

Police Performance and Public Perception



A Collaboration Between:

The Rajasthan Police

and

The MIT J-Poverty Action Lab



Outline:

- First rigorously evaluated Police reform project in the world.
- 3-year collaboration between the Rajasthan Police and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (USA)
- Objectives:
 - Enhance police performance
 - Improve public perception
 - Gather objective information
- Action: 4 reform initiatives evaluated in 150 police stations, 11 districts:
 1. Transfers frozen
 2. Rotation of duties and weekly days off
 3. Community Observer
 4. Training

Previous Police Reforms

- Police Commissions:
 - Broad, ambitious scope
 - Not fully implemented
- Local initiatives
 - Many success stories
 - Little rigorous evaluation
 - Questions about scalability

Need for a middle ground:

Pragmatic, effective reforms that can be broadly and quickly implemented.

Origins of Project in Rajasthan:

- Many ongoing police reform projects:
 - ISO Police Stations
 - Case Officer Scheme/Hardcore scheme
 - Community Liaison Groups
 - Public relations trainings, yoga, etc.
- But some enduring issues:
 - Effectiveness
 - Scalability
 - Lack of evidence on public and police perceptions

MIT Poverty Action Lab

- Goal: Improve effectiveness of programs by providing policy makers with clear scientific results that help shape successful policies
- Applies randomized trial approach to a variety of projects in different fields
 - Health
 - Education
 - Governance Reform (such as Police Reforms)
- Key Approach: Compare randomly chosen reformed (“treatment”) areas with random un-reformed (“control”) areas and examine difference in outcomes

Timeline:

1. Pre-Pilot: September, 2005
 1. Initial meetings: Gathering ideas
 - Police Personnel of all ranks
 - Judiciary/Magistracy
 - Media
 - Citizens from all social backgrounds
 2. Identification of potential reforms

Choice of Reforms:

If successful, reforms should be implementable in all police stations. Thus they must be:

- 1. Low cost and simple enough to be implemented in any police station.**
- 2. Capable of generating hard evidence of success.**
- 3. Could be scaled up to all of Rajasthan if successful.**

Timeline:

1. Pre-Pilot: September, 2005
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 - Police Personnel of all ranks
 - Judiciary/Magistracy
 - Media
 - Citizens from all social backgrounds
 2. Identification of potential reforms
2. Pilot Stage:
 - Testing of potential reforms in 11 police stations in 3 districts
 - 5 potential reforms tested for a 3 month period
 - Feedback collection from police station staff
 - Unsuccessful reforms eliminated, i.e. 12 hour duty shift.
 - Decision on final reform initiatives

Reforms:

1. Transfers Frozen:

All administrative transfers frozen in selected police stations for duration of the project.

Transfers permitted for misconduct or for constables with greater than 2 years posting

- Goal 1: Increased Transparency
 - Reduce inappropriate interference/ maneuvering for postings
- Goal 2: Lengthen Posting Periods
 - Improve investigation through better knowledge of community

Reforms:

2. Duty Roster & Weekly Off:

All staff (except SHO) in selected police stations receive weekly off.

All duties assigned to all staff as per previously announced schedule. Duration of duty rotation varies according to local needs.

- Goal 1: Increase Productivity
 - Better rested, more flexible, more efficient police force
- Goal 2: Greater Transparency
 - Fewer opportunities for SHO favoritism
- Goal 3: Improve Morale
 - More time off and less burnout due to rotation

Reforms:

3. Community Observer:

100+ community members selected to visit police station for 3 hours on one day each. Observers learn about police work and can assist if they want.

After initial round of community observers has visited, station staff recruit another round, spreading awareness in community.

- ❑ Goal 1: Community Awareness
 - Observers witness and spread information about true roles, challenges, and needs of police
- ❑ Goal 2: Police Behavior
 - Presence of observer encourages polite, patient behavior by staff

Reforms:

4. Training:

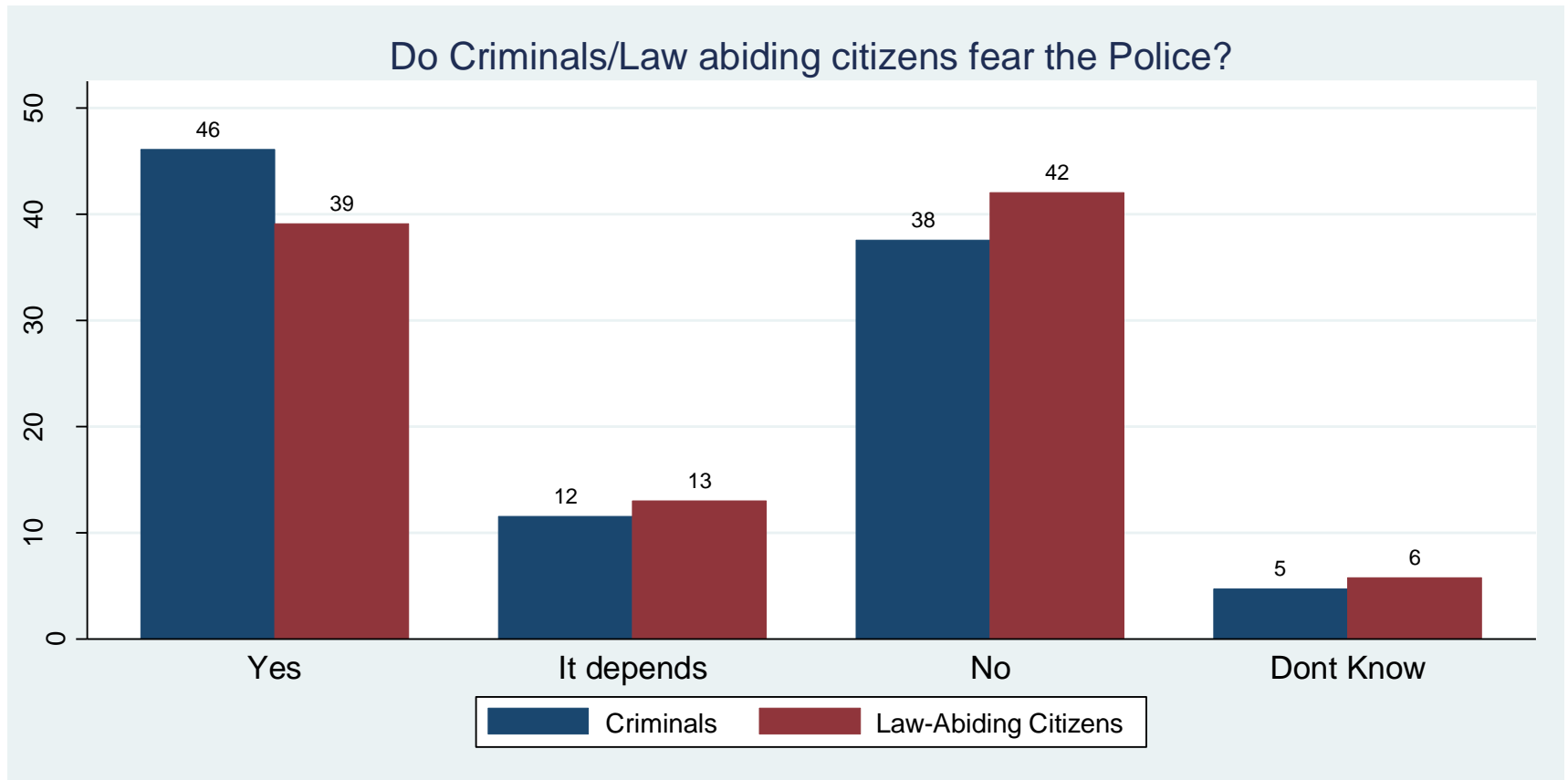
Selected investigating officers receive week-long residential training in investigation at Rajasthan Police Academy, emphasizing scientific techniques.

Selected staff of all ranks receive 3-day training in communications, public relations, mediation, stress relief, and personal development designed by IL&FS (ETS)*.

- ❑ Goal 1: Improve investigation through better officer training and knowledge
- ❑ Goal 2: Improve police communication skills and relationship with the public

* Funded by UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

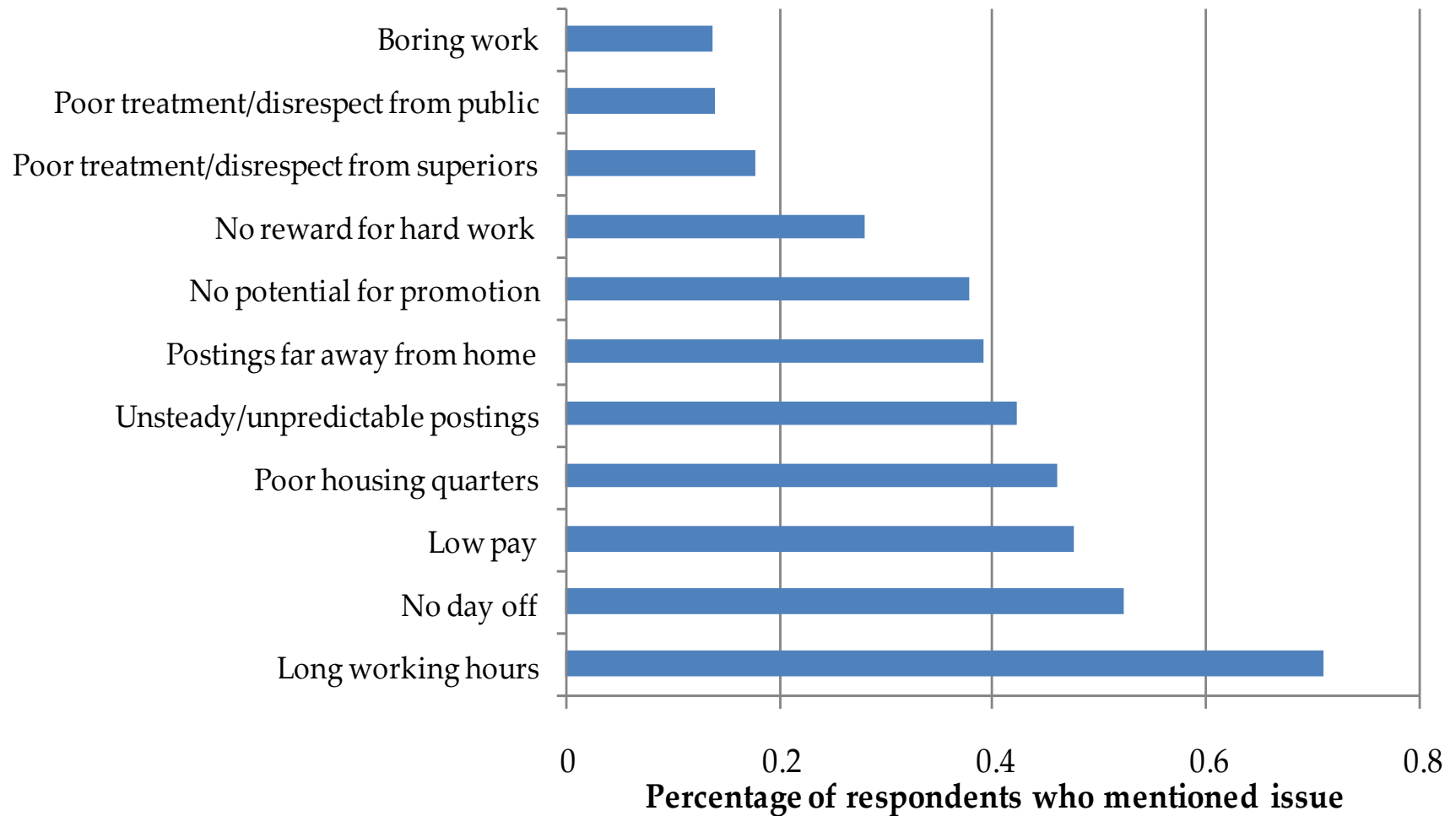
आमजन में विश्वास, अपराधियों में डर ।



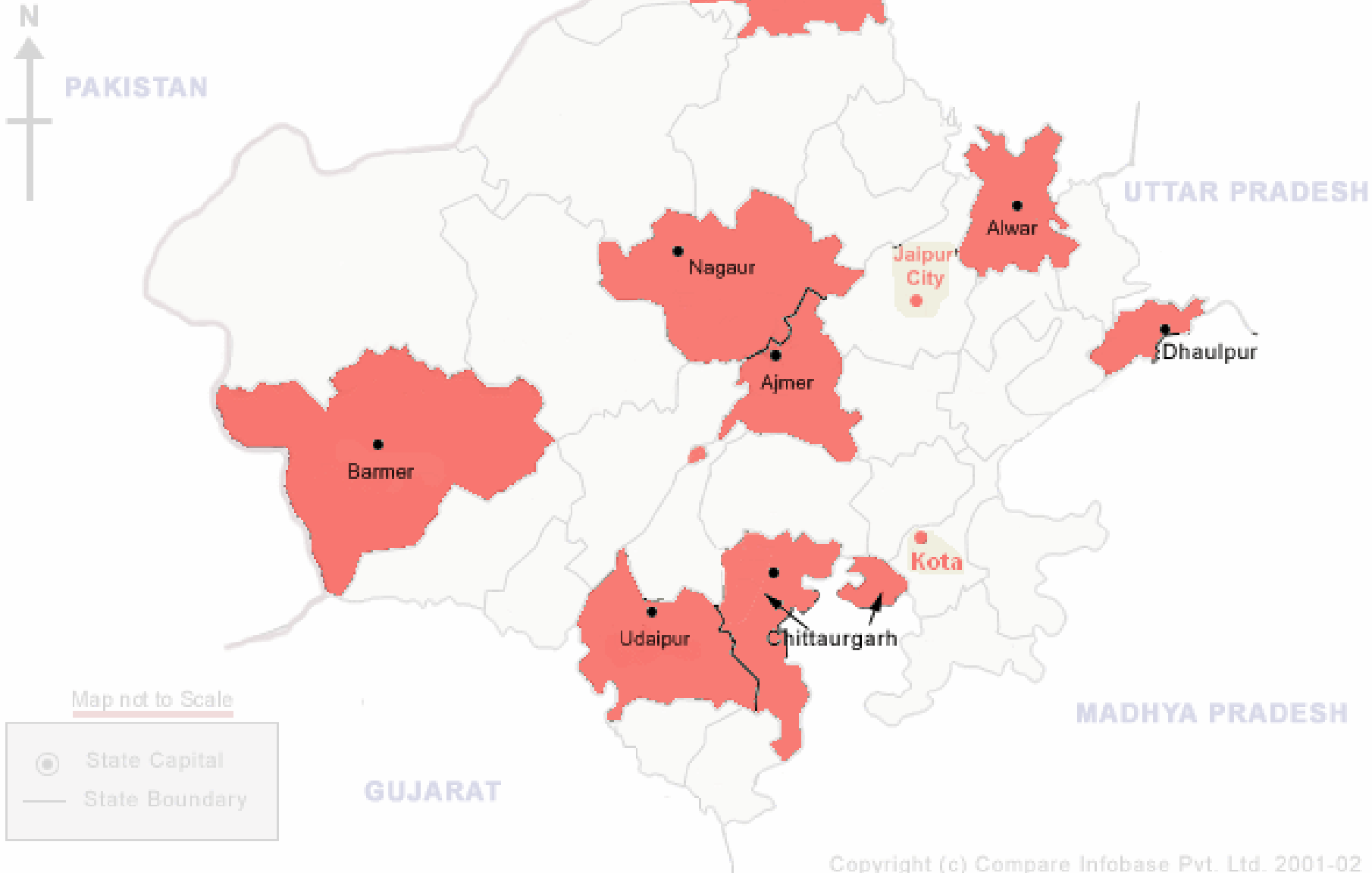
- 39% say that law-abiding citizens fear police
- 46% say that criminals fear police

Police Opinion

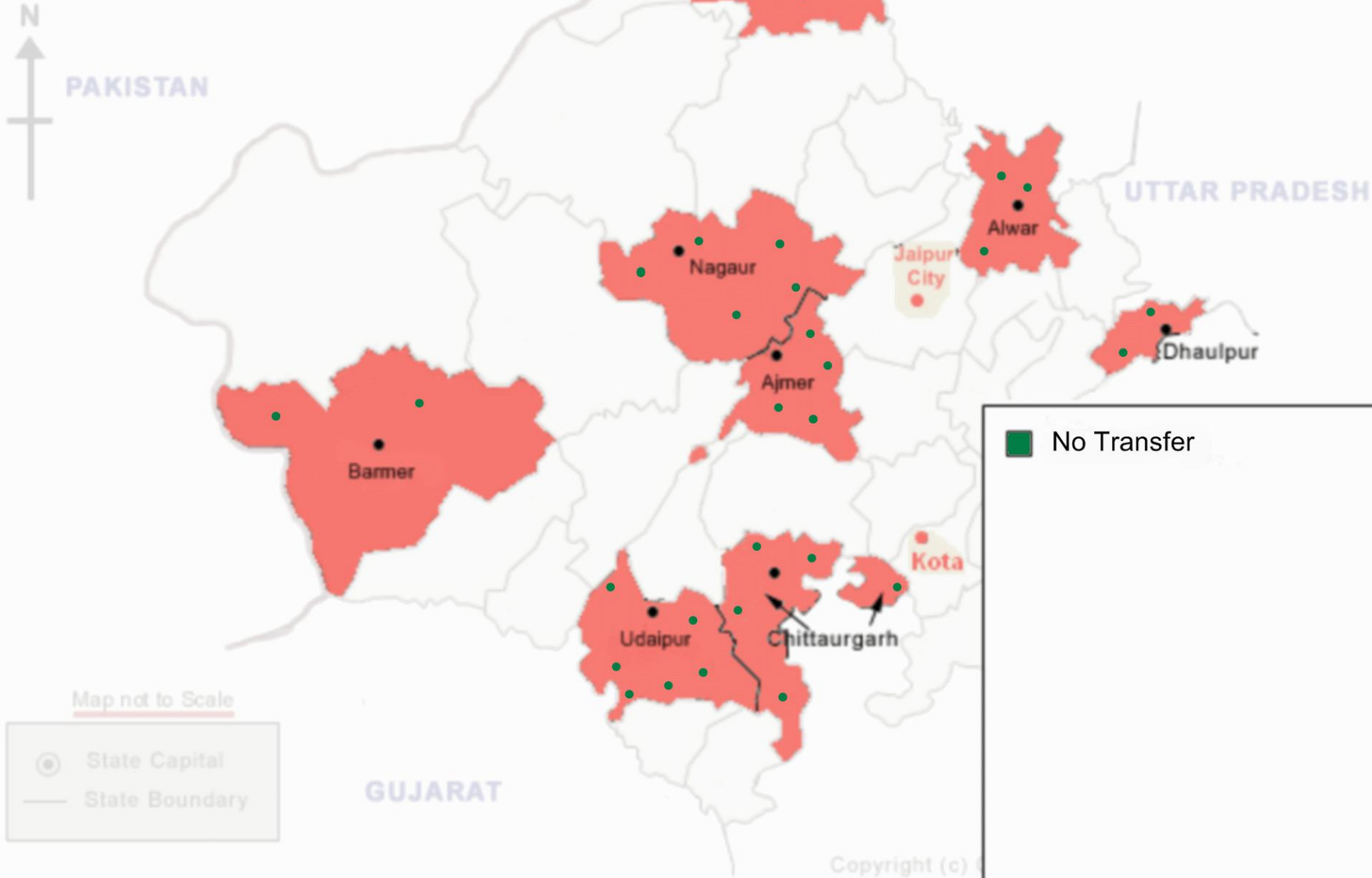
Worst Aspects of Policing



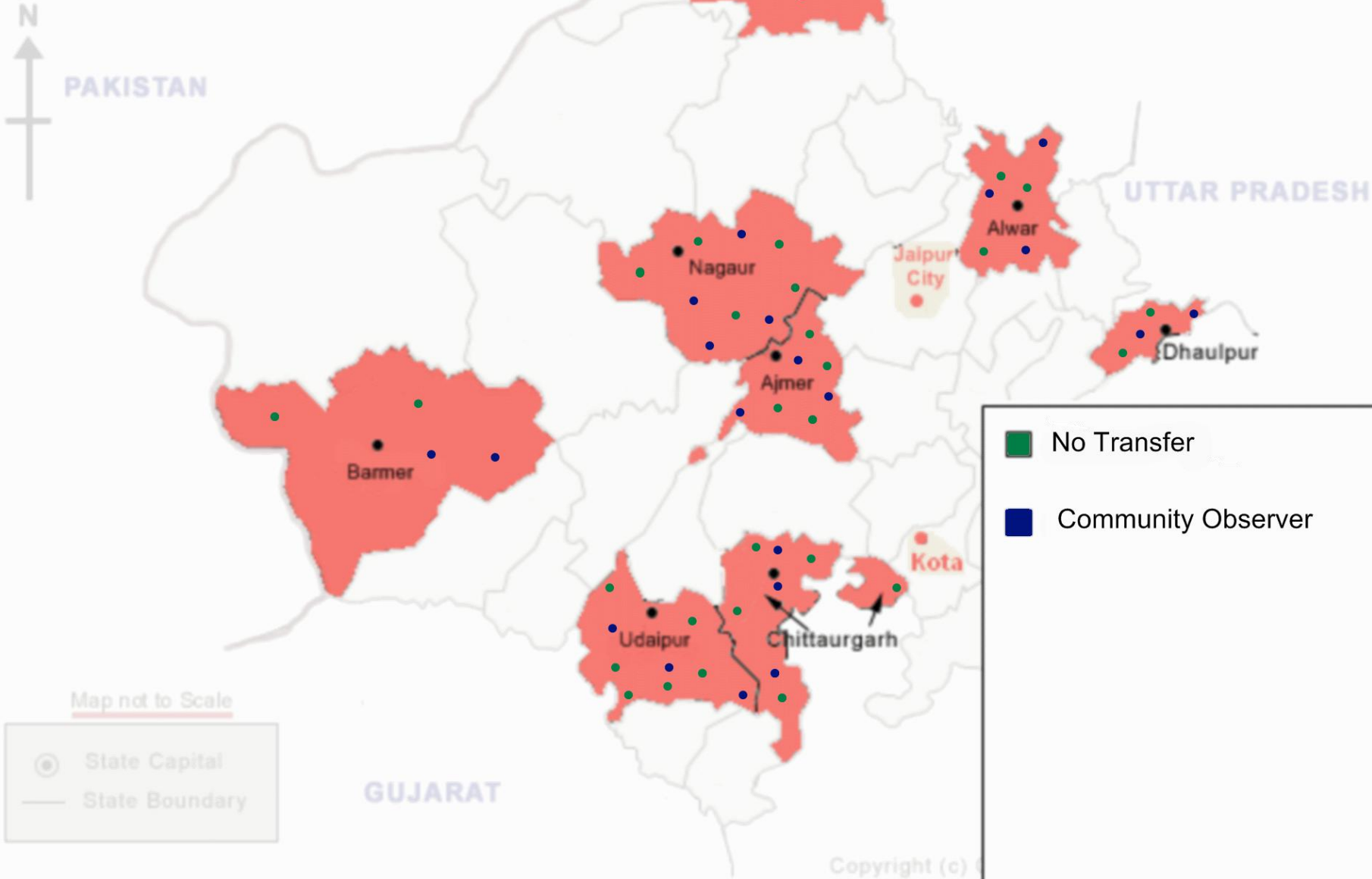
RAJASTHAN District Map



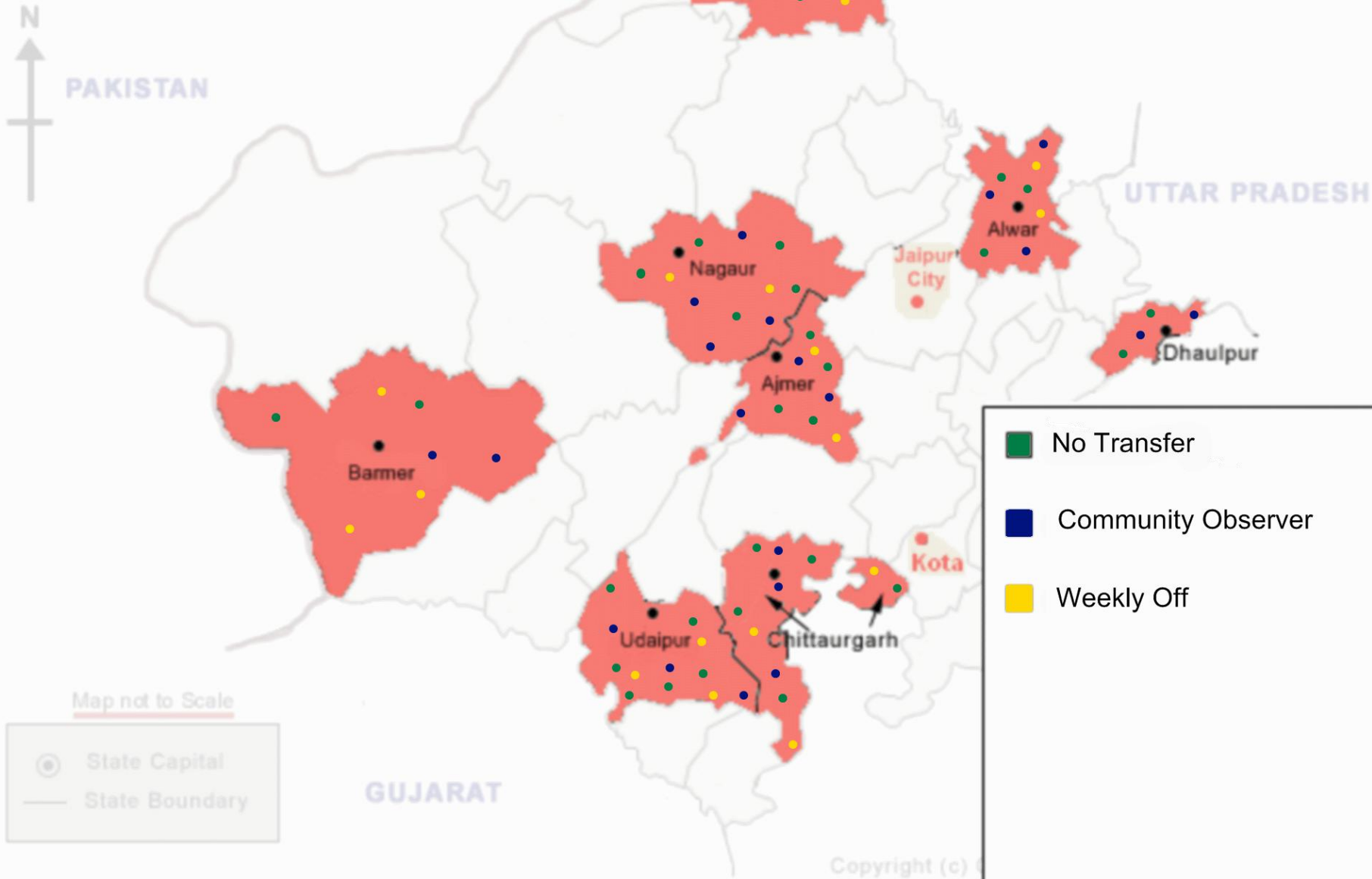
RAJASTHAN District Map



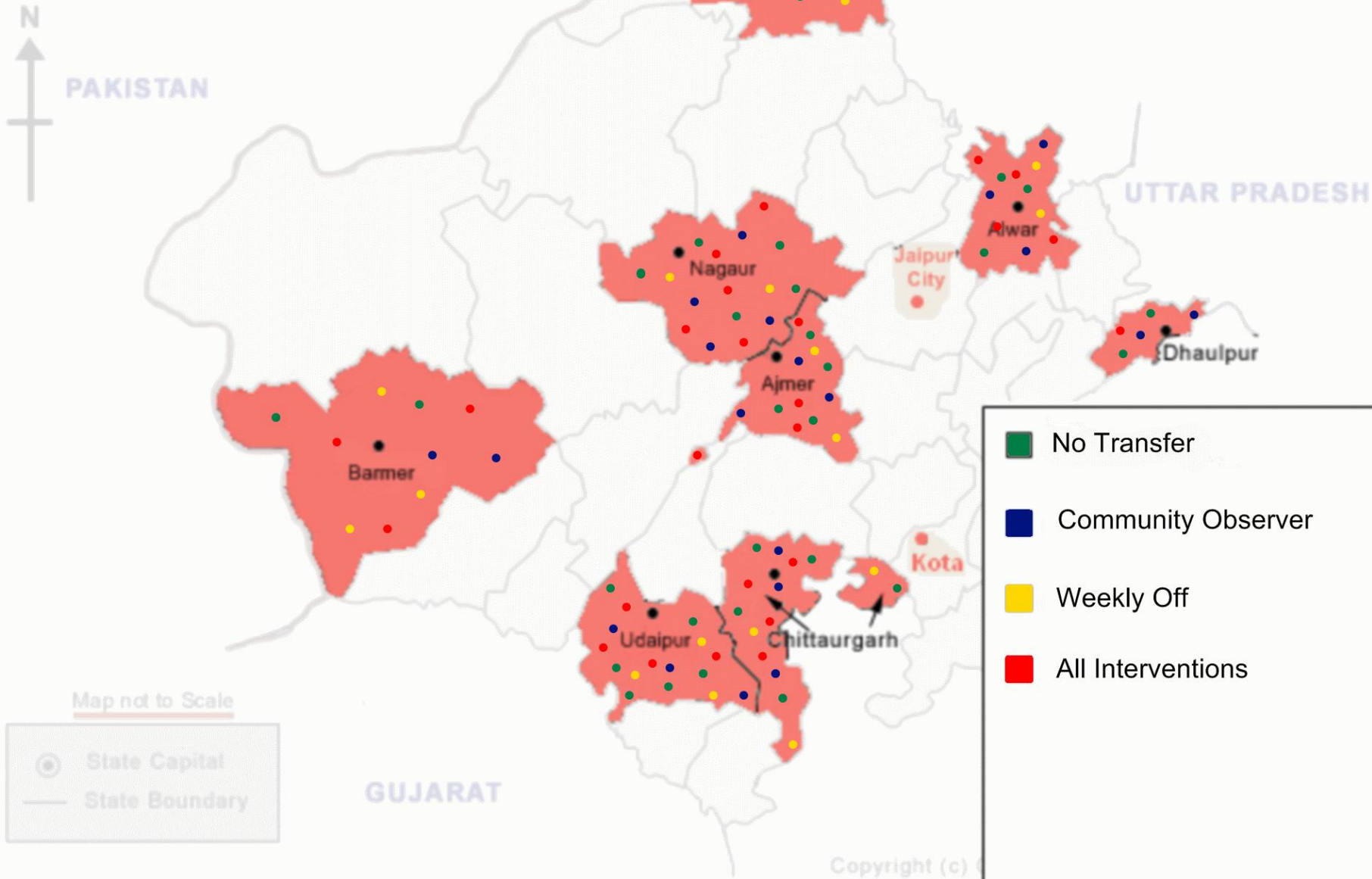
RAJASTHAN District Map



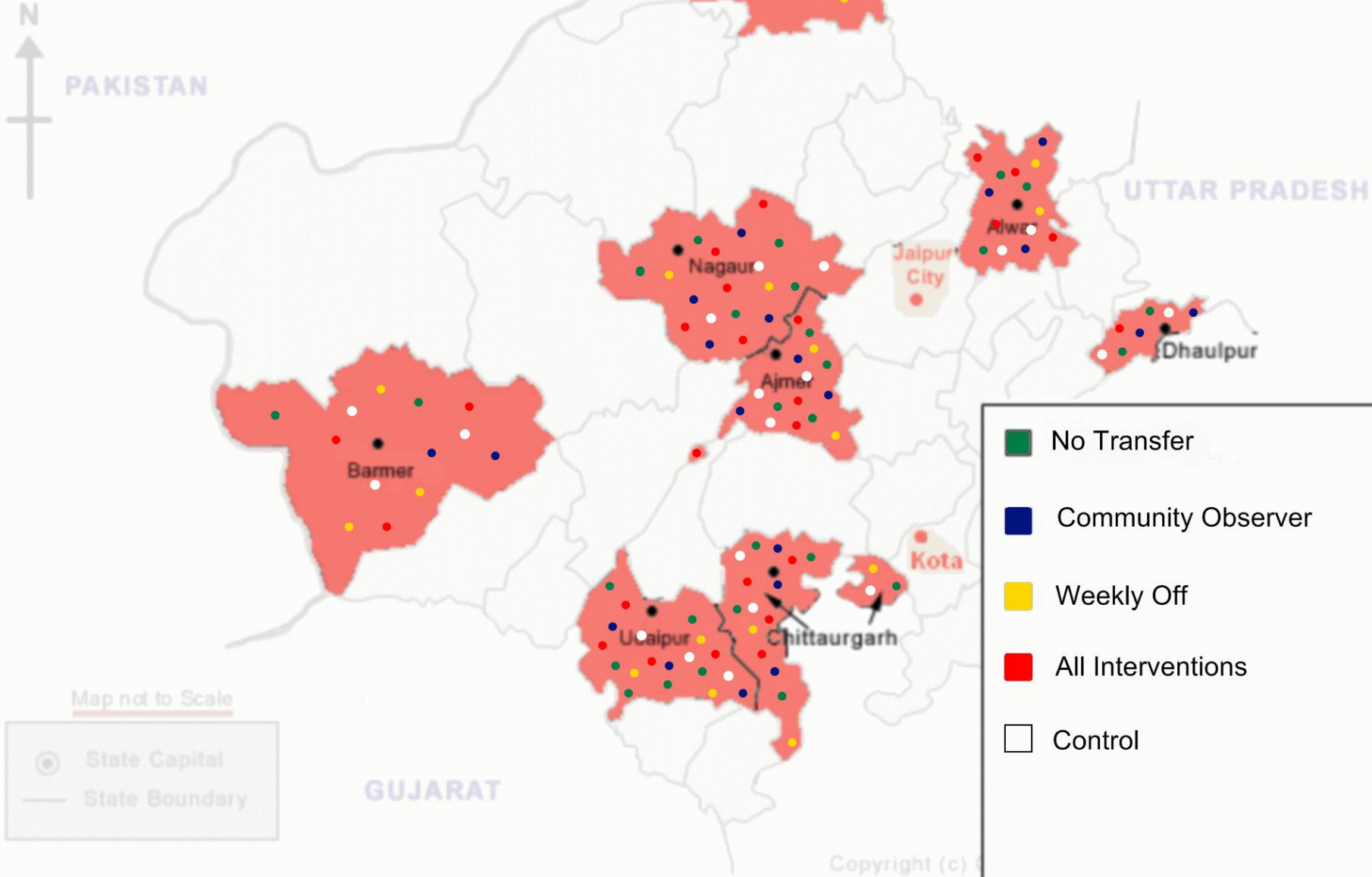
RAJASTHAN District Map



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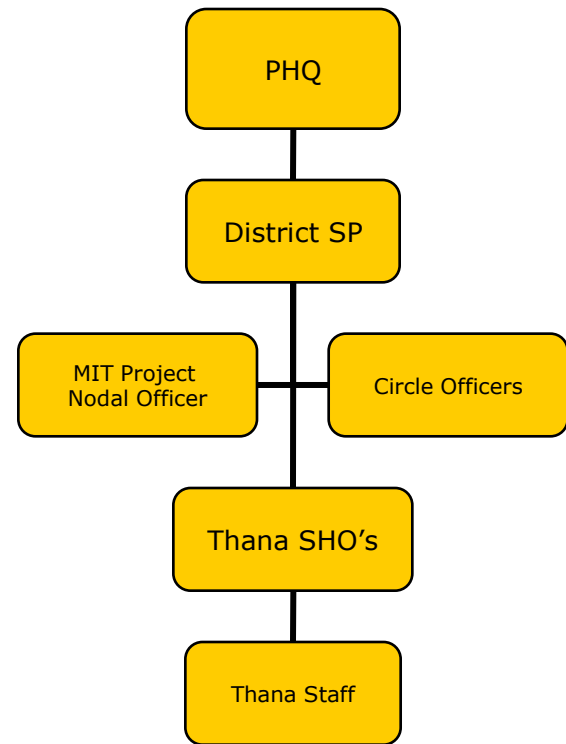
Training Implementation

- Individual officers/staff randomly selected for training
- Percentage of staff to be trained randomly determined by police station
 - Some stations with 0%, 25%, 50%, 75% or 100% of staff trained
 - Testing “agents of change” theory
- Combined with other reforms

Implementation Strategy

- In each district, a “Nodal Officer” was appointed, usually of ASP rank.
 - Nodal Officer responsible for monitoring the project and providing regular status reports
- During implementation, a district-level meeting was held:
 - SP, ASP’s, Circle Officers, and all SHO’s of participating police stations discussed project implementation and technical details.
 - SP/Nodal Officer was given freedom to make necessary innovations and modifications to ensure that project would be adapted to their district

Internal Implementation and Monitoring Structure



Hard Data:

MIT researchers coordinated data collection in two waves, baseline & endline. All surveys conducted by private survey company or by MIT employees.

□ Survey Modules:

■ **Crime Survey:**

- Crime in India is measured by police case registration records
 - Problems of public non-reporting, police non-registration, political incentives
- Most other countries use Household Surveys:
 - U.S.A.: National Crime Victimization Survey
 - Britain: British Crime Survey
 - Many others: International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS)
- **First major crime survey in India**
 - Modified ICVS to include more detail, match I.P.C.

Household chosen randomly from voter list:

खण्ड (ख) :		-निर्वाचक नामावली			-अनुभाग कृमिक पृष्ठ		
राज्य कोड एवं नाम : S20, राजस्थान		वि.स. क्षेत्र का कोड एवं नाम : 195 नावों			भाग संख्या : 105		
क्रम संख्या	मकान/प्लेट का नं.	मतदाता का नाम	सम्बन्ध	सम्बन्धी का नाम	लिंग	आयु	पहचान पत्र क्र.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
अनुभाग संख्या : 11		सैगमेंट सं. :	क्षेत्र का विवरण : भूषी				
परिक्षेत्र का वर्णन : गुजरा की ढाणी							(सतत्...)
609	201	किशनाराम	पिता	शिवकरण	पुरुष	41	RJ/25/195/348290
610	201	दाखादेवी	पति	किशनाराम	स्त्री	39	RJ/25/195/348659
611	201	रुघनाथ	पिता	शिवकरण	पुरुष	36	RJ/25/195/348641
612	201	पांची	पति	रुघनाथ	स्त्री	31	RJ/25/195/348633
613	201	बाबूलाल	पिता	शिवकरण	पुरुष	29	
614	201	तीजादेवी	पति	बाबूलाल	स्त्री	27	RJ/25/195/348639
615	201	रामेश्वरलाल	पिता	शिवकरण	पुरुष	22	KWJ/1464478
616	201	गिल्यादेवी	पति	रामेश्वरलाल	स्त्री	20	KWJ/1578830
617	202	चन्द्रा	पिता	नन्दा	पुरुष	71	RJ/25/195/348144
618	202	लाडूडीदेवी	पति	चन्द्रा	स्त्री	66	RJ/25/195/348248
619	202	हनुमान	पिता	चन्द्रा	पुरुष	51	RJ/25/195/348145
620	202	जिमनादेवी	पति	हनुमान	स्त्री	49	RJ/25/195/348283
621	202	करणा	पिता	चन्द्रा	पुरुष	46	RJ/25/195/348429
622	202	पतासीदेवी	पति	करणा	स्त्री	44	RJ/25/195/348643
623	202	मोती	पिता	चन्द्रा	पुरुष	41	RJ/25/195/348113
624	202	केसरदेवी	पति	मोती	स्त्री	39	RJ/25/195/348674
625	203	भवराराम	पिता	हीराराम	पुरुष	56	RJ/25/195/348003
626	203	कमलीदेवी	पति	भवराराम	स्त्री	54	RJ/25/195/348249
627	203	सुवाराम	पिता	हीराराम	पुरुष	53	RJ/25/195/348002

Total: 22,773 households interviewed in 2 rounds

Hard Data: More Surveys

- **Public Opinion Survey:** One member of selected households interviewed further. Total: 7,985 interviews
 - Opinion of police
 - Perception of local crime levels and changes

- **Police Opinion Survey:** 3,312 interviews with police staff
 - Morale
 - Time Use
 - Relationship with public

- **Case Review:** 1,030 randomly selected case files checked and graded by retired police officers
 - Investigation Quality
 - Documentation Quality

Hard Data: Project Implementation

- Monitoring execution of reforms:
 - **Random visits** to police stations by surveyors:
 - Interview with SHO and randomly selected constables to check weekly off/duty rotation
 - Check Community Observer logbooks
 - Record any transfers
 - **Decoy visits**: Surveyors pose as complainants and attempt to register FIRs
 - Determine whether police refuse to register FIR—“burking”
 - Record politeness

Crime in Project Districts, 2008:

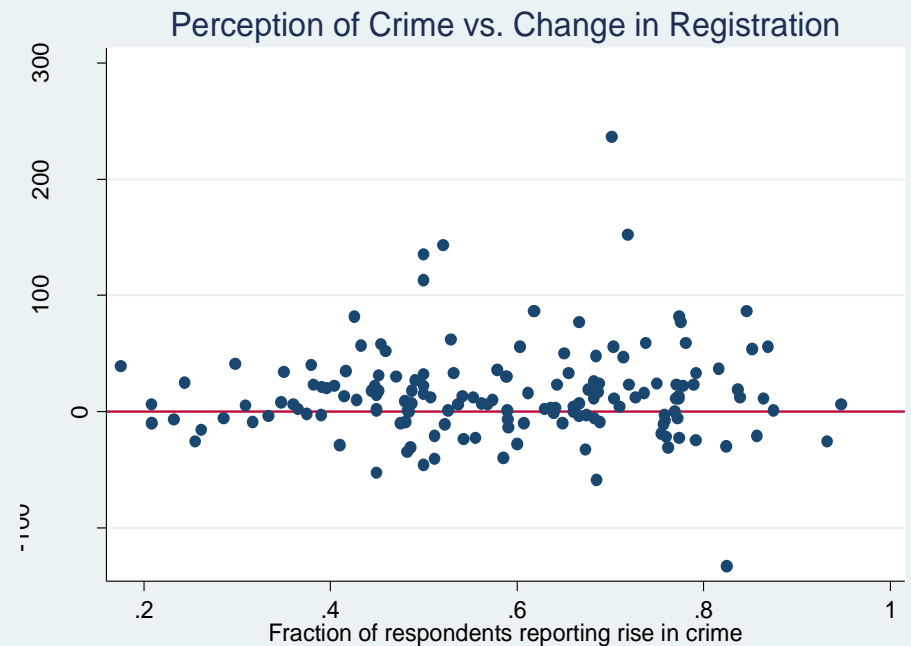
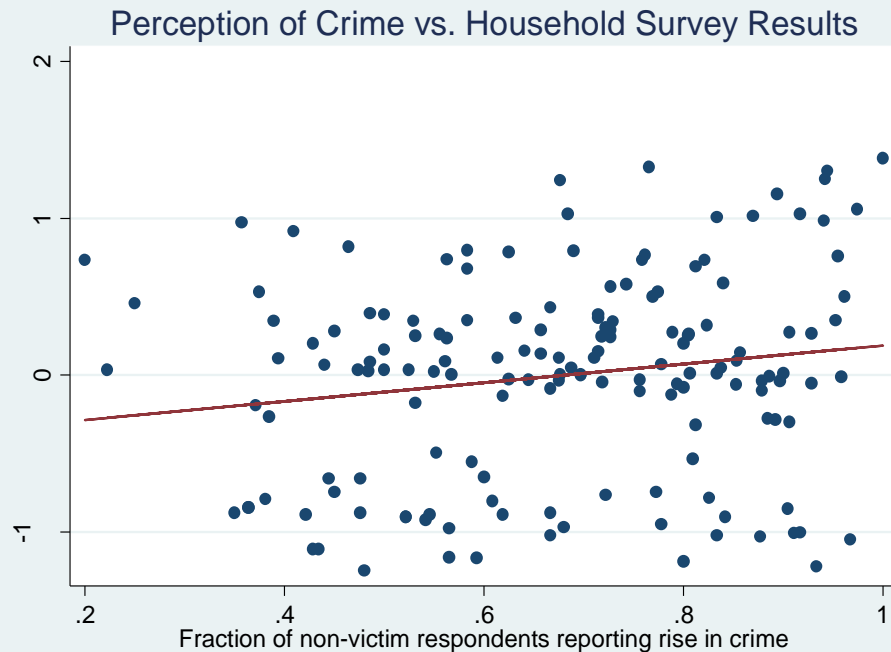
- Percentage of households victim to a crime:

District:	% Households victim to at least 1 crime
Dholpur	18%
Kota	13%
Chittorgarh (incl. Pratapgarh)	10%
Jaipur	10%
Alwar	8%
Ajmer	7%
Hanumangarh	7%
Udaipur	5%
Nagaur	4%
Barmer	3%

- Compared with 2007: Very small rise in overall crime
 - Households have 1% higher chance of being victims
 - Police station report average 15 more cases.

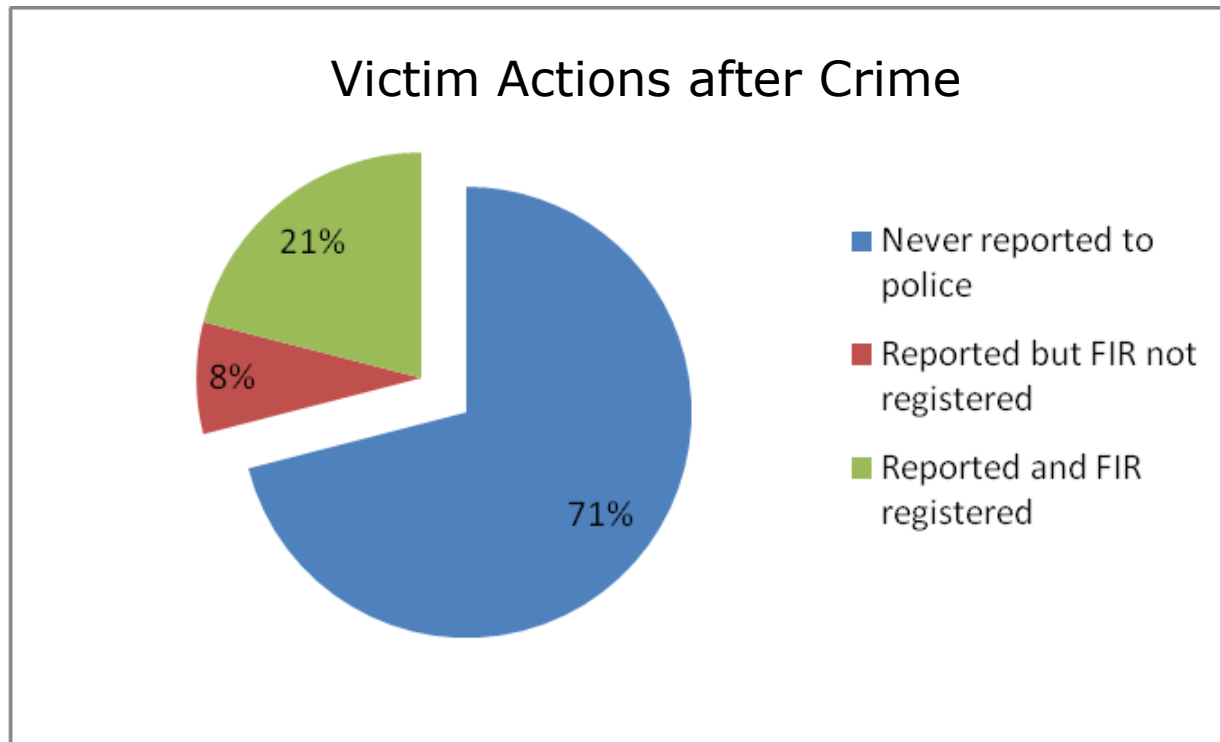
Changes in Crime

- Household survey reflects public perception of crime better than official registration records



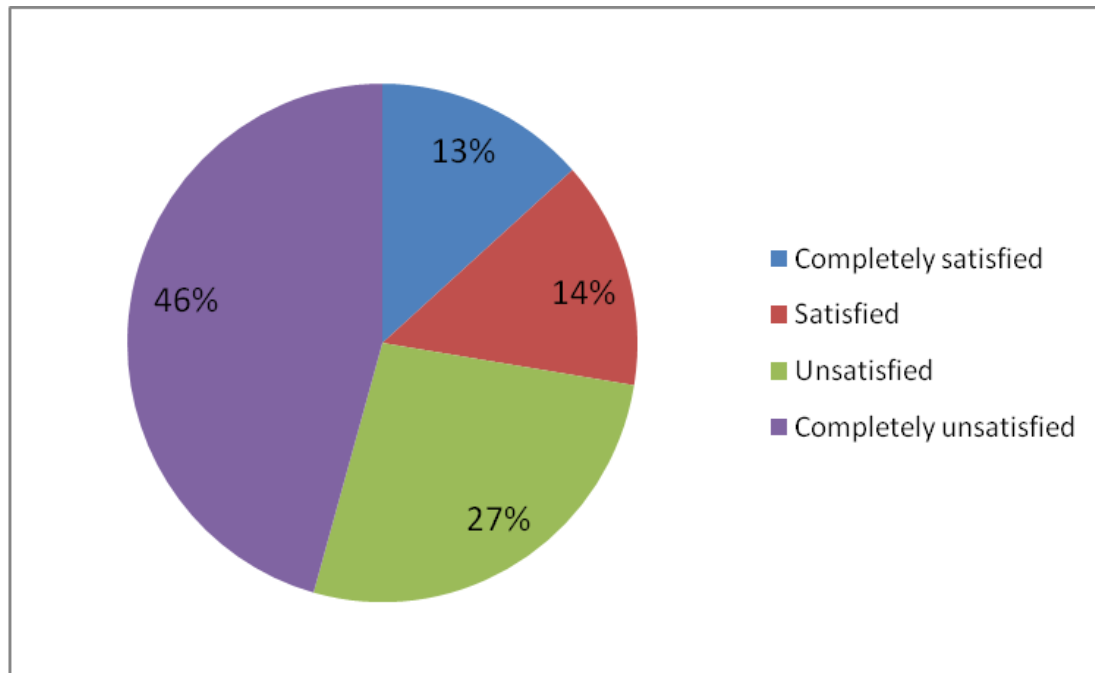
- Survey does not cover victimless crimes—gambling, drug use, etc.
- Survey cannot distinguish cognizable, non-cognizable crimes

Crimes Reported:



- ❑ Major reasons for non-reporting:
 - 28%: Not an important matter
 - 20%: Police couldn't do anything
 - 17%: Police won't do anything
- ❑ 17% of victims report that police requested some money to register the FIR. Median demand was Rs. 2000.

Satisfaction with Investigation:



Major reasons for dissatisfaction:

- 25%: Police did not take action
- 23%: Police did not seem interested
- 17%: Criminal was not searched or arrested
- 13%: Police was unable to return stolen property
- 6% : Police asked for money

Broad Public Opinion:

- Most people never meet police:

	Ever interacted with police	Interacted with police in last year
Yes	11%	8%
No	89%	92%

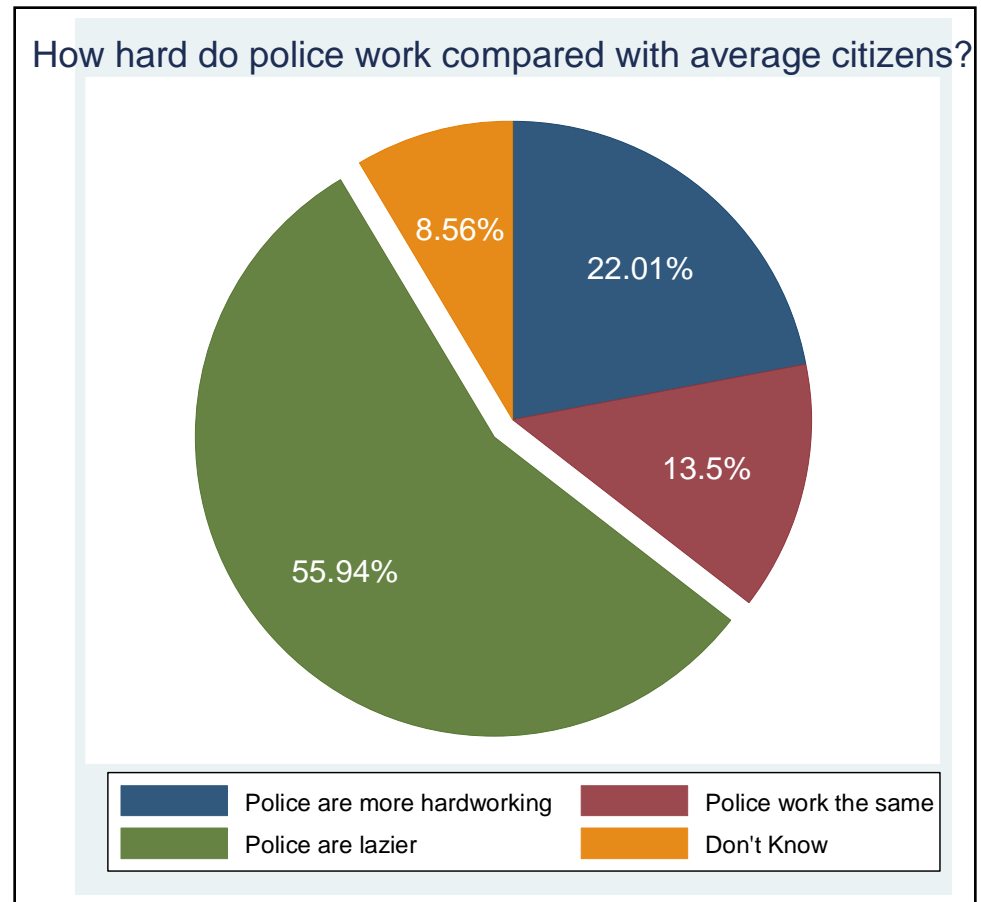
Special categories:

- 24% of urban men have interacted with police [17% rural]
 - 5% of women have met police
- 82% of public report that no beat constable ever visits their village or neighborhood

Public Opinion, contd.

56% of citizens believe that the police don't work hard:

- Only 19% of respondents say police needs more resources
- 24% say police need more staff

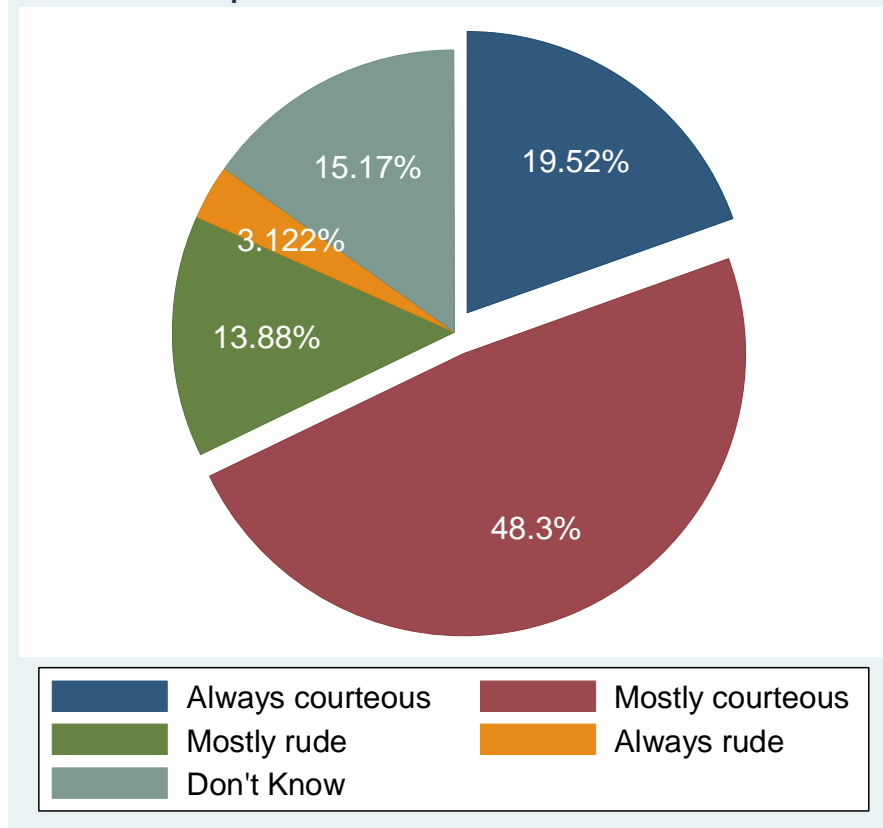


Percentage of respondents saying police are lazier has increased 7.8% from 2007 to 2008

Public Opinion, contd.

...but most think the police are courteous:

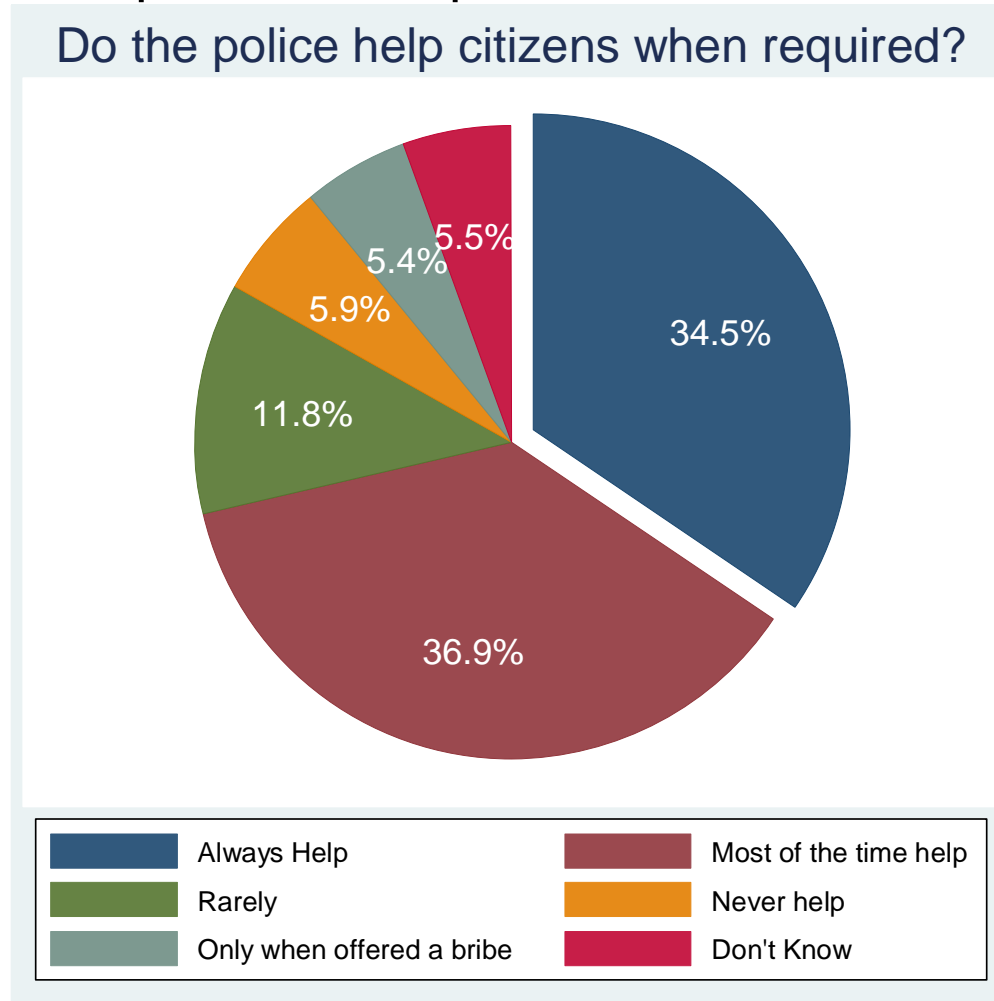
How do the police behave with normal citizens?



Percentage of citizens saying police are always or mostly courteous increased by 1.6% between 2007 and 2008.

Public Opinion, contd.

And most think the police is helpful:



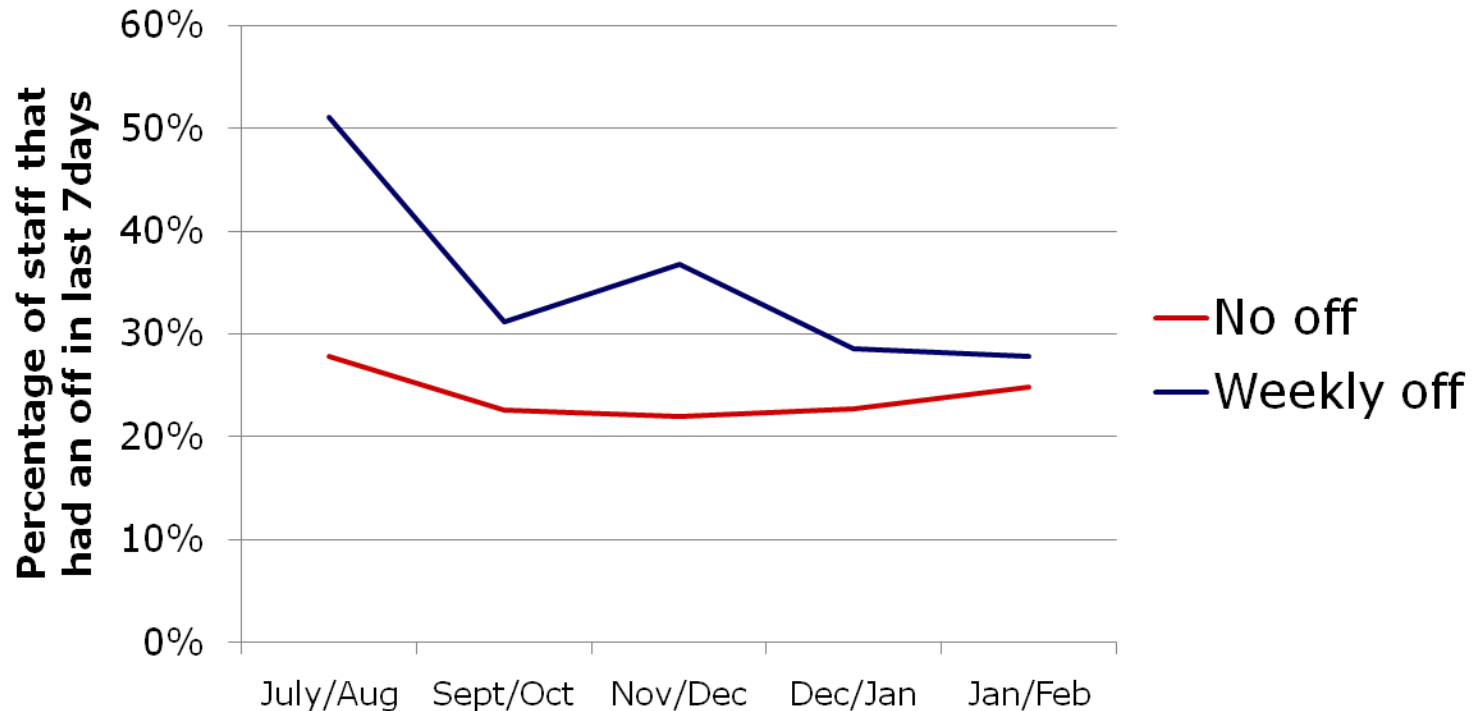
2% fewer respondents replied that police was always or mostly helpful in 2008 compared with 2007.

Program Implementation

- Sources of data:
 - Random surveyor checks
 - Police administrative data
- Challenges:
 - Maintaining continuity: SP transfers
 - Gujjar Agitation
 - Terrorist attacks (Jaipur)

Weekly Off:

Days off increased, but never became weekly, then decreased:



At the endline (March 2008), 28% of weekly off staff had a day off in the last 7 days, versus 26% in the control—statistically indistinguishable.

No Transfer:

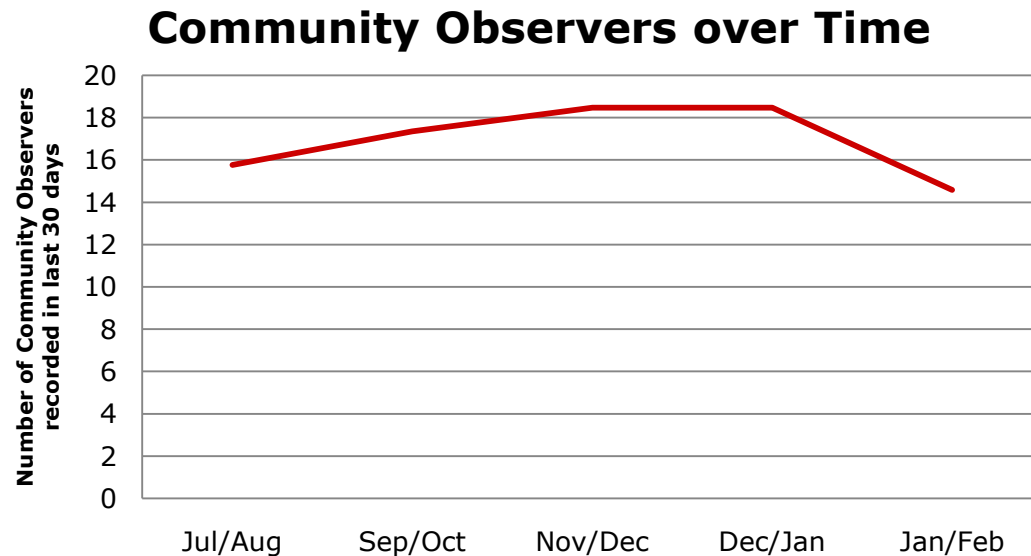
- Percentage of Staff transferred over approximately 10 months of the reform program:

Rank	No Transfer	Control	Difference:
Inspector	49%	64%	15%
Sub. Inspector	48%	68%	20%
Asst. Sub. Insp.	28%	30%	2%
Head Constable	28%	34%	6%
Constable	17%	30%	13%

Significant reduction in staff transfers is possible, but full freeze in transfers remains a challenge.

Community Observer:

- Program was never daily, but according to official records remained roughly constant in implementation:



- But—

- Many repeat visitors—same individual visits multiple times
- Serious concerns about accuracy of records—40% of visitor books appear to be filled out by police staff themselves

Results: Summary

□ No Transfer:

- Increased crime victim satisfaction by 30%
- Decreased fear of police by 19%
- Reduced staff complaints of unfairness

□ Training:

- Training all staff increased victim satisfaction by 31%
- Increased grade on scientific investigation by 1.3 points (average grade was 2)

Results Summary Contd.

- Weekly Off:

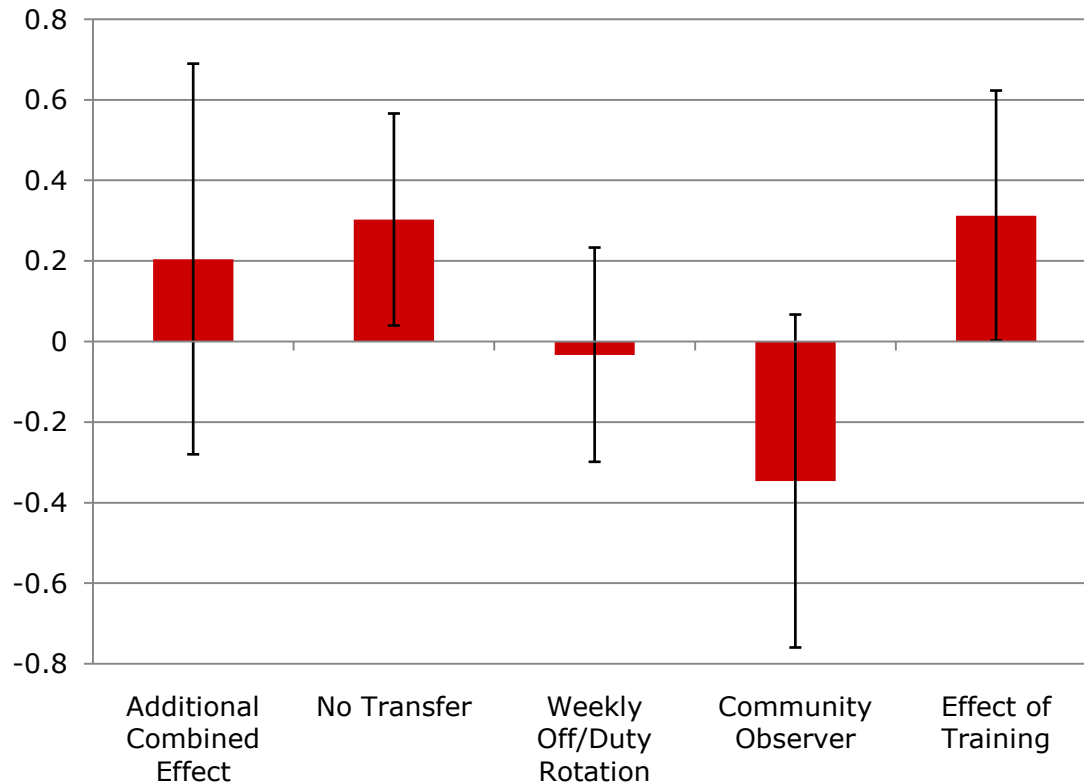
- Increased police staff satisfaction by 3%

- Decoy Visits:

- Increased the probability of FIR registration—reduced “burking”.

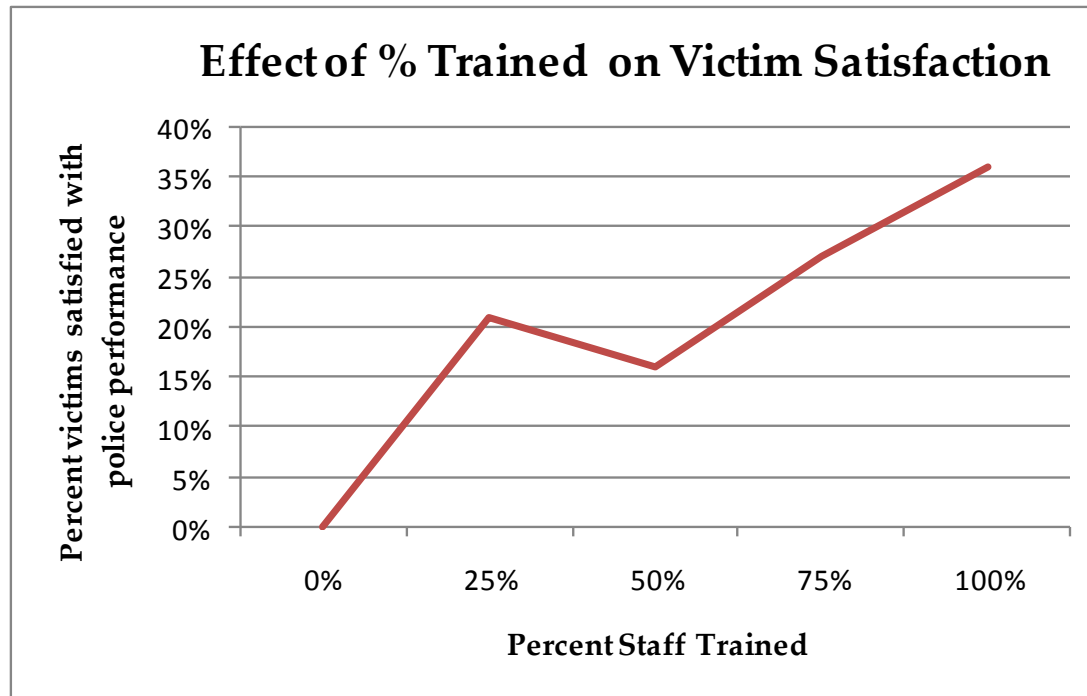
Outcome: Victim Satisfaction

Effect of Interventions on Victim Satisfaction



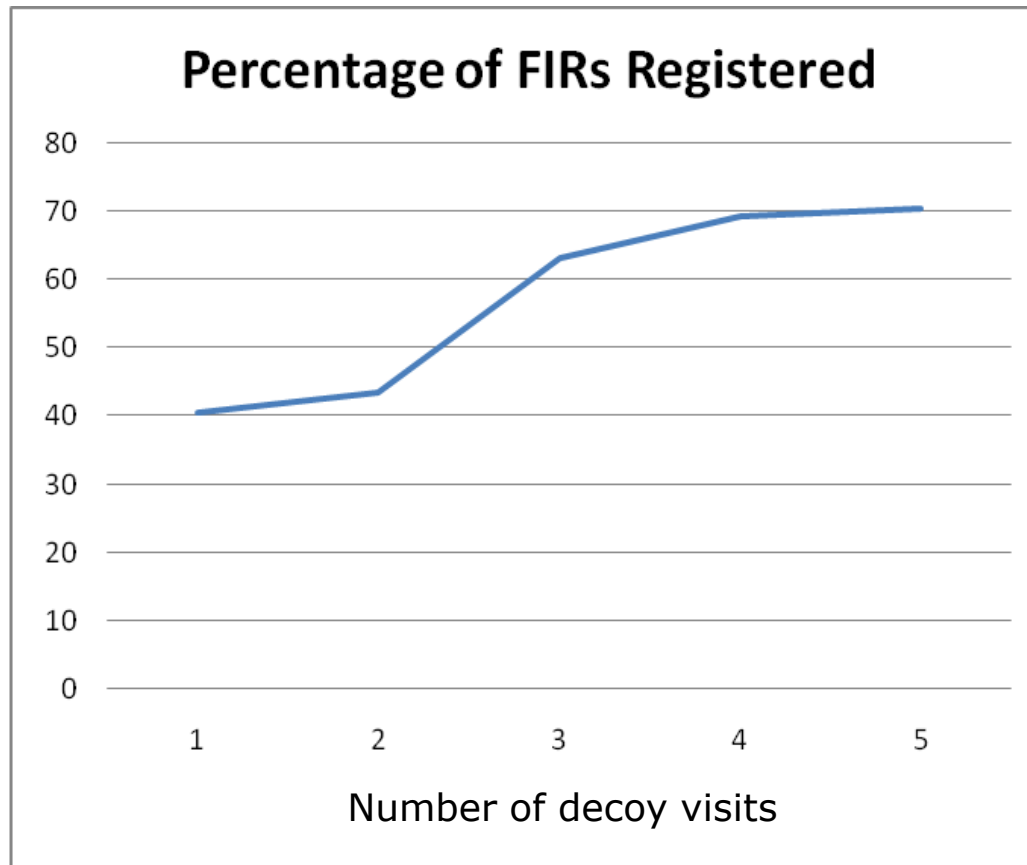
In stations where transfers were frozen, 30% more crime victims reported to be fully or mostly satisfied with the police than in the control police stations

Victim Satisfaction cont.



- ❑ The higher proportion of police staff were trained, the greater the satisfaction of crime victims.
- ❑ Two sources of difference:
 - Trained police took more actions (more arrests, more interviews with witnesses, more evidence collected)
 - In addition to tangible actions, satisfaction increased due to intangible effects of training on police attitudes

Outcome: Increased Registration



- Controlling for other factors, each previous decoy visit increased the probability of FIR registration by 8%.

Outcome: Staff Satisfaction

- Weekly off/Duty rotation had a significant effect on reported satisfaction
 - Only 3%—perhaps due to limited project implementation
 - No change in percentage of staff complaining of not receiving weekly off
- Biggest difference (5%) was between staff who knew they were participating in the reform project and those who did not know.
 - Possible reflects increased staff satisfaction due to more attention from senior officers, and knowledge that Rajasthan Police is actively working to improve policing and staff morale
 - Alternatively, may be due to the fact that staff in project stations felt they should respond more positively to please the interviewer

Recommendations:

□ **National Crime Survey**

- Evaluate crime reduction strategies
- Improve incentives for better policing

□ **Reduction in transfers**

- Demonstrated evidence on public perception
- Relatively large effect despite limited implementation suggests potential for very large gains with universalization.

□ **Weekly Off**

- Small effect
- However, given very limited implementation, no firm conclusion possible

□ **Training**

- Substantial effect on victim satisfaction
- Currently being expanded to the rest of Rajasthan

Recommendations

□ **Decoy**

- Encourages registration
- Possible to integrate into regular police practice?

□ **Community Observer**

- No discernable effect on public perception
- Questions remain about proper implementation



Thank You

