

Occupational Stress Among Kenyan Police:
A Case study of Police officers in Nairobi
Province.

By

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faculty of arts; in partial fulfillment for the requirement of the
degree of Master of Arts (Sociology – Counselling option) of the
University of Nairobi.



DECLARATION

I **Wangui Nyaga Eunice** declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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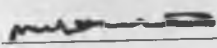
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This Research Project has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

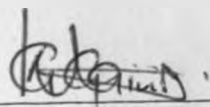
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DEDICATION

To my Loving family;

Husband: Nyaga Mwaniki, and Children: Wanjiru Nyaga, Nyaruai Nyaga, and
Mwaniki Nyaga;

For their understanding and support as they coped with the challenges of a
busy wife and mother respectively.

This work is also dedicated to the police' families who encounter a lot of
challenges as officers risk their lives on the line of service to all.

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I cannot forget the profitable discussions with the various officers commanding police stations that were visited. I want to express my deep thanks to the many respondents of this study – my brothers in blue – who willingly, patiently and generously shared pertinent information that made the study a success. Now I know that behind the badge are real, valuable human persons.

My utmost regards and radiant tribute however go to my family. My father and mother visited me in the middle of the tribulation of my project. They understood when I could not sit with them and went to do the reading and writing. My husband, Nyaga exercised patience with the seemingly everlasting mirage of my project and always hoped to see the light at the end of the tunnel. My children Wanjiru, Nyaruai and Mwaniki were endlessly supportive, understanding and helpful. They are commended for remaining positive and focused on their school work even when I had no time to sit with them or attend school meetings. I thank Muthoni, my house help for being consistently supportive throughout the duration of my course.

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In the final analysis the flaws and limitations are entirely my responsibility and I must bear the brunt of the blame for them all.

ABSTRACT

The study focused on the problem of occupational stress among Kenyan police officers. Using the case of six police stations from Nairobi area, respondents were interviewed to answer the overall research questions on the individual, operational and organizational factors that lead to occupational stress among police officers in Nairobi. The study was bolted on one general objective which aimed at exploring the problem of occupational stress among police in Kenya. More specifically, the study attempted to establish the extent of occupational stress among Kenyan police, find out how the problem of occupational stress affects performance of the police in Kenya and identify viable measures that can help the Kenyan Police cope with the problem of occupational stress. This study is guided by two theories namely: psychoanalytic and rational emotive behavioural theory.

The study adopted simple random and stratified sampling techniques to draw a sample of 90 respondents. Quantitative and qualitative data were obtained from the respondents using semi-structured study questionnaires and unstructured key informant interview guides. Percentage, frequencies and measures of central tendency were used to analyze quantitative while qualitative data were processed using content and interpretive analysis. The generated data were used to answer the study's three questions which established the extent of the problem of occupational stress among Kenyan police, its effects on police performance and viable strategic measures that can be used to help officers cope with the problem.

The survey findings confirmed that Kenyan police are stressed and highlighted the existence, symptoms and causes of occupational stress among officers. Both operational and organizational sources of stress were prevalent. Further, the findings revealed that perception of presence or absence of occupational stress among the police is dependent on the age, length of service, rank and category of the officer. Both male and female police officers highly perceived prevalence of occupational stressors. The study also established that low morale/motivation led to lowered job satisfaction and hence reduced productivity. Both negative and positive coping strategies were identified and the viable ones were commended. Based on the study's findings, several recommendations were made. There is need to improve the living and working conditions especially housing, transport and supplies, increase personnel numbers, offer training in stress and anger management as well as basic counselling skills and professional ethics. Areas for further research include: establishing how the Kenyan justice system affects police performance, role of Psychological counselling in policing and a national assessment of occupational stress in the police.

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ACRONYMS USED IN THE STUDY

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

B.E.A: British East Africa

CHD: Coronary Heart Disease

CID: Criminal Investigation Department

CIS: Critical Incident Debriefing

GSU: General Service Unit

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

I.B.E.A.C: Imperial British East Africa Company

KANU : Kenya African National Union

NCBD: Nairobi Central Business District

NCOs: Non Commissioned Officers

NIOSH: National Health Institute for occupational Safety and Health.

PAT: People Against Torture

PTSD: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Introduction

For sometime now the police force in Kenya has been the subject of ridicule and criticism because of their failure to meet public expectations in their performance. In the eyes of the public, their performance is characterized by negligence, hostility, existence of individual defects as well as lack of professionalism. The Kenya police has, on several occasions been reported in the media as a force that seriously needs to restore its proper image (Daily Nation Editorial, 2001). It's responsibilities seem to overwhelm it and it appears to have been invaded by the very elements of crime it is supposed to fight. This is a report for research work in Kenya to investigate the problems facing the disciplined forces in Kenya with a special focus on occupational stress among the police officers working in Nairobi province in Kenya.

According to Human Rights Watch, (1997), law enforcement officials who police the streets and carry out arrests of street children, demonstrate brutal attitudes towards them, abuse and exploit the children with impunity. Any adult of sound mind would protect children and hence the arising questions about police mental state. People Against Torture (PAT) in Kenya, documented at least 70 cases of death by torture in 2001 and 11 such deaths in the first three months of 2002. Most cases of torture are said to occur when officers attempt to extract confessions by force among crime suspects in Kenya. Sometimes poorly paid officers torture suspects to extort bribes. In the past, they tortured poor farmers agitating for the right to bypass corrupt parastatal marketing boards and sell their own produce (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2000). How poor pay translates into police brutality, may be a stress issue.

Another astonishing case of police misconduct is that of Paul Kimani Wambiru, who was arrested and tortured at the Nyeri Police Station for allegedly stealing Ksh28,000 (U.S.\$400). He died on March 21, 2002. A post-mortem examination concluded that Wambiru died from multiple injuries including a ruptured bladder and small intestines and crushed testicles (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Police performance has left a lot to be desired.

Regular police officers, rapid response teams, and local administrative police are widely viewed as operating on a "shoot to kill" policy. The Kenya Human Rights Commission reported that Kenyan police killed 251 people in 2001, compared with 198 people the year before (U.S Department, 2001). In July 2001, police dragged seven suspects off a Nairobi bus and shot them execution-style in full public view (Daily Nation, 2001). In another case that drew public outrage, police officers in Thika beat six prisoners to death in a police cell in October 2001. The Daily Nation, reported a dramatic rise in killings by police in 2001- an average of 21 victims a month, up from 15 a month in the 3 previous years. In 2001 year, 9 out of 10 Kenyans who were shot dead were victims of the police. Those killed were either robbery suspects or innocent victims of trigger-happy police officers (Leyan, 2002). Despite many news stories and editorials about police cruelty and energetic activism by human rights organizations since then, some police officers continue to act with impunity. This study will find out why trained officers do these things and whether stress could be a contributing factor.

One must be fair. Among the police there certainly are diligent, honest and committed officers. In Kenya, there has been commissions appointed to investigate the rising crime rate (see Mwangangi et al, 1998) but little work has been done to find out what would assist the police perform their work more efficiently. Improving security and service delivery to the Kenyan society depends on a healthy police force. In the literature review section, various factors have

been identified and hypothesized as causes of occupational stress: the characteristics of the job itself, the role of the person and or job in the organization; the nature of the relationships at work and the problems associated with the interface between the organization and outside world e.g work versus family (Cooper, 1981; Sauter, Murphy & Hurrell, 1990). Little information is available regarding Kenyan police perception of their work, the adjustments they make about their career and the factors likely to cause stress.

Certain people are exposed to critical or traumatic events as part of their occupational roles as in police work. What makes police work unique, with regards to stress, is the hazardous and stressful environments of investigations and arrests of law breakers, the organizational and work stressors, the people served by police officers, the officers' family environment, and the toxicity of the criminal justice system (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Bartol 1995; Berkeley Planning Associates 1977:865; Maslach and Jackson 1979; Terry 1981; Stratton 1984:113-118; Graf 1986). The American Institute of Stress identified police work as one of the top ten most stress producing jobs (*Newsweek*, April 25, 1988:43). Research has shown that they are among the workers whose exposure to potentially traumatic events is part of their professional duty as they work to help the primary victims of crime, accident or disaster (Stephen, 1997). Although law enforcement officers deal with stressful situations in the normal course of their duties, excessive stress on individual officers may impair their ability to carry out their responsibilities. In addition to the impact on individuals, excessive stress on officers means that the police force they serve suffers a diminished capacity to serve the public. Therefore, in order to keep the police force operating at optimal levels, administrators must be able to identify the causes of dysfunctional stress on individual officers and take effective action to amend its effects. This study was intended to assist in this sense.

Much of the contemporary literature on the causes of law enforcement stress focuses on factors personal to the individual officer. However, other researchers suggest that an officer's ability to cope with this stress is hindered by the *structure and operation* of the organization within which he or she works. The feelings that officers carry with them after emotionally charged incidents may represent a more enduring source of stress for any human being let alone the police. In Kenya, the link between police occupational stress and their work performance is not documented despite the highly publicized criticism. Since the Police in Kenya are not doing work that is different from other police elsewhere, the above studies call for a rethink about the problem of occupational stress among the officers.

Mburu, (2000) says that some Kenyan police officers leave their families in rural areas to avoid shame of shared and congested houses. They then get lonely and resort to heavy drinking. Sewell, (1981) and Blackmore, (1978) have something about this behaviour and they say that the high rates of alcohol use among police are one reflection of unmanaged emotional stress. Mburu, (2000) observes that in the process, they pick up prostitutes who may be infected with HIV/ADS, the women are shared by the officers and the result is devastating. While every profession is affected by the problem of HIV/AIDS, the above readings suggest a relationship between stress, family problems and HIV/AIDS, hence the need to investigate police stress.

According to Muchinsky, (2000) a large amount of research has been conducted across many disciplines on work-stress. Work has been done to identify the full range of potential stressors acting on police at work, effects of stressors on both the physical and emotional well being of police officers. However few studies have been done to explore the same aspects of stress among police in Africa, and quite negligible of such work has been done among Kenya policemen. Negligible studies have been done on emerging sociological and psychological problems among police in Kenya.

1.2 Problem Statement

Why on earth would law enforcement officers be seen as a symbol of the crimes and gangsters they are supposed to be fighting? Under the former KANU regime, before December 2002, the Kenyan police were accused of taking bribes, of robbery, carjacking and all sorts of crimes in the country. The NARC government promised a new and modern police force in what the party's politicians described as a new democratic Kenya. According to Daily Nation, July 22, 2003, the police salaries have been reviewed to match up to the other civil servants. But fifteen months after, the Kenya police officer has not been able to shed off the unruly image. This is a contradiction of police roles and responsibilities. So what problems do police officers face in the course of delivery of their services? Despite the 'hue and cry', little has been done to find out why they commit these misdeeds. The task of law enforcers is to ensure that the law and the legislation embodying people's rights are obeyed. Mutunga, (1990), says that in Kenya the democratic process demands that the police officers act according to the law and respect legal procedures. What has been hindering police from delivering as a disciplined force that it is said to be?

It is interesting to note that shift work, unexpected overtime, anxiety about safety and lost holidays characterize other professions like medical, air traffic and so on. Members of these professions go through a lot of stress yet no blunders equal to those from police are reported. While the above factors may constitute formidable stressors in the private lives of Police officers there seems to be much more than meets the eye. It is assumed that the people hired to do police work have sufficient intelligence and presence of mind to deal with risky situations created by criminals without destroying the evidence or killing suspects. The police are only part of the justice system, not the whole of it. Mistakes by police are very costly, not only to individuals but also to society. Nothing seems to have been done to try and find out why the police would

behave in total disregard of the law which they are supposed to safeguard. This study sought to answer questions regarding occupational stress and related factors unique to police force.

According to Phombeah, (2003), Police officers are at times required to risk their lives in order to uphold their duty-calling motto. Against these risks that they take, there is need to establish the motivating measures that are taken to keep them going before they burn down under stress. It is said that the problems facing the police officers in Kenya and their families include: congestion and room sharing by officers and their families, which promote frustration, immorality, the spread of HIV/AIDS and broken families, less vehicles and fuel (Mugumo Munene, 2003). It would be interesting for the researcher to establish the connection between police morale and the conditions of service.

According to Bruce, (2003), improvements in conditions of police service may be linked to improvement in service to the community. This means that the implications of public criticisms to police occupational stress need to be analyzed. In short, police face many heightened job-related demands while at the same time public expectations regarding personal and professional conduct appear to be rising. During a police career, the men and women of the force are exposed to distressing events that go far beyond the experience of an ordinary citizen. Officers must deal with the constant fear of serious injury or death. This fear, usually denied by most officers, is still at the back of their minds (Anderson, Swenson, and Clay 1995:75). Evidently there is dire need to uncover the actual source of occupational stress among police officers and the intervention strategies available in the force. Although not all of police work is stressful, the stressful experiences that do occur appear to be most often extreme and unexpected. Police officers feel the need to be in a constant state of physical and psychological readiness (Alkus and Padesky 1983:55) to deal with the violence inherent in the job, knowing that little, if anything can be done

to reduce this particular stressor. This study sought to review the various factors that determine a police officer's ability to cope with job stressors.

Gachare (2000), in a study that looked at occupational stress in management consulting firms in Nairobi, observes that organizations recognize the existence of occupational stress but think that it is the employees responsibility to balance their life in and outside the office to minimize stress. The researcher wonders whether the police department is aware that the officers experience stress, and nothing is done about it. Smith (1998) found that organizations sometimes ignore stress related illnesses because they are not the sort of risks that bring the business down such as things like fraud. It is quite interesting to note that a lot has been said about policing in Kenya and very few people seem to remember that policing is a job like any other, done by human beings with needs and vulnerabilities like any other employees. Ng'ang'a (2001) in a research looking at the effects of employee stress within Unilever Kenya found that most stressful job situations arose from workload, conflict between workers and management in the working area. This study is an attempt to establish factors that are associated with police occupational stress. It is important to establish whether or not occupational stress play a major part in causing police poor work performance. Information obtained from the proposed study would be used to help understand whether police face stress in the course of their work. The study is guided by the following research questions.

1. To what extent do Kenyan police face the problem of occupational stress and what factors are associated with occupational stress?
2. How does the problem of occupational stress affect the performance of the police in Kenya?
3. What viable measures can be implemented to enable the Kenyan Police cope with the problem of occupational stress?

1.3 General and Specific Objectives of the study.

The main objective of this research is to establish whether or not the problem of occupational stress is prevalent among the police force in Kenya.

The specific objectives of this study are to:

1. Establish the extent of occupational stress among the Kenyan police
2. Identify factors that explain prevalence of occupational stress.
3. To find out how the problem of occupational stress affects performance of the police in Kenya.
4. To identify viable measures that can help the Kenyan Police cope with the problem of occupational stress.

1.4 Rationale for the Study

This study can be justified on many grounds, some of which are outlined below.

There have been so many public complaints through local and international media about poor work performance among police officers in Kenya. Perhaps we condemn them without knowing the problems they face. This study is meant to enlighten Kenyans on the needs of the police and how they can be helped to deal with their problems. Kenyan police have been working under poor conditions. In the light of this, the study attempts to establish how police working environment has affected performance of individual officers. Police officers have found themselves standing accused of unimaginable atrocities in the dock of public opinion probably because little is known about them. Accusations and criticisms can be formidable sources of negative reactions

The role of the police in Kenya should go through a transformation to reflect the economic, social and technological changes in the community and the assertion of individual rights within a

democracy. A light thrown on the link between stress and police work performance will inform policy on what needs to be done to revamp the Kenya police force and give it a new face. The police reform process will quickly lose legitimacy unless it incorporates measures which will improve police health, morale and public confidence. It is important to improve the welfare of the police force with speed since they play a critical role in ensuring that there is enough security for economic growth. Security is paramount in guaranteeing the generation of wealth. This will provide equal opportunities for our people and hence check crime. Bruce, (2003), asserts that improvement in public respect and attitude linked to improvement in the service provided to the public, will also contribute to improving police morale.

This study will further attempt to enlighten Kenyans on the needs of the police force and especially how they can be helped to deal with their problems. The spiraling crime rate has emphasized the forces' inability to deal with the situation and highlighted the need to address its problems. It is true the police are inadequately equipped but providing them with better guns and more vehicles will not make them better policemen as most policy makers may want to believe. Guns do not deter crime, but people do! A disciplined force will earn respect from the community and community cooperation will be a reality. As once written in the Nation Editorial, January 2001; a professional force will earn the confidence of the people, who will not need any prompting (read bribe - commonly known as *kitu kidogo*) to assist in combating crime.

Probably there are other factors, in the eyes of the police officers, that are contributing to poor work performance. All people of Kenya should start loving, appreciating, and encouraging those in the police force since such love, care and encouragement will no doubt be rewarded with similar responses. However, people may find it difficult to appreciate police officers whom they do not know or understand. Through this study more information about the police would be available to the public.

There is little work that has been done on police in Kenya. This study is meant to add knowledge to what is already there, especially in the area of intervention and support for stressed police officers. That is, the study results will address existing knowledge gaps. The police managers must be knowledgeable and well prepared if the problem of stress is to be addressed properly.

1.5. Study Scope and limitations

This study looks at the issue of occupational stress, causes, consequences and practical interventions among police officers in Nairobi. The study focused on police men and women operating within Nairobi. This was limiting because the police offer national services touching on national security from village level, district to provincial level. It was not possible to cover all these other areas due to logistical constraints and lack of funds for a study of that magnitude.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms used in the Study

The following are the key terms of this study whose operational definitions are given.

Police Officer

In this study the term 'police officer' is used to refer to all members of the police force of whichever rank and formation (Unit). Included here will be the CID, General duties/ Regular, Traffic, Flying squad among others. Administration police were not covered by this study though by definition are also part of the Kenya Police.

Kenyan Police

This term wherever used refers to the collection of all the police officers in Kenya represented as the Kenya Police Force or the Police Department.

Anxiety

Wherever this term is used in this study, it refers to police personal state of discomfort, uncertainty, worry, nervousness, uneasiness and feeling unsettled in a given situation.

Stress

In this study, stress is defined as a self perceived negative or unpleasant impact. The term is used in this study to refer to cognitive, emotional and behavioral adjustment to change, that negatively affects an individual psychologically, socially and physically. Police stress is defined as an imbalance between what is required of an officer and what the officer is capable of giving, under conditions where failure may have dire consequences" (McGrath, 1992). Among the police, stress may be manifested through absenteeism, difficult concentrating while on duty, low motivation, job dissatisfaction, excessive use of alcohol and or other drugs, inaccurate handling of guns or frequent health problems.

Work Performance

This term is used to refer to the act of carrying out duties, functions or roles as stipulated in the terms of service, in this case, of a Kenya police officer. Any performance contrary to the laid down expectations amounts to *poor work performance*.

Rank

This term refers to the job status/ grade/position in the force that the officer has attained or been assigned through promotion or appointment. This study will focus on the following ranks among police officers in Kenya: Constable, Corporal, Sergeant and Inspector.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This chapter presents a review of the relevant literature deemed necessary in helping to understand the critical issue of police stress. Past studies have been reviewed from local and international sources. This was done along the main themes of: The Kenya police force; Occupational Stress, and management of occupational stress. The main themes are further subdivided into various sub-themes: Background, the structure, categories and functions of the Kenya Police force; causes, signs and consequences of, individual reactions to, and management of occupational stress. The study also provides a discussion on the theoretical framework based on psychoanalytic and cognitive behavioural theories.

2.1. The Kenya Police force.

2.1.1 *Background*

According to Foran, (1963), the history of police force in Kenya dates back to the time of Imperial British East Africa Company which was formed in 1887 to develop trade in the far interior and in the Ugandan Kingdom. The country had to be administered so that the wheels of commerce might revolve smoothly and not be subjected to constant hindrance or attacks from 'savage' tribes along the trade route. In 1887, Sir William McKinnon found it essential to safeguard his stores and premises, and also protect his staff in Mombasa. As India furnished the bulk of the labour for the construction of the railway line, Indian police and watchmen were recruited to maintain peace, law and order.

In 1896, Mr. Ewart, then superintendent of the Zanzibar Police, was selected by the foreign office to form a police force in Mombasa. The force was brought up to the strength of approximately 150 non commissioned officers (NCOs) and Constables, one European inspector

and three Indian and Somali deputy inspectors. In 1887, Mr. Napier, a railway engineer founded the railway police. These were employed as camp police along the line of construction works. As the railway advanced upcountry, some of these police were posted to guard the new stations as they were built. Mr. Ewart remained in command until 1902, when an Inspector general was appointed to amalgamate the Mombasa. railway police and station *askaris*.

This force was raised in strength from about 300 to 400 NCOs and constables, with three to four Inspectors and several Indian deputy inspectors. By this time, there was a *Police Force of Sorts* only in Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. The Expansion and re-organization of the force made no advance until 1904 -05 when estimates were approved. The new establishment authorized one inspector general, deputy inspector general, six sergeant instructors and 1822 inspectors. Sub instructors, Non Commissioned Officers (NCOs) and men giving a total strength of 1836 personnel. The duties of the officers were not adequately defined until the introduction of the police ordinance in 1906, although their duties were, and remained for some considerable time, those of semi-military in nature.

Many changes in the force were introduced during 1908- in the overall command, creation of new ranks and posts, and in a policy of general expansion. The title of inspector general was abolished and replaced with commissioner. In 1920 British East Africa became Kenya Colony and protectorate, and in turn the B.E.A Police became the Kenya Police. Thus began a new era for the force as we know it today. According to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police, (1998), the population of about thirty million Kenyans is served by 36,458 Police Officers. This scenario stretches the force to the limit with one officer for about 823 Kenyans, well above the United Nations recommended ratio of one officer to 450 people. This ratio is very important because it indicates work overload among the police hence exposing them to occupational stress, ineffectiveness, public criticism and finally confidence crisis

In Kenya, the life of a police officer begins at the Kenya Police College in Kiganjo. McKinley, (2003), observes that conditions at Kiganjo college are pathetic. After leaving college, they walk into a similar situation when they earn low salaries that cannot even sustain a bank account. My question is, how have police officers been surviving? The salaries have now been increased to compete with the rest of civil servants and this study will attempt to show how this is likely to influence police duty performance. According to Phombea (2003), Kenyans generally view the police as their enemy rather than the protector of lives and property. This is a misnomer because police are expected to be friendly and guardians of security. Phombeah, (2003), observes that even after the toppling of a corrupt regime propped up by a corrupt police force, the tattered image of the Kenyan policeman seems to take long to change. Against this background, there was need to study the occupational problems focusing on stress amongst police officers. This study has to take into account the changes that were occurring within the force and examine the source of stress instrumentals in managing these changes.

2.1.2. The Structure and Categories of Kenyan Police Force

In order to accomplish this enormous task of provision of security country wide, the police force is divided into various formations under the command of the commissioner of police based at Vigilant house; assisted by deputy police commissioners, assistant police commissioners, superintendents, inspectors, sergeants, corporals and police constables. These formations (units) are: Criminal Investigation department (CID), Regular Police, General Service Unit (GSU), Police Air Wing, Presidential Escort Unit, Anti Stock Theft Unit, Kenya Railways Police, Kenya Air Port Police Unit, Police Dog Unit, Motor Transport Branch, and the Signal Branch. The force has been structured to ensure as far as possible policing mirrors the country's administrative boundaries. The field operations are commanded by Provincial Commanders who hold the rank of Deputy Commissioners. The Police formations and units are commanded by

officers ranging in ranks from assistant Commissioners to Senior Deputy Commissioners. The Provinces and Formations are again subdivided into divisions, Stations, and Posts so as to ensure that the services of the Police are as close to the people as possible. Their activities are coordinated from force headquarters, Nairobi. The Police Headquarters comprises of eight branches as follows: Planning, Training and Research, Force Quartermaster, Signals and Communication, Finance and Administrative branch, Operations, Establishment of Manpower Control, Complaints against Police, and Transport (Annual Report, 1998). A summary of this information is provided at the appendix section.

2.1.3. The Functions of the Kenya Police

The Police force is a formal social institution which is bureaucratic in nature. Social institutions are structured to perform particular social functions and are functionally integrated to form a stable system and that a change in one institution will precipitate a change in other institutions in the same society. A social function is, "the contribution made by any phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part" (Hoult 1969: 139). This technical usage is not the same as the popular idea of a function as an "event/occasion" or a duty, responsibility, or occupation. A distinction, first made by Robert K. Merton, is made between *manifest* and *latent* functions (Marshall 1994: 190-1) and also between functions with positive (functional or positively functional) and negative (dysfunctional) effects (Hoult 1969: 139). "Any statement explaining an institution as being 'functional or 'dysfunctional' for men[sic] could readily be translated with no loss of meaning into one that said it was 'rewarding' or 'punishing'." (Homans 1962:33-4).

Merton has shown that every part of our society has a function, some more obvious than others. In his 1948 essay *Manifest and Latent Functions*, Merton highlights the difference between manifest and latent functions. He defines a manifest function as any element of social structure

whose consequences are recognized and intended by the people within the society. In contrast, latent functions are consequences that are largely unrecognized and unintended

The manifest functions of the Kenya Police are spelt out in the police act chapter 84 of the laws of Kenya, section 14. The Act gives the functions as follows:

The police force shall be employed in Kenya for the maintenance of law and order, the preservation of peace, the protection of life and property, the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders and the enforcement of all laws and regulations with which it is charged (Annual Report. 1998).

Any group, unit, or body must organize itself in a way that permits it to meet its objectives most effectively. The way in which police units organize in order to meet those objectives must be flexible enough to accommodate the changing nature of our society. The role of the police should be activist, expansive, and reflective of a broad perspective on public service. Virtually the only constantly visible presence of government, the police constitute the embodiment of that government more pervasively than any other of its components. Some of the latent functions performed by the police include situations where the police institution is used by those in power as a political tool to preserve their interests at times to the extent of disregarding laws that they are supposed to enforce. Other unintended function of the police is the reduction of employment for the police, lawyers and judges if they eliminate crime completely. Also if they are able to enforce all laws to total conformity, the society would experience unclear boundaries between what is right or wrong. The police mandate requires a sense of total involvement in the community's life. This is a function that often goes unnoticed as police roles are outlined. A narrow, simplistic, "we-are-only-here-to -enforce- the-law" philosophy will produce a reactive force that only responds to figurative fires and largely ignores far more dangerous problems that are rushing to overwhelm it.

The role of the modern police force requires thorough and complete weaving into all facets of the community fabric. It is not enough to make arrests and direct traffic. The police must also

research the causes of the problems, participate intimately in the communities activities, plan for and anticipate events, understand meditative dimensions inherent in “peace preservation”, and become active participants in community issues of all stripes and persuasions. In short the police will have to accept the idea of total immersion in the people’s business. This may be criticized as intrusive, but the ideal of public service requires full participation, total knowledge, and complete commitment to the concept of serving the people. It appears like the latent functions of the police are as important as the manifest ones if not more. No economic, social, name it, development will take place without guarantee of peace, security and confidence in relationships among people. In other words, maintenance of social order is key.

2.2. Occupational Stress among police officers

Stress has often been described as a negative emotional, physical, or behavioral condition experienced through daily activities (Finn, 2000). Different researchers vary on the definition of stress and it appears that there is a lot of discretion in describing and defining stress and how it affects people. Although the definition of stress may vary across researchers, the word is used when describing negative physical and mental effects on the human body and mind. Stress may be construed as an intervening variable with antecedent causes and behavioural consequences (Motowidlo, Manning & Packard, 1986). It can be defined as a "person's adaptive response to a perceived stimulus that places excessive psychological or physical demands on that person" (Moorhead & Griffin, 1989 p.193). The definition of police stress is even more elusive, mainly because of the limited research in this area. Goldfarb 2003, defines police stress as “that feeling and desire along with the ensuing bodily effects, experienced by a person who has a strong and true longing to choke the living shit out of someone who desperately needs it but you can’t”. To Goldfarb, this definition is funny, but it reveals a lot about the nature of police work. It points to the fact that police work calls for continued, draining restraint. Goldfarb 2003 further reported

that police work is the highest rated stressful profession, followed by air traffic controllers and dentists, in that order.

Police stress has been defined as an imbalance between what is required of an officer and what the officer is capable of giving, under conditions where failure may have dire consequences (McGrath, 1992). The consequences of police officers failing in their performance may mean a matter of life and death to the citizens, fellow officers or themselves. This is due to the nature of police work in dealing with criminals, traffic and regular patrol of dangerous areas. Policing, as well as many other occupations deal with two types of stress; chronic and acute. Chronic stress, “arises from harmful or threatening, but stable, conditions of life and from the stressful roles people continually fulfill at work and in the family” (Lazarus 1999:144). Negative relationships at work or family may lead to this type of stress. Acute stress is, “provoked by time-limited, major and minor events that are harmful or threatening at a particular moment in life or for a relatively brief period” (p. 144). Responding to motor vehicle accidents can fall in this category of stressors.

Research generally indicates that chronic and acute stressors experienced by police officers can lead to various undesirable physical and psychological outcomes that can adversely affect their professional and personal lives (Brown and Campbell 1994). Stress has been a difficult concept to define although researchers agree that it is increasing among employees (Cotton, 1995). Occupational stress poses a risk to most businesses and it is important to meet the challenge by dealing with excessive and long-term causes of stress. It is well recognised that stress reduces employee well-being, and that excessive or sustained work pressure can lead to stress.

The workplace is one of the many areas where people can become stressed out. Many people view their jobs as an important part of their social and economic status. A person's ability to

balance their job satisfactions and job frustration can be directly impacted by their level of stress (Wolf & Finestone, 1986). The amount of occupational stress on an employee can be directly linked to the amount of job dissatisfaction. Research has shown that job dissatisfaction is a result of one or more of the following four-work environment stressors: quantitative overload, qualitative under load, lack of control, or lack of social support (Wolf & Finestone, 1986). Quantitative overload is described as having too much work to do, time pressures, repetitious work, or high demands on the employee. Qualitative under load is seen as lack of job content, little work variation, no employee creativity or problem-solving and low or negative social interaction. Lack of control is caused by the employee not being able to determine work pace or working methods. Lack of social support is caused when the employee has no personal bonds with fellow workers or family members (Wolf & Finestone, 1986). By changing one or more of the four work environmental stressors, an employer may be able to reduce the level of occupational stress in that employee, which could increase job satisfaction, job performance and reduce health problems. There are some occupations in which the employees will always be affected by one or more occupational stressors, such as law enforcement. In these particular occupations, an alternative is to manage and control employee stress. This study sought to establish how police respond to stimulation by the psychological and physical demands of their work.

2.2.1. Possible Causes of Occupational Stress among police officers.

Knowing what causes stress is the first step in understanding and coping with it. This section looks at some of the major causes of stress. Stress can come from the body, mind and environment. According to Staple, (1996), environmental stress at work may be caused by noise, safety concerns, crowded work areas, pollution, windowless settings, or poorly designed workstations. Bodily stress can be caused by illness, injuries or straining the body in some way. Some body stress can be attributed to chairs that lack lower back support or keyboards that put

too much stress on wrists, shoulders and upper back. The stress that comes from the mind is the most common type of stress people encounter everyday. It is caused by negative thinking and faulty reasoning that is creations of people's minds (Rue, 1992). This research work intended to determine where occupational stress among the police officers comes from.

Frustration is one of the causes and it comes when we are not able to satisfy a motive. For example a policeman who cannot combat crime against high public expectations. When frustrations are serious, as in the case of an employee who has been denied expected promotion, or when they are prolonged, as individuals living in poverty cannot obtain proper food and medical care, they can be a major source of stress. Another source of stress is conflict; a state in which two or more motives cannot be satisfied because they interfere with one another (Lahey, 2001). Most of the time the police have to choose to confront armed gangsters, arrest them, shoot to maim or to kill and they could also be killed in the process. The researcher was interested in determining how the police handle conflicts at work.

Pressure causes stress. This term is used to describe the stress that arises from threats of negative events (Lahey 2001). Examples may include the possibility of performing well or failure at work place, making a mess of things or getting fired in certain jobs. Some marriages are source of pressure because one spouse always seems to displease the other, no matter how hard he/she tries to avoid it. The pressure of trying to avoid these events can sometimes be more stressful than the negative events themselves. What pressures do police face at work or at among their families? Are there negative events that threaten the police officers in the course of their work? This study is intended to answer the above and other questions. Psychologically significant events that occur in the police officer's life, such as divorce, childbirth, or change in employment could lead to stress. They require adjustment and coping. For example death of a family member, news of a life - threatening illness, being physically assaulted, loss of job, and

others. Further, the researcher is aware that the police force is undergoing change, and therefore this study sought to establish their response to these changes.

Natural disasters also can be potently stressful negative life events. Policemen all over the world are among the groups expected to attend to disaster situations. The major events that are most common in contemporary life are such events as being in a car accident, being the victim of a crime, being sexually assaulted and witnessing violence. Many studies document that these events are highly stressful (Brewin, Andrews, Rose & Kirk, 1999, Kendall- Tackett, Williams & Finkelhor, 1993; Koren, Armon, & Klein, 1999). They lead to high levels of irritability and anxiety upsetting memories /dreams distressing flash backs and illustrations of being assaulted again. It is not surprising that major negative events are stressful, but Richard Lazarus (1982) of the University of California at Berkeley reminds us that the small hassles of daily life are also important sources of stress. Indeed, Lazarus (1984) asked a group of 100 educated middle class individuals to record their major life events, daily hassles, and daily positive events for a year and found out predictors of both health and psychological well being. It is important to note that hassles may be both a cause and result of stress.

Job mismatch causes stress where job demands skills or abilities the employee does not possess. Other stress sources are *role ambiguity* and *role overload* where employee is uncertain or unclear about how to perform on the job, what is expected on the job, the relationship between job performance and expected consequences (reward, penalties and so forth) and where employee could be incompetent in the job or is asked to do more than time permits respectfully. A special report in Daily Nation (October 1 2000) said that even University graduates being employed as policemen are not selected on the basis of their areas of competence. The researcher wanted to establish whether job mismatch, role ambiguity and role overload would feature as sources of stress among police officers in Kenya.

Working conditions produce stress as a result of job environment being unpleasant, inadequate lighting or improper regulation of temperature and noise. The requirements of the job may unnecessarily produce pacing problems, social isolation and so forth. The job may involve long or erratic work hours as is the case with police work. This study attempted to evaluate how police officers in Kenya interpret these working conditions. *Working relationships* may be a source of stress where employees have problems relating to, and or working with superiors, peers, subordinates or public. Some employees have problems working in groups where team work is required. Again in some work places, there is limited social interaction and elsewhere employees do not participate in decision making (Stoner & Fry, 1983). This study intended to establish whether relationships among the police officers contribute to occupational stress.

There is also reason to believe that *positive life events* can be stressful under some circumstances (Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1978). Marriage, the birth of a child, job promotion, and the purchase of a house are examples of events that most people think of as positive, but they may also require stressful adjustments in patterns of living. The police officers have a life in the society and are therefore subject to these life events. This study also sought to establish whether any positive life events would feature as sources of stress among the police.

Sofer, (1970) says that occupational Stress can also be caused by too much or too little work, time pressures and dead lines and having too many decisions to make. This study attempted to establish how police perceive the long hours of guarding sensitive people and places like banks "if anything were to go wrong". Kearns, (1973) summarizes the above statements by saying that "stress may be caused by working conditions, excessive travel, long hours, having to cope with changes at work and the expenses (monetary and career) of making mistakes. All these are critical variables considered in this study.

2.2.2 Signs and symptoms of stress Among Police Officers

A number of signs may provide an indication that an individual may be suffering from stress with the attendant implications for their health and work performance. The following list is not exhaustive but gives some indication of the kinds of behaviour that might be the result of occupational stress. Lahey, (2001), says that stress manifests itself among employees in several ways: absenteeism, job turnover, lower productivity, mistakes on job. Other signs of stress include: increasing lateness, going home early, working excessive hours, withdrawal from social contacts, forgetting appointments or deadlines, long lunch breaks, inability to manage time, frequent accidents and conflict with colleagues.

So, is it possible that occupational stress is responsible for the many mistakes that police make on the job? The researcher viewed this statement as an insight into the link between stress and work performance and this study intended to establish the real picture. According to Brown and Campbell 1994, common symptoms of stress in the workplace include depression which may be manifested as low mood, loss of interest, poor concentration, reduced energy, sleep disturbance, loss of appetite and loss of sexual interest. Other symptoms include anxiety which comes out as excessive worry, tension, palpitations, chest pains and panic attacks. Substance abuse is another symptom which includes primacy of drinking, withdrawal symptoms, relief drinking, smoking and cravings. If an individual is suffering from some of these symptoms they may not be obvious at work, and often, within the police environment, officers will not admit to experiencing difficulties. The extent to which these symptoms are manifested by police officers was to be determined through this research work. The symptoms of stress whether triggered by home or work problems, will eventually lead to reduced employee performance, lack of motivation and absenteeism (Lahey 2001).

2.2.3 Stress Reactions Among Police officers.

Regardless of the source of stress, the body mobilizes its defenses to ward off the threat in a pattern referred to by Selye as the *general adaptation syndrome* (GAS) (Selye, 1976). The pattern involves the following three stages. *Alarm stage* is where the body is alerted to the need for action. Adrenaline begins to flow and the body responds though it is in a temporary state of shock; resistance is below normal. In *Resistance* stage the body enters into the fight or flight response. Stress hormones flood the body and the body resists the stress and it fails to combat the stress. The body enters into the *exhaustion* stage where wear and tear on the body takes its toll. The person may collapse into a state of exhaustion and vulnerability to disease increases. It leads to *burnout* hence reduced productivity.

Although some individuals develop serious depression in the absence of obvious sources of stress, high levels of depression are commonly among individuals undergoing stress, (Lahey,2001 p.507). Many studies consistently show that persons who tend to be highly depressed, have impaired immune system functioning and poorer health (Schleifer, Keller, Barflett, Echoldt, & Delaey,1996, Avissar & others, 1997, Vaillant, 1998, Zorilla & others, 1996). The *psychological reactions* to stress are usually accompanied by physiological reactions. These changes primarily involve emotions, motivations and cognitions. Under stress individuals feel anxious, depressed, and irritable, they may experience change in appetite for food and may gain or loose weight. Interest in sex often decreases, but it may increase, cognitive changes occur as well, for example difficult concentrating or loss of ability to think clearly, and find that our thoughts keep returning to the source of the stress (Lahey, 2001). This study aimed at uncovering the human person behind the police badge as far as stress reactions are concerned.

There are factors that influence reaction to stress. These include *prior experience* with stress. For example a soldier who is going to combat for the fourth time will usually be less stressed by it

than a soldier facing combat for the first time. In a sense, prior exposure to a kind of stress often “inoculates” us to that stressor (Lahey 2001). People are quite different psychologically at *different ages and levels of development*. Understandably, the impact of stress is frequently rather different at different ages as well (Kendall- Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993). Stress has a lot to do with people’s *cognition*, reasoning ability, experience and expectations. In general, stress events are less stressful when they are *predictable* than when they are not, and they are less stressful when the individual perceives that he/she can exert some degree of control over the stress (Lahey 2001). It is highly important therefore, that this study seeks to establish ways in which officers can exert control over occupational stressors.

The magnitude of reactions to stress is considerably less for individuals with good *social support*. Having someone to talk to, receive advice from, and be cheered and reassured by, is an important factor determining our reaction to stress (Heller, Swindle & Dusenbury, 1986) Kaniasty & Norms, 1995, Sucker, Uddo, Davis, & Ditta.1995; Uchino, Cacioppo. & Kiecolt-Glaser, 1996). Individuals with good social support are less likely to react to negative life events with depression, anxiety, and health problems. This research will seek to determine whether police officers have the opportunity to “get it off their chest” through the simple act of telling someone else about their troubles.

An important reason that people react differently to the same stressor is that people think differently about these events (Beck, 1976, Joiners & Others, 1999; Lazarus, 1999 Tomaka and others, 1997). According to Kelly (1999), some individuals appear more likely than others to *interpret events* in stress provoking ways. What these studies imply is that among police officers, it is possible to find some who are stressed and others who are not, depending on what interpretations they make about a stressor. Accordingly, the findings from this research will clarify whether the situation described will be reflected among police officers. How an officer

constructs his/her interpretation of the incident will determine how severe his/her reaction will be (Everly, 1994a).

Personality variables are also important in determining our responses to stress (Asarnow & others, 1999, Cui & Vaillant 1996). Type A personality appears to be important in influencing the health consequences of stress.. The following characteristics more specifically describe the type A personality (Diamond, 1982, Friedman & Roseman, 1974; Mathews, 1982): Highly competitive, hard driving, and ambitious in work, sports, and Games; Works hurriedly, always rushing, has a sense of time urgency and often do two things at once; Workaholic and takes little time off for relaxation or vacation; Speaks loudly or “explosively”; Perfectionist and demanding; Hostile, aggressive, and frequently angry with others. According to Robbertson and Cooper, (1983), Type B personality has general behavior of tranquil movement, relaxed facial expressions, avoids competitive situations, calm, soft smile, rarely complains. Their speed is marked by: slow and soft, calm with few gestures, responds after pausing, wait to respond. Type C behavior characteristics are: inhibited, uptight, lacking in emotional expressiveness, constrained, withdrawn. Hardiness personality style is characterized by a sense of commitment rather than alienation, control rather than powerless and perception of problems as challenges rather than threats (Robbertson & Cooper, 1983). While this study was not about police personality, it would be interesting to establish the personal characteristics among the police officers that relate to the problem of stress. Most studies have been conducted in the Western World; only a few have been done in Africa and hardly any in Kenya. There is no doubt that stressors exist in the Kenyan settings.

2.2.4 Consequences of Occupational Stress

No one's life is free of stress. Regardless of how sensible, intelligent or privileged, a person will be challenged by frustrations, losses, changes and conflicts. The consequences of police stress commonly reported in the literature include: suspiciousness, emotional detachment from various aspects of daily life, job dissatisfaction, reduced efficiency, absenteeism, early retirement, excessive aggressiveness, alcoholism, marital or family problems, heart attack, ulcers, weight gain, and suicide (Finn, 2000; Violanti & Aron, 1994).

Many of these consequences can cause health related problems that can lead to the premature death of an officer. Other consequences such as early retirement, absenteeism and alcohol problems, are a financial burden to the societies in which these officers work. When an officer calls out sick, the police department will most likely replace that officer by calling in a coworker on his/her day off and paying that officer an overtime rate. Officers who retire early because of health related problems brought on by the stress of the job, will cause a financial burden on that society as well. The consequences of police stress not only affect police officers, but also their family members. Literature has revealed that officer spouses also suffer from high levels of stress because of the nature of their spouses' job. Sources of stress commonly cited by officers' spouses include: shift work, overtime, inability or unwillingness to express feelings, fear that the spouse will be hurt or killed in the line of duty, and the officer's 24-hour role as a law enforcer (Finn, 2000). The effects of stress on officers and their families may affect the police department directly by officers showing up to work late, calling out of work, and having low morale. This may cause lower productivity for the police department and an increase in the potential for more criminal acts against citizens and their property. Stressed officers may also lead to labor-management friction, civil suits, or adverse public reaction as a result of a stress-related police brutality incident (Finn, 2000; Novak et al., 2003).

When work is no longer meaningful to a person burnout occurs. Reece, (1999), says that *burnout* can result from stress or a variety of other work related or personal factors. Burnout is feeling of emotionally, intellectually and physically drained day after day until you move beyond exhaustion and into a state of feeling numb. One feels as if the energy tank is operating on empty. Burnout usually results from a combination of work, family, social and personal factors. Do police experience such feelings? What does burnout mean to police work and security in the society? The information available in the literature makes one almost be sure that at one point or other police officers have experienced burnout especially when apathy, carelessness, tardiness etc are included in the burnout list. However this study did not intend to establish the extent of burnout among police officers in Nairobi.

Most researchers acknowledge that stress is personal, subjective reaction to pressure (Cole, 1999). It depends on individual's perception both of the scale of the problem and their ability to cope with it. Therefore if police officers perceive that a problem is manageable, and they are confident of their ability to handle the problem, the likelihood and effects of stress will be much less. However, where outcomes are seen as both uncertain and important then stress is much more likely to appear. For example, how do police on patrol who encounter armed robbers about to rob a bank resolve the dilemma? Shoot out between the two groups may ensue and this could be an issue between life and death. In case some police officers die, emotional trauma is inflicted on the surviving officer. This study was therefore to establish whether police experience uncertainty while at work and how they cope with such situations. This suggests the need to discuss the issues of trauma and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a sub-theme of the consequences of occupation stress among the police.

2.2.5 Trauma and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

According to Hornby (1995), trauma is an emotional shock that produces a lasting harmful effect, or an unpleasant experience that causes distress or anxiety. This, in Rogerian terms, (Ewen 1980) affects the concept of self because Rogers sees anxiety as a state of uneasiness that results from experiences that are incongruent with the self-concept. Baldwin (1995) says that trauma, which is a normal reaction to an abnormal situation involves exposure to a life-threatening experience. A person is said to be exposed to a traumatic event in which both of the following were present: one, the person experienced, witnessed or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others. Two, the persons response involved intense fear, helplessness or horror (Scott, 1995) It is in line with the aims of this study to establish whether police work exposes them to life-threatening situations. If emotionally traumatized people do not have the trauma resolved, then post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) results. Repeated exposure to direct trauma or vicarious trauma puts an officer at risk for developing PTSD (Fullerton, McCarroll, Ursano, Wright, 1992).

The first emotional response by most officers in the wake of a traumatic incident is an attempt to suppress all feelings. An officer has to function with and respond to the internal affairs investigations, reactions from other officers and citizens, and his own family before he can acknowledge his feelings (Lippert, 1990). An officer may also believe that any admission of vulnerability may be used against him in future promotional opportunities or reduce his credibility with fellow officers (Janik, 1990). If an officer continues to suppress his feelings he may cut himself off from those around her and not receive the love and support he needs (Sheehan, 1990).

The work environment is seen as important in defining the context of the traumatic event and also the recovery of the person from the traumatic experience. The police force in Kenya is undergoing transition which is associated with trauma. Some of the changes that are taking place in Kenya's police force include but not limited to: senior officers being sent on compulsory retirement, others have been laid off, disbandment of some units, e.g Kenya police reserve and introduction of new approaches to policing. Williams, (1999) defines transition as the natural process by which humans respond to trauma and change. He further observes that the life events that happen in people's lives if well understood can be turning points and opportunities. However, if not well supported and understood, they can lead to depression and other life threatening dangers. In a changing organization, this work environment would include leadership or management style and the levels of support by the organization during such change (George and Jones, 1999).

In addition to primary PTSD, an officer is also at risk for developing Secondary Traumatic Stress (STS); (Munroe, et al, 1995). STS, sometimes referred to as compassion fatigue, can be defined as the symptoms a person experiences as a result of close contact with a direct victim of a traumatic event (Yassen, 1995). Stamm (1997) brings in the element of secondary trauma where someone who is dealing with traumatised people, may himself develop symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder due to his own unresolved emotional issues relating to the trauma experience of the traumatized person, also from listening to the traumatized person and empathizing with them. This research intended to document experiences of police supervisors while handling officers who have been traumatized.

I am eager to see if secondary trauma will feature in the participants because as Rubach (2002) writes, corporate cutbacks (e.g disbanding certain police units, revoking "dubious" promotions and retrenching officers on the basis of reform interests) threaten the security and self-esteem of

survivors and victims alike, causing turmoil and shattering morale inside organizations. Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory asserts that if one is unhappy with their work, they lose an important means of self-fulfillment and suggests that organisations should practice what he calls "Eupsychian management" that is, using work designs that help employees satisfy their needs (Ewen 1980: 363).

Niles (1994) postulated that there are four levels of traumatic reaction: Level I which he calls *Traumatic Reaction*, is the normal response a healthy person would have to a traumatic incident. The person integrates the information in a way that allows him to function. Level II, *Traumatic Stress Reaction*, is an individual's response to a life threatening incident. The individual is working through and attempting to integrate his/her reaction but often requires the assistance of a mental health professional. Level III, *Post-traumatic Stress Reaction*, is where people experiencing this level of reaction have been unable to successfully process the traumatic event into their lives. They may be experiencing depression, guilt, anxiety, sleep disturbances and other symptoms. A mental health professional is actively involved in assisting the recovery process.

Level IV is *PTSD*. These people are experiencing the clinical symptoms of PTSD. A mental health professional should play an expanded role in the recovery process and in-patient care may be required. The longer treatment is delayed the more extreme the reaction. Police officers who receive prompt treatment for traumatic stress exposure average two weeks of recovery time before returning to work. Officers in the delayed treatment groups require an average of 46 weeks of recovery before returning to work (Fuller, 1991). The issue of traumatic experience, response and treatment among Kenyan police officers would form an important area of study in future. This study will only be interested in establishing evidence of traumatic experiences and PTSD among the officers.

2.3 Management of occupational stress

Lahey, (2001), says that if stress is in-avoidable, and if too much stress is a threat to our psychological and physical well-being, then *coping well* with stress is of paramount importance. A healthy and happy person is someone who can enjoy the good times and cope with the bad. Sometimes people cope with stress by removing it – by changing jobs or filing a complaint against a harassing boss. But people cannot remove all the stress from their lives and will have to cope with some of it.

Good *social support* improves our ability to cope with stress. Simply disclosing feelings to friends (or to a counsellor) has been shown to improve immune system functioning and reduce need for medical care (Pennebaker, Colder & Sharp 1990, Richards Beal, Seagal & Pennebaker, 2000). In the light of these revelations, the researcher will establish whether there are counseling services in the police force. Would the officers visit counselors for personal counselling?

Folkman & Lazarus, (1980), says that rather than viewing coping as a fixed or rigid "style" or personality trait, the appraisal and coping process is seen as a continuing feedback loop. According to Folkman & Lazarus, (1980), factors which mediate one's appraisal of a stressful event may be unique to each individual. Alexander (1991) asserts that in addition to the stressful work events and situation experienced in law enforcement, such as traumatic incidents, some police officers due to their gender or race, experience, additional environment, physical characteristics which in turn influence cultural difference in coping and social support. The challenge that this study had was to identify the best ways of helping the individual police officers cope with stress that they may face in the course of their work.

Since police officers have to deal with the traumatized victims of crime that may be severely injured or dead, police officers turn off their feelings as a way to cope and control their own

painful emotional reactions (Anderson, Swenson, and Clay 1995:3-4). In such circumstances, the officers have no time to use conventional coping strategies. Officers use a variety of coping methods, some positive and some less adaptive, to deal with police stresses (Hart, et al, 1994). Positive examples include talking with co-workers, obtaining counselling, exercise, etc. (Reese, 1987a). Less adaptive behaviors include alcohol abuse, withdrawing from friends and family and suicide (Beijen, 1995b; Dietrich & Smith, 1986; Seligmann, 1994; Violanti, et al 1985). When conventional coping strategies (exercises, relaxation, psychological counselling and social support) fail, one must find alternatives or one cannot go on living. So again this study had the responsibility of determining which coping strategies officers in Kenya use.

One effective way of dealing with stress is to *remove the source of stress from our lives*. If an employee holds a job that is stressful, discussions could be held with the employer that might lead to a reduction of the pressures of the job, or the employee could simply resign (Lahey, 2001). It was imperative that this study establish the extent to which the management was prepared to provide stress preventive strategies and interventions especially within workplace. If the stress stems from an unhappy marriage, either marriage counselling could be sought or the marriage could be ended. It is not always feasible or appropriate to quit a job or leave a marriage, and, some sources of stress, such as the death of a spouse just cannot be removed.

Another effective method of coping might be *to change how people think about—or interpret the events* that push and shove their lives. The experience of stress is dependant on the cognitive appraisal of a stimulus. This therefore implies that not all individuals will experience the same level of stress arousal to a particular stimulus. Puffer & Brakefield (1989) have identified four phenomenological processes (i.e. a stressful encounter, cognitive appraisal, coping, and behavioural outcomes) that are involved in the appraisal of a stressful situation. A stressful

encounter may be construed as a loss, a threat or a challenge (McCrae, 1984). Loss refers to a damage that has already occurred such as the experience of retrenchment. As I wrote this sentence I was aware that according to reports by the Daily Nation on May 5 2004, over fifty police officers had been retired (declared redundant) in the best interest of reforms. This study intended to provide information on the psychological implications of this among the remaining officers who may be uncertain about their future. Psychologist Shelley Taylor (1983, 1986, 1999) has long been interested in the fact that some individuals cope more effectively with traumatic illness than others. This study used rational emotive theory to explain police occupational stress and how officers thinking process can be restructured to handle stress positively.

Practical planning is another useful strategy in some situations (Taylor 1998). Instead of avoiding or withdrawing from a stressful situation, some people engage in decision making as to the change needed and identify strategies of achieving the change. Planning and time management strategies may also be construed as effective stress coping techniques. This is because employees are seemingly in a better position to make a proactive adaptive response if they think about forthcoming events, and foresee potential stressors that may arise from those events (Newman & Beehr, 1979). From previous chapters it is evident that most of the police stress comes from the nature of their work and so this research was to find out whether the police officers in Kenya face operational and organizational stressors.

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When the source of stress cannot realistically be removed or changed, *another effective option is to manage our psychological and physiological reactions to stress*. One strategy might be to schedule as much time as possible for relaxing activities, such as aerobic exercises, hobbies, or time with friends. The problem with police officers is that they are selective in the choice of people to socialize with and they may just socialize among other stressed colleagues.

Another is to seek *psychological training on muscle relaxation techniques*. Happily, psychological counselling that encourages all three methods of effective coping has even been able to change the type A behaviour pattern successfully (Nunes, Frank, & Korfied, 1987). Unfortunately many of our efforts to cope with stress are ineffective. They may provide temporary relieve from the discomfort produced by stress but do little to provide a long-term solution and even make matters worse. As cited elsewhere in this work, police officers numb feelings, drink alcohol and use other maladaptive strategies to deal with occupational problems that cause stress. This study was expected to establish how police officers are helped to cope with stress, and whether there is room for counseling training and support services among the police for long-term solutions.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted psychoanalytic and cognitive behavioral theories which the researcher found applicable in understanding the problem of stress.

2.4.1 Psychoanalytic Theory

This theory was founded by Sigmund Freud. According to Nelson-Jones (1995). Psychoanalysis is viewed as a theory of personality development, which has influenced other theories like behavioural and humanistic approaches and also as a method of treatment used by psychoanalytic counsellors or psychiatrists.

The theory says that earlier experiences affect later ones; feelings of helplessness, of something awful happening, of overwhelming fear (Corey, 1996). Freudian theory is based on various concepts: the unconscious which includes all the things that are not easily available to awareness, including emotions associated with trauma. According to Freud, the unconscious is the source of human motivations for behaviour. Unconscious urges from childhood (Freud says sex and

aggression) may cause stress. This study relied on the officers' awareness of their perceptions, memories, thoughts, fantasies, and feelings about their work situations, family background and other memories and emotions associated with trauma. As the respondents were taken through the questionnaires, the intention was that they could access memories they were not at the moment thinking about but could readily be brought to mind.

Freud structured the mental apparatus into three systems or agencies: the id, the ego and the super-ego. The id works in keeping with the demand to take care of biological needs immediately. It would then follow that when police officers have unmet needs (e.g rest, food, sex) these begin to demand more and more of their attention, until there comes a point where they can't think of anything else. Their concentration is no longer on their work but elsewhere hence poor work performance. Some of the id becomes ego.

The ego -the "I" - sits at the center of some pretty powerful forces: reality; society, as represented by the superego; biology, as represented by the id. When these make conflicting demands upon the poor ego, officers may feel threatened, overwhelmed, or feel as if they were about to collapse under the weight of it all. This feeling is called anxiety, and it serves as a signal to the ego that its survival, and with it the survival of the whole organism is in jeopardy. Regardless of the needs that officers are trying to meet, they have to think about the rewards and punishments that may be netted from their superiors and the wider law of the land. Mistakes done on the job may have serious consequences (interdiction, law suit or even a sack) and this causes officers to have a lot of anxiety. Freud mentions three different kinds of anxieties: realistic, moral and neurotic. Among police officers, realistic anxiety may constitute fear of injury/death and other dangers inherent in police work. Moral anxiety may constitute feelings like shame (of being a police officer), guilt (of mistakes done on job), fear of punishment, injury/death, retrenchment, taking bribes that officers experience when the public accuse and criticize them of being lax and

inefficient. Neurotic anxiety occurs whenever officers feel like they are about to "lose it," lose control, temper, rationality, or even their mind. This study seeks to establish whether police occupational stress is a result of the external or internal demands on the officers. There seems to be a wide variety of life experiences which result in some form of tension, fear, anxiety, or psychosomatic illness among the police.

The superego represents society which puts various injunctions. The superego is the conscience, which is an internalization of punishments and warnings and also the ego ideal which is derived from rewards and positive models presented to the individual (Nelson-Jones, 1995). Police officers go through thorough training and drilling in information and skills they are expected to display out in the field. The superego demands that the officers be good and efficient; otherwise, it causes them to feel guilt, shame, and anxiety. This research intends to establish the extent to which the officers suffer stress when they make mistakes and go against professional ethics or public expectations.

The ego has the task of negotiating between the id and the superego. Of course, they never agree. It isn't easy, but unconscious manipulations, denial, fooling self, irrational thinking, etc. help one part of the personality deceive the other two parts. Furthermore, the ego must rationally deal with the world, i.e. deal with questions like: what am I capable of doing, what resources can I make use of, how will other people react to my actions and how do I handle their objections, and so on. Clearly this boiling mixture of powerful, unconscious, conflicting forces inside each police officer would create stress. When the anxiety becomes overwhelming, the officer becomes tense and the ego must defend itself. It does so by unconsciously blocking the impulses or distorting them into a more acceptable, less threatening form. The techniques are called the ego defense mechanisms. All defenses involve distortions of reality; they are ways of feeling better by which

people fool themselves. This study intended to determine whether police officers use defenses as a way of coping with work stress.

2.4.2 Rational-Emotive-Behaviour-Theory (REBT)

REBT is one of the cognitive behavioural approaches which was founded in 1955 by an American clinical psychologist, Albert Ellis (Scott, 1995). He was the first to pinpoint that people suffer from stress and other conflicts because they believe things which are false. Ellis maintained that emotional and behavioural disturbance was primarily caused by rigid and absolutistic beliefs in the form of musts, shoulds, have to's, got to's (Melgosa, 2000) - demands we make on ourselves, others, the world. In other words, it is individuals who largely upset themselves rather than events, circumstances or other people. In order to minimize emotional disturbance and produce more goal orientated behaviour, rigid or irrational beliefs are pinpointed, challenged and changed to a rational belief system, according to Ellis, 1972

This rational philosophy views the individual as a fallible human being (Ellis and Dryden 1987). That is to say that those who firmly hold irrational beliefs are bound to experience emotional instability and stress because human beings are not perfect. Problems of a personal nature among police officers can be dealt with by in-house counselling services, employee assistance programmes or referrals to external agencies (assuming that these facilities are available). The stress management strategies would mainly be devoted to cathartic techniques, relaxation, exercise, healthy eating, positive thinking and 'cooling off periods. These are the suggested strategies towards managing stress in my literature review section. From the REBT perspective, these are essentially short term and palliative methods; unless demandingness is disputed and changed to rational ideas through teaching individuals the ABC model, it is unlikely that stress levels will fall.

Ellis does not explain the extent to which this perspective of causes of stress is valid. If it is true that stress is more prevalent among those who hold to irrational beliefs, then the questions arise: who determines which beliefs are rational or irrational. Professionals could misuse the theory and manipulate people they are supposed to help which may be tantamount to brainwashing. Would believing in a superior being who is not empirically observable, rational or irrational? Yet research has shown that religious inclinations help people relax hence cope with difficult and traumatizing events.

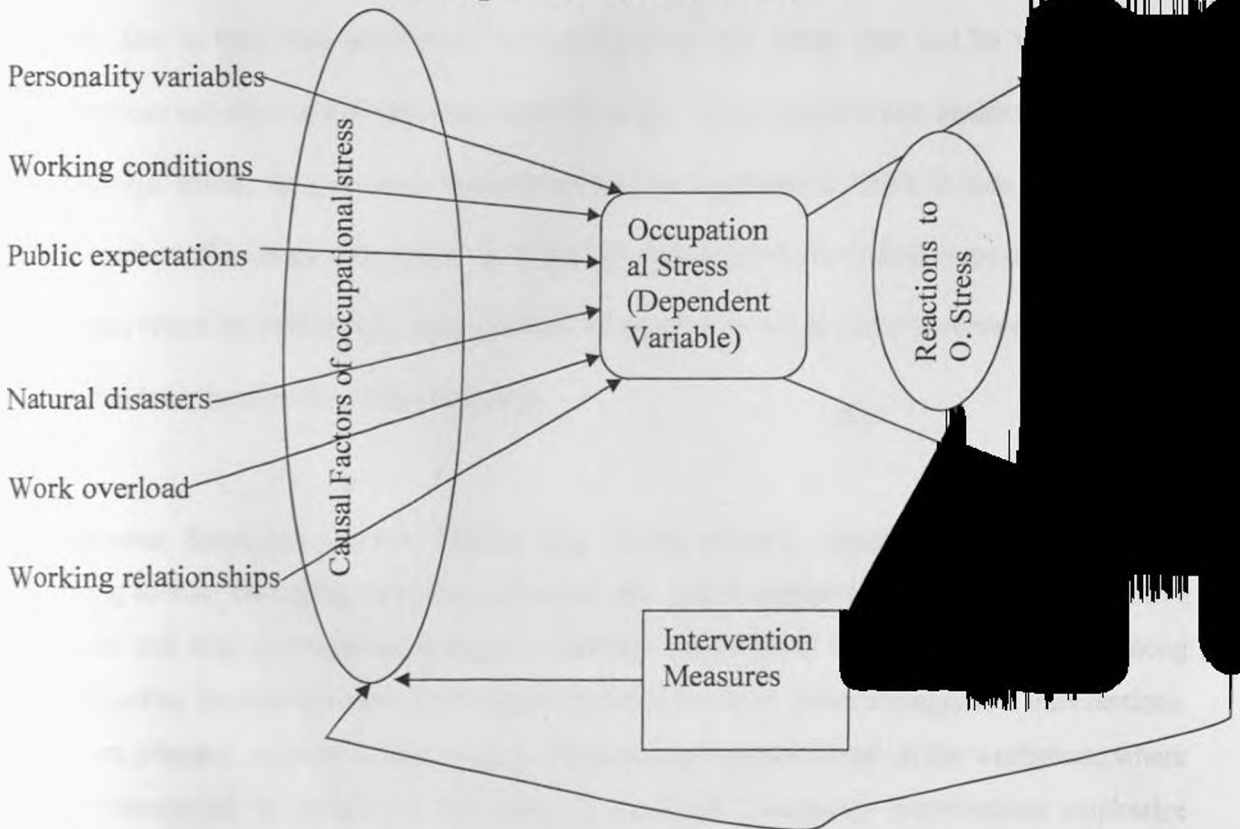
In defense of this viewpoint, one could point to studies showing that the level of physiological arousal to stressful events can be determined by how people interpret these events, and the adverse physical and mental consequences of prolonged arousal (Woods, 1987a); and modifications in Type A behaviour - the workaholic, aggressive, impatient sort, twice as likely to get a heart attack than a placid Type B - when irrational beliefs were changed to rational ones without necessarily impairing job performance or success (Woods, 1987b). Those individuals with rigid beliefs would continue to have longstanding work-related problems and as Richman (1988) warns: "Superficial changes may be exhibited through intermittent outcome improvement but the same problems are likely to recur unless underlying belief systems are identified and changed".

This study sought to establish the stress related problems among police officers and it would be interesting to see how receptive officers would be towards challenging their beliefs and thinking patterns as a stress intervention strategy. Ellis and Becker (1982) assert that the "two most common [work] problems are anxiety about job performance (along with a fear of losing the job) and anger towards the boss, supervisor, employees, or other co-workers". Emotional reactions are split into two groups: unhealthy and healthy. By discussing emotional consequences, the assumption is that, this would indicate to officers that thinking and feeling are equally important.

2.4.2 Theoretical Framework Diagram

This section draws from the two theories exposed and the literature reviewed and makes an attempt to come up with a diagram of a theoretical frame. The researcher has endeavored to come up with a diagram showing the connection between the subject of the study (occupational stress) and independent variables/causes of occupational stress (all the factors identified/discussed in literature) as well as Consequences of occupational stress and efforts (identified) of managing it. Further explanation is given immediately after the diagram.

Occupational Stress Model

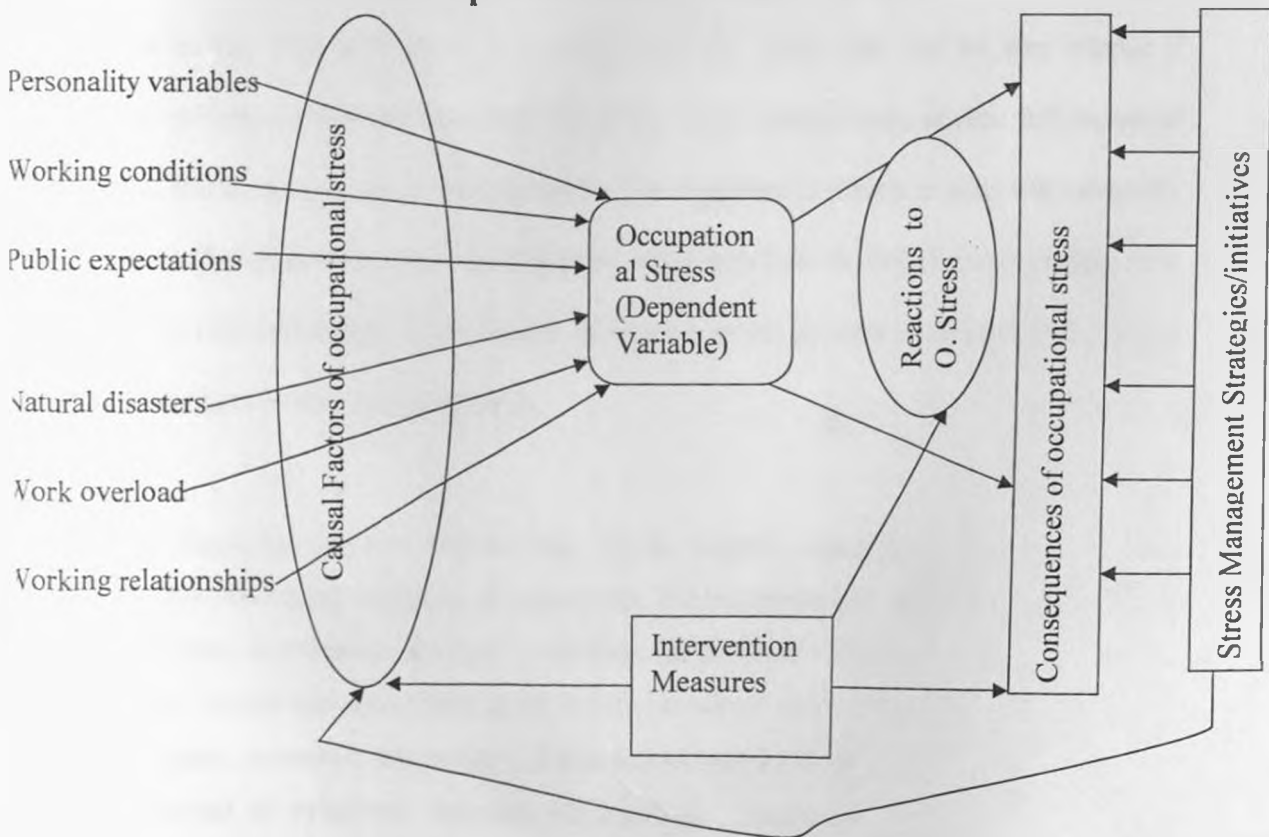


The *Causes* of occupational stress as indicated in the diagram may occur singly (which is rare) or in combination. However, once these are known, interventions can be made at this level in order to reduce the amount of stress experienced; for example strengthening working relationships,

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reducing or balancing work load and helping people understand their personality (perceptions, beliefs, attitudes). Predicting events(e.g disasters) and creating awareness on how to minimize risk could also help. *Reactions* to occupational stress include Palpitations, depression, anxiety, irritable, change in appetite for food or sex, weight, clouded thought, low concentration, withdrawal, denial, oversensitivity etc. By this time stress has already set in and absorbed by individuals and hence the biological activities occur to try and restore equilibrium. Individuals can be helped to modify the interpretations they make about their experiences through teaching them the ABC model, psychological counselling using psychoanalytic theory so they can deal with their reactions such as denial, depression etc.

Consequences of occupational stress include Lateness, smoking, drinking, burnout, mistakes on the job, low morale, low motivation, low productivity etc. These may not be very intense if interventions are done at the reactions stage. However, when workers react against full impact of occupational stress, then severe consequences will be experienced which in turn will adversely affect work performance and output. At this point employees have to find ways of dealing with the stress; either by removing it or by coping. However it is not possible to remove all the stress and individuals have to live with some of it.

Management Strategies involve Counselling, social support, changing thinking, planning, removing source, managing reactions, relaxation etc. The strategies can be applied as preventive measures and also as proactive attempts to address the problem of occupational stress among Kenyan police. Ivancevich et al (1990), indicate three levels of stress management interventions. These are primary, secondary and tertiary. *Primary* interventions occur at the workplace, where the environmental or situational stressors are modified. *Secondary* interventions emphasize altering the appraisal of the stressor. *Tertiary* interventions focus on coping strategies. These types of interventions can focus on the individual, the department or on the interface between the individual and the department.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

What follows in this chapter is a discussion of the research design that was used in this study. Broadly defined, a research design is a methodology to guide the researcher in collecting, analyzing and interpreting observed facts (Bless & Achola, 1988). This study was a survey of police officers in Nairobi province with a focus on their experiences of occupational pressures. The chapter covers; site selection, target population, unit of analysis, Sources of data, sampling Procedures, data collection techniques and instruments, and data analysis. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches. More specifically, this was an exploratory study because it was in a new area of study in Kenya:

A great deal of research is done for the purpose of exploring a topic to familiarize the researcher and his subsequent audiences with it. This would be the case especially when the researcher is just beginning his studies of a given topic or when the topic itself is new (Babbie, 1975, pp.49-50).

Babbie (1975) goes on to describe the typical purposes of such *exploratory* studies:

Exploratory studies are most typically done for three purposes: (1) simply to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding, (2) to test the feasibility of undertaking a more careful study, and (3) to develop the methods to be employed in a more careful study (Babbie, 1975, p.50).

While the researcher did not embark into this study so as to develop methods for future study, at least the first two purposes were a driving force towards the undertaking. The purpose was to familiarize the researcher and others with the area of police occupational stress for better understanding and how best to do future studies among the police in Kenya.

3.1 Site Selection

Nairobi is a city, financial capital, administrative capital, province and the capital of Kenya. The National Assembly, the Law Courts, the Office of the President, Police Headquarter and the City Hall are found in the city centre. Many countries have diplomatic missions, embassies or trade

offices in Nairobi. It is an international business and tourist centre, and people of many cultures live and work here. The city is also home to a number of slum areas such as Kibera and Mathare. Nairobi has a total population of approximately 3 million people who live and work in the city and its environs. There are about 3,000 police officers in Nairobi giving a ratio of about 1:1000; one police officer for every 1000 people. The police work 24 hours in shifts. In view of the highlighted significance of Nairobi, the role of police in the city is equally important to ensure security for maximum economic productivity. The ratio of police to the population in Nairobi implies work overload among the police which is a source of stress.

Administratively, the city is divided into 8 constituencies with a total of 110 sub-locations. Nairobi province is bordered on all sides by three provinces namely; Rift Valley to the West and South, Central to the North and Eastern to the East. There are eight Police divisions in Nairobi area and these are, Central, Buruburu, Kasarani, Gigiri, Embakasi, Kilimani and Langata (Annual Report, 1998). The province has about 24 police stations (Kenya Telephone Directory, 2004) distributed throughout the divisions.

Crime in the city is high and perceived to be increasing annually and the issues of both private and public security have become the most identifiable criteria adversely impacting on the quality of life of the urban population. Crime however, although almost endemic to slum areas, is not restricted to them, but flows to and from formal middle and upper class suburbs, as well as in the commercial areas. This study was conducted in Nairobi Province because of its status in Kenya and to the international community. The site was purposively selected since the researcher who also lives in Nairobi had enough information about the city. On many occasions, Police in Nairobi receive more media coverage portraying them as deficient in their attempts to provide service to all. Police deal with crime prevention and eradication. Therefore, anything that interferes with police work performance especially in such an important town like Nairobi, was worthy investigating.

3.2 Unit of Analysis

According to Singleton et al, 1988:69 the entities (objects or events) under study are referred to as *units of analysis* in social research. These include individual people, social roles, positions, and relationships, a wide range of social groupings...as well as social artifacts...They add that the purpose of the study dictates what or whom is to be described, analyzed and compared. Thus the unit is simply what or whom is to be described or analyzed. However, identifying the unit of analysis is not as simple as it may seem.

This study has more than one unit of analysis. These are occupational stress and the other factors such as police organization and operation, that the researcher examined that help to explain occupational stress. Police officers drawn across rank and file were the respondents.

3.3 Sources of data

This study sourced primary data from men and women of police force in Nairobi. Secondary data was obtained from police records. Primary data in this study were drawn mainly from:

- (a) CID, Regular and Traffic police men and women in Nairobi. This was mainly because the researcher could only deal with a few.
- (b) The Key informants of the study were the Officers commanding police stations (OCS). This rank is important because they are more experienced, have access to secondary information and are also in management.

3.4 Target Population

Babbie, (1995:103), says that the population for a study is that group (usually people) about whom we want to be able to draw conclusions. The target population refers to all the members of a set of people, events or objects to which the results of research can be generalized (Babbie,

1995). The target population of this study was made up of police men and women in Nairobi Province. 90 respondents participated in this study. Participants were expected to sign a form of informed consent prior to participating. They were informed that the study was unrelated to police department business, and that their participation was completely voluntary and confidential. According to Babbie, (1995:451), whenever a survey is confidential rather than anonymous, it is the researcher's responsibility to make that fact clear to the respondents. Safeguarding ethical principles facilitated self disclosure and voluntary information by the police officers. While demographic information was requested, participants were not expected to write their names on any part of the questionnaires.

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Selection Procedure of Respondents

Due to the nature of this study, both non-probability and probability methods were used. In non-probability sampling, there is no way of specifying the probability of each unit's inclusion in the sample, and there is no assurance that every unit has some chance of being included. The researcher relied on secondary data. This study used *purposive sampling* method to select the Nairobi as the study site, police divisions and stations in Nairobi. Having established the police stations within each division, the stations within the division headquarters were purposively selected. The same non-probability sampling technique was used to select the police formations/units to be involved in the study, as well as the key informants. According to Singleton (1988) purposive sampling allows the investigator to rely on his/her expert judgement to select units that are 'representative' or 'typical' of the population and then select a sample that reflects this variation. After thorough review of secondary data, the researcher found purposive sampling appropriate for this study. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), purposive technique refers to the researcher's use of identified participants who have the required information with the objectives of the study in mind. In this study, key informants at police stations, Nairobi, were targeted purposively due to their position, role and experience.

The researcher was aware that getting police officers to participate in research in Kenya is a complex exercise. Permission to conduct the interviews was sought from the office of the president through the ministry of education science and technology. In order to select the officers to be interviewed, the researcher visited the police stations, to be guided on how, where and when to meet the targeted officers. The seemingly low and high class areas were covered. A total of six police stations were selected to represent the different police divisions. The following police stations were selected purposively: Buruburu, Kasarani, Kilimani, Lang'ata, Central and Police Headquarters. These constituted 25% of the total police stations in Nairobi. Apart from police headquarter all the others were within Divisional headquarters. This was significant because the researcher was sure to find the CID, Regular and Traffic police and the OCSs who were to serve as key informants. Buruburu serves both middle and low income residential areas including part of Dandora. Kasarani also serves high, middle and low income areas and gives the real picture of Police occupational experiences on the ground. Kilimani also serves mixed population in terms of income levels. Lang'ata was chosen because it was also likely to give a balance of regional and population disparities. The selection was influenced by available information about police work.

Once the researcher selected the police stations purposively, a sampling frame/ list of police officers was obtained from police stations. The CID, Regular and Traffic police were further categorized on the basis of rank into junior and senior officers. The junior officers comprised of constables, corporals and sergeants while the seniors were the inspectors. At least one third of each category was to be police women. Initially the study set out to sample 108 officers from the target population. However, spatial, temporal and financial limitations constrained the sample to 90 Police Officers, representing 83.3% of the initially targeted sample size. A sampling frame is comprised of a complete listing of sampling units in the population (Nachmias and Nachmias,

1996:181). Therefore it was practically possible to use *probability sampling* methods to select the police men and women from each category and rank. In this study a combination of *stratified sampling* and *simple random sampling* was used as part of probability sampling. This is where a process of random selection is used that gives each case in the population an equal chance of being included in the sample (Singleton, 1988:137). Tabular presentation of sampling undertaken is contained in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Respondents by their Police station and Formation

Police Station	Formation			Total
	Traffic	CID	Regular/General Duties	
Langata	6(6.7)	4(4.4)	5(5.6)	15(16.7)
Kilimani	6(6.7)	5(5.6)	6(6.7)	17(18.9)
Central	7(7.8)	5(5.6)	7(7.8)	19(21.1)
Headquarter	3(3.3)	5(5.6)	6(6.7)	14(15.6)
Buruburu	3(3.3)	4(4.4)	3(3.3)	10(11.1)
Kasarani	4(4.4)	5(5.6)	6(6.7)	15(16.7)
Total	26(28.9)	30(33.3)	34(37.8)	90(100)

Figures outside brackets refer to frequencies and those in brackets are the column percentages

Table 1 shows the number of police and their respective formation selected from each of the 6 police stations studied. From each of the police stations, 3 different cadres were covered viz Traffic, CID and General Duties. A total of 26 Traffic, 30 CID and 34 General Duties were covered.

Table 2: Respondent's Police Station and Job Rank

Police Station	Job Rank				
	Constable	Corporal	Sergeant	Inspector	Total
Langata	6	3	2	4	15
Kilimani	6	4	4	3	17
Central	7	4	4	4	19
Police Headquarter	5	3	3	3	14
Bururu	3	2	2	3	10
Kasarani	5	3	3	4	15
Total Count	32	19	18	21	90

Source: Field Data

Table 2 depicts the distribution of the Police covered by their respective stations and ranks. The study covered police in 4 unique ranks viz Sergeant, Corporal, Constable and Inspector (the highest rank), distributed across the 6 police stations covered. The specific number of respondents to cover in each of the four ranks was purposively determined prior to visiting the station because the researcher had information about police categorization. That is, among the police officers, some are senior, others are junior and all are either men or women. The juniors (Constables and Corporals) are usually more in numbers than the seniors and the researcher wanted to capture full representation of the police covered. Using the breakdown of the respondents needed, the researcher sought assistance from one of the senior police officers at the station in order to identify numbers needed for each rank. If these numbers could not be captured at one time of visiting the station, another visit was organized. All in all the study covered 18 Sergeants, 19 Corporals, 32 Constables and 21 Inspectors.

3.7 Data collection Techniques

Data collection techniques used in this study included; face to face interviews for primary data using a standard questionnaire. Primary data was collected through *various instruments*:

Semi-structured Study Questionnaire. This questionnaire consisted of both open-ended and closed questions. In a closed ended question, respondents are offered a set of answers and asked

to choose the one that closely represents their views (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996:253). These authors say that bias may be introduced through close-ended questions either by forcing the respondent to choose from given alternatives or by offering the respondent alternatives that might not have otherwise come to mind. On the other hand, Nachmias and Nachmias, (1996) say that open-ended questions are not followed by any kind of specified choice and the respondent's answers are recorded in full. That means that the respondent is not forced to adapt preconceived answers. The questionnaire was administered face-to-face mainly to the rank and file officers from the selected formations, seeking their views, experiences and perceptions on occupational stress in policing. All the officers selected were subjected to the same questionnaire and space was provided for them to indicate their rank.

Interview Guides: Interviews with Key Informants were carried out using interview guides. The researcher interviewed 6 OCS on a face- to- face basis. The rationale was to clarify information obtained from the survey instruments. Nachmias and Nachmias, (1996) say that interviews allow flexibility, control of the interview situation, high response rate and collection of supplementary information. These were administered to those senior officers, whose ideas, experiences and views on occurrence and intervention on occupational stress among police officers are considered to be very important.

Secondary data was obtained from police records relevant to occupational stress. This technique involved accessing, reading and recording information/data from police records and relating it to indicators of stress among officers as documented. Under section 18 of the Police Act, every police officer in charge of a police station shall keep a record in such form as the commissioner of police may command (Mutunga, 1990). The researcher expected to find such information as police numbers, their categories, rate and reasons of absenteeism, bookings per day, staff

turnover and so on. Since these documents were not prepared for the purpose of research, or at the request of inquirer then they are written without any bias to the research topic.

3.8 Data Analysis

After a careful review of all the collected data, the closed and open-ended questions were coded and the interview responses were entered into a code book from where they were entered into a computer using the statistical package of social scientist (SPSS). Qualitative data were processed through content and interpretive analysis. The open-ended responses were categorized along emerging themes and interpreted to support quantitative data. Quantitative data were analyzed through frequencies, percentages and mean scores. Results were presented mainly in tables. Data were checked to confirm validity and reliability. From this stage, description and inferential statistics were used to help make sense of the responses obtained from the data. We computed the collected data for the purpose of drawing conclusions that reflect on the interests, ideas, and theories that initiated the inquiry (Babbie, 1995:104).

3.9 Problems Encountered In the Field

As is anticipated with any research, the researcher encountered several challenges in the field. The police force has been a closed society and much as the researchers had permission to conduct the study, the right chain of command had to be observed. In most of the stations, no officer would agree to be interviewed without clear instructions from the officer commanding police station. Wherever we did not find the OCS on the first day, it meant we had to wait at times for days. In other occasions, officers expressed disinterest in participating in the research citing such reasons as confidentiality and doubt if our findings would be acted upon to improve the police conditions. The problem was overcome by explaining clearly the purpose of the research and assuring the respondents of complete confidentiality. When told that the research findings would be forwarded to the commissioner of police, the officers became very co-

operative and open. The researcher needed to verify the information with the various OCS who were difficult to access and had to be seen by an appointment. The OCSs are expected to be quite familiar with what goes on within Police force since they have served in all cadres.

Due to the nature of their work, sometimes officers would be summoned for duty in the middle of the interviews and most times we had just to wait or go back another day to the same officer if we were lucky to get him. In an attempt to deal with this problem, interviews were planned for weekends and even odd times of the day. One major handicap was the fact that the researcher was venturing into an unfamiliar area. The lack of data from research on police officers' stress in Kenya definitely hindered the development of the study questionnaire. The survey was somewhat long, consisted of 10 pages, which made officers complain and at times they would leave the interviewer seated to attend to some activities such as visitors and telephone calls. In addition, the surveys instructions were lengthy which meant rephrasing (sometimes in *Kiswahili*) for officers to understand clearly and possibly giving a different meaning to the statements; this also took time. As the study progressed, the research team became more experienced and wiser in dealing with the challenges.

The officers became quite co-operative and in some stations they mistook the interviews for stress management counselling sessions. Due to the nature and magnitude of the study, a research assistant was involved in at least two police stations, thus meaning that not every respondent was met face to face by the main researcher who had to rely on other peoples subjective views on the respondents' demeanor which mattered in this study as it may introduce bias.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.

4.1 Background Information

As Selye 1978, has suggested, we must remember that stress is the great equalizer of biological activities. If we use the same parts of our bodies or minds over and over again, nature has only stress with which to force us out of the routine. Interest in occupational stress research continues to grow (Burke,1998) , primarily because of the link between the experience of occupational stress and adverse psychological and physical health of individuals and workplace performance difficulties. The term stressor covers some environmental circumstances directly or indirectly affecting the individual. Stress in the present study is measured by a means of self reported degree of unpleasant impact experienced by the individual when exposed to a stressor.

The results presented concern a sample of 90 police officers in Nairobi who were interviewed. This chapter discusses key variables associated with occupational stress among police officers in Nairobi. To accomplish this goal, descriptive data on occupational stress in the form of frequency tables, percentages and measures of central tendency are discussed. In this chapter, first I have explored the socio-economic and demographic data of the respondents.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the Sample

This section attempts to present data capturing the personal attributes/demographic characteristics of the respondents. In total, 90 respondents who were the police officers were covered. As expected, the overwhelming majority of the respondents were married, (83.2%); only 11% were single while 2.2 were divorced. It is important to note that marriage for the police officers did not necessarily mean staying with the wife on daily basis. Qualitative information from the respondents said that some officers go for leave, marry a wife and then leave her in

their rural home; sometimes under the care of relatives and at times conflicts arise. By the time the officers get another leave they find the wife gone and they marry another one whom they also leave behind. Therefore, it may appear like there is no “divorce”, yet it happens serially. They said the whole experience leaves the officer frustrated. There is need to improve the working conditions that discourage them from staying with their wives and families. Some of these conditions include sharing of houses, abrupt transfers anywhere in the republic and so on.

Majority of the respondents 76% covered are housed by the government. This means that majority of the officers have to live in those houses regardless of size or conditions since housing in Nairobi is very expensive. As expected, the overwhelming majority (97%) confirmed that poor housing is a major problem among Kenyan police. There is growing evidence that aspects of the environment in which we live (temperature, air pollution, congestion, noise, humidity, etc.) can be sources of stress (Staple, 1996). It is therefore the responsibility of the government to improve the same as an attempt to address the problem of occupational stress among the officers. From qualitative data it was confirmed that the problem of housing is real among the police in Kenya.

“Most of the quarters were built by colonial government, they are old and not enough. It is true our officers share houses regardless of whether single or married. House allowance is available but not enough. However, the ideal situation is for officers to stay together for easy mobilization”

The key informants confirmed that most of the units are shared by both single and married officers. However, in 2004 the government attempted to lease more houses in Shauri Moyo, Eastleigh and other areas. While the police appreciate the government’s move, they feel that the process of allocating houses to the individual officers is crowded with favouritism and hence not fairly done. Due to the inadequacy of house allowance, the officers are forced to look for cheaper houses in overcrowded areas where their security and efficiency is compromised since they surrender their arms before going home to live with those they were arresting earlier in the day.

This leads to constant exposure to society's interpersonal violence, negative or confrontational interactions with individuals, a sense of personal endangerment, fear of revenge from criminals, and subservience to an ambivalent, watchful public which produce negative emotional repercussions that can affect police officers on a chronic basis (Burke 1994; Brown 1994; Ganster 1996; Sewell 1983).

In terms of education status, the study found that the majority of the sample (70%) had attained secondary education; 10% had primary education, more 10% had attained A level education while 10% had University Education. It is important to note that the work of the police in Kenya; which hitherto had been despised by graduates, is increasingly attracting those with University level of Education with different specialties. This makes the image of police to change from being regarded as a profession for the academic failures to an attractive one which the officers appreciate and perform with esteem.

Age and years of policing experience have been shown to affect the perceptions of stressors at various career stages. The age of the respondents varied from 24 to 53 years giving an average age of 37 years as summarized in Table 4. Research has shown that people are quite different psychologically at different ages and levels of development; and the impact of stress is frequently rather different at different ages. For example, a study by Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, (1993), found that younger widows and widowers (65 or younger) are more than twice as likely to still be depressed 13 months after the death of their spouse than older widows and widowers. Our research also found out that the respondents covered had served between 3 to 34 years of service in the force. These statistics imply that the sample represented both fresh and experienced officers in the force whose views were very important towards understanding the problem under study.

Table 3 Age of police officers who were interviewed.

Age in Years	Frequency	Percent
<35	38	43.2
36-45	38	43.2
>46	14	15.6
Total	90	100%

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

It is interesting to note from Table 3 that the number (38) of officers aged 35 years and below is equal to that of those aged between 36-45 years. This implies that majority of the officers in the force are in the most productive age. Those below 35 years were actually above 20 years; an age where most of them are getting to understand the occupational and social world especially the self in relationships like marriage. Those between 35 and 45 years have families which create demands from spouses and children; some of whom could be adolescents. In an effort to establish the relationship between the age of officers and prevalence of stress among them, the researcher cross-tabulated age and the responses on whether or not police are stressed. Data from our findings are in Table 4. 2.

Table 4: Age and prevalence of stress among police officers.

Age in Years	Kenya police are stressed			
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
24-30	19(100)	0	0	19(100.0)
31-36	28(93.3)	1(3.3)	1(3.3)	30(100.0)
37-42	18(78.2)	2(8.7)	3(13.0)	23(100.0)
43-48	9(100)	0	0	9(100.0)
49-54	7(77.8)	1(11.1)	1(11.1)	9(100.0)
Total	81(90)	4(4.4)	5(5.5)	90(100.0)

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

Table 4 shows that all 19(100%) who were between 24 and 30 years old, agreed that Kenyan police are stressed. It is also clear from the table that 28(93.3%) of those respondents between 31 and 36 years old, at least agreed that police officers are stressed. 18(78.2%) of the

respondents who were aged between 37 and 42 also agreed that Kenyan police are stressed. In total, from all the officers interviewed across the various age brackets, only 5.5% disagreed that Kenyan police are stressed. It is clear from the emerging trend that the younger the police officer the higher the perception of stress among the police. Years of policing experience may affect perceptions of stress at various career stages (Violant, 1983; Violant and Aron, 1995).

Officers with less years of experience may be generally optimistic and more focused on enhancing their skills and effectiveness on the job. However, they are still too young in the job to cope with the cumulative level of experience on the street, with fellow officers, the judicial system, the media, and within the organization and all this tends to diminish their enthusiasm and sense of idealism and subsequently increase the level of stress (Roberg et al., 2000). As officers advance in age and work experience, they now know how to handle different situations at work or family level. They have moved up ranks and are more settled in the force. The relationship between police ranks and the effect of operational stressors on them is discussed elsewhere in this study.

NIOSH, 1999, while defining occupational stress, indicates that the requirements of the job must match the needs of the worker to prevent harmful responses. Income levels influence how officers are able to meet their needs. However, an employee might be underpaid but feel positive about work and working conditions; for example this may be the case with university professors. This statement is well supported by the findings of the study. Asked to what extent they like their job, 68 (75.6%) officers responded “very much” and at the same time 65 (72.2%) of the officers disagreed with the statement that “police in Nairobi are currently well paid for the job they do”. These findings imply that most officers believe that they are not well paid and at the same time they like their work. Data on the monthly income earned by the respondents are contained in Table 5.

Table 5: Monthly income earned by the respondents

Monthly Income in Ksh.	Frequency	Percent
5000 – 9,999	3	3.3
10,000 – 19,000	46	51.1
Over 20,000	41	45.6
Total	90	100

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

Data in Table 5 clearly shows that 51.1% of the respondents earned more than Ksh10,000.00 per month while 45.6% earned over Ksh20,000.00. Contrary to public view, these income figures reflect the average earnings for a majority of the civil servants. While police are public servants, they feel that their job is 24 hours and hence they need special consideration. The researcher agrees with the respondents' sentiments in view of the fact that police work addresses uncertain situations such as crime, violence, political assignments etc, that make it difficult for them to follow a definite structure and routine day in day out. This trend coupled with the inadequate police numbers leads to practices where officers work through the night and come morning their seniors assign them more duties. While increasing salaries may not take away the physical, psychological and social toll imposed on officers by their 24 hour duty call, at least higher salaries and allowances may assist them in meeting their needs with less anxiety. When responding to the statement that 'police in Nairobi are currently well paid for the job they do', an overwhelming majority (72.2%) disagreed. As discussed in an earlier section of this work, good or bad pay is interpreted to mean how well or poor an employee is able to meet their own needs. Failure to meet one's needs produces frustration which is an indication of stress. In our qualitative data, poor salary was also cited as major source of stress at work place. Responding to the question on salaries, one of the key respondents said:

The salaries are now improved and most of the officers are okay. However allowances need to be increased and also government should provide separation and risk allowance as well as risk insurance.

However, majority of those interviewed felt that life in Nairobi has become so expensive and that the salaries are never enough. It was imperative for the researcher to establish the relationship between income and stress levels among police officers. This was done by cross-tabulating monthly income and respondents' opinion on stress prevalence among Kenyan police. Data on this information are contained in Table 7 in the following section which discusses the prevalence of occupational stress among police officers.

4.3 Prevalence of Occupational Stressors among Police officers.

This study endeavored to establish what the officers knew about “stress” and the extent of occupational stress among the Kenyan police. Asked what they understand by the term “stress”, the respondents gave the many responses. Below is a sample of the responses:

- Psychological effects brought about by problems;
- Feeling overworked, tired and in no mood to work;
- Something that causes mental disturbance and hinders you from performing your duties;
- Feeling overworked; frustrations, hopelessness;
- Problems facing police force, feeling overworked;
- Problems affecting ones' behaviour;
- Situation one finds themselves with problems;
- Depression, frustration, hopelessness.

These responses are in line with the findings from Brown and Campbell 1994 on symptoms of police stress. Asked if they knew of police officers who have experienced stress in the course of their work to a point of being admitted in hospital, 67.8% said yes while 32.2% said no. From the narration of those who said yes, the following key points were captured:

There are situations when stressed officers fight often when drinking and they injure each other. Also drivers who are exhausted cause accidents. One officer was denied leave to go and bury his child and the next thing he was in hospital with severe depression. Due to stress some officers turn to immorality and develop serious and complicated diseases.

It was imperative for the researcher to establish the relationship between police demographic characteristics and stress levels among police officers. This was done by cross-tabulating

monthly income, rank, gender, formation and respondents' opinion on stress prevalence among Kenyan police. Data on this information and are contained in Table 7.

Table 6:.. Occupational stress and demographic characteristics of the officers.

Variables		Kenya Police are stressed				
		Agree	Neutra	Disagree	Row Total	Percentage of total sample n=90
Monthly Income						
	Between Kshs.5000 and 9,999 per month	3(100)	0	0	3	3.3
	Between Kshs.10,000 and 19,999 per month	42(91.3)	1(2.2)	3(6.5)	46	51.1
	Over Kshs.20,000 per month	37(90.2)	3(7.3)	1(2.4)	41	45.6
Gender						
	Female	19(100)	0	0	19	21.1
	Male	63(88.7)	4(5.6)	4(5.6)	71	78.9
Rank						
	Constable	35(97.2)	0	1(2.8)	36	40
	Corporal	14(87.6)	1(6.3)	1(6.3)	16	17.8
	Sergeant	19(90.5)	2	0	21	23.3
	Inspector	14(82.3)	1(5.9)	2(11.8)	17	18.8
Police formation						
	Traffic	22(84.6)	1(3.8)	3(11.5)	26	28.9
	C.I.D	27(90)	2(6.7)	1(3.3)	30	33.3
	General Duties	33(97.1)	1(2.9)	0	34	37.8

Figures in brackets indicate row percentages.
Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

Irrespective of their rank and income, police officers generally agreed that Kenyan police are stressed. Age and experience appear to be better predictor of occupational stress than income.

All in all it is clear that the perception of stress presence reported by the respondents is not dependent on income levels among the police. This may be attributed to the inherent nature of police work being stressful as well as the expensive life in the urban area where the salaries are not competitive. Though the current Narc government has attempted to review police salaries, the officers still perceive the current payments as inadequate. The results could also mean that increasing salaries only may not remove/ fully address the problem of occupational stress. There are other factors that need to be tackled. This suggests the need to look into the remuneration as well as addressing the special needs of the urban police in Kenya.

As expected, Table 7 shows that majority (78.9%) of the respondents are males and 21.1% are female. All the respondents who are policewomen 19(100%) and 63(88.7%) of the male respondents at least agreed that police in Kenya are stressed. The researcher went ahead and asked the respondents' opinion on whether policewomen are more stressed than the policemen. All in all, 23.4% agreed while 54.4% disagreed that policewomen are more stressed than policemen. 22.2% remained neutral on the issue. These findings imply to some extent that perception of presence or absence of occupational stress among police officers does not depend on gender. Both male and female officers highly agreed that there is stress among the Kenyan police. Female officers said that they are not discriminated against and instead they feel highly supported by their majority male colleagues. From qualitative data, the key informants confirmed that officers are treated equally regardless of gender. Also from observation, the researcher noted that senior lady officers were accorded the same 'respect' through saluting by both male and female officers along the corridors of police stations visited. In fact the researcher was quick to note that at the point of research, the senior deputy commissioner of police was a lady. Research in other countries has reported high levels of discrimination of policewomen by their majority male colleagues. This finding deserves further inquiry to more precisely determine gender implications in policing in Kenya.

The researcher endeavored to establish whether or not the levels of perception of stress among police in Kenya depend on the officers' rank. Results in Table7 also indicate that majority (97.2) of the respondents in the rank of constables, 90.2% of sergeants, 87.6% of corporals and 82.3% of inspectors at least agreed that there is stress among the Kenyan police. These findings indicate that all the ranks have high perception of the presence of stress among police officers. That overall stress becomes less apparent for the most experienced and highly ranked officers (inspectors) may be indicative that many at the career stage have developed more effective

coping strategies and/ or attained certain assignments or rank that offset the effect of some stressors.

It was necessary to find out whether or not stress levels depend on the police formation/unit under which one is serving. The findings for the relationship between police formation/category and perception of stress among the Kenya police as contained in Table 7. The data indicate that an overwhelming majority, 33(97.1%) of respondents serving under General Duties, agreed that the police are stressed. The table also shows that a high number, 27(90%) of respondents who are in C.I.D and 22(84.6%) from Traffic agree that police in Kenya are stressed. Therefore, irrespective of the formation, police officers agreed that Kenya police are stressed; but the highest percentage was reported by those in General Duties. This is the area of the greatest operational importance since the bulk of frontline operations such as patrol, rescues, disasters, mass demonstrations etc; all fall under here. The officers under General Duties also do clerical, administrative, staff or support functions that would more suitably be done by civilians. In view of the bulk of tasks that these officers handle, they are likely to become over stretched, frustrated and stress will eventually result. A reward and prestige system should be developed to promote excellence and encourage a continuous and high standard of performance as the force plans to increase the personnel numbers.

4.4 Police perceptions of their working conditions and environment

At times the requirements of the job may unnecessarily produce pacing problems, social isolation and the job may involve long and erratic work hours as is the case with police work generally. This study attempted to appraise how police officers in Kenya interpret these working conditions. It is not surprising that 83(92.2%) of the officers interviewed agreed that they are overworked. This is due to the fact that Police officers are fewer than needed in most of the stations. Some of the respondents said that it is not surprising for an officer who has been

working throughout the night to be sent out for whole day duty just as they are handing over in the morning. They said that such occurrences are due to the fact that any police station has a right to ask for reinforcement from another hence leaving a deficit and normal coverage must be done by the 'donating' station. Work overload is a major source of stress as it leaves officers fatigued. Working equipments among police officers include communication gadgets, vehicles, guns, anti-riot gear and so on. Majority 71.1% of the officers interviewed were of the view that the equipments they work with are too old to use during these modern times when even the members of the public have access to more sophisticated equipments. Feelings of inadequacy frustrate the officers hence causing them stress. Asked if poor housing is a major problem among the Kenyan Police, an overwhelming majority, 86(95.6%) agreed with the statement and hence corroborated the problem. They said that the houses are small, shared and have not been maintained for along time. Some of them leak rain water through, others are windowless and cartons are used to cover. A number of police stations were reported to be of temporary structures and wooden ones are quite risky in case of fire. This raises officers' fears and anxiety and finally leads to stress.

Mburu, (2000), in a study focusing on problems of police in Kenya was right then when he said that some Kenyan police officers leave their families in rural areas to avoid shame of shared and congested houses. They then feel lonely and are likely to resort to heavy drinking. Sewell, (1981) and Blackmore, (1978) have something about this behaviour and they say that the high rates of alcohol use among police is one reflection of unmanaged emotional stress. Mburu, (2000) observes that in the process, they pick up prostitutes who may be infected with HIV/ADS; such women could be shared by the officers and the result is devastating. From our study, 60% of the officers confirmed that the problem of HIV/AIDS is common among the Kenyan Police officers. There was no consensus about divorce being common among the officers because 36(40%) agreed while 38(42.2%) disagreed with the statement that divorce is common among

police officers. However, our ethnographic data confirmed that officers are known to remarry immediately the earlier relationships break. Divorce is loss which causes a lot of pain to both parties and the whole experience can lead to perpetual stress.

Respondents perceived unjust criticism of the police by members of the public as was indicated by 71(78.9%) of those interviewed. Accusations and criticisms can be formidable sources of negative reactions and especially going by the findings of this study that show that the police have been working under very difficult conditions. It sounds realistic now to say that the public complain and condemn the members of the police because of lack of information about police work and the working conditions. The public are in charge of change through better cooperation and positive attitude towards the police. More details on public attitude towards the police are discussed elsewhere in this study.

There is low internal morale among the police as indicated by 67(74.4%) of the study sample. The police officer's morale will be elevated if s/he has a sense of purpose and worth; if the organization is concerned with his well-being; if he retains a sense that his contribution and opinion are sought- and that they are important. In the final analysis, morale is the residue of sensible labor management. Normally, the police are supposed to work as teams. However, this study was informed by a good number (71.5%) that teamwork is poor among the police. Team work requires coordination, availability and participative decision-making. Overworked and frustrated people cannot perform to capacity and may easily succumb to absenteeism or alcoholism. Police work requires a lot of team work since it involves patrolling, dealing with traffic at different points of the same road, quelling riots and other activities that require group effort and coordination. When this does not happen, then we have a problem.

It is said that the problems facing the police officers in Kenya include: congestion and room-sharing by officers and their families, which promote frustration, immorality, the spread of HIV/AIDS and broken families, less vehicles and fuel (Mugumo Munene, 2003). The researcher notes a connection between police morale and the conditions of service among police officers in Kenya, as shown elsewhere in this chapter. Kearns, 1973 summarizes these statements by saying that work stress may be caused by working as well as living conditions among the employees. We endeavored to find out the views of the police officers towards the conditions and environment they have to contend with in the course of their work. The study focused on such aspects as: police numbers, housing, public confidence, income, internal morale, divorce and HIV/AIDS pandemic. The responses from the officers who were interviewed are shown in Table 8.

Table 7: Working conditions and environment are poor among the police.

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	69	76.7
Neutral	11	12.2
Disagree	10	11.1
Total	90	100.0

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

From the findings in Table 8, 76.7% of the respondents at least agreed that police working conditions are not conducive. This confirms the earlier assertion that poor working conditions produce stress as a result of job environment being unpleasant. Various factors have been outlined as causes of occupational stress: the characteristics of the job itself, the role of the person and or job in the organization; the nature of the relationships at work and the problems associated with the interface between the organization and outside world e.g work versus family (Cooper, 1981; Sauter, Murphy & Hurrell, 1990).

This section also presents data on other views from the respondents about their experiences in the course of their work. The study attempted to seek officers' opinion about such negative

factors as whether or not Kenya police are heavy smokers or alcoholics, easily loose their temper, feel out of control, use abusive language perceive hostility from the public and if miscalculated shootings and suicide are common. Mood swings, inability to control and manage anger is characteristic symptom of stress and a strong indicator that stress exists within the force (Gudjonson and Adlam 1985). Therefore there was need to establish whether officers experience lack of self control in their areas of work. Data on these issues are presented in Table9.

Table 8: Police lack of self control due to problems at work

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	30	44.5
Neutral	21	23.3
Disagree	29	32.2
Total	90	100.0

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

Table 9 shows that 44.5% of the respondents at least agreed that most police officers experience lack of self control in the course of their work. There was no consensus on this aspect as 29(31.2%) disagreed and 23.3% remained neutral. However, the fact that a significant number of officers admitted that they frequently loose temper, behave erratically including mishandling the members of the public, implies that the officers most likely experience stress in the course of service to all. In addition half of the sample agreed that police use abusive language. It is known that Police in Kenya are associated with use of abusive language and no wonder the members of the public have a negative attitude towards the Police and easily criticize them. Abusive language is likely to arouse negative emotions and hence annoy members of the public who in turn hold the Police in contempt. There is evidence of miscalculated shootings among the Kenyan police as indicated by 36(39.9%) of the officers who responded in agreement. However there was no consensus on this issue as 35.6% of the officers disagreed with the statement. When clarification was sought from the key informants, they said that there are occasions when the police officers have shot dead wrong people. The explanations given include mistaken identity and perceived threat to personal safety. We were told that normally investigations are carried out

and when there is proof that the officer miscalculated the shooting, they are disciplined. It was not clear to the researcher how much the police organization investigates the root cause of such cases. The key informants seemed to blame alcoholism and family problems.

Even though it is well known fact that excessive drinking characterize the behaviour of typical police in Kenya, our data shows that only 50% agreed that they are heavy smokers and alcoholics. The researcher is of the view that self reporting could have reduced the magnitude of the problem. However, this finding is important as it suggests that at least half of the officers use alcohol and other smoking substances. While the researcher does not want to conclude that the 50% who smoke and drink are all stressed, research elsewhere has indicated that drug and substance use is an indicator that individuals are unable to cope with life demands. As Myers (1983) suggests, when conventional coping strategies fail (exercises, relaxation, psychological counseling and social support), one must find alternatives or one cannot go on living. In the case of police officers, a common choice is alcohol and smoking, and alcoholism is often a problem in police agencies (Myers, 1983:37). When the key informants were asked to respond to this issue, they said that drinking and smoking are common problems among the officers.

Some officers take 'changaa' and a few take alcohol in excess especially at the end of the month. Smoking among the police officers is normal, some do, others don't.

Police officers have a duty to protect life and even in situations where criminals are armed they are expected to try their best to shoot to immobilize, disarm and not to kill. When incidences are reported that police have shot innocent members of the public and more so when quelling riots, a lot is left to be desired and questions are asked. It would be possible for a stressed officer to loose the sense of accuracy and more so due to mental confusion and poor concentration.

It is clear from this section that the officers are overworked and they work with inadequate equipments. The problems of divorce and HIV/AIDS could be common. Police experience

public criticisms, low internal morale and poor team play. We conclude that the prevailing working conditions and environment among the Kenyan police are unpleasant. This implies that there could be stressors that officers face in the course of their job. At least 72.2% of the respondents agreed that they experience lack of self control and the resultant behaviour include unmanaged anger, misuse of alcohol and other substances, as well as miscalculated shootings of innocent people.

4.5 Causes of Occupational Stress among Police officers in Kenya

Knowing what causes the problem of occupational stress would help in identifying ways of solving the problem among the Kenyan Police. Many factors were cited as causing stress at workplace. Sources of police stress could be classified into two general categories: organizational and operational in nature (Hart, 1994).

Organizational stressors could comprise external stressors that impact on the officers due to the mere fact that they belong to the police organization. These include factors related to the judicial system and relationships with the public. Among them are court appearances, cross-examinations, delayed judicial decisions, lack of encouragement from the public and the general mass-media image attributed to police. Among the respondents interviewed, an overwhelming majority (81%) said that inefficient justice system causes stress among the police. When Police officers make arrests and do the investigations, the accused may take years in custody and every time the case is mentioned in court the officers concerned have to appear; a single case may involve as many as five officers. The whole exercise leaves officers feeling frustrated. Likewise, majority 80% of the officers interviewed agreed that negative comments from the public and perceived lack of public support cause distressful thoughts and feelings among the police in Kenya. From qualitative data the researcher found out that at times members of the public pressurize the police to torture suspects so as to extract information. Some of these people could

be influential and at times interfere with the process of justice causing frustration among police officers. Most of the officers wished that the members of the public could understand what the police have to go through in the course of duty:

Members of the public do not understand the law and the work of police officers especially when it comes to handling suspects. Some of the complainants pressurize the police to use forceful means to extract information from the suspects. It becomes very difficult when the complainants are politically influential.

The insularity of the police must be broken and the public's lack of understanding of the police officer's role must be remedied. This may require the setting up of a special unit at the headquarters which could serve as provider of directions, innovative programs and ideas, as liaison office with other organizations and as giver and definer of policy. Public criticism is indicative of the contemporary stressors experienced by police officers (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000). That such criticism is so prevalent among stressors may further explain some of the self-protective, insular characteristics of many professional policing organizations. Whereas some level of public scrutiny and professional accountability are usual aspects of the job, it can lead some officers to feel unappreciated and foster an adversarial mentality in their relationship with community members, the media and advocacy groups.

Although some criticisms may be motivated by political or personal gain, in many cases, they are legitimate concerns over the misuse of authority or quality of service delivery that often deserve further attention. From the qualitative data one key informant said:

Police officers are civil servants of the public. They are human beings like any other. The public are in charge of change through better cooperation and positive attitude towards the police. They are their brothers and sisters. The public should know that the current police are changing.

The thrust of a community relations program must be directed at making the police more responsive to the needs of the people. Accessibility of the police and accountability for their performance must become the watch words of the force. It was necessary to get further

information on how the Kenyan police officers perceived public attitude towards them. Data on these findings are contained in Table 10.

Table 9: Perceived negative public attitude by the police.

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	16	17.8
Agree	40	44.4
Neutral	26	28.9
Disagree	6	6.7
Strongly Disagree	2	2.2
Total	90	100.0

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

Table 10 indicates that 56 (62.2%) of the respondents agreed that members of the public have negative attitude towards the police. Respondents perceived unjust criticism of the police by members of the public. Accusations and criticisms can be formidable sources of negative reactions. It is clear that the public blame the police due to lack of information. Awareness from this study could go along way in improving the relationship between the police and the members of the public.

Other organizational stressors are internal pertaining to police organization and structure. A number of difficulties emerged from administrative policies and management practices. Among them are lack of participation in work organization, abrupt changes, communication problems, insufficient support from superiors (where achievements are not recognized) and excessive bureaucracy. The researcher noted that the Kenya Police had undergone through changes since the beginning of 2003. Asked if these changes had caused them problems, 53.3% of the respondents agreed and 46.7 disagreed. Those who agreed said that the changes were too many and abrupt making them feel insecure. The changes comprise of compulsory retirement of senior officers, demotions of any officers who may have been promoted unfairly, disbandment of some units like Kenya Police Reserve increased democratic space among citizens and hence more demonstrations, very many transfers across ranks, interdictions and prosecution of officers

caught breaking the law, emergence of new legislations to be enforced, and a lot of retraining just to mention a few. Life events that happen in people's lives if well understood can be turning points and opportunities. However, if not well supported and understood, they can lead to depression and other life threatening dangers. Stressors related to an officer's career profile (such as training, work relationships, performance evaluation, salary, promotion, unexpected transfers) and inadequate human and material resources are also part of this scenario. In particular this study investigated the relationship between the junior and senior officers. A summary of data on these findings is in Table 6.

Table 10: Relationship between junior and senior officers is negative

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	22	24.4
Agree	50	55.6
Neutral	14	15.6
Disagree	3	3.3
Strongly Disagree	1	1.1
Total	90	100.0

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

From Table 11 it is clear that 72 (80%) of the officers interviewed agreed that there is negative relationship between the junior and senior officers. It is interesting that officers across rank complain of poor communication and a lack of support that they experience from their seniors as significant sources of stress. Top on the list was interference with well investigated cases. They said that there was a common tendency among the CID seniors to take over investigated cases from the junior officers and they get credit from it. Senior officers were said to block communication between the juniors and higher levels of command. Generally, the junior officers felt that the seniors over emphasized the negatives and hence gave poor evaluations that spoil their files and their image. These are used to deny them promotion and other benefits causing them frustration. Poor work relations causes a lot of internal strain which is actually stressful.

Organizational life too often mirrors the strengths of the individuals in the organization. The organization has to assume a coherent shape and it must accurately reflect the substantive policies of the department, and in proper priority (Bouza, 1978). If difficult issues are sidestepped, then the problems will surface in the organization's units. This study was informed that the existing chain of command in the police force requires that officers communicate their needs and concerns through their immediate seniors upwards to the police commissioner. The respondents claimed that the bureaucracy involved leads to delayed decisions and hence frustration among the officers. From qualitative data clarified the claim further:

Decisions take too long to be made since the full chain of command has to be followed. Very few decisions are made at the station level without involving the seniors at the police headquarters. Many times we are frustrated by the delays for example to grant transfer, leave or even promotion. In fact sometimes we wonder whether we police for another country

This way of communicating with seniors is further complicated by the negative relationships that exist between the junior and senior officers as discussed elsewhere in this work. Given the very special role played by the police in society, it is important for authorities in charge of maintenance and development of the police service to give serious consideration to alternative strategies of work redesign and organizational changes (Kirkcaldy et al, 1995; Brown et al, 1997). In fact, organizational factors such as work overload, *bureaucratic obstacles* to police functioning, autocratic management and rapid organizational changes (Richmond, Grossi et al 1999), may be potentially damaging to the health and wellbeing of policemen. The researcher endeavored to establish whether bureaucratic obstacles exist in the police force and data on the results are contained in Table 12.

Table 11: Bureaucratic obstacles exist in police organization

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	10	11.1
Agree	48	53.3
Neutral	23	25.6
Disagree	7	7.8
Strongly Disagree	2	2.2
Total	90	100.0

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

It is clear from Table 12 that 64.4% of the respondents agreed that there are bureaucratic obstacles (*e.g decisions take too long to be made*) within the police force. Of course this would bring about feelings of lack of autonomy and also the fact that decisions take too long due to the chain of command causing anxiety. In effect that means that officers' concerns and needs (equipments, uniform, transfer etc) are not addressed in good time thus causing frustration which is one of the causes of stress and it comes when we are not able to satisfy a motive (financial, transfer, promotion housing, equipment and so on). There is need to have establishments (stations, units or posts) that are needed and functioning with clear mission and with a carefully examined budget known by the commissioner. If the OCS is empowered to run the affairs of his/her station with transparency, may be life and performance of the officers would improve.

The findings from this study provide further evidence of how officers perceive stress sources and the extent to which stressors are experienced in conjunction with select personal and job characteristics. Operational stressors include quantitative work overload alternating with periods of inactivity. Other causes of stress include role conflicts and ambiguities, perception of danger, task complexity, lack of autonomy, ambiguous feelings and the responsibility of facing misery, pain and death. Further sources of police stress included outdated communications equipment inadequate patrol cars and other equipments, and bureaucratic inefficiencies.

Excessive paperwork, time pressures and a heavy work load, seem to accelerate the worsening of situations in the private and personal life of individual officers. Table 13 indicates the respondents' opinion on the relationship between work overload and police stress.

Table 12: Overwork and Stress among Kenyan Police

Kenyan Policemen and women are overworked	Kenyan police are stressed					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Strongly Agree	36(73.5)	12(24.5)	1(2.0)	0	0	49
Agree	17(51.5)	12(36.4)	2(6.1)	2(6.1)	0	33
Neutral	3(75.0)	1(25.0)	0	0	0	4
Disagree	0	1(50.0)	0	0	1(50.0)	2
Strongly Disagree	1(50.0)	0	0	1(50.0)	0	2
Total	57(63.3)	26(28.9)	3(3.3)	3(3.3)	1(1.1)	90

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

As is expected, Table 13 shows that there was a consensus among the officers that police men and women are overworked. An overwhelming majority (98%) of those who strongly perceived excessive work at least agreed that they are stressed. Being overworked means that the individual is handling more tasks than normal resulting to lack of time to relax or be with the family. Among the Kenyan police, this reality is further compounded by the fact that police personnel are fewer in numbers than what would be required to serve the current population. This was also confirmed by the key informants who agreed that Kenya's population is too high for the current police numbers. Key informants gave varying figures for the current ratios of police to population in Kenya. Information from the Daily Nation, February 21, 2003 interview with the police commissioner who was quoted saying:

The police are currently stretched to the limit with one officer for 1,100 Kenyans, well above the United Nations recommended ratio of 1: 450.

This ratio is confirmed by the fact that the respondents said that they are fewer than needed in most of the stations. Many a times, they find themselves working 24 hours without rest. Some of the respondents said that it is not surprising for an officer who has been working throughout the night to be sent out for whole day duty just as they are handing over in the morning. This in effect is work overload which is a major source of stress as it leaves officers fatigued and physiologically unfit.

Recent research (Sloan et al, 1994; Stephens, 1996) has shown that shift work has one of the most important impacts on psychological outcomes for policemen and may interact with traumatic experiences. However, in our study, shift work has not been identified as an important factor associated with occupational stress. In fact only 28.8% agreed that shift work causes most problems among police officers in Nairobi while 55.5% disagreed. However this study found out that working during the late night shift results in stress as it was perceived as a stressor by 77.8% who agreed. This is likely because of the inherent job hazards and adjustments to the body's natural circadian rhythm that can lead to poor sleep quality and fatigue and can disrupt work and family relationships (Bain, 1988; O'Neill & Cushing, 1991; Violant, 1984). Apart from risk of working at night, police officers are also worried about their personal safety and that of their colleagues. We investigated this claim and data on the findings of this study are in Table 14.

Table 13: Risk of Injury of self and colleagues

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	67	74.4
Agree	17	18.9
Neutral	4	4.4
Disagree	2	2.2
Total	90	100.0

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

As indicated in Table 14, an overwhelming majority 84 (93.3%) agreed that the risk of being injured on the job causes them a lot of anxiety. This stressor included the concern for a fellow officer being injured or killed. This finding is consistent with similar findings in the literature

(e.g. Spielberg et al., 1981; Violant and Aron, 1995) and reinforces the frequent perceived potential for crisis situations. This aspect continues to differentiate police work from most other occupations. Their logical concerns for fellow officers may be based on interrelated factors, such as the professional and oftentimes personal bonds that develop between partnered officers and/or the fear of failure to have prevented the outcome (i.e. that personal action and inaction may somehow facilitate the outcome).

From this study, it is noted that majority of the respondents (75.5%) agreed that lack of understanding from family and friends causes frustration and hence stress. The delicate balance of work and home is a tight rope that many police officers find difficult to walk. Kroes 1976, in a survey of married police officers, found that being a police officer has an adverse effect on non police friendships, limits one's private life planning, means that work intrudes into the home and family and generates frustrations because of the negative public image of police. Family demands for personal time and involvement is a significant stressor for police officers. Many of them often take the frequent opportunities presented to work overtime hours to supplement base salary and enhance economic security (albeit at the expense of additional time from family). It is no wonder then that 76.7% of the respondents agreed that there is general fatigue in police work. Lack of enough time to relax was rated as the highest stressor at 32.7% by those who strongly agreed. This aspect combined with emotional barriers that policing can impose on officers in discussing their work experiences with family members may diminish their capacity for healthy family relationships (Alexander & Walker, 1996; Territo and Vetter, 1981). Moreover being a policeman or a policewoman with a high stress level could adversely affect the social life by not having the ability to plan one's private life.

The findings of this study concur with Hart and Wearing (1995), who identified hassles in police work to include the type of administration, communication, supervision, ratings, co-workers,

morale, workload, complaints, activity, external frustration, victims and danger. This information was accommodated while at the same time bearing in mind that police officers are categorized in formations and ranks. Subsequently, the study endeavored to investigate the relationship between police rank and operational sources of occupational stress. Rank defines the range of police officer responsibilities and activities that may affect perceptions of stress factors (Roberg, Hayhurst, & Allen, 1988; Violant & Aron, 1995). The resultant data are in Table 15

Table 14 Job rank and Operational causes of stress.

Job Rank	Operational sources of occupational stress among police officers			Row Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Sergeant	11(64.7)[20]	6(35.3)[21.4]	0(0)[0]	17
Corporal	12(75)[20.7]	3(18.8)[10.7]	1(6.3)[25]	16
Constable	25(69.5)[43.1]	9(25.0)[32.1]	2(5.6)[50]	36
Inspector	10(47.7)[17.2]	10(47.6)[35.7]	1(4.8)[25]	21
Column Total	58[100]	28[100]	4[100]	90(100.0)

Figures in the brackets indicate row percentages while those in parenthesis indicate column percentages
 Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

From Table 16 pertinent information can be deduced. It is clear that 75% corporals, 69% constable, 63% sergeant and 48% inspectors at least agree that operational sources of stress prevail amongst Kenyan police. Most (43.1%) of the respondents who agreed that there are operational stressors among the police in Kenya are constables while 32.1% were non committal. Only 2 constables viewed the problem as not persistent. All in all the cadres below the inspector tend to agree that operational sources of stress prevail. In other words, the lower the rank, the higher the likelihood of agreeing that operational sources of stress prevail.

So far it is clear that the main sources of job stressors for police officers are similar to those found in other organizations, namely work overload, staff shortages, insufficient resources, bureaucratic obstacles, work relationships and lack of consultation. However stressors unique to police officers included risk of injury and public criticism. Both senior and junior officers

complained of having to keep longer working hours. Staff shortages seem to impact junior officers more than their seniors.

4.6 Consequences of Occupational Stress Among Police in Kenya

Factors that may be linked to an officer's work are identified as family problems, alcoholism, divorce, ill health, drug abuse and suicide. These factors were investigated among Kenyan police considering what authors like Kroes (1985) says that these run abnormally high among police officers. Such factors may exert some influence on work performance and the individual perception of stress, but the vast majority of stress researchers agree that these should be considered as stress consequences. In this study, the police officers were cautious in reporting cases of suicide and drug abuse amongst them although they admitted occurrence. 33.3% at least agreed that suicide is common among the police and 64.4% admitted that Kenyan police frequently abuse drugs. Surprisingly, only 50% acknowledged having developed medical problems as a result of stress from their job. Our study shows that at least 64.4% of the officers said that they frequently display low response speed and that they do not respond to situations as needed/expected. Police work requires concentration and quick judgement because of its sensitivity and the fact that the whole public has direct daily expectations from the police. Take for example traffic control in the city; if not well done it can cause a lot of confusion and even accidents. The work involves using equipments such as guns and communication gadgets which if mishandled can lead to accidents and confusion at work place. We have heard of police shooting to kill even in situations where they could just have arrested the victims. Lahey, 2001, says that under stress, cognitive changes occur and individuals may find it difficult to concentrate or lose ability to think clearly.

Mental health symptoms most often studied among police include depression, burnout and suicide. In recent years burnout has been one of the most-studied stress consequences among

helping/caring professions, which include police officers (Folkman and Chesney, 1995). In this study, 67.8% of the respondents confirmed that they frequently feel psychologically burnt out. Burnout means that police officers become emotionally drained after a day's work, that they begin to develop a detachment from the public they serve (e.g. sentiments of depersonalization), and that they will not take new initiatives at work. When burnout becomes chronic, it leads to a number of physical and psychological ailments. Effort was made to seek the views of the respondents on aspects of work performance among police officers such as: motivation, efficiency, morale, absenteeism, judgement and frequency of accidents. Occupational stress may lead to reduced productivity due to low motivation, poor/low morale (low spirits, low self confidence and low self esteem) and excessive absenteeism. When the respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed that stress has reduced productivity among police officers in Nairobi, 76.7% agreed. However, in our study only 25% agreed that there is excessive absenteeism among Kenyan police. The key informants confirmed that:

The fact that police officers are ever present for duty should not be taken to mean that they do not face circumstances that would make them miss work just as other workers elsewhere. Being in a disciplined and uniformed service police officers will only be absent from duty if they are too sick to walk, in hospital or they are dead; otherwise call of duty comes first! They said that this is necessitated by the low workforce in the police organization as well as the nature of police work. Any absent officers would be noted during the daily morning parades and absenteeism is taken very seriously – it is an indication of indiscipline.

The factors contributing to job satisfaction include: organizational, group and personal factors. Organizational factors include pay; opportunity for promotion, the nature of work, policies and procedures of the organization and working conditions. In our study, organizational stressors were measured by giving the respondents a list of items that best describe different aspects of being a police officer. The officers were to indicate their level of perception on how much stress each item had caused them over the last one year. For example from their responses 72.1% said that dealing with co-workers /colleagues; that is work place relationships, gives them stress. Majority (74.5%) at least said that lack of transfer opportunities causes them stress. Other factors considered to be organizational stressors include: Feeling that different rules apply to different

people (e.g favouritism, nepotism), constant change in policy/legislation, excessive administrative duties, bureaucratic red tape (where decisions take too long to be made), lack of training on new equipments, lack of recognition for achievement made, inconsistent leadership style, lack of resources (equipments, finances), unequal sharing of work responsibilities, attitude of colleagues in case of sickness or injury, leaders overemphasizing the negatives, lack of promotion and inefficient criminal justice system.

These stressors were measured on a five- point scale of: Most Stress (MS) (causes most stress among the officers), Stress (S) (causes stress among the officers), No Stress (NS) (causes no stress among the officers), Least Stress (LS) (causes least stress among the officers), No Stress At All (NSAA) (causes no stress at all stress among the officers). The researcher then combined those stressors that scored at various levels of the scale to get five groups. Our research endeavored to ascertain if there is a relationship between organizational stressors and low motivation among police officers by cross-tabulating the scores of the various indicators of organizational stress with those of respondents' perception of low motivation among Kenyan police. Data on our results is contained in Table 17.

Table 15: Organizational stressors and low motivation among police.

Organizational stressors	Low motivation among police officers			
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Row Total
Most Stress	25(37.9)	6(30)	0	31
Stress	36(54.5)	3(15)	2(50)	41
Least Stress	1(1.5)	10(50)	1(25)	12
Not Sure	3(4.5)	0	0	3
No Stress At All	1(1.5)	1(5)	1(25)	3
Column Total	66	20	4	90(100)

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey
 (Figures outside brackets are the frequencies while those in brackets represent column percentages)

From Table 17, it is clear that majority (92.4) of those respondents who perceived stress from organizational factors at least agreed that there is low motivation among police officers. Among

those who agreed that they face organizational stressors, only 2 disagreed that there is low motivation among Kenyan police. It seems that the prevalence of organizational stressors (relationships with colleagues, recognition and organizational climate) significantly predict behavioural and psychological outcomes of the policemen and women. Low motivation is a psychological response towards unfavorable external circumstances that eventually leads to less energized behaviour. At workplace this will be observed as reduced inspiration, drive and enthusiasm. In response to the second question of this study, it would therefore be in order to say that stress affects police work performance since de-motivated officers may not perform to expectation. The literature reviewed on police stress elsewhere has shown that there is a relationship between stressors and such negative results as reductions in productivity, increases in reaction time and judgement errors, work dissatisfaction, the desire to quit, absenteeism and accidents (Violant and Aron 1993). Stress at work is not cheap, and is reflected invariably in direct and indirect costs both for the individual and the organization.

4.7 Management of Occupational Stress among police officers

It was noted that the police culture that inhibits admission that they are unable to cope with the existing stress, could delay response by the stake holders towards management of occupational stress. Therefore the researcher made an effort to find out whether or not officers perceived urgency towards addressing stress among the police. It came out clearly that all 100% of the respondents who serve in the Regular duties category, at least thought that it is urgent to address the problem of occupational stress among police officers in Nairobi. An overwhelming majority (96.7%) of respondents from C.I.D category and 92.3% of those from Traffic at least perceived as urgent the need to address the problem of occupational stress among the police. Among all the respondents from the three categories considered in our study, only 3.3% thought that it was less urgent to deal with the problem under study. This suggests that there is an urgent need to respond to the problem of occupational stress among the police officers in Kenya. A system should be

established to address the needs of the employees; to ensure that the worker's personal needs will at least be examined and responded to. The existence of machinery within the organization's structure that responds to a workers' needs will lift his morale, convince him that the organization cares about him, give him a closer identification with the department's goals, and in many ways reduce the factors that cause stress.

Despite the pressures and difficult working conditions identified earlier in this study, police officers still manage to provide some level of service to the members of the public. This indicates that there are some coping mechanisms that they are using for their survival. Coping strategies are various means by which individuals attempt to deal with the various pressures that impact them at work. This section discusses both positive and negative strategies that emerged from the study after the officers were asked to state how frequently they use various coping strategies. The results are contained in Table 19.

Table 16: Leading Strategies of Coping with Occupational Stress.

Variable	Always	Most Frequently	Frequently	Least Frequently	Never	Total
Drinking alcohol	15(16.6)	26(28.9)	25(27.8)	11(12.2)	13(14.4)	90
Smoking	10(11.1)	20(22.2)	26(28.9)	10(11.1)	24(26.7)	90
Exercises	15(16.7)	11(12.2)	21(24.4)	28(31.1)	14(15.6)	90
Sleeping	12(13.3)	13(14.5)	30(33.3)	24(26.7)	11(12.2)	90
Talking with co-workers	20(22.2)	18(20)	35(38.9)	14(15.6)	3(3.3)	90
Discussing with supervisor	7(7.8)	9(10)	13(14.4)	39(43.3)	22(24.4)	90
Seeking Professional Counselling	9(10)	8(8.9)	6(6.7)	16(17.8)	51(56.6)	90

Values outside brackets represent cell scores and those inside brackets represent row percentages

Source: Primary Data derived from field survey

Table 19 shows that in total, those who admitted using alcohol frequently to cope with stress comprised 83.6% while 14.4% never use the substance. One problem with using substances like alcohol as defense against distressing thoughts is that officers may become addicts. Majority 91.1% of the officers interviewed said they drew strength from relationships with family

members and friends. Outside work, some (36.4%) officers share their painful experiences with their families though not the sensitive aspects about their work. This indicates the need to strengthen families of the police officers towards understanding police work and the challenges it poses. On the other hand many said that the only people they entrust with their personal issues at work are colleague friends, because they cannot trust their seniors with their confidential issues. These findings are highly supported by data in Table 19. The table shows that, 22.2% said that they always talk with co-workers when they feel under pressure, 52.8% do it frequently. In total 75% said they prefer letting out with co-workers. On one hand it is important to appreciate the role played by officers' co-workers as far as sharing of problems is concerned and there is need to equip every officer with necessary skills for psychological 'first aid'. However, there is need to establish the reasons that make officers not want to share their confidential issues since this attitude may affect policing especially because certain issues need the attention of the management so as to be resolved. There is need to encourage more rapport with their seniors.

To understand this attitude among the police, it is important to look at the process to become a police officer and joining the law enforcement society often referred to as the "thin blue line" (Finn & Tomz, 1997; Cochran & Bromley, 2003). The "thin blue line" is a term used when talking about the law enforcement family that officers belong to. Police officers are considered a part of this family once they graduate the police college; however it often takes years before the officer really learns what the "thin blue line" is and the importance behind it. Years of daily encounters with thankless civilians and dealing with society's criminals, officers begin to trust only those who share the same stress they do. Emotionally opening up to family members of friends may become difficult for some officers. Because of this difficulty, officers tend to internalize their stress for fear of consequences of letting it out (Cochran & Bromley, 2003; Cryderman & Fleras, 1992).

From the study findings in Table 19, it is clear that the officers rarely discuss their stressful issues with supervisors. 43.3% agreed that they do it least frequently, 24.4% do it frequently, and 24.4% never discuss with supervisors. Only 7.8% always discuss their issues with supervisors. This means that there is need to empower the individual officers with skills that would help them cope with stress as wells help them establish positive relationships with their seniors. Exercise is among the best tension stress relievers and is recognized as a very important remedy for stress (Getchell et al., 1998; Jackson et al., 1999). Exercise can improve health, psychological well being and mood by producing positive biochemical changes in the body and brain (Plante & Rodin, 1990). From the table at least 49.9% of the officers use exercises to deal with stress. However, Law Enforcement may be a unique occupation where more than exercise is needed to reduce the much-absorbed daily stressors.

4.7.1 Confidential Counselling among Kenyan Police officers.

Nunes et al, 1987 says that Psychological counseling encourages various methods of effective coping. Respondents were asked whether they sought professional counseling services to enable them cope with pressure at work place and our data (Table 19) shows that 56.6% never sought professional counseling services to cope with stress. 17.8% only did it least frequently. Among the 43.4% who may have sought counselling, they said that they got it from their pastors outside work place and others consulted the social / pastoral workers within police force. Asked whether the police department has confidential counselling programs available for officers, an overwhelming majority 91.1% said 'No' while 8.1% said 'Yes'. Most officers stated that they had never heard about any confidential psychological counseling services within their police departments or stations. Majority believed that those services did not exist in their divisions.

As imagined, some officers at the stations said that although they had heard of in-house pastoral and social workers, they did not feel they could trust them with confidential issues. It is clear that

professional Psychological counseling is not used as a means of coping with occupational stress among the Kenyan police. This implies that the government would help the police deal with stress better if they made counselling to be part of police training and this would also be a cost effective measure since peer and in-house counselling would be possible. One of the fundamental requirements in counseling services is the ability to observe confidentiality and counselling must be safe since breaking of confidentiality can further make people feel vulnerable thus causing them stress. The officers could also use ego defense mechanisms in order to try cope with the situation. The reality may be too threatening. There is apparent reluctance of police officers to admit vulnerability and there are also pressures exerted by the police culture that inhibit admission that you are unable to cope. Confidentiality is particularly important to police officers who feel that an adverse stress reaction will be construed as an operational failure and will militate against their further career advancement.

From the open ended responses, the officers gave their views on other important measures that they thought would help reduce police stress. These include:

Enlisting more officers and limiting workload, boosting officers morale by recognizing and encouraging good work, providing counseling, good management and remuneration package, improving overall police welfare such as job security, insurance schemes and reducing interference from outside forces such politicians, media and civil society.

There is need to strengthen police expertness and capacity for arrest, analyze crime patterns and situations. The police should be availing themselves of the widest possible range of responses to crisis.

4.8 Summary of Chapter Four.

This chapter has given a treatise to the demographic characteristics of the respondents and how these relate to the problem of occupational stress among police officers in Kenya. Factors that have been looked into include age, education level, marital status, monthly income, house of residence, station served, service length, rank and formation. This chapter has made an effort to analyze the officers' perceptions of their working conditions and environment in the areas of their work. All in all we have been able to show that Kenyan police experience stress at work place from various sources: demographic, operational as well as organizational. Overall, police officers describe job pressures that are similar to those experienced in other areas of work such as medicine and teaching (Hingley and Cooper 1986: Cox, Boot and Cox (1988).

Reduced productivity was reported by the respondents due to low motivation, poor/low morale (low spirits, low self confidence and low self esteem) negative work relationships etcetera. This means that prevalence of operational and organizational stressors can lead to low motivation and job dissatisfaction among police. The respondents were found to engage in some coping mechanisms to enable them survive and continue providing service to all in the face of the pressures and difficult working conditions identified earlier in this study. Both negative (numbing feelings, drinking alcohol and use of other maladaptive strategies) and positive (seeking social support, exercises, sleeping, relaxation and counselling) coping strategies were identified and were in line with the literature reviewed. This implies that the stress prevention, reduction or management techniques used elsewhere may be imported to the police organization. The researcher has given an expose to the need to set up in-house and focused stress counselling towards positive effects on the health and productivity of the police officers in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMEDATIONS.

Summary and conclusions

The essence of this chapter is to draw significant conclusions of the study based on the sample of 90 respondents. Thereafter, the study's contributions to scholarship, pertinent recommendations in regard to occupational stress, and areas of further research are outlined. The purpose of the study was to establish the factors that lead to occupational stress among police in Kenya and whether occupational stress affects police work performance. The study was pegged on three research questions which sought to establish the extent to which Kenyan police face the problem of occupational stress; how occupational stress affects performance of the police in Kenya; and viable measures that can help the Kenyan Police cope with the problem of occupational stress. To conclude this study, is a synopsis of the factors that aggravate the problem of occupational stress.

Factors That Aggravate the Problem of Occupational Stress Among Police Officers In Nairobi.

The process and findings of this study have provided a window into occupational stress among Kenyan Police working in Nairobi. The research confirms that officers work under difficult circumstances and feel that they are not adequately rewarded and taken care of. Many officers said that they find it hard to concentrate on duty even when they want to do so, that they are overworked, do not have enough time to relax and that they are unjustly criticized by the members of the public. Housing, lack of enough personnel, fear of injury, unfair transfers and lack of promotion were cited as major sources of stress among the officers. The study found out that many officers are aware that their work is stressful but they lack real skills to handle the stress. The key informants said that they are able to detect that the officers are stressed when they notice mood changes, increased lateness or desertion, many complaints, heavy drinking, fighting

and quarreling a lot. This approach may be defeating because it is reactive rather than proactive to the management of the problem of occupational stress and its consequences.

In their efforts to cope, officers unintentionally perform poorly and provoke more sources of stress from the public as well as their seniors. Officers feel that they are not supported sufficiently by their senior management in dealing with direct or indirect sources and consequences of occupational stress. As a result, officers resort to informal and personal coping mechanisms for their psychological survival. Some of these coping strategies may be dysfunctional for the individual officer, the police organization, their families, friends and the public at large. In the following section, a summary of the key findings of the study are listed.

Key findings of the Study

This study revealed several important and interesting findings including the following results:

1. The work of the police in Kenya; which hitherto had been despised by 'graduates', is increasingly attracting those with University level of Education (10%), with different specialties;
2. The younger the officer the higher the likelihood to perceive stress. Age and years of policing/experience have been shown to affect the perceptions of stressors at various career stages;
3. There was no clear relationship between income levels and amount of stress reported - respondents from all the income groups reported high levels of stress;
4. Presence or absence of occupational stress among police officers does not depend on gender.
5. The higher the police rank the lower the perception of police stress and the lower the rank, the higher the likelihood of agreeing that operational sources of stress prevail. Police constables are the most stressed and especially those from General Duties;

6. Majority (71.1%) of the officers interviewed were of the view that the equipments they work with are too old to use during these modern times;
7. 60% of the officers confirmed that the problem of HIV/AIDS is common among the Kenyan Police officers;
8. 71(78.9%) of those interviewed perceived unjust criticism of the police by members of the public;
9. 76.7% of the respondents at least agreed that police working conditions are not conducive Majority of the respondents confirmed that poor housing is a major problem among Kenyan police;
10. 64.4% of the respondents agreed that there are bureaucratic obstacles (*e.g decisions take too long to be made, delay in addressing officers' needs*) within the police force;
11. An overwhelming majority (98%) of those who strongly perceived excessive work at least agreed that they are stressed;
12. Overwhelming majority (81%) said that inefficient justice system causes stress among the police;
13. Likewise, majority 80% of the officers interviewed agreed that negative comments from the public and perceived lack of public support cause distressful thoughts and feelings among the police in Kenya;
14. An overwhelming majority 84 (93.3%) agreed that the risk of being injured on the job causes them a lot of anxiety;
15. In this study, 67.8% of the respondents confirmed that they frequently feel psychologically burnt out;
16. Organizational stressors lead to low motivation among the police and operational stressors lead to moderate job dissatisfaction;
17. Low morale and poor team play are the major implications of occupational stress;

The following contributions of the study to the scholarship are offered.

Contributions of the Study

- This study has helped shed light on some of the issues regarding stress in one of the most stressful professions. We are convinced that stress is such a critical factor in police officers' daily routines that if not dealt with properly could lead to officers prematurely escalating their use of force. The study has documented information on the extent to which police officers in Kenya are stressed. It is hoped that through this study, members of the public will be able to understand the police and hence know how to support them in law enforcement.
- The study has established how the police working environment affects performance by officers and suggested measures that should be taken by the government. The findings of the study are therefore important to the government and civil society who could be interested in improving the welfare of the police officers.
- The study has established the responses/reactions towards stress, and explored the possibility of determining the nature and causes of stress dominant among police officers. Exposing police vulnerabilities and problems should be seen as a step towards understanding them and hence doing whatever is necessary to help them fight the spiraling crime.
- The study has also documented information on the role of stress in causing low morale, motivation, lowered job satisfaction and poor work performance among Kenyan police officers. The findings of the study are therefore important in informing policy on what needs to be done to revamp the police force and give it a new face. Integrating measures that will improve police health, morale and public confidence will boost police reform process.

- The study has highlighted problems of the Kenyan police and may instigate a restorative focus on police force by stakeholders. Finally the study has given an academic exposition on the issue of occupational stress among police officers; an area previously taken for granted.
- These findings raise some concerns regarding stress and police officer performance that should be addressed by the police department. Drawing from the findings of the study, we offer several recommendations that could improve work performance among police officers in Nairobi.

Recommendations

This study recommends that Kenya police force needs to begin a substantial engagement with the issue of occupational stress among police officers in accordance with the Government's Police reform strategy. A variety of interventions are useful in reversing the present unhealthy situation as concerns the problems faced by police officers.

1. It is important to note that the work of the police in Kenya is increasingly attracting those with University level of Education as this gives the force a new image and raises self esteem of those associated with it. However, it can also cause tension when the 'graduates' are promoted faster than those they found already serving in the force. The organization needs to make arrangements to support those officers who join (ed) the force with primary and secondary levels of education to upgrade their status whether through in house or external educational programs so that they do not stagnate in terms of promotion.
2. Based on the finding that the presence or absence of occupational stress among Kenyan police officers does not depend on gender, the researcher notes that the female officers said that they are not discriminated against and instead they feel highly supported by their

majority male colleagues. For this the researcher congratulates the Kenyan police. However, police women are very few and there is need to recruit more females into the force.

3. There was no clear relationship between income levels and amount of stress reported. These findings imply that most officers believe that they are not well paid and at the same time they like their work. The researcher recommends that the police organizations address the many other factors (negatively affecting the police) that have been raised in this study including raising police salaries, improving equipments etc, so as to support the officers do well the job they like. In line with this observation, it is recommended that the police department should develop programs (e.g teambuilding activities) aimed at fostering good co-worker relationships at work; relationships among the senior and junior officers need to be improved and in particular, a way of recognizing (rewarding, appreciating) individual/team achievement need to be established (e.g *best cop, best investigators etc*). The openness of the process is critical.

4. This study established that the younger officers are more stressed than the older ones. As officers leave Kiganjo Police Training College, they may be generally optimistic and more focused on enhancing their skills and effectiveness on the job. However, they need to be supported by the older ones (read supervisors) who have experience on how to cope with the cumulative level of experience on the street, with fellow officers, the judicial system, the media, and within the organization and all the demands of police work that tend to diminish their enthusiasm and sense of idealism and subsequently increase the level of stress. Along these guidelines the police department should set up professional development training programs for the officers as a group based on regular needs assessment in the organization. This can be based on rank drawing from each category and officers would learn from each others' experiences when they are brought together. The content of the key programs can

also be integrated into the wider police curriculum offered at Kiganjo. Following are some recommended training programs:

5. Family problems as well as personal problems were cited as major sources of stress among police officers. For instance, officers commanding posts as well as police stations should be trained in basic psychological counselling skills as well as skills in marriage and family counseling. This would enable them help their colleagues who experience psychosocial difficulties and provide them with information resources so that they can refer those who need specialized help to appropriate service providers. *Training on how to cope* with stress that is inherent in police work is recommended. Training should focus for example, on how to match coping strategies to stressful situations and soliciting for social support.
6. *Stress management and anger management training* is also recommended for police officers. This would enable them to help themselves, their peers and members of the public. Use of direct and indirect aggression would be minimized among the police officers.
7. At the senior levels of the police force, the police supervisors and managers should be trained to recognize stress symptoms among staff early enough, and to take appropriate steps to assist them. Waiting until stressed officers engage in negative behaviour or when performance declines may be too late.
8. As in any other government sector, HIV/AIDS was reported as common among the Kenyan Police officers. Key informants confirmed that there has been a lot of awareness creation programs about the pandemic in the force. There is need to strengthen the HIV/AIDS program for the police personnel to offset the serious impact of the endemic on the service in general. At the same time, the government needs to come up with national occupational

health policy especially one that emphasizes prevention of health problems resulting from poor work conditions such as poor housing, separation of spouses for long periods etc.

9. Overwhelming majority (81%) said that inefficient justice system causes stress among the police; For instance this study established that as it is now the police officers have to appear for every mention of the case and a single case may involve as many as five officers hence misappropriating the workforce in a single day. The researcher is aware that this problem is beyond the police force. However police administration needs to encourage research into this issue and thereafter make recommendations for change to the relevant institutions. The organization must be able to see itself as part of a wider system, especially if it is to be conscious of, and seize, the opportunities to promote the progress of the larger system. Police department must perceive of themselves as a link in the chain of the criminal justice system whose objective it is to promote public safety by successfully meeting the challenge of crime. The police department should develop policies mindful of the effective integration of such system and function, even against its own narrow interests, for the benefit of the larger society.

10. Majority (80%) of the officers interviewed agreed that negative comments from the public and perceived lack of public support cause distressful thoughts and feelings among the police in Kenya. In response to the problem of public criticism and lack of confidence, this study recommends that the police organization embark on community relations program. Community-relations is the building of bridges of contact between the police and the community they serve ('Bouza 1978). Comprehensive guidelines should be employed to direct police behaviour and response. The police must also be insulated from inappropriate political pressures and interference, but they must also be subservient to the will of the people. This may require the setting up of a special unit at the headquarters which could

serve as provider of directions, innovative programs and ideas, as liaison office with other organizations and as giver and definer of policy.

11. Respondents who strongly perceived excessive work at least agreed that they are stressed.

Excessive work may lead to burnout and other related consequences such as depression. To deal with burn out among the police force, there is need to make police work meaningful to the individual officer e.g by enlisting more officers (the work force needs to be increased in terms of numbers so as to improve the ratio of officers to the population they serve), making sure that scheduled shifts are respected and no officers goes beyond exhaustion as found to be the case. Reece, (1999), says that *burnout* can result from stress or a variety of other work related or personal factors. And since burnout usually results from a combination of work, family, social and personal factors then the police management needs to come up with a policy of combining efforts both within the force as wells from external organizations to support the employees. It is sad that individual psychological counselling is not well established. Organizational life often mirrors the strengths of the individuals in the organization. Such interventions regarding police work should be put in place. These interventions should consider the fact that developing a supportive organizational culture rather than changing the demands is more effective especially in the operational work of police personnel (Cotton 1995, Hart1994).

12. It was established that low morale and poor team play are the major implications of occupational stress. In line with established scholarly, providing the police with better equipments will not improve work performance. It is caring about their individual and organizational wellbeing that will improve internal morale and enhance team work among the officers. Organizational stressors lead to low motivation among the police and operational stressors lead to moderate job dissatisfaction. This is especially true when

officers perceive that their needs and requirements are not being addressed with the urgency they deserve. The researcher recommends that the existing bureaucracy be looked into and an effort be made to empower the various police divisions to evaluate their needs, and resources be allocated to be managed at that level. Doing this may address the problems of equipments etc that lead to stress and hence low morale as cited in this study.

Areas of Further Research

- **Criminal justice system:** This may be done to establish the extent to which the justice system in Kenya affects the police work performance. There is need to establish how the court system can be made less frustrating for police officers.
- **Counselling in police work place:** There is need for the police organization to know how to provide psychosocial care in the form of counselling to both the senior and junior police officers. The provision to the junior officers is especially urgent and important because, they are the ones who do the actual operations under harsh living and working environments. They experience stress and trauma first hand as they enforce the law.
- **Relationships between Police and Community:** Studies need to be conducted to establish how best the police could involve the community in their work towards reducing criticism and building confidence.
- **Future inquiries** should also consider the effects of emerging stressors such as the fear of contracting HIV/AIDS, increased democratic space among citizens, high rates of sophisticated crime and response procedures in the context of suspected terrorist threats or incidents (e.g readiness requirements, crowd control, homeland security directives).

- **The issue of traumatic experience, response and treatment among Kenyan police officers would form an important area of study in future.**

In the interim, this research provides further evidence of the specific stressors that affect different officers in ways that may be anticipated (relative to personal, organizational, and job-related characteristics) and addressed in accordance with psychological counselling techniques and organizational factors. These factors should be periodically reexamined to prevent serious affliction and or the negative cumulative effects that stressors have on police personnel, which may diminish their effectiveness at the various stages of their career and during periods of significant changes in policy and policing 😊

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APPENDIX A: PERMIT APPLICATION LETTER (P.T.O)


Eunice Wangui Nyaga
P.O. Box 66020 - 00600
NAIROBI

9th June, 2004

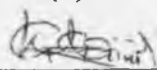
Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Education, Science & Technology,
P.O. Box 30040,
NAIROBI.

Thro"

1. Supervisors (a) Dr. P. Mbatia


Sign:  Date: 11/6/04

- (b) Dr. G. Wairire

Sign:  Date: 14/6/04

2. Chairman,

Department of Sociology

Strongly supported
 11/6/04

Dear Sir,

RE: RESEARCH PERMIT

I am a graduate student registered for a Masters degree in Sociology at the University of Nairobi. I hereby write to kindly request for a research permit starting from 1st June, 2004 to 1st June, 2005 to be undertaken by myself in Nairobi Province. Accompanying this letter please find two copies each of my research proposal, curriculum vitae, two-passport size photos and a copy of my National Identity Card for your necessary action.

Yours sincerely,



Eunice Wangui Nyaga
C/50/P/8931/01

**APPENDIX B: LETTER SEEKING PERMISSION FROM THE
POLICE COMMISSIONER (P.T.O)**

Eunice Wangui Nyaga
C/50/P/8931/01
P.O. Box 66020, -
NAIROBI

14th June, 2004

The Commissioner of Police,
P.O. Box 30083,
NAIROBI.

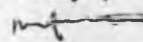
Through

1. Supervisors (a) Dr. P. Mbatia

Sign:  Date: 14/6/04

- (b) Dr. G. Wairire

Sign:  Date: 14/6/04

2. Chairman, Strongly supported 14/6/04
Department of Sociology 

RE: PERMISSION TO ACCESS INFORMATION FROM THE POLICE

I am a student at the University of Nairobi doing a Masters degree course in Sociology - Counselling. I need to do a research project as a fulfillment of academic requirements.

I plan to do a study on occupational stress among police officers in Nairobi Province. I need to collect data from the police to enable me complete the project. This information will be used for academic purposes only and will be treated as confidential.

I will appreciate any assistance accorded to me.

Yours sincerely,



Eunice Wangui Nyaga
C/50/P/8931/01

APPENDIX C: STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Informed consent for Respondents

Hello. My name is Eunice W. Nyaga and I am currently a student at University of Nairobi. I am collecting information among police officers from Nairobi police stations for a research study on "occupational stress among police officers in Nairobi". The main objective of this research is to understand the stress that is encountered by the police officers in the course of their duty. I am requesting your consent to ask you some questions that will contribute a great deal to this study. I will use the information obtained in my project as the last part of my Masters Degree program in Sociology-Counselling.

All information that you provide will be considered private and confidential, and will be used only for purposes of this study. Please note that this is not a test. I am only interested in determining how much each individual officer is aware about occupational stress in police work.

Serial Number #: _____

A. Social/ Demographic Characteristics

In this section I will ask you personal information. Where items are numbered for you to select, please **CIRCLE** the number that best represents your response.

Q1 Please indicate your Police Station. 1.Langata 2. Kilimani 3. Centra
4. Police Headquarter 5. Buruburu 6.Kasarani

Q2. Respondent's Gender: 1. Female 2. Male

Q3. How old are you _____

Q4. What is your Marital Status
1. Married 2. Divorced or separated 3. Single (never married) 4. widowed

Q5. What religion do you belong to?

1. Catholic 2. Protestant 3. Islam 4. _____

Other _____

Q6. What educational level did you attain?

1. Primary School
2. Secondary School
3. High School(*A-Level*)
4. University and above

Q7. When did you join the force? _____

Q8. Which police formation/unit do you belong to? _____

Q9. What is your police job rank? _____

Q10. What is the level of your monthly income?

1. Between Ksh0 and 4,999.00
2. Between Ksh5,000 and 9,999.00 per month
3. Between Ksh10,000.00 and 19,999.00 per month
4. Over Ksh20,000.00 per month

Q11. Where do you live?

1. Police line 2. Own house 3. Government/ Ranked house away
from police line

Q12. Which is your home district? _____

B. Perceptions of prevailing conditions Among the Police officers

Q13. What do you like most about working in this station/division?

What do you like least?

Q14. What are your daily duties?

Q15. How much do you like your job?

1. Very Much
2. Just like it
3. Not like it much
4. Not like it all

What makes you feel this way?

In this section I am going to make statements about the nature of work and living conditions of police in Kenya. For each statement state your level of agreement or disagreement by CIRCLING corresponding number. 1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Neutral 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

STATEMENTS	SA	A	N	D	SD
Q16. The training you received at Kiganjo Police College prepared you adequately to handle your duties?	1	2	3	4	5
Q17. Policemen and women in Kenya are overworked.	1	2	3	4	5
Q18. In this Station, we are more officers than needed.	1	2	3	4	5
Q19. Police work with too old/ outdated equipment.	1	2	3	4	5
Q20. Poor housing is a major problem among the police.	1	2	3	4	5
Q21. You are so discontent with your Job that you are not doing it as well.	1	2	3	4	5
Q22. There is low public confidence towards the police in Kenya.	1	2	3	4	5

Q23. Police constables are usually taken for refresher courses.	1	2	3	4	5
Q24. Police in Nairobi are currently well paid for the job they do.	1	2	3	4	5
Q25. There is low internal morale among the Kenya police.	1	2	3	4	5
Q26. Members of the public unjustly criticize the police.	1	2	3	4	5
Q27. Most police are drunk most of the times in most of Nairobi stations.	1	2	3	4	5
Q28. Divorce is common among police officers.	1	2	3	4	5
Q29. HIV/AIDS pandemic is a common problem among the officers.	1	2	3	4	5

C. Prevalence of Occupational stress among police officers

In this section, I am going to find out from you what you know about **STRESS** and the extent of OCCUPATIONAL STRESS among the police.

Q30. What do you understand by the term **STRESS**?

Q31. What are the symptoms of stress?

Please state your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements on extent of police occupational stress. 1. Strongly Agree(SA), 2. Agree(A), 3. Neutral 4. Disagree(D), Strongly Disagree(SD).

STATEMENTS	SA	A	N	D	SD
Q32. Kenyan police are stressed.	1	2	3	4	5

Q33. Policewomen are more stressed than the policemen.	1	2	3	4	5
Q34. The higher the police rank, the lesser the stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q35. Stress levels depend on the police category under which one is serving.	1	2	3	4	5
Q36. Police in Nairobi are more stressed than elsewhere.	1	2	3	4	5
Q37. Suicide is common among the police due to occupational stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q38. Stress at work makes me feel out of control.	1	2	3	4	5
Q39. Kenya police are either heavy smokers or alcoholics due to work stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q40. Most police officers get easily agitated (easily lose their temper)	1	2	3	4	5
Q41. The police use abusive language towards the public due to stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q42. Stressed officers are poor team players.	1	2	3	4	5
Q43. Miscalculated shootings by stressed police are common.	1	2	3	4	5

D. Operational Causes of Stress among police officers

In this section, I am going to make statements about the various causes of stress among police officers. Please state the extent to which you agree or disagree: 1. Strongly Agree (SA), 2. Agree(A), 3. Never 4. Disagree (D), 5. Strongly Disagree(SD).

<u>SOURCES OF OCCUPATIONAL STRESS AMONG POLICE</u>	SA	A	N	D	SD
Q44. Shift work causes most of the police stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q45. Working alone at night is stressful.	1	2	3	4	5
Q46. Risk of being injured on the job (<i>fear of the unknown</i>) causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q47. Work related activities on days off cause stress (<i>e.g public functions</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
Q48. Not having enough time to relax causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q49. The paperwork involved in police work is stressful.	1	2	3	4	5
Q50. Not being able to eat healthy during police work causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q51. General fatigue in police work causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q52. Lack of understanding from family and friends about your Work causes you stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q53. Traumatic events (<i>e.g Motor vehicle accident, domestic disputes, death, injury</i>) are major causes of stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q54. Necessity to conform and not question orders given causes	1	2	3	4	5

stress.					
Q55. Negative comments from the public (<i>Perceived lack of public support</i>) cause stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q56. Stigma associated with your work (<i>e.g family, friends or you experience shame</i>) causes you stress..	1	2	3	4	5

Q57. What other aspects of your job operations cause you stress?

E. Organizational causes of stress among police officers.

Below is a list of items that describe different aspects of being a police officer. After each item, please **CIRCLE** the number that best represents your response to how much stress it could have caused to you over the past one year, using a 5-point scale(see below) that ranges from: 1. Most stress (MS), 2. Stress(S), 3. Not Sure. (NS), 4. Least Stress (LS) 5. No stress at all (NSAA)

ITEMS	MS	S	NS	LS	NSAA
Q58. Dealing with co-workers / colleagues (<i>workplace relationships</i>) is a cause of stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q59. The feeling that different rules apply to different people (<i>e.g.favouritism, nepotism</i>) causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q60. Constant changes in policy / legislation causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q61. Excessive administrative duties cause stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q62. Staff shortages cause a lot of stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q63. Lack of transfer opportunities causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q64. Bureaucratic red tape (<i>decisions take too long to be made</i>) is a cause of stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q65. Lack of training on new equipment/ technology causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q66. Lack of recognition for achievements made causes stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q67. Inconsistent leadership style is a major cause of stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q68. Lack of resources (<i>equipments, finances etc</i>) causes	1	2	3	4	5

stress.					
Q69. Unequal sharing of work responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5
Q70. If you are sick or injured your co-workers seem to look down on you and this causes a lot stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q71. Police are stressed when leaders over-emphasize the negatives (e.g. supervisor evaluations, public complaints).	1	2	3	4	5
Q72. Lack of promotion is a cause of stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q73. Inefficient criminal justice system cause stress to the police.	1	2	3	4	5

Q74. The Kenya Police Force has undergone through changes since the beginning of 2003. Have these changes caused you stress? 1.YES 2.NO.

IF YES, please explain:

Q75. Please state any other sources of stress that are related to the structure and organization of the police force.

F. Consequences of occupational stress among police officers

Listed below are items that refer to some of the effects/outcomes of occupational stress. Please **CIRCLE** the number that best represents your opinion using a 5-point scale:

1. Always(A)
2. Most frequently(MF)
3. Frequently(F)
4. Least frequently(LF)
5. Never(N)

STATEMENTS ON OUTCOMES OF OCCUPATIONAL STRESS	A	MF	F	LF	N
Q76. It is hard to concentrate on duty even when I want to do so.	1	2	3	4	5

Q77. I have Low response speed (<i>do not respond to situations as needed/ expected</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
Q78. As a police officer, I experience low self-esteem.	1	2	3	4	5
Q79. I have been increasingly late for work.	1	2	3	4	5
Q80. I feel psychologically burnt out as a result of stress from my job	1	2	3	4	5
Q81. I have developed medical problems as a result of stress from my job	1	2	3	4	5
Q82. I forget job appointments or deadlines	1	2	3	4	5
Q83. I like having long lunch breaks on work days.	1	2	3	4	5
Q84. I have had thoughts of killing self (<i>suicidal ideas</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
Q85. I have been experiencing poor family relationships.	1	2	3	4	5
Q86. While on duty, I feel generally tired and lacking in energy.	1	2	3	4	5
Q87. I suffer from Chronic Absenteeism	1	2	3	4	5
Q88. Kenyan Police abuse drugs in most Nairobi stations due to stress	1	2	3	4	5
Q89. Police in Kenya are not disciplined (<i>have low regard for professional ethics</i>)	1	2	3	4	5

Q90. What other consequences of occupational stress are experienced by the police?

G. Link between occupational stress and performance of police officers.

Q91. On the whole how satisfied are you with the work you do?

1. Very satisfied
2. Moderately satisfied
3. A little dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied

Q92. Stress has reduced productivity among the police officers in Nairobi. To what extent do you agree or disagree?

1. Strongly Agree

2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly Disagree
5. Not Sure

Q93. How would you rate police work performance in Nairobi so far?

1. Very Poor
2. Poor
3. Good
4. Very good

Below are some items that describe aspects of work performance among the Kenya police due to occupational stress. Please state the extent to which you agree or disagree:

1.Strongly Agree (SA), 2.Agree(A), 3.Disagree (D), 4.Strongly Disagree(SD), 5.Uncertain (U).

ITEMS	SA	A	D	SD	U
Q94. Reduced efficiency is caused by occupational stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q95. There is reduced motivation (<i>reduced inspiration, drive and enthusiasm</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
Q96. Police are experiencing Poor Morale (<i>low spirits, low self-confidence and low self-esteem</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
Q97. There is excessive absenteeism among the police due to occupational stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q98. Occupational stress has led to premature retirement.	1	2	3	4	5
Q99. Occupational stress causes inability to make accurate judgement especially when handling guns.	1	2	3	4	5
Q100. Application of excessive force or inappropriate force when dealing with the public is caused by occupational stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q101. I cause frequent accidents on the job due to work stress.	1	2	3	4	5
Q102. Occupational stress makes police disregard work and moral ethics.	1	2	3	4	5

Q103. In your opinion, do you think there is a connection between police stress and unsatisfactory performance among police officers in Nairobi? 1. YES 2. NO.

EXPLAIN:

Q104. Do you know of police officers who have experienced stress in the course of their work to a point of being admitted in hospital? 1. YES 2. NO.

IF YES, please narrate:

Q105. Do you have information/ thoughts you would like to share that may be useful for this study?

H. Viable measures that can help the Kenyan police cope with the problem of occupational stress. *(Coping strategies are the various means by which individuals attempt to deal with the various pressures that impact them at work)*

Q106. How urgent should the problem of occupational stress among police officers in Nairobi be addressed?

1. Most Urgent
2. Urgent
3. Less urgent
4. Not urgent at all
5. Not Sure

Q107. Below is a list of some ways which police officers use to cope with stress. Please

CIRCLE

the item that best represents your response using a 5-point scale: 1. Always 2. Most Frequently 3. Frequently 4. Least Frequently 5.Never

ITEMS	A	MF	F	LF	N
Drinking alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
Smoking	1	2	3	4	5
Drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Exercises	1	2	3	4	5
Sleeping	1	2	3	4	5

Time off from work	1	2	3	4	5
Overeating	1	2	3	4	5
TV/Movies	1	2	3	4	5
Reading (e.g books, newspapers)	1	2	3	4	5
Peer counseling	1	2	3	4	5
Discussion with significant others e.g family (<i>don't hold everything inside</i>)	1	2	3	4	5
Talking with co-workers	1	2	3	4	5
Discussing with supervisor	1	2	3	4	5
Seeking professional counselling	1	2	3	4	5
Using aggressive characteristics	1	2	3	4	5

Q108. What three things in order of importance would help reduce stress in the police workplace in Nairobi?

Q109. Does the police department have confidential counseling programs available for officers experiencing problems at workplace? 1.YES 2.NO.

Q110. To what extent do you think confidential counseling services would be important among the police officers?

1. Most Important
2. Important
3. Less Important
4. Not Important at all.
5. Not Sure.

Thank you very much for your help.

Yours sincerely, Eunice Nyaga,

Student University of Nairobi

APPENDIX D: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

STATION: _____

GENDER: _____

AGE: _____

EDUCATION LEVEL: _____

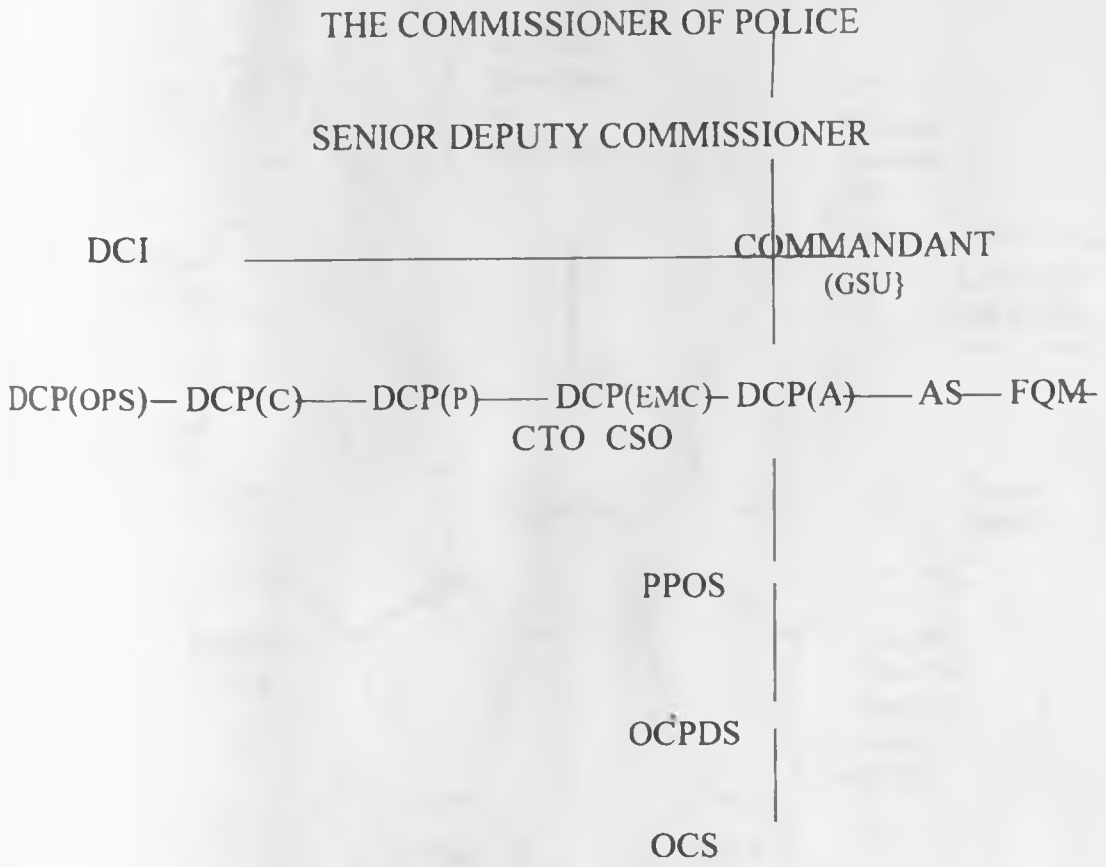
MARRITAL STATUS _____

YEAR OF JOINING FORCE: _____

HOME DISTRICT: _____

1. (a) What is the authorized (commissioned) number of officers for your police station? _____.
- (b) How many officers are you working with currently (? _____).
2. How long have you served as the OCS of this station? _____.
3. Information on general life of being a police officer.
4. Comments on living and working conditions of police officers.
5. How is the Police workload- overloaded or okay?
6. Are there problems of drinking, Smoking and domestic violence among the police officers?
7. Comments on basic supplies and equipments: shortage, too old/modern.
8. Who decides on promotion and transfers of officers?
9. Would you know when your officers are stressed?
10. How are problems dealt with among the officers?
11. What are your views about confidential counselling for the police officers?

APPENDIX E: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF POLICE

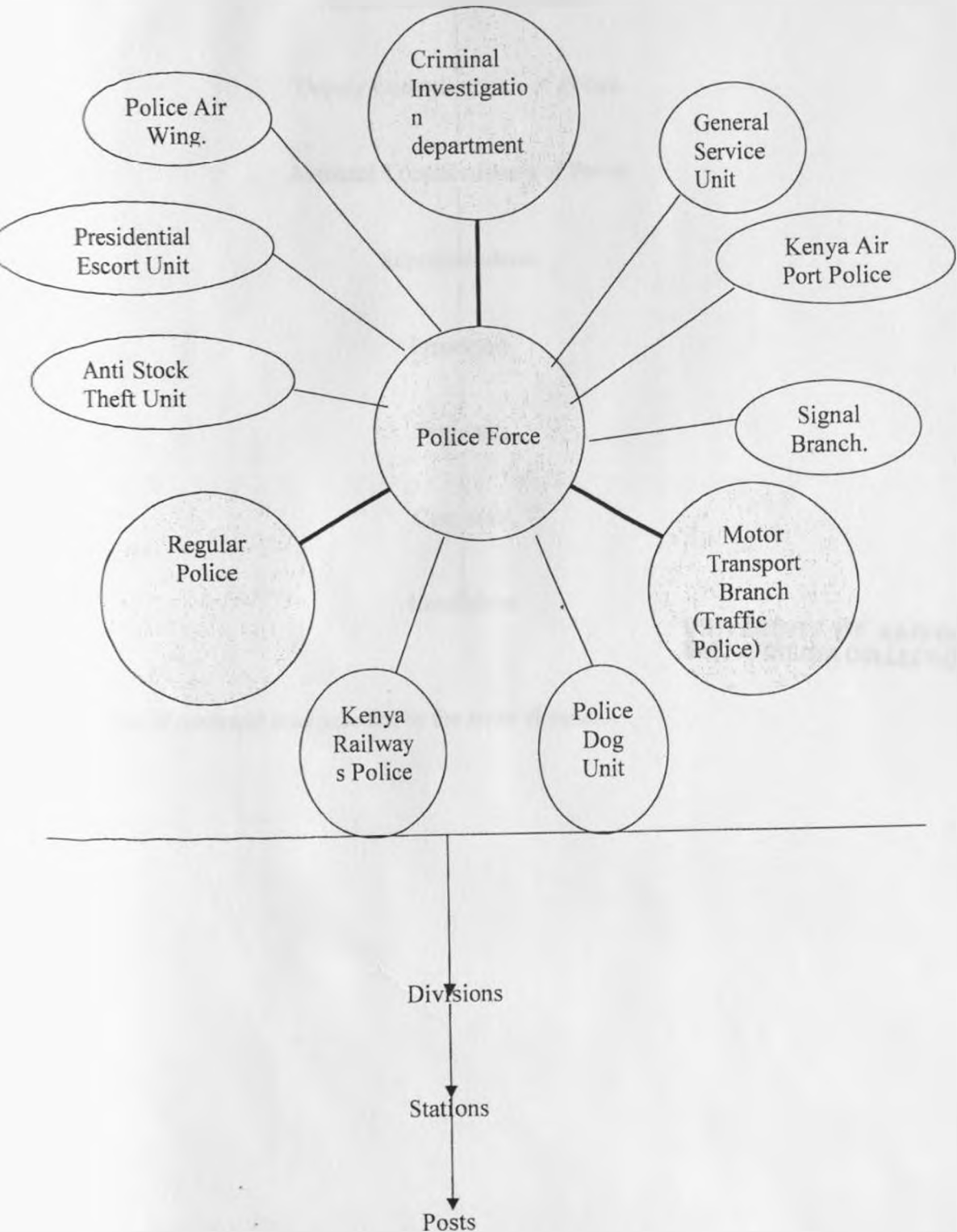


KEY

- DCI: Director of Criminal Investigation
- DCP: Deputy Commissioner of Police
- AS: Administrative Secretary
- FQM: Force Quarter Master
- PPO: Provincial Police Officer
- CSO: Chief Signals Officer:
- CTO: Chief Transport Officer
- OCPD: Officer In-Charge Police Division
- OCS: Officer In-Charge Police Station.

Source: (Annual Report, 1998).

APPENDIX F: POLICE FORMATIONS



APPENDIX G: POLICE RANKS



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

NB: The flow of command is as indicated by the arrow direction.