Community-Policing in Kikuyu

-Assessing the need for organizational change within a Police department from an institutional approach.

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Asante, Thank You, Tack
Abstract

Focusing on a community-policing pilot-project initiated in Kikuyu, a suburb of Nairobi, Kenya, the current paper seeks to create an understanding concerning local premises for community-policing implementation. It is based on a field study that combined participatory observations and semi-structured interviews to investigate how the management of the pilot-project on the one side and the local police officers on the other side perceives the latter’s professional duty in Kikuyu. These perceptions and their correlation were analyzed through an institutional approach, involving regulative, normative and culture-cognitive perspectives. Initially, the findings show that intentions held within the management about how to change police practice in Kikuyu correlated to a large degree with the understanding local police officers already posses concerning their professional duty. However, applying the institutional approach, possible discrepancies were found. Concerning this, while the regulative and normative aspects of how to police Kikuyu seem to correlate between the two groups, differences on the culture-cognitive level indicate that the management and the local police officers have differing perceptions concerning police practice. Conclusively, following a distinction between a proactive approach to policing, expressed by the management, and a reactive approach to policing, expressed by the local police officers, the paper issues a warning regarding how historical and current social structures might result in a misinterpretation and misuse of community-policing on the side of the local police officers, which could lead to contradictive and counterproductive end results following the continued implementation of community-policing.

**Key Words:** Kenya, Police, Police reforms, Organizational change, Community-policing, Africa, Institutionalism.
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List of Abbreviations

AP – Administration Police
CBP – Community Based Policing
CIPEV – Commission on Post Election Violence
CPC – Community Policing Committee
IPOA – Independent Policing Oversight Act
KNCH – Kenyan National Commission on Human rights
KNPS – Kenyan National Police Service
KP – Kenya Police
NPSA – National Police Service Act
OECD – Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
SIDA – Swedish International Development Agency
SNPB – Swedish National Police Board
SSR – Security Sector Reforms
UN – United Nations
1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Problem Formulation

In a socio-economic perspective, development is often seen as closely linked to security: more developed nations in the World are secure, less developed nations not so much. On the one hand, insecurity impairs possibilities for social, economic and political progress. On the other hand, a functioning national security apparatus requires financial and social capital. So, without putting one before the other, the two concepts could be stated to be mutually dependent – one is less likely without the other (OECD, 2007).

If one wishes to define what creates insecurity there is a vast amount of parameters to take into account - two of these can be named crime and social disorder. With regard to today’s global system of independent nations attached with state, territory and population, crime and social disorder are mostly dealt with through a national Police. Ideally, this Police help create a society in which people are freed from fear and governed by democratic values, presenting a chance to develop in any way sought without the reductions in life that crime and social disorder entails (Ibid.). However, this is not always the case. Therefore, the following paper concerns policing in one of these nations: Kenya.

Several reports of latest state Kenyan police officers to be severely limited in pursuing their professional duty (CIPEV, 2008; KNCH, 2008; Ransley, 2009; Alston, 2009). An overwhelming lack of resources and low levels of professionalism undermines the organization’s efficiency. For the officers in question this impedes police operations and lowers moral within the ranks. The situation has been unbearable for years, not only for the officers themselves but also for their public, which stand without a Police they can trust. Following this, the Kenyan Government has initiated a national program of Police reforms. A key aspect these reforms seek to mend is this poor Police-public relationship.

The reforms are structured by a transformation of the Kenyan Police Force into a Police Service. While merely the brush of a pen the more service-minded approach is expected to create a stronger relationship between the Kenyan Police and its public, acknowledging that the Police cannot handle crime and social disorder by itself. An important part of this is the implementation of community-policing: a philosophy of cooperation between Police and public. It differs from traditional, reactive, policing by favoring a proactive approach: officers, backed by their organization, are supposed to not only investigate crime and apprehend offenders but also to cooperate with and mobilize support from communities to solve crime before it occurs, based on an understanding of crime’s possible causes.

As part of the national reforms, a community-policing pilot-project has been initiated in Kikuyu, a suburb of Nairobi. Linked to what has been stated above, implementing community-policing in Kikuyu is not only about quelling crime rates but also to be beneficent for Kikuyu’s overall socio-economic development: curbing crime is believed to enhance people’s ability to prosper by empowering them through a safe and secure environment (Project Plan, 2011).

The move from Force to Service, guided by the implementation of community-policing, entails a paradigmatic shift in police officer’s professional roles in society (Ransley, 2009).
As will be developed, historic and current aspects of policing in Kenya indicates that for this shift to come about, a thorough organizational change might be needed. Concerning this, earlier studies discussing community-policing implementation show that this organizational change is much more complicated than one might originally expect. Academic literature within an international scope suggests Police departments to be resistant to change (Ekman, 1999; Alarid, 1999; Allen, 2002; Chappell, 2009). According to these studies, new influences initiated and implemented from a directory perspective often stand challenged by inherent assumptions within the departments that favor a traditional, often contradictory, approach to policing. Instead of succeeding in changing the latter, the studies all show how community-policing, as intended by the management, become implemented in written directory frameworks and guidelines but not as a factor influencing actual policing practice on the street level. In other words, while powerful, the brush of the pen might be limited.

Following this, despite the need for it, community-policing implementation has in many cases failed to deliver any sense of organizational change. The studies indicate how this can be founded on wrongful assumptions within Police management concerning how local police officers perceive their professional role, an issue hampering an effective implementation of community-policing. Together they issue a need to investigate community-policing with reference to the specific premises and preconditions for a particular community.

1.2 Aim and Query
Accordingly, returning to the pilot-project in Kikuyu, the current paper seeks to discuss both management and street level perspectives, regarding perceptions held about police officers professional duty in Kikuyu. The aim is to create an understanding of the pending correlation between these perceptions, preceding the official implementation of community-policing, and by that discuss local premises for the continued implementation of community-policing in Kikuyu.

1.2.1 Research Questions

1) How does the management perceive the professional role police officers in Kikuyu should have, following the implementation of community policing?
2) How does local police officers currently perceive their professional role in Kikuyu?
3) How might the pending correlation between the management’s and the local police officers’ perceptions affect the local premises for community-policing implementation?

Management perceptions have been interpreted from material retrieved by studying what is referred to as the “project group”, involving higher rank officers managing the pilot-project, based in both Nairobi and Kikuyu. Street level perceptions were interpreted from research conducted with “local police officers”, lower rank officers stationed in and working on the streets of Kikuyu. This was executed during a ten week long field-study in Nairobi and Kikuyu, combining participatory observations and semi-structured interviews.

Following the structure of the research questions, the first and second questions entail material that will be presented in a descriptive fashion. The third on the other hand is of a more analytical nature. Following this, the third question will be answered using an analytical
framework, constructed as an institutional approach influenced by the reasoning of Richard W. Scott (2001).

1.3 An Institutional Approach
According to Scott (2001), the function and practice of organizations, such as the KNPS, follow certain institutional patterns, meaning that its functions and practices are institutionalized. These institutions are "comprised of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability to social life." (Scott, 2001: 48). The regulative pillar reflects conformity to rules, the normative expresses a moral assent and the culture cognitive a deeper understanding of “how things should be done”. They move on a scale from what is conscious (regulative) towards more unconscious knowledge (culture-cognitive).

New guidelines, such as the implementation of community-policing, go through a process of transmission and interpretation within an organization that are important to assess from a holistic point of departure in order to be aware of its potential end result. In other words, following the reasoning of Scott (2001), implementing new influences within an organization is not only dependent on its regulative intentions but also the normative and culture-cognitive features of the process of reception and interpretation within the organization.

Scott’s reasoning is built around problematizing the complexity behind organizational change. Incorporating the three institutional pillars as an analytical framework has enabled the current study to present a holistic discussion concerning the project group and local police officers perceptions and their pending correlation as well as how this might affect the continued implementation of community-policing in Kikuyu.

1.4 Relevance
Following the security-development nexus (OECD, 2007), a national Police can be regarded as a key actor in facilitating for socio-economic development. As will be developed, different states’ pursue policing in diverse ways following highly differing premises and following possibilities, which can be discussed in reference to both historic and current social aspects (Hills, 2011). Accordingly, while policing is a challenge for most states, historic and contextual circumstances might make them more apparent in Kenya and other parts of Africa, at least different. Despite this, studies about policing in Kenya and other African countries have been neglected since the period of decolonization, with an exception for South Africa (Bayley & Shearing, 2001; Baker, 2004). Even though there has been an increasing interest in “African policing” there is still a vast gap between police research and police practice in most African countries (Alemika, 2009). This can be discussed as possibly resulting in policing to be pursued without regard to local social structures and might in a long-term perspective hamper efforts pursuing socio-economic development.

1.5 Limitations
First, while the project group already had received training in community-policing, local police officers’ training was still being planned at my arrival to Nairobi. Initially the study sought to conduct the interviews after the local police officers had received this training. However, following delays in the pilot-project, this was not possible. Focus was therefore to create an understanding concerning the premises and preconditions the pilot-project had,
preceding the actual implementation of community-policing. The discussions pursued with the project group therefore concerned “community-policing” while investigating local police officers perceptions concerned “policing”.

Second, as a Swedish student in Peace and Development Studies, the study and current paper has been pursued with a specific and somewhat limited preunderstanding. While readings and preparations were followed through to my best ability, the cultural heritage of Kenya and the professional experience a police officer possesses has consequently been relatively out of reach. Instead, the study wishes to present a perspective on concerned issues influenced by knowledge within Peace and Development research.

1.6 Delimitations
First, the security-development nexus is usually referred to as Security Sector Reforms (SSR) (OECD, 2007). SSR per se will not be developed more than the link between security and development. However, important to note, SSR involves a range of different security agents in different sub-sectors. What is imperative to acknowledge is the link between the sub-sectors: any reform in one need to be coordinated by reforms in other sub-sectors as well as an awareness of their affect on the aggregated level (OECD, 2007). Following this, SSR extends far beyond Police jurisdiction alone, making the Police an actor within SSR, not the actor.

Second, linked to the reasoning of SSR, the pilot-project is partially funded by the Government of Sweden - through the work of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Swedish National Police Board (SNPB) and the Police Academy at Linnaeus University. While such bilateral cooperation involves a range of interesting aspects to consider for a researcher who wants to problematize them, these has been deemed not part of the current paper’s focus. Therefore, other than being mentioned here, its possible implications for the implementation of community-policing in Kikuyu will not be developed in the paper.

Third, the study has chosen to focus on the police reforms instigated after the post election violence in 2007-2008, following the highly disputed 2007 general election in Kenya. Previous efforts include the first implementation of community policing in Ruai in 2005 as well as community-based policing in Kibera and Isiolo by Saferworld (2008). However, following how the violence to a large degree ended whatever success these efforts had resulted in (Furuzawa, 2011), the study concluded the current focus to be appropriate. The events of 2007-2008 will be developed in Chapter Two – Background.

Lastly, community-policing in Kikuyu involves not only police officers but also members of the public. However, the study did not incorporate people outside of the Police in the research. Members of the public were asked questions concerning policing practice. However, these have not been accounted for other than for the researcher to conclude the study’s findings, as reported within the Police, to be valid.
1.7 Community-Policing

Before moving on, a brief outline is here given in regard to a selection of the academic discussion of the concept of community-policing. As stated, community policing concerns adjusting policing to local social structures. Therefore, a further context-specific definition of community policing in Kenya will be outlined in Chapter Two – Background.

Skogan & Hartnett (2005) refers to community-policing as a process rather than a product, depending on the specific premises and preconditions for a particular area of police jurisdiction. Although its relative scope, a common principle can be noted: community-policing is a joint endeavor between Police and public in preventive efforts against crime (Bayley & Shearing, 1996; Klockars, 2005; Fielding & Innes, 2006; Williams, 2010; Sklansky, 2011).

Community-policing has had a strong position influencing how to police societies ever since the early 1980’s. Writing about community-policing in the US, Sklansky (2011) portrays a debate between community-policing and its predecessor, referred to as “police professionalism”. Police professionalism is claimed to focus on three aspects: crime suppression, an objective and scientific approach without political influence, and a centralized Police organization. During the 1980’s this was generally discredited as producing arrogant Police departments insensitive to public criticism and unable to adapt to the local reality. According to Sklansky (2011), community-policing became a response, involving a Police that explored its responsibilities beyond mere crime fighting, encouraging public cooperation and seeking a decentralized organizational structure.

Even though its heavy influence on policing practices worldwide, community-policing’s position does not stand unquestioned. Sklansky (2011) points out that it still has had a hard time gathering support within Police departments by members calling for a return to more “professional” strategies, i.e. more reactive approaches. In comparison to earlier approaches, community-policing is discredited as vague. As a response, Sklansky confesses community-policing to be an “incomplete philosophy”. However, the heaviest criticism can also be discussed as its strengths. The incompleteness of community-policing offers an ability to steer attention to those question in most need locally. Instead of creating an absolute and coherent national framework, it invites communities to answer the questions themselves (Sklansky, 2011). It is not a complete product to be directly applied. Instead, it assumes a thoughtful and long-term perspective, adjusting policing to local premises (Skogan & Hartnett, 2005).

A second round of criticism concerns community-policing as to “soft”, without any visible effects on crime statistics and crime fighting (Sklansky, 2011). Concerning this criticism, it is important to note how community-policing’s success, or possible lack of it, should not be discussed within the same framework as previous policing strategies. According to Fielding & Innes (2006), while statistical performance measures are important for police accountability, merely measuring community-policing outputs in what can be numerically accumulated is inadequate regarding its disproportionate focus on the reactive work and following neglect of the proactive work that community-policing entail. In other words, implementing community-policing also entails a need to implement new performance indicators: there is a need to link policing and community’s social dynamics, such as economic inequality, unemployment and as potential producer of social capital (Ibid.).
1.8 Structure
Chapter 1 – Introduction – has presented the specific focus and point of departure for the following paper. As stated, it draws upon a problematized view on community-policing implementation, investigated through a field study pursued in Kikuyu, a suburb of Nairobi, Kenya.

Chapter 2 – Background – first addresses the general development of professional policing in the hands of states. It then applies this reasoning to Africa and Kenya, discussing how historical and current social issues might affect abilities and efforts to police. It ends with an introduction to the pilot-project in Kikuyu.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework – outlines what is referred to as the study’s “world view”, involving previous studies concerning organizational change within Police departments as well as the institutional approach chosen in regard to this.

Chapter 4 – Methodological Framework – presents and explains what research methods has been chosen and how the study was pursued. It also includes a discussion concerning the validity of the findings as well as ethical considerations taken into account.

Chapter 5 – Findings – delivers what the study found. Following the nature of the research questions, it begins with the descriptive part and continues with the analysis, applying the institutional approach. It ends with a summary of the findings as well as answers to the research questions.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion – first offers a brief recap and then works as a tie-in, linking the study’s findings to what has been stated earlier in the paper. It ends with a brief note concerning the need for further research.
2. Background

Leaving Introduction behind, the second chapter will now develop historical and current aspects of policing deemed necessary for the paper. First, it outlines a brief history of the relationship between states and policing, a relationship that has created what we today know as national Police organizations. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the ability and/or efforts to pursue state controlled policing differs between different states’ premises and preconditions, issuing a need for an awareness of the specific social structures that might both enable as well as hamper state controlled policing. Following this, the chapter will move into an account of Kenyan policing, involving issues such as colonialism, liberalization as well as the previously mentioned post election violence. It ends with an introduction to the particular community-policing pilot-project in Kikuyu.

2.1 State and Police

First, it is important to note on the difference between “Police” and “policing”. The former refers to the social institution while the latter is a social process (Reiner, 2000). Following this, “policing includes, but transcends, the work of the Police” (Alemika, 2009: 484).

Professional policing under state control is a relatively new security feature of our societies, having its origins date back to 19th century London, England (Silver, 2005). Despite its young history, professional policing has been incepted into our minds as a function of the State and become a natural part of our sense of reality (Ignatieff, 2005). According to Ignatieff (2005) policing can be understood as “social control”. Before there was a professional Police, this social control was a matter handled in a private, local and voluntary manner. In other words, there was no central power, i.e. state, responsible.

Silver (2005) discusses how the development of nation-states, referred to as “extensions of moral communities”, and the creation of state controlled policing as instruments of legitimate coercion goes hand in hand. Historically, rulers offered their citizens security through armies. However, these where focused on an external enemy, not an internal. The professionalization of policing was, according to Silver, a response to a deteriorating social order during the early 19th century, first in London, but also in cities such as Paris and New York. It was a response when previous, unofficial, ways of policing reached an anachronistic stage unable to cope with the growth of larger societies encompassing more people and thus more social problems. In more concrete terms: the “peaceful and propertied people” of society felt threatened by what was referred as the “dangerous classes” (Silver, 2005: 7).

As it seems, Silver describes a class struggle. However, while originally bearing the marks of a suppressive tool in the hands of the “peaceful and propertied”, the situation changed following a realization within State and Police that if to create efficient policing, it first and foremost needed to be legitimate. What was sought was policing governed through a social consensus on what and how to police. This created a national Police with a symbolic power, consolidated in a representation of what collectively became decided to be “the law”. Accordingly, a potential clash between Police and public becomes a meeting point between a society’s center and periphery: riots and mobs are means of protest, communicating the desires of the population to a responsive, if not sympathetic, elite (Silver, 2005).
This reasoning assumes a society built on the principles of a so called nation-state with a relatively solid social contract, here understood as territorial units consisting of citizens, loyal to a State in return of protection and social stability (Hettne, 2009: 128). However, not all countries have developed as these nation-states.

In an article summarizing her book Policing Africa (2000), Hills (2011) discusses both features of change and continuity regarding national policing in African countries. With the post-colonial era a major shift followed when internal security became the responsibility of newly independent states. Countries were liberalized. However, styles of policing mark a clear case of continuity. While policing may have been liberalized, its actual measures follow the same structures as it did during colonial rule, i.e. coercion remains a potent instrument of policy. Accordingly, policing becomes an area of state rule that in many countries lags behind and has been somewhat neglected in the discussion and claimed moves towards democracy. Hills thereby show how state development could be seen as mirrored in police development and by that point to the importance of studying how states handles its responsibility to provide security for its citizens.

Alemika (2009) addresses the problem of policing as linked to both the reasoning of Silver (2005) and Hills (2011). First, Alemika states that the development of state controlled policing in African countries was a result of how societies became more socio-economically heterogeneous with difficulties in attaining social consensus. However, instead of following the development found in Silver’s (2005) “moral communities”, Alemika discusses how the colonial rulers developed state controlled policing in many African countries following the development of imperialism and capitalism. Accordingly, policing became featured by a reactive approach and regime protection, i.e. enforcing law after it has already been breached following the interest of the State, a line of reasoning close to that of Hills (2011).

Why then is state controlled policing so important? Following what has been stated this far, in the best of worlds a Police become the meeting point between a State and its citizenry in creating a secure society. However, as issued by Hills (2011), this is not always true. Despite this, there are few alternatives that, at least in theory, enable democratic policing with security available for all. Following Alemika’s (2009) link between policing and both external interventions and market forces, security without state control tends to be available only for some. Consequently, the inability of some states to provide security for its citizens has in African countries led to a growing private security sector.

Concerning this, Bruce Baker (2004), claims that most African states has not developed public security systems available to all, but instead developed systems that support the ruling elite and their possession of power and wealth. According to Baker, autocratic rule and a general failure of providing security for many citizenries in Africa have resulted in a proliferation of non-state policing agents. A strong non-state security sector is problematic for a variety of reasons. Baker focuses on two. First, it undermines the legitimacy of the Police and presents it as irrelevant and redundant. This is especially problematic in newly developing democracies in which state legitimacy is a fundamental key in the growth of democratic rule. Second, non-state policing is uneven. As a private alternative, the service is not available to all and therefore bears the risk of enhancing inequality in communities. In order to become superior to the non-state sector, Baker states that governments need bring in full democratic control, curtail corruption and eradicate lawless behavior within the Police.
Regarding Baker’s (2004) fear of non-state security actors, mentioned Alemika (2009) states the increase of non-state security actors as a result of the failure of a state to provide security as inadequate following how it assumes that these structures were not existent in the pre-colonial societies. While Alemika concurs with the risks of non-state security actors, adding issues such as how they do not represent diverse groups, sometimes work beyond the law, are used as political instruments or prejudice “outsiders”, he also states the importance of understanding why people in African countries may prefer the non-state actors instead of state controlled security agents. A poor Police-public often reflects a vast distance between a State and its population following decades of autocratic rule. Further problematizing state controlled policing in Africa is a claimed general preference of resolving disputes internally, without the use of an outside actor. Following this, Alemika states that despite how efficient a Police may become, disputes will still be considered a family matter (Alemika, 2009).

In sum, policing in African countries faces a vast array of challenges. Some are similar to those facing other regions of the World; others are somewhat unique following historic and social aspects of the particular countries. Ending this section, it is therefore time to focus on Kenya.

2.2 Kenyan State Controlled Policing

Much in line with the reasoning of Baker (2004), Alemika (2009) and Hills (2011), Kenya’s colonial past as a British protectorate and colony has had, and still has, a large amount of influence over its Police (Ransley 2009; Furuzawa: 2011).

There are two branches within the KNPS: the Kenya Police (KP) and the Administration Police (AP). Both branches have previously been conceptualized as forces: the KP through the Police Act (1961), and the AP through the Administration Police Act (1958) (Furuzawa, 2011).

According to Furuzawa (2011), referring to the work by Killingray (1984), the dual system of policing was more rule than exception during colonial times in Africa. Most commonly, one was used as a tool to collect taxes and protect important business interests for the colonizers while the second police force filled a gap in society for “native policing”.

Following this reasoning in the Kenyan case, the KP filled the former role. They had a responsibility to keep Nairobi safe for the settlers and by that became described as a punitive citizen containment squad. What was termed criminality was to a large degree a result of how the British settlement created new “crimes”, i.e. offences against the colonial structure of rule (Furuzawa, 2011: 53). Albeit independence was reached in 1963 and the first Constitution (1963) stated a creation of a neutral Police, this did not change things other than that the KP became an enforcement measure of a new regime (Ransley, 2009: 15).

The AP on the other hand filled the need for policing the native population in the rural parts of Kenya. The creation of the AP was in large due to economic reasons. The British settlers wanted to gain control of financial interests such as livestock and the “second money economy”. This led to the AP being favored by a majority of the Kenyan public, perceived as more accessible to the citizens (Ransley, 2009: 16, 37).

Today, the responsibilities of the two branches tend to overlap. The most obvious features of this is displayed by reading the KP’s “Vision and Mission for 2011” and the AP’s “Strategic Plan for 2009-2013”, where both give an account of a responsibility to preserve
the public peace, apprehend offenders and prevent offences from being committed. They are joined under the umbrella of the KNPS (Constitution of Kenya, 2010: 148), but do have some minor separate responsibilities outlined in the National Police Service Act (NPSA, 2011: Art. 20, 27).

2.3 Police Reforms following the 2007 Post Election Violence

The general elections of 2007 were followed by an unprecedented amount of violence in the shape of severe ethnic clashes. Reports state that 1200 people lost their lives and 350,000 where displaced until the signing of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act ended the violence on the 28th February 2008 (Okia, 2011: 260).

The Commission of Inquiry on Post Election Violence (CIPEV) concluded that the violence sprang from a historically institutionalized structure of ethnic violence. While it is stated that some violence did erupt spontaneously, politicians and business leaders vigorously planned it out, following a vested interest in Kenya’s power structure. Opposing what reasonably could be expected from a Police, CIPEV concluded police officers to be part of the problem rather than the solution. The report (2008) expresses how the Police in many areas of Kenya failed in its most basic task: to safeguard the lives and livelihoods of the Kenyan public.

According to a report from the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCH), the Kenyan Police may have been responsible for up to 500 extra-judicial killings during the time period of June to October in 2007. The report gives an account how this may have been sanctioned from political as well as Police leadership. Furthermore, officers committed actions of crimes themselves, including rape, shootings and killings. Further disturbingly, officers are believed to have used strangulation, drowning and mutilation as methods, making the events seem like the result of a gang war (KNCH, 2008). As stated by Okia (2011), although many police officers most certainly pursued their duties admirably during the post election violence, saving countless lives, those who did not reflect severe institutional weaknesses within Kenyan policing.

Although violence ended with the political settlement, extrajudicial killings did not. Philip Alston, the United Nations’ Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Executions, who visited Kenya in 2009, claimed that despite Police assurances of the inexistence of extrajudicial killings, testimonies and facts was presented to him which all gave an account of a systematic and planned killings of citizens by officers in the KNPS. As a devastating finding, Alston concluded that Police officers in Kenya not only kills in self-defense, as a ultimate resort in their line of duty, but also in an arbitrary “kill at will” fashion (Alston, 2009).

The current reforms has been undertaken to a large degree following the guidelines of the report of the National Task Force on Police Reforms (2009), commonly known as the Ransley Report, named after its chairman, the Hon. Justice (Rtd.) Philip Ransley. The Task Force was formed and assigned this responsibility by the Government of Kenya following the post-election violence. It concludes that while a Police obviously at times need to use force, this should be minimal and proportionate, in relation to its necessity and for a limited purpose only. According to the Task Force, the most important findings of their study was the following:
- Use of excessive violence, extrajudicial killings and other human rights violations perpetrated by police officers.
- Corruption and nepotism within the Kenyan Police is widespread, an issue that deteriorates the relationship between the Police and the public.
- Extremely poor and inadequate accommodations for the police officers and their families.
- A highly centralized national Police system, stifling the ability for district and provincial commanders to conduct local autonomy, which has led to dissatisfaction within the Police as well as alienating the public (Ransley, 2009).

Following the historic background of a Police Force, used as a governmental tool for intimidation and subjugation against its own public, the centuries long deteriorating relationship between the KNPS and its public is seen as one of the main issue that need immediate attention. According to the Ransley Report (2009), policing cannot and will never be an issue exclusive for the Police. Following this, community-policing is:

“...a collaborative effort by the police and the community that identifies problems of crimes and disorder and involves all elements of the community in the search for a solution of these problems. This approach to policing is based on the assumption that the police alone cannot control crime, but require the active support of the community, to prevent, detect crime, reduce fear of crime and improve communication between the community and the police” (Ransley, 2009: 172).

2.4 Community-Policing Pilot-project in Kikuyu

Kikuyu is situated in the outskirts of Nairobi, Kenya. It is predominately a densely populated agricultural area and is according to its own residents a typical suburb of Nairobi. Crimes are claimed to be very high, but at the same time this is not perceived as something unusual for Nairobi as a region or Kenya in general (Project plan, 2011).

The Kikuyu Police’s jurisdiction area covers an estimated population of just over 100,000 citizens, divided fairly equal between males and females, with a slight overweight of the latter. The area of the territory is vast and, as stated, densely populated. Therefore, in addition to the Police main stations in Kikuyu town (one each for the AP and the KP), the Police have 29 Police outposts (24 AP outposts and 5 KP outposts), each responsible for a smaller area within Kikuyu jurisdiction. Divided between the main stations and the outposts, the citizens of Kikuyu are, at the time of writing, served by 242 police officers, 124 from the AP and 118 from the KP. The female/male ratio within the Kikuyu Police is 26/98 for the AP and 21/97 for the KP. The Police-Population ratio is 1:449 (UN recommendation is 1:450) (Project plan, 2011).

To facilitate for cooperation between the Police and the public, Community Policing Committees (CPC) will be created on different societal levels. The CPC’s will be composed of representatives from the Police and important sectors of the public, elected by the citizens of Kikuyu. As readily clear, the objectives of the pilot-project is thus to first and foremost create a model for community-policing and then transfer this model to the Police, CPC’s and
members of the public and by that facilitate for an enhanced cooperation in policing Kikuyu (Project group, 2011).

The link between efficient policing and socio-economic development is founded on how the flow of information between public and Police, i.e. crime reporting and other means of communication, will help the Police in reducing crime. This will increase safety and security for the people of Kikuyu and their property, which in turn is anticipated to work as an incentive for socio-economic activities. An improved relationship between the Police and the public will continue create communal confidence and heighten the awareness of community-policing. Other than a better relationship between Police and public, this is claimed to also increase confidence among the public, creating good neighborliness, which in turn increases the public’s commitment to community-policing (Project Plan, 2011).
3. Theoretical Framework

Leaving the Kenyan context for a moment the following chapter will present the point of departure from where the study and current paper originates. It can be labeled the paper’s “worldview” (Creswell, 2009), outlining basic assumptions made prior to research design and actual writing.

As commonly known, social science do not invite a researcher to conclude definitive truths - quite the contrary (Schwalbe, 1998). Following this ontological understanding, the relative nature of our sense of reality is sometimes both a curse and a blessing for a student. In order to tilt the situation towards the latter and by that provide a reasonable and thoughtful discussion, we need to explain not only what we think but also why – here presented as a theoretical framework. It involves the aforementioned studies addressing the challenges for organizational change within Police departments, as well as a deepened presentation of the institutional approach deemed suitable to investigate the problem formulated through these studies.

3.1 Literature Overview

Gunnar Ekman (1999) addresses the shortcomings of written texts to shape and steer police practice. According to Ekman, a general assumption within organizations is that a few are able to control many through the use of written laws, decrees guidelines etc. This is especially true in the public sector with Police departments as a particularly good example. However, Ekman states police officers to be faced with a vast amount of normative demands (kravställare) out of which texts are just one. Through the use of participatory observations and interviews, Ekman researched this dilemma in Sweden following community-policing implementation (närpolisverksamhet). In addition to texts, Ekman found managers, citizens and other officers to be the most important sources of demands. Concerning the fact that these demands most often contradict each other, police officers are challenged by the impossibility to follow all of them. According to Ekman, police officers deal with the different and sometimes contrasting demands they face through the use of “small talk”, discussing with colleagues, justifying and legitimizing a certain policing practice when communicating amongst themselves. This small talk was shown to dominate directory influences in influencing policing practice. In short, Ekman unveils how drafting and implementing guidelines that are believed to change police practice are challenged by traditional assumptions on how to conduct police work; assumptions that have the ability to put new guidelines in a subordinate position.

Leanne Fiftal Alarid (1999) asks herself the question why police officers in the US, trained in community-policing, still return to traditional, contradictory, law enforcement behavior. Alarid claims that one reason for a contradictory use of community-policing within police departments might be that key individuals, i.e. the officers themselves, has not adopted the change in their actual practice. Using the reasoning of Argyris (1973, 1974), Alarid claims that individuals within organizations are complex and need appropriate organizational responses if to change. For a Police department to properly respond to these needs it has to
reflect the sought change in all areas of its operations: such as training, goals, objectives, evaluations, promotions, merits etc. Consequently, if the department is not able to guide the individual officer towards change, community-policing risks becoming just an addition to an otherwise traditional, contradictory, organization at large. Therefore, Alarid seeks a need for police departments to internally and externally assess officers’ attitudes and understanding of community-policing before its implementation.

Rhonda Y.W. Allen (2002) describes Police departments as internalized and isolated environments. Following this, a Police often exclude outsiders and their perspectives and become hard to change. Through a multi-level approach, Allen assessed challenges to community-policing implementation by interviewing American police officers in different police departments. She conducted interviews with employees from the executive, middle, and street level and found that a major impediment was officer attitudes. Accordingly, she concluded that projects seeking to implement change within Police departments often disregards to take into account the constant effects of police culture. Projects are therefore implemented without a proper understanding of the situational character, which hampers its likelihood to successfully change police practice and behavior.

Allison T. Chappell (2008) discusses how the implementation of community-policing in a middle-size town in the US is unevenly adopted between the police command and police officers working on the streets. Students from a community-policing course were sent on participatory observations through ride-alongs with local police officers patrolling their streets to assess to what degree community-policing was part of the officers daily work. The material shows that while most officers did support the general philosophy of community-policing, they also expressed significant barriers to its implementation: a lack of resources, insufficient amount of time, and a general organizational resistance. She concludes the students’ material to show that community-policing was more of a departmental philosophy rather than a factor influencing the actual operational procedures.

In sum, as understood in the current paper, these studies all share a description of how intentions stemming from policy implementations and their actual outcomes differ. Following this, they also indicate the need for community-policing implementation to be followed through with an awareness of local premises and precondition. What the current study seeks to do is to incorporate an analysis allowing to not only investigate whether or not perceptions within the KNPS in Kikuyu correlate or not but also to discuss this pending correlation and possible mechanisms behind it and how it might affect the continued implementation of community policing. As previously stated, this has been done through the reasoning of Richard W. Scott (2001).

3.2 An Institutional Approach

Following what was stated in the preceding section, the study has incorporated an institutional approach, influenced by Scott (2001). By enabling a multi-level analysis, using the aforementioned institutional pillars, Scott’s reasoning is an important tool if to understand how organizations function regarding their ability to change. Through this analysis the paper is able to not only discuss what might be apparent differences or similarities between the project group and the local police officers but also issues that might be more or less hidden.
3.2.1 Institutions

W. Richard Scott’s *Institutions and Organizations* (2001) is an effort to combine decades, even centuries, of sociological scholars’ theorizing of how societies function, from an institutional approach. By that it refers to how institutions influence Society, Organization and Individual, but also how these three in return influence current institutions.

Once again, Scott states institutions to be “*comprised of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability to social life.*” (Scott, 2001: 48). In other words, institutions are social structures that enable us to live together, maintained and reproduced across generations. Accordingly, they have acted as a natural part of our ability to organize since the earliest stages of human kind. The elements, referred to as pillars, are the central building blocks that guide the process of creating, maintaining and reproducing institutional frameworks:

**The Regulative pillar** consists of a conscious regulatory process of controlling human behavior. It is both about formal control, such as laws, and informal control, such as social rules - all dealt with through coercive mechanisms. Logic is instrumental and compliance follows expedience, i.e. there is no direct moral connotation to it (Scott, 2001: 50, 52-54).

**The Normative pillar** is a set of norms, defining goals and deciding what behavior is desirable and socially acceptable in order to reach valued ends. Furthermore, by some norms being applicable to all while others only apply to a few, it creates roles and legitimizes actions and behavior. Compliance is dependent on social obligations and expectations, creating what is termed “appropriate”, i.e. based on morality (Scott, 2001: 50, 54-56).

**The Culture-Cognitive pillar** is more abstract. It is the unconscious, or silent, knowledge that guides us in our everyday life. It is the subjective interpretation of the objective condition and can be portrayed as the “software of the mind”. It involves pre-understandings that support compliance, making alternative ways of doing things inconceivable (Scott 2001: 51, 56-58).

According to Scott (2001), institutions are resistant to change. This following how they are products of social life, meaning that their creation, maintenance and reproduction are enabled through human interactions. They are further cemented given their mutual dependency, working in combination with each other. Accordingly, even though separated, the pillars are closely tied to each other and find its strength in a combined structural power. The grey area between them reflects a notion of the deep influence they exercise on each other and the interaction in which they all three are entangled (Scott, 2001: 48-49).

Despite its rigidity and seemingly constraining influences on individual action, an institutional approach does not equate determinism. This follows what Scott, in reference to Giddens (1984), refers to as the “duality of social structure”. It thereby reflects a possibility for both stability and change. Following this, institutions are not so much a “property”, reflecting a static social order, but rather a “process”, involving institutionalization and deinstitutionalization. The process is shaped by both organizational and individual actions, meaning that institutional creation, maintenance and reproduction stems from both top-down as well as bottom-up influences (Scott, 2001: 50-77, 103, 170-216).
The process of change is very complex, given the institutional resistance, dependence between the pillars and the top-down/bottom-up mutual influences. Hence, Scott concludes institutional creation and change to never emerge from a vacuum but as always challenged and influenced by previous institutions (Scott, 2001: 94).

Following this, the intended change new guidelines are meant to produce, as anticipated from a regulative perspective, is not automatically transferred, received and interpreted following these particular regulative intentions. In other words, the process of transmission might in varying degree edit the primary message. Accordingly, the transmission of new guidelines is sensitive given how they might be interpreted, misinterpreted, or not interpreted at all (Scott, 2001: 79-80).

3.2.2 Applying the Institutional Approach
Organizations are, according to Scott (2001), a relatively recent phenomenon in the development of human societies. They are part of Society’s ability to produce primary social units who all are given a specific function. The function of a state controlled Police could, according to this interpretation, accordingly be stated to professionally police a society and it legitimizes this function by referring to the institutional framework from which it presumably originates.

Concerning organizational change, following the description of institutional change in the preceding section, regulative coercion within an organization might not be enough against more persuasive or stronger ideas and understandings found in the normative and culture cognitive spheres. As Scott states, in stable social systems practices are taken for granted, normatively endorsed, backed by authoritative power. However, the pillars can also be misaligned. Following this, members within the same organization can employ different means with contradictive ends. Such situations might induce confusion, even conflict, and will in such case most likely result in institutional change (Scott, 2001: 62).

As previously stated, the institutional approach has been used to develop an understanding of how the professional duty of policing Kikuyu is perceived by on one hand the project group and on the other hand the local police officers. By incorporating the regulative, the normative and the culture cognitive pillars the study is able to discuss, in a speculative fashion, the instrumental and moral aspects of policing as well as address its potential subjective features and create an understanding of their pending correlation. The pillars has been interpreted and applied as follows:

**The regulative pillar** will research the expedience and instrumentality in the participants’ statements concerning their view on policing. In other words, without a moral connotation to how policing should be pursued, but through a rational perspective concerning its influence on the Police’s ability to pursue its professional role.

**The normative pillar** involves interpreting the moral appropriateness of how policing should be pursued in Kikuyu. By that moving away from the instrumental perspective in the former, involving what values are attached to them: making it more aligned to how to pursue legitimate policing through public approval, steered by social obligations and expectations.
The culture-cognitive pillar entails how implementing community-policing in Kikuyu is not only dependent on the participants understanding of the instrumental efficiency and moral appropriateness of policing, i.e. the regulative and normative pillars, but also the subjective features behind what the regulative and normative expresses as instrumentally expedient and morally appropriate.

Reaching this far into the paper, the historical as well as theoretical perspectives have been presented. The State have been declared most suitable to control a large part of a society’s strive for security in the shape of policing and differences between different states abilities to perform this responsibility has been outlined. Furthermore the problem of organizational change within Police departments has been presented as well as an analytical tool, constructed by a regulative, normative and culture-cognitive pillar, that might enable a further understanding of such a dilemma, i.e. the institutional approach. The following fourth chapter, Methodological Framework, will now explain how the study was carried through. It is then followed by the study’s result in Chapter Five - Findings.
4. Methodological Framework

As stated, reaching the fourth chapter, it is time to present how the study was carried out. Starting with the methodology and actual methods, it will also present issues such as what sources has been used, the validity of the study’s findings as well as ethical considerations that was taken into account.

4.1 Methodology
The paper is the product of a case study pursued with a qualitative approach. The particular case is the community-policing pilot-project in Kikuyu and the study was an in-depth investigation of a single program and its individual actors, bounded by time and a specific activity – all common characteristics of a case study (Creswell, 2009).

The qualitative approach is manifested by the study’s effort to understand a social problem by investigating the meaning relevant actors give to it. Following this, the study gained a certain degree of flexibility, enabling the structure to go through a series of changes during its development, forced to adapt to the specific premises and preconditions of context, group and individual. In order to keep a focused line of reasoning the institutional approach also labels the study abductive (Creswell, 2009).

4.2 Method
The study is based on participatory observations and semi-structured interviews, conducted during a ten week long field-study. As previously stated, the former was used investigating management perceptions and the latter local police officers perceptions. While two separate methods, the two also resemble each other and are most often mutually dependent: in order to carry through efficient participatory observations a researcher probably uses questions and interviews are often influenced by the researcher’s observations (Johannessen & Tufte, 2002: 88). As previously stated, the material was then analyzed following the institutional approach, featured by Scott’s institutional pillars.

4.2.1 Participatory Observations
Bernard (1995), states participatory observations to be about getting close to people in order to observe and interpret information about their lives and beliefs. As such, it served as a suitable method in inquiring the participants’ perceptions. Important to note is that observing is not enough. To be able to use the concept of participatory observations it has to involve an interaction that enables an understanding of the actions that are being observed (1995: 136-137).

The degree of participation followed Johannessen & Tufte’s (2002) definition. Following this, participation was not pursued in the actual work of the project group but through conversations and questions linked to it. This usually enables a humble position of learning and allows for questions that otherwise would be interpreted as naïve (Johannessen & Tufte 2002).

Besides participating at official as well as unofficial meetings, involving police commanders, politicians and other members of the project, the study gained an ability to
understand the observations through what Bernard refers to as “hanging out” (1995: 151). A quick chat in a car on the way to interviews, a five-minute morning discussion over a cup of coffee at arrival to the office, small notes given during a weekend trip with an officer off duty or even a late night’s visit to a couple of bars in Kikuyu. It all became a source for invaluable information to process and digest. Accordingly, although pursued during a relatively short period of time the study do label them participatory observations, due to at least a certain degree of participating on the side of the researcher.

The project group differed in size, following how some members where more present than others. However, in regard to the study’s findings, the study refers to those who did participate in a majority of the observations. Following this, the findings represent material gathered from six members of the project group. Two participants represented the AP and four the KP. The gendered divide was two females and four males. All had received community-policing training, both in Kenya as well as during a trip to Sweden.

The participatory observations were pursued with a research guide, involving what questions and aspects to focus in, found in Appendices.

4.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews
Moving on to the semi-structured interviews, Mikkelsen (1995) notes how interviews per se is a method “par excellence” in development studies, and semi-structured interviews a strategy that makes interviews more conversational and open-ended.

It does involve weaknesses, such as the risk of some topics to be inadvertently neglected or the fact that a flexible structure might prove to make answers from different responders hard to compare (Mikkelsen, 1995). However, being aware of the risks, the advantages become obvious. For one, it does not limit the range of possible answers in a way that strictly structured interviews would, while at the same time it keeps a certain amount of control in the hands of the interviewer, a weakness of fully unstructured interviews (Miller, 2010: 39).

Twelve officers were interviewed, six from the AP and six from the KP. The gendered divide was two females and four males from each branch, adhering to the possibility for females and males to answer questions differently (Mikkelsen, 1995). The time spent on each interview spanned between thirty-five minutes for the shortest and fifty-six minutes for the longest. On average an interview lasted forty-six minutes. The officers had not received community-policing training within the pilot-project at the time of the interviews, however, five of the officers mentioned to have received community-policing training or information about community-policing prior to being located in Kikuyu.

As in the observations, a research guide was present involving themes and questions, which open-ended approach enabled the interviews to be geared towards those themes and questions relevant to the interviewee, not the interviewer (Miller, 2010: 39).

4.2.3 Sources
Following the participatory observations as well as the semi-structured interviews, the study to a large degree rests upon the use of primary sources. Furthermore, the study demanded an awareness of the legislation that surrounds and steers the pilot-project in Kikuyu. Also labeled primary sources, the most important are: the Constitution of Kenya (2010), The National Police Service Act (NPSA, 2011) and The Independent Policing Oversight Act (IPOA, 2011).
Concerning secondary sources, the most important documents linked to the pilot-project was: The Report of the National Task Force on Police Reforms (2009); The Police Reform Programme 2011-2013 (2011); and, Promoting Safe and Secure Environment in Kikuyu through Community Policing (2011) (Project Plan).

Furthermore, journal articles have been used both as part of the Theoretical Framework as well as in the historical background information concerning Kenyan policing. These where searched for and located on Linnaeus University’s databank, LibHub, now renamed OneSearch, and San Francisco State University’s databank, SimpleSearch. Search words included: Kenya, Police, Police reforms, Organizational change, Community-policing, Africa, Security Sector Reforms. During the search these where either used individually or in combination with each other.

4.3 Validity
The study notes on two issues concerning its validity (Creswell, 2009). First, a commander in charge made the final selection of which officers to interview. Second, following the particular approach and method of choice in this study, it depends to a large degree on the researcher’s interpretations, creating a potential risk for a biased view. The key to limit these possible problems has been to be aware of them. As stated by Bernard, research is not about a need to become an “objective machine”, but instead about achieving objective information (1995: 152).

Strengthening the study, the multiple sets of methods used enabled a process of triangulation (Creswell, 2009: 191) when sampling, organizing and analyzing the findings. Participatory observations appeared to be specifically efficient in this regard. By going through field notes, which from the start seemed to involve nothing but inconclusive and arbitrary notes, data became confirmed, questioned or falsified. This aspect of the study enabled an as reliable image of specific themes as possible by comparing statements made by different actors within the KNPS. Also, even though not part of the study, members of the community was asked questions concerning statements made by members of the Police. In this way, an alternative voice became available. If themes where confirmed by discussing matters at several times with these different actors, a reasonable conclusion of its reliability became possible.

4.4 Ethical Considerations
As part of an in-depth investigation, the study depended on being welcomed into the daily life of Kenyan police officers that shared their thoughts about their situation as police officers. A basic principle when conducting a field study is to protect the participants from any risk of harm due to their involvement. Therefore, the study and its result follow a strict principle of confidentiality concerning the names of the participants.

Another issue concerns the participants’ knowledge about the study and their willingness to be part of it, based on this knowledge. This is usually referred to as “informed consent” (Adler & Clark, 2003: 46, 51). While a written statement for the participants to sign was not used, all research has been as honest and transparent as possible. All interviewees and actors observed were made clear of the nature of the study. Also, before the start of the study, authorization was sought and approved following the hierarchical structure of the KNPS.
5. Findings

Following the presentation of the study in regard to its historical, theoretical as well as methodological features it is now time to present its actual result. The chapter begins by outlining what was found in the participatory observations, involving policing in Kikuyu according to the project group. This is followed by what was found in the semi-structured interviews, focused on policing in Kikuyu according to local police officers. As previously mentioned, this constructs the descriptive part of the findings linked to the first and second research questions.

Leaving the descriptive part, it is followed by the analysis, consisting of the finding’s incorporation in the regulative, normative and culture-cognitive pillars, adhering to what was sought in the third research question concerning the perceptions pending correlation. The chapter then ends with a summary of the findings and the answers to the research questions.

5.1 Participatory Observations

A majority of the observations were conducted in activities linked to the project group’s work, which mainly consisted of office work, meetings and occasional trips to Kikuyu. The office is located in Bruce House, Nairobi: a modern office building located in central Nairobi’s financial district. When in Kikuyu, the observations were pursued either at the AP or KP station alternatively during trips around the area, meeting with both civilians as well as police officers living and working in more remote outposts. In addition, when the participants found it appropriate, participation was allowed to observe directory meetings in which the project group met with higher rank officers within the KNPS, international advisors and experts, politicians and civilians involved in the pilot-project with whom the project group worked together with and answered to. These were exclusively held at Bruce House.

5.1.1 Policing Kikuyu according to Project Group

My first day at Bruce House consisted of an introduction to the Kenyan reforms involving what the work would produce for the people in Kikuyu, and later on for the people of Kenya. However, giant steps lay before them, the project group stated, and persistently noted on the immense importance every police officer posses in the reforms. The gap between the Police and the public was highlighted from early on as a major challenge. As one member expressed:

“Community knowledge is kept within the community – cooperation is seen as betrayal”
(1/11: Bruce House).

In other words, a huge obstacle is how the public often looks upon police officers as enemies and cooperation is consequently looked upon as betrayal against fellow citizens. The Police and its officers need to overcome this barrier, and the responsibility is first and foremost in the hands of the officers patrolling the streets, it was said. Observing discussions about policing in Kenya and Kikuyu with the project group, an extensive amount of self-criticism was acknowledged. As previously stated, members expressed at several times the responsibilities of the police officers to take the first step:
“As police officers, we have to admit that we have problems” (8/11: Kikuyu, AP station).

This was often expressed when addressing members of the community:

“It starts with the police officers changing!” (24/11: Kikuyu AP station).

According to the project group, without cooperation between Police and public the entire reforms are at stake. I recall one of the members later referring to it as a house of cards: how big the construction might be, or become, it still depends on every piece to hold up its position - the slightest move might rupture everything.

Demands were in other words set high. Members of the Project group were at several times very keen on expressing the need for police officers devotion to their societal responsibility. A reoccurring aspect of this was that police officers are on duty 24 hours of the day, 356 days of the year. This is further emphasized following the fact that many of the officers in Kikuyu live at their station or outpost. If they have family, they do so as well.

I was early on introduced to the Project plan (2011), written by the project group, a text that, as the name indicates, is meant to be the road map ahead for the particular pilot project in Kikuyu. As it states, besides all the responsibilities in the hands of the officers, policing is also about informing about civil responsibilities and by that encourage the public to uphold their part in policing their communities (2011: 5). The responsibility to cooperate with the public is not only about being nice and friendly but also to enable efficient policing, it was said:

“We have our responsibilities as police officers, what I want from you is the contribution of information” (24/11: Kikuyu AP station).

Cooperation and communication with the public was without exceptions expressed by the project group as the main task for police officers. Community-policing was visualized as a concrete expression of this. Most of the discussions concerned how to train the police officers in order for them to be able to change negative perceptions against them.

Community-policing was explained as a custom oriented philosophy. One of the higher rank commanders who took part in a meeting expressed this through a wish for what he referred to as a “customer care approach”. One member, at a later meeting, expressed this as follows:

“Community-policing is a philosophy, custom-oriented - it is problem-solving and meant to induce transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and accountability” (24/11: Kikuyu AP station)

A major focus from the side of the project group was to encourage officers to cooperate with all sectors of community, not only with men in a position of status and power - which to a large extent was tradition, it was said. Any future lacking the presence of youth and women in the pilot-project and continuous Police-public relations was referred to as a big problem.
Noting on the absence of these groups during a meeting with members of the community, one member of the project group expressed himself:

“A forum representative of all! Women and youth must be represented! Where are the women? Where are the youth?” (24/11: Kikuyu AP station).

Concerning the lack of women, one member expressed it as a problem that will be hard to change, considering that traditionally security matters is handled by men, but that they have to struggle in order to change this. The youth was consequently expressed as a group that is in need of help; members of the project group noted on the need to stop young people from falling into crime.

Community-policing was constantly referred to as more than a tactic or strategy, it is from now on what will characterize not only how the police act but also how they think. Policing was expressed as something more than just policing. The cooperation community-policing entail is not something new, it was stated, even though the police officer’s role in it might be. As one of the members expressed:


When this member of the project group talked to a group of police officers on the first day of community-policing training, he recurrently expressed the need to realize that the Police must cooperate not because of this new project, but because that is how a community should be policed. Another member, this time speaking to members of the public, reaffirmed people at the meeting that this is a project created for Kenya, involving the people of Kikuyu:

“Community-policing is about your safety and help your daily businesses and development.” (24/11 Kikuyu AP station).

At the same meeting, another member jumped in and restated that development can only be possible in a safe environment. Insecurity is a threat to all. Concerning this development and how crime was portrayed as a threat towards this, some of the discussions that I either observed or took part in concerned the underlying social factors behind crime: such as poverty and alienation. These were expressed as vital for the Police to acknowledge, if to succeed in pursuing their role as problem-solvers. Criminality was portrayed as a natural part of society - something that must be accepted:

“We can never be without crime, but community-policing can decrease it” (17/11: Bruce House).

Also, crime was something that was seen to cross borders. This was emphasized through the presence of Police officers/commanders from neighboring communities at most of the activities pursued in Kikuyu, preparing for the pilot-project. The pilot-project initiated in Kikuyu is set to roll out across the country, the project group hoped.
Despite the new role for police officers being written down, members of the project group feared that community-policing would be seen as something temporary: just another responsibility laid upon the officers in Kikuyu. Following this, a common issue discussed was how to puncture the claim of community-policing as detached from “normal policing”, avoiding for it to be received as yet another “side-project”. Once again, training and education was expressed as what is needed.

Another vital aspect often discusses was the extreme working conditions, harsh living standards and challenging operational capacity within the KNPS. These were commonly mentioned in discussions concerning what the KNPS need to change. During my trips to Kikuyu, I was recurrently introduced to tremendous, often shocking, challenges officers face concerning their operational capacity. Members of the project group made sure that I realized the hardships the local police officers face in their everyday work. Furthermore, they themselves often felt limited in their abilities. Even though they were in a position much better than lower rank officers, it was not good, all stated coherently. When traveling around the Kikuyu police jurisdiction, the members talked about how if a car even existed at an outpost, it most probably lacked sufficient amounts of petrol for any usage. However, reaching the farthest situated outposts a discussion concerning cars might seem a bit extravagant. Police outposts were merely sheds in which officers had the most basic domestic utilities for surviving and some professional material. A member of the Project group concluded:

“The Police is severely underfinanced, some do not even have electricity. How can you be expected to work under these circumstances?” (8/11: Kikuyu Police Jurisdiction).

However, it was also noted that this should be seen as an issue that can be mended through community-policing. According to one member of the Project group, if successfully implemented, community-policing will make policing easier and less costly. If the Police and the community cooperate, the former will be able to conduct their job on a smaller budget then previously has been possible.

5.2 Semi-structured Interviews
All the interviews were conducted either at the AP or KP station in Kikuyu, depending on which branch the officer belonged to. The locations spanned from a commandant’s spacious office to a radio control room in the size of a smaller closet. Either way, the interviews were pursued in a closed room, with only interviewer and interviewee present. As previously stated, the material consists of interviews with twelve officers, out of which none had received training in community-policing linked to the pilot-project.

5.2.1 Policing Kikuyu according to Local Police Officers
All interviews started off with asking the officers for their view on Kikuyu as a community. Kikuyu was described as a location blessed with fertile lands, offering great potential in agriculture. The officers looked upon Kikuyu as a typical suburb of Nairobi, only a bit more prosperous, much thanks to the former aspect. All but one respondent had previous experience from serving other areas in Kenya and could therefore look at Kikuyu in
perspective. They all noted on very high crime rates in the area. However, this was not something unusual for Kenya at large, it was said. Even though I did not mention it myself, the issue if ethnicity was mentioned in reference to Kikuyu as a somewhat more prosperous suburb. The reasons for this were often expressed in comments with reference to Kikuyus as the dominant tribe in both history and current time.

Most of the officers claimed to have a very good relationship to the citizens of Kikuyu. Previously the public perceived the Police as enemies but this was stated to have improved. Cooperation and communication was mentioned as the reason for this. Even though a majority did portray a healthy relationship to the public, not all officers shared this positive narrative concerning Kikuyu. Two officers claimed to never patrol alone, fearing what could happen if they did. In their words, they sometimes feel like targets. However, none of the interviewees had been physically assaulted in the line of duty.

Concerning their relationship to the citizens of Kikuyu, both those officers who already stated to have a good relationship to the public and those still trying said to interact a lot with their community, both on and off duty. All officers who took part in the interviews expressed the responsibility to create incentives to jointly combat crime in Kikuyu:

“As a police officer you cannot trust on guns to solve the problem of crime. You have to know and interact with your society” (Male AP-officer).

Interacting with the community was also expressed as one of the main perks of being an officer in the KNPS. Communicating with the citizens was not only seen as a prerequisite to combat crime but for this officer a source of personal development:

“I meet a lot of people from different origins and cultures. By that I learn how to deal with people and understand society” (Male KP-officer).

When speaking about their task as a police officer most interviewees gave an account of a deep wish to serve and provide security for what they termed their community. One telling remark was:

“It is my responsibility to provide security here. You see, these are my friends and also parts of my family” (Female AP-officer).

As stated, many saw cooperation and communication with the public as not only part of the on-duty-responsibilities but also an issue pursued without the uniform. A follow up-question concerning this latter point investigated if their appearance on and off duty resulted in any changes in their ability to approach the citizens. While the former situation meant that they did receive “more respect” from people, only a few noted on any particular difference pending on using the uniform or not.

According to the officers, it did not exist any remarkable differences when interacting with different parts of the community in Kikuyu following a gendered divide, i.e. women/men – even though men most of times were more keen on engaging in discussions with the officers. Concerning social status in Kikuyu, i.e. rich/poor, the officers did not have anything
other to add. According to all respondents it should not and did not matter how much money you have, the Police need to work with the entire public. The only distinction that really mattered, according to the officers, was one between the older generations and today’s youth. As one of the officers noted:

“The older are easier to interact with. The youth here is frustrated, jobless and often use drugs” (Male AP-officer).

However, even though most did express mostly negative comments, there was one exception:

“I am fairly young, therefore it is easier for me to talk with the youth and understand how they think” (Female KP-officer).

While portraying dreary perceptions about the younger population in Kikuyu, all officers expressed a responsibility to interact more with the youth and make them understand how important they are and that the Police is not an enemy, but an organization that wishes to help them:

“The young must understand that they are the backbone of our society” (Male AP-officer).

All interviewees gave a thorough account of their wish to serve. This was the sole responsibility laid upon them, it was consistently stated. The feeling of Kikuyu, expressed by the officers, was of a strong community in which most people did behave correctly.

Following crime statistics as well as the officers’ earlier notion of high crime rates in Kikuyu, I asked the officers about these seemingly contrasting features of Kikuyu. One officer stated that most criminals do not live in Kikuyu but are people from Nairobi and other areas around. Another officer addressed this situation as a big problem:

“Kikuyu is a very strong community. People from outside makes it weaker because we do not know them” (Male AP-officer).

According to this officer, Kikuyu is used as a hideout: after committing crimes in the capital Kikuyu is perceived as a relatively safe place to stay until the criminals can return. During their time in Kikuyu, they commit more crimes. Talking about crime and people committing them, the wordings often became harsh:

“You cannot have a dialogue with criminals” (Female AP-officer).

“Criminals cannot be trusted” (Male KP-officer).

Even though this seemed to be a coherent line of reasoning, three officers contrasted this, stating that criminals are just like any other people and that Kikuyu, as any other community, will always have people who do and do not commit crime. One of them noted that it to a large degree involves family problems and bad choices in criminals’ early parts of their lives.
Another one stated that as long as there is poverty, people will commit crime – some do not have much choice.

While the officers did show a general satisfaction in their occupation, most of the discussions concerned the challenging working conditions all participants gave a thorough account of. If policing was to be possible these has to be mended, all interviewees stated. For starter, being spread across a vast country, lacking transportation implicates severe obstacles in performing their duties:

“We do not have the ability to respond when people contact us in need. We can rent a motorbike but mostly we go by foot” (Male AP-officer).

As distances often measured numerous miles, many of the officers told how a single incident could take an entire day to respond to. When the officers finally reached the scene, the incident most often would have passed. People have to a large degree learnt how to cope without the help of the Police, some of the respondents concluded. Feelings of failure tormented many of the officers.

Adding to the misery, police accommodations were severely criticized by all interviewees. Also, low salaries, long working hours and lack of basic equipment were issues that to some extent were expressed in every interview, one of the officers even suggested that she did not have the power to control her or her family’s life:

“Housing is very poor and I also fear being transferred to another location. That is not uncommon, you see. This makes life very hard for me and my family” (Female AP-officer).

The insecurity of being in the service was noted as a source for frustration. The risk of relocation was according to a few of the interviewees used to control officers and some expressed that they must behave, otherwise they might find themselves to be moved to very dangerous areas in Kenya. One of the officers had served close to the Somali border, and did not wish to return. Relocation to the Somali border was recurrently mentioned as a strategy in the hands of commanders against officers who do not stand in line.

As some of the officers noted, the inability to fill their role was seen to severely lower the morale at the different police outposts. In addition, the long working hours was addressed as a source of stress due to the constant need for police officers to pursue their duties:

“Crime never sleeps, how can we?” (Male AP-officer).

5.3 Analysis
The following analysis is constructed by Scott’s (2001) institutional pillars: the regulative, normative and culture-cognitive. Within each, the project group’s perceptions will be analyzed followed by the local police officers perceptions, concluding with their pending correlation.

As a brief not, concerning the study’s distinction between members of the project group and local police officer regarding Female/Male and AP/KP, the material did not indicate any
remarkable differences in the answers stemming from the different groups. Therefore, these distinctions will not be developed.

5.3.1 The Regulative Pillar
As a remainder, the regulative pillar assesses material concerning the expedience and instrumentality of the expressed perceptions about policing. What is given is therefore how perceptions are interpreted to justify a view held on policing through a rational perspective concerning its influence on the Police’s ability to pursue its professional role.

**Project group** - Members of the project group constantly noted that policing is dependent on the public to share information about communal matters. In other words, this is a prerequisite for efficient policing. The gap between Police and public must therefore be limited, and community-policing was expressed as a suitable remedy. In addition, public cooperation depends on the police officers to encourage the former and invite them through cooperation and communication. These efforts were declared as not only about being friendly, but also about enabling efficient policing. Following this, community policing is instrumentally more efficient than previous approaches to policing.

**Local police officers** - Concerning the local police officers, one interviewee stated that police officers cannot trust on guns to solve crime, portraying how cooperation and communication is a prerequisite to be able to police a community. Concerning this, most officers claimed to already have a good relationship to members of the community; those who did not at least claimed to try. Cooperation and communication with the public seemed to be a big part of the officers’ daily work and something expressed as an enabling factor, which policing depends on. In other words, the gap between the Police and the public was, according to the answers from the officers themselves, a thing of the past. Even though two officers expressed difficulties in interacting with the public, cooperating and communicating was already a prominent feature of all officers’ daily work.

**Correlation** - From an instrumental point of departure, the service-minded approach, through cooperation and communication, is coherently expressed at both levels of investigation. It is coherently remarked to be an approach that is a prerequisite if to succeed in handling crime and disorder. In other words, perceptions from the project group and local police officers, concerning the instrumental value of policing through cooperating and communicating, seem to correlate to a large degree. This goes against the fear expressed by members of the project group that community-policing will be received as a strategy detached form “normal policing”. Instead it seemed to be an approach naturally incepted into the daily work of the police officers.

5.3.2 Normative Pillar
The normative pillar involves interpreting the moral appropriateness of the pilot-project and its implications for the police role in Kikuyu, leaving the instrumental perspective in the former, involving what values are attached to them: making it more aligned to how the pilot-project pursues legitimate policing and public approval, steered by social obligations and expectations.
Project group - Interpreting the material gathered, concepts such as “customer care”, backed by issuing community-policing to be a custom-oriented approach unveils policing as a service geared towards the public, following a degree of subservience. As noted on the initial day, this is not something limited to Kikuyu but an aspect of the pilot-project that will develop on a national basis, making policing more in line with the development of Kikuyu and Kenya at large –following what the customers’, i.e. citizens, are entitled to. This reflects how the project group seeks to transmit a message of community-policing as not only instrumentally suitable for the problems ahead but also morally right.

Local police officers - Moving on to the local police officers, many constantly noted on their sense of belonging to Kikuyu community - one even noted on it as consisting of friends and family. Even though not speaking about community-policing per se, the police officers did express notions very similar to those discussed within the project group. Without exceptions, the participants shared a devotion to offer policing as a service to the public. This responsibility did not end when work did. A majority of the officers interacted with their community after hours as well. The failure of fulfilling their responsibilities was by many expressed as a cause of frustration and an aspect that made them feel deep disappointment, possibly reflecting a moral connotation to the responsibilities upon them.

Correlation - the subservience proclaimed by the project group is to a large degree reflected in the local police officers statements. Even so, material linked to the normative pillar was more apparent in the local police officers statements concerning their professional role in Kikuyu. Following this, the appropriateness of community-policing seem to correlate to a large degree between the project group and the local police officers in Kikuyu. Both seem to have similar perceptions concerning how policing should be pursued in order to reach a more secure and safe community as the valued end for the citizens of Kikuyu.

5.3.3 The Culture-cognitive Pillar
This far, the regulative and normative pillars has expressed community policing’s feature as a service-minded approach, involving communication and cooperation with the public. As apparent, perceptions seem to correlate regarding both the instrumental efficiency and moral appropriateness of policing through community-policing. Besides a service-minded approach the project group also claims community policing to be problem-solving. Therefore, the culture-cognitive pillar will address what underlying problem the service-minded approach is meant to solve, following views within the two groups.

Accordingly, if policing through community-policing should become a problem-solving approach, what does the project group perceive as the problem in policing? Second, following the material gathered through the interviews, what does the officers currently seem to portray as the problem they focus on in their professional duty policing Kikuyu?

Project group – The project group’s intentions, as interpreted in this analysis, notes on policing to not only be about quelling crime and locating those who commit it but also to understand why and through this understanding develop measures in how to avert some of
these criminal acts to be committed. As one member stated, crime will always be part of a community but community-policing can decrease it. Discussions were held concerning the social factors behind crime and the need for the Police to understand these in order to efficiently police Kikuyu. Following this, the problem to deal with is not only about apprehending criminals but also to work to avoid for the crime to be committed in the first place.

Local police officers - The material indicates how a majority of the officers made a distinction between what they perceived as the community on one side and the criminal elements of it on the other. This is interpreted from those who noted on criminals as outsiders, the impossibility to engage in communication with criminals and how criminals where stated not to be trusted. Even though there where exceptions, such as one officer who noted on problems in the early lives of people committing crime and another linking crime to poverty, these statements where in a clear minority. Following this, it seems focus within a majority of the local police officers perceptions is steered towards criminals as the main problem in policing Kikuyu, possibly leading officers to not fully acknowledge potential social structures behind crime.

Correlation – The discrepancy between the project group and the local police officers can simply be named one between a proactive and a reactive approach to policing.

Expressing the project group’s intentions, the proactive approach involves engaging in cooperation and communication with the community to combat crime from an understanding of how social structures works as driving forces for individuals to commit them. Following this, policing becomes not only about understanding what the crime is and who committed it but also to understand why it occurred and how to engage in possible future remedies.

Contrasting this, the local police officers perceptions issue a predetermined distinction between “the community” and “the criminals” with a possibility that the Police-public cooperation and communication is used as a measure in finding out information only about what and who in crime. Accordingly, the service-minded approach only encompasses the already lawful parts of the community and the problem-solving approach continues to have mostly reactive features by quelling crime through the apprehension of people committing crime.

Following the reasoning of Scott (2001), even though community policing would be implemented successfully within the regulative and normative aspects of policing Kikuyu, these differences in the understanding of policing in Kikuyu bears the risk of resulting in actors within the upcoming implementation of community-policing in Kikuyu to employ different means with contradictive ends following a misalignment between the institutional pillars. This dilemma will be developed below, answering the third research question.
5.4 Summary of Findings and answers to Research Questions

1) How does the management perceive the professional role police officers in Kikuyu should have, following the implementation of community-policing?

The project group’s anticipations for the project and demands on the police officers were high. First and foremost, an improved relationship between the Police and the public is dependent on the officers to take the first step. According to the meetings and discussions observed there is a need for the local police officers to change, inviting the public to cooperate and communicate with them in order to be able to offer policing as a customer-oriented service with a problem-solving approach to police Kikuyu. Following this, the officers will be able to foster awareness about civil responsibilities in policing Kikuyu and by that consolidate community-policing.

The need to make policing a societal cooperative act was expressed to be founded on the social function of the Police, following how “community-policing predates policing”. Also, the inclusion of all sectors of Kikuyu community was emphasized to be of immense importance. Women and youth had previously been excluded but must now be invited. The youth was particularly important given their peripheral position in society. Considering this, the project group also discussed the importance of using a pro-active approach as a way of unveiling the social factors behind crime. Poverty and alienation, for example, was mentioned as possible factors in the social structure that might foster crime.

2) How does local police officers currently perceive their professional role in Kikuyu?

The local police officers in Kikuyu who took part in the interviews all noted on their wish to serve the community; even referring to it as their community. Although some expressed difficulties in pursuing policing through communication and cooperation, all noted on their efforts trying to create a healthy relationship to the public. This was their responsibility and a few officers also concluded it to be a positive feature of their profession. Important to note on, all officers expressed challenges pursuing their professional duties due to severe limitations in their operational capacity. This did not only hamper policing per se but also worked as a stress-factor, impairing police morality.

Concerning policing Kikuyu the officers did not experience any difference in interacting with different parts of the community. Even though men may be keener on interacting with the Police none expressed any difference in their own actions. However, they did remark on difficulties in interacting with the youth. According to the officers this was a challenge important to tackle when policing Kikuyu, considering how the youth are “the backbone of Society”. Considering how the local police officers tended to make a distinction between the community that they cooperated and communicated with and those committing crime in Kikuyu, the study labels the local police officers perception of their professional duty as mainly influenced by a reactive approach to policing.
Within the regulative implementation of community-policing the correlation between the project group and local police officers’ perceptions, concerning the latter’s professional role in Kikuyu, indicate the premises to be promising. The intentions expressed by the project group, viewing community policing as an enabling factor making policing efficient, already runs coherently in the material retrieved in the interviews with local police officers.

Moving on to material in the normative pillar, the perceptions also seem to correlate. The appropriateness of cooperating and communicating with the public, a key feature of the upcoming implementation of community-policing, is apparent in the local police officer perceptions, according to the interviews.

Opposing the two former pillars, the culture-cognitive issues a discrepancy, following the current paper’s definition of a proactive approach to policing, expressed by the project group, contra a reactive approach to policing, expressed by the local police officers.

As previously stated, while the material indicates that community-policing as a service-minded approach seem to correlate the discrepancy found in the culture-cognitive pillar could have implications on how the local police officers understand community policing as a problem-solving approach. Following this, even though community-policing could be successfully implemented with regard to the instrumentality and morality behind it, i.e. the regulative and normative pillars, differing subjective interpretations of its actual application, found in the culture-cognitive pillar, could hamper its future implementation concerning how the pillars are mutually dependent: a discrepancy in one influences the others (Scott, 2001).

As this paper understands statements made by the project group, the proactive approach to policing implies the service-minded approach to involve not only the lawful part of the community but also those prone to commit crime, following issues such as poverty and alienation. Communicating and cooperating with the public therefore involves locating crime as the problem in community policing and the target becomes not only to apprehend criminals but also to increase an understanding of why people commit these crimes. By that, the Police can put emphasis on proactive policing at the expense of reactive policing. Consequently, in a long-term perspective policing might become instrumentally more efficient by lessening the need to react towards people committing crime.

In contrast, concerning the reactive approach to policing expressed by the local police officers, the distinction between “the community” and “the criminals” indicate that the service-minded approach only involves those predetermined as lawful citizens. The problem in policing then becomes the criminal and the target to apprehend this criminal. The reactive approach might therefore focus on the instrumentality of quelling crime by apprehending offenders and a morality claiming how criminals deserve to be punished, followed by the detachment of them from the community.

The difference between a proactive and reactive approach to policing, defined through the culture-cognitive pillar, could therefore have repercussions on the abovementioned correlation between the regulative and normative pillars. This might imply police officers to continue adhering to measures deemed instrumentally inefficient and morally inappropriate by the
project group, even after the implementation of community policing in Kikuyu. In order words, it is not so much the concept of community-policing that might create confusion following its implementation but rather how the service-minded and problem-solving approach should be pursued.

Local police officers already seems to adhere to reasoning concerning policing practice as closely linked to the philosophy of community policing. This seeming correlation could therefore result in community policing to be successfully implemented early on in the project. However, by unveiling the subjective features behind this correlation it becomes clear that the project group and the local police officers might have drastically different perceptions concerning how to police Kikuyu. This could have disastrous affects on the security-development nexus earlier discussed, an issue that will be the focus of the concluding chapter that now follow.
6. Conclusion

The study set out by formulating a problem regarding how new influences within Police departments initiated and implemented from a directory perspective often stand challenged by inherent assumptions within the organization that favor a traditional, often contradictory, approach to policing. This has been interpreted to hamper an effective implementation of community-policing and following organizational change. Also, it was stated to indicate that community-policing implementation is dependent on local adjustment, following an awareness of local premises. Accordingly, the study sought to investigate management and police officers perceptions concerning the latters professional duty in Kikuyu. This in order to create an understanding of their pending correlation, preceding the official implementation of community-policing, and by that discuss local premises for community-policing. In this endeavor, the study followed and institutional approach, influenced by Richard W. Scott (2001). Following this, a regulative, a normative and a culture-cognitive pillar were together used to investigate the instrumental, moral and subjective features of the perceptions at issue.

The material shows that perceptions concerning professional policing in Kikuyu from regulative and normative perspectives seem to correlate to a large degree between the project group’s intentions and local police officers current understanding of their professional role. Consequently, the instrumental efficiency and moral appropriateness of community-policing could correlate early on in the upcoming implementation of community policing. However, discrepancies in the culture-cognitive pillar, i.e. the subjective features reflecting a proactive approach to policing within the project group and a reactive approach to policing within the local police officers perceptions, imply that this correlation might not come to exist after all. Without an awareness of this, community-policing risks becoming implemented in written frameworks and guidelines but not as a factor influencing actual police practice.

Important to note, the study was pursued under certain circumstances: the project group had gotten training and education in community-policing, both in Sweden and in Kenya, and they also possessed higher rank indicating a longer service and/or more education than some of the police officers (although not necessarily). However, it should not question the study’s findings – quite the contrary. Concerning how the study’s aim was to investigate local premises prior to the official implementation of community policing, it unveils that although the project group and local police officers seem to already have correlating perceptions, the study’s findings indicate that training and education in community-policing need to not only focus on the instrumentality and morality behind its use but also the subjective features that influence police officers interpretation of community-policing.

So, moving on towards the end of this paper, what would this mean for community-policing in Kikuyu? The study will end by discussing two issues: the possibilities to change the police role in Kikuyu, dependent on an organizational change, and policing as a factor in Kikuyu’s socio-economic development, following the earlier mentioned security-development nexus.

First, as stated in Literature Overview, previous studies suggest that community-policing implementation earlier has been unable to result in any actual difference in how professional policing is pursued, i.e. failed to create organizational change. Instead, traditional policing
practice has been continuously used despite new written directives (Ekman, 1999; Alarid, 1999; Allen, 2002; Chappell, 2009). As stated, the current study indicates that this is a risk also in Kikuyu: initially, the instrumental and moral features of the new role seem to correlate between management and police perceptions but unveiling the subjective features behind this, the “new role” might not become that new after all. This demands a cautious attitude and general awareness concerning how community-policing is presented to the local police officers. Within this, the indication that police officers make what is interpreted as a predetermined distinction between “the community” and the “criminals” is relevant to address. As previously stated, it is not so much the literal concept of community-policing, involving cooperation and communication, that might produce confusion but rather how it actually is supposed to be applied, i.e. who the police officers choose to cooperate and communicate with.

Second, the difference between management and police perceptions might have severe implications for Kikuyu’s socio-economic development. Returning further back in the paper, the Police in Kenya has previously been used as a subjugating tool in the hands of an autocratic regime (Ransley, 2008, Furuzawa, 2011). Furthermore, policing has been characterized by sever officer misconduct, e.g. police brutality - an issue that almost tore Kenya apart during the post election violence in 2007-2008 (Ransley, 2008; KNCH, 2008; CIPEV, 2008). Also, as indicated by the events in 2007-2008, distinctions between “different” groups of people, such as the issue of ethnicity, is of immense importance in Kenya (CIPEV, 2008; Okia, 2011). Following this, policing in Kenya is an issue that cannot be discussed without the issue of possible politization following historical and current political and social structures. Ultimately, the question arises in what ways these structures might help define “crime”, “criminal”, “community” etc. within the scope of community-policing.

Continuing on this, only cooperating with some, targeting others, runs the risk of creating further distances between people within the same community, cementing a predetermined distinction between lawful and criminal as well as the prevailing social structure. If so, such police practice risks cementing or even increasing already existing social divisions within the community. Policing might become further politized, however now disguised as “community-policing”. Security and safety would be pursued only in the interest of some, excluding others, and commitment to this security and safety as well as community-policing would most likely grow only within these selected groups. Besides its negative impacts on Kikuyu from a social aspect, this goes against the possibility for social inclusion that is believed to encourage economic activity in Kikuyu, as expected by the project group (Project Plan, 2011). Furthermore, in regard to the history of officer misconduct, another risk is how these predetermined views on “criminals” might entail a dehumanizing process within police ranks; possibly legitimizing what earlier has been reported as police brutality.

Emphasizing its speculative nature, this scenario would lead to community-policing to be implemented within written frameworks but not in the actual police practice on the street level, without the organizational change proclaimed and intended by the management of the pilot-project as well as both direct and indirect benefits foreseen by the project group. Instead, as stated, a misinterpretation and misuse of community-policing implementation risks bringing contradictive and counterproductive outputs in Kikuyu.
6.1 Further Research
A follow-up study pursued after both training and implementation of community-policing in Kikuyu seems reasonable to issue, investigating how community-policing is interpreted within the work of local police officers and how this affects the service-minded and problem-solving approach. This would in such case be followed by a various number of possible aspects to consider in regard to how policing Kikuyu bears the risk of involving features of politization. The current study has used a narrow distinction about people in Kikuyu: everyone is solely labeled a woman, a man or a youth. This severely limits how individuals might identify themselves and what this might imply for their involvement in the community, such as tribe, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, nationality etc. It therefore puts a range of question towards what the community is supposed to encompass and who is invited and who is possibly excluded policing Kikuyu.
7. References

7.1. Printed Sources

7.1.1 Books

7.1.2 Government Documents

7.1.3 Swedish Police Documents
7.1.4 Independent Reports

7.1.5 Organizations Documents

7.2. Online Sources

7.2.1 Journal Articles
  [http://cjr.sagepub.com.proxy.lnu.se/content/34/1/5](http://cjr.sagepub.com.proxy.lnu.se/content/34/1/5) (Accessed September 8, 2011)
  [http://pqx.sagepub.com.proxy.lnu.se/content/9/2/135](http://pqx.sagepub.com.proxy.lnu.se/content/9/2/135) (Accessed September 8, 2011)
  
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  (Accessed November 30, 2011)
  
  http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.610577
  (Accessed January 17, 2012)
  
  http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy.lnu.se/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=5e8c0b4f-5504-4a93-abba-7e72d63e%40sessionmgr11&vid=2&hid=8
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### 7.2.2 Acts of Parliament

  
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  (Accessed November 10, 2011)
7.2.3 Government Documents
  (Accessed November 3, 2011)
  (Accessed December 2, 2011)
  (Accessed November 3, 2011)

7.2.4 Independent Reports
  (Accessed November 10, 2011)
  http://www.unhchr.ch/huricane/huricane.nsf/0/52DF4BE7194A7598C125756800539D79?opendocument
  (Accessed November 10, 2011)

7.2.5 Conference Papers
  http://www.nij.gov/pubs-sum/232676.htm
  (Accessed December 10, 2011)

7.3 Participatory Observations
- Participatory Observation 1
  Bruce House, Nairobi 2011-11-01
  Participants: project group
  Introduction and information about the pilot-project
- Participatory Observation 2
Kikuyu Police Jurisdiction, Kikuyu 2011-11-08
Participants: project group, police commanders from neighboring communities, local police officers.
Route around Kikuyu police jurisdiction, visiting outposts, talking to police officers
- *Participatory Observation 3*
Bruce House, Nairobi 2011-11-17
Participants: project group, project coordinator
Meeting with project group and project coordinator
- *Participatory Observation 4*
AP-station, Kikuyu 2011-11-24
Participants: project group, members of the public, police commanders from neighboring communities, international experts
Introduction to and information about Community Policing Committee meetings
- *Participatory Observation 5*
Alliance High School, Kikuyu 2011-12-12
Participants: project group, higher rank police officers commanding the pilot-project, local police officers, international police advisor

### 7.4 Semi-structured Interviews
- *Interview 1*
  AP station, Kikuyu 2011-11-23
  Female, AP-constable, joined the service in 2007
- *Interview 2*
  AP station, Kikuyu 2011-11-23
  Male, AP-constable, joined the service in 1993
- *Interview 3*
  AP station, Kikuyu 2011-11-23
  Male, AP-constable, joined the service in 2005
- *Interview 4*
  AP station, Kikuyu 2011-11-23
  Male, AP-constable, joined the service in 2008
- *Interview 5*
  District Headquarters, Kikuyu 2011-12-01
  Female, AP-constable, joined the service in 2008
- *Interview 6*
  Alliance High School, Kikuyu 2011-12-01
  Male, AP-corporal, joined the service in 1988
- *Interview 7*
  KP station, Kikuyu 2011-12-01
  Female, KP-constable, joined the service in 2005
- *Interview 8*
  KP station, Kikuyu 2011-12-01
  Male, KP-constable, joined the service in 2004
- *Interview 9*
KP station, Kikuyu 2011-12-02
Make, KP-constable from the criminal investigation department (CID), joined the service in 2001
- Interview 10
KP-station, Kikuyu 2011-12-02
Male, KP-constable, joined the service in 2006
- Interview 11
KP-station, Kikuyu 2011-12-02
Female, KP-constable, joined the service in 2006
- Interview 12
KP-station, Kikuyu 2011-12-02
Male, KP-constable, joined the service in 2007
APPENDIX I

Interview Guide (Semi-structured Interviews)  

How do the local police -men and -women look upon their role as police officers in Kikuyu?

General Information
- Name:
- Age:
- Male/Female:
- Kenya Police/Administration Police:
- Rank:
- Year joining the service:
- Years as police officer:

Theme: Description of Kikuyu
- “Can you please describe Kikuyu/location?”
- “Please describe your last workday”.
- “Is that a typical workday?”
- If not, “What made it untypical?”
- “What are your feelings about being a police officer? Pros/cons; possibilities/challenges?”
- If problems, “What could make your job easier?”
- “Have you worked in areas other than Kikuyu?”
- If so, “Can you name similarities/differences between these areas?”
- Following the last, “Please explain these”.

Theme: Relationship to the citizens of Kikuyu.
- “Do you live in Kikuyu yourself?”
- “Do you have friends or family living in Kikuyu?”
- “Besides police officers, who do you spend most time with during your workday?”
- “What do you think the locals in Kikuyu think about you and your colleagues?”
- “Is there any differences between how males/females; groups of peoples; rich/poor?”
- “Do you agree with this picture?”
- If not, “What would you want to change?”
- “Is there any differences in how you are met by the community when you are working in relation to when you are off duty?”

Theme: Criminality in Kikuyu.
- “What is the most common crime you have to deal with in Kikuyu?”
- “Is there any specific area in Kikuyu that is most commonly visited?”
- “What kind of threats towards yourself do you experience in your profession?”
How does the project group perceive the professional role police officers in Kikuyu should have, following the implementation of community policing?

General Information
- Name:
- Age:
- Male/Female:
- National Police/Administration Police:
- Rank:
- Year joining the service:
- Years as a police officer:
- Situation:

Theme: Description of Kikuyu
- “Can you please describe Kikuyu?”

Theme: Criminality in Kikuyu.
- “What is the most common crime you have to deal with in Kikuyu?”
- “Is there any specific area in Kikuyu that is most commonly visited by the police officers?”

Theme: The police today.
- “Can you please describe a regular workday of your employees?”
- Following the previous, “In what sense are they told to prioritize between their duties?” → Ranking.
- “In what situation do you most commonly meet your employees?”
- “What challenges does the police officers face during their workday?”
- “How do you look upon the current relationship between police and citizens?”
- “What are the most apparent threats towards the police officers in Kikuyu?”

Theme: The project in Community Policing
- “Can you please describe the project?”
- “What challenges do you perceive in the specific case of Kikuyu?”