CHAPTER 7
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction
Community policing entails citizens being accorded the central role in identifying local issues of crime/order, and with them taking lead in solving those identified issues in partnership with police. This collaboration has to be systematic, organised and sustained. It also means accountability for both as well as continuous review of the performance of the level and quality of participation by the citizens and police. There have been debates on following aspects.

- Is community policing is an indigenous thought or an imported concept from the West?
- If later is the case, can it find roots in the alien soil of India?
- Is citizens’ partnership an exercise in mere public relations or does it have direct impact on the work of law enforcing agencies?
- Can the positive effects of community policing be substantiated through hard data?

Some of the above questions have been administered to the selected samples of officers working in the field as well as in middle and senior levels of police management. They were also administered to post graduate students as representatives of citizens. Their responses have been studied during the instant research and following findings have emerged.
7.2 Community Policing Has High Rate Of Acceptance Amongst Police Officers Of All Ranks

Most police respondents (96.1%) know about community policing and accept that it is a useful tool for the law enforcement. They have given specific instances where they used community policing for prevention and detection of crime. In fact many field level police officers have also provided dates and years, when they could avert law and order issues due to the active support of citizens at crucial times. What emerges from the research is that police officers value citizens’ participation and have been engaging them in dialogue that has paid them at the time of need. They recognize the same because of their experience though most field officers have not followed any formal scheme/pattern for community policing. It is pertinent that 72.2% have termed community policing as a long term relationship useful for prevention/detection of crime and disorder related issues.

Police officers have also highlighted the role that community policing plays during man made and natural disasters. They have further accepted that community policing can be effective against modern day serious crime like terrorist activities and human trafficking. It’s usefulness for routine police working e.g. serving of summons/execution of warrants too has been accepted by the respondents.

The acceptance of community policing by field officers is backed by the middle level officers as well as the police policy makers. Both the categories have a positive attitude to community policing as a broad philosophy for law enforcement and as a strategy for daily work.
7.3 Citizens As Represented By Students Also Have Shown Faith In Community Policing

The research shows that respondent students share the optimism about community policing and its benefits. In-fact so great is their faith in citizens' participation that 96.4% students are keen to join hands in community policing initiatives. However it is pertinent that most of the citizens/students have opined that policemen are ‘unpleasant’ in their interaction with citizens. Citizens ‘fear’ the police department. Terms like ‘intimidating’, ‘corrupt’, ‘exploit the poor’ have been frequently used by the respondents. They have strongly recommended that police procedure should be transparent and citizens be made aware of their rights. One reason for the strong mandate for joining community policing initiatives could be the wish to make police more citizens friendly.

The research however shows that police have not adequately tapped this available and willing resource except for night patrolling in rural areas through ‘Gram Suraksha Dals’/Village Defence Parties. Most members of citizens committees in urban areas are personnel with older age profile. If inducted in these forums, students with their enthusiasm and energy can give fresh lease of life to these committees through field activities. They can bring a different and fresh perspective to community related issues and their solutions.

93.7% Supervisory officers and 92.8% Students/citizens have opined that there is a difference between tradition policing methods and Community policing thus marking the difference between certain citizens’ friendly initiatives with the earlier authoritarian model, though there is a long way to go.
7.4 Need For Community Policing In Urban Areas

It has been reflected in the response of officers of all levels and students that urban areas need more of community policing initiatives as informal social control is very limited in these areas compared to small towns/rural areas. 78.6% middle rank officers have strongly recommended use of this tool in big cities, while 67.8% field officers have responded that community policing is needed in small as well as big towns. 78.7% students too have acknowledged the need for community policing being more in urban areas.

Literature on urban movement in India too reflects the decay in social control mechanism in the cities and emergence of organized crime as a serious threat to the civil society. The research shows that community policing initiatives involving citizens in prevention/detection of crime, issues of social order and problem solving at local levels can enhance the working of police. It has also shown that despite the modern citizen friendly approach, common man continues to fear the policeman.

7.5 Need For Training On Community Policing

It has become apparent during the research that training on community policing has been inadequate both at the level of induction and in-service. Most officers have voiced the need for the same during the survey. While responding to the questionnaire many officers have given instances when they availed citizens’ help during either routine police work or at the time of crisis. However such random instances can not be termed as community policing in real sense. Implementation of community policing as a systematic programme requires basic training on the various stages involved, from conceptualization to rolling out a project in the field. Respondents from Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur police
have carried out isolated experiments through trial and error method of learning. 54.2% have not undergone any formal training and can thus improve their performance with training inputs at the induction stage as well during in-service. Out of 45.8% that have undergone some training on community policing, only 18.3% have found the subject to be adequately covered. Thus 81.7% of the field officers have not been provided adequate exposure to the subject. Supervisory officers have given a lot of emphasis to the need to train constabulary in community policing and have mentioned the need to improve their communication skills.

### 7.6 Need For A Separate Budget

During the research it was noticed that though community policing activities are considered useful and beat officers are encouraged to undertake the same, there is no budgetary provisions for the same in Mumbai, Pune or Nagpur. The officers are thus dependent either on sponsors or collectively pool in small amounts from their pockets. This enables the officers to only organize meetings with citizens, usually before an important festival or during a crisis. This is the state of community policing in all the three focus cities of the research. Lack of budget is thus a serious constraint.

Some initiatives from local citizens and NGOs were observed e.g. the ‘Jhopadpatti Pnachayat’ of Mumbai, Womens’ Forums in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur. Certain NGOs earmark funds for their community policing activities. However Maharashtra Police need to ask for specific finances from state government for community policing and allot them to Commissionerates and Districts.
7.7 Beat System Needs Strengthening

Community policing is not a new concept for Indian police as it has a well established beat system since its introduction by the British. However the research shows that there have been more sundry responsibilities given to the beat officer and less emphasis on his developing partnership with the community in a systematic way. Manpower of beats in terms of officers and police men too is inadequate and not in consonance with the increase in population/crime. Due to this most policemen work for more than 14 hours per day. Inadequate manpower has led to immense demoralization of the staff especially in urban areas and has adversely affected the long established beat system.

While in Mumbai and Nagpur beat system retains its name/title, in Pune, it is known as ‘Chowky system’. Broadly all the three are the same except that in Pune registration of a cognizable case is undertaken at the chowky while in Mumbai and Nagpur, cognizable cases are registered only in police stations. Pune pattern has decentralized registration of cognizable cases thus giving more powers to beat officers. A non cognizable case (NC) can be registered at the concerned beat/ ‘chowky’ in all the three cities and responsibilities of beat officers are the same in Mumbai, Nagpur and Pune. However only 19.8% supervisory officers and 10.8% students have found community policing initiatives to be adequate in the three focus cities. Both the groups 62.7% and 63.1% respectively are of the opinion that police should pay more attention to this aspect.
### Table 7.1 Beats/Chowkies in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the place</th>
<th>Beats/‘Chowkies’</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mumbai</td>
<td>323 Beats</td>
<td>1,30,00000 (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pune</td>
<td>99 ‘Chowkies’</td>
<td>4,485000 (2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagpur</td>
<td>85 Beats</td>
<td>2,420000 (2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Population as per Wikipedia
- Information on Beats/Chowkies provided by offices of Commissioners of Police Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur

Serious shortage of manpower and no budget for community policing activities were observed in all the three cities. It has meant that police officers concentrate on routine police duties and citizens are invited during strictly need based activities e.g. during festivals and in a purely ad-hoc manner.

Short tenure of beat officers was noticed at all the three places studied. A beat officer having tenure of barely one year can not be expected to know the area and its citizens as envisaged in community policing. His knowledge would be superficial at the best. The spirit of involving citizens in tackling local issues of crime and order requires officers with a minimum tenure of two years.

Community policing at the beat level in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur lacks proper planning for eliciting community participation and systematic
implementation of citizen-police partnership. Regular monitoring and review of particular community policing initiatives was found missing. However beat officers are held responsible for prevention, detection and investigation of crime and order related issues in their areas. For this purpose they take citizens assistance when required. Institutionalization of community policing, essential for its long term success, beyond the current beat system has not been undertaken in Mumbai, Pune or Nagpur.

7.8 Citizens are not equal partners in community policing Initiatives

Most community policing projects initiated by individual officers become weak after his/her departure. It is mainly due to the fact that citizens are not being accorded equal status and have little stake in the community policing projects. While police men decide most of the issues, citizens are generally expected to be good listeners giving their consent. In their responses to the questionnaires most supervisory level police officers have accepted that citizens have not been empowered enough for real time partnership in community policing. Only 19.3% students and 30.2% middle level officers feel that citizens are adequately empowered to participate in community policing. 51.4% and 41.3% respectively feel that citizens’ participation is not up to the expected levels as they have not been empowered to the desired level. In fact it has come out quite vividly in the response of students that citizens are not being respected by police during their routine interaction. That is the base i.e. response of policemen to citizens on which further community policing model can be developed. If the base is so weak there is no scope for fruitful collaboration between the two.
The officer often decides the needs of the citizens residing in his beat and plans his activities accordingly. The mind set of a beat officer is of a ‘reactor’ and not of problem solver. Whatever consultation with citizens, it is on the periphery. Poor and marginalized sections of the locality are left out of even this peripheral consultative process. The study shows that beat officers do not adequately interact with women and students, though latter have shown great interest in community policing activities during the survey.

There are other issues too e.g. citizens participating in Mumbai, Pune, Nagpur want their participation to be formally recognized and ask for identity cards. Police establishment is hesitant to provide these cards, for fear of their possible misuse. At a few other places however citizens’ contribution has been recognized to some extent through formal bands/identity cards e.g. Friends of Police (FOP) movement in Tamil Nadu.56

7.9 Citizens Partnership Needs A Formal Structure

In most countries a licensed police officer is paired with a civilian for the purpose of giving citizens’ perspective and input to law enforcement agencies. Even an under developed country like Uganda has adopted the system of paid Community Liaison Officers (C.L.Os). However there is no such system in Mumbai, Pune or Nagpur. The community policing as defined in the instant research, emphasizes the role of citizens in identifying its problems/ issues with the beat officer being a facilitator in finding solutions which are the citizens led. But citizens’ participation is minimal in the current community policing system in the three cities studied during the research. They just come when invited by police officers, assist in the issue at hand with very little follow up. ‘Mohala Committees’ have tried to introduce a system for selection of committee
members but even this programme does not envision a citizen representing the local citizens, who is paid for community policing activity thus can be held accountable. Citizen participation in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur has been mostly informal and unstructured. It needs to be made formal with paid part time/full time civilians who shall be allotted specific tasks and held responsible for carrying out the same. On an experimental basis students having shown great enthusiasm can be encouraged to undertake small community policing projects during their vacations or as field projects.

7.10 Community Policing Committees
The research shows that there are a number of committees at the police station, division/subdivision and zone/district levels in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur. They are supposed to be representative of the local populace and speak for them on crime and order related issues. However the committees do not meet regularly, have no formal agenda and hardly any systematic follow up. Many such committees are called only prior to festivals or subsequent to a crisis. They can not be considered to be functioning as effective tools of community policing in broad sense. Many field officers of Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur apprehend and voiced concern that the local level community committees have nominees who misuse the forum to their advantage. Some respondents have also talked of politically connected persons finding place in these forums for their selfish purposes. Supervisory officers have also referred to the need for giving common citizens due representation in these committees that have come to be dominated by politicians. This lack of interaction with the ‘silent majority’ is the main reason for the continued fear of police. It has also resulted in committees not bridging the gap between police and citizens in India and degenerating into mere formal forums.
Even in a systematic and structured project like that of Chicago police such committees are seen to lose the momentum. Committees as observed in the current form in urban Maharashtra too have shown limited performance. About Chicago District Advisory Committees (DACs), the follow up study has observed that “In theory, DAC chairs…are supposed to represent the community’s interests and priorities, and their view of the effectiveness of police operations. However, it is virtually unheard of …and we have never observed a DAC chair making a significant contribution to discussions at accountability meetings at any level. The DACs are often not very representative of the community…Many are also not providing an independent voice for the community; most simply respond to the agenda put on the table by district personnel, and the get more advice than they give. DAC membership is also very slow to turn over. Many members hang on for years, some regardless of their productivity as members.”57 Same can be said of many police-public forums/interaction committees in Maharashtra.

7.11 Utilizing The Services Of Home Guards/ Civil Defence Officials For Community Policing

The researcher has studied the syllabus of Civil Defence as well as Home guards, both being closely related to the police department. Their volunteers are also enlisted for assistance during festivals, crisis situations by all the three cities taken up for the study. Being semi uniformed organizations, they share a common culture with police and the comfort level of home guards and civil defence volunteers in police environment is high. 81.6% police officers have responded that Home Guards and Civil defence can be considered examples of community policing. The volunteers registered with these two organizations can thus
be gainfully used for community policing activities. In view of serious shortage of manpower at the beat level, these volunteers can be involved in specific programmes in the areas where they live. In fact while representing citizens’ perception, Home Guards/Civil Defence personnel also understand police perspective and can act as bridge between law enforcement and citizen’s forums. They can be of great use at time of conflicts or difference of opinion. A Home Guard is between the ages of 18 to 35, with minimum educational qualification being eight standard pass. In Maharashtra -he/she is given initial training of sixteen days followed by eight days refresher course every year. Their training includes parade, drill, weapon training and other uniform related training in crowd control etc. A civil defence volunteer is above the age of 18 and minimum 7th standard pass. He/she is trained for a week initially with in-service training of one or two days annually. Their training is mainly about defence during the time of war, natural calamities, in fire fighting and first aid. Officers of all ranks responding to the study have shown willingness to use Home guards/Civil defence personnel for community policing though as of today they are not being so utilized for this purpose. They can also be useful in reducing the ‘fear of police’ as they are aware of resources and limitations of both the sides i.e. community as well as police. With some additional training they can explain the police procedures to citizens as the survey shows that students have emphasized the need for the same.

7.12 Using The Services Of NSS And NCC Cadets

The researcher went through the curriculum of both NSS and NCC and found them to be based on the concept of students’ involvement in community activities. Considering this emphasis, involving cadets for
community policing projects can be an extension of their curriculum. 82.3% students feel that NCC/NSS syllabi can be stretched to include community policing initiatives, this can lead to easy acceptability of citizen-police partnership. 86.7% of the field officers are of the opinion that students enrolled in NCC/NSS can be helpful for community policing initiatives.

While 98.4% students want to know how the police department works, 96.4% have shown willingness to associate with community policing projects. Student respondents, though all were not NCC/NSS cadets, have however shown keen willingness to work with police. Therefore police organizations all over the country should encourage students’ participation in community policing. Such partnership shall also enhance the police image that is at low ebb and clarify many misunderstandings about the working of law enforcing agencies.

7.13 Validation Of The Hypothesis

The research project had five hypotheses that have been tested during the survey, seminars and interviews undertaken by the researcher. The results are as below: -

7.13.1 The hypothesis “Community policing is more popular with police leaders than with field level officers” is not validated.

During the research it was found that the field officers are fully aware of the value of community policing and have been actively using the same as a ‘long term relationship’ (72.2%). Majority of officers (67.8%) have rated it useful for both rural and urban areas. The study has further shown that community policing is a popular tool with field level officers of all ages irrespective of place of posting or mode of recruitment (table 6.11 A) and 71.9% field officers have referred to community policing as a
‘genuine problem solving tool’. Only 7.5% respondents feel that it is a public relations exercise. 68.3% officers of inspector/sub-inspector level working in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur have reported using community policing with positive response from seniors and colleagues. Many officers have given concrete examples of their handling crime and order issues with the help of local citizens e.g. caste and communal conflicts, arrest of criminals, crowd control and accident spot management etc. Therefore the hypothesis that community policing is more popular with leadership than with the field officers of Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur is not proved. On the contrary the latter have been the actual practitioners with considerable experience in the use of this tool. It may be true that senior officers get a number of opportunities to express their views on the topic and they get media attention while the grass root officers are the actual initiators and users. The instant study shows that sub-inspectors and inspectors of Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur have high degree of faith in community policing. Their views are shared by their immediate supervisors also as they have rated citizens’ participation very useful for crime prevention/detection and for fight against the modern day crime e.g. anti terrorist operations, anti human trafficking, collection of criminal intelligence etc.

The chi-square test has further shown that field level officers regard community policing as a valuable tool irrespective of the nature of their appointment, age or place of posting. This shows that community policing initiatives are popular not only with police leaders but also with field officers in the urban centres covered by the study.

7.13.2 The hypothesis “Community policing is considered more of a
philosophy than a practical tool by grass root level officers” is not validated.

The hypothesis that field officers do not consider community policing as a practical tool has been invalidated by their overwhelming response to it being a practical and meaningful tool that they have been using. Very high percentages (71.7%) of police officers of Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur have responded that community policing is a practical tool. Further the examples given by them are specific in their having elicited the support of citizens and having gained from the collaboration, be it during an investigation for the purpose of ‘panch witness’, the festival season or a natural calamity. In fact some of the field officers have given instances where they could prevent property crimes with the active help of local community that engages in regular patrolling with police for sustained efforts to check crime. They have sited examples of ‘Eagle Brigades’, ‘Moahala Committees’, ‘Gram Suraksha Dals’, Housing Societies Associations, Jewellers/ Merchants Associations as forums they regularly interact with for the purpose of crime prevention/detection and during the festival seasons for ‘bandobast’. Responding field officers have thus been using community policing as a practical tool with high level of satisfaction.

The research has however shown that 26.7% of field level officers of Mumbai. Pune and Nagpur have not found the concept to be practical. Reasons for their lack of faith as against the majority of sub-inspectors/inspectors shall have to be studied in depth for corrective measures.

7.13.3 The hypothesis “Training on community policing to police
officers is inadequate” is validated.

54.2% field officers have reported not having received basic training on community policing. 32.5% of the 45.8% who did receive some training have said that it was not adequate. Despite the lack of training, inspectors/sub-inspectors have been using citizens’ support for various purposes and learning from their experience. If trained, they can gain manifold from the same tool.

This to some extent explains why the citizens committees at different levels are not functioning satisfactorily. Not being trained, the working of police-public committees is neither monitored nor evaluated in a systematic way by the police officers. These monitoring/evaluative techniques can be explained during basic and in-service training programmes and it can thus lead to ‘Mohala’ Committees/citizens’ forums becoming more meaningful.

During the research it was found that in some cases these forums have become more of formalities than being of actual use. Some of the main reasons are improper selection of members, conducting of meetings in random, ad-hoc manner, not taking down the minutes of the proceedings, not pursuing the compliance of decisions taken. Committees’ functioning has led to disillusionment of officers without their realizing that they being the chairpersons of the citizens’ committees have not been systematic in using the forums. Not being trained in community policing, they have been learning through trial and error. If trained, the officers can monitor community policing initiatives in a scientific manner and evaluate their performance.

Chicago police has been doing so to their advantage and have therefore been able to correlate their community policing initiatives with fall in serious crime like murders, rapes, drug peddling etc. It is pertinent that Chicago police earmarks funds for community policing initiatives and also
for training police officers as well as citizens.
Lack of adequate training of field officers was accepted by the senior police officers also. They have emphasized the need for separate budget and for strengthening the existing beat system.
86.9% field officers have said that they would like to know more about community policing. If the subject is covered in a comprehensive manner during the basic training of officers and further refreshed during in-service training, performance and the satisfaction level of both the citizens and police officers with the community policing forums is bound to improve and so shall their performance.

7.13.4 The hypothesis “There is scope for extending community policing initiatives in Maharashtra” is validated.
The study has shown that though inspectors/sub-inspectors of Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur have been using community policing initiatives, they have not received adequate training on the subject. Therefore citizens’ forums are not performing effectively. It has caused considerable dissatisfaction among police officers. At the same time citizens continue to be afraid of police, find their working non-transparent and their attitude not helpful. Field officers reflect their distrust of the community as 20.8% of them have rated citizens to be non-co-operative while 12.5% have said that community is hostile to them.
This clearly shows that there is a great scope to improve the performance of community policing initiatives and strengthen the hands of 32.2% police officers who find citizens helpful. More collaboration amongst police officers and citizens shall also change the neutral’ attitude of citizens as reported by 34.4% of respondents, indicating that they are not helpful.
Police officers have themselves admitted that citizens as of today are not
equal partners in community policing initiatives. The same thought has been reflected in the response of students too. It shows that there is great scope to improve the relationship in collaborative forums. This unequal relationship has caused collapse of many community policing projects after the transfer of the initiating police officers. Therefore the need is to make citizens’ forums more comprehensive and inclusive with proper representation to women and the weaker sections and making them stakeholders in the real sense.

Increasing police–community collaboration shall definitely lessen the ‘fear’ of police so strongly reflected in the responses of the students. Though police officers and students have marked the difference between traditional policing and the modern one, latter being more community oriented yet citizens continue to hesitate in associating with police. This can be taken care of by extending the scope of community policing projects in Maharashtra.

The study shows that Home Guards/Civil Defence personnel as well as NCC/NSS cadets can be involved in community policing initiatives. Being to some extent similar to uniformed police especially Home Guards/NCC and dedicated to the cause of community (NSS/Civil Defence) they can bridge the gap between citizens and police. During the research 63.1% students have mentioned that community policing requires more attention and 96.4% have shown willingness to collaborate with police. Their potentials can be tapped to increase the scope of community policing in Maharashtra.

7.13.5 The hypothesis “Citizens are not adequately informed about
the benefits of community policing and their participation is superficial” is validated.

As reflected in the study, citizens continue to be wary of police, one of the main reasons being that they are not interacting with police and harbour traditional ‘fear’ psychosis. It has further transpired that their awareness about community policing is low and their participation in citizens’ forums is not as equal partners as admitted by the police officials too. 19.8% supervisory officers have admitted that citizens are not fully empowered in these forums while 41.3% have said that they are empowered to a limited extent. It has therefore led to community participation that is more on paper than in spirit causing immense underutilization of the resources that citizens can bring along if they are genuinely involved in policing. It has also emerged during the study that police officers tend to ‘dominate and talk’ expecting the citizens to only ‘listen’ thereby not using the local knowledge and expertise available with the citizens.

It has been noticed during the research that awareness about community policing initiatives and that police authorities welcome citizens’ partnership is confined to a few who have thus tended to dominate the space provided through different forums in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur. Having the restricted membership, police officials themselves have become disillusioned of various committees created to involve citizens. They have mentioned during their responses that either persons with vested interests or politicians have been exploiting these partnership initiatives while law abiding citizens have been marginalized.

The need of the hour, therefore, is to create more awareness of community policing projects across the board and encourage inclusive approach by approaching citizens of all sections of society with particular emphasis on women and the weaker sections. Students who during the
study have shown strong inclination to join community policing initiatives and Home Guards/Civil Defense personnel too can be made partners. Joint efforts can be made to give due media coverage and increase the awareness about such joint police-public ventures.

7.14 Conclusion

Community policing is a philosophy and at the same time it is a strategic process and a useful tool. It is valued by police officers at policy making and implementation levels. Currently it is being used in a random and ad-hoc manner in Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur. Basic and in-service training on the subject is not provided to police officers of Maharashtra. Image of police thus continues to be poor among citizens. Policemen resort to citizens’ participation during festivals and at the time of crisis but do not pursue with vigor during peace times. If pursued in a systematic way, it can show better results in preventing crime and law & order issues. Community policing can also be used for improving police performance in carrying out routine duties. As mentioned by the responding police officers, to succeed community policing programs must have earmarked finances for carrying out specific activities. Further citizens’ participation needs to be made more formal and structured than what the current beat system entails.

However community policing can not be a substitute for other equally important police processes and strategies. It is one of the strategies to maintain order and for prevention, detection and investigation of crime. There are many other tools too; over-emphasis on a particular strategy shall not be beneficial to the performance of the organization. Community policing must go hand in hand with other professional policing tools i.e. collection of intelligence, surveillance of criminals, analysis of crime trends, skilled interrogation, investigation of crime etc. At the same time