An analysis of occupational stress amongst South African Police Services detectives working on murder cases: a case study of Inanda police station

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled: *An analysis of occupational stress amongst South African Police Service detectives working on murder cases: a case study of Inanda police station* submitted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal, is my own original work and that it has not previously been submitted at any university for a degree. All the reference materials contained have been accurately acknowledged.

Signature:

Date:

Place: University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Durban

Nonhle Sibisi (214517546)

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my late mother Zanele Sibisi; your teachings prepared me to be the strong, ambitious and hardworking woman that I am today. I also dedicate this research to my son, Mukelwa; may you be inspired by this and grow to be a focused, diligent and responsible man.

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ABSTRACT

Background: Assistance to employees to maintain a work-life balance has been increasingly recognised as a goal for law enforcement agencies around the world, especially during the last decade. The intense and continuous physical and emotional work demands generate stressors in organisations and employees' lives. While stress is unavoidable, occupational stressors should be limited and support structures should be effective in equipping workers with coping mechanisms. Policing remains a profession with high exposure to incidents that can trigger stress. The purpose of this study was to analyse occupational stress amongst South African Police Service detectives responding to murder cases.

Methods: The study adopted a qualitative research approach. Data were collected from eight (n=8) murder detectives in the South African Police Service and 2 employees from the Employee, Health and Wellbeing services. Eight (8) murder detectives were located at Inanda Police Station, in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal and employee health and well-ness practitioners interviewed. The sample was obtained using purposive sampling. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted and recorded with a voice recorder. The data were analysed through thematic analysis.

Findings: The study found that nature of stress among detectives depends on their work tasks such as exposure to traumatic crime scenes and a high workload. The factors that contribute to occupational stress in murder detectives in Inanda were found to be inherent in the nature of their job (high workload), organisation (career development, lack of resources and lack of effective coordination within the SAPS) and community (demographics of the community and lack of cooperation from the community), resulting in such challenges as psychological, cognitive, emotional and behavioural challenges. Most detectives do not consider the available support structures as being effective due to the unavailability of employee, health and well-ness practitioners and lack of time to utilise support services.

Implications: Based on the findings, it is recommended that employee health and wellness practitioners should improve their marketing strategies in order for detectives to be aware of their support services. It is also important for employee health and wellness practitioners to understand the daily activities of detectives and formulate programmes that will be effective and accessible to them.

Keywords: *detectives, detective services, murder, occupational stress, stress.*

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ACRONYMS

KZN- KwaZulu Natal

UKZN- University of KwaZulu Natal

SAPU- South African Police Union

SABC- South African Broadcasting Corporation

HSSREC- Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

DB- Debriefing

PSC- Public Service Commission

PTSD- Post traumatic stress disorder

ICD- Independent Complains Directorate

EAS- Employee Assistance Services

EHW- Employee, Health and Wellness

SAPS- South African Police Service

SWS- Social Work Services

POLMED- Police medical aid

PFA- Psychological First Aid

LCRC- The Local Criminal Record Centre

IPID- Independent Police Investigative Directorate

RAT- Routine Activities Theory

TRT- Tactical Response Teams

FCS- Family, Child and Sexual Offences Unit

HPCSA- Health Professions Council of South Africa

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1.Introduction

Globally, occupational stress has been a major problem for the many occupations and professions (Lipp, 2009, Jonyo, 2015, and Gachter, Savage and Torgler, 2011). Police work has been considered as one of the high-risk occupations, yet little research has been conducted on detectives working with murder cases. Although some researchers have paid attention to the issue of occupational stress and police work (Rothmann, 2008; Steyn, Vawda, Wyatt, and Williams, 2013), little is known about the experiences of South African Police Service (SAPS) detectives in this regard. Furthermore, the focus of the previous studies has been more on occupational stress and general police (Lipp, 2009; Weke, Ngumi and James, 2014; Chikwem, 2017). In light of this, there is a rich literature on occupational stress and police work, but the previous literature does not encapsulate the experiences of police officers in the specialised units since there considerable uniqueness in police roles and experiences.

With the history of violence from the Apartheid era, violence has been normalised in South Africa especially in the townships. Statistics on murder shows an increase since 2011/ 2012, at this period there were 15 554 reported murder cases, and in recently published crime statistics, the number of murder cases has increased to 20 336 (SAPS Crime Statistics, 2018). There is a difference of 4 782 from 2011/2012 to 2018 (SAPS Crime Statistics, 2012; SAPS Crime Statistics, 2018). Such an increase in murder cases translates to an increased workload for detectives. Even though a considerable interest on occupational stress amongst police officers has been noted in the previous research, the contexts in which the constructs and relationships have previously been established greatly differs from the current study as it focuses specifically on the investigation of murder cases and occupational stress.

With regards to South Africa, the dominant perceptions about police officers still encompass that police should be tough, bring perpetrators to justice and always shield the citizens from dangers. However, this is not so simple for detectives as they face various challenges in executing their work and this has been found to have an intense psychological and physiological effect on them in such a way that some find it hard to adequately adapt to their daily duties. Further, some may suffer from depression and other psychological conditions

(Paulsen, 2008). Some scholars have found that although police officers may experience occupational stress, there is a great number of them who continue to execute their duties progressively and effectively because of the coping strategies they adopt (Van der Velden, Rademaker, Vermetten, Portengen, Yzermans and Grievink, 2013).

1.2. Operational definitions of key terms and concepts

1.2.1. Detectives / Investigative officers

Detectives are part of the SAPS personnel employed under the Police Service Act. They work under the detective service division (SAPS, 2016). They mainly deal with the investigation of cases. The role of detectives include investigation of cases, collection of evidence, attending to crime scenes, presenting a case to court and securing conviction and they are also referred to as investigative officers (SAPS, 2016). This study used the two names interchangeably (detectives and investigative officers). The established qualities of a good detective include that they should be dedicated, loyal, well-mannered individuals with a well-balanced lifestyle (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012).

Detectives must serve communities and keep contact with people involved in a case until it is concluded. They produce dockets on the system for inspection by the commander (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). Detectives mainly prioritise investigations and they get assigned to new incoming dockets. Upon completion of their investigation, they may be called upon to present their findings before a court of law (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). Detectives are typically the first at scenes of homicide, suicides and accidents and the last to leave, and they usually witness the reality of death and injury (Rothmann, 2008). They attend and process the crime scenes, collect evidence, take statements from witnesses and when they have enough evidence, they are also expected to arrest suspects (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). This research study focuses on detectives responding to murder cases at Inanda Police Station.

1.2.2. Detective services

Detective services are one of the sections within the SAPS and it mainly focuses on crime investigation and offers support to investigators with regards to forensic evidence and the criminal record centre (SAPS Annual Report, 2017). The main goal of this section (detective services) is to ensure effective investigations and prosecution of offenders (SAPS Annual

Report, 2017). The role of employees under this section is to investigate, gather and analyse evidence (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). This section comprises of four subsections which are known as Crime Investigations, Criminal Record Centre, Forensic Science Laboratory and Specialised Investigations. These four subsections support an integrated system that deals with the successful investigation of crime (SAPS Annual Report, 2017). Crime investigations consist of detectives who investigate serious crime, crimes of a general nature and organised crime at police stations. Detectives attached to this section constitute the unit of analysis in this study.

1.2.3. Murder

Purver (1967: 1306) defined murder as the "unlawful killing of another human being". The SAPS similarly defines murder as the unlawful and intentional killing of a human being (SAPS, n.d). The killing of another human being is rather differentiated based on whether is the intentional or unintentional killing of a human being (Purver, 1967). Hence, murder in the study is conceptualised as the unlawful and intentional killing of another person.

1.2.4. Stress

The term stress was originally conceptualised by Hans Selye, proposing that stress is a nonspecific reaction of the body to any demand placed upon it (Szabo, Tache, and Somogyi, 2012). The understanding of stress based on the behavioural science approach is more specific as it regards stress as the "perception of threat, with resulting anxiety discomfort, emotional tension, and difficulty in adjustment." (Fink, 2016:4). Stress entails a specific relationship that occurs between the individual and the environment that is appraised by the individual as exhausting or surpassing their resources and well-being (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Szabo et al., 2012). For example, in the case of police stress, this can be seen when police officers' working environment surpasses their capabilities and resources (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). The concept of stress in this study is used to refer to psychological, behavioural and physical modifications that result in a person being affected negatively with regards to their psychological, social and physical well-being.

1.2.5. Occupational stress

Occupational stress has been defined as the unpleasant responses which may be physical and emotional that manifest when job demands surpass the resources, abilities and needs of a worker (Landsbergis, Dobson, LaMontagne, Choi, Schnall and Baker, 2017). This definition

correlates with Rehman's (2008) definition of occupational stress which states that occupational stress is considered as a job stress that takes place when there are harmful emotional and physical responses to the overwhelming demands of a job or when the worker's capabilities do not match the job and which can eventually lead to poor health and even injury. However, Greenberg (2014) contends that occupational stress is unavoidable yet commonly harmful to the individual and the organisation. The definition of stress that was adopted in this research study postulates that stress can be understood as a person's inability to adapt to an apparent, real or envisioned risk which may be posed to one's psychological, physical and emotional well-being, resulting in fatigue, impulsive behaviour depression, irritability and inability to concentrate (Islam, Mohajan and Datta, 2012). Thus, this research focuses on occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives working with murder cases. It focuses on Inanda SAPS detectives because there are high rates of murder, which may possibly result in detectives being exposed to situations where they may experience loss of emotional control, physical well-being, inability to cope and lack of inner peace as a result of stress in their occupation.

1.3.   Background of the study

According to Fingret (2002) on the study on the development of occupational mental health the study on stress, the causes, symptoms and preventative measures began in the in mid to late twentieth century. The current study focused on the analysis of occupational stress amongst South African Police Service detectives responsible for investigating murder cases at Inanda Police Station. Studies on occupational stress have been conducted in different settings and populations. The concept has been studied in various government departments and private companies. Since the current study focuses on murder detectives at the South African Police Service (SAPS), it is important to provide a historical background of the SAPS as an organisation in the context of occupational stress. The SAPS has been identified as one of the organisations which has been affected by occupational stress (Gulle, Tredoux, and Foster, 1998). The impact of occupational stress that has been highlighted in previous studies involves burnout, absenteeism, lack of worker productivity, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder and suicide (Gatchel and Schultz, 2012; Louw and Viviers, 2010; Ojedokun and Idemudia, 2014; Wellington, 2010; Bazana and Dodd, 2013). The organisation as a whole has undergone tremendous changes since 1994 (Bradshaw and Prinsloo, 2010). This has

caused huge challenges as the organisation was transformed from a police force to a police service (Bradshaw and Prinsloo, 2010).

With the organisational transformation, the SAPS had changes and it introduced more integrated support services to decrease the impacts of occupational stress (Mbuyisa, 2019). The organisation moved from support services that consisted of chaplains to a more integrated structure which consists of social workers, psychometrists and psychologists (Employee Health and Wellness, 2016). In the past, the SAPS had different support structures which included Social Work Services (SWS), Chaplain Services and Psychological Services (Thaba, 2018). In 2007, this changed as it was emphasized that social workers and psychologists should work in a more integrated way. Thus, these sections were combined to form one component called Employee Assistance Services (Thaba, 2018). Further amendments were made, and the department was named as Employee Health and Wellness (EHW) and its aim is to offer assistance to SAPS personnel in terms of their psychological, spiritual and work-family well-being (Thaba, 2018).

Other than organisational changes, the root of occupational stress among SAPS officers has been found to be much related to the working environment (Paulsen, 2008). Since South Africa has high levels of violence, SAPS members get exposed to most violent and dangerous situations (Jojo, 2016). The nature and extent of murder is changing and violence gets even more intense. For example, murder is considered to be part of serious crimes. The SAPS Annual Report (2018) shows that there are four broad categories of serious crime namely; contact crimes (crimes against the person), contact-related crimes, and crimes against property (also known as property-related crimes). With the increase in murder cases in South Africa, the police continue to suffer the consequences of being exposed to traumatic murder cases. However, police officers end up being killed and injured or witnessing the death of their colleagues while on duty (Wellington, 2010; Violanti, et al., 2011).

In addition, there is a growing number of people serving in the SAPS who encounter burnout and other different manifestations of stress (Kula and Sahin, 2015). As much as people from other professions do experience stress in their workplaces, occupational stress still stands as a growing challenge among the personnel of the SAPS (Pienaar and Rothmann, 2006). Prominent studies on occupational stress and members of the SAPS police been conducted

and stressors that have been found include organisational and operational (Pienaar and Rothmann, 2006). This study focused on the detective division section and the experiences of murder detectives on occupational stress.

1.4.Problem statement

The problem identified in this study is in relation to occupational stress among SAPS detectives responding to murder investigations in Inanda area. The SAPS has a responsibility to prevent, fight, investigate, maintain public order, uphold, and enforce the law and secure inhabitants and their property in South Africa (SAPS, 2016). This indicates that the SAPS should be a healthy and effective organisation for it to fulfil this mandate. This study regards occupational stress as the growing challenge amongst SAPS detectives and such is influenced by the nature of work that detectives do and their working environment (Dabney, Copes, Tewksbury, and Hawk-Tourtelot, 2013).

The rates of murder are increasing, and this is a global concern. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013) conducted a global study on homicide and it was revealed that the aggregate number of murders in 2010 was 468 000 world widely. It was estimated that 36% of murder case were recorded in Africa, 31% in America, 27 % in Asia, 5 % in Europe and 1 % in Oceania (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013). In South Africa, Inanda remains as one of the areas with high rates of murder. With these increasing rates of murder, the problem that was identified was the experiences and challenges that murder detectives face when responding to murder cases. The area of concern is the effects that murder cases have on the well-being of detectives who deal with these cases. According to Statistics South Africa (2017), Inanda has been identified as the worst precinct when it comes to murder in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and this has been happening for the past 5 years as illustrated in Table 1 below. Although the recent statistics showed a decrease of 1.9 % on murder rates and Inanda moving to be the second-worst precinct in KwaZulu-Natal when it comes to murder, it remains as the worst precinct in the province when it comes to murder cases (Statistics South Africa, 2018).

The researcher was prompted to conduct this study in Inanda due to the high rates of murder in the area. This study aims to gain insight of how SAPS detective dealing with murder cases are affected by occupational stress and understand their coping strategies. Crime scene investigation remains the central role of detectives and may propel detectives to attend crime scenes that are traumatic and brutal in nature (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). The detectives do not only get traumatic experiences from the analysis of murder cases but they also witness even their colleagues getting harmed or killed while on duty (Violanti et al., 2011). However, Phoenix Sun (2017) revealed that there was a shootout in the Inanda area which resulted in two (2) police officers being injured, showing how susceptible officers are to occupational stress.

Popular studies on occupational stress have focused on the extent of occupational stress among police officers (Burchfiel, 2016; Louw and Viviers, 2010). The importance is greatly focused on how work experiences of SAPS detectives which includes dealing with hundreds of dreadful and disturbing murder cases in the Inanda area contribute to occupational stress. The researcher aimed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of how occupational stress among SAPS detectives is reliant on the nature of their duties in a work environment that is greatly saturated by psychologically disturbing incidences. According to the South African Police Services (2016), the Employee Health and Wellness (EHW) Portfolio Committee on Police in 2016 showed that there was a total number of 19 097 cases received for police officers with psychiatric conditions, nationally. Among them, 89% consisted of those who were diagnosed and treated with depression and 22% were diagnosed with the post-traumatic stress disorder. South African Police Services (2016) further shows that KwaZulu-Natal stands in the second place with 13% of police who are suffering from psychiatric conditions in the country, hence this study focused on how SAPS detectives from Inanda area are prone to occupational stress when investigating murder cases.

The Public Service Commission (PSC) in 2012 did a study on SAPS detectives and it was found that the number of detectives hired by the SAPS were very inadequate when compared to the high rates of crime in the country. Thus, many detectives end up dealing with high workloads, making detectives more prone to occupational stress (South African Police Service, 2013). The population of South Africa is more than 55 million people but the total number of detectives in the country was only 25 844 in 2013 (South African Police Service,

2013). When specifically focusing on Inanda, this township is very big, it has an area of 26.81 per square kilometre (km²) with 158 619 (5915.36 per km²) population and 39 105 (1458.34 per km²) households, with such population the police station in Inanda has a limited number of detectives who mainly deal with murder cases (Statistics South Africa, 2017). These statistics already show the job demands and workload among detectives in Inanda, thus this study focused on the experiences of occupational stress among detectives.

Most of the studies that have been conducted on occupational stress among SAPS officials have been mainly quantitative in nature (Louw and Viviers, 2010; Westmarland, 2017. Such an approach limits our knowledge of the lived experiences of the detectives. As such, that there is an existing gap in the literature that needs to be addressed in terms of qualitative studies. This study aims to add to the body of literature on occupational stress but with specific reference to detectives dealing with murder cases in a township setting. The context in which this study was conducted greatly differs from previous studies (Agola, 2009; Jonyo, 2015). There has been a shortage in studies that have been conducted to understand the experiences of SAPS detectives when dealing with murder cases in township areas where murder is prevalent (Dabney et al., 2013). As such, further research in such topic is still required to obtain a more profound understanding of the experiences and encounters of occupational stress among SAPS detectives in township areas.

Table 1: SAPS murder statistics – Inanda (2011-2018)

Type of crime: Murder	Precinct	Inanda Policing area							
	Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
	Total	157	170	164	179	169	207	203	209

Source: Crime Statistics South Africa (2017/2019)

Table (1) above depicts the prevalence of murder in the Inanda area. This table shows a tremendous increase in murder cases in 2017.The higher the murder rates, the higher the workload for Inanda SAPS detectives must bear. Since detectives play a major role in murder case analysis, they are the ones who respond to murder crime scenes in all the areas under Inanda Police Station's sphere of influence. Compared to all the other areas in KZN,

detectives in Inanda are the ones who deal with high rates of murder cases as Inanda area has been the first worst precinct when it comes to murder in the past years except in 2018 (StatSA, 2018). In 2019, Inanda remained as the first worst precinct when it comes to murder cases in KwaZulu Natal thus it is important to understand experiences of occupational stress among Inanda detectives as they deal with a high number of murder cases. Although murder cases in Inanda area may differ in their graphical nature, some may be traumatic to investigate, thus making detectives more susceptible to occupational stress.

Considering the statistics and literature that has been discussed, such factors as high rates of murder, inadequate detectives, high rates of psychiatric conditions and few quantitative studies, the problem statement of the study can be summarised as follows:

> The murder detectives at Inanda Police Station, KwaZulu-Natal are prone to occupational stress due to their working conditions.

1.5.Significance of the study

Understanding the experiences and challenges that the police face when responding to murder cases is essential to developing effective support structures for SAPS detectives. This study is significant as it makes a significant contribution in support of SAPS detectives, EHW workers, the SAPS as an organisation, society and scholars.

With regards to contribution towards EHW employees, this study highlights the experiences of SAPS detective in receiving services from EHW workers. If shows whether the detectives find the services effective for them or not. This, therefore, helps EHW workers to identify gaps in their programmes and develop ways that can be used to create effective programmes.

On the other hand, the perceptions that the public has towards detectives are usually negative (Grossman, 2017). The detectives are always expected to bring the results but what they go through while doing their job is rarely considered. This study is significant because it reflects on the challenges that are encountered by SAPS detectives. This study is significant to SAPS as an organisation, it explores the challenges that are encountered by detectives, including unprofessional behaviour that can be caused by stress. Furthermore, this study essentially adds to the scholarly information on the correlation between occupational stress and investigation of murder cases amongst SAPS detectives. The findings of the study can be used by other scholars to expand on the study of occupational stress in the SAPS. This study

is also significant as it provides policymakers who are in charge for the development of policies in the SAPS with the challenges that SAPS detectives face, thus increasing the chances of policies and programmes that can enhance policing and job satisfaction amongst SAPS detectives.

1.6. Research aim and objectives and research questions.

The aim of the study is known as the overall purpose of the study that is concisely and clearly defined (Neuman, 2014). The aim can be in the form of a statement that is broad and states what is to be accomplished rather than how it is to be accomplished.

> The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of murder detectives on occupational stress at Inanda Police Station.

Given the high rates of murder in the area of Inanda, this study aims to make a contribution towards improved support structures in the SAPS by providing an in-depth understanding of detectives' experiences and perceptions of occupational stress as well as identifying contributory factors and the challenges that investigative officers experience due to occupational stress.

Furthermore, objectives are characterised as a definitive target and the purpose that will be accomplished in research (Neuman, 2014). They are what the researcher anticipates to reach in a study. They set out what is to be accomplished in a study in particular terms. They are more of a definitive explanation behind conducting research and help in building up a research study step by step until the ultimate goal is reached.

Below are the objectives of this study:

1. To explore the nature of occupational stress among SAPS detectives.
2. To explore the factors contributing to occupational stress among SAPS detectives.
3. To identify the challenges faced by SAPS detectives when dealing with murder cases.
4. To identify the SAPS support structures available to cope with occupational stress.

Research questions

1. What is the nature of occupational stress among SAPS detectives?
2. What are the sources of occupational stress among SAPS detectives?
3. What are the challenges of SAPS detectives when dealing with murder cases?

4. What are the support structures that are available for detectives to cope with occupational stress?

1.7. Outline of the study

1.7.1. Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter is an introductory chapter that focuses on providing the background of the study, problem statement, aims and objectives focused on the outline of the research methodology and the structure of the dissertation.

1.7.2. Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter provides the descriptions of main concepts and their relevance to the current study. It also provides literature that is relevant to occupational stress in the SAPS.

1.7.3. Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

This chapter discusses the theoretical foundations of the current study, which are the Routine Activities Theory, Deviant Place Theory and Psychoanalytic Theory.

1.7.4. Chapter Four: Research design and methodology

This chapter describes the research methodology that was employed in this study, the research design, sampling method and size, data collection and data analysis.

1.7.5. Chapter Five: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

This chapter discuss the findings of the study.

1.7.6. Chapter Six: Summary of the Findings, Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter provides reflects on the study findings. It further presents the limitations of the study and provides recommendations for future research.

1.8. Chapter summary

Chapter one has introduced what this study is mainly about, it has conceptualised the key concepts of the study and provided an overall overview of the study by discussing the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the rationale and significance of the study. It also provided the research aim, research objectives, and the outline of the research methodology and the structure of the dissertation. The next chapter provides literature on the nature of occupational stress amongst SAPS, contributory factors to occupational stress, the challenges faced by SAPS detectives and also available support structures in the SAPS.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section focuses on reviewing books, articles and all the sources that the researcher found relevant to occupational stress amongst detectives with the aim of gaining full insight and providing a basic assessment of the previous work which is related to the problem being currently investigated. The extent of searching relevant information on search engines included searching articles that are in English and terms that were searched included however were not restricted to: occupational stress, occupational stress amongst detectives, police stress and murder cases and SAPS support structures. The materials used included books, peer reviewed journal articles, unpublished articles, magazines and statistics. There is inadequate scholarly research on the connection between the analysis of murder related cases and occupational stress among SAPS detectives in township settings where murder is prevalent. The focus on analysis of murder related cases on occupational stress in township settings will, therefore, enable another contribute to the body of knowledge. This research was impelled by increasing information from previous studies that stress can be a silent killer that can lead to decreased mental, psychological and physical well-being and negatively affect job performance (Nikam and Shaikh, 2014; Kumar and Kamalanabhan, 2014).

2.1.1. Experiences of occupational stress: a global perspective

The aim of this study is to explore SAPS detectives' experiences of occupational stress when responding to murder-related cases at Inanda Police Station. It is significant that occupational stress among the police is explored from a global perspective to bring insight to the experiences of police officers in a global context. Most international studies on occupational stress and police are quantitative in nature (Lipp, 2009; van der Velden, et al., 2013). The focus is mostly on measuring levels of stress among police officers whereas this study focuses on understanding the lived experiences of SAPS detectives in terms of occupational stress. It focused on studies that have been conducted on occupational stress amongst police officers by looking at the developed countries, developing countries, African countries and lastly local studies (South Africa).

Occupational stress is a global challenge that has negative impacts on different service providers including human service sectors such as the South African Police Service. Previous studies that have been conducted in different countries have shown similarities in the

prevalence of stress among police officers and this shows that occupational stress is not only affecting SAPS detectives but it's an international problem faced by different countries (Agola, 2009; Jonyo, 2015; Roach, Cartwright and Sharratty, 2017). Police officers' experiences on occupational stress are mostly based upon the nature of work they do. Kara, Sunger, and Kapti (2015) argued that as much as the police work is almost the same in every country, the levels of stress and experiences are not the same.

In light of the above, a comparative study was conducted between the Turkish National Police and United States Law Enforcement Agencies (Kara et al., 2015). The aim was to find occupational stressors between American police based in developed country and Turkish police in a developing country (Kara et al., 2015). The results indicated differences in the stressors in Turkish and American police; the difference was due to economic resources. Police officers in Turkey were found to be more exposed to stressors such as high violence, crime and lack of financial resources and this was different for American police (Kara et al., 2015). The economic status of police in developed countries is different from that of developing countries. Police officers in developed countries have more resources and better economic status which allows them to afford even the external support structures such as private psychologists (Kara et al., 2015).

Kara et al. (2015) found that the police in developing countries suffer from occupational stress because of stigma whereas those in developed countries are more informed about the aspects of occupational stress and use available support structures. The nature of work that police do in developed countries compels them to deal with increased work stress, thus making them more familiar with occupational stress including the ways to manage it. The police in developing countries may be working under more violent and traumatic conditions, and occupational stress still remains as a stigma (Kara et al., 2015; Higginson, Mazerolle, Davis, Bedford, and Mengersen, 2013; Suresh, Anantharaman, Angusamy, and Ganesan, 2013). A study conducted by Magwaza (2009) proposed that law enforcement should strive to implement a stigma-free culture since the nature of work for their personnel is highly stressful.

Occupational stress in previous studies have been measured by the performance of police officers and their experiences of occupational stress have been found to be highly associated with poor performance among police (Chikwem, 2017). As a result, the experiences of

occupational stress among the police in developed countries have been found to be less severe compared to those in the developing countries particularly in the context of police performance (Suresh et al., 2013). For instance, Australian Federal Police (2013) as cited in (Jonyo, 2015) revealed the statistics from 2010 to 2012, which indicated that 74.7% of the people in Australia were satisfied with the police's work and the services they provided. The reports from developing countries were different. For example, poor performance amongst the police in developing countries was noted, which is linked to occupational stress (Suresh et al., 2013).

Occupational stress among the police has been studied in terms of gender and how stress affects male and female officers. Gachter et al, (2011) conducted a quantitative study on gender variation, physiological and psychological stress among police officers in Baltimore, Maryland. The aim was to analyse how gender affects the perceived level of stress amongst police by examining physiological and psychological indicators. There was no significant difference in physiological stress between males and females, but the observation shows that female officers have a higher level of physical stress and males were affected mostly by operational stressors. Violanti et al., (2011) conducted a cross-sectional study on police in Buffalo, New York by focusing on gender differences and highly rated and most frequent stressors. It was found that the stressors affecting officers included exposure to battered children (27%), responding to violent situations, and killing someone in line of duty. Violanti et al., (2011) found that male officer's stressors included working while off duty such as attending courts, whereas stressors amongst females included lack of support from supervisors.

Another study was conducted in America by Ma et al. (2015) on shift work and occupational stress among the police. The findings revealed that night shift officers reported more events of stress than day shift workers. In Italy, Acquadro Maran, Varetto, Zedda and Ieraci (2015) conducted a quantitative study on organisational and occupational stressors, their consequences and coping strategies among police officers. This study made a comparison between officers working indoors and outdoors in terms of their stressors. The findings showed that both outdoor patrol officers and internal patrol officers were suffering from organisational and job stressors. The only difference was their coping mechanisms; outdoor

officers seemed more willing to use various coping strategies, while indoor officers used avoidance strategies (Acquadro Maran et al., 2015).

A study that was conducted amongst investigating officers in the United Kingdom (UK) and Danish police officers responding to homicide cases is one of the distinct studies that mainly focus on officers explicitly dealing with murder cases (Roach et al., 2017). This is a study that mainly focuses on investigative officers and their experiences of occupational stress. The focus of the study was on comparison between investigating child and adult murder cases, the aim was to find the difference between the effects of investigating such cases (Roach et al., 2017). This study indicates that investigators are affected by cognitive and emotional stress due to their role as homicide investigators but the effect is more intense when dealing with child homicide. This study has both similarities and differences to the current study; the similarity lies on the focus on occupational stress and murder case investigators. The differences lie on the participants selected and the research approach employed. The current study was conducted among murder detectives working in a township setting where crime rates are high and the approach used was a qualitative approach.

In another view, some studies have found different findings with regards to occupational stress and police work in developed countries. A cohort study that was conducted by van der Velden et al (2013) in Nederland made comparison between police as their work is considered as a high-risk profession and workers from non-risk professions such as bankers and mental health care professionals. No difference was found. In terms of the rates of occupational stress, police officers were found to be as mentally healthy as other workers from different professions.

Different studies on occupational stress and police were conducted. Selokar, Nimbarte, Ahana, Gaidhane and Wagh (2011) focused on occupational stress among police personnel in India. The different stressors found among the police included superior discipline, high work demands, no incentives, no recognition of workers' skills and commitment. This study found stressors emanating from the organisation such as insufficient recognition of workers' skills and responsibilities. This study was quantitative in nature thus the researcher had several levels to categorize levels of stress on the participants. The first level was ≤ 15 meaning that people who score around this level stress is not a problem in the life of personnel

in this level (Selokar et al, 2011). The second level was 16-30 which indicated a moderate range of stress whereas 31-45 indicates a level where stress is clearly a problem. The last level was 45-60 where stress is a major problem. The findings of Selokar et al (2011) indicated that seventy respondents scored > 15, signifying that occupational stress was an issue, meaning that more participants got a score that is greater than 15, a level that indicates presence of stress. On the other hand, 32 respondents scored ≤15, implying that occupational stress was not a major problem to them (Selokar et al, 2011). A study that was conducted by Kuo (2015) among Taiwanese police officers on occupational stress, job satisfaction, and affective commitment to policing identified three main stressors. Kuo (2015) found that contributory factors for police in developing countries such as Taiwan involves police officers' relationships with their colleagues and supervisors. The stressors were also related to their views about promotion procedures within the department.

Similarly, a study that was conducted amongst Brazilian police found that 43 % of police officers were suffering from stress symptoms (Lipp, 2009). The difference between Marinda and Lipp's study and the current study is that it focused on general police officers while the current study focuses mainly on occupational stress and detectives. Low quality of life was found with regards to professional and health conditions amongst Brazilian police officers (Lipp, 2009). Nikam and Shaikh (2014) conducted a systematic review on occupational stress, burnout and coping in police personnel and found that the common sources of stress amongst police were work overload, insufficient staff and resources, financial crises, long hours, violent arrests and neglected family life. This review presented effects of severe symptoms of stress amongst police officers and this included poor job performance, suicidal thoughts, depression, irritability, short temper, substance abuse, absenteeism and marital problems, nightmares, isolation and loss of interest in social activities (Nikam and Shaikh, 2014).

Studies that have been conducted in African countries also indicate a relationship between occupational stress and police work. A study that was conducted by Agola (2009) in Botswana showed that many police officers were suffering from occupational stress and this was due to the fear of being harmed while on duty and involvement in situations that needed them to utilize their power. A study conducted by Weke et al. (2014) in Kenya on the causes of occupational stress amongst police in Kenya found that they were experiencing

occupational stress and it was due to their work environment. Similar to the aim of this study, the work environment for police officers were to understand how it results in occupational stress as other studies have focused on police stress as caused by personal stressors (Kula and Sahin, 2015). Weke et al. (2014) concluded that the police service commission ought to build up an arrangement on stress management to manage the recruitment, activities and counselling of police officers on their everyday duties to reduce high rates of occupational stress.

Focusing on South Africa, the subject of occupational stress has been gaining traction in the past years. The country of South Africa is characterised by high levels of murder and violence. Most local studies on occupational stress have been conducted in the North-West province (Rothmann, 2008; Marais and Mostert, 2008). Rothmann (2008) conducted a study in the North-West province to analyse occupational stress amongst SAPS police officers, the results indicated 19% of the cases of variance in psychological ill health and 17% in physical ill-health. However, a study by Wellington (2010) indicated high incidents of occupational stress amongst SAPS officers. Some of the respondents reported that they are constantly exposed to situations where they would see dead bodies in ditches, distorted bodies in accidents, burnt bodies and they also had to shoot people or get shot themselves and that was very traumatising for them (Wellington, 2010).

Williams, Nicholas and Bawa (2011) conducted a quantitative study in an Eastern Cape police station on the extent of the effects of exposure to trauma by police officers. The findings revealed the stressful incidents as perceived by Eastern Cape police officers such as finding a corpse after murder (86.4%), responding to a crime scene involving a child (84.8 %) and violence related to their duties (84.8%). This study correlates with the problem that was identified in this study as highlighted in the problem statement, that exposure to violence increases proneness to occupational stress, the difference is that the current study employed qualitative methods to obtain data. Other studies focus more on occupational stress and coping mechanisms among SAPS police officers (Wassermann, Meiring, and Becker, 2019; Louw and Viviers, 2010; Myendeki, 2008; Paulsen, 2008; Wassermann, 2016).

The gaps that were identified in the previous literature on occupational stress among police include differences in the economic status that exists between developed and developing countries. Boshoff, Strydom and Botha (2015) questioned the effectiveness of support

structures available to police in South Africa to cope with occupational stress. A gap between the effectiveness of intervention programmes in developed countries and developing countries was noted. Kara et al. (2015) associated this gap with the stigma attached to utilising intervention programmes in developing countries. This was noted in studies that revealed the effects of occupational stress as associated with more suicide among the police in developing countries (Perkin, 2016; Tucker, 2015). Previous studies in developed countries conducted on occupational stress have focused occupational stress and job performance (Suresh et al., 2013), occupational stress and intervention programmes (Higginson et al., 2013; Anshel and Brintaupt, 2014), occupational stress and coping (Acquadro Maran et al., 2015). Other studies have been conducted on the factors contributing to occupational stress (Suresh et al., 2013; Acquadro Maran et al., 2015), occupational stress among patrol officers and occupational stress and gender (Gachter et al., 2011; Acquadro Maran et al., 2015). Prominent studies on occupational stress are quantitative in nature, however, it remains important to address occupational stress among murder detectives with a qualitative study that captures their lived experiences.

2.2. The nature of occupational stress among South African Police Service detectives

Occupational stress is ordinarily described as the unpleasant responses which may be physical and emotional that takes place when job demands surpass the resources, abilities and needs of a worker (Landsbergis et al., 2017). Greenberg (2014) argues that occupational stress is unavoidable yet commonly harmful to the individual and the organisation. Paulsen (2008) state that occupational stress among police officers does not only impact on them as individuals but also the well-being of an organisation and community are also affected. Dabney et al. (2013) stated that the nature of stress amongst detectives and patrol officers differs greatly by proposing that patrol officers can experience situations that trigger stress but it is not comparable to investigators dealing with murder cases. They argued that the fact that they always attend to crime scenes, seeing different people dead and also having to meet with their families on the ongoing case investigations causes them more stress (Dabney et al., 2013).

Mark and Smith (2008) further state that the conceptions of the nature of stress can differ from one person to another. Three approaches were identified as the nature of stress, the first, one being the engineering approach which is also referred to as the stimulus-based approach.

In this approach, the nature of stress is comprehended as a condition of the environment that is external to the individual which influences him or her in a disruptive way (Govender, 2012). This approach explains the nature of stress as being reliant on the environments' level of demand. A study conducted by Jojo (2016) indicated that the working environment was one of the stressors among police officers. Moreover, the stimulus approach views stress as an independent variable, which is contrary to the response-based approach (Mark and Smith, 2008). Thus, the stimulus characteristics of the environment are considered as disturbing or disruptive in some way hence this study also takes into consideration the environment under which detectives work.

The other approach is known as the physiological approach whereby the nature of stress is seen in the physiological variations that take place when an individual is in a state of stress (Govender, 2012). For an example, Williams et al. (2011) conducted a study that revealed that the personality that police hold is different from one another and some personalities allow police officers to cope under stress and some are greatly affected, and this may be evident in their physiological symptoms such as increased heart rates. This approach explains stress as a biological reaction that occurs when a person is exposed to stressors (Mark and Smith, 2008). This approach looks at occupational stress as a bodily response such as the chemical reaction that occurs when an individual feels threatened. This has been understood as a 'fight or flight' stress response where if exposed to stress your heart rate increases, breathing quickens, muscles tighten, and blood pressure rises (Mark and Smith, 2008). In relation to this, previous studies have found physical conditions as being caused by stress (Rothmann, 2008).

The third approach is known as the psychological approach where stress is identified in the process of interaction of an individual to an environment (Mark and Smith, 2008). This may occur when the demands of the work environment exceed the demands of detectives. The psychological nature of occupational stress has received great attention in previous studies on police officers. Brown, Cooper and Kirkcaldy (2013) found that psychological stress among police officers in relation to post-traumatic stress disorder is most prevalent. According to Maabela (2015) police work is characterised by constant exposure to trauma. A study conducted by Maabela (2015) found that police officers who develop post-traumatic symptoms because of exposure to traumatic incidences at work were about one to third in

their sample. Kula (2011) identified that the nature of police work has to do with the need to react to both criminal and non-criminal circumstances thus police tend to encounter more pressure and occupational stress. The way that police officers are affected by stress greatly differs for an example, some may be affected emotionally, and this can be seen when they show symptoms such as reduced attention, irritability and nervousness (Boshoff et al., 2015; van Lelyveld, 2008). A study conducted by van Lelyveld (2008) indicated that when police officers are affected emotionally, they tend to have reduced attention and forgetfulness. Their emotional state has an impact even on their behaviour such as aggressive and impulsive behaviour.

Moreover, another study conducted by Louw (2010) has revealed that investigative officers may experience what is known as chronic stress. This shows the nature of occupational stress that police officers experience. Chronic stress has been defined as everyday stressors that are characterised with moderate intensity of stress (Khan and Khan, 2017). However, Kula (2011) stated that this may be the result of stress from work such as work demands, shift work, and poor supervision. Anshel and Brinthaupt (2014) pointed out that although chronic stressors may be considered as moderate if their intensity increases and when they occur frequently, they may end up surpassing the effects of acute stressors. A person experiencing chronic stress may have less sensibility. Detectives experiencing stress may develop defence mechanisms, for example, being emotionally detached from work as Anshel and Brinthaupt (2014) stated that chronic stress results from suppression of feelings to avoid pain. Their study revealed that police officers adapt to the suppression of their feelings to avoid occupational stress. Some police officers' responses included that they usually numb their feelings when doing their jobs as this helps them to be unaffected psychologically by their job and avoid feeling stressed. The graphic incidences that investigators are exposed to eventually cause them to be no longer bothered about feeling emotional when they encounter similar future events.

Additionally, Acquadro Maran (2015) stated that occupational stress can also be intense in nature. This is known as acute stress. Bryant (2017) defined acute stress as the events or circumstances that are time-limited and intense. He further states that this may be critical incidents such as police officers being involved in shootings. Previous research shows how severe exposure to shootings affect police officers psychologically (Wassermann, 2016). He

conducted a study on critical incidence debriefing amongst SAPS police officers and found that many police officers usually suffer psychologically after being involved in shootings and a number of them attend debriefing after being involved in shootings, however, those who do not use such services showed more symptoms of stress (Wessermann, 2016).

Furthermore, the nature of stress in the workplace involves physiological reactions as there are different phases of occupational stress. The first phase that a person goes through when affected by occupational stress is the alarm stage (Szabo et al.,2012). This stage occurs when a person is constantly exposed to excessive stress that eventually has an effect on their physiological well-being. Szabo et al. (2012) proposed that when there is a negative stimulus, a person's nervous system reacts to avoid stressors and this reaction of stress is understood as the body's defensive forces. They further stated that during this stage, a person might have increased heart rate, adrenaline and glucose levels. On the other hand, Karanja (2012) detailed that at this stage, a person may go through shock and counter-shock phases. He defined the shock phase similar to Szabo et al. (2012) as he proposed that the shock phase includes all the outward signs of stress which can be decreased by body temperature and blood pressure. Counter-shock occurs when adrenaline is released, and this is where a person's pulse rate and blood pressure is increased (Karanja, 2012).

 The second stage that occurs when a person is faced with a stressor is known as the resistance stage (Mohajan, 2012). Thus, occurs after the alarm stage, and it occurs when a person is still exposed to stressors. Since police officers are constantly exposed to danger and violence on their daily basis this sustained exposure to stress results in one's body to always remain on alert. In the resistance stage, the adrenocortical secretions decrease (Szabo et al., 2012). This stage is associated with increased muscle strength and heightened metabolism as the body tries to be resistant against stressors and it is associated with disorders such as deprived sleep, irritability, hypertension, heart diseases and migraines (Islam et al., 2012). This stage shows that increased exposure to stress can have a negative impact on a person's well-being. A study conducted by Louw (2010) showed a number of police officers who were found to be suffering from several physical conditions because of exposure to stress. Such major physiological effects of stress have been concluded to have an impact on the well-being of police officers, thus a report by EHW shows a variety of conditions that police officers suffer from.

The third phase in known as the exhaustion phase. Mohajan (2012) stated that this stage is associated with severe health conditions. This stage occurs when a person is experiencing prolonged and excessive stress. Islam et al. (2012) proposed that this stage takes place when a person is drained physically, emotionally and mentally and their adaptive resources are depleted. Health conditions that can occur in this stage include chronic depression, lowered capacity to fight infection, and alcoholism (Islam et al., 2012). However, Karanja (2012) found that problems associated with this stage include fatigue, burnout, depression and anxiety. SAPS police officers have been found to have similar problems as a result of occupational stress (EHW, 2016).

2.3. The contributory factors to occupational stress among South African Police Service detectives

Previous studies have identified many factors that contribute to occupational stress among SAPS officers (Myendeki, 2008, Wassermann, 2016, Mofokeng, 2015). Although the SAPS has greatly strived to increase the number of detectives and formulate several support structures, occupational stress still remains a problem. This study has identified several factors as contributory to stress from the previous studies (Singh and Kar, 2015, McNally, 2012, Myendeki, 2008, Wassermann, 2016, Mofokeng, 2015).

2.3.1 Organisational stressors

There are various organisational stressors associated with murder investigation in the SAPS that has been found to contribute to occupational stress amongst detectives. Organisational stressors have been conceptualised as the stressors in an organisation that causes stress in an employee (Kula and Sahin, 2015). It has been understood as stressors that stem from the organisation itself rather than task-related or personal factors (Kula and Sahin, 2015). McNally (2012) concluded that organisational stressors are more profound compared to task-related stressors. Even in countries such as India, organisational stressors have been a major problem as Singh and Kar (2015) found that the main sources of organisational stressors that contribute to police stress amongst police officers are low chances of promotion, frequent transfers, suspensions and punishments and also the challenges of getting a leave. Among SAPS police officers, Young, Koortzen and Oosthuizen (2012) revealed that most police felt that most of their stress comes from the organisation itself such as lack of support and

recognition from the organisation and excessive paperwork. McNally (2012) also found that some of the stressful circumstances inherent to organisational stressors is that the police feels abandoned and isolated in their workplace.

One of the contributory factors relating to organisational stressors that have been identified in the literature is work demand. According to Agolla (2009), work demand alludes to the physical and mental efforts that a person invests in their job, which may affect their physiological and psychological well-being. As discussed, that occupational stress occurs when job demands surpass the person's adaptive resources. Apparently, previous studies have shown that police work is highly demanding and stressful (Mushwana (2017; Wassermann, 2016). However, Mohajan (2012) states that when there is a disturbance in the equilibrium between job demands and the capacity of the worker to respond to the demands, stress is likely to occur. Mushwana (2017) states that high job demands result in high chances of stress occurrence and police work has been found to be very demanding as it involves the handling of crises situations and also excessive paperwork.

In India, a study that was conducted by Singh and Kar (2015) revealed that job demand was the second highest job-related stressor amongst police officers. Participants revealed that the most stressful part of their job is the quantity of work they do, long and odd hours (Singh and Kar, 2015). Ma et al. (2015) stated that some factors considered to be demanding amongst SAPS police officers include shift work and also meeting deadlines. Furthermore, Wassermann (2016) revealed that stress due to job demand is one of the challenges that SAPS officers encounter on their work by asserting that several police officers end up experiencing mental strains. He further revealed that in SAPS, lack of resources is a major stressor, and this entailed low salary and shortage of staff (Wassermann, 2016). Boshoff et al. (2015) estimated the degree to which police officers are exposed to stress in their workplace and experiences of police officers that were associated with job demand included witnessing loss of human life and also having to take responsibility and being held accountable for decisions taken under pressure.

The daily work of a detective when responding to murder cases may be as highly demanding and exhausting. It is usually expected that detectives serve justice for the victims and execute law even in most challenging situations such as having to deal with victims or perpetrators that they are familiar with or living in the same area (SAPS, 2016). The gap was identified

between work demand for police officers in townships and in suburbs since violence and crime in townships are more prevalent, detective work is, however, demanding as it requires them to put their lives at risk as soon as they receive a case for instance, they may deal with cases that involve very dangerous people and risking their lives is part and parcel of their job. Police are also often more in touch with extremely painful issues in the community. Rothman (2008) reveals that what can also be demanding in the workplace for investigators is having to attend to multiple crime scenes in one shift, which increases the risk of stress.

Additionally, other stressors emanate from the management (Boshoff et al., 2015). SAPS management has the responsibility to ensure that workers are adequately trained (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). The inadequate training of detectives can result in them not being able to effectively execute their duties and that may result in feelings of failure and incompetence (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). In the detective dialogue, it was highlighted that one of the recurring concerns in the SAPS is the training of detectives. They are expected to perform work which they have not been trained to do. In 2012, it was found that some police officers were appointed as detectives but they had never received any general detective training or specialised training. If detectives are not properly trained that could result in poor quality and ineffective investigations (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). It was further discussed that some of the factors that result in inadequate training amongst detectives is the lack of successful mentorship programs for new detectives (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). However, Boshoff et al. (2015) found that bureaucracy within the SAPS, coupled with an autocratic management style was one of the stressors in the SAPS, this correlated with Ma et al.'s (2014) findings that the SAPS officers continue to suffer from inadequate management skills, decision making that's unfair, little recognition for their work and also ignorance in the difficulties of their working conditions (Boshoff et al., 2015).

Other researchers have found that what contributes to stress amongst SAPS detectives is the number of cases to which they get assigned (Myendeki, 2008; Wessermann, 2016). The SAPS emphasizes that an ideal number of cases that each detective should be assigned to is about 18 cases (SAPS, 2016). However, Myendeki (2008) found that the normal number of criminal cases overseen by every detective ranges from 32 (Northern Cape) to 52 (Eastern Cape), with a national average of 43 and that highly contradicts with the ideal number that the SAPS established. The causes of high caseloads amongst detectives include delays from the court

or from other sections such as forensics and the cases end up being carried for a long period of time and they pile up. This becomes a challenge as investigators end up dealing with a high number of dockets (Wassermann, 2016). Within the SAPS, the factors that contribute to heavy caseloads is the insufficient staff and resources, thus cases end up piling up daily (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). This is not only a problem that is only affecting the SAPS, countries all around the world are highly affected by heavy caseloads and that significantly contribute to occupational stress among the detectives. It was discussed the SAPS Detective Dialogue (2012) that caseloads differ from one station to another and they are not distributed equally amongst detectives, with high rates of murder cases at Inanda Police Station being the highest in the province. The gap that was identified is that there is less literature on occupational stress amongst those SAPS detectives working in township settings where detectives are likely to handle heavy caseloads as there are high rates of murder.

However, it is generally known that it is highly motivating to be in a workplace where there are sufficient physical resources to execute designated tasks. In the context of this study job resources are the aspects of the job that are considered to be useful in accomplishing work objectives, decreasing work demands and physical and psychological demands (Myendeki, 2008). Myendeki (2008) found a correlation between job stress and lack of resources. He further stated that if there are not enough resources, it is highly likely that employees will be affected. One of the advantages that developed countries enjoy when compared to developing countries like South Africa is that of sufficient and effective tools or resources available to execute their investigations. Rothman (2008) states that Local Criminal Record Centre (LCRC) member's voice that when there are adequate resources, the level of commitment amongst SAPS personnel is highly improved. Mofokeng (2015) conducted a study on the examination of factors influencing investigating officers' retention in the South African Police Service. The findings indicated that lack of resources was one of the police stressors. The findings of the study revealed that 92.9% of the respondents agreed that the performance of detectives is affected by a lack of physical resources (Mofokeng, 2015). Moreover, the resources that may be available for detectives when working on given cases may not be working properly, thus contributing more to organisational stressors for SAPS detectives (Mofokeng, 2015).

The common factor that contributes to occupational stress on the previous studies is lack of resources (Mofokeng, 2015). The major challenge that SAPS detectives are facing is insufficient resources. Critical resources such as computers, laptops, and vehicles are not sufficient across different stations (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). Numerous stations don't have adequate vehicles for use by detectives and some don't have adequate computers accessible to detectives, which makes it difficult for SAPS detectives to effectively conduct investigations (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). Most developed countries use technology when conducting their investigations whereas South African investigators still struggle to get technological equipment's such adequate computers yet there are high rates of crime and cases that need proper and thorough investigations. This has been noted from the comparative study on the stress factors in both developed and developing countries (Suresh et al., 2013). Stressors as a result of inadequate resources was more prevalent in developing countries.

Despite a great degree of hard work that police officers do and their efforts to successfully execute their duties, different scholars have found that police in South Africa get little acknowledgement for the work they do, which is very demotivating to them (Burger,2011) ,Bazana and Dodd, 2013, Wassermann, 2016). Singh and Kar (2015) found high levels of occupational stress amongst lower-ranking police officers as they have low salaries, low status and little acknowledgement for their work. In most countries, police are acknowledged for their vital work and they are paid average wages as government workers due to their extraordinary work in ensuring safety and harmony in the country and this is not the same case when it comes to South Africa (Wassermann, 2016). SAPS officers continue to struggle with lower status compared to other professions in South Africa and they are expected to deliver and solve high rates of crime yet even the society does not consider them as productive members of the society, thus making the police more prone to work-related pressure and frustration. The SAPS (2015) revealed that police officers are given little regard or positive input by the communities they serve. Burger (2011) further stated that police officers are also treated with doubt and even when they do great work, they are not sufficiently recognised by the communities they serve for their good work; they are constantly scrutinised and this was found to be contributing to high stress levels.

Police work continues to be stressful as a result of the perceptions that the public has regarding images of a good police officer. Grossman (2017) stated that some police officers

are pressured into fitting into the description of what the public regards as a good police officer. In South Africa, and in numerous countries all over the world, it is acknowledged that to be a good police officer, various characteristic should be depicted. Generally, there is a typical conviction that police ought to be physically fit, masculine and strong (Westmarland, 2017). Competent police officers are generally accepted to be the individuals who deal with the issues happening in the streets rather than in work stations, and ought to have a solid record of arrests which may include brutality (Lagestad, 2013; Westmarland, 2017). These general public perceptions regarding police officers in an opposite of what detectives actually do as they work in the station rather than patrolling in the streets. Lagestad (2013) states that in order to reduce stress and pressure to perform in a certain way police officers should mainly focus on evaluating themselves based on the contribution they make towards the safety and security of the country. Lagestad (2013) stated that a kind, gentle and soft-spoken police officer should convey as much status and acknowledgement as the ones who are harsh and loud as long as they execute their jobs effectively.

Additionally, the lack of coordination in the criminal justice cluster has also been identified as one of the organisational stressors that contribute to occupational stress. It was highlighted in the SAPS Detective Dialogue (2012) that there is no coordination in the criminal justice system as SAPS investigators work with stakeholders from different institutions to fight against crime. The detectives highlighted that there is no effective relationship amongst investigators and other stakeholders such as prosecutors, and correctional services workers yet they are all working towards the same goal of reducing crime in the country (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). It was noted that in some cases, the process of prosecution takes a long time and may even be delayed, thus further increasing the number of dockets amongst detectives, which results in an increase in the workload and stress levels for detectives (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012).

An absence of coordinated data frameworks was also highlighted as a noteworthy challenge. The Local Criminal Record Centre (LCRC) of the Department of Police maintains a database of people who are suspects and those who have been convicted (SAPS, 2016). It is only the fingerprints and personal details of people who have been criminal suspects that are kept on the system thus it becomes a challenge when detectives want the information of a first-time offender because such information is only obtained from the Department of Home Affairs

and it takes a long time to obtain such information, further delaying the case (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). It was recommended that the SAPS information system should also keep details of the general public so that it will be much easier for investigators to obtain the personal information of new suspects.

The other organisational factors that have been identified, which contribute to occupational stress among SAPS detectives is corruption within the SAPS. Detectives deal with different cases at the same time and in many instances, there have been cases where dockets get lost and previous research reveals that this may be due to the intentional loss of dockets. In some cases police officers get bribed or sell dockets. This has been an increasing obstacle for investigators in South Africa. During the Detective Dialogue (2012), it was revealed that there were 13 SAPS evidence stores and this contributes to the loss of dockets as there are inadequate lockable filing cabinets and there's even lack of proper management and control over dockets. The Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) has investigated various cases of police corruption with regards to loss and destruction of case dockets and in 2017 it increased to 11% in KwaZulu-Natal (IPID, 2017). The issue of loss of docket continues to grow. According to the IPID (2017), out of the 160 cases that were reported, 154 were against SAPS members and KwaZulu-Natal had high rates of police corruption as it stood at 75 (47%), Gauteng with 31 cases (19%), and the Eastern Cape had 25 cases (15%). However, KwaZulu-Natal has 80 cases regarding police corruption that were received by the IPID and there's a total of 43 cases where decisions have been taken, hence, an indication of the challenges in the work environment for investigators in KZN.

2.3.2   Operational factors

When detectives are doing the analysis of murder related cases, their role is also affected by various operational stressors that may result in occupational stress (Myendeki, 2008). Operational stressors may result from the operational work of the SAPS detectives and it entails the on-going activities done on a daily basis by SAPS detectives. The investigation of murder related cases is part of the SAPS detectives' operational work. Dabney et al. (2013) indicated that some of the examples of operational stressors include exposure to traumatic incidences. The traumatic incidences that the SAPS detectives face while executing their job may leave them with various traumatic experiences. Pena, Van den Broucke, Leysen and de

Soir (2017) describe a traumatic experience as an experience that includes injury or death. This can occur to oneself, the victims or colleagues and may result in feelings of fear, horror and helplessness (Pena et al., 2017). These feelings can last for weeks or years if not dealt with accordingly. In the context of SAPS detectives, it is evident that the routine duties of SAPS detectives expose them to repeated traumatic experiences, especially when dealing with murder cases.

The traumatic incidences are a contributory factor to the stress experienced by police officers, and these have been documented by different scholars (Violanti et al., 2011, Perkins, 2016; Jojo, 2016). Trauma has been associated with witnessing brutal death in the line of duty (Pena et al., 2017). A study that was conducted by Violanti et al. (2011) indicated that the most common incidence that the police consider as traumatic is the death of a police officer on duty. Perkins (2016) stated that police officers may not only witness the death of citizens only but even their own colleagues and this has been seen as mainly contributing to an increase in occupational stress among officers. Jojo (2016) further asserts that some operational stressors may include interacting with violent criminals, which may put police officers' lives in danger, thus creating increased levels of stress. Operational stressors have been seen as causing harm to the well-being of police officers.

The other factor that has been identified in previous studies as a contributory factor to occupational stress among SAPS detectives is facing violent and erratic circumstances in crime scenes. The SAPS detectives are usually present at crime scenes of murder to secure and gather physical evidence or any other type of evidence that may be present (South African Police Service, 2013). According to Myeza (2019), a crime scene is a specific location, area or place where a crime occurred. In the current research, a crime scene is conceptualized as a location or a place where murder was committed. Myeza (2019) argued that in the context of murder cases, a crime scene can either be a place where murder occurred or the actual body of the victim. Crime scenes may differ from one another in terms of the extent of danger and violence. Roach et al. (2017) revealed that police officers might be required to place themselves in risky and erratic situations. In some instances, investigators may face unpredictable dangers in murder crime scenes and the possibility of danger becomes very high.

Dabney et al.'s (2013) study on occupational stress among police officers revealed that the most stressing feeling is responding to a crime scene where things are eccentric and the potential of risk is obscure. Govender (2012) also found that investigators find it stressful to attend murder crime scenes as they may have little information on what is really happening at the crime scene unlike in armed robbery crime scenes where you may adequately prepare as you know that there is a certain danger awaiting. This study focuses on detectives working on murder crime scenes. Previous studies explore how stressful it can be to work with murder cases as different crime scenes may be different in terms of danger and risks.

Furthermore, Steyn et al. (2013) conducted a study involvement in shootings is one of the contributory factors to occupational stress among investigators. Dabney et al. (2013) stated that in some cases, it does happen that criminals may still present at the murder crime scene on the arrival of police officers and in such instances; shootings are most likely to occur. Officers may be compelled to end up shooting a person and this ends up leaving them with feelings of penitence as having to live with a conscience that they have killed someone. Although it may be in line of their duty, it leaves them with severe psychological strains (Dabney et al., 2013). However, officers themselves might be shot by the suspects and get injured, thus resulting in more chances of perceiving their work environment as stressful (Steyn et al., 2013). They may also witness their colleagues being injured or killed while on duty such experience may leave them in a very traumatic state, hence contributing more to occupational stress (Roach et al., 2017). The number of police deaths in KZN between the years of 2010-2015 is 14 % based on the report of the portfolio committee on police (South African Police Services, 2016).

Court proceedings have been found to contribute to occupational stress among investigators. SAPS detectives spend their time gathering the evidence during murder investigations and they give their efforts and dedication to ensure that enough evidence is gathered for a criminal to be persecuted. Mofokeng's (2015) findings revealed that investigators do not only suffer from traumatic experiences in the process of investigating murder cases but having to deal with the judicial system personnel may further contribute to occupational stress among investigators. This may occur during cross-examination in court, and in some instances lawyers may challenge the evidence presented by police and succeed in getting their clients

plea bargains and lenient sentences. This has been found to contribute to occupational stress in a way that investigators may feel that all their hard work and efforts in investigating a case from scratch, gathering the evidence and giving their dedication to a case all goes in vain when criminal justice is too lenient on criminals (Mofokeng, 2015).

On the other hand, police culture has been identified as one of the factors that can result in occupational stress amongst police officers (Jojo, 2016). Police culture is normally portrayed as broadly shared norms, attitudes and values used by police to manage stress as a result of the nature of police work and it serves as disciplinary practices of police management (Steyn, 2008). Police culture can prevent police officers from seeking professional psychological help when there is a need because of the stigma attached. This occurs because most police officers strive to maintain police culture which has such values as controlled emotions, competency and strength. Police culture develops in relation to the environment and strains of the police work. The types of police environment include organizational environment and occupational environment and these environments have been seen to have different effects on police officers (Jojo, 2016). The occupational environment is comprehended as the type of environment that focuses on the police's relationship with the society or communities they are working in (Steyn, 2008).

The occupational environment places police officers in two situations; firstly, being the danger, they face which causes them to be too preoccupied with the danger around them and secondly the use of power or authority on the citizens (Steyn, 2008). As much as they use authority to reinforce group loyalty, this consequently puts them in social isolation. The second type of environment is the organizational environment, which has been explained as involving a police's relationship with their supervisors (Jojo, 2016). Police are relied upon to uphold laws, yet they are also required to take after the correct procedural tenets and controls, if they do something right substantively but wrong procedurally, that can result in disciplinary action being taken against the officer (Steyn, 2008). Thus, based on police culture, these two environments can potentially cause strain and stress among the police and they end up developing defense mechanisms to cope in their work environment.

2.4 The challenges among south African police service detectives working with murder cases as a result of occupational stress

Occupational stress can result in severe challenges especially if no preventative measures are taken. The attestations that dealing with murder cases can expose investigators to traumatic scenes have been found to cause personal, psychological, behavioural and operational challenges amongst investigators in terms of their well-being and this also becomes a challenge for the SAPS organisation as a whole (Jojo, 2016). It was further stated that occupational stress also becomes a challenge with regards to the physical well-being of investigative officers (Jojo, 2016). Employee Health and Wellness (2016) revealed that high blood pressure, diabetes and hypertension were some of the challenges facing SAPS officers.

2.4.1 Psychological challenges

The most common theme that has been identified in the previous research is the psychological harm that police officers endure. A study conducted by Boshoff et al. (2015) reported that police officers usually develop remarkable stress reactions right after being exposed to graphic and dangerous incidents. These incorporate sleep deprivations, flashbacks and anger problems and such stress reactions eventually result in emotional and psychological problems amongst SAPS officers. In the Employee Health and Wellness (2016) report, there were 19 097 cases of psychiatric conditions that were received. Free State Province detailed the highest rate of psychiatric conditions (14%), and the only difference with KwaZulu-Natal is only 1% as KZN stood at 13 % of cases of psychiatric conditions (EHW, 2016).

Rothman (2008) found that anxiety was one of the challenges that were prevalent among SAPS police officers. Since anxiety is grouped into different categories (realistic, moral and neurotic anxiety), realistic anxiety among police officers may be seen when investigative officers have feelings of fear of the dangers inherent in their daily work (Govender, 2012). Moral anxiety is related to the concern of their conduct for an example feeling of guilt for mistakes that may be done on their job and lastly neurotic anxiety which may take place when investigative officers may feel overwhelmed by their job (Govender, 2012). Young (2012) stated that some police officers experience anxiety when they are faced with circumstances that remind them of the graphic incidences that they have been exposed to before. Some display symptoms of anxiety even if they hear discussions or being in the place where they

saw a certain traumatic incidence (Boshoff et al., 2015). The most common symptoms of anxiety amongst police officers as indicated by van der Velden et al. (2013) include overwhelming feelings of fear and compulsive thoughts. However, the most reported incidences of anxiety amongst SAPS officers also includes disturbing memories and frequent nightmares.

South African Police Service (2016), the EHW Portfolio Committee reveals from their national statistics on employee wellness that among the SAPS officers who are suffering from psychiatric conditions, 89% consist of those who are treated and diagnosed with depression thus the other challenge that SAPS officers tend to face is depression. Although many police officers still see depression as a character flaw, the truth is that clinical depression involves a change in brain chemistry (Bazana and Dodd, 2013). To assume that a depressed police officer should be able to snap out of it is as absurd as that a diabetic should be able to snap out of it without medical help (Bazana and Dodd, 2013). They further revealed that 10 936 police officers were suffering from depression thus showing how severe is the issue of depression amongst police (SAPS, 2016). Wessermann (2016) stated that psychological challenges that police officers face may force them to quit their jobs or move to less demanding roles. SAPS (2016) stated that police officers suffering from depression may also suffer from agitation and withdrawal.

Furthermore, post-traumatic stress disorder (PSTD) is one of the factors that stand as a challenge among investigators as a result of occupational stress. PTSD has been defined as the stress or trauma that occurs when a person has been exposed to a situation that includes death, harm or violence (Young et al., 2012). Maabela (2015) further defined PTSD as a medical condition which occurs when a person is constantly exposed to incidents that cause psychological trauma and it can also be classified as an anxiety disorder. A study conducted by Styne (2009) presented a link between the development of PTSD and exposure to trauma. It concluded that exposure to trauma does not immediately lead to PTSD but it acts as a prerequisite for diagnosing PTSD. Some researchers have argued that there are certain types of events that contribute to the development of PTSD, however, some propose that the development of PTSD is related to the continued exposure to traumatic incidents (Styne, 2009; Maabela, 2015).

The contributory factor to post-traumatic stress disorder is prolonged exposure to trauma with no execution of support structures to deal with trauma (Maabela, 2015). Many police officers reported that after been involved in traumatic incidents, they develop long term reactions to stress, which expand in severity after some time, making it hard for them to adapt and cope (Solomon, 2011). Boshof et al. (2015) and Solomon (2011) are of the same sentiment that if the symptoms of stress experienced by police officers are not dealt with in the acute stage, their intensity increases. However, Rothman (2008) pointed out that police suffering from PTSD without any intervention or psychological assistance may end up experiencing even more traumatic stress disorders and some may even resort to alcohol which has negative effects on their well-being, and work performance. In some cases, they end up having problems with their families and friends. Rothman (2008) argues that prolonged PTSD develops to aggressive behaviour and even suicide and family suicide.

Moreover, the numbers of post-traumatic stress disorder cases amongst police officers continue to grow. Previous research reveals that 2763 police officers in Alice, Eastern Cape were affected by post-traumatic stress disorder (Bazana and Dodd, 2013). Maabela (2015) found that 41% of the respondents in his study faced traumatic incidences on their daily basis while 17 % reported experiencing trauma incidences on a weekly basis, showing that detectives are exposed to trauma in their workplace, which may lead to post-traumatic stress disorder. The recent EHW financial year report, 2018, that presented psychological statistics in the SAPS indicated that 22% of police officers were suffering from PTSD (EHW, 2016). The recent increase in cases of police officers suffering from PTSD shows the severity of occupational stress amongst police officers. Gutshall, Hampton, Sebetan, Stein and Broxtermann (2017) recently conducted a study on post-traumatic stress disorder among SAPS police officers and the results mainly revealed that post-traumatic stress disorder was a major challenge amongst SAPS officers. Louw and Viviers (2010) also found the similar results in their study on occupational stress among SAPS officers that one of the challenges that they face in their workplace is post-traumatic stress disorder. Styne (2009) identified fear, horror and helplessness as usual reactions that lead to PTSD amongst SAPS officers when exposed to traumatic incidences. Furthermore, some police officers may be exposed to traumatic incidences and react differently as Steyn et al. (2013)revealed that it is not all police officers exposed to trauma that will develop PTSD.

Burnout has also been identified as the major challenge (Gutshall et al., 2017, Paulsen, 2008). Burnout has been understood as the ultimate stage of a breakdown in adaptation and it takes place when a person has sustained an imbalance in their workplace in terms of job demand and resources for too long and finally breaks down in adaptation (Gatchel and Schultz, 2012). In this research, burnout has been contextualised as a negative work-related state of mind that develops and increases in intensity as an individual faces more distress, exhaustion and reduced motivation in the workplace (Ojedokun and Idemudia, 2014). A quantitative study conducted by Ojedokun and Idemudia (2014) indicated that psychological factors such as self-efficacy, organization-based self-esteem, optimism and tenure are associated with burnout. Gatchel and Schultz (2012) stated that burnout among police officers usually occurs when a person experiences exhaustion, distress and demotivation at the workplace. According to Gatchel and Schultz (2012), burnout has three main elements which are known as emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and decreased personal accomplishment. These elements have been found to be the ones to contribute to the individual's functioning when they experience occupational stress.

There is a high level of association between occupational stress amongst police officers and burnout in most studies that have been conducted among SAPS officers. Gutshall et al. (2017) conducted a study on SAPS officers and found a high trend of burnout. In their study amongst SAPS officers in the Eastern Cape, Paulsen (2008) found that police officers who experienced burnout had high levels of stress. Els, Mostert and De Beer (2015) further found that most of their participants experiencing occupational stress usually adopted avoidance coping strategies which resulted in burnout. In other countries such as Nigeria, burnout is also a challenge amongst officers. Ojedokun and Idemudia's (2014) study showed a correlation between psychological resources and burnout. They found that self-efficacy, optimism and confidence in the organisation have substantial influence on burnout (Ojedokun and Idemudia, 2014). The suggestions that Ojedokun and Idemudia (2014) made to reduce burnout such as increasing coping trainings and workshops as burnout do not only impact badly at the individual level but also on the organisation as a whole. The negative effects include, but are not limited to increased absenteeism and lowered productivity. Although some police officers have been found to experience burnout, a study conducted by Louw and Viviers (2010) revealed that police officers are able to continue their work and not be affected

by burnout although they may experience it. They stated that this is due to the high level of social support that they get, their personalities and also resilience factors.

Suicide trends also form part of the challenges that SAPS officers face as a result of occupational stress. It was derived from provinces and reported through EHW that among the SAPS officers, the age group that is most susceptible to suicide is between 30 and 34 years old (Police Medical Aid Report, 2014). An article in The Star newspaper revealed that there are around 100 to 130 police officers who end up committing suicide because of stress in South Africa (as cited in Bazana and Dodd, 2013). There have been different incidences where police officers kill their families and themselves or even their spouses because of stress (Bazana and Dodd, 2013). The media has written about so many cases on police suicide. It was reported in the Cape Times in 2015 that within the period of 2 months there were two incidences of police suicide (Hunter, 2016). The first one was where a police officer shot himself in Beacon Valley, in Mitchells Plain (Hunter, 2016). The second instance was when a police officer killed his girlfriend and her mother before killing himself (Hunter, 2016).

The main problem that has been noted in all the incidences of stress-related murder is that a gun is usually used when committing suicide and this leads back to question gun competence amongst SAPS officers and how do SAPS psychological services ensure that their personnel are fit to be in possession of service guns in the long run. The number of people who died by suicide in 2015 was 0.9 per 100 000 South Africans and 73.9 per 100 000 constitute of police suicide and the cause of death amongst SAPS officers were said to be suicide. It was concluded that such high rates of suicide amongst SAPS personnel are caused by depression and post-traumatic stress (Hunter, 2016). It was also identified in the statistics that were released in 2012 by the Minister of Police, Mr Nathi Mthwethwa, that high attempted suicide rates amongst police officers was a result of depression and PTSD ((Bazana and Dodd, 2013).

The SAPS currently has no conclusive measure to identify police suicide or police suicidal thoughts. In South Africa, the strategy that was established to coordinate and deal with police suicide was the National Committee for the Prevention of Police Suicide and it was found that the suicide rate in South Africa remains at 200 for every 100,000 individuals when compared to the United States where it is only 22 in 100, 000. The SAPS has recognized elements that increase risks of suicide amongst police officers and depression is one of them (National Committee for the Prevention of Police Suicide as cited in Mokgobu, 2010).

However, Wellington (2010) argued that in most cases, depression amongst police officers does not necessarily lead to suicide. Rather, depression increases the chances of suicide and the intensity of stress can also lead to suicide.

A study that was conducted in the Western Cape Province on police suicide identified different factors that make police officers more susceptible to suicide (Wellington, 2010). Wellington (2010) concluded that factors that contribute to stress amongst police other than work-related problems are relationships and financial problems. However, it was also found that the way that police deal with stress also contributes to suicide amongst police officers. Wellington (2010) stated that police officers regularly feel that they can't just talk to their families and companions about their encounters, especially regarding their work. This can result in them feeling isolated and this also affects their family lives as they tend to feel misunderstood. Some even get divorce as there is too much imbalance between their work and their domestic responsibilities. Wellington (2010) further stated that in more extraordinary cases, these sentiments of isolation and despair can prompt suicide.

2.4.2 Behavioural challenges

Most researchers have found that occupational stress amongst the police emanates from a variety of behavioural problems. There is little literature when it comes to mood disorders as a result of occupational stress but the SAPS' EHW (2016) highlighted that there are cases of police officers who suffer from mood disorders. What has been noted is that most researchers find more severe types of behavioural problems amongst police officers such as abusive and violent behaviour (Wellington, 2010; van den Heever, 2017). The Employee Health and Wellness (2016) has highlighted that there is an increasing prevalence in the cases of homicide committed by SAPS members. Homicide amongst SAPS has been understood as the incidences where SAPS members kill their families, intimate partners and spouses (van den Heever, 2017). In 2016, the EHW recorded 18 cases of homicide by SAPS officers and the causes were found to be relationship challenges, financial problems and substance abuse. There was no mention of workplace stress and trauma as the causal factor to homicide (EHW, 2016). However, with the increase in the cases of homicide and femicide, the Independent Complains Directorate (ICD) now known as the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID, 2017) conducted a study on femicide involving SAPS members. The aim was to investigate the causal factors and also contribute to the formulation of effective interventions

for SAPS members. The findings from the analysis of case dockets and interviews indicated that stress and not seeing the need for using counselling services are the major causes of femicide.

Police officers experiencing occupational stress have been found to have a major problem with regards to substance abuse. Pastwa and Piotrowski (2016) stated that police occupation has high rates of alcohol abuse when compared to other occupations. The correlation that has been found in most previous studies is that police officers tend to abuse alcohol as a method to escape from the feeling of stress and this has been defined as the non-adaptive method used to cope with stress (Pastwa and Piotrowski, 2016; van den Heever, 2017; Styen, 2012). The stress that they experience as a result of their job end up threatening their well-being as Pastwa and Piotrowski (2016) states that police end up being involved even in accidents under the influence of alcohol. A study that was conducted on police found that there were 51 cases of police officers who were under the influence of alcohol while on duty and there were 68 accidents of police officers under the influence of alcohol in 2015 (Pastwa and Piotrowski, 2016).

According to EHW (2016), there was 5% of SAPS officers with substance abuse problems, it was noted in 2016/16 annual report for the cases received nationally. Allen (2016) stated that it has become a norm for some police officers to use drugs or drinking alcohol after a hectic shift at work. Furthermore, they use drinking to escape from the feelings of stress caused by exposure to trauma at the workplace. A study conducted by Styen (2012) on the abuse of alcohol and other substances by police officers found that the use of alcohol was reliant on occupational stress. It was found that exposure to trauma results in increased use of alcohol and other substances. A quantitative study conducted by Rukšenas, Žukauskas, Grigaliuniene, Burba and Mitchell, (2009) on the key stresses encountered by police officers in Lithuania found that alcoholism was one of the consequences of stress. Violanti et al (2011) study findings correlated with the study by Rukšenas et al. (2009) as it found a relationship between high prevalence of substance abuse amongst police officers and occupational stress. Violanti et al. (2011) also found that the use of alcohol is adopted as a method to reduce stress. Allen (2016) conducted a study where participants indicated to having witnessed police who have substance abuse problems and some who were being rehabilitated. The

findings included that substance abuse causes problems with regards to poor service delivery and high rates of absenteeism. Some police officers get attached and injured from drinking bars (Allen, 2016). These findings demonstrate how occupational stress negatively affect police officers, however, this study focuses on detectives dealing with murder cases.

2.4.3 Operational challenges

There are several challenges that have been identified as operational challenges amongst SAPS officers. Investigative officers engage in different murder cases and the level of danger differs for all cases. Unpredictability of the nature of work to be handled is one of the operational challenges that are encountered these officers. This has prompted great fear amongst investigative officers for their lives and safety. Mushwana (2017) discovered that investigative officers also live under constant fear for their families as they can be attacked by criminals. Furthermore, Wassermann (2016) found that fear of being killed is also evident amongst investigative officers. They investigate cases that involve murderers and some even serial killers and in many cases investigating officers have been greatly victimised by criminals and some have lost their lives due to the nature of their work. Mushwana (2017) concluded that the police officer's personal safety remains at risk as they deal with hard-core criminals.

The other operational challenge that has been identified in the literature relates also to the safety of police officers. Employee Health and Wellness (2016) found that in terms of safety, the police are at times forced to make decisions under pressure, which might compromise their personal safety. According to SAPS statistics for 2016 to 2018, an aggregate number of 85 on and off duty police were killed, those who were killed on duty were 29 and they were 56 who were killed off duty (SAPS Annual Report, 2018). These statistics demonstrate an expansion of 14. 29% of police killed off duty. In 2016/2017, there were 49 police officers killed while off duty and this is increasing as there were 56 members killed in the course of 2018. As a result of these increasing numbers of police killings, the SAPS Annual Report (2018) shows that there has been a National Police Safety Committee formulated to meet quarterly and discuss the issues encompassing police security. The safety of police officers is not only threatened by the criminals that the police deal with but also travelling to crime scenes on regular basis. Employee Health and Wellness (2016) revealed that motor vehicle

accidents are also an operational challenge for detectives as some may face incapacity in such accidents and even death which remains as one of the operational challenges for detectives as they constantly travel to courts and crime scenes.

Job dissatisfaction has been identified by previous scholars as one of the challenges that SAPS officers encounter. It has been understood as an ineffective response to an employee's work. Van Lelyveld (2008) stated that some of the causes of job dissatisfaction included the content of the job, salary, promotion, nature of the job and supervision. Govender (2012) found that job dissatisfactions result in instances where even workers' performance decreases in quantity and quality. This was seen to be evident with regards to avoidance of job tasks, lack of motivation, loss of interest, negative attitude, withdrawal and feelings of isolation. van Lelyveld (2008) found that 83% of police officers were not satisfied with their job, 15% showed average satisfaction and only 2% were satisfied. Overall, the challenges identified in literature amongst SAPS officers include psychological, organisational and also challenges associated with their operational duties and it can be argued that in all the studies reviewed few of them found that the challenges were caused by occupational stress amongst police officers thus this calls for a great need for assistance for police.

2.5 The South African Police Service support structures available to cope with occupational stress

Louw and Viviers (2010) stated that stress can never be eliminated but what is important is that there should be existing programs and support structures to minimise its prevalence. As it has been highlighted above in terms of how dangerous stress can be when it is not managed, it is thus important to uncover the SAPS support structures that are there to assist in reducing incidences of occupational stress among detectives. The SAPS initially had an Employee Assistance Services (EAS) which consisted of different sections such as of psychologists, social workers and chaplains (SAPS, 2013). Grobler and Joubert (2012) define the EAS in general terms as the work-based services that are put in place to meet the needs of the organisation's workers and improve their productivity. The EAS was initially implemented in the workplace to assist workers with substance abuse problems, the scope of the services gradually changed and attended to all workers problems that affect productivity in the workplace (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). This includes financial, occupational stress, psychological, family and physical health problems (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). This is the

programme that was initially adopted by the SAPS to ensure the wellbeing and productivity of their personnel. This programme was further revised, and it was then established as the Employee Health and Wellness programme (SAPS, 2016).

The SAPS Annual Report (2016) shows that SAPS has EHW programme which is now more integrated. The aim of this program is to "ensure a healthy and productive workforce through development and implementation of health and wellness programs, strategies and interventions" (South African Police Service, 2016:4). Police officers are assisted in psychological stress that may arise due to their work. The assistance is provided to police who may have challenges with regards to personal, emotional, psychological and social well-being. The Employee Health and Wellness is made up of four units, known as psychological services, social work services, spiritual services and quality of work life. This programme still consists of social workers under social work services, chaplains under spiritual services, counsellors, psychometrists and psychologists under psychological services but the difference from EAS is that these units now work in a more integrated manner (EHW, 2016). The South African Police Service EHW services include spiritual services and this provides SAPS personnel with devotions, pastoral, home and hospital visits, aftercare, funeral arrangements and memorial services (Thaba, 2018). Social work services offer counselling interventions, resilience and capacity building programmes, national and international deployments support (Thaba, 2018). The psychological services consists of counselling and therapeutic interventions, trauma debriefing, support groups, crisis interventions and management, psychological assessment, suicide and femicide awareness, organisational diagnosis and team development (Thaba, 2018).

Williams et al. (2011) emphasised the need for police officers experiencing occupational stress to speak to people they trust. These scholars argued that social workers are usually employed in the SAPS for police to be able to find people in whom they can be comfortable to confide. The study conducted by Williams et al. (2011) found that there are challenges for police officers to access social workers, thus ascertaining that the SAPS has a problem of EHW staff shortages and those who are available carry heavy workloads. Other studies indicate that there are police officers who are content with the SAPS support services (Rajin, 2012; Thaba, 2018). A study conducted by Rajin (2012) indicated that 55% of the respondents

were satisfied with the SAPS support services and 28 % did not utilize the services due to lack of trust for the EHW workers.

The Employee Health and Wellness does not only offer help to its members but it also accommodates even the family members of its personnel (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). The Employee Health and Wellness is available on a 24 hour basis and confidentiality is highly emphasized to the workers in the EHW (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). The Employee Health and Wellness does not benefit only the individual but also the SAPS as an organisation by reducing effects of stress such as absenteeism improving productivity and job engagement among the personnel (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). Boshoff et al. (2015) concluded that the efficacy of SAPS interventions when it comes to stress is questionable. Despite the fact that the SAPS have the intervention programmes for stress police continue to show high level of post-traumatic stress reactions which act as the main symptom of occupational stress.

There are strategies that are in place to minimise occupational stress in the SAPS. Primary prevention programmes are the programmes used by the SAPS to minimise the effect of occupational stress in the organisation by making interventions before a problem begins (Tehrani, 2011, as cited in Maabela, 2015). These programmes include pre-deployment briefing, pre-selection screening, induction training and life skills programmes presentations by internal and external professionals and sport activities (Tehrani, 2011, as cited in Maabela, 2015). The secondary prevention strategies involve strategies taken when a person has already been exposed to trauma with the aim to prevent the severe effects of stress such as chronic illness. For example, Psychological First Aid (PFA), The SAPS trauma debriefing model, a 24-hour crisis intervention and stand-by service, health education and resilience building (Maabela, 2015). The tertiary interventions are used for those people with longed stress who have developed post-traumatic stress disorder (Ford, 2009, as cited in Maabela, 2015). Tertiary strategies that are put in place include internal and external referral of the SAPS workers for psychiatric and medical treatment, trauma counselling, clinical counselling and therapy, trauma support groups and an SAPS Employee, Health and Wellness call Centre (Maabela, 2015).

The other method that the SAPS uses is critical incident stress debriefing (Wessermann, 2016). Critical incidence stress debriefing is mainly aimed at reducing the negative effects that may occur after police officers have been involved in traumatic incidences. Debriefing

in the SAPS as an organisation is seen as a process of venting out emotions in an environment that is safe and controlled (Wessermann, 2016). There is an understanding that after a person has been involved in an abnormal situation, they will experience psychological symptoms and feelings of emotional strain and anxiety thus the SAPS places a great emphasis on their personnel to engage in debriefing. As much as the process of debriefing is highly emphasised, Mokgobu (2010) found that some police officers do not participate in debriefing sessions even when they have been exposed to graphic and traumatic situations and this is due to the stigma and feelings of shame in seeking counselling from mental health workers. Maabela's (2015) study on perceptions of the SAPS members on debriefing services found that some members of the SAPS did not view debriefing as beneficial to them as they considered it as a process that is there to make them relive their traumatic experiences that they want to forget about. Some participants did view debriefing as helpful and an effective way of counselling that equip their psychological skills and relieve them from suffering from stress.

However, the EHW also provides interventions in response to ensuring SAPS employees' health and wellness. This includes interventions on emotional support which focuses on dealing with depression, anxiety, stress, grief and loss (EHW, n.d). Concerns in the workplace are also handled by the EHW as they ensure healthy work relations amongst SAPS workers. Since there have been a growing number of police under stress committing suicides and killing their spouses, the EHW also offers interventions with regards to marital and relationship problems (Thaba, 2018). It also provides interventions amongst police suffering from stress with regards to healthy living and substance dependency.

Employee Health and Wellness (EHW) serves different purposes in the SAPS. One of its focus that has been identified is based on suicide prevention. This is mainly done through awareness and increasing skills amongst SAPS employees (EHW, 2016). As van Lelyveld (2008) argued that the nature of police work exposes them to trauma constantly and that and seeing the high incidences where police are involved homicides, killing their spouses and families it is highly important that they have programmes like these in place. South African Police Union (SAPU) raised concerns regarding the high rates of police suicides and recommended that there is a great need for an investigation on SAPS support structures and how they can be improved to reduce high rates of suicide amongst police officers (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2012). A study by Boshoff et al. (2015) revealed that there were 33% of

police officers who participated in the suicide prevention programme and 20% had never participated. The point that was made is that most of the police officers do not even realise when they need psychological help and that is why the consequences of severe stress continue to be on the rise.

A quantitative study conducted by Boshoff et al. (2015) in the North-West Province, South Africa on trauma interventions amongst SAPS officers focused on the experiences of police officers on trauma intervention programmes in the SAPS. Boshoff et al. (2015) found that 44% of the participants are familiar with the programme on stress management but others they showed that they are not really familiar with trauma management programmes and they have never used them before. The programmes that were least used include psychotherapy, crisis intervention, and suicide prevention. However, 17% indicated that they have never participated in any of SAPS support programmes (Boshoff et al., 2015).

Another study conducted on SAPS support services was a quantitative study on expectations of police officers on Employee Assistance Services (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). The findings of this study indicated that SAPS members have very high expectations of the support services and that shows that such services are most needed in the SAPS (Grobler and Joubert, 2012). Grobler and Joubert (2012) found that when it comes to perceptions and experiences, SAPS police experiences of the support services are lower than expectations but higher than perception. This shows that although SAPS detectives are aware of the available support services, some do not really have any experience as they never use them thus showing the need for the organisation to establish effective marketing strategies to increase the interest of using support structures amongst detectives (Grobler and Joubert, 2012).

2.5.1   Employee Health and Wellness Programmes

One of the things that police officers experiencing stress are always faced with is problems with anger management. However, the SAPS' Employee Health and Wellness has an established programme that deals with anger management. It mainly equips their workers with warning signs of anger and how they can effectively manage the anger. This programme is also important as there are increasing rates of domestic violence cases where police officers are the perpetrators (EHW, 2016). The Employee Health and Wellness programme is intended to furnish individuals with ways to deal with mental health challenges such as skills

and coping mechanisms (Mbuyisa, 2019). This programme is intended for police officers dealing with psychological challenges such as post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, depression (Thaba, 2018). The mental health programme has been designed to improve SAPS officers' productivity as the report from Police Medical Aid (POLMED) and EHW indicated that mental health challenges affect even workers' productivity (EHW, 2016). This programme is quite similar to the multiple stressor programme, also offered by the EHW as its focus on equipping SAPS workers with the understanding of mental health challenges that they can be routinely exposed to, in their work. It also focuses on increasing coping skills (EHW, 2016; Mbuyisa, 2019).

Since this programme equips SAPS members with skills and coping mechanisms, different scholars have explored how SAPS officers cope with stress (Wessermann, 2016, Mbuyisa, 2019 and, Pastwa and Piotrowski, 2016). There are two types of coping strategies that have been found to be popular amongst SAPS officers, which are emotional-approach coping and problem-focused coping. The difference between these coping strategies is that problem-focused coping is when there are efforts made to deal with the problem by producing options to solve the problem, assessing the advantages and disadvantages of different alternatives, and employing ventures to take care of the problem whereas the emotion-focused coping is about managing emotional distress caused by the problem this includes denial, social support, venting of emotions and reinterpreting events in a positive way (Watson et al., 2012). Wessermann (2016) conducted a first longitudinal study on stress and coping amongst SAPS police. The main aim was to identify the types of coping mechanisms adopted by SAPS officers and how they change over time. Wessermann (2016) found that the coping mechanism that SAPS officers adopt include social support, positive appraisal of events and also problem-focused coping strategies. Furthermore, police officers now use less of confronting coping strategies as compared to the past years thus showing the need for the EHW workers to constantly revisit and revise their mental health programme so that it will equip police with effective skills and coping mechanisms to deal with occupational stress.

The other programme used by EHW workers to lessen the prevalence of occupational stress amongst its workers is emotion competence. This programme deals with stress trauma and negative life events that police experience (EHW, 2016). It teaches police officers about their emotions on how to regulate and manage their emotions (EHW, 2016). This programme falls

under the psychological services. A study conducted by Watson, Jorgensen, Meiring and Hill (2012) on emotion competence was aimed at creating an emotion competence intervention for SAPS workers. Watson et al. (2012) found that in order to establish an effective emotion competence intervention it is important to understand the componential structure of emotions, ways to communicate, express, regulate and recognise emotion. They emphasised that emotional competence brings stability on a person's environmental and social interaction (Watson et al., 2012). The importance of emotion competence on SAPS workers is that it brings an understanding that if there are negative emotions or a suppression of emotions it is likely to negatively affect a person's psychological well-being thus such programmes for police officers are essential as they increase the productivity of the SAPS as an organisation as workers get more equipped with regards to emotion knowledge which decreases possibilities of maladaptive behaviour.

Stress management is also one of the programmes offered by EHW for SAPS workers. It mainly provides SAPS workers with information on how to identify symptoms of stress (EHW, 2016). This is essential as a study conducted by Boshoff et al. (2015) found that some police officers don't even realise when they need to seek psychological help because they are not well acknowledgeable about the symptoms of stress. This programme also equips members on how to manage stress and also on how to cope (EHW, 2016).

The other programme offered by the SAPS is substance dependency (EHW, 2016). Numerous studies confirm that police officers do have a problem with regards to substance abuse, hence, it is important that such a problem is reduced (Pastwa and Piotrowski, 2016; van den Heever, 2017; Styen, 2012). A study conducted by Pastwa (2016) on occupational stress found that police officers tend to use alcohol or drugs as an escape from stress, they basically abuse alcohol to deal and cope with stress. The substance dependency programme offers police with facts and myths with regards to substance dependency and how depending on substance can have an impact on their physical, psychological, social and emotional well-being (EHW, 2016). It also focuses on teaching them the different ways they can adapt to deal with substance dependency. The programme also offers resources to deal with this problem.

The EHW also provides a programme on relationship enhancement (Mbuyisa, 2019). As identified in the literature that one of the causes of stress is not always inherited from their job but the fact that some police officers fail to maintain healthy relationships also contributes

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to stress. This programme is used to teach police officers on how to build and maintain healthy relationships (EHW, 2016). Since unhealthy relationships are also a causal factor in the increase in police suicide, homicide and femicide, it is important that the police are well informed of the ways in which they can deal with their stress and relationships in a healthy and effective way. Violanti et al. (2011) stated that the high rates of suicide amongst SAPS officers show the need for the available programmes to be revisited and be improved so that they will be more effective.

Wellington (2010) stated that some of the causes of occupational stress are reliant on the relations that police officers have with each other. An environment with negative energy can impact on a person's emotional or psychological well-being thus affecting their productivity. The Employee Health and Wellness has a programme on colleague sensitivity (Thaba, 2018). This programme teaches police officers the different skills required to maintain positive and healthy relationships with colleagues. It teaches them effective communication, which involves considering their colleagues' need and challenges (EHW, 2016).

Most scholars have found high levels of burnout amongst SAPS police officers thus it is important that they have programmes available to empower them (Wellington 2010, Pastwa and Piotrowski, 2016 and Thaba, 2018). What has been identified in the EHW is that they also offer self-improvement programme which is aimed at improving the way SAPS police officers work (EHW, 2016). This programme equips police officers to empower themselves as it has been seen from findings of different scholars that they end up feeling demotivated about they work when they are experiencing stress, it is important to for them to have skills to endure such challenges (Mbuyisa, 2019, Wellington 2010, Pastwa and Piotrowski, 2016). This programme also lessens the chances of development of psychosocial problem amongst police officers

As it is always said that prevention is better than cure, it is essential for the SAPS to have programmes in place to eliminate stressors before they occur. For SAPS workers, this is done through health promotion which includes programmes such as health awareness, monitoring and maintenance (EHW, 2016). This programme is there to teach police officers about hazard identification, health risk assessment and also trend analysis (EHW, 2016). However, there are also programmes based on lifestyle management used to achieve physical and psychological well-being amongst SAPS members (EHW, 2016). The programme on healthy

lifestyles focuses on the promotion of a healthy lifestyle such as nutrition, fitness and emotional competence. Wellington (2010) avers that a healthy lifestyle can reduce stress thus this programme is essential to reducing stress amongst SAPS police officers.

The causes of stress amongst police officers have been found to be related to financial issues. In many studies, police have revealed that they are not satisfied with their salaries and it is one of the causes of job dissatisfaction (van Lelyveld, 2008). The EHW has a programme that is used to equip SAPS officers on how to manage their finances (EHW, 2016). This programme is aimed at reducing police financial challenges as they tend to end up being stressed and unsatisfied about their job.

Spiritual services	**Social work services**	**Psychological services**	**Quality of work-life**
5. Biblical portrait of marriage 6. CHATSEC (Combating HIV/AIDS through spiritual and ethnical choice) 7. Effective parenting in a defective world	• Life skills • Substance de pendency • Colleague sensitivity • Be money-wise • Workplace interventions	• Stress management workshops • Suicide prevention • Initial trauma debriefing • Mental health awareness • Psychometric testing and assessment	• HIV awareness and campaigns • Peer educators and mentors

8. Ethics and anti-corruption 9. Action against crime			

Table 2: Summary of Employee health and wellness programmes. EHW (2016)

2.5.2   Barriers to using SAPS support structures

Most research has been done on the coping mechanisms that SAPS officers use to manage or cope with stress. The correlation amongst studies on police individual coping mechanisms is that the police tend to avoid using SAPS support structures and focus more on dealing with stress in their own ways by using different coping mechanisms. This shows the need to understand the reason behind the avoidance of available SAPS support structures. The SAPS Employee Health and Wellness documented a strategy draft and it revealed that confidentiality which is respect for human rights and dignity, accessibility and availability and voluntary participation are the main principles of the EHW to ensure that SAPS employees feel comfortable to access the available services. As much as the EHW is making efforts for their services to be friendly and more accessible, previous studies have found that

some police do not utilise these services. A study that was conducted by (Boshoff et al., 2015) showed that police officers do not participate in SAPS support services because of their perceptions towards EHW employees. Their main concern is that they believe that EHW employees fail to keep confidentiality. It was also noted that police officers fear to participate in these structures because they fear that their personal data will be documented, and this can jeopardise their long-term plans of promotion (Mbuyisa, 2019). They believe that if they open up to EHW employees about their experiences and how they are struggling with stress and since the files are still part of SAPS records, they can be evaluated based on the report from their therapists (Boshoff et al., 2015).

Several studies show that police officers do suffer from occupational stress and also the reports from EHW show the increasing numbers of police officers suffering from stress-related problems (Perkins, 2016; Jojo, 2016, Mbuyisa, 2019). However, the main issue is that no matter how they can be affected, some police officers choose to avoid seeking professional help from the available support structures because of the stigma attached to the use of support services (Rajin, 2012; Boshoff et al., 2015). Rajin (2012) argued that among police officers, going for counselling or any support services is seen as a sign of weakness. Some police officers feel like if they go for counselling, that would be an obvious sign of being weak and no longer fit. Boshoff et al. (2015) stated that police culture can be a barrier to using support structures available for them. Although police culture can be used as a way of coping with occupational stress by SAPS officers has stated that it can have a negative impact on their perception regarding EHW programmes. They stated that detectives along with workers from the Local Criminal Record Centre are the ones who are usually affected by police culture. However, cultural beliefs have been a barrier to the avoidance of EHW programmes. Dipela (2016) found that some police officers do not utilise support services because of their beliefs. For example, some hold different religious beliefs and they do not see the need to use support services, but they rather seek help from their religious organisations.

Police culture as a coping mechanism relates to the occupational environment with regards to suspiciousness and maintaining the edge (Steyn, 2008). Since police are always uncertain of the dangers that may emanate from their occupational environment, they are constantly suspicious not only of the potential dangers from the environment but also from people and

their colleagues especially the new recruits and that's how they cope in their occupational environment (Steyn, 2008). Maintaining the edge is more of the police tendencies to display their authority. Police culture further reliefs stress amongst police emanating from organisational environment by two coping mechanisms which are known as lay low/ cover your ass and crime fighter image (Steyn, 2008). Lay-low strategy entails a situation whereby police officers debilitate from taking part in endeavors that may draw undue consideration onto them, this is done to avoid bridging the organisational procedures as that may result in punishment (Steyn, 2008). The crime fighter mechanism is based on focusing on being good police who mainly focuses on the enforcement of law and crime-fighting as the primary roles and ignoring other roles like service or order maintenance with an aim to avoid any conflict in their organisational environment (Steyn, 2008).

2.6 Chapter summary

The SAPS has various preventative measures when it comes to occupational stress. Although the efficacy of these programmes has been questioned, it has been noted that some police officers do not even utilise such structures as there are so many barriers preventing them from using available support structures. What has been identified in the previous literature is that with regards to police and job dissatisfaction, the focus has been prominently based on the officers' demographic characteristics and job tasks as the causal factors to job dissatisfaction amongst the police. This study has expanded on the research that has been done by focusing on the detective's role in murder case investigation as the causal factor to job stress.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Torraco (1997) stated that when conducting a research study, it is essential that a strong and relevant theoretical foundation is established to explain the study. Inanda has been identified as the first worst precinct in relation to murder in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The first theory used in this study is the Routine Activities Theory, which is a criminological theory. It was selected to explain the causes of high murder rates in the area of Inanda. This theory does not respond to detectives' proneness to occupational stress, thus a second theory was selected. The second theory used in this study is the Deviant Place Theory to explain the detectives' proneness to occupational stress based on the kind of place they work in. Furthermore, since this study focused on occupational stress, it was essential that a theory from psychology was selected which will clearly explain how stress occurs among Inanda detectives. The third theory used is Psychoanalytic Theory, which explains how occupational stress occurs among investigative officers after they have been exposed to traumatic and graphic incidences when working with murder cases. The theories selected respond interchangeable to the topic, aim research questions and the objectives of the study.

3.2 Routine Activities Theory

The first theory used in this research study is the Routine Activities Theory (RAT). This theory is used as a theoretical explanation of the high murder rates in Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal Province as it is one of the worst precincts in KZN when it comes to murder cases. It was deemed essential to explain the high rates of murder in Inanda since murder remains the central focus of this study. Murder is one of the crimes with devastating effects in the area of Inanda, yet the reasons why people commit such crime have not been explained using the Routine Activities Theory.

The Routine Activities Theory was developed by Cohen and Felson in 1979 and proposes that crime occurs due to distinctions in the people's patterns in their daily activities (Felson and Cohen, 1980). The crucial point of the Routine Activities Theory is the availability of an opportunity to commit a crime. Lilly, Cullen and Ball (2018) state that the nature of an opportunity has an impact on where, how and against whom will crime be executed. The

Routine Activities Theory has three main elements which explain why crime is likely to occur which are the motivated offender, suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian. This theory posits that if any of these three elements is absent, crime is likely to occur (Felson and Cohen, 1980). The Routine Activities Theory explains the rates of crime in a broader perspective as it focuses on the impact of social and economic factors on the general rates of crime and victimisation. This theory proposes that crime is not random nor accidental, rather it depends on the opportunities available to offend. In essence, it is the daily activities that individuals engage in during the day or night time that makes people increasingly vulnerable to being seen as suitable targets by the motivated offender.

The summary of the Routine activity theory
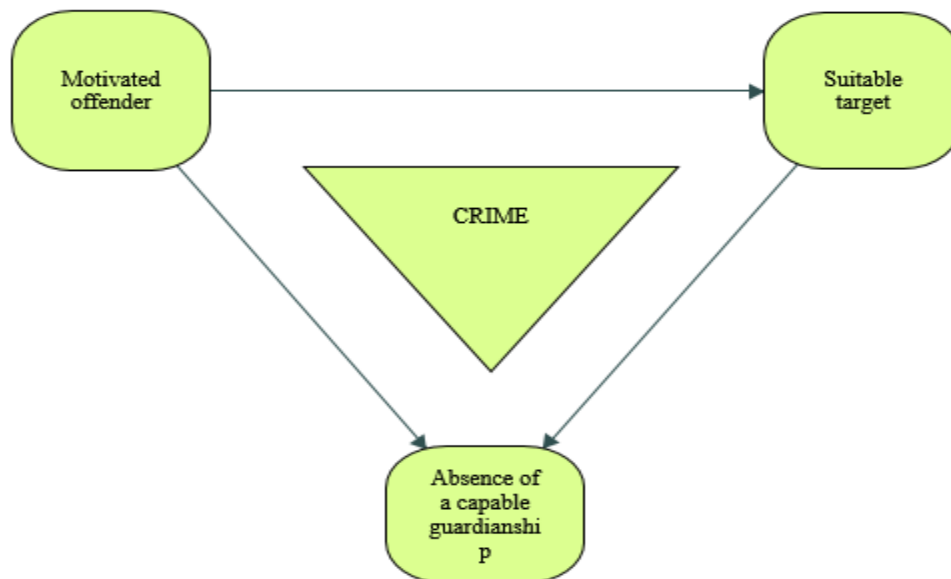
Figure 1: Researchers illustration of the routine activity theory.

Figure 1 above sums up the Routine Activities Theory. The figure demonstrates the elements that converge prior to the occurrence of crime. It describes the opportunities that criminals have at their disposal to enrich themselves by committing crimes and stealing from others. Situational crime prevention consists of opportunity-reducing measures that are directed at specific forms of crime involving management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment that makes crime more difficult and riskier (Kitchen and Schneider, 2007).

Rather than simply responding to crime after the fact, recent attention to crime prevention has focused on specific ways in which to modify the physical and social environment.

3.2.1 Motivated offender

The first element is known as a motivated offender. Motivated offender has been defined as an individual who is capable and willing to engage in criminal acts. Felson and Cohen (1980) further define a motivated offender as an individual or group of people with a motive to commit a crime. Motivated offenders usually aim to maximise the profit and minimise the pain (Felson and Cohen, 1980). In the context of this study, motivated offenders are considered as a person with an intention to kill another.

3.2.2 Suitable target

The second element according to the routine activity approach is the suitable target which can be defined as the physical or symbolic attractiveness of either a person or property (Felson and Cohen, 1980). It has been further defined as objects that offenders see as vulnerable and attractive (Felson and Cohen, 1980).

3.2.3 Capable guardian

The last element of Routine Activities Theory is known as the lack of a capable guardian. The capable guardian refers to the ability of a person or objects to prevent the crime from occurring (Felson and Cohen, 1980). There are two distinct types of guardianship. The first one is known as social guardianship which refers to the availability of people, such as friends, neighbours, police who have the possibility and will to prevent the crime from occurring (Cullen, Myer, Adler and Johnson, 2011). The second one is known as physical guardianship, which consists of such things, which can help to prevent the occurrence of a crime like guard, dogs, firearms and weapon for the self-defence (Cullen et al., 2011).

3.2.4. Application to the study

In the context of this study, the motivated offenders can be considered as the people of Inanda who may be motivated to kill other people with different motives such as monetary benefits, taxi violence and crimes of passion. Motivated offenders in Inanda area may commit murder

in order to maximise profits. Profit could be, for example, escaping poverty and elimination of a particular enemy. The Inanda and KwaMashu report found that in Inanda the majority of offenders are males under the age of 30 years, and the victims include males and females from the community victims, and from all age groups (Inanda and KwaMashu report, n.d). The setting of Inanda has a mix of informal settlement and formal settlement. The demographics of Inanda area can be regarded as a contributing factor to the victimisation of Inanda people. Those from the informal part may be motivated to crime because of their background which may be saturated with poverty.

In the case of high murder rates in Inanda area, residents with attractive possessions may be targeted for an example, those people who get killed in the process of robbery or car hijacking (South African Broadcasting Corporation News, 2017). It can be physical visibility or easy access that can contribute to their suitability as the victims of crime. In relation to the Routine Activities Theory to the case of the high murder rates in Inanda, suitable targets may be females and children which may be targeted as deemed lacking physical features to protect themselves, people under the influence of drugs may also be targets as they may be seen as vulnerable, they may be targeted for robberies and end up being killed in the process. The gruesome discovery of the body of an eight-year-old girl enraged the community of Inanda, north of Durban as she was reported missing (SABC News, 2017).

Myeza (2019) stated that the isolated areas increase the chances for crimes like murder to occur. There are factors that can lead to situations where there is a lack of guardianships, this can be caused by travelling around isolated places and travelling night hours (Mavroudeas et al., 2018). The residents of Inanda may lack the possibility of capable guardian; especially those with risky lifestyles in cases of spending time out late at night and in isolated areas. This is the time, which they may be easily, targeted for violent victimisation as there are less chances of getting help. The informal part of the Inanda area may not be easily accessible in terms of police patrols thus causing more probability for murder to occur as there may be no available guardian to deter the crime from occurring. However, the issue of hot-spots which entails those areas where there is a motivated offender, suitable target and lack of guardian, residents of Inanda which may be exposed to these areas may be targeted for crime.

Inanda and KwaMashu report (nd) indicate murder hots-spots at Inanda, areas such as Ezimangweni were mentioned. This place is also popularly known for the number of police killings (Inanda and KwaMashu report, nd). In the report, it was stated that factors contributing to murder in Inanda include the nature of roads, lack of surveillance, overgrown vegetation and absence of stress lights (Inanda and KwaMashu report, nd). There are areas that are difficult to access by patrolling officers due to steep terrains and escarpments and this is how the demographics of the area affect the visibility of police in the community (Inanda and KwaMashu report, nd). There are also areas that may result in a person being targeted for crime. Inanda is said to have areas that are vacant, producing more opportunities for people to be targets. Large vacant land was said to have reduced surveillance with few chances of the presence of people who can prevent the crime from occurring (Inanda and KwaMashu report, nd). The report indicated that people who are forced to cross daily in such areas are at risk of being victims of crime such as murder (Inanda and KwaMashu report, nd). The main limitation of the Routine Activities Theory in this study is that it can be used to explain the causes of high rates of murder in Inanda area but it does not explain how detectives get exposed to graphic and traumatic scenes that may result in them experiencing occupational stress. Therefore, another theory was added to compliment the Routine Activities Theory.

3.3. Deviant Place Theory

Deviant Place Theory is the theory that focuses on how people end up becoming victims of violence and crime. It is popularly known as the Victimisation Theory. Series of publications by Seigel first articulated the deviant place theory (Siegel, 2005). Deviant Place Theory states that people become victims of crime and violence because of exposure to places that consist of a great deal of danger and is highly saturated with violence (Siegel, 2005). This theory does not suggest that victims play a certain role in their victimisation but it's purely based on the notion that when victims are exposed to areas with high-crime they have higher risks of coming into contact with offenders and that may lead to their victimisation.

The Victimisation Theory conceptualises the deviant places as those areas that are densely populated with houses in very close proximity to each other, poverty-stricken and are usually characterised as hot-spots (Siegel, 2005). As defined in the problem statement, Inanda has an

area of 26.81 per square kilometre-(km) ² with 158619 (5915.36 per km²) population and 39 105 (1458.34 per km²) households (Stat SA, 2017). There are settings that are informal settlements, rural and some other parts are urbanised. The environmental design can be conductive to murder. The overcrowding issues creates various social ill-health such as murder. The huge population of Inanda and its geographical setting makes crime especially murder to be endemic; hence, it has been the first worst precinct in murder rates in the province of KZN for the past years. The Deviant Place Theory proposes that being in an environment that is saturated with violence results in high chances of being victimised. da Costa (2011) indicated the views of the Inanda community police forum revealing that there have been many efforts to eliminate illegal liquor shops which are operating 24 hours every day as these highly contribute to crime.

This theory is also applicable in this study to explain how detectives get exposed to violence and traumatic encounters when investigating murder cases. The Deviant Place Theory is used to explain how investigative officers actually get exposed to incidences that may be traumatic and violent, which eventually causes strain and stress among them. This theory was seen as applicable to this study as it places emphasis on the deviant place as the contributor to victimisation. Police work has been identified as an environment that is dangerous as it may lead to detectives to be in close proximity with offenders and interact with violent and dangerous offenders (Dabney et al., 2013). Detectives get constantly exposed to the same violent and traumatic incidences daily in their careers. Such danger eventually leads to feelings of stress and anxiety among investigative officers. News24 (2015) reported that two officers were shot in Inanda while serving a protection order; one was shot dead and the other was rushed to the hospital. The nature of the environment for police hold a lot of uncertainties and danger can occur at any time. Constant exposure to such danger may result in high chances of occupational stress. Jojo (2016) asserted that some stressors include interacting with violent criminals.

3.4. Psychoanalytic Theory

The third theory used in this study to explain occupational stress among SAPS detectives is the Psychoanalytic Theory, which is mainly a psychological theory. This theory was coined

by Sigmund Freud in the late nineteenth century (Siegel, 2005). The Psychoanalytic Theory has been popularly known as the Theory of Personality and it has been used as a method of treatment used by psychologists and psychiatrists. Siegel (2005) describes the psychoanalytic theory as the theory of personality that stresses that there are distinct systems that's exist in the mind. The systems have been classified as the conscious and the unconscious systems nonetheless between them there is a preconscious system.

The conscious mind has been defined as the part of the mind that consists of the thoughts, emotions and memories that an individual is aware of. This part of the mind consists of all the things that a person is well conscious of and the memories in the conscious mind can be easily retrieved (Finkelstein, 1999). It is usually the emotions and feelings that are pleasant and tolerable. The preconscious subsists between the conscious and unconscious mind and it comprises feelings and thoughts that are out of a person's awareness but can be brought easily to consciousness (Finkelstein, 1999). The unconscious mind is a repository of sentiments, contemplation, desires, and memories that exist outside of conscious awareness (Finkelstein, 1999). Much of the content that is stored in the unconscious mind includes things that are unpleasant for example, traumatic experiences, painful thought or struggle. As indicated by Sigmund Freud, the unconscious keeps on influencing a person's way of conduct despite the fact that a person may be unconscious and unaware of unconscious impacts.

A basic rule of the psychodynamic approach is that behaviour is the consequence of contention between the conscious and unconscious mind (Finkelstein, 1999). This theory further asserts that a person's way of conduct is affected when the underlying feeling and thoughts in the unconscious mind wants to resurface into the conscious mind (Finkelstein, 1999). The memories and feelings that exist on a person's unconscious mind may be repressed since they are deemed as unsuitable to the conscious mind. An individual may end up building up a room of barriers and defence mechanisms, for example, suppressing and refraining from recognising their unconscious thoughts and emotions.

Sigmund Freud further formulated a structure of the psyche, which contains three components that are greatly associated with conscious and unconscious mind. Freud proposes that these structures make up an individual's personality. Different researchers have argued that the personality of a person can be determinant by how they handle a stressful situation (Chikwem, 2017 and Nyanga 2006). Investigative officers do not handle the stressful

situations they encounter in the same way. Nyaga (2006) stated that it is important for police officers to have a personality that will enable them to survive any stressful encounters at their workplace. Freud explained personality based on the structure of the mind. The three components are known to be the *id*, *ego* and *superego* (Finkelstein, 1999). All these three structures work in conjunction to control the behaviours that outline a person's personality.

The first component is known as the *id* which is regarded as being completely unconscious and is ruled by the pleasure principle as it requires its needs to be fulfilled instantaneously (Nyaga, 2006). The *id* consists of the urges, instincts and hidden memories; it is unrealistic and impulsive (Nyaga, 2006). The second component is known as the *ego* which is the realistic component that intermediates between the *id* and the *superego* which is the last component of the psyche (Nyaga, 2006). The *ego* focuses on reality; it is logic and is responsible for organising behaviour (Nyaga, 2006). The last component is known as the *superego* which exist in the conscious part as conscience. It is punitive and monitors a person's behaviour like approving and disapproving some actions and is also responsible for self-criticism (Nyaga, 2006). The *ego* strives to satisfy the *id* and the superego when the *id* overpowers the *superego* the person's behaviour may be negatively affected.

3.4.1. Application to the study

The psychoanalytical theory is deemed applicable to explain occupational stress among SAPS detectives working on murder cases. This theory has been popularly applied to the exploration of stress by looking at a person's childhood traumatic experiences and their influence in their adulthood. Some scholars have applied this theory to understand trauma among police officers (Nyaga, 2006). Since the psychoanalytic theory emphasizes that traumatic experiences repressed into the unconscious mind can have an impact on a person's behaviours and that the unconscious mind can govern a person's behaviour Young et al.(2012) stated that in many instances, police officers are highly exposed to traumatic events in line of their duty but some repress such experiences into their unconscious mind as a coping strategy. The repression of traumatic experiences may have an impact on investigators behaviour in the form of stress, depression and anxiety.

The components of the human psyche discussed above can be greatly associated with the outbreak of stress among SAPS investigative officers. The *id* which is explained as having

impulsive demands that should be satisfied immediately is related to occupational stress among detectives. This occurs when police constantly feel that their needs to rest, protection and safety when doing analysis of murder cases should be satisfied and if that does not occur feelings of helplessness and anxiety may occur (Finkelstein, 1999; Young et al., 2012). The second component is known as the *ego* which acts as a mediator and is responsible for reality and organising a behaviour (Finkelstein, 1999). It is applicable to occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives in instances where *ego* plays a role to satisfy the needs that officers may have. If these needs are not satisfied, the investigative officers' behaviour may be affected in a way that they may feel overwhelmed and defenceless which may further result in stress.

The *superego* has been defined as being punitive and striving for perfection (Nyaga, 2006). It is with no doubt that investigative officers are expected to deliver their work and solve murder cases at hand. This forms a great deal of pressure for them and the trauma that they may be exposed to during the murder analysis may not be taken into consideration rather the emphasis may be on the results and solving cases. The inability to solve cases may result in feelings of stress and anxiety since the *superego* is more on establishing perfection (Nyaga, 2006; Jonyo, 2015). The imbalance between all the three components of the human psyche may result in stress at the workplace. The advantage of the psychoanalytic theory in this study is that it discusses occupational stress from two perspectives, firstly from the conflict between the conscious and the unconscious mind, which is important when detectives have been exposed to traumatic and graphic scenes during murder analysis. Secondly, it also explains how stress occurs as a result of the challenges that investigative officers encounter during murder case analysis by drawing upon Sigmund Freud's three components of human psyche.

3.5. Chapter summary

SAPS investigative officers have been found to be highly affected by occupational stress. The country has an increasing number of murder cases and it is essential that the well-being of murder case detectives is ensured to increase their productivity. This chapter has used the Routine Activities Theory to explain the high trends of murder among the SAPS detectives working in Inanda. This was done with the purpose of bringing an understanding of the causes of murder in the Inanda area. Secondly, the Deviant Place Theory was used to explain the relationship that police work under and occupational stress. Lastly, the Psychoanalytical

Theory was used as a psychological theory to explain how occupational stress occurs amongst detectives in Inanda. The next chapter focuses on the research methods and techniques adopted in this study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on the methods that were deemed applicable and relevant to answering the research objectives highlighted in the first chapter. As mentioned in the introduction chapter that the aim of this study was to get an insight of the experiences of occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives responding to murder cases, this research fulfilled this aim not only with dependence on a single source of information, which is the review of literature. This research also relied on empirical information to fulfil the aim of the study thus this chapter focuses on the methods that were used to collect data. The first section of this chapter explains the design of the study and the rationale behind the selection of the design. The second section focuses on the research method that this study used to explain occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives working on murder cases and how the selected method best fit the aim of the study. The third section gives account of the research procedure adopted which informs the context of the study, sampling methods and procedures, recruitment strategy and data collection. The fourth section pays attention to the method of analysing data which is thematic analysis followed by an overview of the methods to ensure trustworthiness. This chapter is concluded by the overview of the ethical considerations that were employed to the study which are the basic ethical principles of the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioural Research, UKZN's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the SAPS National Instruction of 2006.

4.2 Study location

Inanda is one of the large townships located approximately 24 km from the central business district of the Durban metropolitan area. Inanda borders to the east with Phoenix, and to the south with Ntuzuma and KwaMashu. It comprises smaller townships and villages since it's partly urban and rural. This includes Inanda Newtown A, B, C; Inanda Glebe, Amaoti and Emachobeni. Inanda has an area of 26.81 per square kilometre (km²) with 158 619 (5915.36 per km²) population and 39 105 (1458.34 per km²) households and is bigger than the areas of KwaMashu and Ntuzuma, combined (Statistics South Africa, 2017). The SAPS has four facilities in Inanda, that being three satellites and one main station. Inanda is known for its high rates of crime. It was noted at the Detective Dialogue (2012) that there is a shortages of

detectives. This indicates that the organisation does not have adequate detectives. Inanda remains as one of the biggest townships in Durban thus the number of cases increases as the community is big.

Map of Inanda
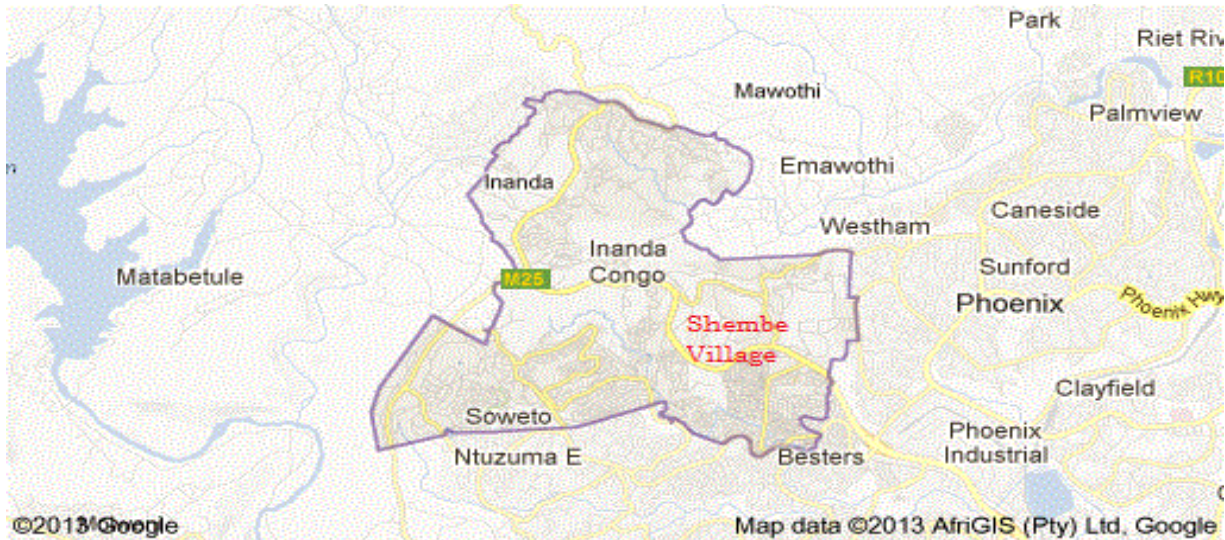
Figure 2: Map of Inanda (Google images, 2013)

4.3 Research approach

According to Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann and Hanson (2003), there are three types of approaches in social research; these are known as qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research approach. Since the primary goal is to gain information about people in their natural settings and the meaning they attach to their everyday events qualitative approach was seen as applicable to fulfil the objectives of the study. It is said that a qualitative research approach puts an emphasis on viewing the world through the eyes of the participants to gather information that is rich and descriptive (Neuman, 2014). It mainly produces information that is in-depth and non-numeric (Neuman, 2014). Qualitative approach is non-statistical and it integrates multiple realities hence the information that is produced relates to peoples lived experiences, emotions and feelings. Hence, a qualitative approach was used to gather information about detectives ' experiences and opinions of occupational stress. This methodology was considered appropriate as the researcher's goal has been to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of detectives' nature of experiences about occupational stress. It's greatly enhanced the richness of data collected as it allowed the researcher to get

subjective meanings of occupational stress from SAPS murder detectives in Inanda Police station. However, this approach was suitable in revealing how SAPS detectives make sense of occupational stress when responding to murder cases and provided detailed descriptions of their experiences. However, this approach created openness, flexibility and allowed the participants to expand on their responses. Neuman (2014) states that this approach is not without limitations. The qualitative research approach is concerned with the small sample size, therefore, the smaller the sample size the less confidence in the generalization of data to a larger sample thus the confidence in genalizing the findings of this study to a larger sample is limited.

Quantitative approach on the other hand, has been defined as an approach that stresses empirical evidence and numerical, mathematical or statistical analyses of information collected through questionnaires and surveys or by manipulating circa-existing statistical information utilizing computational methodologies (Creswel et al., 2003). The mixed-method approach incorporates methodological principles that drive the course of data collection and analysis based on the combination of qualitative and quantitative data in a single study (Creswel et al, 2003). The qualitative approach which was used in this study is known as the analysis of people as they go about in their everyday lives. This type of approach to research is about examining people's feelings, perceptions and attitudes in their natural settings (Creswel et al, 2003). After the review of existing research approaches, the researcher gained a clear understanding of the assumptions underlying various techniques. The quantitative approach was not seen as applicable to fulfil the objectives and the aim of the study since it is more objective and concerned with statistics. The mixed methods approach was also deemed not applicable to the study as it incorporates the quantitative methods.

4.4 Research design
Research design has been defined as the structure, strategy and detailed overall plan to be used in the investigation of the research problem of the study. This may include how the participants will be selected, how data will be collected and analysed and what methods and procedures will be applied in the research process (Cresswell, 2007; Kumar and Kamalanabhan, 2014). Research design is basically a blueprint used to conduct the research study (Kumar and Kamalanabhan, 2014). It was essential that the researcher establishes a design for the study to get an overall plan of the procedures to be used in the investigation of

occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives at Inanda Police Station. The design also gave the researcher guideline of what to do in the process of undertaking a study and what not to do. There are different types of research designs in qualitative research. The current study adopted a case study design. According to Punch and Oancea (2014), a case study design is a strategy of studying social phenomena by means of comprehensive analysis of either single or multiple cases. Kumar and Kamalanabhan (2014) explains a case study as a design that only focuses on one instance of the phenomena being investigated. For a study to qualify as a case study the phenomena under investigation, it must be a 'bounded system' focusing on a bounded unit either representative or atypical.

In this research, Inanda Police Station, was selected as a case study as it has high rates of murder in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This research is an intrinsic case study rather than a comparative case study as it only covers a single case which is Inanda Police Station. The researcher selected Inanda Police Station as a case study as it provides a chance for an intensive analysis of holistic and relevant details of occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives working with murder cases in an environment with high rates of murder.

Inanda Police Station, KwaZulu-Natal Province was deemed as highly representative of other SAPS stations with high rates of murder thus this case can provide an insight into the experiences of SAPS detectives and their challenges when responding to murder cases and how this makes them prone to occupational stress. The case study in this research allowed for in-depth, valuable and much more detailed data and this would have not been the case if a large sample was studied. Other strengths of the case study design is that its studies phenomena in a natural setting, no controls were imposed thus this research focused on a single police station as it naturally occurs without generating situations artificially.

4.5 Research paradigm

Research paradigms have been defined as the conceptual lens that the researcher uses to analyse the aspects of methods to be used and the analysis of data (Antwi and Hamza, 2015). The researcher considered the research paradigm as a significant part of the research process as it gives guidance and direction to the researcher. They provided the researcher with a clear guide on how occupational stress among detectives should be studied and interpreted. The study adopted the interpretive research paradigm. The interpretive paradigm has been defined as the paradigm that is about understanding the world as it emerges from individuals'

subjective experiences. The methods used in the interpretive paradigm are meaning-oriented methodologies instead of statistical measurements. The interpretive research paradigm was deemed appropriate for the study on occupational stress among SAPS detectives as it allowed the researcher to get an understanding of the subjective world of murder detective's experiences. Popularly, stress is understood as a measurable construct that is objective, hence most studies on stress and occupational stress are quantitative in nature. Loriol (2016) proposed that occupational stress in Western countries is also viewed as a social construct. The interpretive paradigm allowed the researcher to explore occupational stress in a subjective manner. The focus of the current study was on the analysis of how murder detectives perceive their experiences in responding to murder cases and occupational stress, therefore no measuring tools were used as the methods to collect and analyse data were influenced by the interpretive paradigm.

4.6 Entry to the site

Before collecting data, it is essential to highlight the strategy that was used to get access to the research site. The researcher was granted ethical clearance by UKZN's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee to conduct the study. Gatekeeper permission was also granted by the South African Police Service's (both national and provincial office) to conduct a study among detectives at Inanda Police Station situated at eMtshebheni. The researcher then approached the management of the station. The researcher had a meeting with detectives and briefed them about the study and consent forms were distributed. All sampled detectives were willing to participate in the study, and all the consent forms were signed and returned. The researcher then met with the workers from the EHW and these were also briefed about the study and they were all willing to participate in the study. The researcher then contacted Inanda Police Station and along with the detective's team leader, the schedule was drafted with appointment dates to meet with detectives for interviews. The interviews were further scheduled with the EHW workers and communication was made with the EHW leader.

4.7 Sampling methods and procedures

Sampling has been understood as a process that involves the selection of a certain number of participants from a larger population with an aim to generalise the sample (Neuman, 2014). In qualitative research, sampling is used to gain in-depth knowledge. Even though this is a

case study, it was essential that sampling occurs even within the case as not everyone within the selected case (Inanda Police Station) was deemed as relevant to the study. To eliminate detectives who do not work with murder cases, sampling was therefore applied. Since sampling includes two techniques which are probability and non-probability sampling the researcher used a non-probability sampling technique to avoid any random selections that might have resulted in irrelevant participants from being part of the study. Use of non-probability sampling was guided by the purpose of the study which is to focus on SAPS detectives who have been exposed to stressful working conditions such as investigation of murder cases at Inanda Police Station. The selection of such participants was not random. Participants were selected using purposive sampling technique. This sampling technique was informed by the characteristics and qualities held by participants that were necessary for the study. Purposive sampling was seen as more advantageous as it allowed the researcher to select participants with the most valuable data, participants who are relevant to the aim and objectives of the study. Punch and Oancea (2014) emphasizes the need to use the most feasible sampling plan, therefore, purposive sampling was less expensive and not time-consuming.

Police officers from the SAPS were selected as the population of this study. Priority was given to police officers working in detective services and this was done with the purpose of getting their experiences in relation to occupational stress. The choice of this population was driven by the main aim of this study which is to analyse occupational stress among SAPS detectives involved in the investigation of murder cases. Therefore, murder detectives were selected as a sample of this study because of their experiences in dealing with murder investigations at Inanda Police Station. The researcher intended recruiting the 11 murder detectives in the station as well as the branch commander and 2 EHW practitioners. Due to the challenges on the access and availability of detectives, only 8 detectives. Data saturation was reached as no new information was reached, and the researcher obtained maximum information related to the aim of the study. Therefore, the sample included 8 murder detectives and 2 EHW workers. The researcher was granted with the gatekeeper's letter and ethical clearance.

4.8. Data collection methods

Data collection was guided by the design of this research. Since it's a case study, the method of data collection used was in-depth semi-structured interviews. The applicability of this method to the study is explained below.

4.8.1 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Data were collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews are defined as a qualitative interviewing technique that allows the researcher to gain a thorough insight into the matter that is being researched (Boyce and Neale, 2006). They include questions that are predetermined but prone to reflectivity since they can be adjusted in view of the researcher's impression of what appears to be more appropriate (Boyce and Neale, 2006). The wording of questions can be changed and clarifications given; unseemly questions for a specific interviewee can be excluded, or extra ones included (Boyce and Neale, 2006). Whereas the in-depth interviews have been defined as interviews in which participants are urged and prompted to speak more in-depth about the theme under scrutiny without the researcher's use of foreordained, concentrated, and focused questions (Boyce and Neale, 2006). It allows the researcher to probe based on the answers given by the participants

The process that was followed in conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews included planning. During the planning stage, the participants were identified with the help of the SAPS Inanda Police Station management. A list of participants to be interviewed was formulated and the researcher ensured that the participants selected were the representative sample with the knowledge of murder investigations. The researcher also ensured that ethical codes were adhered to and permission was granted by the relevant stakeholders. The second step that was followed was the development of instruments necessary for the interview such as establishing the interview protocol and interview schedule. The interview protocol included procedures that were followed in the administration and implementation of the interview and the interview schedule was formulated with the questions that the researcher aimed to ask the participants which were in line with the objectives of the study. Probes were used to gain in-depth knowledge. Consent forms were generated and distributed to the participants only after their consent was obtained. The researcher would then proceed with the interviews. The semi-structured in-depth interviews were appropriate for this research study as they allowed the researcher to get a complete understanding of the participant's

views and experiences of occupational stress. In-depth interviews were used to create rapport and provide the researcher with more detailed information. The researcher also used a digital audio recorder and also took notes to supplement the audio recordings. The participants were requested for permission to record interviews. They all consented that their interviews be recorded.

4.8.2 **Data collection instruments**

4.8.2.1 *Researcher as a key instrument*

The researcher also formed part as the key tools in data collection. The researcher used probes during the interviews that were non-judgemental. The researcher prepared herself for the interviews and made herself to be acquainted with the skills to ask interview questions and the various ways to probe.

4.8.2.2 *Interview schedule*

An interview schedule was used to collect data. The formulation of the interview schedule allowed the researcher to create interview questions in advance. This contributed positively to the study as it provided a guide and direction for the researcher during the interviews. Furthermore, use of an interview schedule also prevented any diviation from the aim and objectives of the study.

4.9 Data analysis

Studies on occupational stress are mostly quantitative in nature. This is due to the notion that stress is a measurable construct. This study was aimed at exploring experiences of murder detectives on occupational stress. Thematic analysis was used in the study with a purpose of classifying and describing how participants in the sample selected perceived occupational stress, contributing factors to occupational stress, challenges and their perceptions of the current SAPS support structures. The focus was not on the extent and measuring the levels of stress or stressors among detective, thus the study is qualitative in nature and employed methods in line with qualitative studies to analyse data. Thematic analysis has been defined as a qualitative data analysis method that identify, and analyse themes that emerged from the interview during data collection (Neuman, 2014). This included applying various data reduction and theme identification procedures to code the data. The themes were labelled and

the data further analysed. The process that was followed included collection of recordings to study the discussion and content in the interviews with the participants. The researcher transcribed all recorded interviews with the aim of selecting a unit of analysis. Secondly, the transcripts were checked against the original recordings. After checking the quality of data, the unit of analysis was determined which formed the context during the analysis process. The steps that were further taken to analyse data are described and applied to the study below.

4.9.1 Familiarising of data

The first step that was used in the analysis of data is familiarisation with data collected. In order to ensure that the researcher is fully familiar with data collected during the semi-structured in-depth interviews, the researcher immersed herself by reading the transcripts several times. This ensured that the researcher was informed of the entire body of knowledge concerning the information at hand. However, notes of the preliminary ideas were also taken.

4.9.2 Generating initial codes

Codes in the data were identified; this helped the researcher to arrange data in a meaningful and systematic way. The codes that were identified are those that are relevant and answered the research questions of the study.

4.9.3 Searching for themes

The third step that was followed in thematic analysis after the codes were established is the search for themes. A theme has been defined as a pattern that discloses a matter that is substantial and interesting in the collected data. Identified codes were collated into themes.

4.9.4 Reviewing themes

The researcher reviewed and created themes identified during the third step, which is the search for themes. Themes were reviewed by rereading the data collected from the interviews and were organised into coherent groupings to ensure coherency of data in each theme. Data which was relevant for each theme was collected.

4.9.5 Defining and naming themes

After establishing themes, the researcher defined the developed themes in a more detailed manner to provide a clear understanding of the data that each theme captures. The researcher named the themes and explained any coherence between them and how are they related to each other. The themes that were created were related to the objectives of the study.

4.9.6 Producing the report

At the final stage of data analysis, the researcher wrote a concise, comprehensible, coherent and non-repetitive final report. Vivid examples from the data collected during interviews were used to provide sufficient and realistic evidence of the themes.

The advantage of thematic analysis is that it is a flexible approach, and it allowed the researcher to make sense of the data through summarising key features of a large body of data. It allowed the researcher to locate similarities and differences in the data collected as well as the review of previous literature. However, this method is not without shortfalls; the claims about language use could not be made. Thus the interviews were conducted in a language that participants felt comfortable about (IsiZulu) and were translated to English, making data analysis to be time-consuming.

4.10 Strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness

This study used a qualitative research approach, and it is significant that the trustworthiness of the findings is established. Since quantitative researchers rely on instruments with established metrics regarding validity and reliability, this study used qualitative strategies to ensure trustworthiness. These are credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability.

4.10.1 Credibility

Credibility is the first method that was used to ensure trustworthiness, and it refers to how certain the researcher is in the reality of the study's discoveries or results (Shenton 2004). This comes down to the subject of how one would realise that their findings are accurate and precise. In order to have more believable findings, the researcher used several methods to ensure credibility, such as prolonged engagement and persistent observation (Long and Johnson, 2000). In terms of prolonged engagement, the researcher spent more time with the participants during the interviews to establish rapport and enhance the credibility of the findings. Credibility was ensured by persistent observation to get holistic details about the aspects of the phenomenon under the study. Thus in this study credibility was ensured, and the findings are free from the researcher's judgements and biases.

4.10.2 Dependability

Dependability is the degree to which the study can be repeated by different researchers (Long and Johnson, 2000). This entails the consistency of the study's findings with other researchers. For example, if someone were to replicate the study under similar conditions and procedures, the findings that would be obtained should be comparable and similar. This study relied on the supervisor as the dependability audit who reviewed and inspected the research procedures and the analysis of data to guarantee that if the research were to be repeated, the findings would be consistent. The researcher also used a digital audio recorder to ensure that the responses were recorded and transcribed and presented exactly as the participants had expressed rather than writing the response where there are more chances of putting the researchers own words and ideas.

4.10.3 Transferability

Transferability is how the researcher exhibits that the study's findings can be applied to different contexts and settings meaning that, the findings are applicable to similar circumstances, similar population and phenomena (Guba 1981). The researcher, in this case, used thick descriptions to demonstrate that the study's findings can be relevant to different settings, conditions, and circumstances. Further, purposive sampling was used to enhance the transferability of findings. Transferability was enhanced through purposive sampling in a manner that encultured participants who provided rich information were selected which increased the transferability of the findings.

4.10.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is the level of neutrality in the findings of the study (Long and Johnson, 2000). This implies that the findings of the study are solely based on the responses of the participants. The emphasis is placed on the notion the researcher should avoid any potential bias when presenting the findings of the study, the researcher's interpretations of the participant's responses were not influenced by any bias to fit any specific story or researcher's motivations. The researcher used an audit trail to ensure confirmability. An audit trail is defined as the point at which the researcher gives a full detail of the procedure followed during data collection, analysis and data interpretation and this was explained above under research methods and methodology (Shenton 2004). The researcher recorded the points that were distinctive and captivating during the collection of data, and such details as the researcher's

contemplation about coding were recorded, reasons about merging the codes were recorded, and the clarity of the themes were recorded and thoroughly discussed.

4.11 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations adhered to in this research emanate from different bodies. The research was conducted ethically to avoid any deception and misinterpretation in dealing with Inanda Police Station detectives and EHW employees. The researcher ensured that the right to voluntary participation and informed consent were adhered to during the research process as participants were told that that they could withdraw from the interview anytime if they were not comfortable. The participants were assured of anonymity and their privacy was respected, pseudonyms were used instead of their names. The researcher obtained the permission to record the interviews from the participants and it was explained that the recordings will be kept safe and no one will have access to it except the researcher and will be destroyed after the recordings were transcribed.

4.11.1 SAPS National instruction of 2006

The study abided by the UKZN and SAPS ethics, all the instructions were followed, and the list of SAPS ethics for research studies is attached as annexure 6.

4.11.2 University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Ethics Policy

Ethics have been defined as standards of conduct and principles which are adhered to when formulating and conducting a research study. Ethics have been deemed to be essential in any field of research as they protect even the participants from any potential harm. The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) has its own ethical principles and policies regarding research, thus the researcher ensured that this research study adhered to the University's Research Ethics Policy to avoid any violation of ethical codes. The researcher applied for ethical clearance, and no interview was conducted before clearance was granted. Secondly, since the study involved SAPS personnel, the application was sent to the SAPS National Commissioner to obtain approval to conduct the study with SAPS detectives at Inanda Police Station. Once the ethical clearance and gatekeeper letter were obtained, the researcher firstly informed the participants about the purpose and procedure of the research study. Detectives who were willing to participate were given consent letters to sign. The participants were not referred by their names; pseudonyms were used instead to ensure anonymity. The researcher

ensured that participants were protected from any potential harm by not using any force to make them talk about things they regarded as being too sensitive.

4.11.2.1   *Scientific validity*

UKZN has standard criteria to review all research protocols and a study can be classified in three categories for an example, the first category is green which entails a study with no risk and no human participants involved, the second category is orange which involves a study with minimal risk and lastly is the red category which is deemed as a study with high risk. Before a study is categorised as risky or non-risky, it is firstly reviewed to establish if it adheres to the pre-established ethics by the University. This assesses whether the topic of a study has any coherence with the aim, objectives and research questions. It assesses an appropriate selection of a sample for qualitative and quantitative research, "recruitment for each aspect of data collection, submission of the research instruments: questionnaires, interview schedules, data capturing sheets, and research methods must suit the questions being asked" (UKZN, 2014: 1). The researcher ensured that the study adheres to validity by establishing coherence between the topic, aim, objectives and research question. Secondly, the selection of the sample was used to ensure that the results of the study are given by the appropriate sample for the study. For an example, in order to have valid results in the study, data must be collected from people who are accurately representative of their sector thus this study did not select any police rather it selected sample investigative officers dealing with murder cases in Inanda Police station as the main topic, aim and objectives are solely based on occupational stress in Inanda police station. The in-depth semi-structured interviews were guided by an interview schedule that the researcher generated.

4.11.2.2   *Data management*

Data management is another ethical consideration. This entails how data will be managed such as storage and disposal of data. This is emphasised to uphold confidentiality and privacy (UKZN, 2014). After collecting data from the semi-structured interviews, the researcher carefully managed data by transferring the voice recordings to an external hard drive and saving on the laptop protected by a password so that only the researcher has access to the voice recordings; however, notes taken during the interviews were kept in a safe place. Confidentiality was ensured by deleting voice recordings after transcription of data.

4.11.2.3   Gatekeeper permission

Gatekeeper permission refers to the physical or informational access granted by the organisation where a study is to be conducted (UKZN, 2014). This is important as it gives the institution where a study is to be conducted full awareness of the study and a right to accept or decline the permission for a researcher to access their domain. The gatekeeper letter must be stamped and be in the form of a formal document (UKZN, 2014). In some cases, research may be conducted in a public setting where a gatekeeper's permission is not required. This study focused on a government-owned organisation, and it was essential that permission was requested from the relevant stakeholders, thus the researcher was granted gatekeeper permission by the South African Police Service research division.

4.11.2.4   Informed Consent

Getting a gatekeeper's letter only gave the researcher access to the Inanda Police Station and not the consent to the participants. Thus, the researcher adhered to UKZN ethical standards, which emphasizes the need for informed consent. According to UKZN ethics, the consent procedure comprises three parts. These are, the Information Sheet which covers "the aims of the study, data collection instrument, duration of data collection, risks/benefits of the study, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Sub-committee (HSSREC) contact details, principal investigator (PI)/supervisor and student contact details" (UKZN, 2014 :4). Consent process also includes the Declaration of Consent "where the participant confirms that he/she understands the research process, his/her rights, including the right to refuse participation and/or withdraw from the study without any negative consequences" (UKZN, 2014). Permission to audio-record/video record an interview should also be requested by including this sentence "I hereby consent / do not consent to record this interview" (UKZN, 2014). Since the researcher was taking recordings, participants were well informed about that and were given an opportunity to agree or decline the use of recordings during the interviews. Lastly, the researcher used standard Informed Consent templates from the University of KwaZulu Natal.

This research involves two main stakeholders; the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the South African Police Services; thus, it is essential that both ethical codes of the two organisations are adhered to. Below is the national instructions for research by the SAPS.

4.11.3 National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and
Behavioural Research (Belmont Report).

The issue of research ethics is highly significant as it protects participants from all forms of potential harm. This research also abided by the ethical considerations contained in the Belmont Report written by the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical Research which recognises principles and guidelines with regards to ethical issues in research. These ethics were created in light of the National Research Act of 1974 to set principles that should guide biomedical and behavioural research that includes human subjects. This study is a study of human behaviour, and it involves humans as the participants. The researcher obtained data from the interaction with human participants during interviews, thus, the researcher ensured that the Belmont Report ethics are applied in the study. Below are the three basic ethical principles of the Belmont Report that were applied to this study.

4.11.3.1 *Respect for persons*

Respect for persons emphasizes that people should be able to make their own choices with regards to their participation in a research study. The values that underpin this principle are autonomy and protection for people with less autonomy. Showing respect for persons means that participants should be able to exercise their autonomy, and those who are not capable of such should be highly protected. According to the Belmont Report, an autonomous person is the one who is self-sufficient, very well equipped and capable of establishing personal goals and pursue them. The adherence to autonomy in this research study was obtained by offering weight to the views and decisions of autonomous participants and not hindering their action unless they were deemed as unfavourable to other people. The second aspect of autonomy in a research study is protection for participants who are not autonomous such as children and people living with mental disorders. This study ensured that all participants were treated as self-sufficient beings, and there were provided sufficient information about the research study and they all participated based on voluntary basis; no force was used to gain their participation.

4.11.3.2 *Beneficence*

The second principle that this research adhered to is beneficence. It has been defined as the actions taken to benefit others. This principle guided the researcher in ensuring the well-being of the participants and ensuring that they were treated in an ethical manner. Beneficence in

research has been accepted as an obligation pertaining that researchers should be obliged to ensure the welfare of their participants. This was achieved by refraining from causing any harm to the participants, ensuring maximum benefits of being part of the study and reducing any possible risks. There were no financial benefits for the participants in this study but the benefit that this research offered to the participants in the awareness of the dangers of occupational stress on their well-being and making them see the need to use the available support structures. However, this research serves as a benefit to the other researchers as it adds to the body of literature on occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives.

4.9.3.3 Justice
This principle focuses on fairness and equal distribution in a research study. This places an emphasis that equals should be treated equally. This study focuses on SAPS murder detectives and during the course of this study, they were all treated fairly and equally.

4.12   Chapter summary
This chapter focused on the methods that were used to conduct this study. It explains how this study was conducted, the selection of sampling methods and data collection. It also explains how data were recorded and describes the methods used to analyse it. The ethical standards that guided the study were also discussed. The methods of trustworthiness and their application to the study were also discussed. The following chapter focuses on the analysis of data.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The next section provides a description of how the data were analysed thematically. The purpose of the analysis was to explore the experiences of selected SAPS detectives AT Inanda Police Station on occupational stress. The analysis of data followed the guidelines provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) on how qualitative data is analysed. Primarily, codes were developed which responded to the objectives of the study. This was carried out in order to keep the focus of the study and obtain information relevant to the topic. The codes were grouped, and themes were developed. The participants were given pseudonyms such as P1 to P8, meaning participant 1 to participant 8, and the employees from the EHW were named as P-A and P-B. The themes were arranged into logical groupings (refer to table2). The findings are presented verbatim.

5.1.1 Primary themes and sub-themes emerged from the data

Themes	Subthemes	Categories of sub-themes
Nature of occupational stress	The meaning of occupational stress SAPS detective's traumatic experiences	
Factors contributing to occupational stress	Contributory factors inherent to detectives' work	High workload
	Contributory factors inherent to the organisation	Career development Lack of resources Lack of effective coordination within SAPS
	Contributory factors inherent to the community	Demographics of the community

		Lack of cooperation from the community
Challenges faced by Inanda SAPS detectives	Challenges relating to cognitive wellbeing Challenges relating to emotional wellbeing Challenges relating to psychological wellbeing Work-family conflict	Reduced attention Forgetfulness
SAPS support structures available to cope with occupational stress	The role of the EHW in Inanda SAPS EHW workers perceptions on SAPS support structures Detectives perceptions on SAPS support structures Detectives' perceptions on the effectiveness of the SAPS support structures	SAPS detectives knowledge on EHW

Table 3: Researchers illustration of the summary of the themes

5.2. Theme 1: The nature of occupational stress

The first theme that was identified responds to the first objective of this study which was 'to explore the nature of occupational stress among SAPS detectives'. As a consequence of the mentioned objective, subthemes were further identified which includes the meaning of occupational stress and SAPS detective's traumatic experiences. In the following section, the subthemes are further discussed in-depth and the comments by the participants are mobilised to reveal how occupational stress was understood.

5.2.1 Subtheme 1: The meaning of occupational stress.

The core focus of this research is occupational stress and detectives responding to murder cases; thus, it was important to get the understanding of detectives regarding occupational stress. The participants had quite similar opinions regarding the concept of occupational stress. Their responses showed that they understand that occupational stress is a type of stress that is associated with one's occupation.

> *Occupational stress, according to my knowledge, is stress that occurs at work mostly, all the things that put pressure onto you, which might end up with you being hospitalised for depression and other diseases* (P7).

Another participant further explained that:

> *I think it may be a problem that someone faces at work or maybe stress that is caused by the work that you do* (P4).

> *I don't know; occupational stress is a stress that occurs as a result of your occupation. I don't know, Is it? But it's a stress that is work-related, and I have a lot of that because I see dead bodies every day* (P1).

In the literature section, the first objective was based on the nature of occupational stress. The participants were asked about their understanding of the nature of occupational stress. Their responses were in line with the definition of occupational stress by Landsbergis et al. (2017) that occupational stress is generally the unpleasant responses which may be physical and emotional that take place when job demands surpass the resources, abilities and needs of a worker. This is in line with the findings of this study; a comment from the participant is presented below:

> *In my understanding, occupational stress is when you're working, and your job overpowers you, you end up being stressed, you also feel neglected and it's just too overwhelming especially for us detectives* (P6).

In the literature, occupational stress has been understood as related to a person's responses when work demand surpasses one's abilities (Landsbergis et al., 2017). This study found that among Inanda occupational stress also occurs when the job demands are too high than the available resources and abilities of detectives. Below the participant shows that occupational stress is the pressure that one gets as a result of the work they do. This study found work demands such as limited time to complete tasks and less time to execute work.

> *It is generally the pressure that one gets from the overload at work maybe as a result of failing to meet time limits or complete tasks, too much within a short space of time or having too much to take in at work. Pressure can be received from the crime scene, and it can also be pretty traumatizing, seeing people being sentenced to life and witnessing other injustices* (P3).

In the literature, it was discussed that Mark and Smith (2008) came with three approaches that relate to the nature of stress. These approaches give meanings to occupational stress. One of the approaches is known as the psychological approach where stress is identified in the process of interaction of an individual to an environment (Mark and Smith, 2008). This may occur when the demands of the work environment exceed the demands of detectives. The participant's definition of occupational stress relates to this approach as they consider that the meaning of occupational stress is associated with the environment they work in, as mentioned below:

> *The stress that we experience is stimulated by the environment that we work in, and it's chronic because we see different people dead, sometimes we see children murdered, women, vulnerable people murdered. So, our work is very stressful cause now remember we also have families, so it stresses you* (P2).

The description of occupational stress that was provided by the participants indicated that their understanding of occupational stress is also linked to the nature of their work. Since detectives also attend murder crime scenes, the participants' conceptualisation of occupational stress revealed that it is the pressure that they receive at the crime scene.

Pressure from home and also the pressure received at crime scenes can also be pretty traumatizing, seeing people being sentenced to life and witnessing other injustices. One needs to evaluate themselves and not think they are too strong or almighty, which is why I always stress that they take leave so they can rest their minds and body (P3).

Other participants described occupational stress as being intense, resulting in disorders such as depression. Police officers are constantly exposed to danger and violence on their daily bases; this sustained exposure to stress results in one's well-being to be affected. The participants' responses corresponded with the findings of (Islam et al. (2012) which postulated that occupational stress occurs when the individual's ability to cope is surpassed by demands of the work environment, which can potentially result ill-health. Islam et al. (2012) proposed that the body reaches a stage where increased muscle strength and heightened metabolism as the body tries to be resistant to stressors and this is associated with disorders such as depression, deprived sleep, irritability, hypertension, heart diseases and migraines.

Occupational stress is the stress that takes place as a result of the work we do. The stress we experience comes with a lot of pressure and trauma. For an example; number 1, it takes a lot of your personal time, for instance, you wake up around 1 am and you find that you have four murders that day and you find that from 1 am to 6 pm you are attending murders, murders which occurred in a cruel manner in that case, in a manner that would never allow you to sleep peacefully. Yes, it's traumatic (P8).

Participants shared their understanding of the meaning of occupational stress and further made an example of the nature of occupational stress. The above examples confirm that detectives are exposed to incidents that are different from the general population; they are exposed to traumatic incidents when attending crime scenes. The crime scenes they attend are different in terms of brutality; for example; there are those that come with a lot of trauma. This is in line with the findings of the study conducted by Dabney et al. (2013) on occupational stress among police officers; the main findings included that the most stressing feeling is responding to a crime scene where things are eccentric, and the potential of risk is obscure. Govender (2012) found that investigators find it stressful to attend murder crime scenes as they may have little information on what will be happening at the crime scene.

Therefore, it can be understood that occupational stress can be traumatic as a result of the trauma that is associated with the crime scenes to which detectives respond.

5.2.3 Subtheme 2: SAPS detective's traumatic experiences.

In order to get an understanding of the nature of occupational stress, there is a need to locate individual experiences of Inanda SAPS detectives. The following subtheme cites the experiences of trauma amongst Inanda detectives responding to murder cases. The participants were asked to share their individual experiences of occupational stress, and it was clear from their responses that their experiences of occupational stress were associated with the traumatic events that they faced in their workplace. However, Boshoff et al.'s (2015) findings indicated that detectives have accepted that dealing with dead bodies is a part of their job that they cannot change, thus when detectives respond to murder crime scenes, they tend to dehumanize the victims and treat them as evidence and not as human beings. Boshoff et al. (2015) stated that police tend to normalize the trauma to which they are exposed. Boshoff et al. (2015) described this as a process where police numb their emotions; they avoid using their emotions when confronted with graphic scenes.

On the other hand, Nyaga (2006) stated that police usually push their traumatic experiences to their unconscious. The current study findings differ with those of Young et al. (2012) as most participants revealed that seeing dead bodies negatively impacted on their psychological well-being. The following extracts indicate that for Inanda detectives, exposure to trauma is highly associated with proneness to occupational stress.

> *We are experiencing the trauma of dealing with dead bodies; when you deal with dead bodies regularly, you end up worrying about the fact that one day you will also die and wonder how you will die if people are killed so brutally* (P1).

The participants' responses point out the effects of the trauma they experienced in the workplace. It was explained that trauma causes anxiousness, especially about their lives, how they will die, and this occurs because of the trauma they experience when dealing with murder investigations. Boshoff et al. (2015) explains that trauma is an emotional experience of shock and anxiety that occurs after experiencing traumatic events. This is evident from the comment made by the participant, stating that exposure to trauma leaves them with feelings of anxiety. Similarly, Bazana and Dodd (2013) explain that trauma generally causes an individual to feel

overpowered and totally out of control. Traumatic events allude to those occasions that cause shock and overwhelm an individual who encounters them. The participant summed this very well by stating that:

I would say it's very stressful and depressing. For now, I won't say I experience depression, but the scenes we attend do cause a lot of stress that also affects your personal life at home because you are overloaded with work and you find that you don't get proper time with your family and the dockets are always coming in. It's just overwhelming, and sometimes you come upon brutal crime scenes, but you tell yourself that you just need to switch off when you go home and act as if everything is normal (P6).

The participant indicates that the crime scenes they attend do affect them, and this continues to affect them even outside their workspaces. For example, the stress that emanates from their workplace results in work-family conflicts. Although they get exposed to traumatic incidences, the detectives continue with their daily duties as is everything is normal meaning that they suppress their traumatic experiences. This is associated with the Psychoanalytical Theory that was used in this study as this theory states that when an individual is faced with a traumatic event and suppress the trauma to their unconscious, the repression of traumatic experiences may have an impact on the individuals' behaviour in the form of stress, depression and anxiety. Dabney et al. (2013) stated that police officers do experience trauma when investigating murder cases and but they suppress the trauma as a temporary defence in dealing with stress. Participants further revealed that there are crime scenes that they get used to but some scenes were described as psychologically damaging such as those of mass murders. Below, the participant explains how this affects them:

Some murder scenes affect you badly and some you get used to, especially with mass murders, it kind of damages you psychologically. These cases are troubling because even when you're at home with your family it still affects you psychologically especially when people expect you have an answer and it affects you badly because currently I have about 80 murder cases that I need to work on and this also affects you at home too because this is all in your mind all the time (P7).

Dabney et al. (2013) conducted a study on detectives responding to child homicide and found that there were high levels of stress amongst detectives working with child homicide. Similarly to this study, detectives associated their stressors with responding to cases involving children. This is also similar to a study conducted by Violant et al. (2011) where it was found that the stressors affecting police included exposure to battered children. The participant explained that some cases are difficult to forget, explaining that the most traumatic cases to deal with were those that involved young children. Participants revealed that murder cases involving children were without any doubts one of the most traumatic events imaginable. They described that such cases were distressing to recall. This is reflected well in the following comments.

> *My experiences in working with murder cases relate to cases that you just can't forget easily, and they haunt you for sometimes, for instance, there was a case where six kids were killed with no mercy and it's traumatising to see all of this especially when it comes to kids. These kids were butchered and piled up in a bathroom, I become very emotional when it comes to child homicide* (P4).

It was further stated that:

> *Mostly, cruel cases come back to you. It takes time for you to be able to live with it. At one stage, I attended a scene where 3 months old was murdered with the mother, they were both burnt so can you imagine attending to that scene. Remember I also have children and witnessing such brutality was very disturbing. The cases we attend, all come back to you because you imagine if your child was in that situation. You see Inanda is a very dense area, so we've seen different kinds of murder cases. At times it becomes normal to see a dead person or someone who has been shot but as I said, if its vulnerable people like women and children, it's very disturbing* (P2).

However, other participants described their experiences of occupational stress as prompted by the trauma they get exposed to when attending the crime scenes. The findings correspond with the study conducted by van Lelyveld (2008) which stated that the nature of the environment that detectives work under makes them more prone to occupational stress. As it was discussed in Chapter Two that there are three approaches that relate to the nature of occupational stress, the stimulus approach was comprehended as a condition of the

environment that is external to the individual and influences him or her in a disruptive way (Govender, 2012). According to this approach, the nature of stress relates to the stimulus characteristics of the environment which are considered as disturbing or disruptive. The murder crime scenes form part of the detectives' working environment. The participants revealed how murder crimes scene exposed them to trauma. Some explained that some crime scenes may be brutal. The following comments sum up how murder crime scenes contribute to occupational stress among Inanda detectives.

> *I think it corresponds sometimes since we deal with emotions, you deal with victims or relatives who are emotionally unstable because of the loss they would have experienced. You end up being empathetic towards them because it also affects you sometimes, depending on the type of crime scene it was because crime scenes differ. There are brutal crime scenes, where you find that someone might have been raped and assaulted you know, and some are just too disturbing to even describe. These are the things that end up contributing to occupational stress. Like the things you see just traumatize you because it's not like that person with multiple stab wound is just a wild animal, but he is human too so that weighs on you heavily* (P3).

> *Yeah like I have explained that crime scenes differ and that some of them are very brutal, so imagine how much more you find someone who was burned alive, so all those things contribute to stress they all play a major role* (P7).

The above comments affirm that detectives responding to murder cases in Inanda are exposed to a variety of traumatic events which are commonly not the same as those experienced by the general public. The responses that participants provided indicates that the nature of occupational stress is traumatic. Some suggest that the crime scene that they attend causes trauma, while others alluded that investigating child cases was traumatic. The participants revealed that although they may be faced with traumatic events they continue executing their duties. This is similar to the study conducted by Pena et al. (2017) as it was found that repetitive exposure to traumatic events may lead to severe psychological disorders. Detectives at Inanda Police Station who experience repetitive trauma stands at increased risks of occupational stress.

Employee Health and Wellness practitioners' perceptions of the nature of occupational stress amongst detectives were also identified.

> *Members are witnessing abnormal incidences if you know what I mean, especially with cases involving children and females. It's the trauma they go through of what they witness from the different types of murder, like gunshot wounds, the stabbing and the bashing; all of this contributes to the trauma they experience (P-B).*

When asked about the nature of occupational stress among detectives, Employee Health and Wellness staff's responses pointed out that the nature of stress among detectives was related to trauma. They identified the investigation of child cases as the most traumatic experience for detectives. This is in line with what detectives have reported that trauma is caused by the investigation of cases involving children. However, the studies that were reviewed in the literature chapter found that dealing with cases involving children can be traumatic (Violanti et al., 2011; Dabney et al., 2013).

5.3. Theme 2: Factors contributing to occupational stress amongst Inanda SAPS detectives.

The duties of detectives have been found to be very complex. Numerous participants revealed that they performed various duties which put them under pressure. This theme responds to the second objective of the study which seeks to explore contributory factors to occupational stress among South African Police Service detectives at Inanda Police Station. The following sub-themes have been identified, namely contributory factors inherent to the job, organisation and the community.

5.3.1 Subtheme 1: Contributory factors inherent to detective work

5.3.1.1 Category 1: High workload

The first section of this subtheme is based on high workload as the contributory factor to occupational stress amongst SAPS detectives responding to murder cases in Inanda. Detectives can have shift work which they refer to as calls, each call is 24 hours a day. This shift entails that when they receive a call from work they will immediately attend to the situation and leave everything else. This occurs whether they are on duty or not. Govender (2012) avers that police officers' experience stress when working shifts because this disrupts

the time they spend with their families and they are forced to limit their movements in order to respond quickly to calls. However, the participants revealed the number of cases they respond to per month. To understand the workload of Inanda SAPS detectives, it's essential to get the overview of the number of cases at hand and the number of crime scene that detectives respond to per month.

The participants explained that:

> We do calls four times a month, on average we attend two scenes per call, so I respond to about eight scenes per month and that's eight dead bodies (P1).

> I attend four to six murder crime scenes per month, sometimes it gets up to nine (P2).

> I would say, if I'm on call it would be around three or four times a month and in those days, I attend at least one crime scene, But on weekends, it's definite sometimes you may even go to three during weekend. I had calls this week on Monday and Tuesday morning and I attended three murder scenes and it wasn't even a weekend. So far and it's not even the end of the month yet, it's like halfway through the month but we already have 16 murder cases (P4).

> I think about four a month. It can be more than that but uhm actually let's say eight that would be the average so to say (P5).

> We have different crime scenes, there is a shift process called a "Call" shift and is when you attend to crime scenes. There are a lot of different crime scenes involved though. You have to work this shift two days a week, it could be weekday or weekend and during the week you can attend 2/3 Murder Crime Scenes a week but during the weekend you can attend up to six murder crime scenes and in a month I would say, maybe each detective, or let's just say I would attend maybe about 10 murder scenes. Let's not forget that sometimes in one crime scene there might be maybe 3 casualties or four casualties (P6).

> In two days, you can attend around 3 murders and since I'm on call twice a month it would be around 6 murders a month and it gets hectic especially around payday, like the 15th and the 30th or 1st , its hectic around those days (P7).

The above comments reveal the average number of cases that detectives receive monthly. The number of cases are reflective of the number of dockets that are assigned to each detective per month. The responses show that per month, the number of cases that detectives receive ranges from 6 to 16 per detective. Every month, there are new cases, causing cases to pile up, resulting in high workloads. The inability to solve most cases at hand makes detectives prone to occupational stress. The theory that was used in the study explains how the *superego* operates, making reference to the striving for perfection (Nyaga, 2006). In relation to this study, detectives are expected to deliver and solve murder cases at hand. This forms a great deal of pressure for them if they fail do produce such results. The inability to solve cases may result in a great deal of stress and anxiety since the *superego* is more on establishing perfection (Nyaga, 2006). The following comments are cited to illustrate the number of cases that Inanda SAPS detectives in Inanda shared.

> *We have a lot of work and at the same time we are short-staffed. As we speak, some of us have a 100 dockets per person that we need to work on them and if you think about it, I don't think there ought to be a detective that walks on a 100 murder cases alone; that just doesn't make sense and there isn't a specific number of dockets that each detective should handle. We are always given dockets there's no limit* (P8).

The participant revealed that the current number of dockets they have is around 100, and further explained that the reason behind such a high number of cases is because of the shortage of staff. The shortage of detective was also noted in the literature, which shows that Inanda also suffers from the consequences of SAPS inadequate detectives as it was noted at the SAPS Detective Dialogue (2012). Wesserman (2016) also argue that the major cause of the high workload is the shortage of staff. According to the SAPS (2016), eighteen (18) is the ideal number of dockets that each detective should be assigned. Previous research has found that having a high workload was a major factor that contributed to stress due to a high number of cases. A study that was conducted by Myendeki (2008) found that the normal number of criminal cases overseen by every detective ranged from 32 (Northern Cape) to 52 (Eastern Cape), with a national average of 43. In this study, the number of cases overseen by each detective ranged from 60 to 116. The findings of the current study correspond with the study conducted by Mnyendeki (2008), which associate a t high workload with a high number of cases.

However, the participants further agreed that high workload does contribute to occupational stress by indicating the number of cases currently at hand.

> *Stress is caused by the work pressure or the workload. In our case, we are short-staffed, hence the number of detectives we have doesn't match the current workload. Currently, I'm sitting on 115 murder dockets and all of the need my undivided attention, and to make matters worse these are murder cases so it's hard for me not to be pressured because every month, we have inspection and that alone is a lot of pressure* (P7).

The participant indicated that the number of cases currently at hand is 115, further points out that the cause of stress is the number of cases at hand and other factors that come with investigating cases such as time spent investigating cases and inspections. Wesserman (2016) also found that having a high workload as one of the stressors among SAPS members. The study also found that this high workload was also a result of the time needed to investigate cases, and argued that the causes of high caseloads amongst detectives include delays from the court or from other sections such as forensics and the cases end up being carried for a long period of time and they pile up. Due to high rates of murder in Inanda, this results in SAPS detectives having to deal with a high number of cases which may make them more prone to pressure and occupational stress.

The participant stated that:

> *While I was working in other SAPS stations, I only had to deal with 6 or 7 dockets so you can see the difference since I've worked here at Inanda Station it's like 109/108 dockets which are a lot. Some even have 300 dockets, so just imagine the pressure* (P8).

The participant indicated that there was a huge difference between Inanda Police Station and the station where they were previously worked. Due to the high rates of murder cases in Inanda, the caseload has been found to be very high. This prompts a question on the capability to deal with such a number of cases and how such pressure affects productivity. Govender (2012) explains that occupational stress has negative impacts in such a way that even the organisation is affected as occupational stress results in the decrease in the worker's

productivity. During the SAPS Detective Dialogue (2016), it was also mentioned that SAPS police stations do experience high caseloads, which may have negative effects on detectives.

Several participants explained how high workload causes occupational stress.

> *To successfully investigate one murder case, you need at least one to two months to finalise it. But here in Inanda, you get a docket on Monday, you get another docket on Thursday and maybe three on the following Monday, emanating from cases that occurred over the weekend. So, cases pile up until you can't manage. You end up working on cases where there is available information and not focus on those with no available information because while busy trying to investigate and gather information on a particular case, newer cases are coming and they also need your attention; it's very stressful. Sometimes family members come to you and feel like you're neglecting their case because even now as it stands I have more than 60 unsolved cases that I still need to dig deeper and that's stressful on its own. There is just not enough time yet there's a lot that we are required to do (P2).*

Similarly, another participant argued that a high workload is one of the stressors:

> *The contributing factor could be when you have to attend a suspect raid and you have a court case the next day, you find that there are a lot of case files on hand, because as one person you can't manage 50 murders alone so imagine handling 100 and these cases cannot be closed easily because there is a lot of investigation that you have to do and after some time, the relatives of the deceased just give up and are no longer interested in what is going on, no longer interested in helping (P5).*

The participants described how cases pile up. They indicated that there were too many cases yet there is less time to thoroughly investigate. They stated that they end up not focusing on the cases where there is no evidence and work with what is at hand because of time. The following comments further explain how high workloads affect detectives:

> *As I said we also have families, but our job ends up taking our time we end up working overtime even on weekends where you're supposed to be spending time with your family. Further, the organisation itself does contribute to our stress because regardless of the investigative work that we already have, there are things that the*

management need you to do, and you're now not doing your main work which is to investigate. We do a lot of other things that make us have less time to mainly focus on investigating cases allocated to us. As detectives, there's a lot of work that we are required to do in the office yet the information that we need to crack a case is not in the office, its outside where crime occurs but then you need to do it for a case to go to court. Dealing with investigations and administrative work is very stressful, it would have been better if we didn't have too much caseloads, it would be easy to balance administration and investigation work (P2).

However, other participants explained that:

The workload is too huge. We have a lot of work at the same time we are short-staffed. As we speak, some of us have a 100 dockets per person that we need to work on and if you think about it I don't think there ought to be a detective that walks on a 100 murder cases alone; that just doesn't make sense and there isn't a specific number of dockets that each detective should have, we are always given dockets, there's no limit. The other challenge we face is that some of our superiors are quick to blame us for not doing our jobs especially if the number of your dockets increases. They seem to forget that murder cases might take time because you have to wait for things such things as post-mortem reports, and things like that take time to come back, unlike the other minor cases that might take a week or so for you to solve so that alone add on to stress itself (P4).

The participant explained that the high caseloads affected them in such a way that they looked incompetent in the eyes of their superiors. They then seem incapable to finalize cases. The other problem that was raised is that they already have too many cases at hand with very limited time as murder cases require working with other departments which have delays too, causing more delays to the investigation. The participant further stated that there is no limit to the number of cases they get, there are always new cases added to their workload, making it difficult for them to pay undivided attention to cases and on top of that, they also have some administrative work to do.

5.3.2   Subtheme 2: Contributory factors inherent to the organisation

As discussed in the literature that occupational stress also occurs as a result of stressors from the organisation. Singh and Kar (2015) discovered that job demands the second-highest job-related stressor amongst police officers. Participants revealed that the most stressful part of their job was the quantity of the work they do, especially the long and odd hours (Singh and Kar, 2015). Ma et al. (2015) stated that some factors considered to be demanding amongst SAPS officers include shift work and also meeting deadlines. Furthermore, Wassermann (2016) revealed that stress due to job demand is one of the challenges that SAPS officers encounter at their work place by asserting that several police officers end up experiencing mental strains. The current study found that the pressure from the management is one of the stressors amongst detectives. This is evident in the following comment from a participant:

> *For me, our superiors have a way of contributing to the stress we experience. The work pressure that comes through from the management and which they get from their management and that leads to you not having a personal life because even on weekend, you don't have any social life because you have to come through and go through these docket at which you are supposed to be spending the time with your family or friend trying to distress but we don't have that. Well, there are some other contributing factors but mostly it is the work pressure* (P7).

Other participants also reflected on the issue of their superiors playing a role in contributing to the stress they experience:

> *When we arrive at the crime scene sometimes you even find your superiors interfering wanting to enter the crime scene but they know that they shouldn't and that it self-messes up the scene, they sometimes try challenging you with situation you yourself know that it's wrong but just because you are a junior member, you feel obligated to let him through to see what's going on* (P6).

It was further emphasized that:

> *Even the informers are no longer interested in helping you, and most times we have unpaid informers. If, however you work with a registered informer you find that by the time you do the paperwork at the station it is not approved, or it takes too much waiting time and you lose the informer. It's also a contributing factor in such a way*

that you don't know which way is the right way to investigate now, which strengths
exactly should you focus on to win the cases? (P6)

5.3.2.1 Category 1: Career development

Participants revealed that lack of suitable salaries, perks and allowances are some of the organisational stressors that contribute to occupational stress. They consistently highlighted that they were without adequate salaries and benefits. They expressed that police is a high risk profession; involves danger and therefore they requested better pay and perks.

> *Besides the work we do, the organisation on its own does contribute to our stress. For*
> *example, we don't have any perks, I feel like we're not appreciated like you attend a*
> *crime scene and you're expected at work exactly at 7:30 even our salary is not worth*
> *the work we do* (P1).

Singh and Kar (2015) found high levels of occupational stress amongst lower-ranking police officers as they have low salaries and less work experience. van Lelyveld (2008) found that 83% of police officers were not satisfied with their job, 15% showed average satisfaction and only 2% were satisfied. The participants in the current study indicated that they did not feel that they were being appreciated in the organisation. Govender (2012) stated that the lack of manpower development results in feelings of job dissatisfaction among the employees, yet using reinforces such as jobs perks, benefits and career development lessens workers' frustrations, and reduces organisational stressors.

5.4.1.1 Category 2: Lack of resources

One of the causes of occupational stress that was mentioned in the interviews was insufficient resources. The lack of sufficient resources was seen as causing problems in investigating cases. SAPS detectives pointed out that some of the resources important resources were not available in the stations and that caused delays in case investigation. Delays in accessing information that is essential in the investigation of a murder case results in some cases being put on hold while working with those where all the information is available. Such delays result more cases accumulating, causing more pressure. During the SAPS Detective Dialogue (2012), it was mentioned that the lack of resources stands as the challenge for the SAPS as an organisation and that lack of resources also affects the smooth working of detectives. The

participants expressed that their division is even worse than the others. They explained using examples of how insufficient resources negatively impact on their job.

> *People who wear uniforms have manpower and they do what is cut out for them during that day and their day ends, but to us as detectives your work never ends; be it whether you are home or work, you always have to be on your toes because investigating dockets take time, it's not something you just close on easily. Since we are in ballistics, it takes time for you to receive feedback because we have to send the evidence all the way to Pretoria or sometimes Amanzimtoti and this takes time for you to receive it back and sometimes we arrest a suspect and the court has to release them because we don't have enough holding evidence. This is when we find that the case has been withdrawn by the court because the evidence that we need to withhold the suspect is still not back. We have a lot of forensic labs but they all do different things. To estimate, sometimes it takes about six months for the evidence to come back. This is when you find relatives of victims coming back to tell us that the suspect has been released and it's hard to explain to them that it's not your fault because you did your out-most best so that the suspect can be convicted and the victim can get the justice they deserve but at the end of the day, your work falls apart just like that and this just adds on to your stress* (P6).

The participants revealed that due to insufficient resources, the process of investigation gets delayed. They mentioned that sometimes the suspects end up being released because of lack of evidence because the labs take time to revert to them. This was seen as a major cause of stress and its correlates with the traditional definition of occupational stress, which proposes that occupational stress takes place when job demands surpass the resources, abilities and needs of a worker (Landsbergis et al. 2017). From the comments made by P6 above, it is clear that the available resources are not sufficient to meet detectives' work demands. A study conducted by Mofokeng (2015) revealed that 92.9% of the respondents agreed that detectives' performance is affected by a lack of physical resources. Mofokeng (2015) found that the insufficient resources remain an issue amongst police officers, and it was found that sometimes even the available resources are not working properly, which further affects proper case investigation, causing more organisational stressors for SAPS detectives. It was

further revealed that insufficient resources result in the detectives having to use their personal resources for job purposes.

> *Sometimes you travel with your own car, your own fuel "they tell you that you have a car", basically we're not appreciated, you do it because you have to, not because you want to* (P1).

The findings showed that one of the major challenges that SAPS detectives were facing was insufficient resources and this correlates with what was identified in the detective dialogue that computers, laptops, and vehicles were not sufficient across different stations (SAPS, 2016). It was noted from the comment made by the participants that sometimes they use their cars and pay their own fuel bills to attend to work-related matters. This corresponds with the findings of Kumar and Kamalanabhan (2014) who found that the major stressors amongst the police included poor salaries, perks and allowances. The findings included that detectives when investigating cases, detectives have to be responsible for the fuel for SAPS vehicles they use, and this adds to the stress they face as a result of their occupation. The problem of having to use owns vehicle or paying the fuel for SAPS vehicles is similar to the findings of Kumar and Kamalanabhan (2014). Furthermore, some participants revealed that the lack of resources results in conflicts with their peers.

> *Yes, there are challenges you face as a detective, you find that most of the time we fight mostly because of resources. The resources at our disposal are just not enough for detectives, which leads to you having to do things on your own because your partner also has a lot of work to cover and you end up not finishing all your work* (P5).

The participants identified the effects of insufficient resources at the station. Insufficient resources affect even their working relations with other members as they end up fighting over resources. The following category explains the challenges that emanate from the SAPS as an organisation in relation to the coordination within the SAPS division.

5.4.1.1 Category 3: Lack of effective coordination within SAPS divisions
Case investigation involves different stakeholders and not only detectives. Within the SAPS, there are different departments that play part in the investigation of murder cases. For example, there are forensic analysts, and photographers who play a significant part in the

investigation of a case (SAPS, 2016). Detectives work hand in hand with other sections in the SAPS. This study found that there are instances where there is a lack of coordination between SAPS detectives and other divisions and this results in more pressure on detectives. The participant below explains how other sections affect them in terms of finalising dockets.

> *The challenges that I could mention are associated with assistance teams. For instance, let's say maybe you are waiting for the morgue crew and the photography crew to arrive and you wait up until three hours without them arriving because you can just leave the scene without finishing your work and you can't leave a corpse on the scene and go. Since we are number 2 in the province, we undergo inspections more than normal police stations do and sometimes you just feel like running away when you hear the name inspection because those people are thorough, and they reprimand us. Sometimes when you are overloaded with work, you find that while focussing on other dockets maybe one might not be getting as much attention as the others and this stresses you especially when you think about the relatives of that victim. You tend to feel guilty about not giving the docket your best but there was nothing that you could have done* (P4).

The participant further explained in the above comment that the lack of effective coordination affect them especially when they attend crime scenes. They wait for hours for other stakeholders to pitch yet they still have other duties at the station. The participants concurred that other stakeholders do not cooperate which has negative effects in the process of their investigation because when they go to courts they need to explain all the details about the deceased and this is impossible when they have to talk about some aspects of the case where stakeholders did not cooperate.

> *Yes, sometimes the role players don't come to part, sometimes it happens that the ambulance does not come and the deceased end up being taken by the mortuary and you're left with a question that if you go to court for that case and if ever you had to be asked who declared the body deceased, how will you respond to that?. So basically, lack of cooperation from other stakeholders can really affect one's case. Even within the SAPS, other sections that we work with like sometimes the photographers never come on time, you wait for 3 hours at the scene and they don't pitch yet you're still left with too much administration work but you can't leave the scene you wait* (P1).

As it was discussed in the literature that the points that were raised in the detective dialogue included lack of effective coordination in the criminal justice system as SAPS investigators work with other stakeholders from different institutions to fight against crime (SAPS Detective Dialogue, 2016). In the current study, detectives highlighted that there is lack of an effective relationship between them and other stakeholders both internal and external yet they are working towards the same goal of reducing crime in the country. The participants also raised concerns with regards to other stakeholders within the SAPS as an organisation such as the turnaround time form forensic laboratories. It was noted that delays in other divisions creates a backlog of cases for detectives and that adds to them having too many cases at hand. The participants further revealed how other divisions affect them.

> *No, we are the second people, the first people are the charge office vans, they must go to the scene when they are called out to go and see what's going on and to secure the murder scene, they should be able to tell us what type of scene it is but most of the time when you get there, you find that they haven't done anything at all, you find that they haven't even taken statements and they are waiting for us which is time-wasting and we end up doing their jobs. There are too many elements that contribute to stress in the work field* (P5).

In most cases, the first officers are uniformed members. Myeza (2019) argues that they do not necessarily possess the investigative skills as compared to the investigators. The participant proposed that first officers should secure the crime scene and take statements. This is similar to the findings of Dutelle (2011) who states that the duty of the first officer is to secure the scene and conduct the initial stages of documenting by securing and preserving the physical evidence. SAPS Detectives Learning Programme (SAPS, 2009) is of the same view that preliminary investigations are conducted by the first responder to a crime scene who is the officer from the charge office; they conserve the crime scene, make notes, take witness statements, get clues, exhibits, and arrest suspects. The participant indicated that the first officers usually do not do what is cut out for them and as detectives, they end up doing their roles and this is all due to the lack of coordination among the various SAPS stakeholders.

5.3.3   Subtheme 3: Contributory factors intrinsic to the community

The third subtheme that responds to the factors that contribute to occupations focuses on the factors inherent to the community. The categories that were identified include the demographics of the community and community incorporation.

5.3.3.1 Category 1: Demographics of the community

This category explains how the demographics of the community remain a challenge for SAPS detectives, it focuses on how the community is built and the hot spots where murder usually occurs. The crucial point of the theory that was used in this study, Routine Activities Theory, is the availability of an opportunity to commit a crime. The participants revealed that the area of Inanda increases the chances of crime and victimisation. The comments made by the participant (P3) reveals the severity of murder crime rates in Inanda:

> *Inanda is leading in murder crime rates in the whole of KZN and in the country, we are number three, just last month we had a total of 21 deaths from the previous 3 years and this excludes accidents and suicide. On average, we file 55 murders a month, so you can imagine how many we respond to on a daily. We have more murder cases here than other crimes. Inanda is very dangerous my child, very dangerous, during daylight and at night. Daylight is only better because you can easily go to the police station or hospital. Inanda has a lot of taverns, which is the reason why it is so violent* (P3).

The participant described Inanda as a very dangerous place; he proposed that the place is better during the day because it is easy to find assistance at such facilities as the police stations and health care facilities. The Routine Activities Theory proposes that it can be lack of physical visibility or easy access that can contribute to the suitability of individuals as victims of crime. The comment that was made by the participant (P3) suggests that the most convenient time for crime at Inanda is during the night where it would be difficult for victims to find assistance, hence this confirms the causes of crime as proposed by the Routine Activities Theory. The participant further commented that Inanda is a very big area and this comes with a lot of pressure as this entails more workload.

> *Inanda is very big and having to work in this area comes with a lot of pressure and stress. This is why we need the community to help each other and to collaborate with*

us to fight crime. Plus, the workload, there are too much murders here at Inanda, it's truly overwhelming (P5).

The above comments supports the notion that Inanda is a type of community that comes with a lot of pressure because the population is high compared to the number of detectives. The participants held similar views that the community of Inanda is very big and the number of cases is high, which results in pressure and stress. A study done by the Public Service Commission found that the number of detectives hired by the SAPS were very inadequate when compared to the high rates of crime in the country (SAPS, 2013). The findings of this study are related to of the Public Service Commission, inadequate staff still remains as an issue and the detectives revealed this as resulting to high work load and pressure. These statistics already show the job demands and workload among detectives in Inanda, thus this study focused on the experiences of occupational stress among detectives.

Participants explained that the pressure gets to them because of the high rates of murder and this is due to the demographics of the area.

> *The pressure is too much because with murder cases, people tend to want to know what's going on with their relatives' cases, you find that at the same time we don't have enough information to relay to them since our suspects are always on the run because this place that we work in is more of a rural area or informal settlements so it hard investigating, even the demographics of the area they make matters worse, there are some hotspots were murder occurs mostly because police can't always be visible because of the demographics* (P6).

The participant explained that there are areas in Inanda where it's not possible for visible police to patrol. This corresponds with the Inanda and KwaMashu report (n.d), which highlights the problems contributing to crime in the area. They most emanate from the nature of the roads, lack of chances for surveillance due to curvilinear roads and the absence of streetlights. It was further noted from the report that the steep terrain and the nature of roads makes it hard for SAPS officers to easily access the informal and rural areas in Inanda. They proposed that some of the areas can be reached by a 4 x 4 vehicle, thus this affects the time it takes for the police to reach crime scenes, giving more time for suspects to escape. Other participants also acknowledged that the area of Inanda is not always easy to patrol, thereby

suggesting that the crime prevention unit should also consider foot patrols to increase police visibility in the community.

> *When I look at things, it seems that the crime prevention guys are not doing enough so to speak because if there was more visibility in places that are crime hot-spots, maybe there might be a decrease in the level of crime in Inanda. There are places that are squatter camps especially places Mawoti and Bhambayi where the crime levels are very high, maybe the government and our superiors can look into it and add some of our guys there who can patrol the place by foot even in the evenings; maybe the rate of crime might decrease because there are places that police vans can't reach. Otherwise if not, then there won't really be a difference, we will still have a high workload and have pressure* (P4).

From the comment made above, it can be noted that the occurrence of crime in some areas in Inanda can be attributed to the demographics of the area. The participants indicated that there are places that are squatter camps where crime levels are very high, and this is because of less police visibility in such areas. Inanda and KwaMashu report (n.d) proposes that in Inanda what attributes to crime in informal areas is the access and easy escape possibilities by suspects. Other participants further revealed that the area of Inanda does not only contribute to the high chances of crime occurrence but it also makes it difficult for them as detectives to keep track of the witness and the suspects, something which affects the process of investigation.

> *The community at Inanda some people are not originally from Inanda, some are renting but they show you their shack houses saying it's their home, most of these houses are rented and don't belong to them. So, when it is time for them to come to court to present their testimony, you find they have moved or gone back home. This happens in the case of suspect; when they are released, they give you an alternative address. You get that the address they give you is of their relatives and or just community member and when the court date draws near, it becomes hard for you to locate the suspect when you need them to come to court because the address they provided is not their official address. So, to me, these are some of the challenges that we face as detectives and it negatively affects the case* (P5).

The participant reflected on a crucial matter that the community of Inanda has people who are originally not from Inanda and they engage in criminal activities, it was stated that the address they provide is often unreliable because they don't own any house thus it happens that when the court date comes and they need to locate the suspect, they fail to do because the suspect may have moved to rent to other areas.

5.3.3.2 Category 2: Lack of cooperation from the community

Young et al. (2012) argue that the SAPS has undergone a tremendous change since 1994, yet the public's view of the police is slowly changing in terms of the trust in police. Young et al. (2012) state that factors such as lack of trust in the police make it difficult for members of the community to come forward with the information that can positively contribute to the case. It was noted from the SAPS Detective Dialogue (2012) that lack of cooperation from the community may also be due to the prevalence of corruption among members of the SAPS. The public has perceptions that some SAPS members are corrupt and they assist criminals in getting away with their crimes thus providing any testimony or information would be putting their lives at risk. The comments below reveal how this affects detectives as they consider the witnesses as part of the crucial contributors to the case.

> *Uhm, you find that when you attend a crime scene or when you get to the crime scene, people are afraid to tell you what has really transpired happened. You will find that there are bystanders who know what happened, but they will never tell you. Sometimes when you find a witness they will never inform you of where they are truly from but they only show you the place they are currently renting out and you find that when you are about to close the case and everything else is on order, when you go look for the witness, you find that they have moved from that rental place and have gone back home or disappeared (P5).*

Another participant expressed concern over similar issues with regards to difficulties in getting information from the witnesses.

> *Not finding suspects, witnesses not coming forward, lack of cooperation between the police and community members, proving a case and also the pressure from the community and the victim's family who expect quick results can also contribute to stress. We face a lot of challenges when we respond to cases because in most cases,*

the areas are dangerous and the community is usually not willing to cooperate, and communicate out of either fear or the need to protect their suspected relative (P3).

The participant agreed on the unwillingness of the bystanders to provide information

Yes, as I mentioned earlier it comes down to the honesty of the community, when you arrive at a crime scene you find bystanders who know what has happened, but they can't come forward, they are afraid. That's the challenge you find when you respond to a crime scene (P8).

The participant expressed that when they arrive at the crime scene, they find people who would have witnessed the crime being committed but when they are asked they are afraid to talk. Myeza (2019) states that the bystanders at the crime scene are not likely to give any testimony because, for them, they have nothing to gain from testifying a criminal yet they have a lot to lose in terms of their safety. Fear of reprisal from criminals is a major factor that prevents victims and bystanders from coming forward with the information required in crime investigation. The participant further describe how witnesses refrain from coming forward with the information about what happened at the crime scene. He further adds that the community also negatively impact on the crime scene in terms of contaminating the evidence.

Too much because if you go to a crime scene, the whole community is there to see exactly what would have happen and sometimes they can cause chaos which messes up the crime scene. Sometimes when we get there, we find that some of the evidence is missing and that the suspects have been beaten up so that disturbs our work because we find ourselves with not much to work with. To make matters worse, when you ask if there are any witnesses, no one wants to help us, even when they know who the culprit is they don't want to talk, but they take matters into their own hands. People do not want to co-operate and even though some witnesses may know who the culprit is, they just decide not to tell us to try and protect each other or in fear. This is why we need the community to help each other and also help us. Further, the workload, there are too many murders here at Inanda, it's just overwhelming (P6).

Members of the community find themselves in situations where they are in the middle of a crime scene. Myeza (2019) states that at the crime scene, there remains trace evidence such as fibres, glass or paint and this can be easily compromised if there are members of the

community around, and unnecessarily trample the crime scenes. The participant averred that sometimes community members cause chaos at the crime scene, which ends up compromising the evidence. Myeza (2019) states that it is essential for the first officer to respond to the crime scene to secure it, limit the number of people who enter the crime scene and safeguard the evidence. The participants felt that the community that they serve is the same community that contributes to compromising the success of solving cases with regards to in cooperation and compromising evidence in the crime scene.

5.4   Theme 3: Challenges faced by saps detective as a result of occupational stress

This theme is directly associated with the objective of this study on the challenges faced by SAPS detectives in the context of occupational stress. This theme explores the challenges associated with working with murder cases in Inanda area and how identified challenges impact on detectives. Participants were asked about the challenges they faced due to occupational stress and they provided various responses such as cognitive, emotional and psychological challenges.

5.4.1   Subtheme 1: Challenges relating to cognitive wellbeing.

The findings of the study that was conducted by Roach et al. (2017) on murder detectives in terms of the challenges among detectives corresponds with those of the current study. Roach et al. (2017) found that the nature of work done by murder detectives impact on their cognitive well-being. This is confirmed by the excerpts for the participants presented below.

5.4.1.1 Category 1: Reduced attention

> *You know I feel like the murder team is one group under the SAPS that is more prone to experience occupational stress, you see this even in the way we lose attention. You see it's very hard to focus having to deal with a large number of cases, you cannot give full attention to all your duties; we juggle our work* (P2).

> *Based on my experiences of working as a detective in this area, i can tell you that there's too much pressure and stress that comes with our work. As I mentioned earlier, the number of cases that we deal with is too much, it's not like other stations. Some stations are better and I believe that should we have reduced numbers in terms of dockets allocated to each member, we can be able to focus better, we can be able to give each docket at hand our full attention* (P6).

Participants revealed the challenges they faced as a result of their work and they indicated that members had reduced attention due to high workloads. A study conducted by Botha (2015) indicated that occupational stress has negative effects on police cognitive well-being. It was found that police had symptoms of stress such as reduced attention. van Lelyveld. (2008) found similar results indicating that police officers are affected by occupational stress and they tend to have reduced attention at the workplace. Thaba (2018) also pointed out that, one of the symptoms that commanders observe in their employees when referring them for psychological assistance includes loss of attention. Thus, occupational stress results in reduced attention amongst Inanda detectives.

5.4.1.2 Category 2: Forgetfulness

The findings indicated that occupational stress results in forgetfulness, which is caused by high workloads. This statement was confirmed by the participants stating that:

> *Our job affects even our behaviour because you end up dealing with a lot of things and you tend to be forgetful. We experience behavioural challenges because sometimes you just get a tendency of being forgetful due to your overthinking and being overloaded with work and because there are a lot of things that you have to think about* (P4).

> *We deal with a lot of work as detectives and there's too much pressure. This pressure makes you to even forget some of the things. Our work needs you to be strong and well organised because it's easier to lose focus because of the pressure and stress that comes with our duties. We attend courts, crime scenes, meetings, inspections there's just a lot* (P7).

> *What's challenging with investigating murder cases is that there is a lot of work that we do and we get a lot of pressure. When you join the organisation, you come with enthusiasm but as time goes you lose all that because of the pressure you get that even your behaviour changes. You do one thing you end up forgetting the other and it's not that you're careless but it is a result of pressure and variety of our duties* (P5).

Forgetfulness remains a challenge for SAPS detectives. The above excerpts from the participants attest to this challenge. These findings were affirmed by Van Lelyveld (2008) who indicated that the aspect of forgetfulness was a major concern to participants due to the

stress that emanates from their work. Van Lelyveld (2008) found that due to the variety of police duties, police are more prone to occupational stress and this confirms the sentiments shared by the participants that as detectives, they have investigation duties, administration work, they attend crime scenes, meetings and inspections. The participants deemed this as too much and they indicated that they end up being forgetful because they will be dealing with a lot of things.

5.4.2   Subtheme 2: Challenges relating to emotional well-being

Emotional well-being was one of the challenges that Inanda detectives expressed. It was found that their emotional well-being was affected by the crime scenes they attended. The comments are presented below that support this statement.

> *We face many challenges as the murder team, you will think that police are strong but you know we are human too, we won't run away from that we have feeling and emotions but what we get exposed to in our work is very damaging emotionally. Some crime scene leaves you feeling nervous and anxious* (P7).

The participants explained that as detectives, they are exposed to emotionally damaging scenes that leave them nervous and anxious. This is confirmed by a study that was conducted by Rothman (2008) which indicated that one of the challenges that are prevalent in the SAPS officers was emotional challenges. Govender (2012) described the anxiety that occurs among police officer as a result of occupational stress as realistic anxiety which may be seen when investigative officers have feelings of fear of the dangers inherent in their daily work. Detectives at Inanda Police Station respond to high rates of murder, thus increasing more exposure to crime scenes that may emotionally affect them.

> *Being a detective is not easy, it comes with a lot of pressure. The crime scenes that we attend cause emotional damage to us. You know I was attending a crime scene here in Inanda, it was at night and there was a dead body and this person was brutally killed; days after I saw that body I was so terrified to think that there's a person out there who did such a thing to another human being. You just think that who's going to be the next victim of such brutality. This pushes you to actually work hard to find the suspect but at the same time emotionally you're not well because you know what you're dealing with* (P4).

The other participant further provides an example of traumatic crime scenes:

> *Eish, we face a lot of challenges when we work on murder cases like I have explained that crime scenes differ, and that some of them are very brutal, so imagine how much more you find someone who was burned alive, so all those things contribute to stress they all play a major role* (P1).

Participants explained how detective work can be emotionally draining:

> *Our work is very challenging, you need to be strong all the time, but it gets to the point where you're just exhausted you know, you just get emotionally drained because the pressure is too much. This happens to all of us. No one is always strong, but you can't do anything about it because we have no time, dockets are always coming in, there's no time to rest and deal with your emotional well-being* (P3).

The participants revealed that crime scenes can be emotionally damaging, and they made examples of the cases they have responded to and how they affected them emotionally, indicating that occupational scenes can be emotionally damaging to murder case detectives. Other participants stated how the stress they experience as a result of their work affects them emotionally. Young et al. (2012) stated that in many instances police officers do experience trauma when investigating murder cases and they may be exposed to crime scenes that may be psychologically damaging but more often they suppress such feelings and continue with their daily duties. This is evident in the findings of the current study. The participants indicated that even though they may be exposed to the trauma they continue with their duties as they deem that their work will pile up, causing them more pressure. In relation to the Psychoanalytic Theory, the repression of traumatic experiences may have an impact on investigators behaviour, and this may manifest in the form of stress, depression and anxiety and this is what was noted from the participants' responses.

5.4.3 Subtheme 3: Challenges relating to behavioural well-being.

It has been noted that most researchers find various types of behavioural problems amongst police officers as a result of occupational stress (Wellington, 2010; van den Heever, 2017). According to Wellington (2010), occupational stress results in behavioural challenges that may negatively affect both the worker and the organisation. The comments presented below

indicate how occupational stress results in behavioural challenges among murder crime detectives in Inanda.

> *Our job is very challenging and you end up being short-tempered to everyone around you* (P1).

The participant described their job as detectives as challenging and resulting in them being short-tempered. This statement is supported by the findings of Lawhorne-Scott and Philpott (2013) where it was found that the challenges that police face as a result of occupational stress is associated with having a short temper. Boshoff et al. (2015) found that short temper is associated with anger issues, and their findings revealed that the anger issues among police officers emanate from the stress associated with police work.

> *You see our work has a lot of challenges e.g. being exposed to brutal crimes scenes traumatize us a lot, sometimes I even wish I was working in other divisions because this ends up affecting even your behaviour, you end up not finding any joy or interest in your work because you're stressed. Even your behaviour around people changes because of what is eating you inside* (P6).

The participants indicated that as detectives, they attend crime scenes that may be brutal. The above comments reveal that the detective division comes with a lot of pressure as P6 express the wish to work in other divisions. Gatchel and Schultz (2012) stated this as one of the factors that lead to burnout. The participant states that due to the stress he experiences loss of interest in his job. Ojedokun and Idemudia (2014) found similar issues associated with occupational stress, which they relate to emotional exhaustion which occurs when workers lose interest and energy in their duties as a result of occupational stress.

> *Most of us do anything to cope, sometimes we meet over drinks and talk things over with other colleagues, that's what I do to cope, it does help me to forget about some incidents but I never drink during work hours* (P5).

The participant admitted that they use alcohol to suppress stress from their traumatic experiences and feelings. He explains this as a method he uses to cope and forget. Pastwa and Piotrowski (2016) found that this is one maladaptive coping mechanism that the police use and stated that this can escalate to substance abuse. This reveals that the high trends of

substance abuse that were identified by the EHW (2016) are caused by work-related stress among police officers. A study conducted by Styen (2012) on the abuse of alcohol and other substances by police officers found that the use of alcohol was reliant on occupational stress. It was found that exposure to trauma results in increased use of alcohol and other substances. A study conducted by Styen (2012) on police stress found that alcoholism was one of the consequences of stress.

5.4.4 Subtheme 4: Challenges relating to psychological wellbeing

Psychological well-being continues to be a challenge amongst SAPS detectives. Participants shared their views on how their jobs impacted negatively on their psychological well-being. Their responses correspond with the study conducted by Rothmann (2008), which found that amongst SAPS members in the North West province of South Africa, there is a high level of occupational stress and psychological ill-health. The participants revealed how their work as detectives causes psychological harm.

> *Sometimes you have flashbacks of the scenes you would have seen, and we tend to become angry and aggressive towards other people all because of the challenges and things that we experience and see at work. Sometimes you open up to someone about what you saw at work and they take it lightly because they think you're used to it, not knowing that at the back of your mind its affecting you psychologically because it hurts to see another family suffer, it gets you to think on how it would be if that was your family* (P4).

Another participant similarly expressed that:

> *Murder related cases are linked to occupational stress and it can be psychologically damaging because when you attend these cases or crime scenes you are exposed to seeing explicit scenes that would traumatize a normal person. These events are not normal, and this can mess with your psyche, sometimes we even suffer from flashback images of the incidents. All this can build up to stress* (P6).

The participant made examples of how occupational stress affects their psychological well-being:

Psychologically, I would say that you put your mind onto one problem and while you are focused on solving that problem. Another problem arises when someone else among your colleagues tells you how to do something else and you end up losing focus and that stresses you psychologically because your mind will be in a different place, you don't even get time to breathe and when you go back to your first task, you find that you are behind with your work. Another thing about our job is that sometimes you take it personally, especially with us who work with murder cases because as humans, we tend to show empathy toward others and as much as you must do your job you also have to show some form of comfort to the victim's families (P7).

The participant added that:

There are challenges that we face as detectives but then you need to align yourself and accept the nature of our job. For instance, sometimes you experience trauma as a result of a case that you responded to yet you still need to attend to other cases while you're still traumatised by the previous case. That alone is psychologically draining (P2).

The participant explained the causes of trauma among detectives relating to the types of murder cases:

Our work as detectives can be pretty traumatic, some cases leave you traumatized and it takes time to finally move. There are crime scenes where you get brutally killed people and children, some are burnt or stabbed, and it's really traumatic (P8).

Participants indicated that the nature of the crime scenes they respond to have severe effects on their psychological well-being. Their comments indicated that some crime scenes are brutal and traumatic. This has been affirmed in the study conducted by Boshoff et al. (2015) where it was reported that police officers usually develop remarkable stress reactions right after being exposed to graphic and dangerous incidents. These include flashbacks, which were also identified in the comments made by other participants (P4 and P6). Therefore, this indicates the psychological challenges that detectives experience as a result of occupational stress.

The nature of cases that SAPS detectives in Inanda respond to was found the main factor that causes psychological distress. This was noted from the participant's responses presented below.

> *Pressure from work and the pressure received at the crime scene can also be pretty traumatising, seeing people being sentenced to life and witnessing different forms of injustice. Occupational stress and investigating murder cases is related, sometimes since we deal with emotions, you deal with victims or relatives who are emotionally unstable because of the loss they would have experienced. You end up being empathetic towards them because it also affects you sometimes, depending on the type of crime scene because crime scenes differ. There are brutal crimes scenes, where you find that someone might have been raped and assaulted you know, and some are just too disturbing to even describe. These are the things that end up contributing to occupational stress. Like the things you see just traumatize you because it's not like that person with multiple stab wounds is just a wild animal, but he is human too, so that obviously weighs on you heavily* (P3).

The participants described their working conditions as traumatising since they respond to crime scenes at night:

> *What triggers stress mostly is that when it's dark like when you're working during the night, it's traumatic especially since there's a few of us working at night and you respond to crime scenes where a people are brutally killed, having to experience that, is very traumatising especially when you come across such scenes at night, when its dark* (P8).

The participant considered their job as depressing:

> *We attend different crime scenes; some scenes can be very damaging, and we don't have time to deal with that trauma. You end up depressed but then you must be strong and continue with life. I won't lie our job can be very depressing* (P1).

The above comment is supported by Mangwani (2012) who indicates that police officers experience multiple problems as a result of occupational stress. She identified various

problems as a result of occupational stress and depression and psychological ill-health was found to be associated with police work-related stress.

5.4.5 Subtheme 4: Work-family conflict

As a result of occupational stress, SAPS detectives indicated that this stress affects even their family well-being. Wellington (2010) stated that occupational stress does not only affect the officers emotionally and psychologically, but it also affects their family life. Participants mentioned in subtheme 1, category 1, that high workloads take their time, they end up spending less time with their families because of work commitments. Wellington (2010) stated that officers experiencing occupational stress are likely to disengage from family activities. However, Nikam and Shaikh (2014) found that police officers experiencing high levels of stress were more prone to marital troubles.

> *Some murder scenes affect you badly. Of course you may get used to some, however, some are too are associated with gruesome visuals such as mass murders, the damage you psychologically. These cases are troubling because even when you're at home with your family it still affects you psychologically especially when people expect you have an answer and it affects you badly. For example, currently I have about 80 murder cases that I need to work on and this also affects me at home too because this is all in my mind all the time* (P4).

Another participant who was an EHW practitioner argued that:

> *Detectives experience events that are not normal, that does trigger part of your brain, I've seen how detectives end up thinking too much about cases; they say that when most of the detectives get home, all the images of they saw at the crime scenes they attend come back to them but then that is why we are here as the EHW to help them cope* (P-A).

The above comments indicate that exposure to traumatic crime scenes have negative effects on detectives as they explain that even when they are with their families, they still get images of the trauma they would have been exposed to at their workplace. Wellington (2010) stated that police officers regularly feel that they can't just talk to their families and companions about their encounters, especially regarding their work. This can result in them feeling isolated and this also affects their family lives as they tend to feel misunderstood, thus

occupational stress can result in imbalance between detectives work and their domestic responsibilities.

5.6 Theme 4: South African Police Service Support Structures available to cope with occupational stress

There is an understanding that after a person has been involved in an abnormal situation they will experience psychological symptoms and feelings of emotional strain and anxiety thus the SAPS place a great emphasis on their personnel to utilize available support services. The focus of this theme is to get an overview of the support structures available for detectives, uncover their purpose and how are they understood and utilised by the detectives. The researcher interviewed workers from the EHW at to get information about the EHW, and the role of this division and the interventions available to assist with occupational stress. However, the detectives from Inanda Police Station were interviewed to get their perspectives on the programmes provided by the EHW. The subthemes that were identified include the role of the EHW among Inanda SAPS detectives, EHW workers perceptions on SAPS support structures, detectives' perceptions on SAPS support structures which was further broken down into two categories namely SAPS detectives knowledge of the EHW and detectives' perceptions of the effectiveness of the SAPS support structure. These subthemes are thoroughly discussed below, with the data that was obtained from the participants.

5.6.1 Subtheme 1: The role of the EHW in Inanda SAPS

The following, are the comments made by the participants from the Employee Health and Wellness section that were interviewed regarding their role in the SAPS in dealing with occupational stress amongst detectives.

> *Our role is to attend to their psychological needs, we refer them to people that can help them according to their individual needs because people are affected differently. Some they come to us themselves, while some are referred to us by their commanders. We provide counselling and support. We even use external help if need be, as we refer them to more experienced professionals such as psychiatrists and psychologists. We have proactive programs where we do inductions and also provide more information as to how they can cope with stress at work while holding group works for those that have similar cases, thus creating a comfortable environment while we empower them*

to cope, and better by themselves and not depend on other people so we equip them most importantly. We do group sessions with detectives, some come, and some don't because of their work commitments. Most of the times I go to stations and do presentations than to wait for them to come because some are afraid to come or they don't know what to do. When I do presentations, I get that some they take initiative to come for private consultations. We empower them to be self-reliant. There are five stations that I attend to, that's Kwamashu, Greenwood Park, Inanda, Ntuzuma and Newlands. Unfortunately, I only get to go once a month because they are not always available due to work but we do our best. Our presentations are usually based on traumatic stress psychoeducation, stress and coping in general (P-A).

P-A explains his role in assisting detectives.

Generally, not only detectives but all members of the SAPS benefit from our services. We hold pro-active workshops preparing them for the environment they work in and how they must cope with their work environment. We have programmes such as anger management, suicide prevention, stress management and we do follow-ups and referrals. When we have workshops, we go there as a group, with social workers and psychiatrists because some questions that may pop up may need a social worker or a psychiatrist so we do it as a team. Listing one example, if any of our members witness a suicide or murder scene, we have a program called debriefing. How it works is; we group the members that were present at the scene within 72 hours and have them talk about their experiences so that they can get the help they need and that they do not isolate themselves. We give them coping mechanisms. I go to stations alone, but sometimes in a group, we plan workshops and give them advance notices so that they can make themselves available. They are also free to go to station commanders if they feel like they are not coping or sometimes even if the commander see if there's a member that is not well they contact us and we meet with the member and see how we can be of assistance (P-A).

The participant explained the role of a *psychiatrist* in the EHW. This was explained by referring to the programmes that psychiatrists conduct and the programmes mentioned corresponds with the roles of the psychological services that were identified in the literature

(EHW, 2016). The participant further explained their role in terms of assisting the SAPS detectives in coping with occupational stress. The participant explained the topics and presentations conducted in equipping detectives to cope with occupational stress.

> *I usually try to meet all of them sometimes because even though they may be affected differently but the cases are related. Sometimes come voluntarily or they are recommended but most of the times I go do presentations so they know how they can get help, so I do psychoeducational sessions to create an approachable environment. I go through different topics on different days so as to provide enough information for them to do individual bookings. It is difficult to attend more than one section or department at a time. Due to the difference in the roles of the departments, sometimes the stressors can be slightly different. We use different strategies, we prioritise the murder department, we meet up once a month because they need attention, and they have too much pressure and exposure. After that department, it is the Tactical Response Teams (TRT) and Family, Child and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS) and I try seeing them as frequently as I can as well. I have some main presentations I do frequently. I discuss traumatic stress and lot and do a lot of psychoeducation, teach them about stress and coping mechanisms. I try to have team building sessions to make them feel involved, so we do more than just talk. We want them to know that we understand and care for them, from detectives to the lowest rank.* (P-A).

The participant explained that the murder investigation section were the main priority in their programs, stating that they are met them separate from other sections due to the difference in the stressors. The participant revealed that they try to meet detectives frequently, at least once a month as they consider them as needing more attention due to pressure and exposure. This is asserted by the sentiments shared by the participants, confirming that detectives responding to murder cases remain a priority of the EHW section of the SAPS.

> *The murder detectives that is Family, Child and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS), they are a priority in the organisation. It's a must for us to have sessions with them at least once a month that is one strategy that has been put in place by the SAPS to attend to the needs of the detectives because they are exposed to graphic incidences, they have got a lot of work to do on top of the serious cases they attend* (P-B).

The main aim of the EHW is to develop and implement health and wellness programmes, strategies and interventions to ensure that the SAPS is manned by a healthy and effective personnel (EHW, 2018). The participants indicated how they present the intervention to detectives by mentioning the programmes they hold such as proactive programmes, anger management, suicide prevention, stress management and debriefing. These programmes correlate with the programmes proposed by the SAPS (EHW, 2016). However, researchers have questioned the efficiency of SAPS support programmes. Boshof et al. (2015) stated that the efficacy of SAPS interventions is questionable, especially when it comes to stress management. They argued that despite the various intervention programmes, police officers continue to show high level of stress reactions which act as the main symptom of occupational stress. However, Thaba (2018) argued that the EHW programmes may not be effective as intended due to lack of attendance by the targeted population. The participant mentioned in the above comment that they conduct presentations but it happens that some detectives are not present because of work commitment.

The role of the EHW that was discussed in the literature, they assist the police with managing psychological stress that may arise due to work. The EHW worker revealed that they conduct sessions with detectives experiencing work pressure. Boshof et al. (2015) found that some factors contributing to occupational stress were caused by the management. The participant revealed how dealing with such cases remains a problem because as much as they can have sessions with detectives, they will still return and serve under the management that contributed to them experiencing stress. Therefore, this shows the need for the SAPS management to also participate in such sessions so that they are well equipped in terms of occupational stress and well-being in the workplace.

> *We have had a lot of cases with officers that were suffering from occupational stress and they used to misbehave a lot but after our session, you could see the difference and this pleases me because I love helping them, hence, I put in some extra time. Unfortunately, it is difficult in some cases, e.g. a low-ranking member and their commander maybe in conflict and this makes it difficult to help when they have to go back to the same unhealthy environment. These things can be complex, but we always see a difference especially if it is work-related* (P-B).

The participants mentioned some of the challenges they experienced as EHW workers by pointing out the difficulty in solving cases where a detective and the management are in conflict. They described this as an environment that is not healthy for detectives, citing that, if their stressors emanate from the management they serve, the effectiveness of the sessions will be dull as they will continue to be exposed to the same stressor. This links with the study conducted by Boshof et al. (2015) stating that the police management contributes to the occupational stress experienced by police officers. Boshof et al. (2015) identified factors such as poor managerial style and incompetence from the management as being responsible for work related stress. This raises the need for the SAPS management to attend workshops, sessions and all other EHW programmes since they play a crucial part in establishing a healthy working environment for the police. During the interviews, the problems associated with conducting sessions with the management were noted and presented below:

One participant revealed that the problem with having sessions with the management is their perceptions of being an ideal police.

> *We assist even the SAPS management, we treat all of them with equity and equality but sometimes a lot of them don't want to come out simply because of the need to display a strong character* (P-A).

Grossman (2017) stated that police work continues to be stressful, particularly as a result of the perceptions of an ideal police that is maintained. Some police officers are pressured into fitting into the description of what is seen as a good police officer such as being physically fit, masculine and strong (Grossman, 2017; Westmarland, 2017). It is clear from the above comment that attending EHW sessions can be seen as a sign of weaknesses that dulls the appearance of an ideal police officer.

In the literature review, it was mentioned that EHW consist of professions such as psychologists, social workers and chaplains. Thaba (2019) states that EHW workers are employed under the South African Police Service Act No. 68 of 1995 under SAPS ranks and they are expected to wear uniforms and attend parades. The conflict arises since EHW workers often have their own profession's code of conduct. The participants revealed how it can be problematic to maintain the balance.

You know sometimes the problem with our role in the SAPS as the EHW section is the conflict between our profession's ethics and those of the SAPS. For an example, I feel like sometimes the commanders use us to serve their own purposes because they may ask you to assess a member and present a report in a day or two, I mean I cannot really conclude on an assessment in a day or two. There are too many things that contradict because as much as we are employed under the Police Act, we also have our profession's code of conduct especially when it comes to issues of confidentiality. I need to have a lot of sessions with the member before I can make any assessment, otherwise such assessments wouldn't be accurate (P-A).

Rajin (2012) states that commanders in the SAPS have a responsibility to refer police members for psychological assistance to the EHW when they see any signs of stress and problems in police. The EHW practitioners are then expected to assess and present reports on the police. The participants stated that such can be in contradiction with the ethics of their profession especially with regards to confidentiality and fairness, citing that the time they may be given is not enough to make a fair assessment. This calls for the need to identify a procedure that will guide the assessment of employees to reduce any possibilities of unfair assessment.

5.6.2 Subtheme 2: Employee, Health and Wellness workers perceptions on SAPS support services

I'd say that our structures are effective, we always try to be available for the members. It's very important for members to attend workshops. Maybe some of them feel or see programmes as not important, you know there's a saying that say cowboys don't cry, that we're strong we can handle anything. So what they do is, they bottle things up, and they also don't attend workshops. There's a lot of work involved, maybe they feel that they're pressured or feel they do so much and they need to rest than to go and sit in a workshop. Perhaps they feel "they're wasting their time". Our workshops are not voluntary, we usually do them in the mornings, when we come we prepare and need to know the exact number of members coming. But they always give a valid reason for their absence from the workshops (P-B).

The EHW members emphasized the importance of workshop attendance. They expressed how detectives bottle thing up with a belief that they are strong. Rajin (2012) found that EHW practitioners were of the view that police officers are usually absent from the workshops despite the early communication provided in terms of the venue, time and date. The study revealed that in some cases, police officers would make appointments and fail to avail themselves. This was conceived as a challenge as it distorts the effectiveness of the programme thus the importance of attending the sessions was emphasized.

> *I wouldn't say there is enough support given to SAPS detectives, I don't want to lie because first there are challenges which include shortage of us EHW workers. I attend to five stations, sometimes we don't have enough resources like cars and projectors but we try to work with what we have. The organisation is trying its best to look after its employees. You get detectives during the parade or 6 in the morning but you can't attend to all the stations* (P-A).

P-A further recommended how the EHW services can be improved:

> *I would recommend the organisation to get more health workers, this will solve 99% of the problems I face alone, and I am not enough on my own due to realistic measures. The structure of the organisation also sometimes results in certain complexities as far as the hierarchy is concerned because some people can be egocentric and refuse to be referred for help. I try to stick to the guidelines of the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) so I cannot comment anything out of my role. We keep the best interests of the clients/ patients, not those of the authorities* (P-A).

The above comments highlight concerns with regards to insufficient EHW practitioners. The participants indicated that the EHW is not sufficiently staffed, and there is a shortage of EHW practitioners since they cater for five stations. The EHW staff compliment comprised a single psychiatrist, a social worker and three chaplains responsible for five stations. The participants mentioned that they get to meet detectives in the morning, which indicates that sometimes they begin their duties around 6 am. Rajin (2012) also found the issue of insufficient EHW workers in a study that was conducted in Limpopo. The study found that EHW practitioners

were insufficient and had to serve six police stations with 1419 members. This indicates that detectives may not be adequately catered for due to insufficient EHW practitioners.

The participants recommended that the SAPS as an organisation should increase the number of EHW practitioners for improved and effective services. Dipela's (2016) also argued that the SAPS management should hire more EHW practitioners to meet the large number of employees in the cluster. Dipela (2016) further points out that SAPS management must hire more EHW practitioners who can be located in police stations to support police officers who work far from the EHW offices. Rajin's (2012) findings are consistent with Dipela's (2016), suggesting that each police station should have its own station-based EHW practitioner to recognise police officers' problems immediately and provide the required assistance (Rajin, 2012; Dipela, 2016). Therefore, the findings of the current study indicate that EHW practitioners must familiarise themselves with detectives at Inanda Police Station.

5.6.3 Subtheme 2: Detectives' perceptions of SAPS support structures

In order to understand detectives' perceptions on the SAPS support services, it is important to get insight into the detectives' knowledge of the EHW which is the main pillar of SAPS support services. However, two categories emerged which speaks to detectives' knowledge of the EHW and their perceptions of the effectiveness of SAPS support services. The perceptions are presented below:

5.6.3.1 Category 1: SAPS detectives' knowledge of the EHW section

The participants had different opinions regarding SAPS' EHW and their role. The following comments can be regarded as representative of the participants understanding of the EHW.

> *There are chaplains, psychologists and psychiatrists and if you go to them sometimes you don't find them or if you do find them they don't really give you any immediate help cause they book you for a later date. By the time they tell you to come, you get that you are now ok you would have found a way to live with that trauma* (P-6).

Another participant had the following to share;

> *There was a time when we had a psychologist, or it might have been a therapist that had visited us. We also have one here, but the one we have here is a pastor and it did not help much because all you do is you basically talk about how you feel but you*

don't feel any difference afterwards. Personally, I don't think there is a solution for it. I don't know if the pastor is well equipped to assist us with psychology-related matters. (P4).

Furthermore, participants added that;

There is a department that deals with stress-related matters among members of the SAPS. I'm not sure about the name of that department because I have never been there and I don't know if it's helping or not but I have asked people who have been there they never get assisted with the trauma they have. I heard that they tell you to talk to others and not bottle up about the scenes that you have been exposed to but in reality that is not helping, just talking about traumatic cases that you have been exposed to won't change the psychological damage that has been done we need solutions on our psychological being. Some of us end up being sick because of the stress that we get from work. Sometimes you think you have everything under control but as time goes you get that the stress is silently killing you. I don't know but maybe our support service office is not empowered but we really do need them because for some of us, the stress that we get at work end up affecting us even in our homes, that is why we hear cases of members who would have killed or abused their families (P2).

The above confirms that some detectives are informed about the EHW which is the main support structure in the SAPS. They mentioned that there are chaplains, psychologists and psychiatrists. The South African Police Service (2016) explains Employee Health and Wellness as the interrelated programme consisting of social workers, psychologists and chaplains, which is aimed at ensuring a healthy and productive workforce through health and wellness programmes. However participants mentioned concerns regarding the EHW, the participant raised concerns with regards to the availability of the EHW practitioners. He expressed that sometimes when they are exposed to trauma, they do not get immediate assistance from EHW or they don't find them in their offices. Thaba (2019) argued that the number of EHW personnel is not in accordance with the number of police officials, making it difficult for EHW workers to cater for all police timeously.

Not all the detectives that were interviewed were informed about SAPS support structures. The following views were cited to illustrate the above:

I can't really say anything with regards to that question because we don't have any support structure. Because currently, nothing effective has happened. In the five-year period, I have been dealing with murder cases I have never received any support what so ever to cope with the stress. No workshops; nothing. I try to use my own coping mechanism (P7).

Another participant shared similar concerns;

No, we don't have programmes arranged for us by the department where we can get an opportunity to speak about the problems we face because some crimes scenes haunt you and sometimes you find yourself even feeling afraid or scared because you feel like it's always with you (P8).

An understanding of the available support structures and their goals is the most important information that detectives can have. Having knowledge about the structures increases their chances of utilizing them (Dipela, 2016). Most detectives agreed that they knew the services that were available to assist them, while some indicated that they were not aware of any structures. This is similar to the study by Rajin (2012) where it was found that 50% of the participants did not have information about the EHW, 22% indicated that they know whereas 22% reported knowing of the support services.

5.6.4 Subtheme 3: Detectives' perceptions of the effectiveness of SAPS support structures

Previous studies indicate that SAPS support structures have been regarded as ineffective by police officers whereas some findings show that those who deliver these services consider them as being effective. Below, the detectives provide their perceptions of the EHW programmes with regards to their effectiveness.

They are very effective in dealing with occupational stress. They support our workers and help them deal with stress. We have had cases of people who came back rejuvenated and stress-free from these programs after going in very distraught and in critical situations (P3).

The participant indicated that the support structures were effective in assisting SAPS detective with occupational stress. Having experience as a leader, the participant commented that there were cases where he witnessed detectives being rejuvenated after attending support

services from the EHW. Other participants had different views on the effectiveness of the support structures. The following comments are reflection of the participants' views.

> *The available support structures are not really effective, we have a priest and a social worker so when we ask for them to come to us but it's not often, they only come if you requested them to. They don't come for workshops related to things* (P5).

> *No, I really don't see the available support structures as effective* (P4).

> *I don't see the support structures as effective because even after sessions with the people who provide counselling, they don't even give you feedback* (P6).

Another participant had the following to say:

> *They are not effective because the only supportive structure I can think of is the one I mentioned which is the priest who comes and he makes you talk about things you worry about, things that make you sick or things you face every day but it does not help because we only talk about it. You see when you talk about something that traumatises you, it comes back. To me, it makes me mentally ill or disturbed again because you relive it. The only thing that helps me is to get more time to just rest, which is very odd. We always argue about that because after they have left for the last session, they take notes, but they don't bring feedback* (P5).

One of the participants explained that the support structure that he is aware of is the pastor, he explained that the reason he is not keen on utilising the support services it's because it revoked traumatic memories that he wanted to forget. Violanti (2011) referred to this as a maladaptive coping mechanism, as it is a temporary escape from pain. Violanti (2011) further proposed that repression of trauma results in severe psychological damage to an individual. This correlates with the theory that was used to explain the occurrence of occupational stress amongst police officers, the Psychoanalytic Theory, which proposes that people tend to suppress their traumatic experiences, painful thoughts or struggles in their unconscious mind. However, this theory proposes that these suppressed feelings control the individual's conduct, thus Violanti (2011) describes this as the temporal escape to stress. Maabela's (2015) study on perceptions of the SAPS members' support services found that some members of the SAPS did not view the support programmes such being beneficial to them; they considered

them as a process that is there to make them relive their traumatic experiences that they want to forget. Moreover, some participants indicated that even if they attend the workshops, they do not receive any feedback. Boshoff et al. (2015) found that 50% of the respondents admitted to receiving feedback from EHW workers whereas 39% indicated that they did not receive any feedback from the EAP workers. This indicates that the trust and reliability in the EHW services remains an issue for SAPS detectives working in Inanda. Furthermore, other participants revealed that they did not attend the EHW sessions offered by the SAPS' EHW section. They provided interrelated reasons including that due to huge workloads, they don't find time to go to support services. This comment supports the issue of workload that was discussed in the second theme on how it negatively contributes to the wellbeing of detectives. The following examples are cited to illustrate the above:

> *There are programmes meant to help us but they don't give us time to attend because if you leave to attend support services, your work will pile up so what's the point. I don't know if they're effective or not we don't have time to use them* (P1).

Another participant concurred that the support services were not effective due to lack of time and access.

> *Our support structures are not effective, we don't get that kind of support and it's not my job to go asking or looking for such programs, but they have to arrange that someone comes to me. Because for me, to leave these 115 dockets that I have and go looking for help will waste a lot of my time because the only help we get is found in KwaMashu. So, imagine the time I would spend going there to make an appointment and wait for a response there is a lot I could do and not only that, but a lot of work is coming in as well* (P7).

The participant emphasised that they have very limited time to attend sessions at the EHW due to high workloads. This is in line with the findings of Boshoff et al. (2015), which indicated that police officers do not attend SAPS support programmes because of the heavy workloads and less time at their disposal. The participants further mentioned the difficulty of having to travel to the police station where there is an EHW office, further suggesting that EHW workers should be the ones who take the initiative to come to them. It is interesting to note the discrepancy in the comments made by the EHW personnel and those of the

detectives. It was noted from the comments made by the participants from the EHW that they have sessions with detectives at least once a month. Perhaps this disconnection is a result of poor communication and marketing of the programme. Rajin (2012) findings indicate that one of the factors that resulted to lack of attendance to the EHW programmes was lack of communication and marketing between the EHW office and the station.

The participants recommended how the EHW can be improved. One of them shared the following:

> *Our support service office needs more skilled people who will be able to deal with our issues. They don't really come to us and see the nature of our job; they don't come to offer us lessons on how to cope with stress as we work with murder cases. The only thing I know is that when you have problems you need to approach them but I would have really preferred if they can come to us on a monthly basis and give us workshops on how can we cope at work given the nature of the job that we do, how can we stay motivated, not just to sit in their offices and wait for us to come to them because sometimes one may think that they are coping but if we could have more interactions with them through workshops one may easily realise that they're in need of psychological help* (P2).

Another participant reflected on the problem and highlighted that:

> *I think the EHW people need to see our working conditions, they need to be there and experience what we go through in the crime scenes. I think they know only theory and they fail to help us who practically experience trauma and stress. Because what we do as a team is to go out and talk with each other about our experiences, we share all the trauma and graphic scenes with our colleagues because they better understand what we go through, they go through the same experiences as ours* (P5).

The participants recommended that the available support services should hire more skilled individuals to cater for their psychological needs. During the interviews, one participant questioned the competence of pastors in providing them with psychological assistance when they experience trauma. It was explained that in the previous year (2018), Inanda had a single pastor and they didn't have a social worker nor a psychiatrist. The participants indicated that

they did not understand the purpose of seeing a pastor when they have challenges that require trauma counselling because they felt that the pastor did not have the relevant skills since it is something out of their area of expertise.

The above shows the need for EHW practitioners to orient SAPS detectives about the services they offer and how they can be used by detectives. The participant further recommended that EHW practitioners should see the w conditions in which detectives work so that they can have insight into their stressors and not only focus on theories. This supports the findings of Dipela (2016) that support services should be more practical and focus on the practical experiences to successfully implement effective support services. Similarly, Adewale and Anthonia (2013) argued that the EHW practitioner should be well informed of the practical experiences of officers and they should be well equipped in terms of job-related competencies.

5.7 Chapter summary

It can be concluded that based on the excerpts from the participants, most participants had experiences of occupational stress. This study confirmed that SAPS murder detectives in Inanda are exposed to stressors that make them more prone to occupational stress. This chapter focused on the analysis of data that was collected from Inanda SAPS murder detectives. The themes that were formulated include the nature of occupational stress, contributory factors to occupational stress, challenges and available support structures. The next chapter is the conclusion. The researcher also makes recommendations in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings of the study which gave meaning to the objectives listed in Chapter One. This chapter presents the summary of the entire study, discusses the contribution of the study to the body of knowledge, limitations and recommendations for SAPS and for future research. The summary of the study will be discussed while focusing on the aim and objectives of the study. Conclusions will be drawn based on the data analysis presented in chapter 5 and this will be followed by the concluding statement.

6.2. Overview of the study

Chapter One has introduced what this study is mainly about; it unpacked the key concepts of the study and provided an overall overview of the study by discussing the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the rationale and significance of the study. It also provided the research aim, research objectives, and the outline of the research methodology and the structure of the dissertation. The second chapter provided literature with regards to the nature of occupational stress amongst SAPS officers, contributory factors to occupational stress, challenges faced by SAPS detectives and also available support structures in the SAPS. The third chapter was based on the theories applicable to the research study.

The Routine Activities Theory was used to explain high trends of murder in Inanda detectives. This was done with the purpose of bringing an understanding of the causes of murder in the Inanda area. Secondly, the Deviant Place Theory was used to explain the environment that SAPS detectives are exposed to and how it makes them more prone to occupational stress. Lastly, the Psychoanalytical Theory was used as a psychological theory to explain how occupational stress occurs amongst SAPS detectives in Inanda. The fourth chapter focused on the research methods and techniques adopted in the study. This chapter provided the methods that were used to conduct the study. The researcher described how this study was conducted, the selection of sampling methods and data collection. Chapter Four also includes a description of how the data were recorded and analysed. Chapter Five presented the findings of the study, and it focused on the analysis of data which was thematic

analysis, codes were determined and themes related to the objectives of the study were created and discussed in relation of the literature and the theories used in the study.

6.3. Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore the experiences of SAPS detectives regarding occupational stress associated with working on murder cases at Inanda Police Station. This study was exploratory in nature. The focus of this study was motivated by the high trends of murder cases in Inanda as highlighted in the Chapter One (table 1). This research was guided by the research objectives listed below:

1. To explore the nature of occupational stress among SAPS detectives
2. To explore the contributory factors to occupational stress among SAPS detectives
3. To identify the challenges of SAPS detectives when dealing with murder cases
4. To identify the SAPS support structures available to cope with occupational stress

The above objectives emanated from the aim of the study. The data were collected and analysed. Four themes emerged which respond to the objectives of the study. Conclusion in relation to themes are presented below.

6.3.1. Findings relating to the nature of occupational stress

The first objective of this study was addressed with the above-mentioned theme and it was achieved in chapters 2, 3 and 5. This study explored the experiences of SAPS detectives working with murder cases at Inanda Police Station. The detectives were firstly asked about their understanding of occupational stress. Their responses revealed how they perceived occupational stress and most of the responses described occupational stress as pressure caused by work. Some simply defined occupational stress as work-related stress. None of the detectives had no understanding of the meaning of occupational stress. Going back to the definition of occupational stress which states that occupational stress is generally the unpleasant responses which may be physical and emotional that take place when job demands surpass the resources, abilities and needs of a worker. This study found that the elements that are mentioned in this definition such as job demands, lack of resources and physical and emotional strains were part of the experiences of the SAPS detectives working in Inanda.

The selected SAPS detectives provided their understanding of the nature of stress. It was noted that occupational stress is traumatic in nature due to the high exposure to trauma in the police environment. They explained that their work calls them to attend crime scenes that are

traumatic, causing them more stress. In Chapter two, the nature of occupational stress was supported by three approaches that were identified from the previous literature which included the stimulus-based approach, response-based approach and physiological approach. The stimulus approach explains the nature of occupational stress as stimulus reliant, it argues that the external environment triggers the stress in an individual, the response based describes stress as a dependent variable and follows three stages which are the alarm stage, resistance and exhaustion. This approach proposes that if occupational stress is prolonged, it could result in diseases and even death. The physiological approach explains stress in terms of the bodily responses for an example, the chemical reaction that occurs when exposed to occupational stress such as increased heart rate, breathing, and high blood pressure. The findings of this study indicated that occupational stress can be chronic in nature with the possibilities of causing diseases if not dealt with.

6.3.2. Findings relating to contributory factors occupational stress among SAPS detectives

There was a high prevalence of occupational stress from the participants interviewed, who indicated that they were exposed to several stressors. The findings of the study indicated that there are contributory factors relating to detective work such as workload; detectives indicated that they had high workloads. This was attributed to under staffing. The number of murder crime scenes to which SAPS detectives they respond to per month ranges from 6 to 116, the high caseloads were explained as being caused by the delays linked to other stakeholders such as laboratories.

The other contributory factors that were identified are inherent to the South African Police Service as an organisation. The participants indicated that the organisation can be stressful on its own stating that since they have high rates of murder in the province, they always have inspections, and they spend more time at work. They argued that the management contributes to their stress. The organisation was also described as contributing to stress among detectives due to lack of career development. Detectives expressed discontent over wages and benefits, perks, and promotions. They explained that there is lack of proper equipment and shortage of staff, their work demands them to use their personal resources for work-related purposes such as cars to attend crime scenes or paying for fuel for the organisation's cars. The participants mentioned that the other factor emanating from the organisation that contributes to

occupational stress is the lack of coordination within the SAPS as an organisation. It was found that the photographers take time to pitch at the crime scenes, they wait for months for reports from laboratories and ballistics and this causes delays in solving cases resulting in backlogs being created.

It emerged that the community of Inanda is a dangerous community and its demographics make it's conducive for criminals to commit crime. Inanda community is known for the highest crime rates. For example, more than five years ago, Inanda has been leading in terms of the number of murder cases. Detectives said that Inanda is not an easy area to prevent crime due to the demographics of the community. They indicated that some roads were too damaged for cars to enter, while some were too narrow. It was revealed that there were areas where the patrolling officers were not able to reach due to the lack of proper roads. Inanda also consists of informal settlements characterised by crime hot-spots and this was said to increase the chances of crimes. The demographics in Inanda tend to increase the likelihood of criminal activities and this is likely to occur without the visible guardian that can deter crime from occurring such as the police. This gives criminals enough time to escape because they know that the police will take **time to access the crime scene due to the poor roads.**

6.3.3. Findings relating to the challenges of SAPS detectives when responding to murder cases

In terms of the challenges faced by SAPS detectives in Inanda responding to murder cases. Detectives reported having challenges in relation to cognitive, emotional, behavioural, psychological and work-family conflict challenges. In terms of the cognitive challenges, it was found that due to the variety of their roles, detectives end up having reduced attention. The workload which was identified as a contributory factor was seen to result in challenges such as forgetfulness. Detectives explained that dealing with a lot of duties makes them to forget some of their duties. It was found that occupational stress causes emotional challenges amongst detectives. They expressed that the workload was emotionally draining to them. They explained that the exposure to crime scenes may be traumatic and they stated that these scenes are emotionally damaging.

Furthermore, detectives expressed that occupational stress affects their behaviour. They admitted to the change in behaviour as a result of occupational stress. It has been found that there are detectives with a short temper. This is said to affect the co-workers and their

families. Some detectives have indicated that the challenge they face because of stress at work when investigating murder cases is a loss of interest in their work. To investigate cases comes with a lot of pressure, detectives have indicated that they sometimes wish to change sections due to the difficulty and pressure associated with investigating murder cases.

Other findings on challenges affecting SAPS detectives at Inanda Police Station includes psychological challenges. Detectives explained that attending to murder crime scene damages them psychologically, saying that the trauma they get exposed to stays in their minds and they get flashbacks. They mentioned that the brutality of the crime scenes they attend leaves them anxious. Some indicated that they find their work depressing and this is described as a sign of occupational stress which have deadly effects if not attended to.

One of the prominent challenges of occupational stress among detectives responding to murder cases that were identified is work-family conflict. The participants explained that they found their work as detectives to be very extensive and time-consuming. They stated that they work long and odds hours especially when they are on call. They expressed that this affects their time to stay with their families. They also explained that working with murder cases causes them to be exposed to trauma. They indicated that the trauma stays in their minds and it is difficult for them to talk to their families about it, which makes them feel isolated.

Secondly, shift work is declared as a significant stressor. Since police officers work around the clock, most officers are forced to work early in the morning, late in the evening, or swing. Although intensive shifts can be seen as an organisational stressor, this is enforced by the organisation thus raising a need for the organisation to alleviate the stress that emanates from their *modus operandi* as an organisation.

6.3.4. Findings relating to SAPS support structures available for detectives to cope with occupational stress

This theme explored information on the support structures available for SAPS detectives with occupational stress. The findings revealed that there are resources in the SAPS organisation for detectives that they can utilise when experiencing occupational stress. This was obtained from EHW workers who seek to promote the psychological, emotional and financial well-being of all the South African Police Service personnel. Employee, Health and Wellness practitioners indicated that the detectives were the top priority in their department. They said

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that it was mandatory to see them monthly. They explained their role in the department, and the psychiatrist revealed that their role was to provide psychosocial assistance to detectives. The chaplaincy provided pastoral services and assisted the detectives emotionally. This was important to highlight because the findings also revealed that there were detectives who were not informed of the role of the EHW and the services they could get from the EHW. Therefore, if detectives did not have enough information about the EHW department, it was therefore difficult for them to seek assistance. Employees at the EHW department described their programs as effective but stated that they were not without challenges. The challenges mentioned are that the department did not have sufficient staff. They were dealing with five stations, hence they felt that they were not enough to meet the needs of all the stations.

The other point that was revealed in this theme was the perceptions of detectives on the support structures. The EHW department was mainly created for SAPS personnel including detectives and it was important to discern if they understood the role of the department and the assistance, they could get from the available support structures. There was a high number of detectives that revealed that they knew about the support structures and they stated that the EHW section was the department known for offering support services. However, some indicated that they knew very little about the department. Those who had no knowledge about the support services were few. The detectives who were informed about the support services then voiced their views on the effectiveness of this department. This study found that a large number of detectives felt that the department was not effective. The reasons stated was that when they go for counselling sessions, they do not get the feedback. Others said that the department's staff should see their working conditions so that they could put themselves in their position. It was envisaged that doing so would give the EHW a better understanding of the stressors haunting SAPS detectives and not only to rely on theories to assess them.

Some detectives pointed out that when they go to the EHW department to seek help, they sometimes do not find the staff, which is discouraging for them because they have to travel from Inanda to KwaMashu only to find that they cannot get the assistance they need. They indicated that when they are exposed to trauma, they go to the EHW offices to seek immediate help and they get booked for an appointment instead, which has a very late date thus by the time that date draws near, they no longer feel the need to attend the session because they would be feeling better. These findings suggest that there is a lot that still needs to be done in

the EHW department in terms of marketing its mandate. The findings correlate with what other researchers have found in terms of the ineffectiveness of the support services offered by the SAPS.

6.4. Limitations of the study

The findings are based on a small sample size that is relatively homogenous with regard to ethnicity.

6.4.1. Access

- This researcher had to gain access to the SAPS organisation, the process was lengthy and the access to murder detectives became a challenge. Most detectives were not available, some attending trainings, some were on leave and others had busy days attending crime scenes, courts, meetings and inspections. It was not easy to access them thus the data collection time took longer than anticipated. Some detectives ended up not being part of the study since they were on leave.

6.5. **Recommendations**

6.5.1. Recommendations for future research

- However, a catalyst for future research on occupational stress was provided and it is recommended that future research can be conducted on a larger sample and more diverse sample.

- While this study provides substantial progress in recognising and theorising the occupational stress faced by murder detectives, it also raise the need for ongoing research on the subject. The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of detectives on occupational stress. It was deemed as important to find the presence of stressors amongst murder detectives from systematically collected data. This research recommends further studies that are quantitative in nature to determine the extent, severity and impacts of occupational stress amongst SAPS murder detectives.

6.5.2. Recommendations for the South African Police Services

Foot patrols

Detectives indicated that they felt that police working in the crime prevention unit were not doing enough work in terms of preventing crime. Since the problem has been

identified that the demographics of the Inanda area disrupts police visibility in Inanda area, this study recommends that the SAPS should consider a solution to the problem by implementing foot patrols. This research also recommends the use of bikes in such areas so that police visibility will be increased.

Involvement in the municipal town planning

The findings of this study indicated that some of the areas in Inanda were not well organised in terms of the demographics. There were informal settlements and places where police cars cannot travel. This study recommends that the SAPS should have its members participating in local planning of the town by the municipality to raise issues that may affect effective policing in the area. This association would be a great platform for SAPS to raise issues regarding poor facilities in the area that affect effective policing which needs the attention of the municipality such as poor roads.

Improved marketing strategy by the EHW

One of the findings of this study is that there were some detectives who were not well informed about the SAPS support services. This study recommends that EHW staff should improve their marketing strategies so that more detective will be aware of their support services.

Importance of utilizing support structures by detectives

This study has revealed the experiences of SAPS murder detectives and the consequences of occupational stress. It raised the awareness of occupational stress and mental health. Therefore, this study recommends that detectives learn from these findings and seek to use existing support structures available to them.

Increase in the number of detectives.

The findings of this study as well as other previous studies found high work load as the main stressors for SAPS detectives. Insufficient number of detectives was identified as a problem that was identified in the literature. The study found similar problems at Inanda police station therefore, this study recommends that the SAPS should increase the number of detectives so that there will be adequate officers to effectively and thoroughly investigate murder cases.

Increase in the number of the EHW practitioners.

The findings of this study indicated that some detectives do not find the support structures as effective due to the unavailability of the EHW practitioners, however, the EHW practitioners also raised issues with inadequate number and high workload for them which affects their productivity thus study recommends that more EHW practitioners should be employed and all stations should have their own practitioners than to travel to other stations to access support structures.

6.6. **Chapter summary**

This study explored the experiences of SAPS detectives investigating murder cases and how they are affected by occupational stress. The study found that the nature of stress in detectives depends on their work duties such as exposure to traumatic crime scenes and pressure from high workload. The factors contributing to occupational stress on murder detectives working in Inanda have been found to be inherent in the nature of their work, organisation and also from the community and this results in challenges such as psychological, cognitive, emotional and behavioural challenges. Most detectives did not consider the available support structures as being effective. The existing support structures should invest in marketing their department so that detectives can use their facilities and ensure that detectives are in the right frame of mind so that work productivity will be improved.

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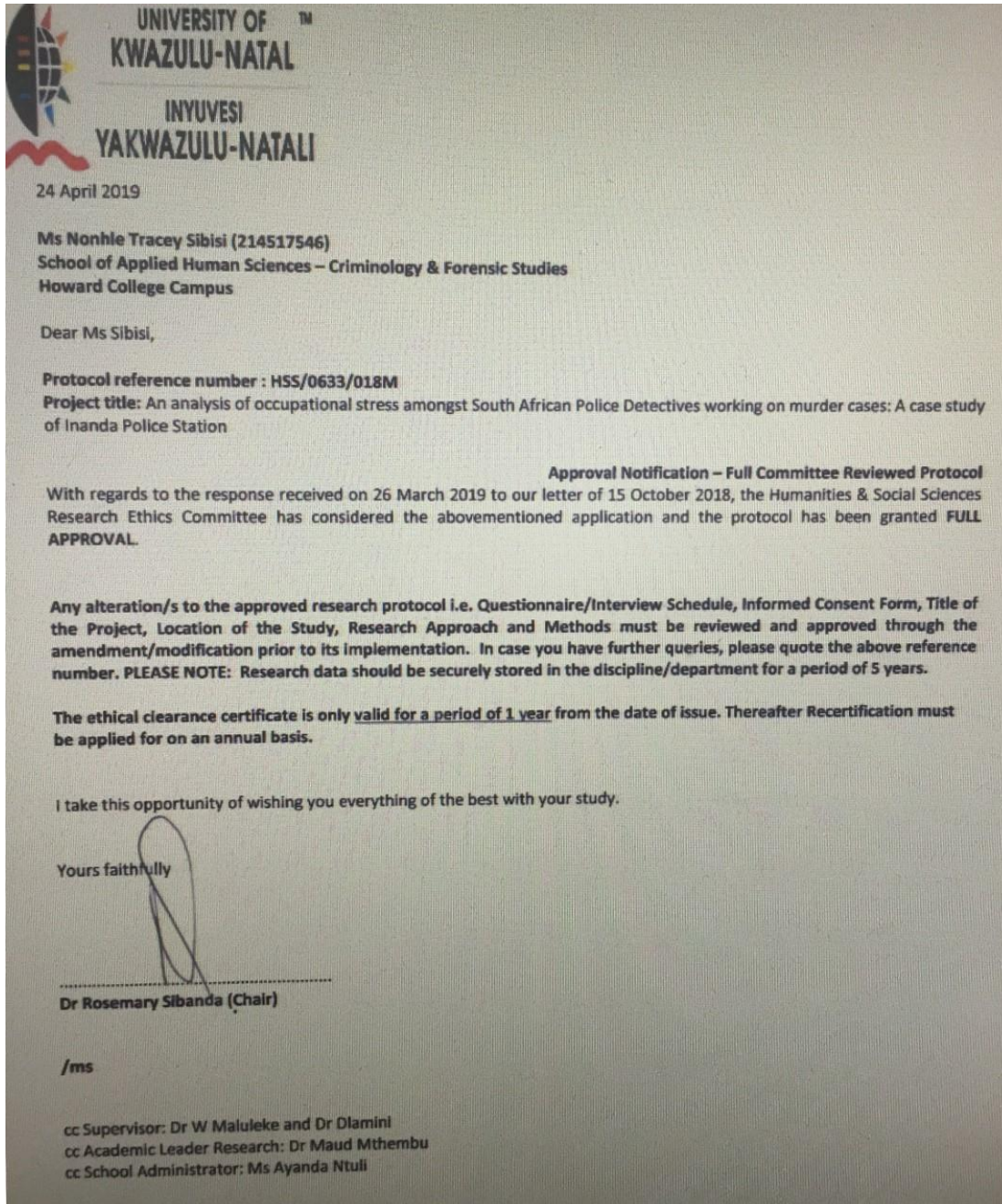
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LIST OF ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL™

INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

24 April 2019

Ms Nonhle Tracey Sibisi (214517546)
School of Applied Human Sciences – Criminology & Forensic Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Sibisi,

Protocol reference number : HSS/0633/018M
Project title: An analysis of occupational stress amongst South African Police Detectives working on murder cases: A case study of Inanda Police Station

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

With regards to the response received on 26 March 2019 to our letter of 15 October 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 1 year from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Dr W Maluleke and Dr Dlamini
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Maud Mthembu
cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

Annexure 2: Letter of permission by the Head of Strategic Research in the South African Police Service

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Privaatsak/Private Bag X 94

Verwysing/Reference:	3/34/2
Navrae/Enquiries:	Lt Col Joubert A/C Thenga
Telefoon/Telephone:	(012) 393 3118

DIVISION: RESEARCH
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
PRETORIA
0001

The Provincial Commissioner
KWAZULU NATAL

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SAPS: AN ANALYSIS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRESS AMONGST SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE DETECTIVE WORKING ON MURDER CASES: A CASE STUDY OF INANDA POLICE STATION: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL: MASTERS DEGREE: RESEARCHER: NT SIBISI

1. The above subject matter refers.

2. The researcher, Ms NT Sibisi, is conducting a study with the aim *to explore the experiences of investigative officers on occupational stress when doing analysis of murder-related cases at Inada Police Station.*

3. The researcher is requesting permission to interview eleven (11) detectives, one (1) local Station Commander and two (2) Police officers from Employee Health and Wellness (EHW) at Inada Police Station.

4. The proposal was perused according to National Instruction 1 of 2006. This office recommends that permission be granted for the research study, subject to the final approval and further arrangements by the office of the Provincial Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal.

5. We hereby request the final approval by your office if you concur with our recommendation. Your office is also at liberty to set terms and conditions to the researcher to ensure that compliance standards are adhered to during the research process and that research has impact to the organisation.

6. If approval granted by your office, this office will obtain a signed undertaking from researcher prior to the commencement of the research which will include your terms and conditions if there are any and the following:

   6.1.   The research will be conducted at his/her exclusive cost.

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SAPS: AN ANAALYSIS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRESS AMONGST SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE DETECTIVE WORKING ON MURDER CASES: A CASE STUDY OF INANDA POLICE STATION: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL: MASTERS DEGREE: RESEARCHER: NT SIBISI

6.2   The researcher will conduct the research without the disruption of the duties of members of the Service and where it is necessary for the research goals, research procedures or research instruments to disrupt the duties of a member, prior arrangements must be made with the commander of such member.

6.3   The researcher should bear in mind that participation in the interviews must be on a voluntary basis.

6.4   The information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential.

6.5   The researcher will provide an annotated copy of the research work to the Service.

7.   If approval granted by your office, for smooth coordination of research process between your office and the researcher, the following information is kindly requested to be forwarded to our office:

- **Contact person**: Rank, Initials and Surname.
- **Contact details**: Office telephone number and email address.

8.   A copy of the approval (if granted) and signed undertaking as per paragraph 6 supra to be provided to this office within 21 days after receipt of this letter.

9.   Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL
DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER: RESEARCH
DR BM ZULU

DATE: 2018/11/07

South African Police Service South African Police Service

| Privaatsak | Pretoria | Faks No. | |
| Private Bag X94 | 0001 | Fax No. | (012) 111 1111 |

u/ons referensie/verwysing:

My referensie/My verwysing: **3/34/2**

Enquiries/Navrae: **Lt Col Joubert**
                        AC Thenga
Tel: **(012) 393 3118**
Email: **JoubertG@saps.gov.za**

THE HEAD: RESEARCH
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
PRETORIA
0001

Ms NT Sibisi
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SAPS: AN ANALYSIS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRESS AMONGST SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE DETECTIVE WORKING ON MURDER CASES: A CASE STUDY OF INANDA POLICE STATION: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL: MASTERS DEGREE: RESEARCHER: NT SIBISI

The above subject matter refers.

You are hereby granted approval for your research study on the above mentioned topic in terms of National Instruction 1 of 2006.

Further arrangements regarding the research study may be made with the following office:

The Provincial Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal:

- **Contact Person:** Col AD van der Linde
- **Contact Details:** (031) 325 4841
- **Email Address:** vanderLinde@saps.gov.za

The Provisional Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal has stress that they following condition should be also be addressed by the researcher

- Interviews with Detectives must be conducted in the presence of Employee Health and Wellness representative/s in order to ensure that the interviews exclude operational matters thus ensuring that the confidentiality of information regarding investigations is not jeopardised.

Kindly adhere to paragraph 6 of our attached letter signed on the **2018-11-07** with the same above reference number.

MAJOR GENERAL
THE HEAD: RESEARCH
DR PR VUMA

DATE: 2019 -02- 15

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Annexure 3: Informed consent form

<div align="center">

Annexture3 : University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Applied Human Sciences

Informed Consent

</div>

Dear Participant,

My name is Nonhle Sibisi. I am a Masters student studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. The title of my research is: An analysis of murder related cases on occupational stress in Inanda police station. The aim of the study is to explore the experiences of detectives on occupational stress when responding to murder-related cases at Inanda police station. I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and perceptions on the subject matter.

I understand that:

• The information I will provide will be used for scholarly research only.

• My participation is entirely voluntary. I have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. I will not be penalized for taking such an action.

• My views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither my name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.

• The interview will take about 45 – 60 minutes.

• The interview will be recorded using a voice recorder and records as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to the interviewer and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years,

in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.

If you agree to participate please sign the declaration below

DECLARATION

I………………………………………………………………………… *(full names of participant*) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   DATE

……………………………………………………………………………………………

 I can be contacted at: Email: 214517546@stu.ukzn.ac.za ,Cell: 076 31 076 43

For further clarity you can contact my supervisor Dr W Maluleke, Email: MalulekeW@ukzn.ac.za,   Phone number: 031 260 1061

My co-supervisor is Dr S Dlamini. Email: Dlamini16@ukzn.ac.za, Phone number: 031 260 2460

Or the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Ms Phumelele Ximba, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za, Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you

Annexure 4: Interview schedule

Interview Schedule A (Questions to SAPS detectives)

1. According to your understanding, what is the meaning of "occupational stress"?

2. On average, how many murder crime scenes do you respond to per month?

3. From your understanding, what is the nature of occupational stress on murder related cases?

4. What is your experience on murder related cases and occupational stress?

5. What are the contributory factors to murder related cases on occupational stress?

6. According to your understanding, are there any challenges that SAPS detectives face when responding to murder related cases? Please elaborate.

7. Are there any available support structures to assist with occupational stress resulting from murder related cases? (Please elaborate your answer).

8. How effective are the available support structures to cope with occupational stress resulting from murder related cases?

9. In your opinion, what improvements can be made in assisting with occupational stress resulting from murder related cases?

10. Do you have any other comments regarding murder related cases on occupational stress that you would like to add?

Interview Schedule B (Questions to SAPS Employee, Health and Wellness Programme employees)

1. According to your understanding, what is the meaning of "occupational stress"?

2. Do you believe that murder related cases contribute to occupational stress? If so how?

3. What is the role of SAPS Employee, Health and Wellness Programme on dealing with occupational stress?

4. Are there any strategies offered to SAPS detectives who witness tragic murder related scenes? If so, what are those?

5. Are the available SAPS support structures effective in addressing occupational stress resulting from murder related cases?

6. Do you have any other comments regarding the effective services on murder related cases and occupational stress that you would like to add?