the reservists, with the bigger picture of becoming a police*man*, and some of them do go far, some of them do very, very well. Others sort of fly by night.[38]

From the above it is clear how higher paying jobs ('CEOs', 'business owners') and suburban areas are articulated as being the domain of white reservists, whereas unemployment ('no jobs') and rural areas are equated with black people.[39] Constable T was by no means the only interviewee to make such deductions. These divisions are not only articulated through employment but also through euphemisms of education. Constable Q (white female, 29 years), for example, answers a question on whether she thinks reservists are better educated than permanent force members – and also answers along racial lines:

CQ: I do. I definitely do because these are people … I find them to be much more well educated. They're directors of companies, they're doctors … not all of them. Okay, the people that I associate myself with. I always question people who are unemployed and wanting to be reservists. I can't understand. I sometimes wonder, you're living in a location, or … maybe it's a trust fund baby, I don't know. But something always just says to me why, if you don't have an income would you now want to volunteer to be a reservist. It's something that's always just stuck very hard in my head. You know, is it a shortcut to becoming a permanent force police*man* …?[40]

Again there is a collapse of professionals ('directors', 'doctors') with white reservists, and the pursuit of employment and poorer areas with black people (thought to live in locations). The idea that black reservists are only looking for employment was not only the opinion of white reservists, in fact, all three black interviewees agreed, such as Constable M (black male, 27 years) and Constable I (black male, 30 years) below:

CM: Most … black reservists wanted to use the reserve as a quick way to become permanent in the police. Because going from reservists to be permanent is easier, you are first preference. So most of them … wanted to be reservists to be permanent.[41]
CFT: And why do you think most black members want to become permanent force members?
CI: I don't know why … Unemployment, like I'm not employed … To get a job. And they are not passionate about the police.
CFT: They are not passionate?
CI: They are not passionate, some. Most of them … are doing crime in the police.[42]

Despite the prevalence of this discourse very few reservists were reflective as to why this division may exist. Rather, they used this perceived difference in motivation as an indication of 'desire to be there'. However, although white people say that they want to be in the reserve, most of them find the pay (or the perception of pay) unsatisfactory and not something they would be willing to accept. This is reflected in the following two conversations:

CFT: Do you think white reservists, the ones you work with you here want to be permanent force members?
CI: To my station, no.
CFT: Why not?
CI: They say [the] salary's too small and they already have too much responsibility. If [the] salary were not small they would love to be.

CFT: So it's not that they don't like the job, it's the money?
CI: The money is a big problem and they've already got their own responsibilities. If the money was okay, believe me most of them would flock … I'm sure.[43]
CY: … This is my passion. If the money were better I would probably be in it but I need …
CFT: How's that for the rest of you? How many of you would be PFs [permanent force]?
CX: Most of us, I think. [CY, CS, and WOG agree.][44]

This, by default, is stating that poor pay is something, societally speaking, that is acceptable for black people or, at the very least, is what they are assumed to have access to. This points to what I would like to call a 'racial dividend' – borrowing from Connell's (2005)[45] patriarchal dividend – in that 'white people, in general, have gained, and continue to gain from the economic and social subordination of black people (both historically and institutionally)'.[46] Constable Q and Constable W (black male, 49 years) were the only two reservists to be somewhat reflective as to their racial dividend. In fact, Constable W provided an astute historical account as to why there may be a racial division in the motivations for people joining the reserve:

CW: We come from a past where we have been stereotyped that there are certain jobs for men, certain jobs for women. It was legislated … ja, I mean in terms of apartheid. There were jobs that were assigned for women and there were jobs that were not for men. There were jobs for blacks and jobs for whites. If you know how the apartheid regime is structured it's the same.[47]

Constable W, in this explanation, has also picked up on the gendered nature of policing and that it is primarily considered the preserve of men.[48] As a result of white reservists' racial dividend they are thought to be better able to afford the 'luxury' of policing:

CA: Also as a general rule from what I have seen the white men are generally a lot more affluent. You know … Not from wealthy areas but they are doing this as a hobby … for whatever reason. To help the community. They've got a basic job, which helps paying for it, and it's generally a much higher paying basic job than most of your black males [have].
CFT: Why do you think that's important?
CA: I think … Effectively it's a luxury item. Your white male is in a much better paying job … can afford to spend the time or buy the time to go reserving as opposed to a black male who's … [a] painter or manages a small team at a plumbing place, and suddenly making ends meet is so much more difficult. So they've got less luxury time to spend in the reserve.[49]

Again we see the triangulation of race and class (and implicitly gender as well). To summarise, 'luxury is reserved for those with the money to have it and here it becomes clear that the variation in white men's motives for joining can also be tied to their better social standing.'[50] This reasoning is abundant, despite people needing to be employed in order to work as reservists. However, deviation in these motivations is not necessarily unfounded. Of the three black reservists interviewed, one (Constable M) was now a permanent member and another (Constable I) was hoping to become one soon. This cannot, of course, be used as an indicator of the behaviour of black reservists more broadly (further research is required here), but the fact that none of the 20 white reservists interviewed were trying to become permanent is telling.

In fact, Constable I (black male, 30 years) provides an interesting example, as the SAPS tends to use people in his position to work full time without payment. Constable I works four days on, four days off with permanent SAPS members. His labour is controlled through the hope and anticipation of possibly gaining access to employment – despite the fact that he has explicitly been told that reservists do not have a fast track to becoming permanent members.[51] Therefore, in a country with high levels of unemployment, the dichotomy white

hobby/black opportunity is not unjustified (even if it is simplistic). In fact, it highlights just how racially divided South African classes are and points to the divisions in value attached to the labour of different groups of people. That said, despite the common view that black people join the reserve for opportunities, these opportunities are not reflected in the hierarchical makeup of the reserve.

Prior to the implementation of the moratorium reservists were able to move up the police's steep hierarchical structure. However, it was only in 1981 that black officers (in the SAPS more broadly) were able to outrank white officers.[52] Since 1994 there have been attempts to correct the unfair racial distribution within the organisation, but if we look at the upper ranks of reservists in Johannesburg as late as 2005 we notice that they remain dominated by white men:

Table 6: February 2005 – Ranks and demographics of reservists in Johannesburg

Rank and group	Black male	Black female	White male	White female	Coloured male	Coloured female	Indian male	Indian female	Total
Snr Super-intendent			2						2
Superinten-dent			5						5
Captain			14	4	1				19
Inspector			34	3	4		1		42
Sergeant	11	1	80	13	7		3		115
Constable	220	70	225	78	34	5	22	4	658
Total	231	71	360	98	46	5	26	4	841

(South African Reserve Police Service, 2004 – Provided by interviewee).[53]

Although the names of the ranks have since changed, the makeup is likely to be similar, especially considering that the moratorium was implemented four years after this was produced, not allowing for enough time for those at the bottom of the structure to move up (one has to do a minimum of two to three years of service to move up a rank). Only white men and women and one coloured man are found in commission-ed ranks (Captain and above). Even in the rank of Sergeant, the second lowest rank, black men are severely under-represented (under 1%). However, Colonel L did say that before the implementation of the moratorium there were interventions to help reshape the demographic of the hierarchy through direct controls that gave preference to 'previously' disadvantaged groups, but these made him feel uneasy:

> CL: I'm apolitical, which the police are, but in spite of being apolitical there's always something that niggles at you. And what niggles you is that the police today, and not only the police, in the country … Automatically if you're black you get pushed, if you're white you don't get pushed, and the trouble is that we have too many people who are there today not because of what their knowledge is or what they can do or the competency, just because they black and they're absolutely useless.[55]

This sense of injustice (black people being 'pushed') is probably felt more intensely by white permanent members than reservists (such as CO1). As Altbeker notes: 'In this organi-sation, more so than any other, these changes have been experienced almost like betrayals of trust, rather than a simple, technical matter of adjusting promotion policies and prospects.'[56]

Despite reservists not feeling as strongly about changes to rank as they do about possible changes to the uniform,[57] the above reinforces the rhetoric of 'we [white people] want to be here' versus 'they [black people] are looking for a job'. But Colonel L is taking it a step further, because not only are black people thought to be becoming reservists for the need of employment but are generally thought (by white reservists) to be given pref-erence when it comes to promotions. Looking at Table 6 it would appear that this is not the case, especially considering that reservist promotions ceased in April 2009.

There are, therefore, numerous unobtrusive controls, such as the hope of employment or a sense of accomplishment, which are shaped by broader social processes. That is, 'compliance is also maintained by self-interest combined with positive feelings of accomplishment.'[58]

CONCLUSION

The prevalence of the belief that black reservists join for opportunities, whereas white reservists join
for excitement because they have the luxury to do so, tells us something about the society in which these individuals live; a society that is characterised by gross inequalities in access to education and employment opportunities, articulated through racial relations and manifested in simplistic constructions as to who belongs where and who is valued, or not. Despite being passionate about the work, the reluctance of white reservists to even consider joining the police full time because of its perceived poor pay is indicative of a group whose labour is worth more due to its racial dividend. This is of course tied to the history of the country, where those disadvantaged by colonisation and the apartheid government were left to grapple with Bantu education and were earmarked for certain types of work (generally the most marginalised and least desired jobs).

Considering the sociological ways in which people come to understand their role within a state organisation such as the SAPS, and how these are informed both by history and personal circumstances, further research is needed in different spaces (townships or rural areas, for instance) to find out how the reasons for joining the reserve are expressed in these spaces. This could help the SAPS in the development of its much anticipated National Instruction (which will speak directly to reservists), but will also have far-reaching implications for community policing and its ability to be successful. Only when policy makers understand why individuals do the work can they decide whether more people should be encouraged to do so, and see how this resource can be given added value.

The exploitation of hopefuls is a trend that both the SAPS and municipal governments should be made aware of – possibly even reconsidering the resistance to fast-tracking some reservists in their desire to become permanent members. Again, this requires further research to understand what the possible backlashes might be. Nonetheless, having unemployed individuals who work for a state organisation four days on, four days off, and who fall through the cracks, is unacceptable.

In sum, this article serves as a starting point in a discussion that merely gives a partial perspective into the common discourses expressed by reservists, but also aims to highlight that these views are socially constructed and informed through axes of difference, such as race.

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NOTES

1. Since April 2009 there has been a moratorium on the recruitment and promotion of reservists and with the anticipation of a new National Instruction, which will likely lift this moratorium (with conditions), now is an exciting time to consider reservists and their roles in the SAPS. Furthermore, looking at the ways in which these motivations are racialised may indeed help policy makers and other practitioners grapple with the complexities of people's motivations for joining.
2. Claudia Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference: the perspectives of Johannesburg's suburban reservists and their role in the SAPS, Appendix 1, Masters thesis available from Lund university's thesis database, http://www.lunduniversity.lu.se/o.o.i.s?id=24965&postid=3806208. This information was provided through email correspondence with the SAPS.
3. In the transcripted interviews I have endeavoured to exactly reflect the original tone and flow of the conversation; however, the quotes used in this article have been slightly edited for readability and to remain in line with SACQ guidelines.
4. Constable 2 is a permanent member whom I spoke to when I was at a station doing observations in the CSC. Permanent members were spoken to on an ad-hoc basis (not organised interviews) during ride-alongs and when I was doing station observations to help my own knowledge of policing. Numbers are used to distinguish permanent members from reservists (where I make use of letters).
5. Station visit 1, 2.
6. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 32-35.

7. Andrew Brown, *Street blues: the experiences of a reluctant policeman*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2008.
8. See the section below titled 'methodology' for a detailed discussion of the research methods.
9. BJ Vorster, Minister of Justice, announces extensive security measures following the Sharpeville Massacre, South African History Online (SAHO), http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/bj-vorster-minister-justice-announces-extensive-security-measures-following-sharpeville- (accessed 8 March 2013).
10. Timeline in Andrew Faull, *Behind the badge: the untold stories of South Africa's police service members*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2010, 285. For more on the history of reservists and the SAPS more broadly, as well as how they functioned in and through difference, see Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 26-30.
11. How to become a reservist, SAPS, http://www.saps.gov.za/careers/become_a_reservist.htm (accessed 15 January 2013).
12. Ibid.
13. This category of reservist came about prior to the 2010 Soccer World Cup as a means of bolstering policing presence. Many have since converted to A reservists.
14. Who may become a reservist, SAPS, http://www.saps.gov.za/comm_pol/reservists/reservist_who.htm (accessed 15 January 2013).
15. The exclusion of these on the SAPS website is open to speculation but may be as a result of the 'lowered standards' used when recruiting D reservists prior to the 2010 Soccer World Cup.
16. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 39.
17. Bantu Education Act No 47, South African History Online (SAHO), http://www.sahistory.org.za/bantu-education-act-no-47-1953.
18. For a more detailed discussion on the theories used to analyse these findings please consult Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference.
19. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference.
20. Joan Acker, *Class questions: feminist answers*, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006.
21. Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*, London: Routledge, 1995.
22. Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality, volume 1: an introduction*, translated from the French by R. Hurley, New York: Random House, 1978.
23. Acker, *Class questions: feminist answers*, 111-129.
24. A term first coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color, *Stanford Law Review* 43(6) (1991), 1241-1299.
25. McClintock, *Imperial leather*.
26. Foucault, *The history of sexuality*, Volume 1.
27. Carol Lee Bacchi, Discourse, discourse everywhere: subject "agency" in feminist discourse methodology, *Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3) (2005), 198-209.
28. During the data gathering stage of this research I only had six weeks (which was later extended to seven) to gain access to this community. While in Sweden I had managed to make contact with the three reservists mentioned but only one interview had been set up prior to my arrival in South Africa. This also had to do with reservists wanting to speak to me face-to-face before committing to engaging in such research. Once in South Africa I relied heavily on the networks of the reservists I had already gained access to and due to the limitations of the mini-thesis timeline given to us at Lund University I did not have more time to go into adjacent areas where I could better access reservists of different demographics. Furthermore, while in Johannesburg I found my days so packed with interviews, visits to the police station and ride-alongs that it was not practically possible to fit in any further interviews. It is my hope that now back in South Africa I will be able to further my research and fix this gaping hole in my research.
29. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 17.
30. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 18.
31. See Appendix 4 in Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference. Note: These statistics were not found in an official SAPS publication but were provided by a reliable source. I have no reason to doubt the legitimacy of these figures.
32. As provided by the SAPS in email correspondence: Maswangani, 'Feedback: statistics on Gauteng reserve police: Ms Forster-Towne'. See Appendix 3 in Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference.
33. Ibid.
34. Deborah Cameron, *Working with spoken discourse*, London: Sage Publications, 2011.
35. Captain D, 5.
36. Warrant Officer B, 37.
37. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 32.
38. Constable T, 3-4.
39. It is important to note here that although this discussion is on racial constructions these are articulated through gender – that is, policing is seen as the domain of men.
40. Constable Q, 24.
41. Constable M, 10.
42. Constable I, 4.
43. Ibid.
44. Group 2, 14.
45. Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities*, (Second Edition), Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005, 70.
46. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 34.
47. Constable W, 3.
48. Although many men join for different reasons, which are articulated through racial and class processes, these motivations are also implicitly articulated through gender. This is a story about men (as could be seen from the male orientated words used within quotes) and women are alien or anomalies in these stories. Although this article has focused primarily on the relationship and coming into being in and through of race and class, other social processes and structures further influence their articulation – such as gender, able-bodism, sexuality, age and ethnicity. However, these were beyond the scope of the paper. Nonetheless, you can view a more detailed discussion on gender in Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference.
49. Constable A, 19.
50. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 35.
51. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 53-54.
52. Julia Hornberger, *Policing and human rights: the meaning of violence and justice in the everyday policing of Johannesburg*, London: Routledge, 2011, 32.
53. Note: These statistics were not found in an official SAPS publication but were provided by a reliable source. I have no reason to doubt the legitimacy of these figures.

54. Acker, *Class questions: feminist answers*, 122.
55. Colonel L, 5.
56. Antony Altbeker, *The dirty work of democracy: a year on the streets with the SAPS*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2005, 177.
57. Forster-Towne, Informed in and through difference, 46-55.
58. Acker, *Class questions: feminist answers*, 124.