Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

Utilising counselling services by law enforcement: An exploratory case study

Maximus Monaheng Sefotho[1]* (iD) and Cecilia Tlaleng Seema[2]

[1]*Department of Educational Psychology, University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa*
[2]*Department of Educational Foundations, University of Botswana, City, Botswana*
*Correspondence: msefotho@uj.ac.za

This study explored police officers' dispositions to utilise counselling services. Informants were 20 offers of the Lesotho Mounted Police Services (females = 42.5 %; constables = 57.5 %, age range 21 to 50+). The officers completed the Workplace Counselling Service Utilisation survey on their perceptions of the relevance and accessibility of counselling services by their workstation. Descriptive analysis results indicate the officers to perceive the value of workplace counselling for chronic health conditions and general well-being as well as for mental health support. The officers perceived their workplace counselling services inaccessible due to lack of privacy, as well as risks for stigmatisation for languishing health and poorer career prospects. Workplace counselling for law enforcement would be serviceable with infrastructure for privacy and confidentiality.

Keywords: burnout, counselling services, Lesotho police, perceptions, stress

Introduction

Globally, police officers are exposed to more work-related stress, which would lead to their risk for cardiovascular diseases exceeding that of the general population (Magnavita et al., 2018). However, there is evidence to suggest that police officers use less counselling services than the general population (Mushwana et al., 2019), which would harm their health in the long-term. Yet, among police services, there appears to be a trend towards the use of mental health counselling services (Faulkner, 2018). Specifically, police mental health and psychotherapeutic help-seeking suggest an evolving police culture more accepting of mental health services and away from beliefs rooted in "stigma, shame and rejection, low mental health literacy, lack of knowledge and treatment-related doubts, fear of negative social consequences, limited resources, time, and expenses" (Kantor et al., 2017, p.53). At workplaces, concerns about breach of confidentiality and the potential negative career impact would impact utilisation of counselling services (Fox et al., 2012). We sought to explore engagement by the Lesotho police service members of their workplace counselling unit for well-being.

Lesotho: Its law enforcement socio-ecology

Lesotho is a small mountainous kingdom in Southern Africa, comprising 30 355^2 kilometres in size (Leduka, 2012). It is surrounded by the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and comprises around 2.3 million people (Maliehe, 2014). Most Lesotho's citizens work in various sectors of the South African economy such as farms, textile, mining, and professional jobs. The Lesotho informal sector provides work for the majority of the Basotho.

The Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS) is managed by the Commissioner of Police and has a counselling unit to provide psychosocial support to officers needing relief from work-related stress and trauma. The unit also provides counselling support to officers with mood disorders and with work-family conflict role issues that would impact work performance. This includes the management of chronic health conditions {PLEASE CONFIRM AS CORRECT} (Olowu, 2015). The counselling unit is managed by a senior officer with basic counselling training. It is unclear as to the perceptions of the in-house counselling services by the police officers that would influence their use of the services for themselves or the public they serve. Conceivably, their cultural understanding would influence their utilisation of counselling services for mental health issues.

Attitudes and intention to seek counselling

People may utilise formal mental health counselling services less, preferring informal counselling within their family or their social network (Duff et al., 2013; Ebersöhn, 2019; Seleme, 2017; Sharaievska, 2013). This would be true mostly in developing country settings like Lesotho with strong familial social networks and access to complementary or alternative counselling services provided by traditional healers (Iyeke et al., 2018). Traditional healers typically are the first point of call by indigenous community people prior to accessing modern medicine treatments (Iyeke et al., 2018; Labys et al., 2016). Thus, a treatment gap is apparent in the use of modern therapies by indigenous populations (Wolff, 2014).

In the Lesotho cultural context, people expect counselling in everyday settings from their communal flock or the *khokanyana-phiri.* This also provides social capital in help-seeking behaviour (Ebersöhn, 2019), discouraging self-stigma (McCann et al., 2016), and empathetic consideration to a person in need (Frey & Goldstone, 2018). Yet, workplace-based counselling in the form of Employee Assistance Programs (EAP) is increasingly

utilised across industry sectors (Dookran, 2014). This is indeed the case with the Lesotho police service counselling unit. Yet, the uptake of modern counselling services would be low in most African countries (McCann et al., 2016; Raji, 2019). Influences on use of workplace counselling by LMPS officers remain a matter for research, and findings would inform the design and implementation of workplace counselling by law enforcement across the African continent.

Goal of the study

Perceptions of a human service influence its utilisation (Chiboola, 2020; Goss & Adebowale, 2014; Mpofu et al., 2015). If LMPS perceived workplace counselling to be inconsistent with their core beliefs about help seeking and provision, they would be less likely to utilise such a service or perhaps be very selective in their use of a workplace counselling unit. We sought to explore utilisation of workplace mental health counselling services by the LMP and the conditions under which utilisation was likely. Our specific research question that guided the study was: How does police officers' perceptions influence their disposition towards utilization of counselling services?

Method
Participants and setting
Participants were 40 of 296 officers (14%) stationed in Maseru, Lesotho. Table 1 presents a summary of the participants' demographic characteristics.

Table 1. Characteristics of the participants

Demographics	Frequency N	Frequency %
Sex		
Male	23	57.5
Female	17	42.5
Total	40	100
Age		
21 – 30	15	37.5
31 – 40	15	37.5
41 – 50	9	22.5
50+	1	2.5
Total	40	100
Marital status		
Married	24	60
Not married	12	30
Widowed	4	10
Total	40	100
Rank		
Trooper	20	50
Sergeant	10	25
Inspector	10	25
Total	40	100
Education level		
C.O.SC	22	55
Diploma	6	15
Degree	8	20
Special certificate	4	10
Total	40	100

Note. Frequency *N* = Frequency Number. Frequency % = Frequencies in percentages.

Instrument
The participants completed a Workplace Counselling Service Utilisation Survey (Seema, 2010) which included questions on participants' demographic characteristics. It also included questions regarding the perceptions of use of workplace wellness counselling. Specifically, counselling services that police officers use; work related factors influencing police officers to seek counselling services; and barriers police officers face in seeking counselling services. As a measure of the consistency or reliability of reporting, we administered the survey to a subsample of the participants twice and observed a concordance of agreement of 85%, indicating high reliability.

Procedure and data analysis
The University of Botswana Office of Research and Development approved the study {PLEASE PROVIDE THE ETHICAL CLEARANCE NUMBER IF AVAILABLE}. The Maseru Central police command granted permission for the study. The participants individually consented to take part in the study and were informed that the information they provided was for research purposes only. We used dummy codes for the data capture to protect the participants' identities. Given the small sample and exploratory nature of this study, we analysed the data descriptively.

Results and discussion
In this section, we present and discuss results simultaneously as they emerged from the analysis of data for the current study.

Counselling services that police officers use
Table 2 and Table 3 present the major work and life domains for which the LMP would use workplace counselling services.

As apparent from Table 2, the LMP perceived workplace counselling pertinent to HIV/AIDS management and general counselling. HIV and AIDS counselling would be a priority in this high pandemic region, as would general counselling. Roz and Raval (2017) support this observation and note that police are prone to mental health problems and require general counselling services. The officers also utilised the workplace counselling unit for family, child, and couple's therapy (see also Tuerk et al., 2012; Tuttle, 2019). When families take part in the counselling services it might serve as an advocacy tool to encourage the utilisation of the services beyond the members-only approach. Bano (2011) reports that lack of time for family and related stresses among police personnel can lead to police officers seeking workplace counselling services.

Table 3 identifies three priority counselling needs for the LMPS: daily police work, nature of work, and nature of workplace. Stress from daily police work is a major driving factor for use of workplace counselling services (Leino et al., 2011; McCormick, 2017). This would be from the fact that the nature of work performed by the police is mostly crisis intervention, which is associated with psychological distress (Leino et al., 2011). The psychological distress may be from role ambiguity as to how far the police officers should engage communities without breaching

Table 2. Perceptions by the LMP of Life situation issues for counselling (*N* = 20)

Counselling services provided by LMPS	Frequency	Frequency %	Ranking
Family counselling	6	15	3
HIV and AIDS counselling	22	55	1
Child counselling	7	17.5	2
Couple counselling	7	17.5	2
General counselling	22	55	1
Not sure	4	10	4
Other services	0	0	5

Note. Participants could nominate several of the areas and the percentages are for endorsement per item

Table 3. LMP perceptions of Work issues for counselling (*N* = 20).

Factors influencing counselling services	Frequency *n*	Frequency %	Ranking
Daily police work causes stress and trauma	30	75	2
Stress at work	28	70	3
Stress due to being the front desk police officer	15	37.5	4
Nature of work	33	82.5	1
Workplace	33	82.5	1
Other	0	0	0

Note. Participants could nominate several of the areas and the percentages are for endorsement per item

police code of conduct (Perrott & Kelloway, 2011). Compassion fatigue is a type of traumatisation prevalent among police officers as they respond to citizens' traumatising experiences (Papazoglou, 2017).

Regular transfers may be one of the factors causing stress. However, this will mainly be if officers are transferred to less resourced areas (Bano, 2011). Although we did not analyse by age due to small sample size, "stress is significantly more pronounced among those police personnel who are younger, more educated, posted in urban areas and have less work experience" (Joseph & Nagrajamurthy, 2014, p. 39).

Influencing on workplace counselling help seeking by the LMP

Table 4 presents the data summaries on influences on use of workplace counselling services by the LMP.

As apparent from Table 4, breach of confidentiality was a major concern to dissuade officers from taking part in activities deemed to compromise it. In this particular work setting, the same space that is used for counselling services is also used as an operational office accommodating three other officers. Confidentiality of the meeting space is pivotal to counselling services (Dey & Kumar, 2020). Lack of confidentiality seems to be associated with less help seeking behaviour of the police officers.

Perceptions of lacking in resilience to face challenges in life was a critical aspect influencing workplace

counselling help seeking among the officers. Law enforcement officers are generally expected to show mental strength (van der Meulen et al., 2018). Lack of resilience in times of adversity is generally not perceived as aptness for police work. Counselling is perceived predisposed to capacitate police officers to face challenges and develop resilience skills through education and training (Cregan et al., 2020).

Fear to be judged negatively at work due to personal problems underpinned lack of help seeking from the counselling services. It equally appeared to promote negative stereotypes linked to weakened social identity (see also Trinkner et al., 2019). Fear to be judged negatively would be counter-productive to utilisation of workplace counselling services for the well-being of police officers.

Implications for practice

Occupational stress is an inevitable part of police work in general as policing is considered one of the most stressful occupations (Bano, 2011). Police service members contend with daily work (Maguen et al., 2009) and for which they require specialised services (Quraishi & Benton, 2014). Mental health resilience training should be a part of workplace counselling services (van der Meulen et al., 2018). Furthermore, education about counselling services would enhance workplace counselling service utilisation by police service members. Fear of confidentiality breaches

Table 4. Influences of workplace help seeking by LMPS members

Challenges	Frequency *n*	Frequency %	Ranking
Fear to be judge negatively at work due to my problems.	12	30	4
Perceptions of lacking in resilience to face challenges in life.	13	32.5	3
Career fears of supervisors denting promotion	13	32.5	2
Lack of work-hardiness among the junior officers.	13	32.5	2
Confidentiality concerns.	16	40	1
Perceptions of lack of decisional resolve	9	22.5	5

Note. Frequency *n* = Frequencies in Numbers. Frequency %= Frequencies in percentages. Ranking = Ordering the Frequency Percentages by superiority

from lack of counselling space was a major concern for the police officers. Police officers value confidentiality as part of their training.

Limitations

The results of this study cannot not be generalised to the Lesotho national police service due to the small sample of police officers surveyed. We also did not analyse the data by sex, age, and seniority due to the small sample size. Moreover, we relied on self-report data, rather than on that of the officers providing the counselling services. Future studies should survey a representative sample of officers who are users and providers of the counselling services for more definitive findings.

Conclusion

LMPS officers perceive workplace counselling services important for their work-life situation support needs. They identify usefulness of workplace counselling for HIV and general counselling. The officers perceive workplace counselling relevant to mental health needs. However, they are also reticent to use the services due to a lack of privacy and confidentiality and concerns that they might be stigmatised by peers and supervisors as pathological and unfit for service.

ORCID

Maximus Monaheng Sefotho http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0704-1983

References

Bano, B. (2011). Job stress among police personnel. *International Proceedings of Economics Development and Research, 4*, 290–293.

Case, A., Menendez, A., & Ardington, C. (2005). *CSSR working paper: Health seeking behaviour in northern Kwazulu-Natal.* Retrieved from http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001298/P1535_Working-paper116_May2005.pdf {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Chiboola, H. (2020). Theoretical Perspective of Traditional Counselling. In A. Editor, & B. Editor (Eds.). *Counselling and Therapy* (pp. xx–xx). IntechOpen.

Cregan, K., Rowe, L., & Wall, T. (2020). Resilience Education and Training. In W. Leal Filho, T. Wall, A. M. Azul, L. Brandli, & P. G. Özuyar (Eds.), *Good Health and Well-Being. Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals* (pp. xx–xx). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95681-7_25

Dale, S. K., Cohen, M. H., Kelso, G. A., Cruise, R. C., Weber, K. M., Watson, C., Burke-Miller, J. K., & Brody, L. R. (2014). Resilience among women with HIV: Impact of silencing the self and socioeconomic factors. *Sex Roles, 70*(5-6), 221–231. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0348-x {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Dey, A. M., & Kumar, A. (2020). Physical framework for a counselling environment in India: Thematic analysis of counsellors' perceptions. *Counselling & Psychotherapy Research, 20*(2), 336–345. https://doi.org/10.1002/capr.12299

Dookran, J. (2014). *Exploring how African employees access workplace counselling in South Africa* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), Institution.

Duff, C., Jacobs, K., Loo, S. and Murray, S. (2013) *The role of informal community resources in supporting stable housing for young people recovering from mental illness: key issues for housing policy-makers and practitioners*, AHURI Final Report No. 199, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited, Melbourne, https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/199.

Ebersöhn, L. (2019). When You Live, You Live with Others: The Culturally Salient Relational Dimensions of Flocking. In A. Editor, & B. Editor (Eds.). *Flocking Together: An Indigenous Psychology Theory of Resilience in Southern Africa* (pp. xx–xx). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16435-5_5

Faulkner, B. (2018). *"Things Are Changing": Police Mental Health and Psychotherapeutic Help-seeking Within an Evolving Police Culture* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), University of Toronto.

Fox, J., Desai, M. M., Britten, K., Lucas, G., Luneau, R., & Rosenthal, M. S. (2012). Mental-health conditions, barriers to care, and productivity loss among officers in an urban police department. *Connecticut Medicine, 76*(9), 525–531.

Frey, S., & Goldstone, R. L. (2018). Cognitive mechanisms for human flocking dynamics. *Journal of Computational Social Science, 1*(2), 349–375. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42001-018-0017-x

Iyeke, P. O., Onyema, L. C., & Nwose, E. U. (2018). Perceptions and unmet expectations of undergraduate students on the role of counselling in academic achievement: Implication for academic development program review. *World Journal of Education, 8*(5), 88–96. https://doi.org/10.5430/wje.v8n5p88

Jonathan, O. (2008). Pastoral Counselling Programme at the National University of Lesotho: The proto-type practicuum case report guide and its clinical utility. *Review of Southern African Studies, 12*(1-2). https://doi.org/10.4314/rosas.v12i1-2.53638 {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Jones, J. K. (2020). A place for therapy: Clients reflect on their experiences in psychotherapists' offices. *Qualitative Social Work: Research and Practice, 19*(3), 406–423. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325020911676 {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Joseph, J. K., & Nagrajamurthy, B. (2014). Stress in police officers. *IOSR journal of humanities and social science, 19*(10), 39-40.

Kantor, V., Knefel, M., & Lueger-Schuster, B. (2017). Perceived barriers and facilitators of mental health service utilisation in adult trauma survivors: *A systematic review. Clinical Psychology Review, 52*, 52–68. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2016.12.001

Kastrani, T., Deliyanni-Kouimtzis, V., & Athanasiadesa, C. (2017). Women as Counselling and Psychotherapy Clients: Researching the Therapeutic Relationship. *The European Journal of Counselling Psychology, 6*(1), 138–161. https://doi.org/10.5964/ejcop.v6i1.130 {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Labys, C. A., Susser, E., & Burns, J. K. (2016). Psychosis and help-seeking behaviour in rural KwaZulu Natal: Unearthing local insights. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems, 10*(1): 57. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13033-016-0089-z

Leduka, R. C. (2012). *Lesotho urban land market scoping study.* Report for Urban LandMark. ISAS.

Leino, T. M., Selin, R., Summala, H., & Virtanen, M. (2011). Violence and psychological distress among police officers and security guards. *Occupational Medicine, 61*(6), 400–406. https://doi.org/10.1093/occmed/kqr080

Letsie, T. W. (2018). *Demilitarising the mountain kingdom: an action research project in Lesotho* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Institution. {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Magaard, J. L., Seeralan, T., Schulz, H., & Brütt, A. L. (2017). Factors associated with help-seeking behaviour among individuals with major depression: A systematic review. *PLoS One, 12*(5): e0176730. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0176730 {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Magnavita, N., Capitanelli, I., Garbarino, S., & Pira, E. (2018). Work-related stress as a cardiovascular risk factor in police officers: A systematic review of evidence. *International Archives of Occupational and Environmental Health, 91*(4), 377–389. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00420-018-1290-y

Maguen, S., Metzler, T. J., McCaslin, S. E., Inslicht, S. S., Henn-Haase, C., Neylan, T. C., & Marmar, C. R. (2009). Routine work environment stress and PTSD symptoms in police officers. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 197*(10), 754–760. https://doi.org/10.1097/NMD.0b013e3181b975f8

Maliehe, S. (2014). An obscured narrative in the political economy of colonial commerce in Lesotho, 1870-1966. *Historia (Wiesbaden, Germany), 59*(2), 28–45.

McCann, T. V., Mugavin, J., Renzaho, A., & Lubman, D. I. (2016). Sub-Saharan African migrant youths' help-seeking barriers and facilitators for mental health and substance use problems: A qualitative study. *BMC Psychiatry, 16*: 275. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-016-0984-5

McCormick, A. (2017). *Mandating Wellness for Police Officers* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), University of the Fraser Valley.

Miller, L. (2000). Law enforcement traumatic stress: Clinical syndromes and intervention strategies. *Trauma Response, 6*(1), 15–20. https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=255195 {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Mpofu, E., Makuane, M. R., Richards, K. A., Mhaka-Mutepfa, M. M., Mpofu, J., Zebron, S., & Nkonde Clever, M. (2015). Counselling in Zimbabwe. *Counselling around the World: An International Handbook*, 65-73. {PLEASE PROVIDE FULL APA STYLE REFERENCE WITH A VALID URL}

Mushwana, M., Govender, I., & Nel, K. (2019). Stress and coping mechanisms of officers of the South African Police Service based in Tzaneen, Limpopo province, South Africa. *The South African Journal of Psychiatry, 25*: 1342. https://doi.org/10.4102/sajpsychiatry.v25i0.1342

Olowu, D. (2015). Responses to the global HIV and AIDS pandemic: A study of the role of faith-based organisations in Lesotho. *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance, 12*(1), 76–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/17290376.2015.1124802

Papazoglou, K. (2017). *The examination of different pathways leading towards police traumatization: Exploring the role of moral injury and personality in police compassion fatigue* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), University of Toronto.

Parker, K. A. (2015). *A paradigm of police stress from the lens of retired police officers: a phenomenological study* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), Capella University. {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Perrott, S. B., & Kelloway, E. K. (2011). Scandals, sagging morale, and role ambiguity in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police: The end of a Canadian institution as we know it? *Police Practice and Research, 12*(2), 120–135. https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2010.508983

Quraishi, F. A., & Benton, H. (2014). Focusing on children's strengths: Accessing effective mental health services for juvenile justice-involved youth through collaboration and understanding federal entitlements to care. *The Journal of Applied Research on Children, 5*(2): 6. https://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/childrenatrisk/vol5/iss2/6

Raji, M. N. (2019). Issues around vocational and career counselling in Nigeria. *International Journal of Contemporary Management, 18*(2), 47–69. https://doi.org/10.4467/24498939IJCM.19.006.11415

Rakolobe, M. (2019). Politicised public service and corruption in Lesotho. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa, 41*(1), 97–121. https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol%2041%20(1)/rakolobe.zp184739.pdf {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Roz, H. B., & Raval, D. T. (2017). A study of occupational stress, burnout, presumptive life events, depression and anxiety among Ahmedabad city police officers. *Indian Journal of Health and Well-being, 8*(12), 1485–1492.

Seema, C. T. (2010). *Workplace Counselling Service Utilisation Survey*, (Unpublished Masters thesis/doctoral dissertation) University of Botswana.

Sefotho, M. M. (2013). *Narratives of differently abled persons: informing career guidance policy* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), University of Pretoria. {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Seleme, B. (2017). *Using umgidi wokulingisa (dramatic stamping ritual) within drama therapy to provide an accessible therapeutic space for cultural beings with an African worldview* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Institute

Sekamane, T. (2018). *The perception of the community on the socio-environmental impacts of Metolong dam and reservoir in Lesotho* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), University of South Africa. {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Sharaievska, I. (2013). *Family and marital satisfaction and the use of social network Technologies* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Trinkner, R., Kerrison, E. M., & Goff, P. A. (2019). The force of fear: Police stereotype threat, self-legitimacy, and support for excessive force. *Law and Human Behaviour, 43*(5), 421–435. https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000339

Tucker, J. M. (2015). Police officer willingness to use stress intervention services: The role of perceived organizational support (POS), confidentiality and stigma. *International Journal of Emergency Mental Health, 17*(1), 304–314. {REFERENCE NOT USED IN TEXT}

Tuttle, B. M. (2019). *Occupational stress and work-life conflict among police officers* (Unpublished dissertation), Institution.

Tuerk, E. H., McCart, M. R., & Henggeler, S. W. (2012). Collaboration in family therapy. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 68*(2), 168–178. https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.21833

van der Meulen, E., Bosmans, M. W., Lens, K. M., Lahlah, E., & van der Velden, P. G. (2018). Effects of mental strength training for police officers: A three-wave quasi-experimental study. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology, 33*(4), 385–397. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-017-9247-8

Weber, S. (2013). *National Response Efforts to Address Sexual Violence and Exploitation Against Children in Lesotho: A Desktop Study*. Arlington, VA: USAID's AIDS Support and Technical Assistance Resources, AIDSTAR-One, Task Order 1.

Wolff, A. (2014). The State of psychotherapy in South Africa: A legacy of Apartheid and western biases. *UC Merced Undergraduate Research Journal, 7*(2), 136–142. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/26q8c96t