

Security Perception Index 2015

18 Months Follow-up Study Summary Report



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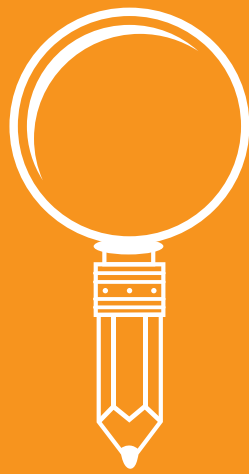
To download the full SPI report, please go to <http://www.janaagraha.org/files/spi2015.pdf>

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Abbreviations

1. **JCCD**- Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy
2. **CP**- Community Policing
3. **ASMs**- Area Suraksha Mitras
4. **SHO** - Station House Officer
5. **JSS**- Jana Suraksha Samithi
6. **ASI**- Assistant Sub Inspector
7. **HC** – Head Constable
8. **PC**- Police Constable
9. **CLO** - Community Liaison Officer
10. **BLAPs**- Beat Level Awareness Programs
11. **OAPs**-Organized Awareness programs
12. **DtD**- Door-to-Door
13. **MOM** - Minutes of Meetings
14. **SPI** - Security Perceptions Index
15. **FA**- Field Associate
16. **BLVs** - Beat Level Volunteers
17. **PI**- Police Inspector
18. **RWAs**- Resident Welfare Associations
19. **PGs**- Paying guest accommodations
20. **PS**- Police Station



Executive Summary

In 2013, the Bengaluru City Police and the Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (JCCD) formed a partnership to pilot a community policing program in seven police stations in Bengaluru. The Community Policing (CP) program seeks to minimize the gap between the police and citizens to ensure improved security. The program is designed around the concept of a 'Beat Constable' who keeps in regular touch with people in the respective beat in a police station jurisdiction which is assigned to them. They are assisted in this task by Area Suraksha Mitras (ASMs). ASMs are volunteers from the local community who are chosen carefully to represent all strands of society and are vetted by the concerned Station House Officer (SHO). They, together, as members of the Jana Suraksha Samithi with a Convenor approved by the Deputy Commissioner of Police of the concerned Division, and the local SHO as Secretary, meet from time to time to help the police in determining policing priorities.

Before commencement of the pilot program, a baseline survey was undertaken with 392 police and 716 citizens across the seven police zones¹. This aimed to gather baseline information on a range of parameters related to security perception of the police and residents living in the stations where the CP program was then implemented. The subject of this report is the 18 months follow-up evaluation which aimed to assess changes (if any) in security perception from 2013 (baseline) to 2015 (18 months follow up). Three hundred and twenty-nine police and 768 citizens in the areas where CP was administered were the subjects of these 18 months follow up series of surveys (the treatment groups). Furthermore, 214 ASMs working as part of the program in these areas were also interviewed. As an additional comparison, at 18 months follow up, 92 police and 415 citizens across two control police stations in Bengaluru (i.e. where CP had not been implemented) were also surveyed. All surveys were done face-to-face by JCCD staff and the Hansa Research Group in January-April 2015.

Key findings are as follows:

1. The general perception of crime and safety (at the 18 month follow-up point) among the police in police stations where CP had been introduced is that crime had gone up in the last one year in Bengaluru city as a whole, while crime had decreased in their own neighbourhood or beat area.
2. The police, by and large, were of the opinion that CP has had a favourable impact on policing. This is indicated by the percentage of police who felt that after the introduction of CP, suspicions harboured by the public against the police had decreased, the percentage of law abiding citizens who were afraid of the police had come down and citizens' response to door-to-door visits had become more positive. Police also felt that citizens' overall support for police in investigations had increased slightly in treatment areas and, in fact, support felt by police in these areas was far greater than that felt by police in control police station areas. Police also felt that the vast majority of citizens had no impediments in reporting crime. It is also a positive indicator that 98% of police interviewed in 2015 knew about the CP program in question as compared to 32% knowing about any other CP program in 2013.
3. However, there were some confounding findings too; (i) The percentage of police who said they knew the citizens well came down in 2015 as compared to 2013. This may be because once CP is introduced, it is the beat police who do most of the interactions with the public on a regular basis. Other police may not have as many opportunities to meet the public as earlier when everyone was doing beat patrolling by turns. (ii) The frequency of door-to-door visits has reportedly decreased following the introduction of CP. This is a matter of great concern, since the central strategy of CP is to increase the number and frequency of door-to-door visits. This result points to a major lapse in efforts to implement CP. (iii) Interaction between police and residents' associations has decreased

¹ Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy, 2013: Security Perception Index, 2013 Baseline Study. Available at: <http://www.janaagraha.org/publications/> [accessed 10th March 2016].

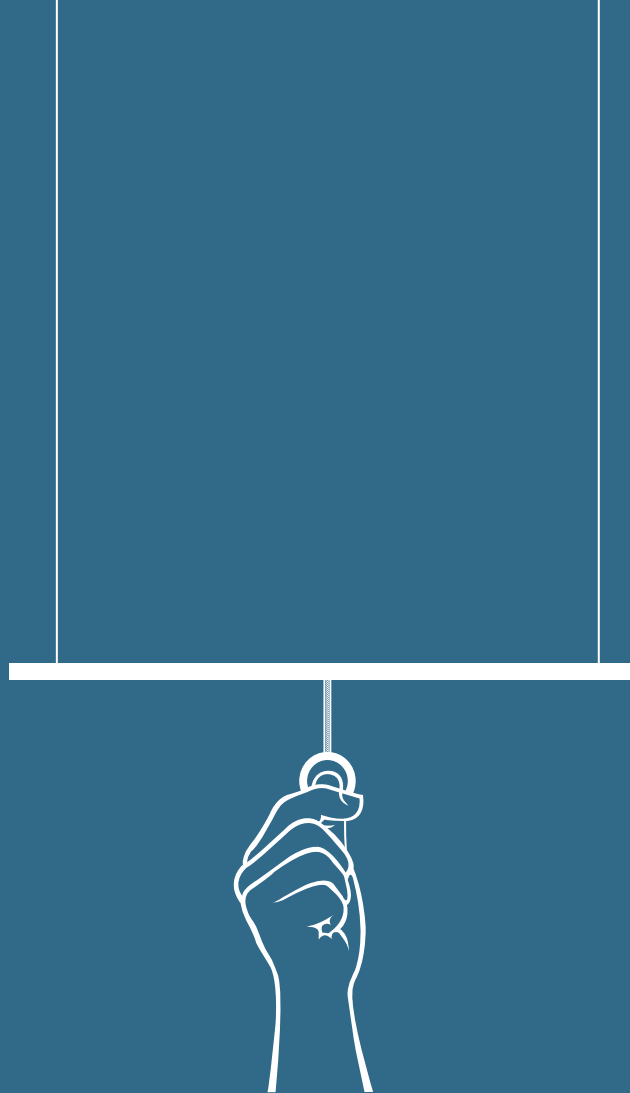
sharply between baseline and 18 months follow up. This is an area that needs to be looked into. It may be attributable to an increase in formal/informal beat awareness programs but this remains unclear. There is no instruction in the CP handbook regarding interactions with residents' associations so this can be explored.

4. The vast majority of citizens interviewed were of the view that crime in Bengaluru city as a whole had increased or increased a lot during the last year. However, almost the same percentage felt that crime in their own neighbourhood had either not increased or had actually gone down. This may indicate that the CP program helped to shape perceptions and make residents feel safer. Many respondents explained this phenomenon by saying that there was growing cooperation between citizens and police, an increase in police resources, fewer powerful people interfering with police activity and antisocial tendencies among the public decreasing.
5. The percentage of citizens living in treatment areas who said they would call the police when they/ family faced a security threat dropped marginally from the baseline to 18 months follow- up study. It is possible citizens may now also report issues to an ASM. However, citizens are still more likely to report activities that affect them or their families than those affecting their neighbours.
6. Very encouragingly, proportionally more citizens in the treatment group of the follow-up survey in 2015 compared to 2013 and those in the control group, thought that the police were successful in solving major and minor crimes.
7. Six per cent of the citizen population interviewed in the treatment areas of the 2015 survey were aware of the CP program. Though it may appear low, given the fact the program is only in its pilot stage and been running only since July 2013, this finding is encouraging. Furthermore, many other citizens may well be experiencing the program (seeing more beat patrols for example) without being acutely aware this falls under the guise of a specific program, let alone its name.
8. All the stakeholders (police, ASMs and citizens) felt that the CP program was successful in improving beat-security, improving citizen-police relationships, helping resolve conflicts and increasing police responsiveness and effectiveness. This is an important finding since a key objective of the CP program is to foster collaboration among citizens and police to improve quality of life.
9. In terms of the usefulness of the ASM position, the police agreed that the role of ASMs has been important in making citizens aware of safety and security precautions and has helped to improve beat security. The ASMs also felt that they facilitated better relations between police and citizens and helped to increase citizen awareness about safety and security. More than half of the citizens familiar with the CP program agreed or strongly agreed that ASMs had helped improve the relationship between police and citizens in their area, as well as made them and other members of their community more aware of things they could do to stay safe and avoid crimes.
10. A majority of both police and ASM respondents found the overall program to be useful as well as finding each of the three fundamental initiatives of the CP program specifically, useful, i.e. the informal beat-level meetings, organized awareness programs and Jana Suraksha Samithi (JSS) meetings. However, the majority of citizens did not know whether informal beat-level meetings and organized awareness programs were useful. Informal beat-level meetings were most frequently held once per month, rather than the suggested multiple times per week, and just under half of ASMs did not attend the mandatory monthly JSS meetings. Furthermore, only 38% of the ASMs interviewed had attended the training for the role, suggesting room for development in all of these areas.

- 11.** The majority of citizens who were aware of the CP program had not heard of ASMs before the survey (even though the majority of ASMs thought most citizens were aware of their role as ASM). A majority of both police and ASMs felt they knew each other well or fairly well. Over half of ASMs reported meeting with police from their beat outside of organized programs and meetings. Overall, police respondents said they only sometimes discussed criminal activities with ASMs. The majority of ASMs said they inform beat police or field associates of suspicious or crime-related matters once a month. Encouragingly, ASMs report the frequency of success of the police in dealing with issues raised by them as relatively high. Furthermore, a majority of police respondents thought that talking to ASMs helped resolve security challenges faced by the beat.

To conclude, the program's goal has been, and continues to be, to minimize the gap between the police and citizens to ensure improved security. Positive changes in this regard can be seen between the baseline and 18 months follow-up surveys in the seven pilot areas with for example, each of the stakeholder groups feeling crime had reduced in their area during the relevant period. Promisingly, the citizens attributed this decrease to growing cooperation between citizens and police and even more encouragingly, many citizens felt ASMs had played a role in these improved relations. The police and ASMs perceive improved relations and improved familiarity between citizens and the police. In fact, there seems to be a sense of improved community relations more generally with citizens in the follow up survey being more likely than before to help their neighbours report unlawful activities to the police.

Having said this, it must be added that improvement in some aspects of the program could perhaps bring about even more positive change. Informal beat-level meetings seem not to be running at the frequency desired by the program nor is attendance at JSS meetings occurring at the desired frequency. ASM training has also only penetrated just over a third of ASMs. More frequent door-to-door visits by beat police and greater interaction of police with residents' associations are also necessary. Though these may be resource dependent issues, working to develop these areas, in these seven stations and the eight further stations in which CP has since been introduced in Bengaluru, is likely to ensure even greater impact for this initiative devised to bring the police closer to the people.



Introduction

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

The Community policing (CP) program refers to the collaboration between the police and citizens to improve the quality of life in their community. This initiative allows citizens to be aware of, and actively participate in crime-prevention, and the police to be more than just law enforcers; also acting as advisors and supporters of a new “community-based, police supervised initiative.”² CP’s aim is to minimize the gap between the police and citizens so that policemen are an integral part of the community they serve. Hence, policemen know of each member of their community and likewise are known by citizens. In contrast to traditional policing, CP broadens its focus by soliciting information from law-abiding citizens, through both formal and informal contacts³.

In 2003, the Indian Bureau of Police Research and Development recommended a model for community policing for India with the goal of minimizing the gap between police and citizens to an extent that the police become an integrated part of the community they serve and earn the acceptance and trust of the community (Borwarkar, 2011, 43). While emphasizing the collaborative approach of community policing, Kumar (2013) noted that its popularity within the Indian community/context is reflected by its growing implementation in many different states. To mobilize public participation and police functioning, community policing programs have been launched in some Indian states, including Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab and Karnataka. In Kerala, Janamaitri Suraksha has been implemented in over two hundred police stations as one of the more successful schemes in integrating the police and the community in a partnership to improve their security environment.

1.2 Community Policing in Bengaluru

In Karnataka, community policing (CP) was launched in Bengaluru on June 20, 2013. It was meant to serve as a means for capacity-building and engaging citizens. It was also used to address citizens’ critical concerns through a joint undertaking between the Bengaluru City Police and the Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (JCCD). The roots of the CP program in Bengaluru stem from a series of activities that began approximately three years ago when JCCD met with several stakeholders from the Government of Karnataka, Karnataka police, and Bengaluru police on July 6th, 2012. During the meeting, the CP team delivered a presentation regarding the potential program’s vision and goals, including how it could increase the safety and security of citizens⁴. One way was to reduce the barrier of a lack of trust and respect for the role of the police by raising awareness of police processes caused by a gap of human and fiscal/resource capacity. A study by the United Nations indicates a global average of one police officer per 333 citizens⁵. However, as of 2013, the Karnataka ratio is one police officer per 751 civilians⁶. The meeting resulted in the formation of a partnership between Bengaluru City Police and Janaagraha, the signing of a permission letter by the Chief Secretary of Karnataka and the issuance of a government order to initiate CP in seven police stations one in each of the seven police divisions of Bengaluru.

The Community Policing program comprises of three key initiatives:

- 1. Area Suraksha Mitras (ASMs):** Deployment of citizen volunteers who act as security representatives from local communities. ASMs organize beat level meetings and beat-level awareness programs.
- 2. Jana Suraksha Beat Patrols:** Initiation of the physical presence and patrolling of police officers on the streets of the beats of each police station.
- 3. Jana Suraksha Samitis:** Formation of committees which are a part of the CP program formed to assist in bridging the relations between ASMs and police authorities and are entrusted with the implementation of community policing within the area of the respective police station

² See Trojanowicz, R., & Bucqueroux, B. (1990) “Community policing: A contemporary perspective,” 3.

³ See Trojanowicz, R., & Bucqueroux, B. (1990) “Community policing: A contemporary perspective,” 11.

⁴ See More, S. (2013) “Q2: Quarterly Report 2013-2013,” http://www.janaagraha.org/q2report2013-13/community_policing.html

⁵ See United Nations, A/CONF.213/3, State of Crime and Criminal Justice Worldwide, Twelfth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, 2010

⁶ See Security Perception Index, Janaagraha Applied Research Programme, 2013 Baseline Study

Each of these key initiatives will be described in more detail in the following section:

1.2.1 Area Suraksha Mitras (ASM)

The CP program is designed to heavily rely on civic engagement and participation. ASMs, also known as wardens, are citizen volunteers that act as security representatives from local communities. ASMs work in close liaison with the police force whilst simultaneously providing support and information to fellow citizens. The ASM initiative allows common citizens to be involved in neighbourhood safety and thus gives them a sense of ownership of their neighbourhoods.

The criteria for ASM selection are as follows:

- Any Indian citizen above 25 years of age, residing in the Police station area, passed primary examination, and willing to dedicate preferably 4-5 hours in a week for the safety and security of his / her neighbourhood can become an Area Suraksha Mitra (ASM).
- Individuals involved in any criminal case and convicted by any court of law in any criminal offence, charged with criminal proceedings or a person against whom an arrest warrant/summon is pending should not be involved in the program.
- Individuals with political links or affiliations cannot be part of Jana Suraksha Samiti. Care should be taken to pre-empt any communal or political interest being promoted in the JSS.

ASMs are allotted an area, comprising of 3-4 streets and approximately 1200 residents⁷. Once assigned an area the ASMs, accompanied by a beat constable, need to introduce themselves (as well as provide other educational safety information) to each household. Their main responsibility is to establish a working relationship with the local police authorities in order to share information, and to establish their identity in their allocated sector especially with key individuals. The ASMs are expected to dedicate four to five hours per week to ASM related activities.

Beat-level meetings: ASMs are expected to hold these several times within a week (the target being 12 meetings a month). Such meetings are facilitated by Janaagraha's field associates who are responsible for informing the beat constable or officer of their area to attend the meetings, while responsibility for mobilizing local citizens to attend these meetings falls with the ASMs. Beat-level meetings are informal and not always pre-planned like awareness programs and the JSS meetings (both described below); they serve as an informal channel for citizens to voice neighbourhood-level concerns and seek solutions amongst themselves or with the assistance of police constables.

Beat-level awareness programs: Although it is not mandatory, the ASMs are also encouraged to organize beat-level awareness programs (once per month). These programs are pre-planned and more structured engagements between citizens, police and sometimes external speakers/organizations. An example of a beat-level awareness program is one that was run in Ashok Nagar educating children aged 13-15 on community policing and child rights (with external guest speakers from Makkala Sahaya Vani (MSV), non-profit organization based in Bengaluru⁸). While the ASMs may connect and arrange speakers to visit local schools in their sector, the awareness programs are not limited to schools/young people and can be arranged for all citizens in the community.

Jana Suraksha Samitis (JSS) meetings: It is necessary for the ASMs to attend the monthly JSS meetings (described below). If an ASM does not attend three successive meetings, they will be deemed inactive and the Station House Officer (SHO) from the associated police station can remove them from the committee after

⁷ See "Become an Area Suraksha Mitra." <http://areasm.org/BecomeAnAreaSurakshaMitra>

⁸ More information on Makkala Sahaya Vani can be found at <http://fingertips.sutradharindia.org/profile/86>

discussing with the Convener of the JSS (members of JSS will be explained in the JSS section below).

In practice, the frequency with which different ASMs organize activities varies greatly. Many ASMs are less active and simply attend the JSS meetings and occasionally organize beat-level meetings. However, there are other ASMs who are more active, organizing several beat-level meetings in a week, and beat-level awareness programs (with the assistance of Janaagraha's field associates).

Further ASM duties listed within the CP handbook include:

- Maintaining a household register for their given sector
- Identifying strangers, criminals, new tenants, citizens of other nationality, or suspicious individuals etc. in their area
- Assisting the police, fire department, or concerned authorities in providing information like area topography, connecting the right people, and securing useful equipment, during critical incidents (air-raids, floods, fire, building collapse, etc.)
- It is important to note that ASMs do not have police powers, thus their responsibility is to notify the police in case of any irregularity or suspicion in their respective areas.

1.2.2 Jana Suraksha Beat

The Jana Suraksha Beat is a police-led aspect within the CP program. Each police zone in Bengaluru is divided into areas or beats, which are further divided into sub-beats. The Jana Suraksha beat is the physical presence and patrolling of police officers on the streets of the beats of each police station. These police officers are known as Beat Officers and Constables. These Beat Officers and Constables work closely with ASMs. The roles and responsibility of Beat Officers and Constables, as part of the CP program and hence in partnership with ASMs, includes knowing members of the community in their beat (at least one member per house hold). They are required to know the area in detail, interacting with service providers of the area, keeping phone numbers and addresses of important establishments and persons. Together with ASMs they should meet with citizens at a predetermined place and time to receive complaints at least thrice a week and keep a record of all meetings in a beat diary which is frequently seen and countersigned by the area's Police Inspector. They are required to act as a role model in terms of good manner, character, and politeness.

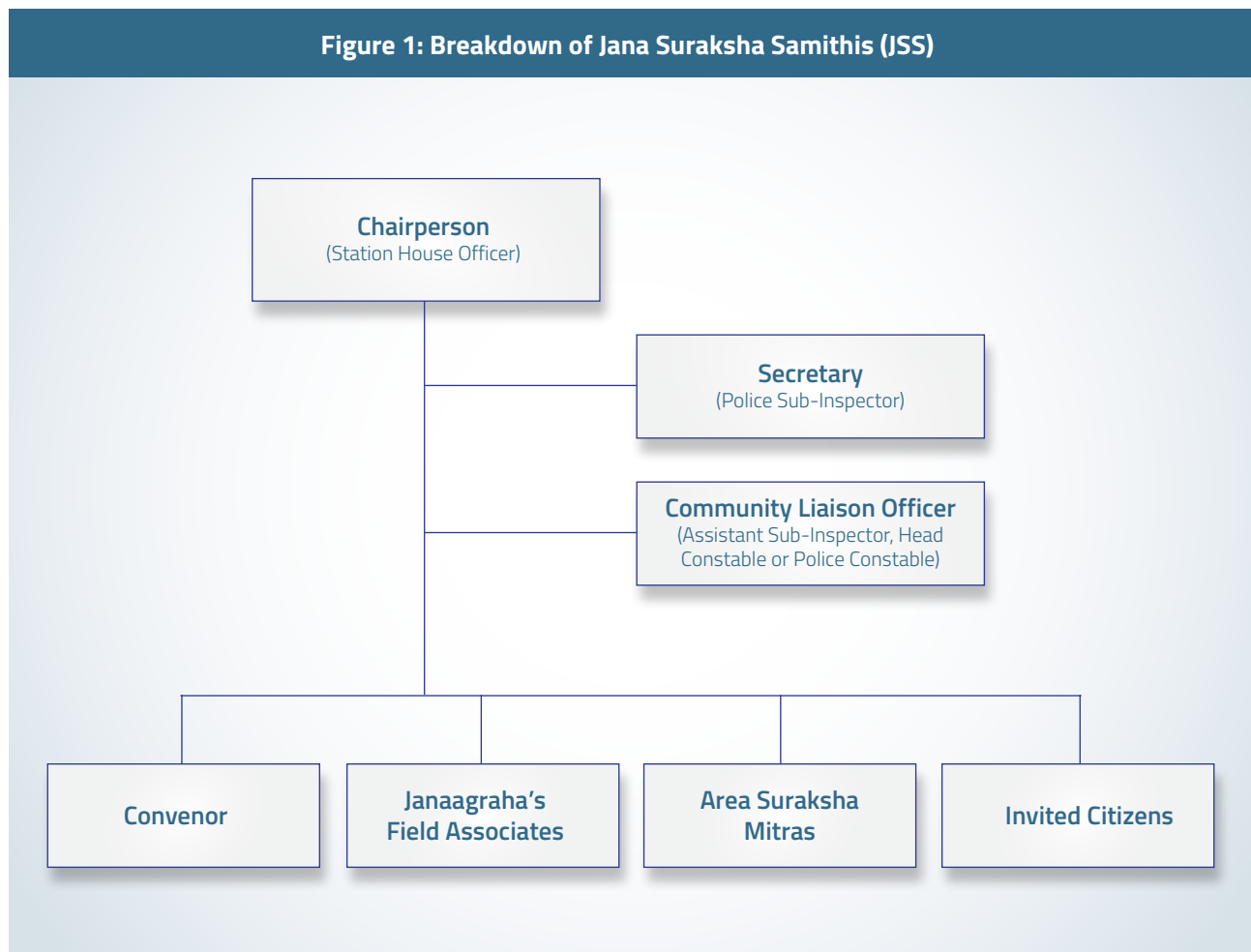
1.2.3 Jana Suraksha Samithis

Jana Suraksha Samithis (JSS) are committees which are a part of the CP program formed to assist in bridging the relations between the ASMs and police authorities. They are entrusted with the implementation of community policing within the area of the respective police station. The Samithis are area based committees comprising of 35-40 ASMs and police personnel of the concerned police station (handpicked by the Station House Officer with the help of beat constables). However, respectable citizens who are active in the educational and cultural field from the locality could also be invited to join the Samithis. The Samithis ideally meet once a month.

Figure 1 depicts the organizational breakdown of the members of the JSS committees. The SHO sits as the chairperson with the Sub-Inspector as secretary of the Samithis. An ASI, HC or PC, who is friendly and well connected to the community, will be designated as a Community Liaison Officer (CLO) by the SHO. Out of the committee's ASM members, a Convener is to be nominated by the SHO and submitted for approval to the Deputy Commissioner of Police. The Convener is regarded as a leader of the ASMs but does not have any

special duties. The meeting is not open to external parties, unless invited. According to the handbook, allowing external parties to join the meeting was planned but never implemented. Invited external speakers include experts from fields relevant to the issues faced by the community.

Figure 1: Breakdown of Jana Suraksha Samithis (JSS)



The committee meeting is a forum for information exchange (of organized crime or just crime prevention mechanisms), discussing security related issues and about their remedial measures. It is not a constitutional body because it is only meant to facilitate better policing. The JSS's main task is to share problems of individual beats, discuss how the ASMs could assist traditional policing, and share the discussions of beat-level meetings and beat-level awareness programs. Awareness sessions are also held during JSS meetings. Such educational sessions are meant to sensitize ASMs and the police in the hope that it will help them improve their activities on the field and raise awareness among their communities. Speakers from many organizations including Karnataka State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (KSCPCR), Karnataka State Commission for Women (KSCW), Child Welfare Committee (CRC), and Centre for Addiction Medicine (CAD) are invited to join these events.

Administratively, Minutes of Meetings (MOM) are documented and each of the JSS meetings lasts for one to two hours on average. As previously stated, the ASMs who do not attend three consecutive meetings may be spoken to about their interest in continuing the program, and depending on the result, removed from the program by the SHO. The Deputy Commissioner of Police also has the authority to remove any member of the JSS who involves themselves in any unlawful activity, criminal case, or any act involving moral turpitude. The JSS tenure, according to the current CP handbook, is two years. It is stated that a Samithi should be reconstituted every two years in order to incorporate other active or interested citizens.



Results

2. Results

This section compares the security perceptions of residents and police from stations with the Community Policing program between 2013 and the 18 months follow-up survey. The 18 months follow-up study comprised of both a treatment and control group of residents and police. Treatment stations consisted of areas with a Community Policing program in place, while control stations were areas that did not have the program. The follow-up surveys also contained a series of program-specific questions to the Area Suraksha Mitras (ASMs), residents and police respondents involved in the study.

Sampling

Bengaluru is made of seven police zones, and for the community policing pilot project, one police station from each zone was selected by the Bengaluru City Police. The police treatment group is represented by the seven police stations from the community policing pilot: Jnanabharathi, Banasawadi, Yelahanka, JP Nagar, Ashok Nagar, Madiwala and Rajagopal Nagar. The achieved sample size in the treatment group for the 2015 study was 329 policemen and women. The police stations selected as the control group in the 2015 study were located in Hanumanth Nagar and Ramamurthy Nagar. The achieved sample size for the control group was 92 policemen and women.

As of 2015, a total of 250 ASMs were a part of the CP program. Two hundred and fourteen ASMs were interviewed for the follow-up study. This constituted 86% of the ASM base across all seven police stations.

Finally, the achieved sample size of citizens for the treatment group spread across 54 beats in seven police station jurisdictions was 768 citizens for the follow-up study. The achieved sample for the control group was 415 citizens.

2.1 Changes in Incidence of Crime: Crime in the City of Bengaluru

In the 18 months follow-up survey, between the treatment stations and the control stations, the vast majority of residents and police held a negative security perception of Bengaluru, both in the short- and long-term. However, a higher proportion of citizens in the control stations held negative security perceptions of Bengaluru in the short-term. Citizen volunteers (ASMs) which was a stand-alone group for the treatment stations in 2015 survey, also felt that crimes increased in Bengaluru, both in the short-term and the long-term.

In the baseline survey held in 2013, the residents and police were asked about security perceptions of Bengaluru in the medium-term rather than short/long-term. Compared to the majority of citizens holding negative security perceptions of the city, police opinions were far more divided between those who thought crimes had increased and decreased over the last three years in Bengaluru.

2.1.1 Security Perception

Citizen and police perception of crime and security is essential for evaluating the CP program's impact on citizen safety and neighbourhood security. The 18 months follow-up survey measured both the long-term (10-year) and short-term (1-year) changes in crime perception. The 2013 Security Perception Index measured only long-term (10-year) and mid-term (3-year) changes in perception.

Citizen's Perception

Overall, citizens from the treatment and control group stations, at the 18 months follow-up stage, felt that there were increases in crime in Bengaluru both in the short-term and long-term. In the treatment group, 60% of citizens thought that crimes in Bengaluru have increased/increased a lot from last year. A larger proportion

of citizens (72%) in the control group held a negative security perception of Bengaluru in the short-term.

When analysing perceptions of change in the level of crime from 10 years ago to 1 year ago it can be seen that 74% of citizens from control stations felt crimes in Bengaluru increased/increased a lot in this time. Proportionately fewer citizens (62%) in the treatment group thought that crimes in Bengaluru increased/increased a lot in this time. These differences in the proportions of citizens between the treatment and control groups, could signify that the CP program is improving the security perception of residents living in treatment areas.

The Police's Perception

The baseline study reviewed changes in security perception of police in the last three years. 55% respondents thought that crimes in Bengaluru increased and increased a lot in the past three years. Ashok Nagar police station was an outlier, since the majority of respondents felt that crimes have decreased/decreased a lot from three years back. Across the treatment police stations in the follow-up survey, the majority of the police believed that crime in Bengaluru had increased or increased a lot, when comparing the situation one year ago to the situation ten years earlier. Ashok Nagar continues to be an outlier, since the police held a positive security perception of Bengaluru and thought that crimes have decreased/decreased a lot in the past year, compared to ten years ago. In the control group, overall the police held a positive security perception, when comparing the crime situation of the past year to ten years back. However, 32% police from the Hanumanth Nagar station held a negative security perception, as opposed to the Ramamurthy Nagar police station where police generally held a positive security perception.

Area Suraksha Mitra Perception

Opinions were divided among ASMs in regards to the short-term security perception of Bengaluru, with roughly equal proportions of ASMs saying it has increased and those saying it has decreased. There were some differences in perception between ASMs working in different police zones with for example, a larger proportion of ASMs in Jnanabharathi, Yelahanka and Madiwala believing that crime had decreased in this time. In Banasawadi and Ashok Nagar however, ASMs tend to feel that levels of crime had increased in this time.

Perceptions were more consistent for changes in short-term versus long-term changes in crime levels in Bengaluru. The vast majority of ASMs felt that crime increased in Bengaluru in the past year, when compared to 10 years back. However, ASMs in Rajagopal Nagar, JP Nagar and Jnanabharathi had a more positive security perception, when comparing security perception of the past year to ten years back. Notably, the ASMs in Ashok Nagar felt that crimes had increased both in the short-term and short-term versus long-term.

2.1.2 Crime in Neighbourhoods or Beat Areas

In the 2015 survey, citizens, police and ASMs answered questions about changes in the amount of crime in their own neighbourhood or beat area over the past year. For stations without the CP program, police and residents were asked about their perception of security within their neighbourhood/beats.

Citizen Perception

Overall, just 3% more citizens in control group than the treatment group (at 18 months) held a negative security perception of beat security. The citizens of the control group did seem to be slightly more optimistic than the treatment group however, with 7% more citizens in the control group than treatment group thinking that crimes either decreased/decreased a lot from the previous year.

Police Perception

Although over half of police at treatment stations thought the level of crime in Bengaluru as a whole increased in the past year, when considering crime in their own beat areas, police were more likely to say crime decreased. Fifty-three percent of respondents in the treatment group reported crime decreased in their beat area last year. Madiwala was an exception where respondents felt crime increased in their beats. The control group police stations saw a similar trend. Forty-four percent of respondents believed that crime in their beat areas decreased in the past year. These data show, similar to the citizen responses, a large proportion of police from the treatment group thought there had been a decrease in crime in their area.

Area Suraksha Mitra Perception

The majority of ASMs (61%) held a positive security perception of their beat over the past year. This suggests ASMs actively perceive a reduction in crime levels in the areas where they are working. Within this overall picture however, there are nuances. ASMs in Madiwala (80%) and Yelahanka (78%) were most likely to feel that crime had reduced in their beat area over the last year.

2.1.3 Reasons for Increases in Crime

Citizens, police and ASMs were asked to explain their reasoning behind thinking that levels of crime increased in Bengaluru and/or their own neighbourhood. The top reason given by all groups was that the police force does not have enough resources.

Citizen Perception

Top reasons selected by citizens to explain their perception of an increase in crime in Bengaluru over the past one year (or three years for the baseline survey) are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Reasons for increase in crime in Bengaluru over the past one year (or three years for the baseline survey) as given by citizens

Treatment	Control	Baseline
1. Police force does not have enough resources	1. Police force does not have enough resources	1. Police force does not have enough resources
2. Powerful people interfering with police activity	2. Delays in the justice system	2. Delays in the justice system
3. Increasing liquor consumption in the area	3. Powerful people interfering with police activity	3. Powerful people interfering with police activity
4. Increased anti-social tendencies among the public	4. Glorification of crime by the media	4. Glorification of crime by the media
5. Increase in Bengaluru's population	5. Increase in Bengaluru's population	5. Lack of legal employment opportunities
6. Glorification of crime by the media		

Police Perception

Top reasons selected by the police to explain their perception of an increase in crime in Bengaluru over the past one year (or three years for the baseline) are outlined in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Reasons for increase in crime in Bengaluru over the past one year (or three years for the baseline survey) as given by police

Treatment	Control	Baseline
1. Police do not have enough resources	1. Police do not have enough resources	1. Police do not have enough resources
2. Increase in Bengaluru population	2. Failure of people to cooperate with police	2. Lack of legal opportunities
3. Failure of people to cooperate with police	3. Ineffective laws	3. Delays in justice system
4. Powerful people interfering with police activity	4. Powerful people interfering with police activity	4. Powerful people interfering with police activity
5. Ineffective laws	5. Increase in Bengaluru population	5. Glorification of crime by the media

Area Suraksha Mitra Perception

The most common reason given by ASMs for negative security perception in both Bengaluru and their respective beat areas were powerful people interfering with police activity. However, differences arose between reasons for increased crime in Bengaluru compared with specific local areas. Proportionally more ASMs felt increased levels of crime in Bengaluru were as a result of the police force not having enough resources, delays in the justice system, failure of people to cooperate with police and increased anti-social tendencies among the public. Whereas within their beat areas, proportionately more ASMs cited a lack of legal employment opportunities as an explanation for increased levels of crime.

2.1.4 Threat Posed by Unlawful Activities

Security Perception

The characterization of various unlawful activities as low to high low to high-level threats revealed that citizens, police and ASMs all thought chain snatching, theft and drunkenness posed a high threat. The baseline survey asked citizens and police about chain snatching, pick-pocketing, theft, land grabbing, rape, eve-teasing, domestic violence, physical assault, negligent driving, drunkenness, hooliganism, kidnapping, human trafficking, money laundering and illicit liquor. In addition to these activities, the follow-up survey asked about illegal drugs and, instead of asking them about kidnapping in general, the surveyors asked specifically about missing children.

Citizen perceptions of threat

The activities that were most commonly cited as a high threat by citizens in all groups (treatment, control and baseline treatment) were chain snatching, theft, negligent driving and drunkenness. Among citizens in treatment areas, about one-third of citizens considered each of these to pose a high threat, while more than 70% of citizens considered each to pose some threat or high threat. This data is similar to the control group, where two-thirds of citizens considered these activities to pose some threat or a high threat. In both the

treatment and control groups of the follow-up surveys, these same four activities were most commonly cited as having increased. However, the majority of citizens in both the treatment and control groups said that all of the unlawful activities decreased or stayed the same (except for chain snatching in the control group).

In the baseline survey, fewer citizens cited three of these activities as posing a high threat. In 2013, 28% of citizens said that chain snatching posed a high threat, while 38% said so in 2015. Similarly, far fewer citizens said that negligent driving and drunkenness were a high threat in 2013 (20% and 18% respectively) than in 2015 (37% and 34% respectively). The same trend is common across all of the unlawful activities, except for theft.

Police perceptions of threat

For the follow-up survey treatment group, police believed there was high threat from chain snatching, theft, physical assault and drunkenness, three of the activities deemed high threat by citizens. Additionally, some respondents felt chain snatching, theft, physical assault and drunkenness presented some threat for the beat. The police noted pick-pocketing, land-grabbing, eve-teasing, negligent driving, hooliganism, missing children and money laundering, presented no threat.

Police at the control group stations believed there was high threat from chain snatching, negligent driving and drunkenness. But the responses, like the treatment group in the follow-up survey, were mixed with regard to drunkenness. Theft and negligent driving, according to the police, presented some threat. The police felt that pick-pocketing, land-grabbing, eve-teasing, negligent driving, hooliganism, missing children and money laundering, presented no threat.

Police respondents from the treatment stations seemed to agree all categories of unlawful activities have declined. Although police mentioned chain snatching, theft and physical assault as posing high to moderate threat, the majority felt the incidences of these activities have decreased in the past year. Furthermore, police respondents thought crimes affecting mostly women – rape, domestic violence, human trafficking and missing children –declined in their beats.

According to the respondents of the police control group, there was a decline across all categories of crime, except for human trafficking and money laundering. Notably, 56% of the police felt that hooliganism decreased in the past year. Only 16% felt that theft increased over the past year.

In order to explore the impact of notable crimes on beat security perception, 16% of police in the treatment group mentioned there were notable crimes, compared to 56% of police in the control group, who thought that there was a notable crime in the beat area. Of the police treatment respondents who talked about a notable crime, 7% disagreed that the notable crime impacted beat security, and 11% felt that the notable crime had no impact on citizen's perception of crime. However, only 10% of the respondents noted that citizens and ASMs talked to them about the crime. Of the police control respondents who talked about a notable crime in the area, 38% of respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed that the notable crime impacted beat security, and 40% felt that the notable crime had no impact on citizen's perception of crime in the beat. Nine percent of respondents in the police control group thought that such a crime had no effect on beat security.

Area Suraksha Mitras

The majority of ASMs (70%) said no notable crimes had occurred in their beat area in the past year, while 22% indicated there had been. The remaining 8% did not know. There was a slight trend for ASMs to indicate that the notable crimes had had a negative impact on security in their beat. Of the 55 notable crimes which the ASMs mentioned, 26 were deemed as having a negative impact on security in their beat. There was a

slight tendency for ASMs to suggest notable crimes had caused citizens to feel their beat was less safe (26 out of 60).

2.1.5 Willingness to Report Unlawful Activities

Overall, citizens were much more willing to report unlawful activities to the police that affected them or their families than those that affected their neighbours. During the follow-up survey, 75% of citizens in treatment areas said they would help report unlawful activities to which neighbours fell victim, while 85% said they would report an unlawful activity that affected them or their families.

This data shows a slight improvement (5%) in residents' willingness to help neighbours when compared to the baseline survey. However, the data also points to a slight (5%) drop in the willingness of citizens to report crimes against themselves or their family members. In spite of the overall drop in willingness to report unlawful activities affecting respondents or their families, the drop in willingness is not because more citizens said they were unwilling to report them at all, but because more said they might or they did not know.

Overall, residents in the control areas were more willing to report crimes than those in treatment areas. Considering unlawful activities affecting their neighbours, 79% of citizens in control areas said they would help report them. Moreover, 92% said they would report unlawful activities affecting them or their families, 7% higher than citizens in treatment areas of the follow-up survey.

These trends raise important questions for the CP program. The overall increase in the willingness of citizens to help their neighbours is a positive sign, as it shows the program may have played a role in improving bonds among members of the local community. However, the large drop in the proportion of citizens in JP Nagar who are willing to report unlawful activities affecting them, their families and their neighbours is troubling.

An overwhelming 89% and 86% from the police control and treatment group, respectively, feel that citizens do not face major challenges in reporting crimes to the police. Comparing the follow-up and baseline surveys, police are now (in 2015) more likely to believe that citizens face no challenges in reporting crimes than in 2013.

Similar to police respondents, a majority of ASMs (69%) said there were no major challenges for citizens reporting crime to the police. Of the 17% who saw major impediments, they cited reasons such as a negative police approach, the police not taking immediate action, witnesses not coming forward, the intrusion of powerful people, fear of the police and a lack of faith in a just outcome.

The majority of ASMs (94%) indicated that they would definitely help a neighbor report an unlawful activity to the police. When asked why ASMs would not help neighbours report activities to the police, the few ASMs who responded suggested that small matters tend to sort themselves out or noted their own safety would come first.

2.2 Perception of Police-Citizen Relationship

Citizens' Opinions of Police

When faced with a security threat, fewer citizens living in treatment stations from the follow-up survey thought they would call the police first when compared to those in the baseline survey. In the follow-up survey, 40% of respondents said they would call the police, a four percent drop from 2013 to 2015. Moreover, when broken down by station, the data shows that residents of most treatment areas were far less likely to call upon the police for help first than they were in 2013. In spite of this change, residents of treatment areas were far more likely to report security threats to the police than their counterparts in control areas, where 35% said they would call the police. This indicates two things. First, residents of the treatment areas may have a

slightly better relationship with police than those in control areas in the follow-up surveys. Second, when it came to knowledge of the police officers and constables in the area, more citizens from the CP stations than the control group knew the police working in the area.

At the time of the baseline survey in 2013 far more citizens living in the treatment stations considered the police successful or mostly successful in preventing small crimes, such as pick pocketing and vandalism, and big crimes, such as rape and murder, than in the follow-up survey. While 48% of citizens in the treatment areas thought that the police were successful at preventing small crimes in 2013, just 21% thought so in 2015. Similarly, while 38% of citizens in the treatment areas thought police were successful at preventing major crimes in 2013, just 18% thought so in 2015. However, the perception of citizens in the treatment areas was better than those in control areas. Just 7% of citizens in control areas thought police were successful at preventing small crimes and only 6% thought they were successful at preventing major crimes. The vast majority of citizens in treatment areas in both the baseline and 18 months follow-up survey, as well as in control areas, had not encountered a situation in which the police failed to attend to their duty or responsibility.

Overall, the treatment group respondents were more likely to have a positive view of citizen interactions (49%) with police than a negative one (37%). This data highlights a negative change from the baseline survey, when 61% expressed positive sentiments and 33% expressed negative ones. However, the latest data from the treatment areas is comparable to sentiments in the control areas, where 51% expressed positive sentiments and 39% expressed negative sentiments. This indicates that the negative change in perception in the treatment areas may be influenced by broader trends in the city, rather than the community policing program.

Citizens have mixed reactions to the resource constraints that the police force faces. While they wanted the size of the police force to increase, just 29% of citizens in treatment areas for the baseline and follow-up surveys said the police need more money and resources to do their work, while 39% said the police have enough and do not require additional resources. However, the majority of citizens said that the size of the police force needed to be increased.

The residents of the control areas compared to the treatment group in the follow-up survey were slightly more sensitive to the resource constraints faced by police. Three percent more citizens in the control group said the size of the police force should be increased. This data may point to a general sympathy among the populace for the challenges that police officers face, and possibly that citizens around treatment stations saw ASMs as calming the police's problem of scarce human resources.

Police Perceptions of Citizens

In the time between the baseline and follow-up surveys, the police's perception of citizens' opinions towards them improved. In the 2013 police survey, 65% of the respondents felt that citizens harbored negative opinion of the police and viewed them with suspicion. Only 27% of the respondents thought citizens held positive, cooperative views of the police. By 2015, 44% of respondents felt that the citizens held a positive view of the police, and considered them cooperative. But the findings of the control group are mixed, with 39% of respondents mentioning that the citizens' attitudes towards police are cooperative and neutral.

The proportion of treatment police respondents who felt that criminals were afraid of police dropped 15% from 2013 to 2015. However, 14% fewer citizens in the treatment group of the follow-up survey, compared to the treatment group of the baseline survey thought law-abiding citizens were afraid of the police. Similarly, citizens also felt that the police treated the people arrested/held in custody, fairly.

When asked if citizens were required to be connected to powerful people to get police to do their job, the majority of the citizens across the three sets of surveys felt that such connections were necessary. Yet, 5% fewer citizens in the treatment group at 18 months follow up (than at baseline) thought that it was never necessary to be connected to powerful people. However, 10% fewer citizens in the control group than the treatment group in the follow-up survey felt that such connections were never necessary.

2.3 Police-Citizen Interaction

Citizen Perceptions

Respondents to the follow-up survey were asked when did they the last visit a police station. 76% of citizens in the control group area had never visited a station and 6% fewer citizens than this never visited a police station in the treatment areas. Similarly, when it came to knowing the police officers/constables in the area, the majority of citizens (55%) in the follow-up survey said they have very limited or no knowledge. This was 4% fewer citizens than the control group citizens, with limited or no knowledge of local police.

The rounds made by police, or at least the citizens' awareness of them, show a general upward trend from the baseline survey to the 18 months follow-up survey. About 65% of citizens said police made rounds once a day or more in 2015, whereas 55% said so in 2013. About 62% of residents in control police station zones said police made the rounds once a day or more.

Police Perceptions

The police were asked to report on their interactions on security issues with resident associations. In the 18 months follow-up survey, 34% of respondents mentioned that they have discussed security-related issue with residents or resident associations outside of their usual activities while investigating, reporting or solving crime. This was a large decline from the baseline study where 63% of respondents reported that they discussed security-related issues with resident/resident associations. In the treatment follow-up survey study, 43% of respondents mentioned that they frequently or very frequently got support from citizens when investigating a case, which is 1% more than in the baseline study and 9% more than in the control group. Furthermore, 40% of respondents from the police treatment group mentioned they would sometimes get support from the citizens in investigating a case, whereas 37% of the respondents from the baseline study and 30% of the respondents from the police control group noted that only sometimes they receive support from citizens in investigating a case. This was in sharp contrast to 53% of respondents from the police control survey and 10% of respondents of the baseline study, who felt that they never received support from the citizens in investigating a case.

When the police were asked about impediments in crime reporting, 87% of police from treatment and control groups in the follow-up surveys thought there were no major impediments to crime reporting. The police were also asked how well they knew the citizens in their beat and 70% of respondents during the baseline study mentioned they knew the citizens very well/well. This was in contrast to the follow-up survey (treatment group), where just 48% of the respondents noted that they knew the citizens living in their area of work very well/well. Sixty percent of respondents from the police (control) group mentioned that they knew the citizens of their area very well/well.

2.4 Perception of Community Policing Program

General Considerations

Citizens

Only 6% of citizens surveyed were aware of the CP program. Though this appears low, the CP program has only been in existence since July 2013. Furthermore, many citizens may well be experiencing aspects of the CP program (such as increased beat patrols etc.) without knowing this is specifically part of the CP program. Fifteen percent of those in JP Nagar were aware as compared with 6% of citizens overall, indicating the program may have been more visible here.

Police

An overwhelming 98% of the police surveyed were aware of the CP programs. Only 2% of the police were unaware of the program, since they had recently joined the police stations, worked on court duties, passport verification general duty or performed general office work.

In the case of the police control group, even if there were no CP programs in place, the police could still have worked/lived in an area with community-based security program and in fact, 34% of these police were aware of such programs, while 66% were not. A similar question was asked during the baseline study, before the launch of the CP program and at this time, 32% of police of the treatment group in the baseline survey mentioned knowing about such a program while 57% said they had never heard of such a program.

ASMs

ASMs named safety and security for citizens in their beat as what they felt should be the first priority of the CP program. Many ASMs mentioned women's safety in particular. While this was also a frequently cited second priority for many ASMs, others noted 'awareness' as a second priority. This was quantified in many different ways by different ASMs, for example awareness about drinking and driving, avoiding rape, awareness of different crimes and how to avoid these (such as murder and violence). Encouragingly, the vast majority of ASMs (92%) indicated that the CP program is addressing (30%) or 'somewhat' addressing (62%) their first priority issue. Similarly, they felt the CP program was addressing their second priority (27%, and 56% saying 'somewhat'). Positive perceptions of effectively reducing citizens' security concerns were particularly notable in Jnanabharathi (94% said this was the case or somewhat the case compared with 69% of ASMs on average). The vast majority of ASMs (79%) agreed or strongly agreed that the beat officer system was improving security in their beat. Notably, in Madiwala, 92% agreed or strongly agreed with this.

ASMs generally felt that they had formed an effective working relationship with the police force in their area, with 68% agreeing that this was the case and a further 5% strongly agreeing. This was broadly similar across all the police zones. In a similar vein, the working relationship with citizens was also judged to be effective.

Thinking about the overall impact, ASMs felt the CP program has done a great deal to increase trust and relations, resolve conflicts, improved security, reduced fear and made things safer for different citizen demographics. This falls completely in line with ASMs' perception that their role is important in making citizens aware of safety and security precautions (80% agreed and a further 8% strongly agreed with this). ASMs felt that as a result of the program that crime rates have decreased, citizens' awareness of crime has increased, police responsiveness has increased and police have become more effective. There was more uncertainty in suggesting achievement in the reduction of police apathy.

In line with the predominant findings above, 84% of ASMs agreed or strongly agreed that the CP program has been successful in their beat area. It is also evident that ASMs feel the CP program is successful in their area from the finding that 70% of them have recommended other people to the police or Janaagraha to also be considered for the role of ASM.

Area Suraksha Mitras activities

Regardless of the variation in time spent on ASM duties, 73% of ASMs felt the time they spent was sufficient time to make an impact on safety and security in their beat. ASMs indicated that increasing citizen awareness (about crime and safety) was one of the most successful activities they had undertaken. Relatedly, a number of ASMs specifically mentioned programs on rape, the kidnapping of children, women's safety and domestic violence were particularly successful. When asked about successful programs of other ASMs, responses were similar in that general awareness was successfully implemented and a few mentioned campaigns on chain snatching.

Outside of formal ASM activities, most ASMs indicated they interacted with other ASMs, in their capacity as an ASM. Forty percent said they do this frequently and another 39% said they do this sometimes. Sixteen percent of ASMs said they engaged in other activities as an ASM aside from the informal beat meetings and beat-level awareness programs. The activities given include helping with small-scale incidents, installing CCTV cameras, informing citizens of healthcare/social service and generally interacting with citizens. Engagement in these activities was mostly on a monthly basis.

A few ASMs made additional suggestions for improvements to the CP program, such as more meetings and with larger numbers of high-level officers in attendance, the existence of beat-level officers whose work is only dedicated to the CP program and the presence of citizens at meetings.

Citizen opinion of ASMs

Citizens answered a range of questions about ASMs to get a better understanding of the effectiveness of ASMs. The citizens were also asked if prior to the survey they knew the local ASMs. Thirty-two percent of citizens thought they knew the local ASMs before the survey, but 68% of citizens felt that they did not know the local ASMs. Of these 14 citizens who knew the local ASMs, the majority (64%) knew the local ASMs very well/well/fairly well. Twenty-eight percent of citizens thought they either have limited or no knowledge of the local ASMs. Respondents were asked about the qualities that they think their local ASMs need to have. The types of qualities that the local ASMs should possess, as identified by the citizens, are good citizenship, supportive of local residents, helping others, honest, fair, educated, knowledgeable about local issues and the law, polite and patient. The citizens who knew of the CP program were asked if the local ASMs possess these qualities. Thirty-nine percent of citizens thought the local ASMs possess these qualities and 20% of citizens thought that the local ASMs possess some of these qualities while 5% thought their ASMs did not have these qualities.

Police opinion of ASMs

Overall, most respondents thought that they knew the local ASMs well enough, followed by 27% of respondents who knew the local ASMs, fairly well. There was fairly large proportion of respondents across Yelahanka, JP Nagar and Banasawadi, who mentioned that they knew their local ASMs well enough. As part of the CP program, ASMs are expected to approach the police to discuss criminal activities. Accordingly the police were provided with a list of criminal activities and were asked how often they discussed these with local ASMs. Crimes such as chain-snatching pick-pocketing, theft, domestic violence, physical assault, negligent

driving, and drunkenness were noted as most frequently discussed with local ASMs. With regard to rape, eve-teasing, hooliganism, missing children, human trafficking and illegal drugs, police thought that they discussed these with the local ASMs only sometimes.

Overall, the majority of the police (59%) felt that discussing criminal activities and security issues with the local ASMs helped to resolve the security challenges faced by the residents of the beat. Only 9% of police thought that such discussions did not help to resolve the security challenges faced by the residents. There was a great deal of consensus among the police (67%) that the roles played by the ASMs were important in making citizens aware of safety and security precautions. Only 4% of police thought that ASMs had no role to play in making citizens aware of safety/security precautions.

The police were also asked to discuss the qualities of ASMs. The police thought that the ASMs were required to be educated, compassionate, non-partisan, communicative, respectable, without a criminal background, social service oriented, confident, knowledgeable of the area, and helpful. Generally, the majority of the police (55%) felt that the local ASMs possess these qualities identified.

Informal beat-level meetings

Although ASMs are expected to organize informal beat-level meetings several times a week, the most common frequency for informal beat-level meetings is once a month (55%). Only six ASMs indicated they organize the meetings more than once a week, as requested. When the police were asked about the frequency of informal beat-level meetings, 29% thought that they held these meetings twice/thrice every month. This was followed by 19% of police who thought that such meetings were held once every two weeks. The most common topics for discussion at informal beat-level meetings were crime prevention, general safety and women's safety. However, other reasons also featured highly, including the possibility for getting to know other members of the community, gathering useful information and the potential for these meeting to help with the security issues affecting their beats. In terms of whether the respondents thought these meetings were useful, 14% of citizens felt that these meetings were useful and 74% of police thought that these meetings were useful. In terms of usefulness of the informal beat-level meetings for the ASMs, the majority of ASMs thought these meetings were useful (88%). The main reason ASMs found the meetings useful was to get to know other local ASMs (76% responded this way).

Responses were quite mixed in terms of how many citizens ASMs said are generally in attendance at informal beat-level meetings. The largest proportion of ASMs indicated between 11 and 20 citizens attended though high proportions of ASMs indicated larger proportions of citizens attended. Eleven percent indicated more than fifty citizens attend these meetings on average. Fifty-nine percent of citizens indicated that they have attended these informal beat-level meetings at some point while 39% of citizens said they never attended these informal beat-level meetings.

Organized awareness programs

The majority of ASMs (57%) indicated that they organized awareness programs once a month, and that these meetings took place in both schools or universities (47%) and work places (42%) approximately once a month. The discussion topics at the beat-level awareness programs were similar to those at the informal beat level meetings, where most ASMs indicated that crime prevention, general safety and women's safety were discussed. The vast majority of ASMs (85%) indicated they thought they were useful. In a similar manner to the informal meetings, the awareness programs were felt to be useful in getting to know local ASMs and other members of the community. They were also similarly less likely to be seen as a platform for getting to know local police.

In terms of attendance, the majority of ASMs reported the average attendance at beat-level awareness programs as between one and two-hundred citizens (32% said 1-100, while 45% said 101-200). A tenth of ASMs suggested that the average attendance is 201-300 while 19 ASMs suggested that attendance was even more than that with seven indicating it was more than 500. However, 18% citizens felt that they attended the organized awareness programs. Majority (57%) citizens thought they never attended these meetings.

Jana Suraksha Samithi (JSS) Meetings

The CP program makes it binding for ASMs to attend the monthly JSS meetings and the majority of ASMs (57%) did indicate they attend the meeting once a month. However, the remaining, substantial, 43% of ASMs self-reported much lower frequency of attendance, with 8% attending less than every 3 months and eight ASMs indicating they never attend. Out of the 194 ASMs who did attend JSS meetings (whether regularly or not), almost half indicated their involvement was active and they frequently asked questions and made comments during the meetings. The vast majority of ASMs (83%) felt that JSS meetings were useful. Common reasons why included that they provided useful information, created awareness, allowed for useful discussions, permitted crime precautions to be given to the public, and reduced citizens' fear of police.

Thirty-six percent of police said they attend JSS meetings once per month, and 19% said they never attend. This is not surprising since only the Inspector or the Station Head is supposed to attend JSS meetings. The Deputy Commissioner of Police is expected to attend the meeting half yearly and the Assistant Commissioner of Police is only expected to attend the JSS meetings quarterly.

Sixty one percent of police, who attend the JSS meetings, felt that the JSS meetings were useful for a number of reasons, including to generally inform the police and ASMs on crime prevention and security of the beats, resolve conflicts, raise awareness for ASMs with the police, provide information about safety and security, increase citizens' trust, decrease specific crimes (e.g. chain snatching and theft), coordinate beat-rounds, and improve relations between police and citizens. Fifty-two percent of the police felt that the JSS meetings effectively reduced citizens' security concerns in the beat.

2.5 Interactions between key players

Citizens and ASMs

Overall, ASMs felt that citizens were generally aware of them as ASMs and vice versa they were aware of the citizens in their beat. Furthermore, the majority of ASMs felt that citizens in their beat support their activities as an ASM, and 70% felt that citizens' overall response to the program is positive. Perceived support of citizens of the program seems to be the highest in Rajagopal Nagar compared with other ASMs with 90% of ASMs there agreeing or strongly agreeing that citizens support ASM activities compared with 61% of ASMs on average.

Forty-three percent of ASMs felt like they knew the citizens living in their beat area fairly well. Encouragingly, 35% of ASMs said citizens approach them with suggestions about how safety and security could be improved once a month. ASMs from Ashok Nagar self-reported the most frequent suggestions from citizens with 19% saying this happens 2-4 times a week or more.

The overall high levels of citizen support – according to ASMs – across police zones was reinforced by 78% of ASMs indicating they never faced resistance from citizens while performing their role as an ASM. This percentage is particularly high for ASMs in Rajagopal Nagar (87%) and Madiwala (96%). Those ASMs who encountered resistance indicated this was either because citizens were facing a problem or they doubted

the ASM's authenticity. Forty-six percent of ASMs felt that the CP program was somewhat successful in decreasing citizen's security concerns in the beat. Twenty-three percent of ASMs thought that the CP program was successful in decreasing citizen's security concerns in the beat.

Citizens and Police

Citizens who knew about the CP program were more likely to be aware of beat police than of ASMs. Seventy-five percent of ASMs thought that they have facilitated better relationships between police and citizens and 80% of ASMs also thought that they played an important role in making citizens aware of safety and security precautions. The majority of ASMs (54%) felt that they were successful in dealing with citizen's issues without police assistance. However, close to a majority (46%) of ASMs thought that the CP program had made police more aware of the needs of citizens and had pushed them to act according to the wishes of the people. Thirty-two percent of ASMs also felt that citizens' opinion of the police was 'cooperative'.

ASMs and Police

Overall, 37% of police respondents felt they knew the local ASM well; 26% of respondents knew their ASM fairly well and 11% knew them very well. There were very few respondents that felt they did not know the ASMs. Likewise, a majority of ASMs felt they knew the police officer(s) in their beat area either fairly well or even better. In Rajagopal Nagar ASMs were more likely to indicate they knew them well or very well than in other police zones (87% compared with 51% on average).

The frequency with which ASMs brought an issue to the attention of their beat officer was a little more varied. The largest proportion of ASMs (37%) indicated they did this once a month. However, half of ASMs suggested they did so more frequently. 8% of ASMs suggested they never brought any issues to the attention of their beat police. ASMs in Rajagopal Nagar self-reported the highest frequency of bringing issues to officers, with 84% saying they do this 2 or 3 times a month or more frequently (compared to an average of 50% across all police stations).

Overall, police respondents said they only sometimes discussed criminal activities with ASMs. The majority of ASMs said they inform beat police or field associates of suspicious or crime-related matters once a month (38%). A sizeable proportion of ASMs said they do this more frequently with 9% doing this multiple times a week. Twelve percent of ASMs do this less than once a month while four ASMs said they never do this.

The most frequently discussed activities between ASMs and police, according to ASMs were chain snatching, eve-teasing and negligent driving with over 60% of ASMs saying they discussed these either very frequently or frequently. This is in line with the reported level of threat being higher from these activities than others, in particular chain snatching and negligent driving. Police respondents, on the other hand, said the issues that were discussed very frequently were chain snatching, theft and physical assault.

ASMs reported less discussion of missing children, human trafficking, money laundering, illicit liquor and illegal drugs. This is most likely a reflection of the fact that ASMs perceive a limited threat from these in their beat areas and have seen a decrease in these activities over the last year (in particular missing children, human trafficking, money laundering and illicit liquor).

Encouragingly, ASMs report the frequency of success of the police in dealing with issues raised by them as relatively high. Only 4% suggested issues were 'rarely' resolved and 2% said they were never resolved. The remaining ASMs indicated the issues were resolved at least some of the time and just over half suggested they were resolved most of the time.

A majority of police respondents (59%) thought that talking to ASMs helped resolve security challenges faced by the beat. As part of community policing, ASMs should provide police with security-issue information. Nearly one-third of police felt the frequently received support from ASMs concerning security issues. The same proportion of respondents felt they would sometimes receive support.

The majority (58%) of ASMs said they meet police from their beat outside of organized programs and meetings, and only 12% said they never did this. ASMs in Jnanabharathi were more likely than average to say they never do this (39%) whereas nearly all ASMs (98%) in Banasawadi say they do this sometimes or frequently.

2.6 Impact of the Community Policing program

Citizens

The respondents also had a largely positive view of the key elements of the CP program. The majority of citizens agreed or strongly agreed that ASMs, informal beat-level meetings, organized beat-level awareness programs and police door-to-door patrols were effective.

The majority of citizens (50%) agreed that the CP program increased trust and improved relations between police and citizens and 52% thought that the CP program helped victims of crimes recover from trauma and return to regular life. Fifty percent of citizens thought that the program reduced drug and alcohol abuse, makes neighbourhoods safer for women and children, and helped keep public areas and streets safe and secure. There were large proportion of citizens who agreed/strongly agreed that the program made neighbourhoods safer (46%), helped to resolve conflicts between people in the neighbourhood (56%) and reduced domestic violence (47%). However, citizens thought that the CP program failed to make citizens feel safer with regard to crime and improved security in neglected areas of the neighbourhood such as areas with broken street lights, neglected houses, broken windows, shrub growth and overgrown weeds/bushes that might draw criminals to the area.

Fifty-nine percent of citizens strongly agreed/agreed that police patrolling helped to improve the security in the area, while just 2 respondents disagreed. This is a significant finding from the program perspective since it implies that the program seems to be working in terms of improving the security perception of citizens in the area. Yet out of those citizens who knew about the program, 77% felt that the CP program failed to improve security of the neighbourhood.

Police

Overall 70% of police thought that the citizens responded positively to the program and 52% of police thought that the CP program has effectively decreased citizens' security concerns in the beats. There was a great deal of consensus among the police (67%) that the role played by the ASMs was important in making citizens aware of safety and security precautions. Only 4% of police thought that ASMs had no role to play in making citizens aware of safety/security precautions.

The majority of the police respondents felt that the CP program achieved the following outcomes; 54% felt that citizens' awareness of crime had increased, 64% thought that police responsiveness had increased and 59% felt that the CP program had assisted police in becoming more effective.

Going forward, almost all the respondents contended that the two most important priorities of the program should be to raise awareness about different types of crimes, including chain snatching, house theft, child abuse, violence against women, missing children, gambling, terrorism, eve teasing, negligent driving, general crime prevention, drug abuse, public law and order and illegal drugs. A few respondents also mentioned that

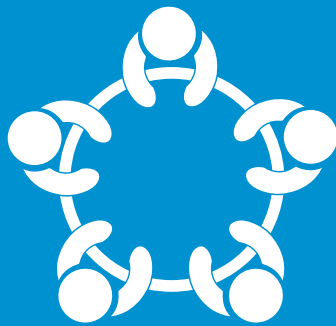
the program needed to do a better job in making the citizens aware of ASMs, and what ASMs could do to help the citizens.

2.7 Expectations of Community Policing

Citizens

Citizens unaware of the program, living in treatment areas, and citizens in control areas answered questions about their experience with and knowledge of any other community policing to help inform the program moving forward. The majority of citizens in both areas said that the reduction of crime, increasing citizen awareness of crime, decreasing police apathy, increasing police responsiveness and helping the police become more effective should all be objectives of a CP program.

Citizens who were and were not aware of the CP program were asked if they would like to be a part of such a program in a more formal way. Twenty-two percent of citizens indicated some interest in being formally involved with the program. This is encouraging because it indicates that approximately one out of every five citizens living in the treatment areas see enough value in the program to consider volunteering their time to support it. Another 10% of citizens said they might be willing to be formally involved. The 476 citizens who did not want to be involved cited reasons such as lack of time (26%), no interest (17%), not enough information (9%), lack of education (2%), health related problems or old age (3%), believed the program useless (1%) and lack of faith in the policing system (1%).



Discussion and Conclusion

3. Discussion and Conclusion

A majority of police and ASMs thought that crime had decreased in their neighbourhood but increased in Bengaluru as a whole. However, there was some notable evidence of better relationships between the police and citizens among respondents who took part in the CP program.

Currently, the CP program reaches seven stations, with two control stations used for evaluative purposes. Ninety-seven percent of police in treatment stations were aware of the CP program. Thirty-three percent of police in control stations, who were not part of the specific CP program, were still aware of some (possibly other) community based security program. Only 6% of citizens in treatment areas know about the program though this is not discouraging given CP was in its pilot phase and has only been in operation for 18 months and citizens may well feel the benefits of the program without knowing it by name.

The data from the follow-up survey revealed some promising information in terms of the CP program improving citizen-police relations. The proportion of police who said citizens supported them in an investigation increased from baseline to post-18 months survey. Furthermore, citizens' belief in police solving small and major crimes increased from baseline to follow-up survey. Seventy percent of police felt that ASMs, who are meant to act as a mediator between citizens and police, improved the relationship between citizens and police. A majority of all groups also thought ASMs increased citizen awareness about crime and safety.

Although 94% of ASMs said they were willing to help a neighbour report a crime to the police, there was significant variation between different geographies and types of unlawful activities, which should be investigated further. The data revealed that ASMs most frequently organize informal beat-level meetings once per month (55% of ASMs reported this frequency). Only six ASMs indicate they organize the meetings more than once a week as requested. In the future, it would be important to address why ASMs are not organizing these meetings as per expectations – is it due to lack of time, attendance or perceived effectiveness?

ASMs felt that as a result of the program that crime rates have decreased, citizens' awareness of crime has increased, police responsiveness has increased and police have become more effective. There was more uncertainty in suggesting achievement in the reduction of police apathy. While many ASMs felt this had been reduced through the program, 12% said this had not. This was a considerably larger percentage than for the other outcomes, suggesting this may be one area in particular where the program could work further.

A further point of reflection is the fact that the vast majority (55%) of ASMs felt that they do not have enough time, information and other resources to do the work required of them as an ASM. Only just over a quarter felt they did have enough. Given this, it is important for the program to ensure this is further explored. Informal beat-level meetings also seem not to be running at the frequency desired by the program nor was attendance at JSS meetings occurring at the desired frequency. ASM training had also only penetrated just over a third of ASMs. Though these may be resource dependent issues, working to develop these areas, in these seven stations and the eight further stations in which CP has since been introduced in Bengaluru, will likely see further positive change.



Action Plan

4. Action Plan

Action plan to address the concerns brought out by the SPI

The Security Perceptions Index (SPI) report evaluates the Community Policing (CP) program by assessing the changes in security perception between the baseline and follow-up studies. The two studies were undertaken 18 months apart and required substantial input from the program's stakeholders including Area Suraksha Mitras-ASMs (citizen volunteers), neighbourhood residents (citizens) and police.

Based on the findings contained in this report, the Janaagraha community policing team has proposed the implementation of the following action plan and future priorities with respect to each of the key stakeholders involved in the program:

Area Suraksha Mitra (ASM) related concerns

- a. Closer interaction with the ASMs who are not attending the Jana Suraksha Samithi (JSS) meeting is required which will be done by motivating the ASMs and stressing on the role and responsibilities of ASMs at the JSS meetings on a continuous basis. In addition to this, the importance of the JSS meeting being an important platform provided to them to voice their safety-security concerns needs to be stressed. All ASMs must be able to present their concerns related to their beats at each of the JSS meeting and a response from the Police to address the concerns, provided, will go a long way in ensuring the regular participation of the ASMs at the meetings.
- b. If an ASM has not attended 2 out of 3 meetings/programs in succession, s/he is to be replaced.
- c. A refresher training for the ASMs at a periodicity of 6 months will be planned and all relevant training material must be provided to each ASM. Also, as and when a new ASM is inducted in the program, a training is done by the Janaagraha Field Associate (FA) immediately (on the job), which will be followed by the ASM attending the refresher training.
- d. Constant stressing and reminding by the FA on the importance of the role of the ASM during the weekly ASM meetings and ensuring their attendance at the awareness programs for the safety and security of the neighbourhood is critical. This will be tracked through the attendance record maintained by each FA of the ASM at programs and the log of the ASM weekly meetings
- e. To ensure maximum participation of the ASM at awareness programs, the programs may be planned as per the availability of each ASM. Also, the monthly plan for the succeeding month will be presented at the JSS of the preceding month so that all ASMs are able to make time for conduct of the programs accordingly.
- f. Team building activities such as friendly sports matches between ASMs and staff of the police station with an aim to strengthen the relations between them will be carried out once a year or half yearly, depending on the convenience of staff and ASMs
- g. Interaction between the police staff and ASMs will be ensured in all the awareness activities- Beat Level Awareness Programs (BLAPs), Organized Awareness Programs (OAPs) and Door-to-Door (DtD) visits by the FAs.
- h. Effort to try and maximize the presence of the beat staff at the JSS meetings will be done through constant follow up with the Inspector. The aim is that this will also help to bridge the gap between the ASMs and the beat staff.
- i. A WhatsApp group for each Police Station with all ASMs, police staff as well as senior officers -Assistant

Commissioner of Police (ACP) and Deputy Commissioner Police (DCP), the concerned Field Associate (FA), Associate Manager and Manager of Community Policing as members is being used by the police as well as ASMs for disseminating information related to safety and security within the Police Station (PS) limits as well as updating on the Community Policing activities carried out for the day in the PS limits.

- j. Request the senior officials –DCPs and ACPs to attend JSS meetings. The aim will be for DCPs to attend at least once in 6 months and ACPs at least once in a quarter.
- k. Ensure conduct of the Quarterly SHO (Station House Officer)-Convener meeting to discuss/address all concerns of the CP Program. (The SHO is the Police Inspector)
- l. Constant follow up with the Police Inspector to ensure availability of the Beat staff for CP activities. This will be addressed when the monthly plan, as presented in the JSS meeting, is reviewed by the Field Associate on a weekly basis with the Inspector.
- m. Build good rapport with the Beat staff through regular interaction by the FA with them and to impress the importance of their availability at the Beat level meetings.

Citizen related concerns

- a. Citizens who knew about the CP program were more likely to be aware of beat police than of ASMs. The aim is to address this during the BLAPs, OAPs and Door-to-Door awareness programs where the local cop is accompanied by the beat ASM, thus drawing the focus to the ASM who is introduced to the citizens as the other point of contact to share safety-security concerns in addition/ immediate unavailability of the beat staff.
- b. Regular conduct of BLAPs (3 per week), OAPs (1 per week) and Door-to-Door visits (15 per week) will ensure good interaction amongst ASMs and citizens as more citizens will be reached through these programs. Regular door-to-door visits made by the ASMs and Beat staff will give the citizens a good idea of how the ASMs can help them too.
- c. The program having a brand name will help citizens to recall the Program and its related activities. This will be taken up at a senior level meeting with the top brass of the Police dept.
- d. Increased interaction with media (print and electronic)-especially when there is a success story or a specific success of the program to be highlighted, distribution of pamphlets with the name and contact number of the concerned ASM(s) to citizens attending the different awareness programs, convergence with Bala Janaagraha program where brochures to the children are distributed to create awareness of the program amongst the parents are steps that will be taken to create awareness amongst citizens. Other interventions like rallies, street plays- a minimum of one per year per police station- will also help in increasing awareness about the program and on crime prevention.
- e. Collecting details of interested citizens who would like to volunteer with the Program (referred to as Beat Level Volunteers-BLVs), done during door-to-door visits or when interest is received from a citizen who attends any of the awareness programs or through online platforms -micro site, Facebook, Twitter- will help to create a pool of prospective ASMS.
- f. Increasing the number of volunteers (a maximum of 250 per beat in the year) on the Beat level WhatsApp groups for each Station, thus spreading the reach of the program will also help to create awareness amongst the citizens.

Police related concerns

- a. There is a great need to impress upon the PI through regular advocacy and discussions for a regular beat constable who will help conduct the BLAPs, OAPs and door-to-door visits along with the ASMs
- b. An increase in the number of BLVs will also help to reduce the gap between the police and citizens (not exceeding 250 members per beat)
- c. Conduct of BLAPs and door-to-door visits conducted as per the monthly plan shared in the JSS meeting will help increase interaction with the citizens.
- d. A focused drive involving ASMs and the Beat staff conducting organized awareness programs as per the monthly plan shared in the JSS meetings for specific audiences (members of RWAs, schools, Colleges, PGs, Old Age homes etc.) along with other officers from the local PS attending, will also help to address the concern of the local police not knowing the citizens living in their area.

Frequent transfer and rotation of police staff hampers their getting to know the citizens living in the police station limits. Ensuring the availability of the same person at a police station for regular beat duties for a minimum of a year will help to a large extent. The CP program, through advocacy with senior officials of the Department, will also try to address the challenge of semi-permanent posting of the constable to a beat.

There is no doubt that for the successful implementation of these actions, regular interventions of the top brass of the Bengaluru City Police would be required.



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