A Critical Examination of Community Participation in Community Policing Practice in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

The practice of community policing, comparatively a new policing strategy, is now a critical issue in many countries across the globe. The issue of community policing practice indeed revolves around the implementation of community participation for safer communities. Bangladesh widely introduced community policingin 2005, with key principals adopted from Western countries, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States. This thesis critically examines community participation in community policing practice in the Uttara division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. Specifically, it investigates the process, motivations and challenges of community participation in the community policing practice.

This thesis argues that a top-down community policing approach is not a suitable implementation strategy for the effective community participation in Bangladesh, a country with historic, social and cultural orientations distinct from jurisdictions elsewhere. It also argues that police assistance and support to communities in identifying local problems and implementing mutually adopted programmes is necessary for effective community participation to occur.

This study has adopted a qualitative methodological approach with data collected through in-depth interviews, observation of formal community-police meetings and content analysis of official documents. A total of 45 participants from police, community and community-police forums were interviewed and the resultant data analysed according to the research question themes.

This study found that police-community meetings were the most common mechanism for community participation. Community participation was found limited to occur in

the process of constituting Community-Police Forums (CPF) and in the implementation of crime preventive community policing programmes such as the problem-solving approach and community patrols. The study also found that community participation in the Uttara community policing practice was impacted by social, economic and political factors such as urbanisation, economic differences and political dominance of the incumbent governing party. These factors combined with the role played by police reinforce and sustain the existing social hierarchy.

The thesis furthermore found that motivational campaigns, crime rates, community attachments and individual interests – such as social identity, financial and vested political interests – are driving factors for citizens who do participate in community policing initiatives. Challenges to community participation are also identified, these include different understandings of and priorities for community policing; lack of trust in police; financial constraints; political intervention; lack of integrity and cooperation of some stakeholders; and uneven power relations between police, community residents and community groups.

In order for community policing to be successful in Bangladesh, it will be necessary for police in collaboration with residents to adopt community-based crime prevention programmes to facilitate and ensure citizen participation. Little evidence is found that police currently facilitate community participation.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

[redacted].. Mohammad Abdul Kader

……03/10/2018……Date

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ACRONYMS

ACM	Anti-Crime Meeting
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
CAPS	Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CPC	Community-Police Coordination Committee
CPF	Community-Police Forum
CrPC	Code of Criminal Procedure
DFID	Department for International Development
DMP	Dhaka Metropolitan Police
DPC	Deputy Police Commissioner
HQ	Head Quarters
ID	Identity
LGR	Local Government Representative
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPM	New Public Management
NRPP	National Reassurance of Policing Programme
NZ	New Zealand
OC	Officer-in-Charge
OHD	Open House Day
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCSOs	Police Community Support Officers
PHQ	Police Head Quarters
POP	Problem-Oriented Policing
PRP	Police Reform Programme
RAT	Routine Activities Theory

SARA	Scanning Analysis Response Assessment
SCP	Situational Crime Prevention
TCC	Thana Coordination Committee
TDP	Town Defense Party
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

GLOSSARY

Kallan Samity	Welfare Committee
Modus Operandi	Method of Operation
Pratibeshi Nirapatta	Neighbourhood Safety
Sakoo	Bridge
Taka	Bangladeshi currency
Thana	Police Station
Uttara	North

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of community policing began in Bangladesh with a reform initiative of the police force that started soon after the country's independence in 1971and following a significant increase in crime (Alam, 2005). The government and the police authority of Bangladesh felt the necessity of community participation in policing for the prevention of crime and maintaining law and order in the newly independent country (Hoque, 2011). However, the reform initiative that took place over three decades after independence emphasised organisational expansion to enhance the public order maintenance capability of the military-patterned police force, which is the legacy of the British colonial police formed in 1861 (Alam, 2005; Razzak, 2010). The Bangladesh Police has been primarily a reactive force with a philosophy of public control rather than community service.

With the restoration of democracy in 1991, two decades after independence in 1971, a change in police demeanour and crime control strategies was felt imperative by all quarters of society (Hoque, 2011). Most quarters, including the police themselves, put forward demands for turning the coercive police into a service-oriented, pro-people police force more in keeping witha democratic society (Hoque, 2011; Raza, 2010). Community-based policing initiatives by some non-government organisations (NGOs) such as Light House, Prottasha, Asha, Proshika, and by local police in the form of the Town and Village Defence Party in some areas during the 1990s, including the Dhaka Metropolitan City, are embodiments of such demands.

A major break-through in introducing community policing was achieved with the launching of the Police Reform Programme (PRP) in 2005. The PRP, approved by the

government of Bangladesh and financed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Department for International Development (DFID), undertook a comprehensive programme to reform Bangladesh police in line with the police of Western countries. One of the key components of the PRP was introducing community policing throughout Bangladesh. Like many other countries, community policing is a significant feature of the Bangladesh Police (Hoque, 2014).

The programmes of community policing that are being practised in Bangladesh were not locally devised. Rather, these have been adopted from the Western model of community policing on prescription by UNDP and DFID, which financed the PRP. As such, adoption of community policing in Bangladesh is a top-down approach. Community policing of the Western democracies, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States, used the Peelian principles of the London Metropolitan Police as the seminal idea which was then evolved through a reform process and diffused to many other countries including Bangladesh (Hoque, 2014; Myhill, 2006). As such, community policing in Bangladesh is symmetrical with that of Western democracies in both idea and practice. Therefore, in order to better understand the evolution of community policing requires contextualisation within international perspectives.

In reaction to the failure of traditional policing for controlling crime, the initiatives of community policing were undertaken in the late 1960s and early 1970s with an emphasis on crime prevention and improving police-public relations (Myhill, 2006). Some of these were the introduction of team policing in the early 1970s and, subsequently, foot patrols in the late 1970s in some cities of the United States (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Rosenbaum, 1994). A significant change was brought to policing practice with Goldstein's Problem-Oriented Policing (POP) in 1979. Later,

the concept of community policing was further developed with the Broken-Windows theory of Wilson and Kelling in1982 (see Chapter One for details).

Although community policing has been adopted in response to dissatisfaction with reactive law enforcement policing, the former has not replaced the latter. Rather, both the policing styles are in practice with distinct values, objectives and norms in the countries practising community policing. Ponsaers (2001) categorises contemporary policing style and practice into three models: professional law enforcement, community policing, and private policing – which are illustrated in Figure 0.1.

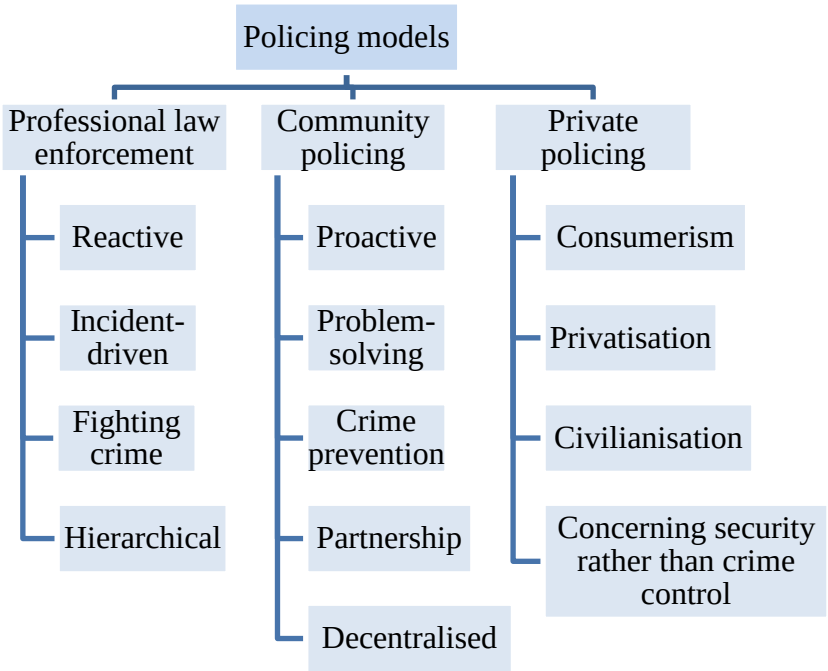


Figure 0.1: Policing models with distinct characteristics.

(Source: Ponsaers, 2001, pp. 11-13)

The three models differ from each other in terms of organisational, operational and philosophical aspects. The professional model endorses law enforcement practices to control crime; that is, the police respond after incidents have occurred. Conversely, the community policing model emphasises identifying and resolving the underlying causes of crime as a joint initiative of the police and the community. Private policing

is a late modernity police model, which is indicative of the privatisation trend of policing work, concerned more with security than crime. Professional law enforcement is a state-initiated policing approach, whereas community policing is ideally a police and community initiated approach. These models are concerned with community safety and security, though with different operating approaches. However, these models demonstrate the trend of shifting policing from the state-owned service to customer-focused privatised initiative. This shifting also demonstrates a gradual increment to citizen participation and empowerment.

Haque (2006) observes that community policing is practised in Bangladesh as an innovative crime prevention strategy, based on a philosophy that allows the police and the community to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighbourhood decay. This philosophy rests on the belief that law-abiding people in the community deserve input into the police process. It is also predicated on the view that both citizens and the police need to be free to explore creative, new ways to address neighbourhood concerns beyond a narrow focus on individual incidents of crime. Partnering with the local community for prevention and reduction of crime and uplifting the quality of life in communities is one of the key components of this relatively new policing approach.

Tactically, community policing takes proactive and preventive action and addresses the root causes of crimes and disorder (Raza, 2008). Police officers, community members and other public and private organisations work together to solve the problems that exist in a community. As the police view community members as partners, both parties have to shoulder equal responsibilities in problem solving. It must be understood that community policing is not a programme of only the police

department, but rather the whole community (Diamond & Weiss, 2009; Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013). Community participation, therefore, is an important aspect of this policing strategy.

In this policing approach, both police personnel and community members are considered co-producers of police services. Myhill (2006) argues that successful implementation of a community policing approach requires effective and meaningful participation of the community. However, there is not an ideal model of community participation that can be replicated in any particular public policy (Myhill, 2006). Therefore, community participation is not a simple and easy task to be implemented, particularly in a country like Bangladesh where there is a long history of mistrust and lack of confidence by citizens in the role of police to act in their best interest (Hoque, 2014; Razzak, 2010). The establishment of the police force under colonial rule and a long-term absence of democracy after the independence of Bangladesh have significantly shaped the negative attitudes of the populace towards the police. In such a situation, achieving community support and their participation in policing is difficult. Moreover, the concept of community and community participation in public policy discourse means different things to different people. Wilcox (1994) suggests that there are different dimensions and stages of participation, which may vary across different interest groups. However, Bangladesh is a relatively homogeneous society and has a strong background of social control and community-level justice (Sciarabba, 2009), which are primarily considered to be driving factors for community participation in public policy (Cornwall, 2002a; Gaventa, 2002). Yet, how far it provides supportive conditions for effective participation in community policing requires an investigation in the context of existing political, socio-economic and administrative factors.

Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is one of the key units of the Bangladesh Police in terms of implementing community policing. Besides crime prevention, implementation of community policing is intended to ensure unity, integration and understanding between the DMP and the citizens of the city (Benazir, 2010).

Statement of the research problem

Although community policing has not yet been given a legal framework, it has been endorsed in policy and is being practised all over Bangladesh as one of the strategies of crime prevention and is a preferred option to formal crime control (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010).[1]Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, senior officials of the Bangladesh Police have shown much interest in the implementation of community policing for crime prevention (Hoque, 2014). To this end, they have helped the PRP officials organise seminars and police-public meetings to familiarise and promote community policing throughout the country. As a result of these initiatives, frontline police officers, who are overloaded with control and prevention of crime, cordially accepted this new concept in their respective jurisdictions. And with the direction and patronage of senior police officers, the frontline officers are implementing this approach (Hoque, 2011).

Besides the police authority, some non-government organisations (NGOs) such as the Asia Foundation and Light House play an active role in helping the police promote community policing in Bangladesh. Many of the NGOs initiatives began in the 1990s,

[1]In a context within which formal means for controlling crime have proven to be effective, community crime prevention has emerged as a major alternative to the criminal justice system in many countries (Myhill, 2006; Rosenbaum, 1988). Various approaches, theories and mechanisms have led to the development of crime prevention and it has become a subset of criminology and criminal justice studies (Clarke, 1997, 2005; Crawford, 1998; Hughes, 2007). The environmental and social approaches incorporate the principles of community policing, and eventually it has been accepted as an important and innovative strategy of crime prevention (Kappeler & Gaines, 2009; Kargin, 2010; Schneider, 2009). Bangladesh police have also accepted community policing as a modern and innovative crime prevention strategy like many other countries.

long before the PRP was initiated in 2005. In different parts of the country, NGOs have held community-police forums to involve local community in policing and to try to minimise communication gaps between the police and the community. The most formal and significant initiative for introducing community policing as a part of the PRP was undertaken in 2005. The PRP aims to support the Bangladesh Police to improve safety, access to justice and human rights for all citizens. Along with structural reforms of the Bangladesh Police, the PRP supports the implementation of community policing by providing training to police officers, organising seminars and police-public meetings, and financing the programmes undertaken to this effect. Along with the Bangladesh Police, NGOs, the press and civil society, PRP officials emphasise active participation of the community in community policing practice.

Community policing extends the traditional role of the police and incorporates the community to play a pivotal role in policing itself (Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 2008). However, confusion as to definition and practice prevails both within the police and within communities wherever it is practised. Cordner (2004), Myhill (2006) and Hoque (2014) argue that the police merely utilise existing operational tactics or engage in public relations exercises to support their claim that they have adopted and implemented community policing. For example, the arrest of a drug dealer as a problem solving tactic or the organising of public relations activities, such as ‘blue light disco’ and ‘adopt-a-cop’, do not constitute actual community policing practices (Myhill, 2006).

According to Hoque (2014) and Reiner (2010), an ideal community policing practice provides for the provision of a police-community partnership. The aims of this partnership are for the police and community to collectively identify local problems

and their solutions. Hence, community safety is the co-production of this partnership. However, scholars such as Fleming and O'Reilly (2007) and Wallace (2011), observe that community policing practice in terms of problem-solving with community involvement seems rhetorical rather than actual. In fact, problem solving and public-police partnership, the two main aspects of community policing, have diverse meanings and far-reaching implications (Myhill, 2006).

Hoque (2014) and Myhill (2006) note that there is no particular model of community policing that all police agencies can practice. According to them, the most critical aspect of community policing practice is to ensure community participation. Myhill (2006) suggests that community participation is a provision of community policing practice that should be adopted in local community settings. However, Hoque (2014) claims that the conceptual ambiguity of community policing may create confusion around its practice.

This confusion exists even in the United Kingdom and the United States where the concept first evolved; it is more so in Bangladesh where this approach is relatively new. Razzak (2010) claimed that police reforms were underway but the actual community policing approach had not yet started. However, the police authority with the help of the PRP officials developed the *Community Policing National Strategy* in 2010 that acts as a policy framework and provides strategic guideline for CP practice (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy 2010; Razzak, 2010). According to these strategic guidelines, locally framed community-police forums (CPFs) and police are to adopt crime prevention programmes and solve community problems. In evaluating the participation provision of the guidelines, Razzak (2010) observes that although CPFs have been formed in many police areas, it is required to examine to

what extent they bring the police and community together to work for crime prevention. He argues that simply forming CPFs does not equate to a partnership in community policing practice.

There is no denial that a participatory policing approach is a comparatively new experience in Bangladesh (Hoque, 2014). Moreover, community participationin public service delivery in line with the New Public Management (NPM) is a major policy shift in Bangladesh as a fledgling democracy (Obaidullah, 2001). After independence in 1971, there was a brief period of civilian government, which was ousted by a military coup in 1975. The country was run by military governments for fifteen years, and only reverted toa parliamentary form of government in 1991 (Hoque, 2014).

In this context of political and social transformation, ensuring community participation in policing policy is, therefore, a critical issue. Hoque (2014) observes that the most critical aspect of community policing in terms of its practice is how to implement community participation. He also notes that establishing the community-police partnership poses a challenge in Bangladesh. A major problem for the reform process is the reality that the Bangladesh police still tend to demonstrate a colonial attitude towards their roleresulting in a communication gap with the community (Chakraborty, 2003; Hoque, 2014; Kibria, 1976; Shah, 1989). Consequently, it is at this point that it becomes difficult for police to proceed beyond the rhetoric of community policing practice particularly in terms of effective community participation. And it is also difficult for the community to participate. Therefore, in order to better understand the dynamics of this relationship between the police and the community, it is imperative tocritically examine community participation in

community policing practice of a specific police area. In particular, the focus will be onthe process, motivation and potential challenges for community participation in thispolicing practice.

This thesis considers that community policing is one of the more significant developments in policing since the late 1970s (Coquilhat, 2008; Edwards, 2011; Friedmann, 1992; Lum, 2009; Maguire & Wells, 2002; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988b). Although the concept has been widely discussed and applied in various countries and in a range of contexts, questions remain about what exactly it involves, what in particular is so attractive about it, and what difference it has made vis-à-vis other approaches to policing, particularly to traditional and bureaucratic policing styles (McElroy, 1998; Rosenbaum, 1998; Trojanowicz, Kappeler, & Gaines, 2002). Scholars such as Hoque (2014), Myhill (2006) and Reiner (2010) agree that it is distinct from the traditional policing in that the police share responsibilities with the community in solving local problems for crime prevention.

Despite the widespread interest in the concept, there exists a lack of agreement amongst scholars on its meaning. For instance, Cordner (2007), Crawford (2007) and Reiner (2010) have indicated that it appears to be understood by different people in different ways. In the search for clarifying its meaning, several authors have commented on the difficulty of defining both the terms ‘community’ and ‘community policing’ (see, for example, Buerger, 1994; Lyons, 2002; Waddington, 1999). This problem results in programme implementation and practice being asymmetric across countries (Casey, 2010; Hoque, 2014; Myhill, Yarrow, Dalgleish, & Docking, 2003; Razzak, 2010; Rogers & Robinson, 2004). Hoque (2014) argues the practice of community policing is related not only to the programmes undertaken but also to the

implementation of community participation, which is not a 'fixed-box' that can be replicated in the same or different programmes and places. In view of these reasons, the investigation of community participation in community policing practice is a strong driver for this research.

Study aim and key research questions

Although accepted as one of the significant transformations of democratic policing, there is neither a particular set of essential characteristics, nor a clearly articulated framework and practice guidelines of this style of policing. Nevertheless, under the umbrella term of community policing, police departments across countries are implementing different forms of crime prevention programmes. Whatever the forms and programmes, communities play fundamental roles in the implementation of community policing (Bullock, 2014). In turn, community roles may be shaped by the forms and programmes of community policing (Hoque, 2014). Further, Hoque argues that community participation does not take place in vacuum; rather it is impacted by various factors in particular community settings.

This thesis aims to critically examine community participation aspects in community policing practice in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. To this end, the following research questions are developed:

(1) What is the community participation process in community policing practice?

(2) What are the motivating factors for community participation in community policing practice?

(3) What are the challenges for community participation in community policing practice in the Uttara Division of the DMP, Bangladesh?

In order to gain insight into the experiences of those involved in community policing (police personnel, community members and police-community forum members), this thesis adopts a qualitative approach involving in-depth interviews, participant observation and content analysis. The methodology is detailed in Chapter Three.

Background to the research

In many countries throughout the world, uniformed police are the principal agency of the state for ensuring peace and security. In Bangladeshi society, the dominant mind-set of the people has until recently been that the responsibility for crime prevention and civil order maintenance solely falls on the police acting according to traditional or conventional policing practices (Hoque, 2014; Razzak, 2010). Traditional policing of law enforcement is now considered inadequate to deal with crime and criminality (Hoque, 2011, 2014; Myhill, 2006; Razzak, 2010; Rein, 2010).

Given the emergence of new types of crime and sophistication in the modalities of criminals, prevention of the same requires a change in strategies (Razzak, 2010). Newly adopted crime prevention strategies have begun focusing on enhancing police-public interactions, upholding the rule of law and protecting human rights (Razzak, 2010). These changed strategies aim more towards safety, as well as security policies, crime management and politics. The essence of these strategies is community participation in policing that encompasses a community policing philosophy. On the basis of changing crime prevention strategies, community policing initiatives have been taken up in Bangladesh, like many western countries. In the endeavour to create a partnership with the community, Bangladesh has been promoting this approach in line with Sir Robert Peel's notion that 'police are the people and people are the police' (Police Reform Programme, 2009, p.20).

A participatory policing approach is seen as a way to bring the community and the police together for working out problems and their solutions at the community level (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). Huq (2011) observes that the police in the 1970s were struggling with increasing incidence of crime along with a workforce shortage. There was little or, in some cases, no community support and participation in policing due to a lack of trust and confidence (Huq, 2011). Moreover, the police, as a centralised and highly bureaucratic organisation with a colonial structure and culture, were not adequately equipped for a newly independent country[2] (Huq, 2011). Therefore, the armed forces had to intervene to address the law and order situation.

In the last half of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s the government was military based. During this period, the main focus of the police was to enforce the law against political violence rather than more general crime issues. In fact, maintaining order was given more importance than preventing and controlling crime. Community safety and security issues were secondary concerns to the police at that time. The undemocratic military government used the police to suppress political movements (Huq, 2011). In the absence of good governance and the rule of law, law and order deteriorated tremendously. It was only during the 1990s with the return of democratically elected governments that top priority was given to the improvement of law and order, as well as the safety and security of the society, in order to promote economic development (Hoque, 2014). Both the major political parties, in power and opposition, had made promises to the nation in their election manifestos to build a safer and more secure society, to uphold the rule of law and to protect human rights (Hoque, 2011, 2014; Razzak, 2010). Therefore, the police shifted focus from

[2]Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in 1971. Before independence, it was the eastern part of Pakistan known as East Pakistan.

enforcement of law and control of society to crime prevention in collaboration with local communities (Sciarabba, 2009).

The Government of Bangladesh regards crime prevention as a national priority (Hoque, 2014). It has become so in recognition of the far-reaching impacts of crime on society. Crime often leads to a tragic loss of life and injury. It casts fear into the hearts of people from all walks of life and hampers development and economic growth of the country. The rights and freedoms, which are guaranteed by the constitution, are threatened every time a citizen becomes a victim of crime. High levels of crime are assumed to pose a serious threat to the emerging and fledgling democracy of the country (Hoque, 2014). The government of Bangladesh has, importantly, recognised the importance and necessity of mobilisation and participation of all concerned stakeholders, including the community, in addressing crime.

Bangladesh is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Around 1252 people live per square kilometre (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2015). This is significantly higher than any developed and neighbouring countries. The police-people ratio in Bangladesh is also the highest amongst the neighbouring Asian countries as set out in Table 0.1. The population density and high police-population ratio have meant that Bangladesh Police are short-handed in preventing crime and maintaining law and order. Hence, there is a need to emphasise crime prevention strategies with community involvement.

Table 0.1: Police-People Ratio-2008

No.	Country	Police-People Ratio
1	Hong Kong	1:220
2	Thailand	1:228
3	Malaysia	1:249
4	Singapore	1:295
5	Nepal	1:491
6	Indonesia	1:526
7	Pakistan	1:625
8	India	1:728
9	Bangladesh	1:1138

(Source: Police Reform Programme, 2009, p.4;
Security and Justice in Nepal, 2010, p.9).

The traditional role of police in Bangladesh has undergone significant change following independence in 1971. Moreover, the role of police is no longer confined to maintenance of law and order. To meet the needs of an independent and developing country, the police are now required to perform proactive policing for crime prevention along with discharging the routine work of crime control and law enforcement. In order to meet these demands, the Bangladesh Police have adopted new participatory crime prevention strategies such as engaging in community patrol, holding an Open House Day and adopting a problem-solving approach (Hoque, 2014; Police Reform Programme, 2009).

With a view to delivering effective policing services in this changing society and addressing the emerging needs of the community in a fledgling democratic environment, the Bangladesh Police have adopted a comprehensive strategic plan for the years 2009 to 2018 (Police Reform Programme, 2009; Hoque, 2014). Hoque (2014) considers this plan is a significant milestone providing a corporate vision and key directions in favour of crime management. The goal of the strategic plan focuses on the vision of a partnership approach to policing that entails increased community involvement for capacity building of the police to deliver a better service to reduce

crime and to build a safer community. Community policing is regarded as one of the key directions in order to achieve this vision (Hoque, 2014; Razzak, 2010).

Rationale for this research

It is worth reiterating that the police-community partnership is one of the basic components of community policing. Ideally, both police and community people work together to identify local problems and solutions. In this partnership approach community people are expected to play their role as 'co-producers' for community safety (Fielding, 2005; Skogan & Hartnett, 1998; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988b).

The implementation of people's participation or the public-people partnership has become a critical issue in Bangladesh (Kalimullah, Alam, & Nour, 2012). The Constitution of the Republic of Bangladesh includes a provision for people's participation in governance stating,"the Republic shall be a democracy … in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels shall be ensured" (2012, part-2, article-11).

Community policing practice, with the provision of partnership with community, is consistent with the spirit of the Constitution. However, there is much debate over participation across public policies. Central to this debate are power relations. For example, Skogan (1994a), in discussion of the Chicago Community Policing Program, highlights two important issues in relation to participation: the first is the level of participation and the second is the distribution of power. Citizen empowerment is a key issue of participation. Myhill (2006) argues that the process of empowering citizens determines how and to what extent they will participate in public policy. In addition, Hoque (2014) and Myhill (2006) observe that how and to what extent the community should participate in the implementation of a particular

community policing programme cannot be prescribed. As the introduction of community policing is a recent policy shift in Bangladesh, participation in policing is a new concept for the community. Therefore, the first trajectory of this research is to examine the community participation process in policing.

Various theories have been posited to account for the interest community participation has generated and to understand its attraction as a model for policing around the world; however, there has not been a consensus reached (Bennett, 1994; Kelling & Moore, 1988; Klockars, 2005). Many authors have argued that the popularity of community policing rests on the idea that it is seen as an alternative to the shortcomings of what has come to be labelled as 'traditional policing' to deal with increases in crime and deteriorating relationships between the police and the communities they serve (Amadi, 2014; Fielding, 1995; Novak, Frank, Smith & Shepard, 2002; Rosenbaum, 1994; Sadd & Grinc, 1994, 1996; Sparrow, 1988; Trojanowicz et al., 2002; Yero, Othman, Samah, D'Silva & Sulaiman, 2012). The level and fear of crime, victimisation and commitment to the community have been identified as fundamental factors for community interest in this approach (Hoque, 2014; Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 2008; Reiner, 2010).

On the other hand, adoption of the Peel's notion – the police are the public and the public are the police – has generated significant public enthusiasm in Bangladesh (Hoque, 2014). That means sharing police power seems to be one of the driving forces for community participation in Bangladesh. Other authors have highlighted the significance of a lack of public confidence in the police as a key factor accounting for the programme's roll out (e.g. Bennett, 1994; Oliver, 2008; Myhill, 2006). However, similar factors may not create interest among the members of the community about it,

as the motivation may be influenced by social, political and economic factors in particular community settings (Hoque, 2014). Hence, the second area of enquiry is to examine the motivating factors of community participation.

Implementation of community policing faces numerous challenges (Bobov, 1999; Herbert, 2001; Hoque, 2014; Long, Wells & Leon-Granados, 2002; Myhill, 2006; Sagar, 2005; Sampson, 2004; Skogan, 1999). In the context of Bangladesh, police have been struggling to overcome the force's image crisis that associates the organisation with colonial attitudes, a coercive culture and being an instrument of the government (Hoque, 2014). According to Ponsaers (2001), the foremost challenge to the implementation of community policing is its conceptual ambiguity. The lack of clarity may create different understandings and perspectives of it that may create tensions among the participating groups (Myhill, 2006; Spalek, 2008).

As with the motivating factors, the potential challenges to community participation may also be associated with social, political and economic factors in particular community settings (Hoque, 2014). Therefore, the third area of enquiry is to examine the challenging factors for community participation in policing.

This research will be the first of its kind pertaining to Bangladesh. Community participation in policing will be studied in the context of the social and political aspects of Bangladesh as both have a strong impact on the policy of participatory public service delivery including policing (Hoque, 2014). This will contribute to current debates and key scholarships about community participation in community policing practice.

Structure of this thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first three chapters outline the theoretical and methodological frameworks that inform and shape the thesis. The next three chapters present the findings of the study that are interpreted in relation to the existing literature.

The thesis begins with setting out a research statement, the study aim and key research questions. The background and rationale of the study are articulated in this introductory part.

Chapter One outlines the theoretical aspects of community policing, in particular the concept and theoretical framework of community policing, the evolving process in both international and Bangladeshi perspectives, the theoretical underpinning of its adoption and diffusion into countries, including Bangladesh, and operational principles of community policing.

Chapter Two explores the literature in relation to community participation encompassing community policing practice. The chapter presents contemporary theories and discourses of community participation. In particular, the concepts of 'community' and 'participation', the rationale for, and typologies of, community participation, and the motivating factors and challenges to community participation are articulated. The review of these fundamental and contemporary aspects of community participation leads to defining of the research questions.

Chapter Three outlines the methodological approach adopted in this thesis. It delineates different methodological choices to justify why a qualitative approach was adopted for this study. The justification for adopting case studies and institutional

ethnography are also discussed. The chapter describes the data collection techniques and the method of analysis as well as addresses the ethical issues of this research.

Chapter Four explores the community participation process in reference to policing practice. The participation process mainly focuses on how the community is organised to participate in different forms, levels and extents within the context of unequal power plays. This also outlines why and how the participation process creates and sustains the existing social hierarchy and situation of inequality.

Chapter Five explores the motivating factors for community participation in policing. The motivating factors concern individual, collective and vested political interests.

Chapter Six identifies and critically discusses the challenging factors to community participation. As with the motivations, the challenges for community participation are also linked to wider socio-political dimensions.

Finally, the thesis presents a summary that principally includes a brief overview of the study and key findings. The concluding part also provides the research contribution to new knowledge and future research direction.

CHAPTER ONE

Theorising Community Policing

Community policing is still evolving and no succinct overview of it exists for practitioners to use for addressing crime problems in their communities (see, for example, Amadi, 2014; Cordner, 2000; Crawford, 1998; Fielding, 2005; Myhill, 2006; Reiner, 2010; Skogan, 2006a, 2006b). This chapter assesses the canon of literature that theorises community policing. Given that modern police organisations are based on several legacies (Peak, 2003), this chapter reviews the antecedents of contemporary policing in general, and community policing in particular. An historical review of policing demonstrates that community policing has evolved as a modern policing practice and considers the theoretical interpretations of community policing in a Bangladeshi context.

Understanding the scope of definitions and theoretical interpretations of the philosophical, organisational and operational components of community policing is crucial, as is the underpinning theories of community policing which allows a more comprehensive conceptualisation of community policing in practice in Bangladesh. How different elements have been gradually added to the development of this policing style and has made it distinct from the traditional law enforcement policing is explicitly documented (see, for example, Cohen & Felson, 1979; Eck & Spelman, 1987; Goldstein, 1979; Peak & Glensor; 2004; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; Wilson & Kelling, 1982) and these elements will be drawn upon within this chapter.

The discussion will also consider the operational principles that provide the strategic guidelines for practicing this policing style. In this respect, community participation,

one of the key components of community policing practice, is highlighted. This chapter will deliberate on the strategic and tactical dimensions of community participation with a special emphasis on community policing practice in Bangladesh.

Historical context for the development of community policing

Academic scholarship suggests that British colonial policing influenced the development and transition of policing in colonial America and on the Indian Sub-continent (Hoque, 2014; Scott, 2010). Hoque (2014), for instance, asserts that community policing has its roots in colonial policing. Huq (2011) also notes that elements of community policing practised in Bangladesh have been borrowed from concepts developed in the United Kingdom and the United States. It is, therefore, imperative to present a historical discussion of policing in relation to the development and adoption of community policing in Bangladesh. In order to understand the conditions of the emergence of community policing in the United Kingdom, the United States and its adoption in Bangladesh, the following provides a comparison of the policing philosophies in the three jurisdictions.

The United Kingdom context

Although in many societies for many centuries, "policing" was feudal and family-based, the professional nature of a police force can be generally attributed to developments in England, which were later diffused to other colonies (Last, 2009; Riall, 2001). Edwards (2011) and Scott (2010) claim that social changes affected by the Industrial Revolution influenced the establishment of a modern police force to replace the antiquated parish-constable system of policing that had failed to effectively repress the rising incidences of violence and property crime in England.

The establishment of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829 was a watershed in the history of modern policing (Edwards, 2011). The nine principles that Sir Robert Peel developed defined this police force. The Peelian principles are summarised in the following:

1. Prevention of crime and disorder by means of an alternative to their repression by military force.
2. Performing police functions with public approval.
3. Securing public approval should be through securing the willing cooperation of the public.
4. Securing public cooperation should not put the public under compulsion.
5. Seeking public favour by constantly demonstrating impartial service to law and by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public.
6. Using physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public cooperation to secure observance of law or to restore order.
7. Maintaining a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police.
8. Recognising always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and refraining from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9. Recognising always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder.
   (Adapted from Loader, 2016).

The transition to new policing reflected a change in the authority from which police drew their agency. This ‘new’ police force was characterised as bureaucratic in nature with a hierarchical structure, broadened duties and expanded ability of its members to

employ discretionary decision making, while sanctioning the force necessary to uphold the law (Hoque, 2014). The principal objective of Peel's new police force was crime prevention that inferred a proactive posture. A rational directive for securing cooperation and maintaining a relationship with the public, and acknowledging the historic identity of the police as the public and the public as the police also inevitably predict a cornerstone tenet of contemporary community policing (Scott, 2010).

The United States context

The dominant English influence on policing philosophies and strategies in the United States is undeniable (Scott, 2010). In the 1800s, most American cities had established municipal police departments in line with the London Metropolitan Police. In addition to maintaining public order, economic regulation and crime and riot control, policing duties also included providing lodging and soup kitchens for vagrants (Monkkonen, 2004; Moore & Kelling, 1983). However, unlike the London 'bobbies', American officers carried guns and were under the supervision and direct control of politically appointed local precinct captains that paved the way for the politicisation of local police forces (Mohanty & Mohanty, 2014). Organisational decentralisation, careless discipline and political influence through local precinct captains caused widespread corruption in the departments (Patterson, 2007).

In this context, the reform process was initiated as a reaction to the corrupt and politicised state of the police in the late nineteenth century (Reiner, 2010). By the turn of the twentieth century, reformers shared a set of assumptions and reform proposals, though the police leadership did not embrace many of these immediately. For instance, early advocates for changing policing highlighted two aspects of police professionalisation: managerial efficiency and social work (Ponsaers, 2001). By

supporting managerial efficiency, many reformers emphasised the importance of highly centralised structures that enabled police executives to exercise more control over operational police matters (Newburn, 2008). Other reformers laid importance on social work as a strategy for preventing crime and rehabilitating offenders because, they argued, police work should not be restricted simply to the arrest of criminals (Newburn, 2008; Walker, 1977, 1992).

The 1930s marked an important turning point of police reform (Savage, 2007). August Vollmer[3] played a key role in expanding the ideology of professional policing, by redefining the role of the police and establishing the crime-fight image of the force. The professional model made police officers fundamentally responsible for crime control by means of law enforcement and decreased the role of citizens. The role of the public changed from active participation in crime control to one of calling the police and serving as witnesses if officers requested (Peak & Glensor, 2004; Stevens, 2003). By the end of the 1930s, professionalism in the United States had become the standard for police forces to follow (Ponsaers, 2001).

To enhance efficiency and productivity, this model encouraged the embracing and implementation of technology in many aspects of police work (Gaines & Miller, 2008; Sheehan & Cordner, 1995). This, however, contradicted Sir Robert Peel's philosophy of serving citizens through closer contact by use of foot patrol. Using automobiles took the officers off footpaths and onto the streets, which resulted in having less connection with citizens (Patterson, 2007; Sheehan & Cordner, 1995). Eventually, the modernised policing model was proved to be inadequate for crime

[3]Vollmer is considered the founder of 'professional policing'. In the wake of police corruption and political interference in police administration in the United States, Vollmer initiated advances in professionalism. As police chief of Berkeley, California, he introduced crime-fighting technology such as fingerprinting, polygraph machines and crime laboratories. He also introduced motorised patrols with wireless communication for the Berkeley Police Department in 1914 (Bond, 2014; Hoque, 2014).

control during the late 1960s and 1970s. Researchers note that neither the increase in police numbers nor the use of technologies that ensured more thorough investigations contributed to reducing crime or increasing the rate of criminal apprehension (Klockars, 2005; Patterson, 2007; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986).

In reaction to the failure of professional law enforcement policing to control crime, community-oriented policing emerged during the late 1970s and early 1980s with a re-defining and expansion of police works (Carter & Radelet, 1999; Edwards & Hughes, 2005; Reiner, 2010). This policing model built on the idea of cooperation between police and citizens such as through the provision of information about crime that could help the police apprehend suspects and improve performance in solving crimes. According to Kelling and Moore (1988), the community policing era is also one in which police returned to a broad function rather than simply fighting crime.

The Peelian principles influenced the gradual emergence of elements of community policing in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the context of a failure of reactive professional policing in controlling crime, and a deterioration of police-public relations (Mohanty & Mohanty, 2014; Scott, 2010). Rosenbaum (1994) suggests that team policing was introduced as an initiative of decentralising police organisations at that time. To improve police-community relations, police operations were restructured with line officers being granted more decision-making authority to respond to neighbourhood problems. However, opposition from police managers to decentralisation severely hampered the team policing initiative and, consequently, was soon abandoned (Myhill, 2006; Rosenbaum, 1994, 1998). However, as both researchers and police practitioners felt the need for a police-community partnership to help reduce crime and disorder, they focused on the specific elements associated

with community-oriented policing. In line with this, a foot patrol programme was introduced in the late 1970s in cities of the United States such as Flint, Michigan and Newark, New Jersey. This programme took officers out of their patrol cars and assigned them to walking beats (Kelling & Moore, 1988).

As foot patrols were capturing national attention, Goldstein (1979) proposed a new approach to policing which he termed Problem-Oriented Policing (POP). This approach proposed reshaping the role of police away from being merely one of reactive law enforcement to proactive crime prevention. POP focused on how foot patrol and police-community cooperation could contribute to a police officer's capacity to identify and solve neighbourhood problems.

Eck and Spelman (1987) expanded Goldstein's 1979 model by creating the SARA model for problem solving. This is now a common approach used by community policing practitioners to identify and solve recurring crime and community problems. The SARA model represents four stages to follow when implementing a problem-solving approach. The first two components of SARA are *Scanning* to identify and prioritise problems that need to be solved; and *Analysis*, to discover patterns useful for developing tailored responses. In the third step, *Response*, police customise their responses and develop a goal for solutions to the problems. A plan of solutions is designed to eliminate the causes of the problems. The final step is *Assessment* in which the police evaluate the effectiveness of responses. Ideally, the SARA model of the POP should be implemented in cooperation with the public (Eck & Spelman, 1987; Grant & Terry, 2012; Maguire, Uchida, & Hassell, 2015).

The POP philosophy is regarded as one of the foundational theories of community policing. However, it is argued that it can function separately from community

policing (Cavanagh, 2004). Conversely, Ponsaers (2001, p.483) does not consider it as a separate police model; rather it is a "variant of the community policing model". Similarly, Moore (1992) suggests that these two new concepts support each other. The cognisable fact is that POP is a necessary component of community policing without which full implementation of community policing is not possible (Oliver, 1998, 2008).

As the concept of POP began to attract scholars and professionals, Wilson and Kelling (1982) further advanced the concept of community policing by developing the *broken-windows theory*. Social psychologists argue that if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, then the other windows will soon be broken. The sign of one broken and unrepaired window sends an indication that nobody cares, so another window can also be broken and nothing will happen (Oliver, 2000). Wilson and Kelling (1982) contend that the moment deliberate civil discourtesies such as drunkenness, begging, vandalism, disorderly behaviour, graffiti and litter are not controlled, an atmosphere is created in which more serious crimes will be committed. Kelling and Coles (1997) suggest that the police and the community need to work together, if police are to prevent crime and disorder. Wilson and Kelling (1982) argue that police should remove signs of incivility from a neighbourhood and proactively prevent crime by working closely with the community. Goldstein's POP and Wilson and Kelling's *broken-windows theory*, the two founding theories of community policing, focus on problem solving, foot patrol and the relationship between the police and the community.

Since the 1980s, community policing has been adopted as a modern and innovative crime prevention strategy in the United Kingdom and the United States. The

philosophy of community policing has subsequently been diffused to other countries, including to Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh context

The present Bangladesh Police Force, which is considered as the primary law enforcement agency of the state, was formed in 1861 under British colonial rule. Although the new police force that was formed in the United Kingdom in 1829 influenced the reform process for the development of modern police forces in many countries and eventually served as the seminal notion for contemporary community policing, this supposedly benign 'British' model was for domestic consumption only. A more militaristic and more coercive model was from the outset exported to colonial situations, including Ireland and India (Mulcahy, 2008).

Formed in the context of the Sepoy Mutiny (1857-1859), also commonly known as the Indian Rebellion for liberation from British rule, the police force was used to suppress any democratic movement of Indian natives and to cement colonial rule (Hoque, 2014). The colonial attitudes of the police force were also maintained even in the post-colonial period, as governments were keen to use the police as an oppressive instrument for political gain. Hence, the militaristic character and structure of this force – a legacy of the British colonial police established in the then British India in 1861 – remained in place in independent Bangladesh (Sciarabba, 2009).

Administered under the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of Bangladesh, the operational control of the Bangladesh Police is vested with the Inspector General of Police (IGP). The crucial role that this national police force performs is to maintain order and enforce law within Bangladesh (Hoque, 2014). Having a total of around 200,000 members, this organisation is militaristic-bureaucratic in nature and

hierarchical in structure (Hoque, 2014). The organisational hierarchy of the Bangladesh Police is illustrated in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Rank and hierarchy of the Bangladesh Police

No.	Rank
1	Inspector General of Police (IGP)
2	Additional IGP
3	Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG)
4	Additional DIG
5	Superintendent of Police (SP)
6	Additional SP
7	Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP)
8	Inspector of Police
9	Sub-Inspector of Police (SI)
10	Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police (ASI)
11	Naik
12	Constable

(Source: Kibria, 1976; Sciarabba, 2009)

The major portion of this centralised organisation (around 80 per cent) comprises the lower ranks of Constable and Naik who mainly perform patrol duty under the command of either an Assistant Sub-Inspector or Sub-Inspector, and have very limited discretionary decision making authority. The most crucial function of criminal investigation in relation to crime control is vested mainly with the Sub-Inspectors, while the Assistant Superintendent of Police and higher ranks perform supervisory roles. This classical bureaucratic organisation has failed to perform democratic policing functions (Sciarabba, 2009).

Such structural and functional features continued to remain dominant even in the post-colonial period despite the reform process that took place throughout the last century resulting in organisational expansion to enhance capacity building and efficiency to control crime (Kibria, 1976; Sciarabba, 2009). However, Hoque (2014)

claims that the philosophy of post-colonial police reform was influenced by the attributes of the British civilian police. According to Sinclair (2011), the reform process resulted in the meshing of civil and colonial police models that has contributed to the globalisation of British policing today.

With the establishment of parliamentary democracy in 1991, though, the police authority began to focus on crime prevention rather than merely on crime control (Hoque, 2014). With this process of a changing policing style from *control* to *prevention* of crime, the philosophy of community policing has been adopted in phases.

Overall, the historical contextualisation depicts an evolutionary process in respect of the development of policing philosophies in the United Kingdom, the United States and Bangladesh. This evolutionary process also supports Emsley's (2007) claim that although the concept of community policing was articulated towards the end of the twentieth century, the ideas and practices that are brought together within the concept have advanced through the history of policing. The chronological development of policing which was/is being entertained to meet contemporary societal needs is summarised in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Chronological development of policing

Period	International perspective	Bangladesh perspective
1829	Peel's principles created a civil police force in London	
1880s	Municipal police departments are established in the United States in line with the London police force	
1861		Introduction of the Irish model of paramilitary police.
Early 20th century	Vollmer modernised modern professional police in the United States.	Initiation of police reform in line with bureaucratic expansion.
1960s and early 1970s	Team policing and foot patrols were introduced in some United States cities.	
1979	Goldstein proposed the Problem-Oriented Policing (POP).	
1982	Wilson and Kelling proposed the 'broken-windows theory'.	
1980s	The community policing concept was developed based on the principles of team policing, foot patrols, POP and broken-windows theory.	
1992		Establishment of local police initiated Town Defence Party (TDP) in some cities, including Dhaka.
2004		Establishment of NGOs initiated Community-Police Forums (CPFs) in some rural areas.
2005		Introduction of community policing throughout Bangladesh as part of the police reform programme (PRP).
2010		Drafting of the Community Policing National Strategy and the Community Policing Manual.

(Source: Bennett, 1994; Cordner, 1998; Edwards, 2011; Goldstein, 1979; Hoque, 2014; Raghavan, 1999; Wilson, 2006; Wilson & Kelling, 1982)

Adoption of community policing in Bangladesh

With regard to community policing in Bangladesh, Khaleque (2008) observes that the form of modern community policing adopted under the Police Reform Programme (PRP) follows that of the Western model (Khaleque, 2008). In Bangladesh, there have been broadly three phases of community policing initiatives: in 1992, 2004 and 2005 (refer to Table 1.3 on page 44). The first two phases predate community policing under the PRP. The chronological discussion of the phases will provide an insight into how this policing approach was adopted in Bangladesh

The police in Mymensingh district town initiated the first phase of community policing in 1992. The district Superintendent of Police, who had trained in London (Sciarabba, 2009; Huda, 2006), introduced the Town Defence Party (TDP) to address the increase in crime being experienced at the time. The core principles of this initiative focused on police-community partnership and joint decision-making. Funds were raised from community donations to support the activities.

At the same time, a similar type of community policing, known as 'Pratibeshi Nirapatta' (Neighbourhood Safety), was introduced in three areas of the Dhaka municipality. Since its introduction, there has been an impact on the reduction of crime and fear of crime (Huda, 2006). There are now over one hundred Neighbourhood Watch programmes under the community policing scheme in Dhaka (Hoque, 2014).

The second phase was predominantly a non-government organisation (NGO) initiative. The Asia Foundation, a prominent NGO in Bangladesh, initiated a pilot community policing project in the Bogra, Jessore and Madaripur districts in 2004. Under this initiative Community-Police Forums (CPFs) were established in the municipality and in rural communities to facilitate police-community interactions. The CPFs consisted of representatives from different community groups. The activities included a combined campaign of patrolling, the organising of a CPF workshop, the holding of monthly meetings, the establishment of community networking (team work) and neighbourhood watch along with awareness building. Half of the crime spots that had been identified disappeared and a significant number of disputes were solved through alternative dispute resolution forums (Uddin, 2011).

The initiative, however, eventually failed owing to the police not having ownership of it (Police Reform Programme, 2008).

The third phase of community policing was undertaken as an important part of the PRP in 2005. The Peelian notion that – "police are the people and people are the police" – was adopted as the philosophy of this participatory policing style (Hoque, 2014). Its implementation entailed bringing together relevant stakeholders such as the government, the police, NGOs, donor agencies and local communities. In order to provide guidelines for community policing practice, the Bangladesh Police and the PRP drafted the *Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy 2010* and the *Bangladesh Community Policing Manual 2010*. The *National Strategy* set out the main objectives of community policing that included the reporting back to the people, consultation and partnerships (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010, p.13).

The adoption of community policing in Bangladesh has been, on the one hand, influenced by the Peelian principles. On the other hand, the community policing practices developed through the PRP process in the United States have also had undeniable influence on the gradual adoption of community policing in Bangladesh between 1992 and 2005. More specifically, the theories and elements developed in relation to the American community policing in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s have shaped the pattern of community policing practice in Bangladesh.

However, the adoption of community policing as a result of the police reform process is not isolated from the overall public sector reform agenda (Heyer, 2011). In the context of disillusionment with the traditional governance of hierarchical bureaucracies, government and public administrators, particularly in the United

Kingdom and the United States, have had to consider reshaping public management (Moynihan, 2003). By embracing management principles of business organisations, the traditional bureaucracy-led public administration was reshaped into the New Public Management (NPM) by the 1970s in the Western democracies emphasising customers' choice for service (Kalimullah et al., 2012). In line with these changes, police reform emphasised enhancing police-public relations (Morabito, 2010). The Bangladesh Police force has likewise attempted to improve police-public relations through transforming itself into a police service by adopting reform initiatives in the 1990s (Hoque, 2014).

Such progressive reforms in the public sector across the globe, however, have not been merely rhetorical. Instead, important and substantial developments in thought and practice have occurred by further reshaping the role of public servants (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). Premised upon normative principles of governing, the NPM envisages the provision for participation and collaboration based on values of service and empowerment (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). Consistent with the principles of the NPM, community policing has evolved and been accepted as a collaborative policing approach for community safety to be co-produced by the police and communities (Amadi, 2014).

The concept of this innovative and proactive policing approach is diffused into police organisations across nations undertaking reforms. These reforms are characterised by customer-oriented policing service incorporating participatory crime prevention initiatives supported by the NPM. The theory of NPM posits that customer-oriented service can best be provided when community involvement is ensured. Participatory crime prevention, in the form of community policing, is underpinned by the NPM in

that the community co-determine the outcome through their participation (Armitage, 1988; Myhill, 2006; Rogers & Robinson, 2004).

In line with policing reforms, police administrators in Bangladesh have sought to transform the police force into a police service (Hoque, 2014). Police service implies customer-oriented or customer-satisfying policing (Baker & Hyde, 2011). Hoque (2014) contends that community policing has been adopted in Bangladesh to provide customer-oriented policing service through police-community collaboration. This proposition is consistent with the core principles of community policing outlined in the national strategy: going back to the community, consultation and partnership (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010). Thus, adoption of community policing through a reform process is underpinned by the NPM.

The adoption of Western style community policing in Bangladesh is driven by two factors: (i) crime prevention rather than crime control, and (ii) internal and external drivers for police reform. The internal driver is linked to the need for building relations with the public, achieving citizen trust and the legitimacy of policing by partnering with the community rather than simply preventing crime (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010; Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). The external drivers principally concern civil society and NGOs, which have been vocal for police accountability and sharing responsibility with the community. The formation of Community-Police Forums (CPFs) by some NGOs in some rural police areas (such as in Bogra and Pabna) is an example of reform by external driver (Hoque, 2014; Razzak, 2010).

Notwithstanding these factors influencing police reforms, adoption of the Western model of community policing in Bangladesh is driven by institutional isomorphism[4] (Hoque, 2014; Khan, 2010). More specifically, community policing has been embraced as an evidence-based policy through isomorphic processes.

Scott (2005) views organisational practices of embracing reforms or policies in many cases as isomorphism premised upon DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) classic work on institutional theory. Studies suggest a linkage between the adoption of community policing and a number of factors such as increasing police-citizen interactions (Zhao, 1996) and organisational capability to facilitate innovation (Morabito, 2010). However, the studies do not provide insight into why organisations demonstrate similar preference by adopting community policing from among available policing strategies.

Institutional theory offers one answer by highlighting the effect of homogenisation of organisations. The homogenisation is influenced by organisational field-level force (Crank & Langworthy, 1996; DiMaggio & Powel, 1983; Renauer, 2007a). The term organisational field refers to those organisations that constitute a recognised area of institutional life, for example regulatory agencies, and those which produce similar services or products (DiMaggio & Powel, 1983, p.148). In addition, there are interactions among the organisations within an organisational field; that is, similar organisations share similar beliefs about their activities (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002). Institutional theorists refer to this commonality as *institutional isomorphism*, which may go through one or more processes (DiMaggio & Powel, 1983). In a mimetic process, one organisation tends to follow another organisation's

[4]In sociology, an isomorphism is a similarity of the processes or structure of one organisation to those of another, be it the result of imitation or independent development under similar constraints (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

accepted innovation, as it is perceived to be better (Roy & Seguin, 2000). Wilson (2005) suggests the adoption of community policing by organisations represents institutional mimesis.

The tendency towards isomorphism may grow as a result of knowledge dissemination by way of training, education and professional networks (Roy & Seguin, 2000). DiMaggio and Powel (1983) note that this normalising process, which represents a second source of isomorphism, appears to be a vital influencing factor for the adoption of community policing in Bangladesh (Hoque, 2014; Khan, 2010). Burruss and Giblin (2014) also found similar processes at work in the adoption of community policing in municipal law enforcement agencies.

Another factor that influences organisational adoption of a specific programme is the availability of resources, which is explained by resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). It is argued that an organisation is more likely to adopt a formal programme if the organisation receives external funding for it (Katz, Maguire, & Roncek, 2002). Similarly, Worrall and Zhao (2003) find that this is also the case with community policing. Hoque (2014), for instance, has observed that adoption of community policing in Bangladesh has been accelerated under the PRP initiative, which received funding from international donors, unlike the two previous initiatives (TDP and CPF).

Thus, beyond the dominant claim that community policing has been accepted for crime prevention rather than crime control and for improving police-public relations, there are other theoretical perspectives to explain its adoption. In the case of Bangladesh, institutional isomorphism and, in some cases, resource dependence may have been the driving force behind adoption of this policing strategy. Whatever may

be the factors influencing police authorities to introduce community policing in Bangladesh, it is not equally accepted by the management and the front-line officers (Razzak, 2010). The front-line implementing officers generally tend to maintain the 'status quo' in this respect (Hoque, 2014; Myhill, 2006; Razzak, 2010). Such difference between the management and the front-line represents two competing cultures within police departments that is, according to Reuss-Ianni (2011), at the heart of the organisational dilemma of contemporary policing.

Definitions of contemporary community policing

Nomination of a universal definition of community policing is difficult as its meaning is embedded in specific contexts (see Hinds, Chaves, & Cypess, 1992). Some scholars interpret and rationalise what community policing means. Collin (1997), for instance, has argued that meanings of the concept reflect the goals that each individual anticipates and seeks to realise.

Since the mid-1980s, Western police organisations such as in the United States and the United Kingdom have developed various community-based initiatives as alternatives to traditional policing approaches. Prominent among these are community-oriented policing (Braga, 2008a), community-based policing (Eck & Spelman, 1987), neighbourhood policing (Oliver, 1998), problem-oriented policing (Goldstein, 1979, 1990) and service style policing (Toch & Grant, 1991). Despite the variation in names and differences in approach, these programmes can be grouped together under the umbrella concept of community policing: they each share the common theme of developing an effective working relationship between police and community (Braga, 2008a; Fielding, 1995; Friedmann, 1992; Kerley & Benson, 2000; Rosenbaum, 1994; Weisheit, Wells, & Falcone, 1994).

Community policing has been discussed as a visionary philosophy and ideological agenda (Robin, 2000). It has emerged as a new organisational orthodoxy of policing (Eck & Rosenbaum, 1994; Oliver, 2000; Oliver & Bartgis, 1998; Peak & Glensor, 2002) and a successful 'new paradigm' (Gowri, 2003). The model provides a comprehensive new system to effectively deal with crime by means of mutually acceptable solutions (Alpert & Moore, 1993; DiIulio, 1992; Leighton, 1991, 1993). It seeks to bring about fundamental change in reactive responses to calls and the incidence-driven nature of traditional policing. Central to the concept of community policing is that it is a participatory proactive approach emphasising preventive measures to minimise the opportunity of crime (Robin, 2000).

Although there exists numerous definitions of community policing, no single definition has been agreed on (Bayley, 1994; Palmiotto, 2011; Skogan, 2006a, 2006b; Tilley, 2008). Consequently, many researchers have attempted to provide clearer understanding with different definitions. Indeed, a multitude of definitions of community policing can be found in the police literature (Bayley, 1994; Brogden, 1999; Fielding, 2005; Klockars, 2005; Merrit & Dingwall, 2010). Trojanowicz and Carter (1988, p.5) have attempted to position it as a distinct policing philosophy from previous policing trends. In broad philosophical terms, they explain that:

> Community policing is a proactive, decentralized approach, designed to reduce crime, disorder, and by extension, fear of crime by intensively involving the same officer on a long-term basis in order to facilitate the development of trust and cooperation between police and community.

This definition acknowledges the importance of the relationship between the community policing officers (CPOs) and the local people with whom they work. This

enables officers to know local needs and to gain confidence that help establish partnerships with the community.

A meaningful definition provided by Findley and Taylor (1990, p.72) suggests that community policing is “a police-community partnership in which the police and the community work hand-in-hand to resolve what the community identifies as problems” (Findley & Taylor, 1990, p.72). The definition comprises two basic elements: (i) police-community partnership, and (ii) problem-solving. The partnership is intended to be used as a tool to solving community issues. Vito, Walsh, and Kunselman (2005) suggest that this partnership should aim to improve the quality of life in the community through enhancing neighbourhood solidarity and safety.

Community policing needs to develop a bond between the patrol officers and the community (Cordner, 2007, 2010). To develop a bond requires police officers to understand the community’s needs, habits and wishes (Chavez, 2012; Cordner, 2000, 2010; Myhill, 2006). Different community components such as churches, small businesses, schools and other community groups may have different needs and expectations. Understanding and responding to those needs and expectations, Findley and Taylor (1990) argue, may assist in building a stronger relationship between the police and various institutions and groups in the community.

Similar features of community policing practice are also reflected in the definition provided by Bullock (2014) who characterises it as the high visibility of police assigned to small beats for the long term, who will initiate community based crime prevention programmes and develop mechanisms to communicate and consult with the community. As to the efficacy of community policing programmes, Wilson (2006) states that these result in a stronger relationship that leads to increasing the quality

and quantity of contacts between citizens and police. Wilson (2006) proposes that community policing brings together both the police and the community to resolve community concerns. Similarly, Skolnick and Bayley (1988a) argue that community policing fosters a partnership between the community and the police to play an equal role for the co-production of safety and order in the neighbourhood.

As to the extent of community policing practice, Kelling and Coles (1997, p.158) note that community policing involves broad functions to be performed by the police beyond enforcement and responses to crimes. The functions include "maintaining peace and order, protecting constitutional liberties, resolving conflicts which arise in neighbourhood, assisting persons in need and danger and responding to emergencies". Bayley (1994) outlines the basic elements of community policing: consultation with communities; adaptation by organisational restructuring (such as decentralisation and local responsiveness); mobilisation of local public and other resources to address problems; and problem-solving in a proactive approach.

Friedmann (1992) provides a somewhat different emphasis in considering the following components and principles in an attempt at an all-encompassing definition: (i) community inputs for addressing causes of crime before it occurs; (ii) citizen empowerment through their involvement in decision-making; and (iii) ensuring human rights. These three aspects are often ignored in the traditional police model (Hoque, 2014).

As the concept of community policing varies, it is also understood in diverse ways. It is difficult to fully understand its ideological, organisational and programmatic meanings through a small number of definitions. However, Oliver's (1998, p.5) definition, which seems most comprehensive, incorporates three key components: (i)

the redistribution of traditional police resources; (ii) the interaction of police and all community members to reduce crime and fear of crime through indigenous proactive programs; and (iii) a concerted effort to tackle the causes of crime problems rather than to put 'band-aids' on the symptoms. His definition is characterised by decentralisation, problem-solving and partnership between the police and the community. Similarly, Merrit and Dingwall (2010, p.389) explain three defining characteristics of community policing: (i) police-community partnerships; (ii) a problem-solving approach; and (iii) organisational decentralisation and local accountability.

Fleming (2009, cited in Bull, 2015) suggests that community policing is about partnerships, consultation and building trust in communities. Greene and Mastrofski (2000) narrate two primary objectives of community policing: (i) transforming police organisational structure, and (ii) developing partnerships between the police and the public. These features imply a shift from traditional policing of 'calls for service' to proactive problem-solving through a partnership between the community and the local police.

Although the foregoing discussion has focused on the concept of community policing, it has not precisely articulated the difference between community policing and the traditional policing model. A comparison between the two models of policing is illustrated in Table 1.3. The comparative features in the table demonstrate a sharp dichotomy between the traditional law enforcement policing model and community policing.

Table 1.3: Comparison of community policing and traditional police model

Comparative features	Traditional model	Community policing
Discretion	The law and hierarchy	Community policing implementing officers
Accountability	Internal matter	Strong emphasis on external accountability and transparency
Professionalism	High degree of specialisation	Tendency towards decentralisation
Police-public relation	Distance between people and police	Partnerships
Legitimacy	Absence of disorder	Linked to the concept of democracy
Prevention	Control of crime	Reinforcement of informal social control, situational crime control
Law as a means	Law and order	Law enforcement is seen as a means among others
Decision taking	Centralisation	Decentralisation
Manner of decision making	Hierarchical, top-down	Democratic, bottom-up
Involvement	Needs of the government	Needs of the population
Orientation	Offender oriented	Cause oriented, proactive
Interaction with environment	Formal, reactive	Open system, proactive
Changing potential	Conservative	Innovative
Manner of approach	Impersonal	Personal
Visibility	Invisible	Visible
Availability	Indirectly available	Available
Strategy	Technical, legal	Social (expectation of the public)
Finality	Law enforcement	Service oriented
Power resides	With police	Jointly with police and community

(Adapted from Ponsaers, 2001, pp. 491-492; Scott, 2010, p.146)

Although community policing opposes law enforcement for crime control, the departments committed to community policing must perform their traditional duties of law enforcement, order maintenance and take initiatives to solve local problems with community cooperation (Peak & Glensor, 2002; Rosenbaum, 1998). Yero et al. (2012) suggest that the community policing model tries to strike a balance between reactive responses with proactive problem-solving, especially on the causes of crime and disorder, and that community policing is essentially about a partnership between the police and the citizens.

While various scholars have attempted to conceptualise community policing by defining it from different perspectives, some have also focused on what community policing is not and have done so with a comparative perspective. For example, Trojanowicz et al. (2002) identify some aspects that, in their view, cannot be considered as community policing. First, they indicate that community policing is not a technique or programme that police departments could apply to specific problems, but more a philosophical model. Second, they suggest it is not 'public relations' per se (this is viewed as a by-product) because of its focus on helping the community and not just in 'selling' the police department to citizens. Third, they argue that community policing is not a distraction from serious crime or a substitute for a focus on serious crime. Fourth, it is not organised in the typical paramilitary hierarchy that will hinder front line officers and citizens from local police priorities. Fifth, community policing is not a separate unit within a police department but rather represents a culture that is expected to pervade the entire organisation.

Trojanowicz et al. (2002) endeavour to clarify the community policing concept by highlighting that it is a style of policing which creates a partnership between the police and the community to deal with problems ranging from minor community concern to serious crime taking place in a community. The working partnership is based on mutual understanding, trust and cooperation between the police and the community. Chavez (2012) and Myhill (2006) also argue that mutual understanding and trust-building are the driving factors for creating and promoting partnership. The entire police organisation should be committed to community policing practice.

Yero et al. (2012) observe that the concept of community policing has slowly but gradually assumed multi-dimensional meaning since the early 1980s. Given its multi-

dimensionality, it is clear that the concept is ambiguous. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the definition of community policing adopted is *a policing style that adopts crime prevention strategies created jointly between the police and the community, aiming to address locally identified community issues for better quality of life.* Whilst it is a major policy shift from the traditional policing strategy, community policing does not negate the practice of the existing traditional police model; rather both models ought to be practised in parallel. To implement this approach, front-line police officers should be given policy guidelines as well as the authority to make decisions in consultation with the community. The practice of community policing requires changes in organisational characteristics and operational strategies and tactics.

Principles of operation and practice of community policing

Community policing provides police with a wide range of functions. The role of police in a community implies their duties extend beyond the traditional police work such as arresting criminals, investigating crimes and conducting motorised patrols. The extended functions they are expected to perform add to the complexity of their role in society (Goldstein, 1993). In a proactive policing approach, the police must anticipate social concerns and needs, and intervene before these become problematic. To this end, they use community as a source of intelligence. Indeed, community policing officers are generally viewed as intelligence agents of the criminal justice system who intellectually and emotionally respond to citizens' concerns (Vito et al., 2005).

Community policing draws authority for action from community need and direction. CPOs need to understand and consider community values, norms, needs and

expectations. Moreover, technological, economic and communicative changes have impacted on social life and altered the nature of modern communities. CPOs ought to keep pace with these changes in the communities they serve. With this in mind, they must initiate the approach to the community (Trojanowicz et al., 2002). Myhill (2006) suggests that CPOs should have an appropriate mechanism to easily approach citizens and any deviation from this may result in loss of acceptance by community. Trojanowicz et al. (2002, p.xi-xiii) propose nine fundamental principles of community policing, which are outlined in Table1.4.

Table 1.4: Fundamental principles of community policing

No.	Principles of community policing
1	Community policing is a philosophy of collaboration between the police and the community to address problems.
2	The philosophy will be translated into practice through community policing programmes.
3	True implementation involves everyone in the department with a CPO establishing a link between the department and the community.
4	The CPO should maintain continuous and sustained contact with the community.
5	Building mutual trusts between the police and the community is required.
6	Proactive role of both the police and the community is required.
7	Exploring new ways to community safety is stressed.
8	Employing concerted human efforts is emphasised more, although the judicious use of technology is promoted.
9	Decentralised and personalised service to the community is provided.

(Adapted from Trojanowicz et al., 2002, p. xi-xiii).

These principles make community policing unique in its ideology and appropriate for its practice. Carty (2008, p.13), who in 2008 was the senior police adviser to the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Secretary General, proposes the following basic principles for community policing:

(i) Assigning police officers on long term basis in fixed geographic areas for more visibility and accessibility to the public;

(ii) Knowing, and being known by, the public;

(iii) Responding to the community's needs;

(iv) Listening to the community's concerns;

(v) Engaging and mobilising communities;

(vi) Holding the police accountable for their activities and the outcome of these activities.

There are some similarities and differences between the proposed principles. For example, Carty's (2008) emphasis on long-term assignment indicates that change has become an issue. Trojanowicz et al. (2002), though, focus more on the implementation aspect for community safety. However, both sets of principles promote the central premise of community policing: raising the level of community participation for enhancing safety, social order and solving community crime, and creating partnership between the community and the police.

Bennett (1990, 1994) states that community policing needs to be practised through compatible organisational structures and operational strategies, which are portrayed in Figure 1.1. It is, however, agreed that these organisational structures and operational strategies can also exist within different policing paradigms. Indeed, they become community policing structures and strategies when they are practised in the context of community policing programmes (Skolnick & Bayley, 1986).

In Figure 1.1, Bennett (1994) has proposed a link between the philosophical dimension, organisational structure and operational strategy with regard to a community policing practice. The community policing philosophy denotes an ideology that is based on a police-public relationship. This relationship refers to the type of consultation and collaboration that occur between the police and the public.

The main element of the philosophical dimension, he argues, is a belief or intention held by the police who act as a driving factor to consult and collaborate with the public. By means of consultation, the police will take account of the wishes of the public in determining and evaluating operational policing, while both parties should collaborate in identifying and solving local problems.

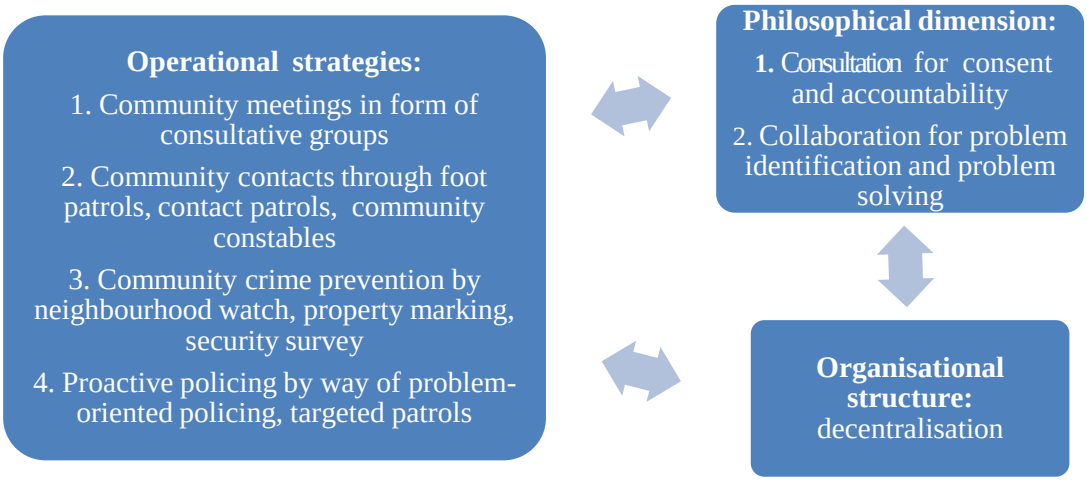


Figure 1.1: Compatible organisational structures and operational strategies for community policing practice.

(Source: Bennett, 1994, p.229)

The second component of community policing is the organisational structure of the police department. The most compatible organisational structure for community policing practice is decentralisation. Consultation and collaboration can be more effective between local people and the police of small commands and decentralised units. The final components of community policing are the operational strategies that are used to implement community policing on the ground. The principle of consultation and collaboration and the related goals are connected to operational

strategies that concern crime prevention and proactive policing (Bennett, 1994, 1998; Myhill, 2006).

Seagrave (1996) has also drawn a link between three dimensions of community policing: philosophical, strategic and programmatic. The philosophical dimension addresses the broad purposes of policing; the strategic dimension translates the philosophical rhetoric into plans for the practical implementation of the concept; and the programmatic dimension translates the organisational philosophy and strategies into programmes, tactics and behaviours.

Cordner's (2000) frameworkis consistent with Bennett's (1994). Cordner, though, has added an additional dimension, thereby determining that there are essentially four facets of community policing: philosophy, strategy, tactics, and organisational development. He explains that the philosophical element in community policing is crucial to any successful implementation and, without this baseline understanding, successes in the other three areas will be restricted. Bennett (1998) argues that the community's role is fundamental and the role of the police is expanded from traditional policing duties. *Citizen input* (Cordner, 2000; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 2002; Skogan, 2006b), broad *function* (Cordner, 1999; Farrell, 1988; Flynn, 2004; Segrave & Ratcliffe, 2004) and *personal service* (Cordner, 1999, 2007; Mastrofski, 2006) are elements of the philosophical dimension of community policing.

Cordner (2000) argues that the strategic dimension must assist in translating philosophy into action to produce key operational concepts. According to Bennett (1998), ideas from community policing are developed into strategies for practice. The strategic dimension, as Cordner suggests, includes: expanded roles and duties of police officers to proactively follow-up activities; redeveloping police activities and

operations (for example, less focus on patrol and more on problem-solving); emphasising prevention; and developing a more localised community-specific focus.

The tactical dimension focuses on the implementation of the strategies developed. Cordner (1999) argues that the tactics of community policing are generated out of the establishment of community partnerships and programmes related to the strategies. Other scholars researching community policing also see community partnership as a crucial element (Bayley, 1999; Flynn, 2004; Mastrofski, 2006; Skogan, 2006b; Young & Tinsley, 1998). Another major tactical element of community policing concerns problem-solving techniques that focus on the underlying causes of crime and criminal behaviour.

Finally, the organisational levels of support need to be encouraged to promote community policing. Cordner (1999, 2007) argues that the success of community policing relies strongly on organisational levels of support. This support, as he suggests, will be provided by means of empowering officers to work independently, including decentralised police services, and by the integration of mentoring and close supervision into the managerial role.

Bennett's (1994) compatible organisational structure for operational strategies and Cordner's (2000) community policing elements may be viewed as good propositions for community policing practice. However, best practice can be ensured through negotiation between the police and the community in a particular setting. There is consistent evidence that community policing practice should be tailored to a community's needs and preferences and that there is no 'one size fits all' model or strategy (DuBois & Hartnett, 2002; Khan, 1998; Morgan, 1995). Wycoff (2004) urges police practitioners to be wary of 'best practice', arguing that best practice for any

community is one that fits their needs and conditions and is compatible with the resources of partners.

Ideally, community policing challenges the professional policing model in its philosophical, organisational and operational aspects; it is not merely a programme. It seeks to promote cooperation between the police and the community in order to reduce crime, fear of crime, and enhance quality of life. The proactive approach of community policing aims at eliminating the causes of crime in local communities. Besides professional law enforcement, community policing programmes involve a wide range of social activities for safer communities. In a flattened structure, community policing provides police officers at grass roots level with discretion to work with the community and to jointly make decisions regarding crime prevention. Both police and local community resources are mobilised to identify problems and to find solutions. Local people are empowered to participate with the police in community safety co-production (Bennett, 1998; Cordner, 2007; Hoque, 2014; Loader, 2016; Myhill, 2006; Reiner, 2010).

With regard to the operational principles of community policing in Bangladesh, the police rely on the *Community Policing National Strategy* and the *Community Policing Manual*. The *Strategy* proposes a two-tiered framework at the policy and operational levels (see Figure 1.2). The policy tier comprises a National Community Policing Advisory committee represented by relevant ministries, community leaders and NGOs. The advisory committee serves as an apex body to give strategic directions to the community policing initiative. The operational tier comprises Community Policing Cells (CPCs) at district and police station level for the supervision and monitoring of the community policing initiatives. In fact, the CPCs coordinate and

monitor the community-police forums (CPFs) and crime prevention programmes. The CPFs at the neighbourhood level ensure the appropriate implementation of community policing in specified localities. The CPFs are formed with wider representation of the community. Each CPF is, however, coordinated by a police officer termed the Community Policing Officer (CPO), who is assigned permanently for that purpose (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010).

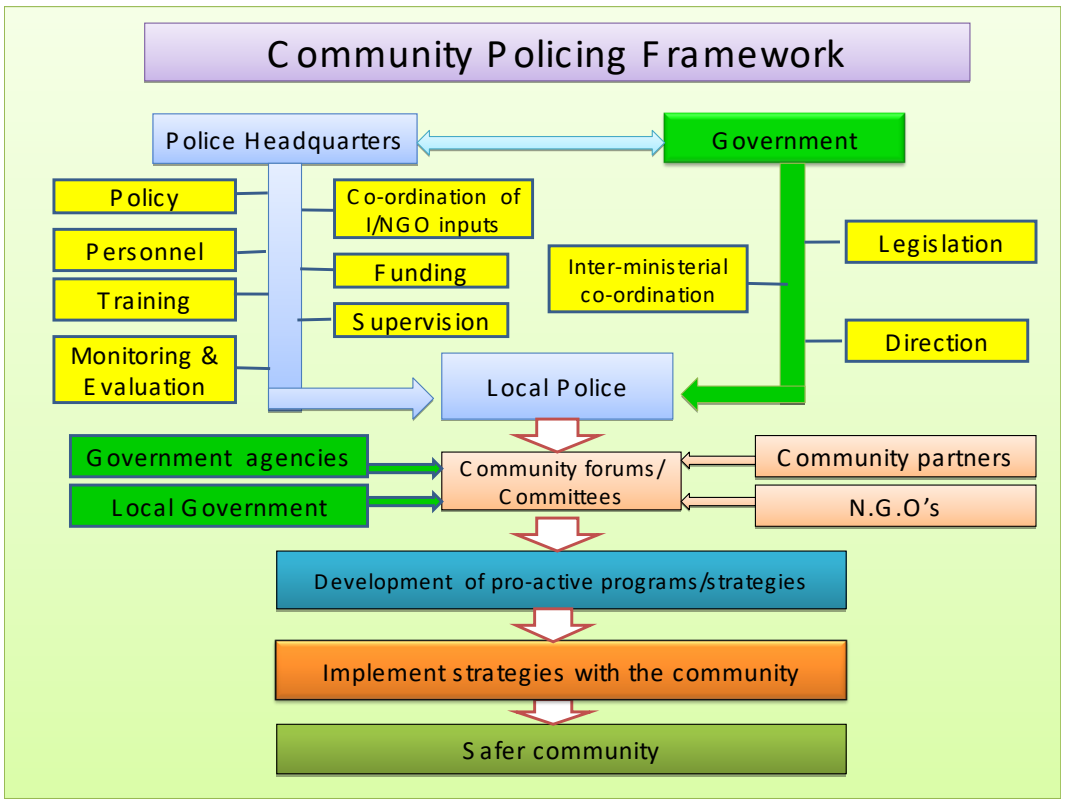


Figure 1.2: Community policing framework in Bangladesh

(Source: Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010)

There have been over 40,000 ward-level CPFs formed across the country since their initiation in 2005 representing a significant advance towards implementation of community policing. The forums are a means to enhance public-police cooperation and help create a more accessible police service through identifying local problems and working out solutions towards crime prevention (Uddin, 2011).

The strategic framework has an explicit provision of a police-community partnership at the community level. The position of the CPO, designated for the implementation of community policing programmes in collaboration with the CPFs, is a reflection of organisational support as well as a compatible flattened structure that is consistent with Cordner's proposition (2007). However, Razzak (2010) argues that frequent monitoring of the activities of the CPFs and the CPOs by the CPCs tends to lead the former to be dependent on the latter. This contradicts Cordner's (2000, 2007) suggestion that authority needs to be delegated to the CPOs for developing an effective police-community partnership at the local level.

However, the *Community Policing Manual* proposes primarily to implement a problem-solving SARA model and the mediation of social problems as the tools of community policing practice (Bangladesh Community Policing Manual, 2010). The *Manual* also proposes that information sharing, consultation and partnership are critical to encouraging community participation in practice. These are the strategies for community participation to implement community policing. Razzak (2010) observes that the *Manual* does not set out the tactics of community participation, and has not explicitly prescribed the tools of information sharing, consultation and establishing of partnerships between the police and the community. Razzak (2010) concludes that the community participation process has been left to the police and the community to define locally. However, the community participation process may not be the same across agencies and communities. Razzak (2010) further asserts that it is the police and the community who decide and define its process.

Conclusion

Following a long and sustained period of military style order maintenance and law enforcement, community policing came to prominence in Bangladesh in 2005. Although prominent in practice, the idea has been borrowed from the United Kingdom and the United States where the contemporary community policing emerged from the Peelian notion of a civil force for the London Metropolitan Police, and has developed through an evolving process since the early 1980s. Community policing practice in Bangladesh has been adopted as a part of the PRP. The contexts of the adoption include changing policing strategy from control of crime to prevention of crime, customer-oriented public service delivery influenced by the NPM and institutional isomorphism.

Although various scholars have defined this approach, there is no consensus around a precise definition. However, there are some agreed aspects that have made it distinct from the traditional law enforcement. It is a proactive policing style that places emphasis on police-community co-operation to identify local problems and their solutions, thereby contributing to community safety. One fundamental aspect of community policing practice is community participation. However, implementation of community participation is problematic wherever community policing is practiced. Although the *Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy* sets out community participation strategies that include information-sharing, consultation and partnership, there are no specific tactics or set tools to implement these strategies. A review of the literature suggests that community participation in community policing practice has to be defined by the police and the community in a local community setting.

This thesis is focused on evaluating community policing and the community participation process in a specific police area (the Uttara Division of the DMP). It argues that community participation in specific policing areas is important and has policy implications for contemporary community policing practice. In this context, Chapter Two will review the contemporary issues of community participation to specifically develop research questions for this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

Understanding Community Participation in Community Policing Practice

Chapter One elaborated on the theoretical understandings of community policing in relation to the study aims. Based on theoretical discourses, the chapter established that the concept of community policing is ambiguous. Hence, implementation of this style of policing is problematic and difficult. Hoque (2014) argues that not only conceptual ambiguity but also ensuring community participation makes community policing practice difficult. As such, understanding and ensuring community participation is critical to the effective practice of community participation. Myhill (2006) suggests that the fundamental tenet in relation to community policing practice is community participation. He argues that community policing practice is untenable without community participation. This chapter will assess, from theoretical perspectives, the implementation of community participation in the public service domain, including policing.

Community participation is now an important issue in relation to the implementation of public service delivery, including policing. Since the late 1970s, social science researchers such as Goldstein (1979) and Myhill (2006) have developed many theories and enriched literature on this topic. However, Myhill (2006) suggests that consultation and decision-making process, typologies of participation, power relations among participants, community empowerment and determining factors of participation are the dominant aspects that are generally discussed in contemporary literature to understand community participation process.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first discusses community participation, including concepts of community and participation; the rationale for participation; the theoretical interpretation of the participation process; typologies; and the practice of participation. The second illustrates the practice of community participation in policing. The third focuses on motivational factors, while the fourth discusses the potential challenges for community participation. These aspects of community participation inform the research questions for this study.

Community participation

Community participation has gained acceptance by both academics and experts in recent years across public policies, and is practised as a way to improve service delivery (Cornwall, 2002a; Crosby, 1996; Kaufman & Poulin, 1996; Maxwell, 2003; Reid, 2000; Smith, 2003). As established, creating a partnership with the community is an important and core component of community policing. Police-community partnerships are one of the key strategies of crime prevention in Bangladesh (Police Reform Programme, 2009). The partnership implies that the police and the community must work together to define and develop solutions to problems in the neighbourhood (Sadd & Grinc, 1994).

Discussion of community participation in any public policy creates debate around the concept of community. Because of the conceptual ambiguity of community, community policing is also ambiguous in its concept and meaning. Therefore, it is crucial to focus on the concept of community prior to analysing community participation.

The concept of community

The concept of community is used in different contexts. In the community policing context, it is generally a well-defined geographic entity, as the delivery of police service is organised by geographic area (Myhill, 2006). The area should be as small as a police beat with the unique geographical and social characteristics of neighbourhoods. It may encompass widely diverse cultures, values and concerns (Myhill, 2006). The Bureau of Justice Assistance (1994) in the United States defines community, for the purposes of community policing, as consisting of local government, neighbourhood residents, schools, places of worship, hospitals, social groups, private and public agencies and those who work in the area. All the constituents may be concerned with the safety and security of the neighbourhood.

The concept of community, however, is much more than this and the depth of definition needs to be fully considered in any community policing initiative. The notion of community is central to discussions of social policy. Social science literature provides the theoretical concept of community. Frazer (1999) suggests that community can be approached as a value that brings together a number of elements such as solidarity, commitment, mutuality and trust. Community can also be approached as a descriptive category or set of variables. In practice, the two are intertwined and often difficult to separate. German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1887, cited in Harris, 2001) argued that community exists according to the human condition and as a complete unity of human wills and can be characterised by mutuality and commonality. He further characterised the main forms of community as consisting of kinship, neighbourhood and friendship or comradeship.

Community can be defined in many other ways, too. Hillary (1955), on surveying definitions of community in a celebrated article, established 94 definitions and claimed that the only common feature was 'people'. According to Fraser (2005), the word 'community' is an umbrella term that has been defined and applied in different approaches. For instance, it may refer to *geographic communities* meaning people based in a particular geographic area (Ife, 2002) or *virtual communities,* where people maintain contact mainly through electronic media (Ife, 2002). There may be other communities such as *communities of circumstance* and *communities of interest.* The former may emerge in different circumstances like a bushfire or floods in which affected people of different regions feel connected to each other (Marsh, 1999). Kenny (2011) defined groups of the same identity as *communities of interest,* where members are organised to lobby government for some kind of policy change or sponsorship. Gay and lesbian groups and business lobby groups are examples.

However, different approaches may also overlap in particular circumstances. For example, in mining villages, place and interest may well coincide and result in what Cohen (1985) and Willmott (1989) define as a *community of attachment.* In contrast, differences in ethnicity and religion may cause a feeling of detachment among groups of people living in the same geographic area. For example, tribal groups or aborigines in the Chittagong Hill tract in Bangladesh form communities distinct from those of settlers (Siddiqui, 2010).

Although these definitions of community imply a sense of similarity or commonality, it can also imply difference. In fact, it is a relational idea in which the problem of similarity and difference is raised. The members of a community have to have something in common with each other. This is what distinguishes them from other

communities and at the same time is the reason for the similarity. Yet this is just one side of the complexity of delineation because the members of a community are not equal in every respect (Smith, 2001). French philosopher Jacques Derrida emphasises that communities contain a certain kind of tension. They consist of unequal levels of individuals, but at the same time they have to maintain linkages among them. The paradox is that difference is necessary for community, whilst it is also the precondition for inequality, especially when it is constructed rather than allowed to be 'naturally' occurring and embraced (Schreier, 2000).

The problem of difference is also raised in racially, ethnically or linguistically heterogeneous communities. Wagner (2004) observes that inequality and heterogeneity results in social networks being fragile. In contrast, Putnam (2001) argues that heterogeneity is a necessity because different people possess different capacities or social capital. Social capital fosters social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from community members. Schreier (2000), therefore, suggests that those who are engaged in community work have to be aware of the differences of the participating members or the possible participants, if social capital is an important factor in heterogeneous communities.

The concept of community has been discussed in both positive and negative terms in the social science literature. For instance, Elias (1974) points out that the notion of community is associated with the hope and desire for closer, more harmonious bonds between people who aim to work together to raise the general good. Bauman (2001) considers it to be an unattainable idea. Smith (2001), in opposing Elias's view, claims that communities are not inherently good, as they can even be oriented backward or have attitudes and values that conflict with human rights. Exclusionary factors or acts

can occur. A very obvious example of this is the growth of ‘gated communities’ in the United States and the United Kingdom. Driven primarily by concern for security, anxieties about crime and other social problems, residents are homogenised by race and class (Lynch, 2001). Hence, gated communities represent segregation from the wider community and at the same time closeness among residents.

Cohen (1985) points to another concept of community that emerged in the United States during the 1970s following a fundamental shift from penal institutions to ‘community corrections’. Following this transformative moment in penology, Cohen (1985) articulated his vision of ‘The Punitive City’, which is conceptualised as a community built on finely graded social control mechanisms with few clear boundaries between classes and categories of citizens. This community control ideology embraces the involvement of family, schools, peers, neighbourhoods, the police, and an array of community professionals in keeping criminals in line within the community, rather than isolated in a distinctly segregated penal institution. An emphasis is placed on controlling risky groups and populations with efficient, nontransformative methods. This theoretical proposition implies a secondary place for the prison in the era of dispersed social control. However, the paradox is that in controlling risky groups in this way also subtly categories them as ‘risky’even in the process of integrating them with the wider community.

Thus, community is a difficult concept and the meaning is politically loaded and often contradictory. However, it is generally viewed as a group with a common identity and solidarity (Kenny, 2011), although most communities or neighbourhoods are diverse having similarities and differences at the same time, and may also exhibit exclusion. Wagner (2004) suggests that it would be appropriate to work for the development of

an atmosphere in which different cultures coexist. It can, therefore, be argued that the complexity of the concept of community has to be considered in order to understand and implement the process of community participation in any public arena.

The concept of community participation

Community participation is also a broad concept that varies with its application and definition. The definition of it depends on the context. It can be a matter of principle, practice, or an end in itself – where the community or group sets up a process to control its own outcome (World Bank, 1995). The term 'participation' is also modified with adjectives to create different terms such as community participation, citizen participation, people's participation, public participation and popular participation. For example, in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s popular participation or political participation was of great academic and political interest (Parry, Moyser, & Day, 1992). Popular participation referred to how a large number of people could be persuaded to get involved in public decision-making.

The concept of community or citizen participation is rooted in democratic approaches to public policy and its implementation (Pateman, 1970). It is viewed as the 'democratic process' by which 'civil renewal is advanced' (Blunkett, 2003). The German development and aid agency Gesellschaftfür Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) (1991, p.4) defines participation as "co-determination and power sharing throughout the…program cycle". Powersharing aims at enabling the marginalised "to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change" (Moser, 1989, p.1815). Brager, Specht and Torczyner (1987, p.14) define participation as "a means to educate citizens and to increase their competence".

Participation is a process for influencing decisions that affects the lives of citizens and an avenue for transferring political power. It also provides a mechanism for ensuring the receptivity, sensitivity and even accountability of social services to the consumers. According to Armitage (1988), citizen participation is a process by which citizens act in response to public concerns, voice their opinions about decisions that affect them and take responsibility for changes to their community. All these definitions share the fundamental aspects of this concept, that is, the distribution of power between participants – privileged and unprivileged – to jointly determine choices for their quality of lives.

Rogers and Robinson (2004, p.2) define community participation as "the opportunity, capacity and willingness of individuals to work collectively to shape public life". They also state that community participation encompasses a variety of approaches. In these approaches, public service bodies empower citizens to consider and express their views on how their particular needs are best met. These may range from encouraging people to have a say on setting priorities through shaping, supporting and sharing decision-making with them in relation to defined services.

In relation to effective participation, some basic and relevant questions have been asked in the literature. Five, in particular, are worthy of consideration: (i) who participates; (ii) what do people participate in; (iii) why do people participate; (iv) how does participation occur; and (v) how can participation be built? (Reid, 2000; Scott, 1998). Effective and successful participation lies in the answers to these questions. There is no one right way to achieve effective participation. Reid (2000) claims that effective participation is characterised by inclusiveness and diversity, wide publicity, openness to all ideas and processes and is people-centred. Crosby, Kelly

and Schaefer (1986) suggest six criteria for successful citizen participation: (i) broader public representation; (ii) emphasis oneffective decision-making; (iii) fairness of the proceedings; (iv) cost-effectiveness of the process; (v) flexibility; and (vi) a high level of consideration of the recommendations by the groups. However, there is no standard set of criteria for a particular form of participation (Crosby, 1996).

In the context of community policing, the term 'community participation' is widely used in the literature because of the aspiration that in community policing practice both the police and the community interact and work together in common understanding built on mutual trust and belief. Community participation can be secured through various community policing programmes (Miller, 2011; Skogan, 2006b). The wider police literature suggests that community participation is intended to be secured via 'neighbourhood policing' (Scott, 2000; Sampson, 2004; Sagar, 2005). There are some other programmes such as citizen patrol (Choi, 2013) and problem-solving (Myhill, 2006; Reiner, 2010) in which community members can participate in relation to community policing practice. However, securing community participation is linked to the way in which police-community relations are constructed and maintained (Mirsky, 2009; Wilson & Petersilia, 2004).

The rationale for community participation

The adoption of community policing implies an increased interest and emphasis on the community role in addressing the problems of crime and disorder (Rosenbaum, 1988, 1998). Wilson (1985) claims that community crime prevention efforts strengthen informal social control within the neighbourhood. In turn, informal social control processes promote social capital that enhances social cohesion. An organised and cohesive community, through informal social control, contributes to reducing

rates of crime and delinquency (Kapsis, 1978; Myhill, 2006; Sampson & Groves, 1989). Informal social control theory suggests that 'social order' takes place more in informal social processes rather than in formal social mechanisms such as policing (Myhill, 2006). This theory, thus, encourages community participation in problem-solving activities and in decision-making about key issues affecting the quality of life (DeKeseredy& Schwartz, 1996).

In its ideal form, community policing can help identify problems of which the police may not be aware. It provides scope for the police and the community to work in partnership with mutual confidence and trust to address local problems and communities feel that the police are responsive to their concern (Skogan, 1994a). This interaction subsequently shapes perceptions by individual community members about the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008). Consequently, the police can build support of the community through personal interaction (Dukes, Portillos, & Miles, 2009). The community, with the help of police, can also organise local efforts to prevent disorder and crime. A common justification for community participation in policing is that the approach will ultimately help prevent crimes from occurring in the first place (Crawford, 1998, 2007; Trojanowicz, 1986).

Community participation is also justified by the fact that, like other public service agencies, the police are increasingly becoming customer-orientated in that public satisfaction has to be taken into account (Baker & Hyde, 2011). It is also argued that by sharing with the community, the police will become more knowledgeable and responsive to the various concerns of communities (Coquilhat, 2008; Myhill, 2006). Skogan (1990) observes that the police as a professional agency have a narrowly defined mandate and therefore overlook many pressing community concerns. On the

one hand, a police-community forum expands the scope of the police mandate by making them more 'market-driven' and, on the other hand, the community relieves the police of being overburdened (Bayley & Shearing, 1996; Haider, Sultana, Kabir, & Reza, 2011). As a result, the police can concentrate more attention on fundamental tasks, such as maintaining order and investigation of crime.

Myhill (2006) argues that community participation benefits both community and police. Table 2.1 summarises the potential benefits and advantages of community participation in community policing practices.

Table 2.1: Benefits of community participation in policing

Community-specific advantages	Police-specific benefits
Community empowerment	Sharing responsibility with the community
Increase in positive attitudes towards police	Increase in officers' satisfaction with their work
Reduction in crime and fear of crime	Reduction in crime
Increase in community capacity	Improved community perception of police legitimacy

(Source: Myhill, 2006, p.34; Segrave & Ratcliffe, 2004, pp.23-24).

Generally, the benefits of effective community participation are seen as strengthening public trust in the agency, improving transparency of the agency, enhancing civic capacity and formulating more sustainable policies (Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, NZ, 2012). Community participation in policing appears critical in transforming it into a people-oriented practice. Moreover, the potential for crime prevention as a result of police-community collaboration can provide legitimacy and community approval.

Power relations in participation

Central to participation is a sharing of power. It is suggested that citizen participation should be understood in terms of the power relations around which the participating individuals or groups interact (Myhill, 2006; Nelson & Wright, 1995). Power dynamics are linked to the process of community participation as they help shape the way of participation and influence the motivation of, and create challenges to, participants (Hoque, 2014). Ideally, participation involves a distribution of power that enables the marginalised to get involved in the process of information sharing and setting of goals and policies (Arnstein, 1969). However, there is a critical difference between rhetoric and real sharing of power in the participation process. The difference was articulated by French students on a poster which stated: "I participate; you participate; he participates; we participate; you participate…they profit" (cited in Arnstein, 1969, p.216). The slogan implies that the participatory approach may lead to the unjust and illegitimate exercise of power. Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that in participatory development the processes are undertaken ritualistically. The privileged manipulate the process for their benefit.

Adams (1990) observes that there is a reciprocal relationship between empowerment and participation. Empowerment enables people to access power and participation is the use of power in the decision-making process (Kinyashi, 2006). Kinyashi further explains empowerment as the process by which communities are equipped with the knowledge, skills and resources necessary for changing and improving the quality of their lives.

Empowerment brings privileged participants on par with the less privileged participants. Ideally, it removes barriers to participation. The theory of democratic

participation recognises a close linkage between participation and equality (Bachrach & Botwinick, 1992). Some liberal theorists, such as Jennifer Hochschild and J.R. Lucas, however, stand against participationists. They argue that participation fosters inequality. Lucas (cited in Nagel, 1987, p.65) writes: “Any system that calls for more than minimal participation will favor the active over the apathetic and the rich over the poor... Participation is inegalitarian”. Dependency theory, however, negotiates the disagreement between participationists and liberal theorists by stressing that what is significant is how the disadvantaged are integrated into a system. Although its exponents argue for participation, they highlight the danger of engaging the marginalised without first enabling them to understand how the system is structured. Cornwall (2002b) convincingly argues that it calls for more than inviting people to participate and to express their needs. People need to be equipped with tactics that will enable them to enter in a public arena to assert them and demand accountability of the process.

The unequal power relations, if ignored, may not only undermine the very possibility of equitable consensual decision-making, but may also restrict the possibility of ‘thinking outside the box’ (Cornwall, 2002b, p.13). Crawford and Jones (1995) observe that differential power relations remain unaddressed and unchallenged and promote conflict among the interest groups in the process. Therefore, certain agencies or groups tend to dominate and the disadvantaged groups are likely to be excluded either from participation in the conversations or their input is seen as irrelevant (Crawford, 1998). However, mutual recognition of differences and the acknowledgement of the importance and limitations of different contributions by the participating groups are fundamental for effective and sustainable partnerships (Crawford & Jones, 1995).

In a police-community partnership, relations of power exist at a deep structural level (Blagg, Pearson, Sampson, Smith, & Stubbs, 1988). Myhill (2006) argue that power relations are neither evenly nor randomly distributed. The police are organisationally positioned to take a leading role for crime prevention. In terms of knowledge, expertise and capacity they are in the favourable structural position and are able to deploy resources very rapidly. On the contrary, the community is relatively less powerful with insufficient crime fighting knowledge, skill and capacity. This usually gives the police a lead position in crime prevention initiatives (Myhill, 2006; Wong, 2008). However, citizen input is important in a community-police partnership. This is because people, who live and work in an area, can better identify the problems (Department for International Development [DFID], 2000). Nevertheless, police officers may be resistant to a participatory crime prevention approach in the apprehension that control over the process and decision-making will be shifted elsewhere (Chakraborty, 2003). Hence, establishing a police-community partnership based on mutual understanding is crucial as well as difficult. Power dynamics may impact and define the process of community participation in community policing practice.

Theoretical interpretation of the participation process

Participation has been theoretically conceptualised in different ways. Planning theories are the most common ones that help understand participation practices in general as they articulate potential roles the participants play in the decision-making process in public policies, including policing. Friedmann (1987) suggests that planning theories focus on the capacity of the state and its members to interact in the process.

Sager (1993) has classified planning theories on the basis of *rationality* and referred to the possible role of participating groups. On the basis of Sager's classification there are three models: rational planning, communicative rationality and substantive paradigm. Out of them *rational planning* is widely used in the public sphere. The model was developed by Banfield (1959) for planning in capitalist democracy and became a guide to problem solving in the public sphere. It includes only two actors: the planner and the politician. The latter defines the general goals, while the planner or bureaucrat converts those goals into a hierarchical matrix and explores all possible alternative actions for the political decision-making process. Planning remains a purely scientific-technical process without any interference from outside. There is no room for any kind of participation of community members.

The second planning model – *communicative rationality* – has different conceptions. This rationality is based on human communication and dialogue between planners and the people affected by planning (Kinyashi, 2006). The people bring different views of problems and solutions to the planning process. Planning is carried out decentrally. In an open atmosphere, the expertise of the planner and the knowledge of the population are combined into shared measures. Information sharing and consultation – two important and very common stages of participation – are exercised in the planning process. So, these theories consider planning as a partnership exercise that gives legitimacy to the process. Planning in this classification is considered less a scientific-technical activity than in the comprehensive rational planning model. Thus, planning is more a subjective endeavour than an objective process. However, this classification seems to promote functional and interactive participation.

The *substantive paradigm*, the last model of planning theories, aims at the emancipation of oppressed social groups. It refers to a new planning approach that supports and empowers oppressed groups to go through an action-oriented political process. In this process, formerly dependent social groups are directed to the alternative dimension of self-reliant development (Luckenkotter, 1999). It is the task of the planners to make these groups politically sensitive and to mobilise them for collective action. In this way, barriers of political apathy, lack of knowledge and lack of skills should be overcome to bring a radical change of the societal status quo (Kinyashi, 2006).

In addition to planning theories, regime theory also offers a theoretical explanation to conceptualise participation. This theory emerged in the United States and was applied to the United Kingdom context through a series of trans-Atlantic studies by academics (Harding, 1994; Smith & Beazley, 2000). The theory holds that in certain places, community leadership has a certain framework, or regime, for examining issues. The state acts as a co-ordinator (Stone, 1993) and blends its "capacity and resources with those of other actors" (Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002, p.39). If planners want to influence decisions, they will have to make arguments in a manner that the local actor(s) will understand and be responsive to (Lauria, 1997). Thus, regime theory explains an optimistic perspective that refers to "the condition under which … effective long-term coalitions emerge in order to accomplish public purpose" (Stoker, 1995, p.55).

The theories discussed indicate differing scopes of community participation, particularly in decision-making at different situations. The planning theories articulate how the state facilitates the gradual increase of the community role ranging from non-participation to community control over the planning process. The regime theory

tends to define a framework of the participating actors' role to establish a partnership. These theories also suggest that power relations among the actors are pivotal to the process of participation. The theories, however, provide an insight into the participation process that may help understanding how this process may occur in any public policy including policing.

Typologies of participation

The previous section has articulated different theoretical perspectives on the nature of the community role that may be played in a specific context. The theories suggest that the role of state agencies is critical to determine the scope of community participation. However, capability and willingness of the individuals are also determinant factors of the level of participation (Rogers & Robinson, 2004). Dulani (2003), Myhill, (2006) and Wilcox (1994) highlight that participation can take place at several different levels and forms as different people have different interests.

For instance, one of the first 'typologies' proposed by Arnstein (1969) is the eight-step 'ladder of participation' (see Figure 2.1). The bottom rungs of the ladder – manipulation and therapy – are non-participative. The aim is to educate the participants for their support. The participants are made to believe that the proposed plan is best. They are placed in "rubber stamp advisory committees" (Arnstein, 1969, p.217), which Luckenkotter termed as "implementive uses of participation" (1999, p.217). This corresponds to instrumental planning theories with the objectives of efficient planning and implementation.

Levels 3, 4 and 5 are degrees of 'tokenism'. 'Informing' is a first step to legitimate participation. But it emphasises a one-way flow of information without feedback. Consultation occurs in the form of attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings and

public enquiries (Wilcox, 1994). Placation is a higher level of tokenism. Citizens are heard, but the planners or the privileged groups still have the right to make decisions. These middle rungs are consultative uses of participation and correspond to communicative planning theories (Luckenkotter, 1999).

Partnership enables citizens to negotiate with the state agencies. Planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared. Arnstein observed that in levels 7 and 8 citizens held the majority on committees for making decision and gaining full managerial power. The upper rungs describe substantive uses of participation that correspond to substantive planning theories (Luckenkotter, 1999; Kinyashi, 2006).

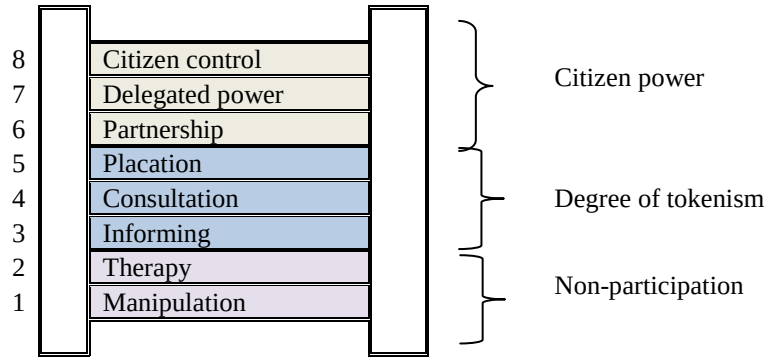


Figure 2.1: Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation

(Source: Arnstein, 1969, p.217)

Arnstein's typology has been criticised for the premise that participation is a 'hierarchy'. The model, as Cooke and Kothari (2001) observe, reveals how participation can be used to manipulate the public. They argue that the state agencies tend to place more people at the bottom to inform that they have undertaken community development activities without letting them know the process. They suggest that citizens at the bottom of the ladder should be facilitated to progress towards the top. They contend, however, that only a few have the skills, willingness and time to participate at the more intensive end.

Consistent with Arnstein's ladder of participation, Pretty's (1995) seven-step participation ladder also represents hierarchical participation and consists of the following levels (listed from a low level up to high level of participation): passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilization. These seven steps of participation continue the movement from minimum to maximum types of participation. In the first four steps of participation, planners control decision-making process and citizens' concerns are not usually taken into consideration. In functional and interactive levels of participation, power is shared between the marginalised and privileged. However, decision-making still tilts to the advantaged. The seventh step of participation provides citizens with control over the entire process (Kinyashi, 2006).

Wilcox's (1994) framework is a more pragmatic model that uses five stances instead of Arnstein's eight rungs and Pretty's seven-step participation ladder. The five stances are located on a continuum and are arranged from less to more control. They are: information, consultation, deciding together, acting together and supporting independent community initiatives. The framework offers increasing degrees of control to stakeholders other than the planner managing the process. Wilcox observes that participants have different interests at different levels. He argues that different levels are appropriate for distinct situations but advises that lower levels of participation have less commitment than others.

Though the typologies use examples from programmes such as rural development, urban renewal, anti-poverty and housing, it can easily be illustrated in different

organisations (e.g. city halls, police departments) and public service initiatives (e.g. education, crime prevention) (Myhill, 2006).

Skogan (2006b) describes four forms of involvement in relation to community policing practices. First, feedback may be sought from citizens about local priorities and police tactics through the use of information-sharing programmes such as neighbourhood meetings or customer satisfaction surveys. Second, citizens may be encouraged to come forward and help the police by reporting crimes. Third, citizens should be encouraged to participate proactively in crime prevention programmes such as neighbourhood watch or citizen crime patrols. In such forms of involvement citizens become proactive 'co-producers of safety'. Finally, the public may be engaged in problem solving and sitting on advisory boards or committees. Skogan's four forms of participation are important in this thesis for understanding the community participation process in the community policing practice in Uttara.

Myhill (2006) suggests that people may not have similar interests for participation. Those who do not have much at stake may not be willing to be involved in a partnership, rather they will be happy to be informed or consulted. Others may want to actively take part in the decision-making process. Participation in any event may work best for all concerned when the interests of all stakeholders are taken into consideration (Chanan, 1999). The literature suggests that planners should take into account community needs and preferences for effective community participation (DuBois & Hartnett, 2002; Khan, 1998; Morgan, 1995). But identifying the specific interests of a particular stakeholder is one of the difficult tasks for the planners (Wilcox, 1994).

Hoque (2014) points out that community needs, interests, capabilities, and the facilitative role of the police are equally important for community participation to occur in community policing practice. He also suggests that these elements serve as the defining factors of the level of participation for those who participate. Furthermore, he observes that different levels of participation may occur at different occasions and by different means, even in the same community policing programme. All these together contribute to the process of participation in a programme, which is a complex phenomenon to implement.

The practice of community participation

Community participation has become increasingly prominent in policing across many countries in recent years. Community policing practised at the neighbourhood level is a citizen-focused initiative. Since the concept of participation emerged in the arena of public policy it has become subject to evaluation and debate in terms of its models, practice and effects. The types of participation in policing that may be practised depend on the agreement between police and the community.

Different methods of community participation are adopted in community policing practice. The most common mechanism of participation is through public meetings. These meetings are a common means for the evaluation of community participation practice. Myhill (2006) observes that information sharing, consultation and decision-making can better take place in public meetings. Other methods of community participation include the opening of local police-community stations, storefronts and information points. Problem-solving is another important avenue for community participation.

Public meetings

Police-community consultative meetings in the United Kingdom and Australia are not always inclusive (Edwards, 1997; Myhill et al., 2003). In most cases, participants feel that they have little say in policing and also their input has little impact on decision-making (Fridell, 2004; Myhill et al., 2003). Similarly, Renauer (2007b, p.66) characterises some of Chicago's beat meetings as 'laundry meetings', as residents inform the police of their problems ('drop off their shirts') and the police assure them of the solutions. In follow-up meetings, residents listen to what the police have done.

However, police-community consultation meetings in some areas of the United Kingdom and the United States appear to be effective (Myhill et al., 2003; Palmiotto, 2011). Community residents raise crime issues in the meetings, and subsequent police action reflects positive response to the community needs. Nevertheless, as the community can do little to influence decision-making, their participation still seems stereotypical and limited to consultation.

Studies from the 1990s in Canada suggested that the Canadian approach to community policing in terms of community engagement was not as progressive as in the United Kingdom and the United States (Murphy, 1993; Skogan, 1994a, 2000). In Canada, community policing was generally police-managed, attendance at meetings was not representative of the whole community and there was scant scope for the community to be involved in policy and decision-making. Murphy (1993) noted that the community was viewed as a source of information. However, since 1997 this conservative approach has been changing. Community policing has now been defined as the choice of policing service delivery (Skogan, 2000). The scope of community participation has been extended beyond just information provision (Skogan, 2000).

Problem-solving

Problem-solving is a key part of community engagement in policing, as it is an interactive process that involves police and the community to identify crime problems and to develop appropriate solutions (Plant & Scott, 2009; Young & Tinsley, 1998). Problems should not be limited to crimes and solutions should not merely involve arrests (Weisheit et al., 1994). It is, therefore, suggested that police and the community should be empowered to adopt problem-solving techniques and to address the conditions that cause incidents (Carroll Buracker and Associates, 2007; Cordner, 1999, 2007).

There exists evidence of consistent support for community participation in problem-solving approaches wherever it has been implemented. Although the value of problem-solving has largely been demonstrated anecdotally (Moore, 2000, 2008), a sustained and rigorous evaluation of it occurred in the Newport police department in the United States (Moore, 2008). The evaluation showed success in relation to four problems – prostitution, robbery, theft and burglary. The number of prostitutes dropped from 29 to 6, robberies declined by 43 per cent, while theft dropped by nearly 50 per cent and burglary by 35 per cent. The evaluation attributed this reduction to police-community cooperation in problem-solving. The evaluation, however, neither considered whether these problems shifted from Newport to somewhere else, nor did it confirm if the underlying social factors could be addressed.

Some of the United Kingdom Home Office funded problem-solving approaches indicate a degree of success in securing community participation (Hamilton-Smith, 2004). Forrest, Myhill and Tilley (2005) suggest that it is possible to successfully secure community participation in problem-solving. However, empirical evaluation of

some problem-solving initiatives demonstrated neither an ability to secure community participation in the long-term nor to sustain widespread problem-solving activity in the agencies (Cordner & Biebel, 2005).

Although community participation in problem-solving is considered necessary, some successful problem-solving initiatives have not involved community participation (Myhill, 2006). Conversely, in evaluating the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), Skogan and Steiner (2004) observed that the problem-solving initiative was less functional than intended, although the 'beat meetings' in each neighbourhood were well attended.

Tuffin, Morris and Poole (2006) argue that community participation adds value in problem-solving where the problems are tightly defined and thoroughly analysed. However, there is growing doubt about the extent to which problem-solving, as prescribed by reformers, has been implemented (Maguire et al., 2015). Skogan and Steiner (2004, p.155) suggest that applying problem-solving tools to solve community issues requires a great deal of training, close supervision, strong analytical capacity and organisation wide commitment.

Community patrol

Community patrol is one of the important components of community policing practice. Community patrol represents community participation in implementation of a crime prevention programme. According to Choi (2013), community patrol is one of the commonly used tools for community engagement. He observes that there may be different features and motives of community participation in patrols. In his comparative study of citizen participation in community safety in the United Kingdom and South Korea, he identifies that in the former context the youths of the

community who participate in community patrol wear regular police gear and are called Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). They participate for money and the prospect of a future career.

Comparatively more recently, citizen patrols emerged in many cities and towns of the United Kingdom in the context of the night-time economy. Bullock (2014) observes these are more organic and have extended functions to welfare and support of vulnerable citizens and would-be victims. In the South Korean case, on the other hand, community members volunteer in community patrols. They volunteer not for any personal gain but for collective interests. However, the community patrollers have, in both the cases, established a partnership with the local police force and act together to prevent crime.

Community patrols are also used in many other places. For example, they are used quite extensively in the Australian Northern Territory in Indigenous communities as both an engagement tool and as a provision of assistance (Beacroft, Richards, Andrevski, & Rosevear, 2012). Likewise, Community patrol has been a visible sign of community participation in community policing practice in Bangladesh. According to Hoque (2014), paid security guards had been employed by market committees to carry out patrol duty around market places, even before community policing was formally introduced in 2005 across the country. Since 2005, the practice has been extended to the neighbourhood level. The Dhaka Metropolitan Police in cooperation with the Community-Police Forums (CPFs) deploy and monitor duties of community patrollers in neighbourhoods (Ahmed, 2009; Hoque, 2014).

Implementation limitations

Although community participation is gaining in prominence, the implementing mechanisms are still limited. In respect of community policing, the most common and well-documented ways of community participation is through public meetings, problem-solving and community patrols. Tuffin et al. (2006) suggest that a variety of engagement methods may be more successful than merely stereotypical tactics like public meetings.

However, evidence from the literature indicates that the quality of community engagement differs from one place to another. For example, community engagement in the United Kingdom principally focuses on strategic dimensions such as community participation in long-term, force-level priorities and key strategic decisions (Edwards, 1997; Myhill et al., 2003; Myhill, 2006). Very little focus is given at the tactical level. In contrast, community engagement in the United States is concentrated on the tactical dimension such as community participation in setting local priorities and problem-solving (Cordner, 2004). However, relating to community participation in problem-solving, there exists a gap between practical realities and what is suggested by theorists (Maguire et al., 2015; Reiner, 2010).

In the context of Bangladesh, both strategic and tactical dimensions have been concentrated in the *Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy* and the *Manual* drafted by the PRP officials and the central police authority. Nonetheless, Razzak (2010) observes the way the local police implement community policing may not reflect exactly what is articulated in the *Strategy* and the *Manual*. Likewise, Hoque (2014) contends that it is important to examine if community participation is implemented as outlined in the Community Policing *Manual* for Bangladesh Police.

Myhill (2006) notes community participation in any public sphere is more rhetoric than reality. The reality is associated with critical issues such as the process, motivation and challenges for participation. There is no fixed format for community participation in public service delivery. All participants may not be motivated by the same factors or as equally motivated by them. Likewise, participants may be in opposition to each other due to different interests. Hence, community participation in practice is problematic as there are many factors to take into account. In order to understand community participation in community policing practice, therefore, requires understanding of the process, motivational factors and challenges.

Motivation for community participation

Research studies have investigated why community individuals tend to participate in community policing programmes. A 2006 research study by Pattavina, Byrne and Garcia investigated motivation for participation and identified some very important individual and community-based factors motivating citizen participation in crime prevention in Boston. In particular, they found that "citizen involvement in high-risk neighbourhoods may be affected most by the unique blend of personal, parochial, and public social control mechanisms operating in these communities" (Pattavina et al., 2006, p.228).

Crime problems generally lead individuals to participation in both personal and collective crime prevention initiative (Carr, 2003; Choi, 2013). Carr (2003), Drury and Leech (2009), Hess and Orthmann (2012), Pattavina et al. (2006), and Sampson and Morenoff (2006) find correlation between the existence of crime and community participation in local crime prevention activities. For example, Carr (2003) notes that residents in high crime areas are more likely to participate than those in low crime

areas. Carr (2003) and, Sampson and Morenoff (2006) also suggest that when people who value safety are in crime prone areas and feel the police are unable to prevent crime on their own alone are more likely to be obligated to participate in community safety programmes.

Conversely, residents living in crime affected areas may not like to co-operate with the police (Lab, 1990; Bennett, 1986). Sampson and Jeglum-Bartusch (1998) suggest that community residents in high crime areas generally do not want to cooperate with the police because of poor relationships. However, it would be a mistake to generalise such an assumption (Pattavina et al., 2006). Pattavina et al. (2006) further argue that some communities affected by crime problems, although having a poor relationship with police, still participate in community safety programmes because they have a strong community attachment.

As with crime, it is inconclusive whether there is a correlation between citizen fear of crime and fear or experiences of victimisation, and community participation in community policing. Scheider, Rowell and Bezdikian (2003) in their study found that experiences of victimisation and a heightened fear of crime led community residents to participate in crime prevention activities. Other researchers such as Lim (2001), Luengas and Ruprah (2008), however, failed to establish a relationship of personal experience of victimisation and fear of crime with community participation in community safety programmes. Pattavina et al. (2006, p.225) note, “neither prior victimization nor fear of crime were found to be related to citizen involvement”.

Public confidence in the police is viewed as a predictive factor of participation in community policing activities. Myhill (2006) suggests that public confidence in the police is associated with the latter’s ability, dedication and sincerity in terms of

ensuring safety in communities. Carr (2003) argues that community residents are more likely to cooperate with police when they think that the latter can do little to prevent crime and anti-social behaviour. Similarly, Hess and Orthmann (2012) in their research find community residents more willing to participate in community patrol with police if they believe that the police cannot provide community protection without community support. Conversely, faith in the police is found to motivate people to participate in community patrol (Kane, 2005; Scheider et al., 2003). Therefore, Pattavina et al. (2006, p.226) concluded, "regardless of neighbourhood risk level, citizen involvement was not related to resident's perceptions that the police can prevent crime".

Relationships between citizens and the police are another determinant factor of community participation in community policing programmes. Skogan (1989) argues that citizen involvement in policing is positively related to trust and relationship with the police. Pattavina et al. (2006, p.227), who have suggested building up community safety through partnership between police and community, drew the following major conclusion from their study of community participation in policing:

> Involvement in crime prevention activities has less to do with the public's perception of the effectiveness of this public social control mechanism and more to do with the development of personal relationships between the police and the residents in these areas.

However, empirical studies have found mixed results. According to Kane (2005) and Sherman (2002), a poor relationship with and a lack of trust in the police lead to lower levels of community participation in policing. For instance, a low socio-economic, minority community is likely to have a poor relationship with the police due to the latter's unfair behaviour towards them (Carter, 1985; Jefferson & Walker, 1993). In

contrast, Wehrman and Angelis (2011) found there was a relationship between race and willingness to work with the police in a community crime prevention initiative in Seattle in the United States. They found that minority ethnic groups were more willing than the larger and dominant groups to work with the police to help reduce crime. However, the study did not focus on the ability and opportunity for such groups to participate.

There are other factors such as attachment to community and personal gain that have been identified in some studies that also influence community participation in neighbourhood safety initiatives. Some British participants who were surveyed saw their role as Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) as an opportunity to enhance prospects of becoming full-time regular police officers. They also stated that if the benefits that they were receiving in terms of salary and career prospects were withdrawn, they might not continue their involvement in residential patrol (Cooper, Anscombe, Avenell, McLean & Morris, 2006; Johnston, 2005; Johnston, Donaldson & Jones, 2004). Ren, Zhao, Lovrich and Gaffney (2006) concluded from their study that an attachment to community drives residents' participation in community crime prevention. Consistently, Pattavina et al. (2006, p.224) note, "those who feel like they are part of the neighbourhood are significantly more likely to be involved in collective crime prevention".

The multiplicity of factors, such as crime, community attachment, relationships with police and personal interests, that account for motivating community participation were not all evident in any single study or area. In other words, different factors are identified in studies of different community policing programmes. Myhill (2006) suggests that a particular factor motivating an individual or a group of individuals

may not influence others, as different people have different interests. Moreover, different people may be interested in different community policing programmes.

Determinant factors of community participation in crime prevention identified in previous studies highlights a need for further research, particularly in the context of this study area where no such in-depth study has been conducted so far.

Barriers to community participation in policing

There are factors highlighted in the literature with regard to the poor implementation of community participation in policing. The National Community Forum in the United Kingdom has recognised inconsistency in the definition, interpretation and implementation of 'community participation' as one of the most significant barriers to the achievement of empowered communities and improved public services (Morris, 2005). The literature suggests that numerous factors – such as lack of trust in police, varying capacities of communities and reliance on traditional methods of engagement – lead to a narrow scope of community participation in policing (Mayhill, 2006).

Some commentators do not acknowledge the necessity of representation. For instance, Thatcher (2001) argues that representation may not always be essential if the police provide those who choose to participate with information of sufficient quality for them to make informed choices that benefit all elements of the community.

Some commentators, however, question the motives of community policing and warn about conflict and disparity within communities and neighbourhoods where there is direct community participation. Bobov (1999), for instance, argues that police will generally seek to engage with sections of society with which they are comfortable and that preserve both their interests and the traditional 'status quo'.

The community policing theories demand a more equal power relationship; community should be seen as ‘co-producers’ and the police should ‘empower’ residents to take control of their own neighbourhoods (Fridell, 2004). Herbert (2001), however, claims that police are reluctant to share power with communities, as they seek to maintain a more traditional power relationship. Skogan et al. (1999, cited in Myhill, 2006, p.30) characterise police culture as “notoriously resilient and resistant to change”. Evidence suggests that the police in countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, where the concept of community policing is being strongly advocated, may take time to embrace an engagement philosophy.

However, Long et al. (2002) support both the arguments that police do not empower citizens enough and that citizens are not interested in participating in policing. It is probable that some citizens will never wish to actively participate in policing, for a variety of reasons. Mutual distrust between the police and communities is one of the barriers to community participation. This proposition is supported by both empirical evidence (Myhill et al., 2003; Skogan, 2000) and theoretical suggestion (Bennett-Sandler, 1979; Myhill, 2006). Effective police-community partnership requires the police to value the input of the public. Sagar (2005) claims the willingness of the police to share information helps citizen participants feel valued in relation to the partnership. She further suggests that one-way information leads community participants to be disappointed. They may also become disillusioned when the police fail to act on information provided to them. Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) have recognised ‘fear of retaliation’ as a key reason for public apathy towards participation in policing.

Sagar (2005) found that as minority groups tend not to participate in heterogeneous societies, active participation would be difficult to implement in a heterogeneous area. There is also a similar theory that community engagement is more likely to succeed in areas where there are existing community organisations and networks (Sampson, 1995, 2004). This proposition is supported by DuBois and Hartnett (2002), who conclude that effective participation depends on an organised community and that trying to involve random people off the street is not effective.

Myhill (2006) proposed that the police should enable and facilitate communities to participate in the process. It is also noteworthy that engagement is not something to be done *to* communities; they must participate in choosing and planning approaches. Therefore, Ramsay (2002) suggests that training is necessary for both communities and the police to enhance their capacity for effective community participation.

Mayhill et al. (2003) cite a number of barriers in assessing the role of police authorities in engaging communities in England and Wales such as a reluctance of professional agencies associated with crime prevention to participate; local political differences; the desire of individuals to retain leadership and get credit; an unwillingness to share information; and an over-reliance on informal contacts which may lapse if key individuals move on.

Finally, challenges for community participation in policing are related to social and cultural factors in multicultural societies. As with the issue of motivation, these challenging factors have also not been identified in a single study. Therefore, there is a need for further research to this end.

Conclusion and setting research questions

The chapter has highlighted that community participation is a critical aspect of community policing. Contemporary theoretical perspectives on community participation have been discussed in relation to public policy, in general, and community participation practice, in particular, in order to set the research questions for this study.

As with community policing, implementation of community participation is also problematic and difficult. It is because the concept of community is disputed resulting in the ongoing debate around participation that includes: (i) who participates, (ii) how do they participate, (iii) why do they participate, and (iv) what is involved in participation? Answers to these questions help understand the implementation of community participation in any social phenomenon. It is also very important for the participation facilitators to understand in order to accurately identify the relevant participants who need to be engaged. Another important issue, which is central to community participation, is the power relationship between the privileged and less privileged. The issue of power relationships is a key one that determines the process and extent of participation of the stakeholders.

There exists, however, anecdotal and empirical evidence of community participation that demonstrates the reality of this critical aspect in community policing practice. The review of literature suggests there exists a gap between rhetoric and reality with respect to community participation practice. The literature also posits that there is no single or fixed format for community participation that can be followed in any public sphere.

Moreover, various social, political and economic factors emerge in the process of implementation that may simultaneously motivate and demotivate the partners to participate. Hence, process, motivation and challenges appear as the three critical issues in relation to community participation. There is lack of empirical studies that focus collectively on these three critical aspects in order to understand the implementation of community participation in community policing practice by a particular police agency. Therefore, this study has set three research questions: (1) how does the community participate in community policing; (2) why does the community participate; and (3) what are the challenges for the community to participate in community policing practice in the Uttara Division of the DMP, Bangladesh.

A qualitative approach has been adopted to seek answers to these research questions. Chapter Three details the methodological approach of this study. It will highlight the justification of employing a qualitative case study approach, and outline data collection techniques and thematic analysis of data relating to community participation in community policing practice in the Uttara Division.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The chapter provides an overview of the methodology used for the study. It begins with an exploration of the methodological approaches that have been used in social science research. The methodological approaches begin by defining the research paradigm, along with the ontological and epistemological foundations that justify the adoption of a specific research approach. The selection of the qualitative methodology for this study is justified in this chapter. The justification of a case study approach and institutional ethnography adopted under the qualitative methodology is then articulated. The chapter also provides a detailed description of the data collection methods and procedures including the process of data preparation and analysis. The selection of samples and research sites, research data validity and reliability, and the ethical issues involved are also discussed.

Methodological approaches – different ways are possible

It is essential that social science researchers take into account different ways of knowing and how these relate to the specific research problem being studied (Moses & Knutsen, 2007). A research question can, in almost all cases, be answered by more than one method (Robson, 1993). Hence, the justification of methodology is closely linked to the school of thought one aligns with (D'Cruz & Jones, 2004). An individual enters the research process from inside an interpretive community that incorporates its own historical research traditions into a distinct point of view (Denzin & Ryan, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Formal philosophy informs different ways of knowing (D'Cruz & Jones, 2004). Crotty (1998) observes that underpinning the methodology is the philosophical stance relating to the purpose of research. It determines the criteria for research (Dash, 2005). The philosophical stance or theoretical perspective provides a framework or research paradigm that determines the way knowledge is studied and interpreted (D'Cruz & Jones, 2004; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). According to Weaver and Olson (2006), "paradigms are patterns of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline by providing lenses, frames and processes through which investigation is accomplished" (p.460). In social science research, paradigms represent different frameworks and concepts that reflect different points of view for knowing (Babbie, 2008; D'Cruz & Jones, 2004). They are selected because they resonate with the researcher's philosophical stance (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009).

Gough (2000) observes that research paradigms are informed by ontology and epistemology. As such it is important to clarify the ontology and epistemology of this particular study of community participation in community policing practice and to reflect upon and justify the chosen approach vis-à-vis competing philosophies, theories and analytical traditions (see Morgan & Smircich, 1980). The following sections discuss the subjectivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology that underpin this research project, and provides justification for the use of a qualitative approach.

Ontological perspectives

Ontology portrays the views of an individual regarding the nature of reality (Tolk, 2012). Ontological questions are usually related to matters of real existence and action such as "how things really are" and "how things really work" (Denzin & Lincoln,

1998, p.201). This is defined by Aristotle (n.d., as cited in Gan & Gao, 2007), as "the science or study of being"(p.16). It refers to beliefs about the nature of the social world (Snape & Spencer, 2004, p.1). For example, ontology focuses on questions such as whether or not the world of social phenomena is real and if social reality exists independently of human conceptions (Corbetta, 2003, p.12; Snape & Spencer, 2004, p.11), "whether there is a single shared social reality or multiple context-specific realities" (Snape & Spencer, 2004, p.11) and "whether or not social behaviour is governed by immutable or generalisable laws" (Snape & Spencer, 2004, p.11).

Community policing is a social phenomenon. Community participation in this approach is a social practice, which is carried out and experienced by the people concerned. Therefore, those who are associated with and experience this phenomenon are better able to explain it. In the case of the three key factors of process, motivation and challenges discussed in the previous chapter, it is the experiences of those concerned (community members, police and the CPF members) that can provide insight into community participation in community policing practice in Uttara.

As regards this study on community participation, the ontological position is that reality is not independent from the interpretation given to it by the subject; reality is context-specific and, therefore, there are no generalisable laws governing social behaviour to be identified. In this particular study, the critical examination of community participation is based on the opinions of different groups of people associated with the community policing practice in Uttara. In this context, the subjectivist ontology appears to be the most philosophically appropriate.

Epistemological perspectives

Epistemology is particularly concerned with the comprehension of the nature of knowledge, its acquisition and scope (Creswell, 2013). Epistemology is a "theory of knowledge" (Everitt, Hardiker, Littlewood, & Mullender, 1992, p.16) and is concerned with ways of knowing about the social world, in this particular instance, of community participation in community policing practice. It regards the knowability of social reality (Corbetta, 2003) and focuses on questions such as "how can we know about reality and what is the basis of our knowledge?" (Snape & Spencer, 2004, p.13). Epistemology encompasses various philosophies in research approaches that explain the nature of reality and the relationship between the individual (the knower) and that reality (the known) in different ways.

The two major epistemological philosophies in the Western tradition of science are positivism and interpretivism (Galliers, 1991; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Hatch, 2002). They lie at opposite ends of the epistemological spectrum (Adler, 1997; Holden & Lynch, 2004). Positivism assumes that the reality exists independent of the individual, proposing that such reality is objective and can be described, measured and tested scientifically by hypotheses (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In positivist methodology the researcher is seen as detached from values and other potential biasing factors when studying 'the reality' (Guba, 1990). In the context of this particular research, positivism might perhaps suggest the existence of a particular model of community participation, irrespective of the individual community people. Accordingly, positivism might assume there to be one best way to implement community participation in relation to community policing practice. This assumption is opposed by the findings of the literature review in Chapter Two. In this context, positivists

would typically be less concerned about community participation in community policing practice in a given community.

On the contrary, interpretivism assumes that ‘reality’ is all interpretation and knowledge cannot be built independently from an individual (Snape & Spencer,2004). Knowledge is a relative reality and it is understood as the ways in which human beings see and shape the world from inside themselves (Snape & Spencer, 2004). Under interpretivism, the aspects of community participation such as the process, motivation and challenges of community participation might only be understood and explained from each individual’s insight. The basic premises of interpretivism on which this investigation has been based are that: (a) there are many versions of reality, and because of being the products of human intellects they may conflict with one another (Guba & Lincoln, 2005); (b) all such differing views of reality are to be considered fully or partially valid, as such they need to be analysed and assessed (Guba, 1990; Miller & Fox, 2001); (c) realities are relative and depend on subjective personal views (Adler, 1997); and (d) many of the judgements, concepts and meanings held by individuals are context-based in terms of particular events at particular places (Baghramian, 2004). In view of these propositions, interpretivism is considered to be the most appropriate epistemology for this particular study, as it pays attention to the various understandings that different individuals have. In this study, people mainly interpret how and why they participate and what challenges they face in community policing practice, while police and CPF members explain how they facilitate community participation.

Selection of research methods

The said epistemologies are associated with the two broad types of research methods – quantitative and qualitative. Silverman (2000) observes that no one method is better than the other. However, the choice of any method is driven by the study aims. As the nature of this study was to seek data about the perceptions and experiences of the participants, it indicated that an in-depth and thorough investigation of the phenomena was required. For the purposes of this research the qualitative method was determined as the best option. To justify the selection of this specific research method, it is essential to make a comparative analysis in terms of merits and utilities of the approaches in relation to the aims of this study.

Qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. It aims to help us understand the world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It is typically multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret these things in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In contrast, quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, rather than processes (Denzin & Ryan, 2007). Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005) describe differences between these two research methods in terms of analytical objectives. While qualitative research seeks to explain phenomena, describe variation and individuals' experiences, quantitative research seeks to confirm or disapprove hypothesis about phenomena, quantify variation and describe characteristics of populations.

Qualitative research employs non-statistical forms of inquiry, techniques and processes to gather data on the research subject (McNabb, 2004). It seeks to find meaning, understand feeling and to describe the situation. Comparatively, quantitative research is an empirical study that employs the language of numbers, the syntax of mathematical operations and represents data in numerical values (Abbas, 2006; Punch, 2004). Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathambi (2006) explain why numerical (quantitative) measurement is not appropriate for qualitative inquiry. They argue that things are measured and weighed in the study of substance or structure. But views and experience cannot be quantified. Structures involve quantities and interpretations involve qualities.

This study aimed to critically examine community participation in community policing practice in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. In order to examine this, the study particularly focused on (1) how community members participated; (2) why they participated; and (3) what challenges they faced in participating in community policing practice. The study sought participants' views, experiences and knowledge about these aspects of community participation. As community participation is a social reality, with material effects, it must be interpreted through the perspectives and experiences of individuals (Robson, 2002). This can be achieved through talking to participants by means of formal or informal interviews, through observations of their ordinary activities and quick exchanges (Wu & Volker, 2009). Hence, the objective and the research questions of this study necessitated the use of qualitative methods. Quantitative data is not useful for this study because inquiries such as *how and why people participate,* and *what challenges they face in participation* cannot be interpreted from numerical values (Punch, 2004).

Apart from the epistemological advantages and research objectives that I have discussed as the justification for using a qualitative approach, the literature also revealed a gap in the research on community policing. Most empirical studies are quantitative focusing mainly on issues such as the impact on crime and fear of crime, citizen participation in community safety and the implementation of community policing (see for example, Ahmed, 2013; Arslan, 2010; Braga, 2008b; Braga, Pierce, McDevitt, Bond, & Cronin, 2008; Brown & Wycoff, 1987; Bryant, 2007; Carr, 2003; Choi, 2013; Clarke, 1997; Cordner, 2004, 2010; Corsaro, Brunson, & McGarrell, 2009; Ahmed, 2009; Maguire et al., 2015; Sozer, 2008; Thorne, 2003). By contrast it is rare to find a qualitative study on community participation in community policing that focuses on its practice in a particular police area. The study inquiries require textual information to interpret the answers. Hence, the qualitative method is considered the most appropriate for this study.

Case study and institutional ethnography

Qualitative research is an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that include ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case studies (Merriam, 1998, p.5). Of these, a case study method is widely used in many social science studies, especially in those requiring in-depth explanations of social phenomena. A case study method, in most cases, selects a small geographic area or a very limited number of individuals to explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships (Zainal, 2007).

The starting point for this study was a literature review to gain an extensive understanding of the phenomenon. The theoretical perspective highlighted the need to

gain empirical data through a holistic, thorough description and analysis of the social phenomenon in a specific societal unit (Koul, 2005; Acharya, Prakash, Saxena, & Nigam, 2013). A case study method was therefore chosen as the most suitable for this project.

According to Best and Kahn (2014), in case study research the researcher can go as close to the subjects of interest as possible for data collection to gain insights and understandings and a real description of the phenomena and context. Merriam (1998) conceptualises case study as a process, which tends to describe and analyse some objects or entities in a qualitative manner, utilising complex and comprehensive methods over a period of time. A case study is regarded as among the most popular ways of carrying out qualitative research, although it is not exclusively qualitative (Johansson, 2003), and can be qualitative, quantitative or mixed (Ridder, 2017). This study adopted a qualitative standpoint as justified in the previous section.

A common criticism of case study research is that the findings cannot be generalised. Cronin (2014) posits that the generalisation of a case study is dependent on the extent of similarity between the case and others of its kind. This study considers cases from four police stations of the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Uttara is one of the eight crime divisions of the Dhaka metropolis, and community policing is being practised under the same police command (i.e. the Deputy Police Commissioner of Uttara). As such, any issue found in relation to community policing practice in the study area can be generalised if a similar thing is also found happening in other areas of the metropolis.

In addition to the case study methodology, institutional ethnography is also used for this study. Institutional ethnography explores the social relations specifically by

looking at the ways that people interact with one another in the context of social institutions and understanding how those interactions are institutionalised (Smith, 2005). I conducted an institutional ethnography of policing in the Uttara area through triangulation of data sources such as documents, interviews and observations. In particular, I attended police-public meetings to observe and further explore how police and community people interacted in information sharing, consultation and decision-making processes. Despite the similarity of community policing practice, the four police areas have distinct characteristics that are discussed in the next section.

Selection of research sites

Two vital issues acted as driving factors for selecting the Dhaka Metropolitan Police for this study. One is demography and the other is the importance of the DMP as one of the vital police units in terms of the level and the nature of crime. The capital Dhaka is the fastest growing megacity in the world with a population of over 14 million (UN-Habitat, 2008, 2009). It is estimated that density exceeds 18,000 persons per square kilometre within Dhaka's municipal boundary, as against approximately 1200 persons per square kilometre in the rest of the country (BBS, 2011; UN-Habitat, 2008, 2009). Dhaka city includes over 40 per cent of the total national urban population, while the remaining 60 per cent is distributed among 19 urban regions (BBS, 2004, 2011; Jahan & Maniruzzaman, 2007). This large demographic concentration in Dhaka city is not only a result of economic and technological development but also as a consequence of changes in the system of law and public administration that has led to the emergence of a professional middle class (Rashid, 2002). Moreover, rapid population growth in Dhaka city has been fuelled by migration from rural areas by people seeking escape from poor socio-economic conditions and natural disaster (Ahmed, 2009, 2010).

The demographic profile of Dhaka city poses a number of urban problems, of which crime and issues of law and order seems to be the most prominent (Ahmed, 2010). Different types of crime and anti-social behaviour are prevalent in the city. Various reports indicate that the nature of crime is different in Dhaka from other parts of Bangladesh – insidious, persistent and on the increase (Ali, 2006; Hakim & Tanaka, 2007; Khan, 2009). With these facts in view, both the government and the police have tended to focus more on the prevention of crime and improving law and order in Dhaka than in other parts of Bangladesh.

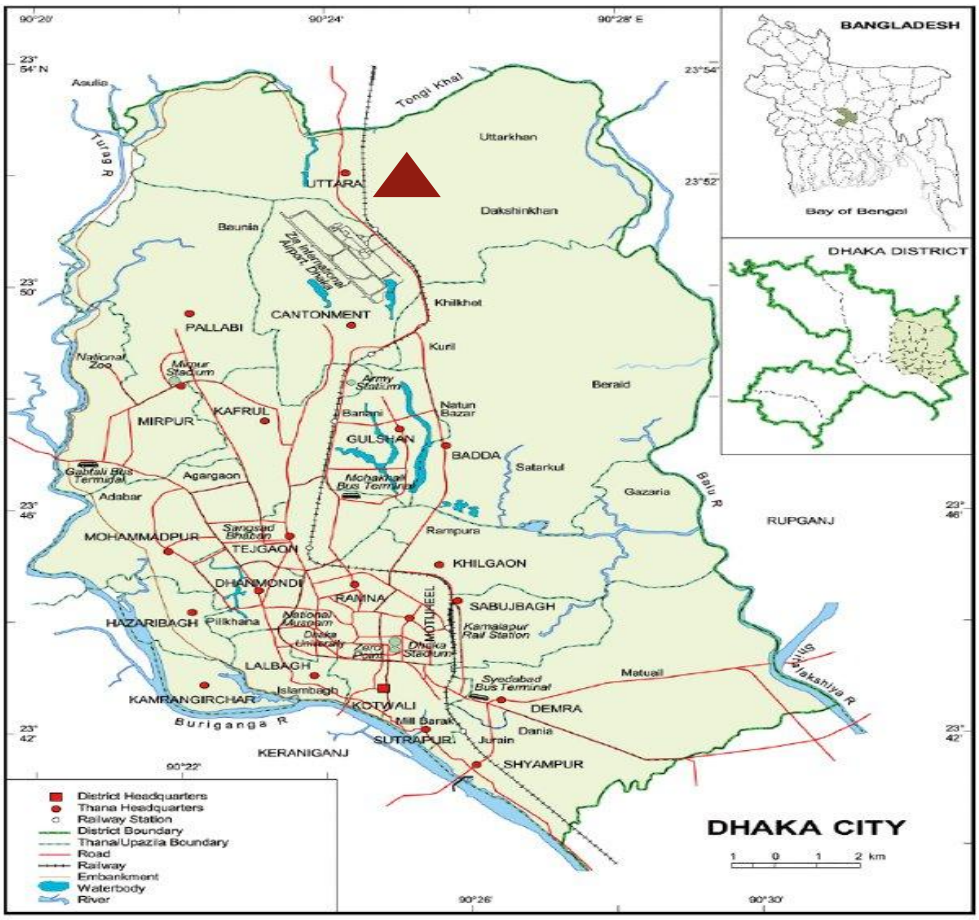
Dhaka city dwellers are also greatly concerned with crime (Ali, 2006; Khan, 2009). Evidence suggests that during the 1990s people of different local communities in Dhaka undertook initiatives to ensure their own community's safety and security (Ali, 2006). To this end, different local communities in the city formed Town Defence Parties (TDP) to patrol their neighbourhoods, which is an example of the initial community policing initiative in the country (Ali, 2006). In this sense, Dhaka Metropolitan city dwellers have comparatively long experience of preventive and participatory policing practice. Therefore, Dhaka Metropolitan city was selected for this study. Justification for this selection was also supported by the Deputy Inspector General of Police (crime prevention) of the Police Headquarters, Dhaka, who is responsible for the implementation of community policing across the country.

The Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is one of the single largest units of the Bangladesh Police force. There are some thirty-five thousand police personnel, accounting for approximately 20 per cent of the total force of the Bangladesh Police, who are attached to this unit. The police-people ratio in Dhaka is 1:500 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2015). For better management of crime and operations, the DMP

is divided into eight divisions. Each division comprises several (generally 4 or 5) police stations. For this research project, four adjacent police stations of the Uttara Division were selected as in-depth case studies for the following reasons.

The choice of this division is based on diversity in local communities; namely, urban, sub-urban and semi-rural. Geographically, Uttara[5] lies along the northern part of the Dhaka municipality area. During the 1980s, Uttara was built as a planned square grid residential suburb called 'Uttara Model Town'. In recent years, with the increasing influx of people moving in to the city, Uttara has evolved into a bustling town. Before 2005, there was only one police station named Uttara Police Station for policing in the Uttara area. In 2005, the police station area was divided into six police stations; namely, Uttara East, Uttara West, Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan, Turag and Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport (see Map 3.1).

[5]The name *Uttara* is derived from the Bangla word *Ut'tar* meaning 'North'.



Map 3.1: Dhaka city map indicating Uttara division

(Source: Ahmed, 2013, p.8)

With the absence of neighbourhoods there is no community policing practice in Uttara East and the Airport police stations. The Airport police station is mainly meant for policing in the airport area of Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport, Dhaka, while most of the jurisdiction of Uttara East police station is covered by the Uttara railway station, Armed Police Battalion, Rapid Action Battalion and some other government and non-government establishments. The remaining adjacent four police stations – Uttara West, Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag – comprise diverse communities. Uttara West police station area is characterised by a bustling urban community. The other three police station areas have both sub-urban and semi-rural communities. It is

this combination of policing areas that make the Uttara Division unique in the context of the DMP.

It is one of the most significant crime division areas in respect of crime statistics and crime trends, in the diversity of people who live there, its geographic features, and the fact that it is the location of many businesses, administrative and educational establishments and social organisations (Ahmed, 2002; Ahmed, Hossain, Khan, Islam, & Kamruzzaman, 2011; Bangladesh Police Crime Statistics, 2015; Dhaka Metropolitan Police, 2012). This is also significant because it provided access and support for the project.

Sampling technique

Qualitative research mainly involves gathering data from individuals in a manner that may be viewed in some ways as fairly unstructured (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). Although the findings of the research may provide clues to the thoughts of other members of the targeted population, the sample used for qualitative inquiry is often considered too small to generalise findings (Porta & Keating, 2008). The findings from qualitative research can be employed in providing the researcher with added insight into the trend already existing (Yin, 2014). Lucas (2014) opines that the strategy of sampling is more intellectual compared to simple stratification of demography as practised in epidemiological studies.

Marshall (1996) suggests that three methods are widely used in determining samples for qualitative data collection. These are convenience sampling, judgment or purposive sampling and theoretical sampling methods. The theoretical sampling method assists in constructing interpretive theories from the data that stem from the literature. This sampling method enables the formation of a new sample to investigate

and explain the theory (Marshall, 1996; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). For the purpose of this study the theoretical sampling does not suit. On the other hand, the main objective of a judgment or purposive sample is to produce a sample that can be logically assumed to be representative of the population. This is often accomplished by applying expert knowledge of the population to select in a non-random manner a sample of elements that represents a cross-section of the population. The purposive sampling is to identify and select the information-rich cases that are not only proficient and well informed with a phenomenon of interest, but also have the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). In terms of this study, as the participants were not expected to provide well-informed and expert opinions in an articulate manner, purposive sampling was deemed not suitable. Rather, unstructured data reflecting the actuality of community participation practice was expected to be obtained.

The convenience sample is a type of non-probability sampling method where the sample is taken from a group of people easy to contact or to reach. This type of sampling is also known as availability sampling. Availability and willingness to participate in the research are the main criteria to this sampling method (Etikan et al., 2016). Convenience sampling is not sometimes recommended for research due to the possibility of sampling error and lack of representation of population. However, this method is extremely speedy, easy, readily available and cost effective, causing it to be an attractive option to most researchers (Lisa, 2008). In some situations, convenience sampling is the only possible option; particularly when the samples are directly concerned with the matter under investigation. In this study, police, CPF members and community residents are associated with community policing practice in Uttara.

In addition to these three sampling methods, self-selection is another type of non-probability sampling technique used in qualitative research. According to Colman (2008), this is also a type of convenience sampling wherein the participants volunteer to participate. Etikan et al. (2016) consider that when the subjects are assumed to decline participation, self-selection sampling may be adopted. In this study, because of the researcher's position as a police officer, the possibility of refusal by the targeted groups (i.e. police, CPF and community members) needed to be taken into account. Consequently, convenience sampling supplemented with self-selection technique were chosen as the most appropriate methods for this study.

Selection and recruitment of participants

Yin (2014) suggests that the selection of participants is one of the key processes requiring attention by a researcher. In qualitative enquiries the number of respondents is necessarily small (Bauer & Gaskell, 2003). In community policing practice, two groups of people – police personnel and local community members – are the usual actors. In the context of Bangladesh, community-police forum members are also important actors as they facilitate and promote police-community cooperation. As such, three groups of people – community members, police personnel and members of community-police forum/committee – were targeted as participants in this study. For the purpose of this study, police participants consisted of those front-line police personnel involved in implementing community policing, some senior police officers, and Police Reform Programme (PRP) officials who were involved in formulating and monitoring the implementation of strategic plans and policies of this approach.

Research participants must consent to be interviewed and interviewing requires that researchers establish access to, and make contact with, potential participants who they probably have never met. Participation was self-selective and voluntary so that no

participant felt compulsion and three different approaches were pursued to recruit participants of the three groups.

Community members (Group-1)

To recruit community members (Group-1), an initial advertisement of the research project was made among those who attended the police-community meetings that are usually held once a month in each police station in the DMP. Initially, the researcher contacted the officer-in-charge of each police station by telephone to be aware of the meeting-schedules. Before commencement of the meeting, the project was explained (aims, objectives and justification) to the attendees, with the consent of the meeting chair. Copies of the Consent Form and the Explanatory Statement[6] were then distributed among them. After the meeting, the researcher met with the attendees to provide answer enquiries about the project. The attendees were then invited to participate in the study. Only those who were willing to voluntarily participate were asked to contact the student researcher by telephone or cell phone number for an interview. As about 100 people, who already had an interest or were associated with community policing practice, attended each of the meetings it was assumed that there might be many other potential participants in the wider community. Therefore, advertisements were displayed in several public places associated with different community programmes, clubs, educational institutions and business centres. Thus, efforts were taken to optimise participation of the wider community in this study. However, there were only 13 community residents who were willing to participate in interviews.

[6] These forms had been professionally translated from English into Bangla by FAST TRANSLATION with Licence No. ESR-2196/2004/35.

Police personnel (Group-2)

Recruiting police personnel (Group-2) into the research project required permission from the authorities. To this end, the Deputy Police Commissioner of the Uttara Division was first contacted by both telephone and e-mail to inform him of the research project, followed by a formal request letter. Once formal permission was granted, police personnel working under his command were contacted. To ensure voluntary participation, none of them was contacted by phone or met face to face. In order to inform police personnel of the project, copies of the Explanatory Statement in Bangla and advertisements/posters were circulated on the Notice Board of each of the four police stations of the Uttara Division. At the same time, the duty-in-charge officers of each police station were briefed about the research project and also provided with copies of the Explanatory Statement to distribute amongst all their personnel.

Through advertisements police personnel were asked to contact the researcher to participate in the research. Besides police personnel from the Uttara Division, police officers at senior management levels of the DMP, the Crime Management Unit of Police Headquarters and the Police Reform Programme (PRP), who are concerned with the strategy and the management of community policing practice, were also approached. They were first contacted through e-mail or telephone (contact details are publicly available) seeking appointments. Some of them gave appointments for meetings in their offices. During meetings they were briefed about the project and also provided with an Explanatory Statement and requested to contact the researcher if willing to be interviewed.

Community-police forum members (Group-3)

A similar procedure was also followed to recruit participants of Group-3 (community-police forum members). In this case, presidents or conveners of *thana* (police station) level community-police committees/forums were first requested to provide written permission to recruit members of both *thana* and *ward* level committees. The presidents or conveners were initially contacted by telephone or cell phone to explain the project. On request, they informed the researcher of the date and timing of community-police forum/committee meetings that are held almost every month in local community police offices located in all sectors of Uttara West police station, and in almost all wards under Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag police stations. The meetings were usually attended by the community-police committee president, secretary and other members to discuss different local issues. The researcher attended the meetings to explain the research to the committee members and provide them with Explanatory Statements to further understand the project. Moreover, copies of the Explanatory Statement and advertisements were posted on the notice boards of each community police office and provided to community police office bearers to distribute among the members. Thus, information about the project was widely circulated among members of community-police forums.

The participants expressed their willingness for interview mainly by telephone, after they were informed of the project. Although I did endeavour to advertise the project among the targeted groups in equal degree and frequency, I had little control over ensuring there was an equal number of participants across the three groups, as the participants were self-selected, Table 3.1 sets out the number of participants of each group.

Table 3.1: Distribution of participants in groups

No.	Groups	No. of participants	Percentage
1	Group-1 (community members)	13	29%
2	Group-2 (police personnel)	18	40%
3	Group-3 (CPC/CPF members)	14	31%
		Total= 45	100%

Participants of all three groups were from the four police station areas of the Uttara Division, while the six senior police officers at management level were from the offices of the Deputy Police Commissioner (DPC) of the Uttara Division, the Police Commissioner of the DMP, the Police Headquarters and the PRP. Details of the participants from areas of the Uttara Division are outlined in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Distribution of participants in areas/organisations

Area/organisation	Group-1	Group-2	Group-3	Total
Uttara West police station	4	3	4	11
Uttar Khan police station	2	2	3	7
Dakhin Khan police station	4	3	4	11
Turag police station	3	3	3	9
Office of the DPC, Uttara	-	4	-	4
Office of the Commissioner, DMP	-	2	-	2
Police Headquarters (a PRP official)	-	1	-	1
Total	13	18	14	45

Female participation in this study was very low, although attempts were taken to recruit more female residents by making advertisement in places such as ladies clubs, shopping malls and beauty shops. Table 3.3 sets out the number and percentage of female participants in each group.

Table 3.3: Gender distribution of participants

Groups	No. of male participants	No. of female participants	Total participants	Percentage of female participants
Group-1	11	2	13	15.38%
Group-2	18	0	18	0%
Group-3	13	1	14	7.12%
Total	**42**	**3**	**45**	**6.7%**

The participants of the three groups seemed well-informed of the community policing practice in Uttara. Hence, the triangulation of responses provided insights into community participation in relation to the research questions.

Data collection techniques

It is worth reiterating that the aim of this study is to investigate three aspects of community participation (the process, motivation and challenges) in the Uttara community policing practice. Although a number of methods for data collection can be employed in social research, this investigation depended on the following qualitative techniques: (i) Semi-structured in-depth interviews; (ii) Observation of formal police-community meetings; and (iii) Content analysis of documents. In each case study site these methods of data collection were employed.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Interviewing as a qualitative investigating technique

Interviewing, as a method of interpretive inquiry, is consistent with people's ability to make meaning through language. Interviews are conducted to learn other people's stories, as stories are a way of knowing. An interview is also a kind of conversation, a conversation with a purpose (Robson, 1993). Interviewing involves asking people questions, but it is equally about listening carefully to the answers (David & Sutton, 2004). Interviews are, by their very nature, social encounters where speakers

collaborate in producing retrospective (and prospective) accounts or versions of their past (or future) actions, experiences, feelings and thoughts (Rapley, 2007). What kind of conversation is an interview then? According to Cannel and Kahn (1968, cited in Cohen & Manion, 1989, p.307), it is "initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by the same on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation".

Although telling stories is common in everyday conversations, the discourse of the interview is jointly constructed by the interviewer and the interviewee and, at the same time, draws attention to the ubiquity of narratives in semi/unstructured interviews (Gee, 1986; Polanyi, 1982, 1985). Data collected through in-depth interviews about individuals' lives, experiences and perceptions and the role of the interviewer in producing the data should be taken seriously (Mishler, 1999). The focus on the quality of interaction between the interviewer and interviewee is central to qualitative in-depth interviewing. Kezar (2003) stresses that the conventional approach to interviewing treat respondents as epistemologically passive and as mere vessels of answers. In contrast, Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue that the aim of an interview should be to stimulate the interviewee's interpretive capacities and the role of the interviewer should be to "activate narrative production" by "indicating – even suggesting – narrative positions, resources, orientations, and precedents"(p.39). The interview, therefore, becomes a site for the production of data for purposes of the research undertaken.

Interview structure

While focusing on the interview structure, it is imperative to briefly explain the types of interviews and their usages in research, which will help understand why a

particular type of interview has been selected. The types of interviews relate to the purpose of research. On the spectrum of interviewing, from the point of view of the interviewer designing the session, interviews vary from semi-structured to heavily structured to completely unstructured (Wengraf, 2001).

Structured or standardised interviews can be used in survey research to gather data, which will then be the subject of quantitative analysis. Semi-structured and in-depth, or non-standardised, interviews are used in qualitative research in order to conduct exploratory discussions to reveal and understand not only the 'what'and the 'how', but also to place more emphasis on exploring the 'why' (Robson, 1993).

The degree of 'structuring' in an interview refers to the degree to which the questions and other interventions made by the interviewer are pre-prepared by the researcher (Wengraf, 2001). In a structured interview a researcher asks a predetermined set of questions, using the same wording and order of questions as specified in the interview schedule. Structured interviews are inflexible and not designed to cope with what is unexpected. Due to the inflexible nature, there remains a possibility of missing the opportunity of discovering important information. Moreover, they can produce fixed responses, which will not allow interviewees to give their own specific views, experiences and perceptions on the subject (Gillham, 2005).

On the other hand, an unstructured interview is useful in situations where either in-depth information is needed or little is known about the area. As it provides in-depth information, many researchers use this technique for developing a structured research instrument. But, since an unstructured interview does not list specific questions to be asked of respondents, the comparability of questions asked and responses obtained may become a problem. The type of information from those interviewed at the

beginning may be markedly different from that obtained from those interviewed towards the end (Kumar, 2005).

Semi-structured interviews are where an interviewer has worked out a set of questions in advance, but are free to modify their order based on their perception of what seems most appropriate in the context of the 'conversation'. The interviewer can change the way they are worded, give explanations, leave out particular questions which seem inappropriate with a particular interviewee or include additional ones (Robson, 1993). The semi-structured interviews work very well in projects where the research deals with those who are aware of the subject, and are also accustomed to the efficient use of their time. The semi-structured interviews also allow flexibility, which helps the interviewees to shape the course of the research. The approach starts with a set number of questions on the theme, but the interviewees' own views and experiences may help create new dimensions of relevant themes. Moreover, it allows both the interviewer and interviewee to follow new leads. It also enables the researcher to be prepared and competent without exercising control over the respondents. Therefore, the interviewees can give thorough and in-depth answers to the questions by expressing their own personal thoughts and feelings, which are important to the research (Bernard, 2000). Besides these flexibilities, semi-structured in-depth interviewing is appropriate for this research as it is focused on gaining insight and understanding of the participation practice (Gillham, 2005; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Semi-structured interviewing also provides high validity, as interviewees are able to talk about the topics in detail and depth. Moreover, it helps build a positive rapport between interviewer and interviewee. Keeping all these points in view, the semi-structured interview method was adopted in this research.

The semi-structured interview questions were designed for the three different groups of interviewees. The structure changed slightly depending on the group of interviewees. The structures of the interviews were designed to allow the interviewees the opportunity to give me as wide a range of appropriate information as possible (Bryman, 2004, 2012). There were fifteen guiding questions to investigate the process, motivation and challenges of community participation in community policing practice in Uttara, DMP. As already stated, a total of 45 participants from 3 groups were interviewed during the field study.

Conducting and recording interviews

After the participants contacted and expressed willingness, a flexible time and date were mutually proposed to conduct the face-to-face interview of approximately 40 to 60 minutes at their preferred venues so that they felt comfortable to express themselves naturally about the relevant issues of the study. On the scheduled date, I arrived at the venue about half an hour prior to meeting in order to arrange the necessary setup of the audio recording. Initially, I introduced myself and exchanged greetings and made informal talks in order to put the interviewee at ease. The interview continued to discuss community policing practice in Uttara, particularly in terms of the process, motivations and challenges for community participation. Throughout the process of interviewing, participants were encouraged to explain their perceptions and experiences in their own words.

As open-ended questions were employed, the interviewees could answer however they wished. They had the freedom to explore new paths that emerged in the course of the interview, which were not initially considered (Doody & Noonan, 2013). Though there was a list of questions, it was explained that they did not have to answer any question they did not wish to.

Each interview was tape-recorded with the interviewee's consent after having explained the reasons for the recording. Tape-recording was useful and important in this research for the reasons that it allowed me to give full attention to the interviewee rather than needing to pause to take notes. For interviews lasting approximately 60 minutes it would be impractical to try to remember the interviewee's responses and make detailed notes at the end of the interview. In particular, if the interview is understood as a site for the production of meanings, alongside the accounts provided by the interviewee, it is important to capture the details of the interaction (as much as possible). Recording interviews enables the interviewer to interact with interviewees and a recorded interview can be replayed a number of times. For this research, a Dictaphone[7] was used to record the interviews.

One aspect of the interviewing process that requires particular attention is the role of interviewer. For this study it was the fact that a senior police officer interviewing lower ranks involves a certain power dynamic in that the former can influence the latter and skew responses. The risk of dominating the interview involves leading the respondent to answer in a particular way that does not necessarily correspond to their true feelings. To address this obstacle, I engaged in what Morris (2009, p.213) refers to as "duplicitous"strategies in order to uncover the real story. As the interviewer, I introduced myself as a Monash graduate researcher rather than as a police officer of the Bangladesh police, and who had no official control over them. In this way, I was able to gain their trust. Besides seeking exact answers to the questions asked, the respondents were also requested to provide their perceptions and experiences about community policing practice. This encouraged the respondents to speak freely, and to

[7]A Dictaphone is a smaller recording mechine than a tape recorder. The one that was used was relatively small but was able to record interviews of up to three hours in good quality. Another advantage of using a Dictaphone is that it can be connected to the USB port of a laptop or computer and once the interview is transferred to laptop or computer it is ready for use again.

reach the depth and detail within their responses associated with qualitative interviewing.

Observation of formal meetings

Observation of formal meetings between community members and police was another important tool for data collection during field study. There were three types of meetings – Open House Day, community-police meeting and anti-crime meeting – that took place between police and community people. Out of these, I attended three Open House Days that were convened by the officers-in-charge of Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttara West police stations. The meetings were held at the police stations and attended by community members, CPF members and police officers. There were two community-police meetings observed – one in Uttara West and the other in Turag police station areas. Organised by the CPF, the meetings were held at the CPF office in which members of the forums, a few community residents and community policing officers from the respective police stations attended. Likewise, two anti-crime meetings in the neighbourhoods of Dahkin Khan and Uttar Khan *thana* area were observed. These meetings were organised by the local CPF, facilitated by the local police and attended by around 100 neighbourhood members. In addition, I also had the opportunity to attend and observe a grand meeting held in the Police lines[8] of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police on 18 January 2014. Almost all members of the CPFs of Dhaka Metropolitan City attended the grand meeting that was convened by the police commissioner. The attendee CPF members amounted to around 3000 people. A list of the meetings attended is provided in Table 3.4.

[8]Police lines refer to a defined and demarcated area for the police personnel. It contains barracks for living, fields for physical exercise and drills, and other facilities necessary for police personnel.

Table 3.4: Type, number and location of meetings that were attended

No.	Types & No. of meetings	Locations & No. of meetings
1	Open House Day: 3	Uttara West Police Station:1
		Turag Police Station:1
		Dakhin Khan Police Station:1
2	Police-community meeting: 2	Kallan Samity office in Uttara West:1
		CPF office in Turag:1
3	Anti-crime meeting: 2	A neighbourhood of Uttar Khan:1
		A neighbourhood of Dakhin Khan:1
4	Grand meeting: 1	Police lines of the DMP:1

Prior to the meetings, except the grand one, permission to attend was requested from the relevant police officers and the CPF president/secretary. To attend the grand meeting did not require permission from any authority, as it was held in an open area of the Police lines, and city dwellers were also invited along with CPF members. For the other meetings, I introduced myself as a student researcher from Monash University, Australia at the outset of the proceedings. The project was explained to the participants, and then copies of the Explanatory Statement were distributed. Before the meetings commenced, oral consent was taken for observing the proceedings. With consent, I took non-identifying notes, while observing proceedings of the meetings.

Although participant observation can be an excellent way to gather qualitative data and observe real behaviour, it may however cause behavioural change from the norm. Such a change in behaviour is known as the Hawthorne effect in which people modify their behaviour when they come to know that they are being observed (Oswald, Sherratt, & Smith, 2014). To overcome the Hawthorne effect is a challenge for the researcher observer. According to Oswald et al. (2014), creating non-threatening perceptions, introductions, establishing rapport and creating relaxed environments are the essential and fundamental strategies to mitigate Hawthorne effect. In this study, I

tried my best to become immersed in the setting by gaining trust and making the participants feel relaxed and unthreatened in order to limit behavioural change. To this end, I introduced myself as a researcher and explained that they would not face any negative consequence for their normal behaviour in the meetings, and that the documentation of the meeting proceedings would not be considered as a public document for submitting to any agency of the Bangladesh government. They were also informed that as the data to be collected from observing the meetings would add to the existing knowledge of community participation, their normal behaviour was of great value.

Another attempt to overcome the Hawthorne effect is the process of triangulation (Oswald et al., 2014). Bryman (2012) suggests that triangulation is the use of more than one approach to an investigation in order to enhance confidence in the findings. In this study, interviews, observation of meetings between police and community residents and document analysis were used to cross-check, compare and triangulate information to build the basis of a knowledge foundation.

These meetings formed an essentially secondary role to the one-on-one interviews in the research. In the meetings, local community concerns were discussed and decisions were taken. Information collected from observing the meetings was primarily classified according to the types and locations of meeting. They were then coded based on themes in relation to three research questions. They were of value in revealing additional views and concerns about community policing practice (Dean & Whyte, 2003) and in providing further insight in relation to the research inquiries. More specifically, observation of the meetings provided insights into the community participation processes, particularly the scope of interaction between participants, the

types of participation and the interplays of power in decision-making process that were projected in the meetings.

Content analysis of documents

Merriam (2009) defines documents as "an umbrella term which refers to a wide range of written, visual and physical materials relevant to the study at hand" (p.139). Document collection in qualitative inquiry, according to Patton (2015), yields quotations or entire passages from organisational records, correspondence and memoranda, officially published reports, personal diaries and notes, conversations transcripts or annual reports. In this study, relevant official documents in relation to community policing such as policy documents, working papers and official reports, among others, were collected for analysis in addition to interviews and observation of community-police meetings.

A qualitative approach can use interview and document analysis simultaneously to address research questions (Owen, 2014). Prior (2003, p.4), who has conducted extensive work on the use of documents in research, claims, "in most social scientific work … documents are placed at the margins of consideration". Further Prior argues that documents need to be considered as situated products, rather than fixed and stable things in the world. They are produced in social settings and always to be regarded as collective (social) products.

Bardach (2009) claims documents and people to be two important sources of information. In favour of the use of document analysis, Yanow (2007) notes that document reading can also be part of an observational study or an interview-based project. Documents can provide background information for a research study. They may corroborate observational and interview data or they may refute them. The

researcher can use them as evidence to clarify, or to challenge what is conveyed in interviews.

Caulley (1983) asserts that analysis of documents can be used as an effective tool to gather facts. Like other analytical methods and procedures in qualitative research, Rapley (2007) argues that document analysis requires data to be thoroughly scanned, examined and interpreted in order to gain meanings and understanding. Merriam (1998, p 118) claims, "documents of all types can help the researcher discover insights relevant to the research problem". This type of analysis, as mentioned in Merriam (2009), is less time consuming, more cost effective, easily available, non-reactive and stable in nature. The relevant official documents concerning community policing that were collected from different offices are outlined in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: List of documents, sources and themes

Name of the documents	Source of the documents	Theme
Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010	The office of the DPC, Uttara division	Strategies of community policing practice
Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010	The office of the DPC, Uttara division	Operational tactics of community policing
Beat Policing Manual for Uttara Division	The office of the DPC, Uttara division	Organisational support for community policing practice
CPF profile: Sakoo	The office of the DPC, Uttara division	Features of community representation in CPFs
Community policing working papers	Police stations of Uttara division	Prospectus for community policing implementation
Community policing leaflets and newsletters	Police stations of Uttara division	Police initiatives of community awareness for community policing
Minutes of monthly CPF meetings	CPF offices, Uttara	Evidence of CPFs' monthly activities
Organisational composition, rules and policy of CPFs	CPF offices, Uttara	Organisational and functional scope of CPFs

The documents were relevant as they provided information about the policy and procedure of community participation in community policing practice in relation to the research questions. The information derived from these documents supplemented interview data. Hence, document analysis was a useful and beneficial method that made the research findings more credible.

Data analysis

Data analysis means coming up with inferences from raw data. There are numerous strategies used in the analysis of qualitative data, which are referred to as content analysis (Bendassolli, 2013; Boeije, 2010; Merriam, 2009). Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas (2013) define it as an approach for systematic coding and classification employed in the exploration of volumes of textual data unobtrusively for the determination of the trends and patterns of words used, their relations and frequency and their discourses and communication structures. Under content analysis, thematic analysis is described as an independent qualitative approach which helps in the identification, analysis and reporting of themes within data (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). For this study, thematic analysis was used as the data analysis method.

Thematic analysis is a widely-used qualitative data analysis method to identify patterns of meaning across a data set that provides an answer to the research question being addressed. It is appropriate for analysing significant, complex and sensitive phenomena and can also be used for reporting simple and common issues (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). One of the advantages of thematic analysis is that it is theoretically-flexible. This means it can be used within different frameworks, to answer quite different types of research question. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), it suits questions related to people's experiences, or people's views and

perceptions. In this study, participants' understanding, experiences and views of community participation in community policing practice were obtained, which were best suited to thematic analysis as data analysis method.

In this current study, the first stage of data analysis involved transcription of the interviews and then making sense of the information by means of continuous re-reading of the entire transcripts. As the data were textual, it required management of the data to prepare them for analysis (Donnelly & Wiechula, 2013). The electronic data was stored in a password-protected computer while the hard copies were kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Transcription of data

Transcription is an important task to be performed by the researcher. It is more than recording word-for-word the audio recordings of speech; the task entails abstracting meaning and reducing data. All transcription entails translation: transforming sounds, intonations and even pauses into words (Davidson, 2009). The challenge for the researcher is to make sense of the meaning being communicated by making decisions on how to record both 'what is said' and 'what is meant'. The transcription of interview data from one language to another, in the present study from *Bangla* into *English*, introduces another layer of complexity of navigating linguistic as well as cultural practices. To address this challenge requires both advanced knowledge of the local language and sound cultural knowledge (Davidson, 2009).

This study heavily relied on transcriptions from audio taped accounts given by three groups of participants. I transcribed all the individual interviews. Since the interviews took place in my native language, it was less a challenge to transcribe the recorded interviews. The transcripts were either shown to the interviewees during a second

meeting or read out to them over the telephone to examine their accuracy against the voice recording. However, the challenge of turning the interviews into script raised the additional problem of translating the implicit meaning communicated in *Bangla* into *English*. For this study, the decision was taken to translate for meaning rather than a literal word-for-word translation. However, on a number of occasions when the meaning got lost in the translation, I returned to the audio recording and made a word-for-word translation to achieve a more nuanced record of the meanings being conveyed. To ensure the accuracy of meaning, the translated scripts were also checked by a professional translator (Bangla to English) in Bangladesh as permitted by the Monash University Ethics guidelines.

Data coding

The approach to coding consisted of identifying all the passages from a transcript of an individual interview that related to a particular thematic idea and which were then assigned a code as a short hand reference for the thematic idea (see Gibbs, 2008, p.24). In order for coding the data, two steps were undertaken. First, the transcriptions of each interviewee were organised according to groups (Group-1, Group-2 and Group-3) and locations[9]. Table 3.6 sets out the organisation of transcriptions of all interviewees.

[9]Location refers to the four police stations (Uttara West, Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag); the senior police management, including the DPC office and the DMP Headquarters; and the Police Headquarters, in the case of Group-2.

Table 3.6: Organising transcriptions according to groups and locations

Groups	Uttara West police station	Uttar Khan police station	Dakhin Khan police station	Turag police station	Senior police management
Group-1	Participant's transcriptions 1 to 4	Participant's transcriptions 5-6	Participant's transcriptions 7-10	Participant's transcriptions 11-13	----
Group-2	T 14-16	T 17-18	T 19-21	T 22-24	T 25-31
Group-3	T 32-35	T 36-38	T 39-42	T 43-45	----

**T means transcription*

**Transcriptions 1-4 means there are 4 participants, who belong to Group-1, are from Uttara West Police Station area, and thus other transcription numbers also represent group numbers and locations indicated in the table above.*

The responses of each interviewee were then coded according to each interview question. There were fifteen interview questions (see Appendix-1) used in relation to three research questions. However, the preliminary codes allowed identifying preliminary themes. Table 3.7 illustrates the way in which the information was preliminarily organised.

Table 3.7: Organising data according to interview questions to identify preliminary codes

Interview questions	Group-1	Group-2	Group-3
1.What do you mean by community policing and community participation?	Interviewee's transcriptions 1-13	Interviewee's transcriptions 14-31	Interviewee's transcriptions 32-45
Questions from 2 to 15 ↓	Interviewee's transcriptions 1-13	Interviewee's transcriptions 14-31	Interviewee's transcriptions 32-45

The preliminary codes were then subjected to various phases of revision that formed three core categories corresponding to three research questions of this study. The core categories were used to restructure the data of each interview. Synopses of each of the interviews (i.e. all 45) were then prepared based on the three core categories. The

synopses also linked the quotes made by each interviewee to the three categories. Thus, information of each transcript was structurally classified into three core categories. Table 3.8 illustrates the three core categories that served to organise the information from the transcripts, which subsequently took the form of individual respondent synopses.

Two key benefits arose from using this method of analysis. First, it facilitated the organisation of large amounts of data, and second, it facilitated making initial comparisons among different interviewees (see Charmaz, 2000). In this respect, the codes not only captured the diversity of views but sometimes also included contrasting views on the same theme in question.

Table 3.8: Core categories that guided the elaboration of individual synopsis

Core categories	Group-1	Group-2	Group-3
1. Community participation process	Interviewee's synopsis 1 to 13	Interviewee's synopsis 14-31	Interviewee's synopsis 32-45
2. Motivation for community participation	S. 1 to 13	S. 14-31	S. 32-45
3. Challenges for community participation	S. 1 to 13	S. 14-31	S. 32-45

**S. means synopsis*
**Synopsis 1-13 means there are 13 participants in Group-1. Similarly, 14-31 means 18 participants in Group-2 and 32-45 means 14 participants in Group-3.*

Information collected from meeting observations and official documents were also categorised and juxtaposed with core categories of interview data for analysis.

Once the interviewee synopses were prepared, the second method of analysis was undertaken. This involved cross-case analysis in three stages. The first involved the analysis of *each interviewee synopsis* to identify and group the most relevant characteristics for each *case*: Uttara West, Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag. In the

second stage, a ‘case-study synopsis’ *for each of the four localities* was written. Finally, the case-study synopses were compared to identify and highlight the key similarities and differences between the cases. The use of cross-case analysis provided two important advantages. First, it helped to ensure against the drawing of premature conclusions. Second, it reduced ‘bias’ in the interpretation of the data (Merriam, 2009).

Credibility and reliability

In any research project it is crucial to ensure that data is an accurate reflection of the phenomena observed (Patel, 2004). Research should strive for the best possible quality of data. We can look at the quality of data, first from a technical point of view, using the concepts of reliability and credibility (Punch, 2003). In order for the data to be considered credible and reliable, a certain number of requirements were met.

Firstly, by interviewing a number of participants it was possible to connect their experiences and check the comments of one participant against those of others for veracity (Seidman, 1998). In this study there are three groups of participants who were associated with community policing practice in Uttara interviewed. They conveyed both similar and different views on the same issues.

Secondly, data accuracy was ensured through participant checking. In this process participants were permitted to view the transcriptions of the interviews in order to ensure that recordings were accurate and, as such, credible (Netanda, 2012). The checking process was done following transcription so that accurate interview data could be used for analysis (Bekhet & Zauszniewski, 2012).

Thirdly, the convergence of findings stemming from two or more methods "enhances our beliefs that the results are valid" (Bouchard, 1976, p.268). Furthermore, Campbell and Fiske (1959) introduced the idea of triangulation where more than one method is used as part of a validation process. Yin (2014) states that triangulation can help in improving credibility. Use of multiple methods reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the research question(s) investigated. In this study, multiple qualitative methods such as interviews, observation of meetings and content analysis of official documents were used to triangulate data. Thus, the combination of multiple methods and different perspectives on the same issues added rigour, breadth and depth to this investigation (Flick, 1992, p.194).

Ethical considerations of the study

Community safety, security and policing are sensitive issues. Research of this nature raises a number of difficult ethical issues (Smyth & Williamson, 2004). The ethical obligations that this particular study involved were concerned with obtaining approval for conducting research, obtaining permission from relevant organisations for recruiting participants, and ensuring that participants were safe in terms of their freedom to participate, and the protection of privacy and confidentiality.

Prior to conducting the research, full approval from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) was obtained. This was followed by obtaining approvals from the DPC, Uttara Division of the DMP and the presidents of the Uttara CPFs. Additionally, consent was obtained from all participants involved in the individual interviews. Full disclosure was ensured through the provision of information contained in advertisements and the Consent Form and Explanatory Statement that were sent to participants before interviews took place. I adequately

informed each participant and their organisation about the purpose of the study and the methods employed so that they were not confused about the intentions of the researcher or the study.

Participation was self-selective and voluntary so that none of the participants felt compelled. This was done particularly in consideration of the unequal power relationships between the participants and myself as a Superintendent of Police in the Bangladesh Police. Throughout the data collection period I introduced myself as a Monash research student rather than as a police officer. The participants were informed that they had freedom to withdraw at any stage of the interview without involving any risk or inconvenience to themselves. As a further means of assurance, they were also informed that they could make a complaint about the procedure of there search or anything else to the chief investigator in Australia or the independent contact person in Bangladesh, whose contact details were contained in the Explanatory Statement.

All participants were informed that their identities would be kept confidential in this thesis and any further publication of this research through the use of pseudonyms. In general, confidentiality has been ensured by anonymising all quotes from interviewees and also by being careful in the use of any particular quotations that might risk identifying an interviewee (see Stark & Hedgecoe, 2010). Thus, as the researcher, I have met all ethical considerations and endeavoured to lessen all possible risks throughout the study.

Study limitations

The following limitations are acknowledged:

Time frame constraints

The timeframes defining data collection and analysis within the context of this doctoral thesis meant that I was only able to access dataduring a period of 12-months. While this time frame facilitated data collection in relation to the research questions through interviews, observation of formal meetings and content analysis, a longer timeframe would have undoubtedly captured more information.

Participant self-selection

Given the nature of this research on policing, participants had to be self-selected in accordance with the MUHREC requirements. I had ethical obligations not to approach and request potential participants for interviews. Therefore, potential resourceful individuals could not be identified and approached. Moreover, it was difficult to achieve equality in the number of participants across all three groups.

Limitations in observation

Observation of formal meetings and CPF formation procedure provided important information relating to community participation. Although some meetings and two CPF elections in Uttara West were observed, the CPF selection procedure that followed in other areas could not be observed, as no event of this kind was held during the timeframe of data collection. Therefore, relevant data on the CPF selection procedure was collected only through interviews rather than observation.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a discussion of the methodological approaches for this study beginning with the ontological and epistemological basis of the research paradigms. The choice of a qualitative methodology, which is often used with interpretivism, was justified. The justification for the use of a case study approach and institutional

ethnography in this research were also outlined. This was followed by a comprehensive description of the selection of research sites and data collection methods and procedures. The rationale for the use of three data collection techniques – semi-structured in-depth interviews, observation of community-police meetings and content analysis of official documents – was articulated. This chapter also documented data preparation and analysis techniques as well as issues of data credibility and reliability and the ethical considerations of this study.

The following three chapters provide details of the data analysis and findings relating to the research questions. Chapter Four focuses on the community participation process in community policing practice in Uttara relating to research question 1.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Community Participation Process in Uttara

This chapter builds upon the materials provided in Chapter Two and analyses the community participation process in the practical context of community policing implementation in Uttara. One of the key issues in the literature is that the impact of community policing is related to the level of community participation or police-community partnership (Casey, 2010; Mirsky, 2009). Community participation in policing takes place through a process in which citizens act, voice their opinions and take responsibility of the changes to their community (Armitage, 1988; Choi, 2013; Reiner, 2010; Ren et al., 2006; Renauer, Duffee & Scott, 2003). However, community participation is influenced by the residents' willingness, capability and opportunity, which are also created and facilitated through a process (Rogers & Robinson, 2004).

So far as community policing practice is concerned in Uttara, the community participation process begins with the role the community plays in setting up Community-Police Forums (CPFs) through to the implementation of crime prevention programmes. The first part of the chapter discusses the formal and structural means of community participation, in particular the formation, structure and purposes of CPFs. It then examines CPF-police interaction and their collective role to organise community residents to participate in community policing programmes. The next section discusses community participation in crime prevention programmes. Finally, it analyses the factors that impact on the existing social inequality and define the levels of participation in the implementation of community policing in Uttara.

Participation provision in community policing in Bangladesh

Addressing a complex social phenomenon like crime goes beyond the lines of traditional government department responsibilities. In the context of this reality, the *Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy* and the *Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual* envisage participation provisions for policing. Different points of view, knowledge, skills and experiences are brought together through partnership to generate new approaches to crime prevention. Partnership members often have a good understanding of the key people in their community and how to access local knowledge and resources. Their networks can enable greater and more efficient community participation in consultation processes, appraisal of options, implementation and evaluation.

The *Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy* iterates that "partnership must be developed that can routinely bring the stakeholders to the table on any particular problem concerning both the police and the public. It develops trust and allows community inputs on a regular basis and a network for partnerships focused on crime prevention and problem solving" (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010, p.22). The *Manual* places emphasis on "going back to the community, consultation and partnership" (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010, p.13). It also states that "the police constitute a partnership with key stakeholders such as the community, local elected authorities, the business community, the media, and local level other organisations and institutions to address community problems" (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010, p.14).

The *National Strategy* and the *Manual* focus on the objectives, extent and pattern of participation in community policing practice. These documents set objectives for participation primarily for solving community problems that include crime and social disorder. This objective is consistent with the principles of an ideal community policing practice aiming to co-produce community safety as a joint venture of the police and the community (Myhill, 2006; Reiner, 2010; Ren et al., 2006; Skogan, 1994b). These objectives also focus on wider participation involving multi-partners so that resources can be devoted to address various factors contributing to community problems.

This research explores and examines the extent to which these objectives are reflected in the implementation of community participation in the Uttara community policing practice.

Representative participation through structural forums in Uttara

In the context of Uttara, community participation occurs at both a formal and a structural level. The CPFs consisting of members from the community and the police serve as the platforms facilitating police-community interaction. The justification of creating such forums is that as not all members of the community can participate in specific community policing, the CPFs represent the community in working with the police (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010). Besides representing the communities, the forums also serve as a bridge to link the police with the communities. As a 'voice' of the community these convey community needs and aspirations to the police in order to seek a response. Through the CPFs, community participation takes place at varying levels ranging from the sharing of information to decision making. The CPFs' role is also pivotal in organising the community to

participate in various programmes such as community patrol, community-police meetings and problem-solving approach. The forums are formed in line with the provision outlined in the *Community Policing National Strategy*. The following sections articulate the structure and constitution of the forums.

Organisational structure of the forums

Community-Police Forums were constituted in areas of all police stations throughout the Uttara division to establish a partnership between the police and the community. For the effective implementation of community policing the forums are intended to involve a range of partners such as non-government groups, private sector groups and other government agencies. However, at present they only still comprise representatives from the community and the police.

The forums/committees sit at three levels. As outlined in the following figure, the Uttara division coordination committee sits at the top. Below this is the *thana* (police station) Coordination committee and ward/sector CPFs sit at the bottom. There are 33 ward/sector CPFs working at the neighbourhood level. Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag thana areas are divided into wards, while Uttara West is divided into sectors. The forums at this level are called ward or sector CPFs.

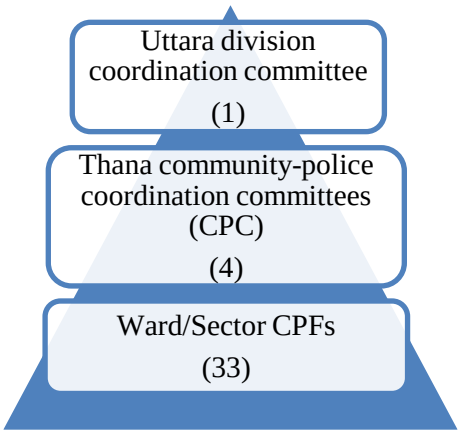


Figure 4.1: Hierarchical levels of CPF/CPC in the Uttara Division

(Adapted from Sakoo, *the CPF profile book collected from the office of the DPC, DMP)*

Division and thana coordination committees primarily serve to coordinate ward/sector forums. Ward/sector committees send a summary of their periodic activities to thana and division coordination committees to keep them informed. It is noteworthy that ward/sector CPFs play the most critical implementing role of community policing practice. CPF participants noted that this level of representative body was first formed to implement community policing in Uttara. However, after a few months, the police set about constituting thana and Uttara division coordination committees that resulted in the creation of three levels of forums/committees. The ward CPF participants attributed that the formation of the coordination committees was entirely initiated by the police. Such an initiative reflects Bobov's (1999) argument that the police generally seek to engage with the sections of society with which they are comfortable and to preserve the traditional 'status quo'.

There were somewhat contrasting reasons given for the creation of multi-level forum/committees by police participants. Senior police officers, for instance, argued that it was necessary to have a relative structure of forum/committees to establish ease of communication and working relations. They indicated the difficulty on the part of

senior police management to establish and maintain continual communication with ward/sector CPFs because these were many in number and located in neighbourhoods. It can, therefore, be perceived that the police preferred to have multi-structural committees relative to the hierarchical police structure as portrayed in the following figure.

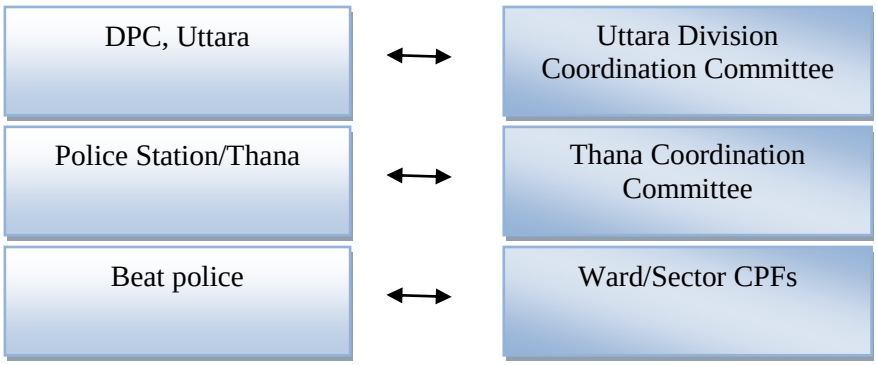


Figure 4.2: Relative structure of police and community representative forum/committee

Participants of the coordination committees also tended to support multi-level committees by arguing that some social and crime problems, for example drug dealing and drug-abuse, exist across wards. A single ward CPF might not be able to address the problems. In such circumstance, a coordination committee should organise efforts involving relevant ward CPFs to solve the common problems.

In contrast to the views of the police and the coordination committee respondents, the CPF members interviewed insisted that a hierarchical communication channel was likely to distort information that might create problems rather than solutions. They further argued that an effective working partnership could better be created between front-line police and ward/sector CPFs, which are the primary level of community representatives. One ward CPF participant commented:

> *Some coordination committee members are not associated with community policing in their neighbourhoods. Even community policing is not practised in*

> *their neighbourhoods. It is really painful for us if we have to be accountable to those people*. (CPF participant, Dakhin Khan)

This view raises the question of the justification and necessity for the existence of hierarchical committees as well as reflects the authority conflicts and uneven power relations between the forum and the coordination committees.

Given the arguments for and against multi-level committees portrayed in Figure 4.2, it can be perceived that while maintaining social integration and ensuring community representation at hierarchical levels this might create a differential power structure within the community. More specifically, the multi-level representative forums/committees are likely to create social hierarchy. This is because the multi-level committees are formed in parallel with the hierarchical police structure in Uttara Division. The upper level *Division* and *Thana coordination committees* monitor and coordinate *Ward/Sector CPF* activities, which is similar to bureaucratic organisational practice. The coordination practice might also bureaucratise the community crime prevention initiative.

The process for the constitution of forums

The majority of police and CPF participants talked about the process of CPF formation, in particular the scope and process of community participation. As they explained, CPFs in Uttara were first formed in 2007 under the direction of the Police Commissioner of the DMP, with the provision of reconfiguring every two years. In order to establish the forums, local police in cooperation with community elites and local government representatives called public meetings in convenient places at which the police explained the concept of community policing, its objectives and benefits, and focused on the importance of CPFs.

As the thana Officers-in-Charge (OCs) stated, they (the OCs) first selected the president and the secretary of a forum in the presence of the community people attending the meeting to reflect wider community participation and approval in order to achieve credibility and acceptability. Then the president and the secretary nominated other members from the participants of the meeting, who were later approved by the police after verification of their local acceptance.

The procedure of forming the forums seemingly reflected community participation as the majority of police and CPF participants claimed it had been done democratically. However, five community participants pointed out flaws in the procedure by suggesting that the police had subtly manipulated the meetings attended by community people. They noted that the meeting schedules were not widely advertised and that those who attended were not representative of the wider community. Further they asserted that selection of the forum president and secretary was police driven, as the police did not call for nomination of candidates or allow community members to propose their own. A community participant from Dakhin Khan categorically stated that the selection procedure for choosing the forum president and secretary restricted options for choosing other more acceptable and qualified ones from among several candidates.

Similarly, nomination of members by the president and the secretary did not reflect community people's choice, as the police defined the number of members. Nomination of forum members was largely a personal choice of the president and the secretary. Verification of the nominated members did not involve community voting or any other way that reflected their approval. A community participant from Turag stated:

> *Finally, nominated members were approved by the police. So far as I know, only one person nominated for ward-1 forum was excluded. But I don't know the reason. The police might have verified on the basis of criminal record. Community people were not asked about the social acceptance of any member of the forums. I don't know, might be community elites were asked.* (Community participant, Turag)

Similar views was expressed by three other community participants – two from Dakhin Khan and one from Uttar Khan – who described the selection of forum members as 'undemocratic' as the community could not play any role in deciding who should be in the forums, other than merely attending the meetings. Such passivity of the community's role contradicts Blunkett's (2003) view that participation is a democratic process that promotes active citizenship. Community participation in the context of forming CPFs in Uttara also does not accord with what GTZ (1991, p.4) defines as "co-determination and power sharing throughout the…program cycle". For these participants, 'community participation' was merely symbolic and accords with what Moynihan (2003) refers to as 'pseudo' and Arnstein (1969) refers to as a process of 'manipulation' in their typologies of citizen participation. This procedure for constituting CPFs was mainly followed in Turag, Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan, whereas in Uttara West a different approach was used.

The approach employed was based on an existing model for electing representatives. Uttara West communities are organised and clustered in different geographic sectors. Each of the 9 sectors has its own *kallan samity* (welfare committee) to perform civic functions to ensure quality of life. The executive committees of each kallan samity are elected by the sector residents. Only house-owners, whether male or female, are the voters who can cast their votes to elect members of the samities every two years. A committee of 15 to 21 members is grouped into several sub-committees. The security

sub-committee is responsible for the safety and security of the neighbourhoods. This mode of governance has been in place in Uttara West since before community policing was introduced in Uttara. However, as explained by the CPF participants, this practice later intersected with community policing in 2005.

According to CPF participants from Uttara West, the police initially insisted that the kallan samity committees help them form sector CPFs by following the same procedure used in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag. The community members, however, argued that there was no need for constituting separate CPFs because there already were security sub-committees. They rather suggested that one police officer and a few additional community members could be incorporated into each of the existing security sub-committees to constitute them as the sector CPFs. Thus the security sub-committees became two entities: the security sub-committee of each kallan samity and the sector CPFs. Every two years, with the election of new members for each kallan samity, the composition of the sector CPFs changes to incorporate the new security sub-committee members. The additional co-opted members from the local community and the police, however, are not concurrently replaced. Nonetheless, the sector CPFs appeared to have more legitimacy and approval of the community compared to ward CPFs. The legitimacy of the sector CPFs is based on the fact that community residents of Uttara West elect them through voting. I was able to observe this democratic practice on two occasions.

During the period of field research, I observed the elections held for sector-5 and sector-14 kallan samity. In each election two panels of candidates contested for the 15 to 21 positions on the executive committee. Candidates were active campaigning for their election. Voters cast their votes in ballot boxes to elect their chosen candidates.

Candidates from both the contesting panels were elected thus ensuring the executive committees of each kallan samity were composed of a mix of members. The inaugurations of the committees also took place in the presence of community residents.

Thus, the election process of each kallan samity in Uttara West seemed more democratic and in which the police could not interfere, as was the case in other areas of Uttara. Rather community residents enjoyed the opportunity to elect their chosen people for the kallan samity. The election commission informed me that around 70 per cent of the community residents cast their votes. In this sense, the community of Uttara West had the opportunity, capacity and willingness to participate in the process of electing the kallan samity, which according to Rogers and Robinson (2004), are the fundamental elements underpinning effective participation. Furthermore, in respect of the kallan samity elections, the community was the authority in a process that Moynihan (2003) refers to as 'full-broad' [full participation] and Arnstein (1969) as one of 'citizen control'. However, this authority was not equally shared with female members of the community, as their participation was lower than their male counterparts in both the electing of forum members and in attending forums. This happened even in this fairly democratic practice in Uttara West. Structural dominance and gender discrimination might be attributed to this uneven participation.

Additionally there seemed to be a gradual decline in democratic practice in forming the coordination committees. Thana coordination committees were formed in a 'token' form of consultation with ward CPF presidents and secretaries, as the police had prepared a list of the members beforehand. The Uttara division coordination committee was formed in a closed-door environment. The police role in forming these

committees can be referred to as *rational planning* (Sager, 1993); that is, a planner-led scientific-technical process providing no room for public participation (Sager, 1993). Opposed to Ward CPFs, the plan and necessity of forming coordination committees was not explained to the community, nor were they invited to take part in member selection. The police seemed to have considered the process of forming the committees as a scientific-technical one, which is not consistent with the process of selecting people's representatives in modern democratic practice (Rodan, 2012).

Composition of the forums/committees

In order to understand the extent to which the composition of ward/sector forums and coordination committees represented the wider community, an analysis of data in a booklet obtained from the Uttara DPC office was undertaken. The booklet titled *Sakoo*[10] and published in 2014 contained personal profiles of all members of forums and coordination committees. The information was used to identify the gender and occupational distribution of the forums' and committees' members. The information was added to that obtained through interviews with participants. The main characteristics of the forums/committees are shown in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.

[10]*Sakoo* is a Bangla word meaning 'bridge'.

Table 4.1: Gender and occupational distribution of Uttara Division Coordination Committee

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Police officer	3	-	3
Defence officer	1	-	1
Teacher	2	-	2
Lawyer	3	-	3
Journalist	1	-	1
Social worker	5	-	5
Banker	1	-	1
Business	14	-	14
House wife	-	1	1
Religious leader	1	-	1
Total	31 (96.88%)	1 (3.12%)	32 (100%)

(Source: Adapted from the booklet Sakoo collected from the office of the DPC, DMP)

Table 4.1 reflects the uneven professional and gender distribution in the divisional Coordination Committee. Although the members of the committees generally come from a number of professions, there is a noticeable lack of representatives from local professions such as agriculture, even though, according to community participants, at least one-third of the population in Turag and Uttar Khan are involved in it. On the other hand, representation of the business community is much higher than other representative professions, in that it reflects a pronounced bias towards this one particular group of people.

Table 4.2: Gender and occupational distribution in the thana (police station) Coordination Committees

	Uttara West			**Uttar Khan**			**Dakhin Khan**			**Turag**		
Occupation	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Police officer	4	-	4	3	-	3	3	-	3	4	-	4
Defence officer	2	-	2	-	-	-				-	-	-
Civil Service	3	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Teacher	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Lawyer	3	1	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engineer	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	10	-	10	10	-	10	-	-	-	28	-	28
Social worker	3	-	3	-	1	1	5	-	5	-	-	-
House wife	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	3	3
Total	27 (96.4%)	1 (3.6%)	28 (100%)	14 (82.4%)	3 (17.6%)	17 (100%)	9 (81.9%)	2 (18.2%)	11 (100%)	32 (91.4%)	3 (8.6%)	35 (100%)

(Source: Adapted from the booklet Sakoo collected from the office of the DPC, DMP)

Table 4.2 indicates a varying number of community people included in thana coordination committees. The Turag Thana Coordination Committee (TCC) included the highest number of community members (35) yet the least number of professions (3). Whereas the Uttara West TCC had the highest number of professions but a lower total number of people than that of Turag. The highest percentage (18.18 per cent) of female representatives was found in Dakhin Khan, though the least number of professions (11) was identified there. As with the division coordination committee, female representation in all thana coordination committees was significantly less than their male counterparts. Hence, TCC also reflects the uneven professional and gender distribution.

The tables drawn from information in the *Sakoo* booklet do not provide statistical information as to whether or not equal geographic distribution was maintained in forming the coordination committees. However, five community participants suggested that the police seemed to have not considered equal geographic distribution, particularly for the divisional coordination committee, as nearly half of the members of this committee were drawn from Uttara West. This unequal community representation was likely to be the consequence of a more or less democratic procedure navigated by the police in forming the coordination committees.

Table 4.3: Formation of sector/ward CPFs in Uttara division

Uttara West				**Uttar Khan**				**Dakhin Khan**				**Turag**			
S. No.	M	F	T	**W. No.**	M	F	T	**W. No.**	M	F	T	**W. No.**	M	F	T
3	16	4	20	1	18	2	20	1	21	3	24	1	14	1	15
5	19	5	24	2	23	2	25	2	18	4	22	2	15	1	16
7	20	4	24	3	18	3	21	3	17	2	19	3	16	0	16
9	14	1	15	4	17	4	21	4	10	2	12	4	11	0	11
10	13	3	16	5	25	2	27	5	14	3	17	5	14	0	14
11	16	4	20	6	35	1	36	6	18	3	21	6	15	0	15
12	20	1	21	7	20	2	22	-	-	-	-	7	19	0	19
13	17	3	20	8	18	2	20	-	-	-	-	8	13	0	13
14	17	3	20	9	19	2	21	-	-	-	-	9	15	0	15
	152 (84%)	28 (16%)	180		193 (91%)	20 (9%)	213		98 (85%)	17 (15%)	115		132 (99%)	2 (1%)	134

S= Sector, W= Ward, M= Male, F= Female, T= Total. The percentage is an approximate calculation
(Source: Adapted from the booklet Sakoo *collected from the office of the DPC, DMP)*

According to Table 4.3 and the booklet *Sakoo*, 180 members were drawn out of the total population of 500,000 in Uttara West, 213 out of 140,000 people in Uttar Khan, 115 out of 950,000 in Dakhin Khan and 134 out of 302,000 in Turag. If calculated in percentage, Uttara West CPFs represented 0.036 per cent, Uttar Khan CPFs 0.152 per cent, Dakhin Khan CPFs 0.012 per cent and Turag CPFs 0.045 per cent of the respective total population. Thus, the highest representation was found in Uttar Khan and the lowest in Dakhin Khan. Conversely, female representation marked the lowest (1 per cent approx.) in Turag and the highest (16 per cent approx.) in Uttara West. The higher female representation in Uttara West was likely to be the result of a more democratic practice than in the other areas in which the police and the CPF leaders exercised more control over forming the forums.

Table 4.4 shows the varying number of professional categories represented in the forums in Uttara. Uttara West CPFs were represented by 13 categories of profession followed by Uttar Khan (10), Dakhin Khan (7) and Turag (7). When asked about these variations, senior police officers suggested that inclusion of community members into the forums was not based on community groups or professional categories. Nor were the panels for election to the sector kallan samity in Uttara West represented by professional categories or community groups. They did not have readily available statistical data of the occupational disposition of the community residents as a whole. They further suggested that these variations happened simply because of the varying demographic disposition across Uttara. One of them categorically stated that, compared to Uttara West, fewer categories of people lived in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan, even though the areas were as populated as Uttara West.

Table 4.4: Gender and occupational distribution of sector/ward CPFs in Uttara division

Occupation	**Uttara West**			**Uttar Khan**			**Dakhin Khan**			**Turag**		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Politician	3	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police officer	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Defence officer	10	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Govt. Civil Service	45	3	48	2	1	3	10	-	10	3	-	3
Lawyer	6	2	8	2	-	2	2	-	2	-	-	-
Teacher	11	5	16	3	-	3	3	-	3	2	-	2
Physician	4	1	5	2	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
Engineer	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Banker	5	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Journalist	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	43	2	45	40	-	40	81	7	88	118	-	118
Social worker	8	3	11	136	13	149	-	-	-	1	-	1
House wife	-	9	9	-	5	5	-	10	10	-	1	1
Local Govt. Rep.	-	-	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	2	1	3
Agriculture	-	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	6	-	6
Others	5	-	5	1	-	1	1	-	01	-	-	-
Total	152	28	180	193	20	213	98	17	115	132	2	134

(Source: Compiled from the booklet Sakoo *collected from the office of the DPC, DMP)*

Opposed to such claim, five community participants – two each from Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan, and one from Turag – attributed a few reasons for these variations. Firstly, familiarity with the police was the main criteria for the selection of presidents and secretaries of the forums. And selection of forum members by the presidents and secretaries was principally influenced by factors such as personal choice and social status. They also seemed to prefer people of their same profession. Secondly, fewer people of the professions, other than those of the presidents and secretaries, attended the meetings. Thirdly, organisers of the meetings were the potential presidents and secretaries, who seemed to not have informed all community residents about the meetings. As a result, people of their choice generally attended the meetings. That is why, people of the business group in Turag and Dakhin Khan CPFs and social workers in Uttar Khan ward CPFs, for example,were included more than other categories. One community participant stated:

> *Yes, it is true that business people and social workers – mainly business people live in Turag and Dakhin Khan. Although they might be less in number, people of other groups also live in these areas. But in the forums inclusion of some other categories of people is significantly low, while a few of the categories are not included at all. I would not say that it was not possible to include more categories of people. I think either people of other categories were not invited to the forums or they were not willing because of the preference given to business and social work groups.* (Community participant, Turag)

However, relating to the significant number of these two specific groups in the forums, three CPF participants – two from Uttar Khan and one from Dakhin Khan – expressed doubt of their real occupational identities. They admitted that definitely most of them were of those categories. But some of them were involved in more than one occupation. For instance, some social workers were local politicians and some business people were either politicians or social workers. They might have preferred

to be identified as business people or social workers instead of politicians probably because of their assumption that their identity as business people or social workers in the CPF platform would have more acceptance to the community. On the other hand, some of them might prefer to introduce themselves as politicians in order to be able to exercise political influence over others.

It seems that some community groups were not considered for inclusion in the forums. For instance, one female community participant commented:

> *In Uttara there are some community groups and organisations that don't have representation in the forums. For example, I am a member of a women organisation working for quite a long time for the welfare of women in Uttara. No member of this organisation was included in the forums, nor was considered for the panel candidate for kallan samity election. Those, who were selected for any panel, were due to their individual social networks.* (Community participant, Uttara West)

Similarly, underprivileged or marginalised groups also lacked representation within the forums. As one CPF participant stated:

> *Yes, I admit there are some underprivileged people such as rickshaw pullers, vendors and labourers who have their own organisations and groups. They have not been included into the forums. We consider only those who are regarded to be respectful in the society.* (CPF participant, Dakhin Khan)

The issue of non-representation based on not being considered 'respectful in society' is clearly not consistent with the *National Strategy* guidelines which suggest that the forums should comprise representatives of all community groups and organisations (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010). The participant's view also contradicts the proposition of Myhill (2006) and Reiner (2010) who argue that

those who are relevant and likely to be affected by the policy should be involved in the process.

However, given the views of the participants, it can be argued that the forums' disposition of community representation reflect not only a somewhat flawed process, particularly in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan, but also the structural dominance and gender discrimination across Uttara. Thus the current study expands on Bobov's (1999) argument by exploring that not only police but also community leaders seek to engage with sections of society with whom they are comfortable and to preserve their interests.

Community organising initiatives

Forming CPFs was a critical step towards community participation, as they not only facilitated community participation through representation but also played an important role organising community residents to participate in community policing programmes. The *National Strategy* suggests various forms of participation such as information sharing, consultation and partnership (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010).

In order to organise communities for these different forms of participation, the Uttara police in collaboration with CPF members initiated and implemented various programmes such as the Open House Day, anti-crime meeting and community-police forum Meeting. The senior police participants suggested these programmes aimed to facilitate information sharing, consultation and decision-making for crime prevention strategies as well as to motivate them to participate in various community policing programmes.

Open House Day

Open House Day (OHD) held at police stations was an open forum at which both police and community members talked about community concerns. This innovative approach had been in practice since 2007 at the directive of the Police Commissioner of the DMP. As a senior police participant suggested the aim of this approach was to turn police stations to people-oriented and trusted social institutions by overcoming century-old fear and distrust.

Held once a month, the OHD provided venues for information sharing and consultation in relation to solving various social and crime problems and also contemporary social issues likely to affect community safety. The majority of police and CPF participants suggested that the OHD was an important tactic of bringing the community close to the police. According to them, police initiated their interaction with the community by means of this tactic as opposed to traditional police response to people's call. This interaction aimed at fostering community cooperation with police.

The OHD meetings were meant to be open to people from all walks of life. According to five CPF and four community participants, the OHD initially generated significant levels of enthusiasm among community residents to attend. The patrol officers, CPF members and local government representatives, usually informed them of OHD schedules orally while some senior and respected people were notified through letters from the police stations. According to police participants, senior officers such as the Deputy Police Commissioner (DPC) or an additional DPC often attended the OHD to increase its significance and motivate more people to attend.

The important feature of the meeting was that it was presided over by someone from the community elite, while the senior police officer acted as a moderator. Relating to such protocol, a police officer noted that this was done in order to give an impression to the community people that the meeting was not entirely controlled by the police. He further observed that such balance of control over the meeting was made simply to create an environment favourable for both police and community people to freely exchange views and opinions.

Although, during the field study, I tried to collect official documents to assess the trend of community attendance in the meetings, no supporting documents were available, as the police stations did not keep attendance records, nor did they maintain minutes of the meetings. However, the police participants, particularly the OCs, indicated that attendees filled the meeting rooms at least during the initial two years. The attendees were encouraged to talk about different social issues and to illicit responses from the police. Their participation reflects the community's pressing need for a redefined police role.

I attended three OHD meetings – one in Uttara West, Dakhin Khan and Turag police stations – during the period between August 2013 and June 2014. It was not possible to assess the attendance trend, as the meetings were not consecutive events in the same police station. However, five community and three CPF participants indicated there had been a gradual downturn of public attendance. They suggested that in the context of the anti-government movement during this period, a particular group of people seemed more enthusiastic to attend the OHD and tended to press the police to control the political movement rather than focus on crime prevention through community policing. The police priority eventually shifted from crime prevention to

order maintenance. A media reporter commented that, “The focus of Open House Day has shifted from community concerns to the strategies of how to crack down political movement of the opposition” (Chowdhury, 2014). As a result, public attendance at OHD gradually declined across Uttara (Chowdhury, 2014).

There might also be other possible explanations for non-attendance in the OHD. For instance, three community participants noted that the OHD schedules, be it held during weekdays or weekends, overlapped their personal and daily work schedules. As one of them stated:

> *I am an employee working for a semi-government organisation. Weekdays I am engaged in the office. I am also engaged in my personal and family programme schedules or have some other social commitments during weekends. I can hardly attend meetings in the police station*. (Community participant, Turag)

Another reason was the repeated change of meeting schedule leading to a communication gap between police and community residents. The OCs suggested they sometimes were not able to inform community residents ahead of time regarding rescheduling the date, as they had to do so at the directives of the senior police officers. On one occasion I also observed that people who came to the near-by mosque for evening prayer were immediately invited by the Turag thana officers to the meeting, as there was hardly anyone in attendance. Although it is likely that those who came to the mosque had no plan to attend due to unawareness of the meeting, they probably could not avoid the request. Consequently, they could not actively participate to provide necessary input in the meetings. DuBois & Hartnett (2002) in relation to citizen participation similarly argue that trying to involve random people off the street is not effective.

Nevertheless, regardless of these limitations, this programme initiative for organising community people can be viewed as an innovative idea and an important component of community policing. Although this initiative is used to foster community confidence in the police, its underlying philosophy is not consistent with the principle of the *Community Policing National Strategy* which promotes a process of 'going back to the community' to facilitate their participation in policing. Rather, it seems an initiative of 'bringing the community close to the police'.

Anti-crime meeting

The Anti-crime meeting (ACM) was seen as an important initiative of community participation in Uttara. This seemed distinct from the OHD in that the event takes place in neighbourhoods providing a way of 'going back to the community'. The police participants suggested that after the commencement of community policing the ACMs were initially organised to raise people's awareness about their role in local crime prevention. The ACMs were later intended to get the community residents involved in information sharing and as a consultation process to identify local problems and solutions.

According to the *Community Policing Service Manual*, ACMs should be held in every neighbourhood once a fortnight or at least once a month. It was clear in discussions with two OCs, however, that the frequency of meetings did not meet the ideal. In their thana areas, for instance, they only organised a monthly meeting in one of the nine neighbourhoods, resulting in one meeting per neighbourhood every nine months. One CPF participant pointed out the reason why it could not be held once a month in each neighbourhood. As he observed:

> *Meetings are convened at the convenience of the OC. The decision to organise meetings is limited to the OC. If the beat police officer and ward CPF were able to decide, it would have been possible to organise the meetings every month in our neighbourhood. The OC prefers to do it once a month in only one of the neighbourhoods in his area.* (CPF participant, Dakhin Khan)

Thus, the OC's preference seems to have slowed down the frequency of meetings as suggested in the *Manual*. However, the participant also noted that although the OC was the deciding authority to hold the meetings, it was the CPF who organised the community residents for it. Therefore, it seems that the level of attendance largely relied on the level at which they could organise the community.

During the field research two ACMs in two neighbourhoods of Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan were observed to ascertain the level of attendance and the meeting proceedings. Compared to the OHD, more people numbering around 100 attended each of the ACMs. Of note was the presence ofwomen (approx. 5-6 per cent) and teenagers (approx. 20-25 per cent). Despite not taking active part, their presence marked a distinct feature, as they did not attend the OHD. In respect of the level of attendance, a CPF participant stated:

> *We prefer anti-crime meetings in our neighbourhoods, because more people can attend. I can give an example. A few days ago we organised a meeting in my neighbourhood where ninety-five families live. More than one hundred people attended the meeting. That means at least one member from each family participated in the meeting.* (CPF participant, Uttar Khan)

In addition to proximity, there were also other reasons for public interest in such meetings. A senior police participant believed that police presence created interest and curiosity, particularly among women and teenagers. The participant further stated that the willingness of attendees to talk in the meetings was likely due to the apparent

cordiality of the police, which he considered was driven by their presence in the community. The OCs of Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan indicated that social networks also seemed a crucial factor for gradually enhancing the level of community attendance, as residents would feel the 'need' to attend if they believed their neighbours were at the meeting.

In terms of the proceedings of the meetings, the police seem to dominate by asking people about community concerns and problems. There were only a few members who raised some issues related to an upturn in house burglary and the irregular police patrols in their neighbourhoods. This low level of participation was also found in the study by Myhill et al. (2003) on the quality of community engagement by police authorities in the United Kingdom, suggesting that communities do not always have a say in policing even if they would like to participate.

Although in the present study, police assured participants that they would look into the problems and asked the CPF members to enhance community patrols and monitor their duties, it was not possible to verify whether or not the police responded, as the constraint of field study period did not allow attendance at the subsequent meetings. However, five community participants commented they were tired of the stereotypical police response (i.e. they would look into it), as they did not see any noticeable improvement of the situation. The nature of the police response is similar to the findings of Skogan's (1994b) study evaluating the effectiveness of community participation in the Chicago community policing programme. As in Uttara, the residents would raise specific complaints and the police would say they "would check on it" (p.16). This is also supported by other studies by Myhill et al. (2003) and Skogan (2000).

Given the views of the participants relating to the existing frequency of meetings, the level of community attendance and the quality of participation, it can be argued that the meetings did not provide much scope for consultation and decision making on the problems that the residents usually face. Through these meetings the police tended to collect information of crime to be used more in traditional policing operations rather than in collective actions of community policing. Organising these meetings can be, however, viewed as the process of creating a sense of collectiveness among the community residents and a partnership between the police and the community to work together.

Community police forum (CPF) meetings

The third programme initiative of organising community residents to participate in community policing practice in Uttara is the CPF meetings. Held usually once a month in the CPF offices, the forum meetings served as formal, structural platforms for both the CPF and the police to work together and also to share responsibility for crime prevention.

Three CPF participants talked about the purpose of holding CPF meetings in their own offices located in neighbourhoods. As they noted, community residents were invited to attend the meetings so that they could formally notify them of problems, even though they were probably aware of some of these, as they lived in the same neighbourhoods. They could also decide about which problems they were able to address at their level and what should be referred to police for legal action. They also emphasised the police presence in these meetings as a means to justify to community residents the authority of the CPF to formally deal with local problems. One CPF participant stated:

> *It is sometimes a challenge to bring community people with their problems to us. That's why the police presence in CPF meetings is important. We think their presence is like a formal recognition of our authority to solve some of the social problems. It also helps in bringing more community people to us.* (CPF participant, Turag)

The OCs in their interviews expressed similar views. They informed that they deputed at least one officer, preferably the related beat officer and also sometimes the thana CPO, to support CPFs to organise their meetings. The OC of the Uttar Khan Thana said:

> *We want community residents to first inform their local CPF members of their problems. But many of the social problems that could be mediated by CPF are brought to us. However, we refer these to the related CPF.* (Police participant, Uttar Khan)

This statement reflects the police initiative to empower the CPF with authority to address social problems in the community. It can also be seen as an initiative to help the community residents turn to the CPF members and build community cohesion. This reflects the police facilitation of promoting community participation, collective action and community ownership.

Scope of community participation in the meetings

The discussion to this point has focussed on three forms of police-community meetings that were seen to have served as the ways of information sharing and consultation. These, however, also helped organise community residents for their further participation in community policing programmes in Uttara. Myhill (2006) suggests while there may be many methods for securing community participation in policing, the most popular mechanism remains the public meeting. Similarly, police-community meetings in Uttara appeared to be one of the key strategies for community

participation. Evidence suggests, however,that a key problem of public meetings is the lack of wider community representation (Myhill, 2006; Sherman & Eck, 2002). For instance, an evaluation of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) highlights that achieving representation was a problem, particularly when beat meetings were used as part of a problem-solving approach (Skogan & Steiner, 2004).

However, Skogan (1999) found that meetings were more representative and better attended in areas with existing community networks. Likewise, a Police Reform Programme (PRP) participant in this research argued that homogeneity and acquaintances of residents seemed positive attributes to be used for better attendance in the meetings in Uttara. Similar views were also put forward by two police participants (the OCs) who observed the positive impact of community networks in better attendance at ACMs. Despite that, the PRP participant seemed sceptical of the sustainability of community participation only through police-community meetings.

The evaluation of the National Reassurance of Policing Programme (NRPP) of the United Kingdom, in its limited analysis of community participation process, suggested that using a variety of engagement methods could be more successful than relying solely on public meetings (Tuffin et al., 2003). Although the Uttara community policing practice had not yet adopted any other mechanism to organise residents for their participation, the three forms of meetings discussed seem to be underpinned by three distinct philosophies. While the OHD emphasised attracting community people to the police and the ACM focussed on police going back to the community, the CPF meetings were about facilitating residents to use their community leaders as resources for problem solving. It can be argued that

simultaneous practice of all these forms of meetings may be more effective than solely any one form of meeting to get community residents involved in policing.

During fieldwork I also identified different levels and types of community participation in these meetings driven by the purpose of the meetings and the level of police facilitation. The meetings, particularly OHD and ACM, were used as 'awareness programmes' to inform and educate community residents of the community policing concept. Police used Sir Robert Peel's proposition '*the police are the public and the public are the police*' as a slogan to motivate more people to attend. Although the awareness programmes did not place the public at the consultation table nor even facilitate information sharing, the front-line police participants argued that informing or educating people of the concept motivated them to contribute to implementing crime prevention programmes. They further asserted that people's participation in those meetings in fact initiated the process of building trust and information sharing. In the opinion of Arnstein (1969), educating community people is a form of manipulation and therapy to gain support for the policy. Myhill (2006) argues that informing or educating people ultimately helps to enable them to be involved in the process and that most of the participants prefer involvement at this level. Myhill (2006) and Wilcox (1994, 1999) also argue that informed people, if not all, tend to proceed to higher levels of participation.

The meetings were seen as engaging the community principally to provide crime information to the police. The collection of information about crime and other social problems from the community residents was a basic and regular characteristic of community policing, while continual communication between police and the CPF appeared to have become a routine practice. I found that police tended more to seek

information from people than to share it with them. Consequently, communication and information sharing were problematic. Two senior police participants admitted that the police had a conservative attitude towards information sharing, particularly on the perceived need for secrecy to ensure investigation and operational outcomes. This police attitude is in contrast with Myhill's (2006) suggestion that information sharing provision should relate to the issues of proactive crime prevention. Furthermore, without the active practice of information sharing, consultation and decision-making would remain unfulfilled goals. In the context of Uttara it seemed that the two-way communication or information sharing provision was restricted to the extent to which the police interpreted it as 'informing' rather than'sharing'.

As a consequence, there was reduced consultation and joint decision making practice in Uttara. Indeed, most of the consultation that took place involved only a few people attending the meetings, while the police, acting alone or in conjunction with a few community leaders, made all the decisions. This observation was reflected in a statement of a community participant:

> *In my neighbourhood several thefts occurred. Police called an anti-crime meeting. We gave them all information relating to the incidents. A few of us also suggested how to prevent incidents. A few days later, they came again and held a meeting and gave us leaflets of 'what to do' to prevent crime. The safety tips in the leaflets did not contain our suggestions.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

Palmer (2012) argues that to build community capacity for respectful participation, particularly at the level of consultation and decision-making, the police need to inform residents of what they intend to do and how and make them feel their input is valued (Palmer, 2012). Friedman (1994) suggests a meeting becomes effective and meaningful when the community comes to the table as an informed and competent

partner, rather than as a supplicant. Myhill (2006) concludes that if only a few prefer to participate in consultation and decision-making it is because the public agencies tend to disregard the community's input and do not empower them to influence decision on relevant matters. The situation in Uttara is consistent with Myhill's conclusion, as in general the community members seemed not to be in a position to influence the police to take decision on issues concerning their safety.

While effective community input was problematic, there were a few cases in which local political leaders influenced the decision making process in their favour. A community participant stated in his interview:

> *In an Open House Day in Dakhin Khan that I attended, only the political issues were discussed. Specifically, discussion was about how to suppress the anti-government movement. A shutdown was going on for a few consecutive days. The meeting was presided over by a local political leader of the party in power. Some followers of the leader were demanding to work out strategies to weaken the opposition's shutdown. It was decided that police would raid houses of some of the opposition party's leaders and activists. The police were influenced to implement the decision to protect their positions and postings.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

The statement reveals how a vested political interest dominated decision-making by manipulating the community-police meetings. The police had to implement the decision against their professional ethics and values of justice. The police seemed to have compromised for the sake of protecting themselves. The participant suggested this was the political reality in the context of Bangladesh. The decision, however, was not a reflection of the community's stand, as the attendees – other than a few political activists – had not called for the decision.

Although such cases may be exceptions, the police did seem to exert general control over the procedure of the meetings. Consultation was in most cases symbolic, and the police largely influenced decision-making. Moreover, the participants' views support the observation that decision-making seemed to be the police's prerogative. Nevertheless, the meetings can also be seen to have opened a communication channel between the police and the community. Sager (1993) refers to this form of participation as the *communicative rationality* of planning theories in which the planner talks with the participating actors about issues affecting the latter in order to legitimise the decision to be taken.

Community participation in crime prevention programmes

The previous sections discussed the process of forming community representational forums/committees and different forms of police-community meetings to organise community residents in order for promoting and sustaining police-community cooperation. This section discusses how the community got involved in and contributed to crime prevention programmes in Uttara. This research explored different levels and forms of community participation in crime prevention programmes such as Neighbourhood Watch and, more specifically, community patrol and problem-solving approaches. This section focuses on the aspects of community participation in these crime prevention programmes.

Community patrol

Of all the forms of community participation investigated, community patrol is perhaps the most visible of the efforts promoting community safety across Uttara. Community patrol in Uttara was generally performed by a group of civilians who were, depending

on the location, either paid security guards (non-resident or resident) or residents who volunteered their time to ensure the safety of a defined area.

The residents generally participated in community patrol either by supporting it in different forms or by performing patrol themselves. It is important to note that the residents in Uttara West first initiated community patrol by deploying security guards, even before the introduction of community policing in 2005. This initiation was made in the context of a lack of visibility of the police in the newly built neighbourhood. This patrol was, however, later reinforced with police support after community policing had commenced. According to the CPF participants from Uttara West, although none of them went out on patrol, it was their continued support of the initiative that kept their neighbourhood safe. One of them stated:

> *We cannot perform patrol duty personally. Our socio-economic status does not befit it. However, we have to get it done by paid security guards. We call them community police. All residents contribute to their payment equally. We are happy to pay them for our safety.* (CPF participant, Uttara West)

The sector CPFs coordinated all things related to community patrol such as the selection and employment of security guards, supervising and coordinating their duties and collecting money from households and payment.

By contrast, the community people themselves performed community patrol in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan, although a few non-residents were employed, particularly in market places. However, most of the community residents perform patrol duties for money, as the patrollers were economically marginalised. Similarly, not all residents of these areas were financially able to pay for community patrol. One CPF said:

> *Only 25 to 30 per cent of the households pay for community patrol. According to the ability of households we collect money. Those who do not pay depute one male member of their family to join the team for patrol. Some families do not have able male members. We are considerate to their case*. (CPF participant, Uttar Khan)

This statement indicates flexibility in terms of community participation in patrol, as residents were allowed to contribute according to their ability. Consideration of the inability of the households to contribute in either kind or financially was likely a reflection of communal harmony and understanding, and an incentive for those better off to support the approach. In contrast, two community participants observed that either the CPF members compromised with those community members who had no support for their (CPF members) inclusion into the forums or they (community members) were probably not willing to contribute to community patrol. Regardless of their inability or unwillingness, it was evident that not all households in Turag, Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan participated.

Besides paid patrollers, there were also volunteers patrolling in Turag and Uttar Khan. Some of the volunteers took part in joint foot patrols with the local police during the night along streets in Turag that were difficult for the police to patrol alone, either by car or on foot, due to a shortage of available officers. Senior police participants of Uttara division suggested community patrols in Turag and Uttar Khan involved more community residents compared to Uttara West and Dakhin Khan. In these areas the residents who volunteered patrolled along with paid security guards and police. In this sense, Turag and Uttar Khan community patrols seemed more organic and participatory. They also informed that the patrols were not limited to deterring movements of potential offenders only, but were extended to support vulnerable citizens and would-be victims. Hence, in terms of operational features they were

similar to the citizen patrols that have recently emerged in many towns and cities of the United Kingdom in the context of the night-time economy (Bullock, 2014). In addition, because of the volunteerism and joint initiatives with police, they appeared unique and distinct to community patrol in Uttara West and Dakhin Khan. In these later cases, patrol was performed either by paid non-residents or by some residents along with non-residents who were equally paid.

The different operational and management features in relation to community participation in patrols across Uttara are set out in the following table.

Table 4.5: Distinct features of community patrol in Uttara

Locations	Features of patrol
Uttara West	• Patrollers are non-residents and paid. • All residents provide equal financial contribution to patrols.
Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan & Turag	• Patrollers are both residents and non-residents. • All residents do not provide financial contribution and the contribution is not also equal.
Turag & Uttar Khan	• Some resident patrollers are volunteers. • A joint patrol is performed by the community and police in Turag only.

Table 4.5 demonstrates community patrols involving different patterns of community participation across Uttara. For instance, Uttara West patrols were performed by the non-resident security guards paid by the residents. Each of the community residents contributed the same amount of money for this purpose. In terms of financial contributions, however, there were varying levels of community participation in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag. Although those who made financial contributions did not usually perform patrol, according to the CPF participants, there were very few who participated in either way in those areas. In the case of Turag, the community's joint patrol with the police in a few neighbourhoods can be viewed as an instance of both community ownership and strong partnership with the police.

Some of these features of Uttara community patrol are similar with those identified by Chio (2013) in his comparative study of citizen participation in crime prevention patrols in the United Kingdom and South Korea. While youths perform community patrol for payment in the United Kingdom, it is done voluntarily in South Korea. Uttara community patrol is characterised by both volunteerism and payment provision. However, patrolling by non-residents and joint police-community patrols are the distinct features of Uttara community patrols.

Chio (2013) also identified two different systems of monitoring and controlling community patrols in the United Kingdom and South Korea. In the former, community patrols are monitored and supervised by the local police, while in the latter it is done by the community leaders. However, the Uttara community patrols are jointly supervised and monitored by the local police and the CPFs, thus providing another example of police-community partnership.

This study explored two distinct attributes in terms of organising community patrol across Uttara. In case of Uttara West, initiation of community patrol even before the introduction of community policing was an effort to mobilise collective efficacy through an internal social process (Cordner, 2010; Grinc, 1994; Sun, Triplett, & Gainey, 2004). In contrast, collective efficacy in the form of community patrol in Turag, Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan was not mobilised through an internal social process, it was rather brought about through a cooperative process in which the police played a facilitative role (Forester, 1999; Nalbandian, 1999; Potapchuck, Crocker, & Schechter, 1998).

This research, however, revealed structural disparity between the patrollers and the CPF (including community residents) around participation in community patrol, as

the former was viewed as employees of the latter. This was revealed from interviews of one security guard (patroller) and two CPF participants. According to them, although the patrollers were important actors in community patrols, they were not invited or even allowed to attend anti-crime and police-community forum meetings even though the patrol initiative was always an important agenda for discussion. Therefore, their views and experience on it could not be shared with community residents in those formal forums.

Although there may be the debate around levels and types of participation as well as structural disparity among the participants of community patrol, all efforts can be seen as a concerted and collective action. Contribution of all concerned from different positioning can also be seen as an important element of the community collective action. Community patrols as the complimentary to police patrols created a partnership between the community and the police.

Problem-solving

Myhill (2006) suggests problem-solving is a key part of community participation in policing. Maguire et al. (2015) suggest that developing partnership with citizen and other agencies for problem-solving is context-based. In some cases, police like to work with community residents to identify and respond to local problems. Some police agencies form partnerships with other governmental agencies to develop coordinated responses to specific types of problems such as gangs, drugs or domestic violence (Maguire et al., 2015; Scott, 2000).

In the last two decades of the twentieth century, police agencies of Western countries have developed a number of problem-solving strategies. Among these, the Scanning Analysis Response Assessment (SARA) model is the most prominent in practice. It

was originally developed in the United States and was subsequently followed by many other agencies to address similar or different types of problems such as violence, firearms offences, youth homicide, property crime and drug marketing (Braga, 2008a; Braga et al., 2008; Brito & Allan, 1999; Brito & Gratto, 2000; Chermak & McGarrell, 2004; Cordner & Biebel, 2005; Weisburd, Telep, Hinkle, & Eck, 2010; White, Fyfe, Campbell, & Goldkamp, 2003). Besides this, mediation is also another type of problem-solving strategy which is traditionally used in Bangladesh to address many social issues like land dispute, outstanding debts, domestic violence and so on (Hoque, 2014).

The following section discusses the attributes of community participation in implementation of both the Western SARA model and the native model problem-solving such as mediation.

Implementation of the SARA model

The SARA model, developed in the context of Goldstein's Problem-Oriented Policing (POP), has been outlined in Chapter One. This problem-solving strategy is also included in the *Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual* and has been suggested for use by the community policing implementing police agencies in Bangladesh (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). I explored its application in Uttara through interviews. Police participants, particularly the Officers-in-Charge (OCs), talked about the implementation of this model as a key strategy against property and drug related crime in their area. In their explanation of the implementation process, the OCs of Dakhin Khan and Uttara West claimed a positive impact of this strategy on reducing burglary and drug marketing, as detailed in the following case study examples.

Case Study Example-1

As explained by the OC, this approach was initiated in the context of an increase in house burglaries in Dakhin Khan. The implementation process of this collaborative approach was as follows:

Scanning: First of all, the station's crime statistics were reviewed which showed an upward trend of burglaries during the period between January 2013 and June 2013 compared with the preceding six months. The OC then organised an Open House Day in the police station and anti-crime meetings in the related neighbourhoods in which community residents who attended also reported the occurrence of burglaries. Thus, incidents of burglary were identified as a significant community problem. The police responded by gathering information to analyse the problem.

Analysis: The OC reviewed and analysed all the information gathered in relation to the incidents. He also interviewed victims of all burglaries and reviewed every incident. By analysing the information, he identified the timing, places, the target groups and the modus operandi involved in the incidents. He also identified factors and characteristics of the area facilitating recurrence. The OC stated that most of the targets were employees of different government offices, non-government organisations, and the garment and other industries, who rented houses for more than six months. They left their houses locked up in the morning and returned home at around 9:00 pm. The perpetrators entered the houses by breaking door locks and stole portable goods, money, ornaments, cell-phones and laptops. Most of the targeted houses were located along narrow streets with weak security measures. Most of the incidents occurred at noon when visibility of pedestrians on the roads and streets was low. Most of the incidents occurred in the dry season. The OC also collected covert

information about the identity of potential perpetrators. Thus he analysed the overall situation of the problem.

Response: Based on the analysis, the OC then formulated a response or collaborative intervention. He organised several meetings with the residents and educated them about their duty to protect their property from burglary. He also helped form an anti-crime committee with members of the area elite to review the overall situation and take practical steps, including improving the environmental conditions surrounding certain crime dens to discourage the perpetrators. In addition, the OC requested the local government authority to fix the Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) on the streets, especially in the crime zones, as well as clear roadside shrubs and any makeshift buildings, which were used as shelter by the perpetrators. Some patrolmen, with the help of CPF members and paid for by the residents, were deployed to guard the area. The OC also arranged police patrols in the area and deployed some plain-clothed policemen to watch the movement of suspects.

Assessment: The use of the SARA was said to have significant impact on reducing burglary and theft. According to the participants, the approach resulted in the reduction of at least 50 per cent of burglaries and thefts in two of the neighbourhoods where the strategy was applied. Thus, the response adopted seemed effective.

Case Study Example-2

In the context of recurrent incidents of drug marketing (and drug abuse by local youths), which was said to be the most prevalent crime in Uttara West, police organised an anti-crime meeting in July 2013. The community members, who attended the meeting, informed police about the spots and timing of drug marketing in their areas. This information was combined with confidential police information

identifying outside drug dealers selling drugs to youths from Uttara West. Community members were concerned about both the fact of drug abuse as well as addiction among youths. This was persistently going on because of a strong and secret communication network between the sellers and users as well as the spots being unattended.

In response to the problem, police formed a 'Quick Response Team' (QRT). Community people were advised to inform the QRT by mobile phone or any other means at the very sight of drug dealing, or to capture sellers with the help of community security guards and then to inform police. Police in the disguise of buyers were also deployed in and around the spots to catch the sellers red-handed. In this endeavour, the police caught two groups of drug sellers, and as a result other groups stopped committing further offences. In addition, about 8 to 10 addicts were treated in the Treatment and Rehabilitation Centre for the Drug Dependents in Dhaka. In this initiative, the Uttara offices of the health and social welfare departments helped arrange for their treatment. On the other hand, parents and CPF members played a correctional role by counselling those not yet addicted. With such social support and interagency cooperation the problem was addressed in a targeted way.

The implementation of this problem-solving strategy in Uttara ideally embraces partnership provision. The implementation process of the model was found to be almost similar throughout Uttara. The linear process of identification and analysis of a problem, along with a subsequent response, were almost similarly followed, even though in different context. However, it can be argued that without community engagement in one or two of the linear stages, the process would have been seen as a revised version of traditional law enforcement.

Problem-solving is an interactive process that involves police and the community to identify crime problems and to develop appropriate responses (Myhill, 2006; Young & Tinsley, 1998). In Uttara, it was only possible to research a limited scope of community participation as the police largely controlled the process. The police partially interacted with the community to identify the problem. One community participant commented:

> *In anti-crime meeting police asked us who the victims of robbery were during the last month, and where the incidents occurred. At the beginning of the meeting, police informed us that they would identify problems of our neighbourhood. They did not ask about any other problems. We assumed the police were meeting us to find out about the robberies that had taken place several times at a street corner near a field of our neighbourhood.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

In light of this statement, it can be argued that the community was consulted merely to verify the existence of the problem, as the police seemed to have taken the problem as already identified by using other sources such as media reports and crime statistics. The analysis of the problem and its response seemed to be an entirely police matter with the community acting as the implementing partner with the police. The community also seemed to be in an uneven and unequal position in order to play its role. Although a few community residents and a very limited number of agencies were involved to address the environmental causes of crime, the social factors remained unaddressed due to the lack of inter-agency partnership. Hoque (2014) argues that the problem-solving approach has been superficially implemented in the DMP as the creation of an inter-agency partnership and wider community representation has not yet been possible.

Ideally, problem-solving provides the provision for police and the community to work together to identify problems and solutions (Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 1998, 2000; Reiner,

2010). Given this proposition, community participation in problem-solving in Uttara seemed uneven, unequal and superficial, which is consistent with the view of Maguire et al. (2015) that there is growing doubt on the extent to which problem-solving, as theoretically suggested, is being implemented.

My study finding relating to community participation in problem-solving is supported both anecdotally and by some empirical studies. For instance, Forrest et al. (2005) suggest that the community can be involved at any stage of the SARA process. In relation to the response, Eck and Rosenbaum (1994) suggest citizens can legitimately take part in very few actions. Cordner and Biebel (2005) tend to question the ability of a problem-solving approach to secure community participation in the longer term. According to Myhill (2006), although some successful problem-solving initiatives do not have community participation at the 'front end', it can facilitate ultimate success. However, the evaluation of the NRPP did reveal examples of community participation in identifying and analysing problems (Tuffin et al., 2006). Skogan (1999) identified the lack of training of community residents in problem-solving to be one of the reasons for their inability to effectively participate in this approach, which may have been one of the causes in the context of Uttara.

Mediation – a traditional problem-solving tool

Moore defines mediation as "the intervention to the conflict in a standard negotiation by an acceptable third party who has limited or no authoritative decision-making power but who assists the involved parties in voluntarily reaching a mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute" (Moore, 2004, p.15). Mediation, as an alternative dispute resolution tool, can help the parties concerned to talk out their problems and resolve them in an acceptable manner.

In the context of Bangladesh, mediation has a long tradition of practice (Hoque, 2014). Literary documents suggest that in Bangladesh local government representatives, such as the chairman and members of the Union Parishad[11] or village headmen in rural areas and ward councillors in municipal areas, traditionally play the mediating role to resolve disputes and improve the relationship between the parties involved (Hoque, 2014; Police Regulations Bengal, 1943).

However, with the inception of community policing in 2005, the ward CPFs principally mediate many social disputes as a result of its practice. However, some disputes are mediated by joint initiatives of the police and CPFs; while local government representatives such as the municipal ward councillors and the chairman of the Union Parishads are legally empowered to resolve disputes (The Local Government [Union Parishads] Act, 2009).

This research explored mediation as an important problem-solving tool that was used to assist parties to avoid conflict and unwanted involvement in litigation. Some of the problems addressed through mediation by CPFs related to landlord-tenant disputes, land dispute between neighbours, outstanding debts, and even domestic violence.

Disputes or problems may have different root causes. As such, the process of mediation of all problems may not be exactly the same. The CPF participants of this study talked about how they used to mediate problems or disputes. Based on their discussions, a general procedure of the mediation usually followed by CPF participants was identified, as outlined in the following:

[11]Union Parishad represents the lower layer of local government in rural areas in Bangladesh. A Union Parishad comprises several villages.

1. The disputed issue is brought to the mediators (here the CPF members) by one of the parties involved or may be referred to by the police.
2. Mediators then call the parties to appear with witnesses before them.
3. Mediators explain the mediation concept and its significance for the peaceful settlement of dispute to participants.
4. Ground rules for smooth functioning of mediation are delivered to the parties involved.
5. Mediators allow parties their own versions and sentiment of the dispute.
6. Parties are allowed to rebut.
7. Mediators ask questions to clarify the issues so that they can understand the causes of the problem in order to seek a possible solution.
8. Mediators make suggestions and try to convince the parties to reach a suitable agreement.
9. After agreement, parties are generally placed under binding terms and conditions. Agreement is made in writing. If parties fail to come to an agreement or they do not accept the solution, mediators refer the matter to the local police for legal action.

   (Compiled by Author)

Compared to the problem-solving model of environmental crime prevention such as the SARA, the community seem to have more control over mediating social disputes using their traditional form of problem-solving. Hoque (2014) suggests that mediation has long been a tradition in community justice procedure and reflects community collective action and ownership and the guardianship of community leaders. Yet, my research revealed paradoxically the dual police role of facilitating and controlling community-managed mediation. For instance, one CPF participant observed:

> *The police have defined what types of social disputes we can mediate. Generally land disputes and minor problems between husbands and wives that the police feel bothered by are referred to us to settle. The police have restricted us to impose any fine or other forms of very minor punishment that was traditionally exercised by the community leaders for long in our society*. (CPF participant, Dakhin Khan)

This situation reflects police control over the operational jurisdiction of the CPF. The police authored *Community Policing Service Manual* and *Community Policing National Strategy* have simultaneously empowered the CPFs to mediate social disputes yet also disempowered them by taking away their traditional arbitration authority. Such experiences can be described as the 'paradox of empowerment' (Skelcher, 1993) and the 'cycle of disempowerment' (Hart, Jones, & Bains, 1997). It also reflects the uneven power relations and the conflict of authority, both of which are not consistent with Myhill's (2006) proposal that the police need to empower the community to effectively participate in the policing process.

Participation and social hierarchy

The previous sections have discussed the process of community participation in policing, highlighting that in the Uttara policing practice the process has appeared to reinforce and sustain existing social hierarchy and inequality. The following section focuses on the factors that contribute to construct and reinforce social hierarchy and inequality.

The community participation process that began with the establishment of the CPFs and the coordination committees in Uttara, as previously discussed, engendered the construction and reinforcement of the social hierarchy associated with the police interest in creating multi-level community representative groups such as ward/section CPFs and two hierarchical levels of coordination committees. Regardless of the importance and necessity of the coordination committees, multi-layered community representation appears to have reinforced the existing social hierarchy. Police intention and interest in creating such structural hierarchy can be interpreted as the attempt of bureaucratising the participation in terms of operational process. The

operational process of community participation within the structural hierarchy appears to have established hierarchical control and vertical accountability among the forums and committees.

An uneven power relationship is another factor of inequality in participation. In the Uttara community policing practice there are multi-dimensional uneven power relations between the forums and coordination committees, the police and the forums/committees, and the forums and the community residents. The uneven power relationship is principally caused by the uneven distribution of power by the police and authority conflict between the CPFs and the coordination committees around the coordinating functions of the former (CPFs). The police tend to use the forums/committees as their agents to organise police-community meetings and generally control the frequency of holding meetings and the meeting proceedings. Moreover, police control the scope of consultation and decision-making, thereby reinforcing the unequal partnership with the community representative groups such as the CPFs and the coordination committees. Furthermore, in delegating mediation authority to the CPFs, the police have created social hierarchy and inequality between the forums and the community residents. The uneven power relations and distribution of power among the stakeholders appears, therefore, to have created inequality in the process of community participation.

Additionally, differing levels of capability, opportunity and willingness of the stakeholders appear to be contributing factors to creating inequality in the participation process. As Myhill (2006) suggests, not all people participate in a social phenomenon or a public policy because of the fact that they may not have equal priorities and interests. Similarly, all people cannot participate at equal level due to

lack of opportunity and capability (Myhill, 2006). Participation theorists argue that because of the differing levels of opportunity, capability and interests, people participate at various levels (Arnstein, 1969, Pretty, 1995; Wilcox, 1994).

The *Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual* articulates three main levels of community participation: information sharing, strategic consultation and partnership (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). The Uttara police tended to control the opportunity for the community to take part in consultation and decision-making, which was reflected in their having a strategic partnership with only a few members of the forums or committees, particularly for decision-making about community patrol. On the other hand, they seemed to have partnership with the community patrollers in terms of only performing patrol together, as the latter were not usually invited to participate in decision-making about patrolling issues. Thus, the participation of the Uttara community was found to have been taking place at different hierarchical levels and to differing extents reflecting inequality. The unequal levels and extents are set out in Figure 4.3.

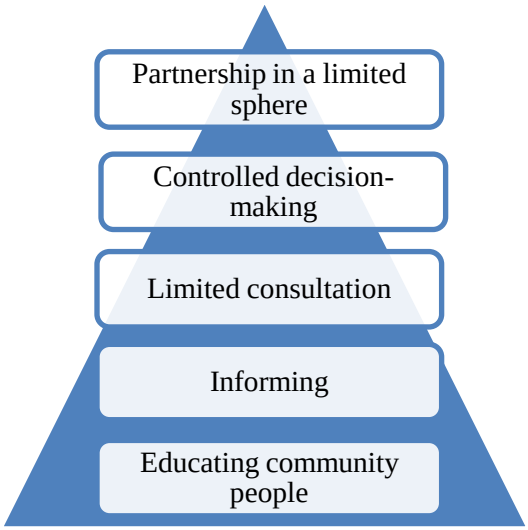


Figure 4.3: Levels of community participation in policing in Uttara

Realistically, the pyramidal structure in relation to community participation in community policing practice in Uttara reflects a comparatively simpler series of steps than Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation'. In other words, the participation steps are not as hierarchical as Arnstein's eight levels of participation in which the two bottom levels represent non-participation of the people. On the other hand, participation in Uttara community policing is more stereotyped in practice and is represented by five levels ranging from simply educating people about the event to partnership. Participation in Uttara community policing practice is, however, more similar to Wilcox's (1994) model, particularly in terms of the number of levels, but not obviously similar to what is suggested in the relative levels of the latter's continuum (see the typologies of participation in Chapter Two).

For example, the typology in Figure 4.3 differs with Wilcox's model in terms of the extent and quality of participation at each level. In Wilcox's model whether the stakeholders get equal opportunity to participate in the 'consultation' and 'decision-making' levels is not articulated. The typology here specifically reflects the lack of police facilitation of equal participation of stakeholders. Those few members of the CPF and the coordination committees able to participate in these levels were only given narrow scope and space to contribute. The bottom level of this typology reflects the manipulation of participation. An attempt by the police to educate community people merely provided the impression that the police were motivating the latter eventually to get involved in community policing practice. The Wilcox model does not provide a level that equates to the manipulation of participation. Moreover, Wilcox's model suggests citizen-control at the top of the continuum, whereas this typology is based on the Uttara community participation practices that do not provide the community with the opportunity to control.

Although the Uttara based typology differs from the existing ones of Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995) and Wilcox (1994), all of them share the fact that comparatively more people were organised to get involved at the bottom level with a gradual decreasing number of residents participating in the upper levels. According to Myhill (2006), differing levels of participation as outlined in the existing typologies such as the ones of Arnstein (1969) and Wilcox (1994) are attributed to the conservative role of the state agencies and differing willingness, capacity and opportunity of the stakeholders. This study, furthermore, explored the differing socio-economic and socio-political backgrounds of the community residents, in addition to the traditional police role, that seemed to be the reasons for their differing levels of capacity, willingness and opportunity to participate.

These various factors appeared to have created this hierarchical typology of community participation in Uttara community policing practice, although less hierarchical compared to Arnstein's participation model. These factors in combination also appeared to have created inequality in community participation practice. This finding contradicts the theory of democratic participation that recognises a close linkage between participation and equality (Bachrach & Botwinick, 1992). However, the finding is supported by liberal theorists such as Jennifer Hochschild and J.R. Lucas who argue that participation fosters inequality when uneven power issues are not addressed (cited in Myhill, 2006). Myhill (2006) and Nagel (1987) suggest that the disadvantaged need to be empowered and integrated in the system for inequality to be minimised. In the Uttara case study, there is no evidence of any police initiative to address this issue, rather the existing practice works to foster the existing social hierarchy and inequality.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored and discussed the community participation process in community policing practice in Uttara. In line with the principle of, and the provision outlined in, the *National Strategy* and the *Service Manual* the participation process was initiated with the establishment of the CPFs. The chapter explored and analysed the community role, and the limitations and constraints of it, in forming the forums represented by the individuals and groups. The chapter then focused on the community organising initiatives through various forms of meetings such as OHD, ACM and CPF meetings. In addition to helping organise the community, these meetings provided the way of working out crime prevention strategies. Therefore, community participation in these meetings provided the residents, particularly their representatives (i.e. the CPF members), with the opportunity to play their role in determining crime prevention strategies and programmes, albeit in a limited and highly controlled way. The manner and the extent community residents, in general, and the CPFs, in particular, participated in this process were also articulated. The discussion highlighted how the CPF members, as representatives of the community, played the role of the police associates to facilitate and also, at the same time, restrict wider community participation. Further, this chapter critically discussed community participation in implementing crime prevention programmes such as problem-solving and community patrol. Finally, the chapter explored how community policing reinforced and sustained the existing social hierarchy and eventually led community members to participate in different levels, extents and forms reflecting the inegalitarian nature of participation.

Chapter Five will explore and discuss the motivating factors of community participation with particular emphasis on the interest of some residents in their

inclusion in the forums. The motivating factors will help in the furtherance of the understanding of community participation process articulated in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Motivation for Community Participation

Chapter Four discussed the process of community participation in community policing practice in the Uttara division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). In the course of exploring the process of community participation it was identified that the varying levels of capability and opportunity led the Uttara community to participate at varying levels and extents. However, it is clear from other research (Hoque, 2014; Myhill, 2006; Skogan, 2004) that community people tend to participate in a local crime prevention initiative only if they have an interest in it. Hoque (2014) argues that capability, opportunity and motivation are the three important elements to ensure community participation in community policing practice. Moreover, as Batson, Ahmad and Tsang (2002) argue, the first step to understand participation in safety activities is to explore the motivating factors that lead community residents to participate in community policing programmes.

Hence, this chapter focuses on the motivating factors for their participation, including their inclusion into the forums and involvement in crime prevention programmes. The focus on the motivating factors of participation will also provide further insights into the participation process articulated in Chapter Four. The following exploration of the motivating factors and their assessment and evaluation are based on the interview statements of the participants.

Motivational campaign

The motivational campaign is a police initiative of promoting community policing and motivating people to participate in crime prevention activities through organising

police-community meetings and distributing leaflets. One of the important aspects of these meetings is to educate people by discussing the concept and benefits of community policing. The leaflets also contain the same information along with attractive images reflecting police-community cooperation. Hoque (2014), who is one of the proponents of community policing in Bangladesh, observes that relevant knowledge of any social phenomena instils interests in people about it. Choi (2013) suggests that people who positively participate in community policing activities do so because they are concerned, have the relevant knowledge, or feel a sense of responsibility. Police participants consistently asserted that due to a lack of knowledge about the importance and methods of community crime prevention, people initially seemed not particularly interested in community policing activities.

The motivational campaign to promote community policing appeared to be an important and primary determining factor of community participation in Uttara division. The police adopted a number of motivational strategies such as the effective use of the Peelian notion 'the police are the public and the public are the police'. Since the introduction of community policing in 2005 the police have used this notion as a slogan to motivate community residents towards programmes of this approach. For instance, five community members, four Community Police Forum (CPF) and six police participants recounted that around 500 community people attended, on each occasion, community policing campaigning meetings organised under the banner of this slogan. A community participant stated:

> *We are very much inspired by community policing. It is because it has given us a police status. We feel we are also police, because the police are the public and the public are the police. That's why we participate in community policing programmes. Why would we not participate? Policing is also our job, because*

> *police alone cannot prevent crime. If we both work together, we can reduce crime in the community*. (Community participant, Uttar Khan)

The statement of the interviewee demonstrates a sense of partnership and ownership that seemed to motivate community people to participate in policing. In a sense, it points to the need for reconsidering the identity of community people through accepting co-responsibility for ensuring a safer community. This understanding of their identity and responsibility reflects a radical shift from the traditional view that policing is the sole responsibility of the uniformed police.

Another motivational strategy the police employed in the police-community meetings was explaining the authority to arrest that the Bangladesh Criminal Law accorded to the members of the public. Under Section 54 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) any member of the public can arrest a suspicious person who is reasonably believed likely to commit a cognisable offence and hand him/her over to the police. This legal provision is consistent with the community policing philosophy by empowering people with the authority to arrest. By exercising this authority the public can share legal responsibility with the police. Police participants stated that people were not usually aware of this authority that they could exercise like the police. In their opinion, informing them of it seemed to work well, as there had been some examples of community patrollers arresting potential offenders and handing them over to the police. Community participants also indicated that knowledge about the provision for making a citizen's arrest acted as a motivating factor to co-operate with the police.

Police participants also asserted that inculcating the importance and benefits of community policing for crime prevention influenced the motivation for community

participation. In other words, putting forward arguments or justifications for community policing appeared to be one of the strategies of the motivational campaign in Uttara. For instance, the police advocated for the promotion of community policing by arguing that the type of law enforcement of traditional policing would not always contribute to maintaining social order and community safety, as once people were implicated in a criminal justice procedure they might experience unwanted suffering in terms of repeated police calls for investigation and having to appear in court. Hoque (2014) observes that the pursuit of criminal justice may involve a prolonged procedure and delay for justice and may also break down social bonds instead of providing a legal remedy. The police participants iterated the benefits of crime prevention through police-community collaboration such as a reduction in crime incidents results in less likelihood of involvement in criminal justice procedures. Furthermore, many social disputes could be solved in favour of maintaining social order and contributing to a healthy environment in the community. The police strategies to motivate people to cooperate for crime prevention were predicated on convincing everyone concerned that collaboration would benefit all of them, which is consistent with research by Myhill (2006), Oliver (1998) and Palmer (2012) who suggest community policing benefits both the community and the police.

Although there is consistent anecdotal support for these initiatives and strategies by the Uttara police, they narrowly promoted the campaign about community policing. Many of the community participants conjectured that even though many of the residents had heard about community policing, there were still many who might not have any clear idea of its concept and practice. For example, two female community participants suggested that as community policing activities were not visible in their communities, not everyone knew about it. The narrow scope of the campaigning

programme may be attributed to the police tendency of allowing participation of only those with whom they felt compatible. There might be other reasons such as the general police conservativeness articulated in Chapter Four. As community policing practice is not legally binding on the implementing agency, the front-line police would only initiate a community policing campaign if directed by the senior police management.

In addition, the effectiveness of the existing motivational campaign was also questioned. The CPF and the community participants observed that the use of meetings alone to educate people might not be the most effective way to influence community participation. They suggested that a more comprehensive campaign, which included seminars, training and recreational programmes, was required to motivate and sustain community participation.

Nonetheless, the existing campaigning programmes had helped promote interest in policing through education about community policing and raising awareness of people's rights and responsibilities. The police participants noted the campaign was a continuous process; the more the police launched programmes, the more people would know about community policing and be motivated to participate, which is consistent with Choi's (2013) argument that knowledge of any social event works as a primary cause to spark people's interest.

Community crime

In recent years, researchers have shown considerable interest exploring whether there is a correlation between community participation in crime prevention activities and community crime problems (Gates & Rohe, 1987; LaGrange, Ferraro, & Supancic, 1992; Skogan, 2000). Studies suggest that the crime problems in a community can

readily motivate community people to participate in community policing activities (Carr, 2003; Choi, 2013; Skogan, 2000; Sampson & Cohen, 1988).

As with crime problems, researchers have also shown interest in exploring if community participation is correlated to perceptions of crime. In some cases the crime statistics and the actual crime that occurs in an area may not be the same, as the police tend to not record crimes reported in order to give the impression that the level of crime is low in their area of jurisdiction (Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 2000). Myhill (2006) also suggests that the level of crime and perception of crime may also not be the same. In Bangladesh, Hoque (2014) notes that people tend not to report crime due to a lack of trust in the police and the fear of retaliation.

According to findings of some empirical studies, perceptions of community crime promote greater community cooperation with police in community policing (Carr, 2003; Pattavina et al., 2006; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Skogan, 1989). In contrast, other researchers such as Bennett (1998), Choi (2013), Lab (1990) and Shernock (1986) suggest that the prevalence of community violence or even perceptions of the same are not significant factors promoting community participation with police in collective crime prevention programmes.

Gates and Rohe (1987) ascribe citizen involvement in local crime prevention initiatives to perceived neighbourhood problems. Visible signs of community disorder are believed to be correlated with offender behaviour (LaGrange et al., 1992). Furthermore, they explain that apart from serious crimes such as murder, robbery, rape and crime against property, “soft-level breaches of community standards” can “signal the erosion of conventionally accepted norms and values” (LaGrange et al., 1992, p.312).

The need for addressing “soft-level breaches of community standards” has long been part of the conventional wisdom of community policing (LaGrange et al., 1992). The perceptions of an increase in ‘soft level breaches’ such as litter, graffiti, trashing of rubbish and disruptive social behaviour such as drunkenness, rowdy youth, loiterers and motor-bike hooning, have a correlation with promoting community participation in local crime prevention activities (Koper, 1995; LaGrange et al., 1992; Manning, 2010; Myhill, 2006). A correlation between crime problems and community participation in local crime prevention activities was evident in the context of Uttara.

One of the key findings of community participation in policing was the level of crime that positively influenced community people to contribute to crime prevention activities in Uttara in general. Six community and five police participants claimed that the level of crime determined the level of motivation for participation. However, this correlation was not simple; rather there were complex dynamics around crime and people’s willingness to participate in community policing practice, which linked to social and economic factors in the communities. Although the features were somewhat different across the communities of Uttara, the community response to crime was influenced by the social and economic factors.

The people of Uttara West, with their prior history of community mobilisation, established a security mechanism in the form of community patrol against a backdrop of an increase in crimes (i.e. robbery, theft, burglary, drug-use), anti-social behaviour, and the lack of a police station or a police box in the newly built neighbourhoods. Consequently, the residents enthusiastically embraced the introduction of community crime prevention activities. Relating to the general tendency of residents to co-operate with the police, an Uttara West participant said:

> *We are very much concerned about crime. We, the residents, want to live in a safer community. We want to build a community where our children will not be affected by heinous claws of deadly narcotics, and will be able to move undisturbed, and will not be affected by any anti-social behaviour. Unless we co-operate with police, they alone cannot control crime and social disorder.* (Community participant, Uttara West)

The reasons crime motivates community residents to participate are linked to the limitations of the police and the potential consequences of crime, if not prevented. This concern by the residents of Uttara West continued even after incidents of crime declined in 2013, as they were committed to build a crime-free community, according to community participants. Police participants observed that people of Uttara West were comparatively more educated and well-off. Their expectation in terms of living a quality life seemed higher than those living in other areas. As such, they seemed to feel threatened even by a lower level of crime and were motivated to cooperate with the police. Pyo (2001) also found that people who feel threatened by crime problems get involved in police initiated crime prevention activities, while Carr (2003, 2005) similarly found that community people are likely to participate in community policing because they feel that the formal agency such as the police can do little to prevent crime and anti-social behaviour without their support.

In the context of Uttar Khan, the community was also driven by similar motivation to that of Uttara West. They worked with the local police to prevent the easy access of narcotics through the community to the newly built sub-urban area. They intensified their night patrols when robberies were committed in the rural part of Uttar Khan. During times of an increase in crime, people voluntarily participated in night patrol in cooperation with the local police. However, they tended to stop regular night patrols

when crimes were reduced. One of the community participants reiterated the necessity of community patrol:

> *During the rainy season when villages go under water police can hardly come to our area. Because, patrolling the area is not possible without boats. Foot patrol or motorised patrol is almost impossible. That's why the rates of robbery and theft increase. That time we have to patrol the area by country boats to control robbery and theft. During the dry season people also do night foot patrol, but not as much as they do when the crime level increases in the rainy season. Whenever needed, we accelerate our efforts.* (Community participant, Uttar Khan)

People were motivated by the presence and perception of crime to participate in local crime prevention efforts and adjusted the level of community intervention to the level of crime taking place across communities. Community participants suggested they did not feel the need to continue their efforts to the same degree throughout the year. They were committed to reducing the level of crime but were pragmatic that a crime-free community was not possible.

The situation in both Turag and Dakhin Khan was influenced somewhat by the division between the haves and the have-nots in the community. Both groups seemed to be motivated by different understandings about the effects of crime. On the one hand, the increased level of crime motivated the more affluent residents who cooperated with the police in terms of organising anti-crime meetings, and deploying and affording the cost of community patrols in their neighbourhoods. On the other hand, the participation of the disadvantaged residents, particularly in community patrol, was primarily influenced by their monetary interest; that is, the payment they received for their patrolling duty was the primary motivating factor. Although they considered that community patrol would protect the property of the more affluent rather than their own, they acknowledged the benefits of crime prevention for the

community as a whole. In other words, monetary interest in conjunction with their understanding of the effect of crime motivated them to participate in community patrol. A community participant, who had previously participated in community patrol, stated:

> *We understand community policing will protect the property of the rich. But we are also benefited. We want our children to be safe from the bad effects of narcotics. An addict child is a burden for our family and brings much suffering to other family members. Our girls' movement can be affected by loiters and eve-teasers if we do not collectively protest those bad characters. More or less we are all affected by crime and anti-social behaviour.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

Although their awareness of the effects of community crime and social disorder motivated them to participate in community crime prevention activities, according to the local police, the CPF and the more affluent residents, the socially and economically disadvantaged co-residents still needed some convincing that the participation in community policing was efficacious. A CPF participant from Turag stated:

> *In the beginning we tried to convince them [the indigenous disadvantaged] to participate in community patrol or to pay for employed security guards. They were told that they could sleep safely and securely every night by patrolling for just three or four nights, or paying one hundred and fifty taka. They were hard to convince, as they would say that it was the rich who were the usual target of the offenders, and they also doubted the outcome of the night patrol. We made the payment flexible according to ability. After a few months, when they saw the reduction in crime, they saw that they were also benefited along with the rich. Because it was not just a reduction in the crime that affected only the rich, but the total criminality that affected both groups. Therefore, they became motivated to participate in community night patrol.* (CPF participant, Turag)

In Turag it was evident that the better off residents more readily embraced community policing due to the greater effect of crime on them. According to the senior police participants, their motivation was unique in that they not only afforded the payment of security guards, but also deployed one or two family members on rotation for patrolling. Yet, as the implementation of community policing ideally requires the community's collective efforts, it was in their interest to motivate the disadvantaged to participate in crime prevention activities.

Once collective efforts reduced crime and anti-social behaviour community members, particularly the disadvantaged group, tended to fully divert their time and energy back to their normal day-to-day activities, as they pointed out that participation hampered their daily business. One of the police participants indicated no one expected engagement in community policing activities at the same level or scale throughout the year. It was, however, a positive sign that community members responded when needed; that is, they were motivated to participate following an increase in crime.

On the other hand, according to police participants, the people of Uttara West remained sensitised to crime round the year more than those of the rest of Uttara. They suggested that the higher level of sensitivity to crime was driven by the residents' awareness of living in an area officially called a 'model town'. As such, they had a higher level of expectation that they would enjoy a quality life in all respect. This expectation correlated to their level of sensitivity to crime. One of the CPF participants claimed that they expected their neighbourhoods to be crime-free zones. The senior police participants of the Uttara division suggested that at the time community policing was introduced, the level of crime was higher and residents in Uttara were perceived to feel insecure due to the higher prevalence. Hence, once they

were told about the efficacy of community policing, many seemed readily willing to cooperate with the local police to prevent crime. Five CPF and seven community participants also agreed with this claim and indicated that they understood the role of community policing to help police reduce crime in their neighbourhoods. It can be argued, therefore, that a high level of crime sensitivity made the residents in Uttara West more committed to contribute to crime prevention schemes.

Hoque (2014) suggests that the community response to crime and disorder are related to the socio-economic background of the people of a community, hence the level of sensitivity to crime may not be the same across communities due to unequal socio-economic conditions. Senior police participants of Uttara division observed varying levels of security concern across Uttara in line with Hoque's proposition. One of them, who attended a number of anti-crime meetings across Uttara, provided an example in relation to this. He perceived that there was a higher level of security concern among the meeting attendees around two house burglaries, which occurred in the same month in Uttara West, than there was in Dakhin Khan and Turag concerning four house burglaries which took place during the same period. He also observed that more community people attended the meeting in Uttara West than in Dakhin Khan and Turag. He attributed the higher attendance and greater concern to a higher level of sensitivity to crime. He suggested that, as the people of Uttara West were economically advanced, they were more concerned for the protection of their property. Both the police and the CPF participants concurred that similar socio-economic conditions, levels of education, professional backgrounds and length of time resident in many of the neighbourhoods in Uttara led the communities to organise to prevent crime. According to them, such homogeneity seemed more evident in Uttara West than other areas of Uttara division and that more organised

communities appeared to be more sensitised to crime, therefore, more disposed to cooperate with the police in crime prevention. For instance, deployment of paid security guards in Uttara West, even before the introduction of community policing in 2005, was promoted by a similar level of sensitivity to crime and commitment to crime prevention.

The existence of a correlation between crime and motivation for participation is supported by various empirical studies (for example, see: Carr, 2003; Choi, 2013; Gates & Rohe, 1987; Koper, 1995; LaGrange et al., 1992; Manning, 2010; Myhill, 2006; Pattavina et al., 2006; Pyo, 2001; Sampson & Cohen, 1988; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Skogan, 1989, 1990). Whereas these empirical studies generalised this correlation, my research findings have identified some other associated factors such as socio-economic differences, and the varied understandings and consequences of crime that demonstrate the reasons why different groups of people were differentially motivated towards participation in community policing in Uttara.

Attachment to community

Carr (2003) suggests there is a correlation between an individual's attachment to community and participation in crime prevention schemes. This proposition is also supported by Pattavina et al. (2006), Ren et al. (2006) and Lim (2001) who argue that individuals attached to the community in which they live are influenced to participate in community policing programmes more than those having less attachment. Choi (2013) defined community attachment in terms of an individual's duration of living in a community and involvement in different community groups and activities. Similarly, police participants of this study described community attachment by

indicators such as duration of residence, working in organisations in the same community and involvement in local groups. They also suggested there was a correlation between community attachment and participation in local crime prevention activities, further asserting that the level of attachment influenced the level of participation.

The community and the CPF participants attributed the variations in community attachment in Uttara to the characteristics of residency, the types of residents and the varying access to community facilities. As previously highlighted, community characteristics were not the same across Uttara. Uttara West, for instance, consisted of residents with varying settlement tenures as a consequence of the gradual expansion of the sectors. For example, sectors no. 3, 5 and 7 were prepared and allocated for settlement about 25–30 years back; sectors no. 9, 11, 13 and 14 about 18–22 years back; and sectors no. 10 and 12 about 10–12 years back. Only 2–3 per cent of the residents are indigenous. With the progress of urbanisation in Turag, around half of the population migrated and settled there about 10–15 years back; one-third are indigenous; and the rest are temporary residents, according to CPF participants. Dakhin Khan has a similar profile. In the case of Uttar Khan, more than half of the population are indigenous; one-third migrated there about 10–15 years ago; and the rest are temporary residents.

Those temporarily living in Turag, Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan are termed by the participants as *floating people*, as they are engaged in temporary jobs and would often quit jobs to move to other places in Dhaka. According to CPF participants, these people seem to have less community attachment. In the case of Uttara West, around 40 per cent are tenants who have generally tended to live there for long periods of

time due to factors such as better child education, Medicare, community safety and permanent jobs or other occupations in and around Uttara. According to three police and four CPF participants, the tenants of Uttara West are likely to get more attached to community than those of other areas of Uttara because of their tendency to remain until their children end schooling there.

This research also revealed that people living and engaged in businesses or jobs in the same area seemed to have stronger community attachment in terms of involvement in community works than the people whose living and working places were not in the same area. Almost half of the community and CPF participants suggested around 70 per cent of the businessmen of this study area were working as well as living in the same area, thereby forming a business community having strong community attachment, particularly in Dakhin Khan and Turag. According to five CPF participants, the attachment was likely to influence these business people towards inclusion into the CPFs of Turag and Dakhin Khan in a comparatively larger number (see Table 4.4 in Chapter Four).

The police participants observed that the Uttara West community was more organised than other areas of Uttara in terms of community characteristics and activities. Besides providing social services, each sector kallan samity played a pivotal role in organising different events such as an annual picnic, cultural programmes and sports competitions to celebrate the first day of both the Bengali and the Gregorian calendar year. These events provided community members with opportunities for social interaction. The police participants further stated that each sector was equally enriched with community facilities such as parks, playgrounds, clubs and places of worships, which were attended by people of different ages. Many of the residents

were involved in different community groups and activities. The CPF participants suggested that house owners were more likely to get involved than tenants, while business organisations contributed to community activities by sponsoring various social and recreational programmes.

These eventually promoted social networks and enhanced a sense of collectivism in Uttara West. The community and the CPF participants indicated that the sense of collectivism and social networks encouraged them to ask for assistance from community members as well as intervene in matters at the private level. For instance, a female community participant, who is associated with a women's voluntary organisation in Uttara West, explained how social connectivity helped resolve a problem. She recounted that the son of a member of their organisation had became a drug addict. She offered to help her through seeking assistance from a doctor at a 'drug-addict counselling and treatment centre' in Dhaka, whom she knew through membership of the Uttara Club. She stated that the clinical problem of the addict was thus addressed with the assistance of the doctor, demonstrating the way social connectivity promoted community cooperation to resolve a problem.

Community cooperation underpins informal social control that can motivate community members to participate in social welfare activities, including crime prevention schemes. Pattavina et al. (2006) note that a close-knit community with strong attachments tends to have higher levels of informal social control for preventing crime. Choi (2013) also found that South Koreans' community attachments play a significant role in promoting citizen participation in community policing.

With regard to community participation in Uttara West, police participants observed that due to community attachment residents were likely to be more conscious of their community safety. Therefore, they had already established their own community safety arrangements, initiated by the sector kallan samity, in the form of deploying security guards at strategic points even before community policing was formally introduced in 2007. The CPF participants of Uttara West ascribed this community safety initiative to promoting the residents' participation in formal community policing. Choi's (2013) findings accord with this observation that in cases in which community members are informally able to do things together, they are more likely to participate in more formal community safety programmes.

Community attachment also appeared to be an influencing factor for community participation in policing in Turag, Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan. There were varying levels of attachment leading to varying levels of participation of the people of the same community. Community and CPF participants suggested that those had been living there for more than ten years had strong attachment to community, whereas those who were temporary dwellers – constituting about 30 per cent of the total population – seemed to have less attachment to community. According to them, these transient residents spent almost the whole day at work places; had less interest in community policing programmes, although living in the same community; and tended to consider crime problems to be the concern of house-owners as permanent residents. Their apathy towards the community policing programmes was evident by their non-attendance in anti-crime meetings even though they were always invited by the police and the CPF members.

In the case of indigenous people, particularly in Turag and Dakhin Khan, there seemed to be less interest in community policing, in spite of having community attachment in terms of having lived there for a longer period. The CPF and the police participants noted that campaigning programmes hardly motivated them to participate in community crime prevention schemes. They pointed out a couple of reasons for this. Firstly, as most of them are socio-economically less advanced, they were seldom the targets of criminals. Consequently, their participation in crime prevention schemes was more likely considered to be protecting the property of the well-off migrated settlers rather than their own. Secondly, they tended not to accept the dominance of migrated settlers in the CPFs, nor did they want to share or cooperate with them in other social activities. Here, community attachment was overrun by the sense of unequal social structure. Two indigenous community participants – one from Turag and one from Dakhin Khan – also provided similar views that corroborated the CPF and the police participants' interview statements.

In Uttar Khan, by contrast, problems of socio-economic differences between the disadvantaged indigenous residents and the advantaged settlers were not pronounced due to the greater interdependence between the two groups of people. According to the CPF and the community participants, most of the migrant businessmen both lived and worked in Uttar Khan, as opposed to Turag and Dakhin Khan in which the majority of the businessmen lived outside the communities. Participants in Turag and Dakhin Khan resented that the factories' owners preferred to employ temporary residents at a cheaper rate rather than employ permanent (indigenous) workers. In contrast, the business organisations in Uttar Khan employed as many permanent inhabitants as possible suggesting that attachment in terms of living in the same community might have influenced the employment of their co-residents. It was

assumed that the tendency to employ co-residents was promoted by their co-existence leading to linkages among them. Similarly, the co-residence of differing levels of individuals fostered the establishment of norms of reciprocity and interdependence between community members in Uttar Khan (Putnam, 2001). Therefore, community safety and security seemed to be the common concern for both migrant settlers and indigenous people. In spite of existing socio-economic differences, the strong community attachment and interdependence of both the migrants living and investing in the area and the longer-term residence seemed the driving factors for their participation in crime prevention activities in Uttar Khan.

In addition to the attachment to place, people of similar socio-economic background were likely to be motivated to participate in a similar fashion. For example, the disadvantaged residents participated in community patrol in Dakhin Khan, Uttar Khan and Turag. In the context of Uttara West, with its greater concentration of civil and military bureaucrats and professionals, participation was in terms of contributing money for the community patrol. Members of the business community also made monetary contributions for installing CCTV, police boxes and employing security guards around the market areas. Community leaders usually preferred that they were included in the forums and committees in line with their interests, compatibility and abilities. In all these cases, community attachment seemed one of the factors that influenced, although at varying degrees, community people to participate in community policing.

In light of these examples, it can be concluded that community attachment in Uttara while working as a driving force for participation also enhanced social connectivity,

familiarity and interdependence. These attributes, in turn, strengthen community attachment to incrementally influence community participation in policing activities.

Individual interest

Apart from community attachment, individual interest was identified as another motivation for participation in crime prevention activities. Individual interests were related to financial, social and political factors. For instance, while a significant number of community residents were motivated to participate in policing to protect their financial interest, some were keen to pursue social and political interests through inclusion into the forums in an attempt to build either a social identity or a sustainable popularity base. Various individual interests are articulated in the following sections.

Financial interest

Financial interest was found to be connected to an individual's community attachment promoting them to invest in building houses or in a business enterprise in their community. Schneider (2007) notes that the individuals who have attachment to the community in terms of living in their own houses, their children going to local schools and through involvement in community activities are likely to look for an opportunity to invest there. They are also more likely to want protection for both persons and property. Schneider (2007) identifies two types of community attachment: emotional attachment that stimulates and promotes an individual's desire to care for and protect their families and the community, as previously discussed; and financial attachments to the community which stimulate individual's interest in home ownership and investments in the locality. As Schneider (2007, p.113) explains:

> In the community, the homeowners have a vested interest because they are putting dollars into property there. So if the area is perceived to be unsafe, their dollars are worth less than the initial ones they put in. The renters, on the other

> hand, if the area is perceived to be unsafe and not a good place to live, are benefiting because there rents are lower and they do not care because if it gets too bad they just move out.

This research supports Schneider's observation. In the urbanisation process people of different socio-economic background are migrating to Dhaka city. The research participants noted that those who are highly educated, professionals and business people preferred posh areas like Gulshan, Banani, Baridhara, Dhanmondi[12] and Uttara Model Town[13] for their residence. The Uttara Model Town attracted mainly educated professionals such as government, civil and military officers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, bankers and business people of the upper middle class. They bought government allotted residential plots on which most preferred to invest money to build houses for their permanent residence.

The majority of the participants of Uttara West indicated that the employees of government, semi-government and autonomous organisations, on their retirement from jobs, preferred to invest their money in housing. They seemed to consider it a safe investment and a permanent source of retirement income. For example, in a five-story house, one floor could be used for the owner's home while the remaining four floors are rented out to earn an income. According to the community participants, investment in housing – both for their own home and as a source of permanent income – was a better option than the potential risks of investment in a business due to the inability to run it, particularly after retirement, and fluctuation of bank interest rates. As house owners they expected a safe and secure environment to attract and

[12]Gulshan, Banani, Baridgara, Dhanmondi are the posh residential areas in Dhaka city. These are the well-planned residential areas where people of upper society live. Embassies and High Commissions of different foreign countries are also located in these areas. Uttar Model Town was built as another posh area for people of the upper and upper-middle classes.

[13]Uttara Model Town is divided into Uttara East and Uttara West. The major part of the model town is located in Uttara West. The reason for selecting Uttara West rather than Uttara East for this study has been explained in Chapter Three.

retain tenants. Moreover, in order for a sustained income from their housing investment, they were more likely to participate in crime prevention activities to build a safer community.

There was another group of people who preferred to invest in and run small and medium scale business enterprises instead of working in organisations for other people. This group of migrants established their business enterprises in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag because of the availability of cheap workers who also preferred to work and live in these areas for the low-living costs. Some of these business people also invested in housing for their own homes and rental for income. These people appeared to be more committed to cooperate with the local police to prevent crime and disorder for their own security and business interests.

These business people cooperated with the police for crime prevention other than simply reporting a crime or attending anti-crime meetings. Five police participants observed that many of them employed private security guards to protect their business properties. They argued that protecting their properties by employing security guards was also a form of participation, as they (the police) could give more attention to other crime prevention activities while liaising with the private security guards. Some of those investors also sponsored the building of beat police boxes and installing CCTV, thereby contributing to crime prevention. For example, the Turag thana building was constructed with the financial help of an industrialist who had a textile mill near the thana compound. These forms of cooperation with police for crime prevention were evidently driven by their financial interests.

Another type of financial interest for participation involved the disadvantaged residents taking part in community patrol – a key element of the Neighbourhood

Watch scheme, which significantly contributed to community safety and security across Uttara. In most cases, financial interest evidently appeared as the driving factor of their participation. As already noted, some communities concerned about safety and security had adopted their own security measures by employing guards. House owners and financial investors benefited from their contribution of a small amount of money to pay the community patrollers. The community patrollers and the security guards embraced this employment as a means of livelihood. Thus, financial interests appeared to be the determining factor for participation of both these groups. The community patrollers' interest for participation is similar to the British Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) who are also paid for service (Choi, 2013). However, there is a fundamental difference between the community patrols in Uttara and the United Kingdom. In the former case, community patrol for money is a kind of sub-economy, which has developed around and because of community policing. In the latter case, payment is a way of retaining the youth in patrol while they have other job options. Most importantly, some of the youth in the United Kingdom who are involved in community patrol do so because of future career prospect, as their recognition as PCSOs could help them get better jobs (Choi, 2013).

Social identity

One of the important initiatives of community participation in policing was the opportunity to participate in the CPFs in Uttara both in policing activities themselves, as well as facilitate other members of the community to interact with the police. Participation in the CPFs was critical as it represented the community in policing. Haque (2003) suggests that the direct representation of citizens is considered one of the most effective modes of participation in any public service in a democracy. The majority of the participants of this research viewed the CPFs as an important platform

reflecting representative community participation in Uttara. Chapter Four articulated the procedure for the inclusion of community members in the forums. Here, the factors contributing to their inclusion in the CPF are described.

An emergent theme during field research was the desire for social identity, which influenced some community members to join the CPFs. A desire for a prominent social identity often precedes involvement in social organisations. Most of the CPF members of Uttara West were either retired or acting civil and military bureaucrats or other professionals who had held or were still holding leadership positions in their respective organisations. As they were familiar with exercising authority in their respective professional fields, they tended to do the same in terms of interfering in social disputes in their communities. The CPF members were given responsibility by the police to solve various trifling social disputes as a part of community policing practice. The police often also referred to the CPFs for solving the disputes reported to them. Hence, the CPF members appeared to be elite groups with social authority. The community participants assumed that the CPF members were likely to consider the forums as a means of achieving social identity and exercising social control through having connection with the community and the local police. Relating to their tendency to use the CPF as a means of social control, one community participant stated that:

> *Recently the forum office has issued a letter to the community members to inform them if we are involved in any kind of social dispute. They tend to arbitrate rather than solve the disputes. They also try to convince some people in our community that arbitration by them saves both time and money that may be involved in formal criminal justice.* (Community participant, Uttara West)

This participant's view points to a tendency of the CPF members to participate in community policing in terms of arbitrating social disputes rather than cooperating

with the police in other types of crime prevention initiatives. The effort to convince people to pursue arbitration demonstrates not only their sense of community guardianship but also their endeavour of exerting gradual social control as well as community control in the participation process. However, this attempt of community control can result in a conflict of authority between the CPF leaders and the police, which will be discussed in the next chapter. In general, the CPF participants indicated that through the CPF they intended to utilise their professional networks to contribute to community policing practice as well as other social works. Given the contrasting views, it can be assumed that they intended to demonstrate their professional authority in their community. They might view the CPF as a social organisation through which it was appropriate to implement this intention. Furthermore, they were likely to expand and exploit both social and professional networks to eventually establish social control.

There were different views regarding the reasons for the desire of retired government officials to serve on the CPF. The police participants tended to view their inclusion in the CPF as a way of engaging in social works and as a means of demonstrating their continued relevance to their communities in their retirement. A similar view was expressed by one of the community participants:

> *In our sector most of the CPF members are retired government officials. Before they were elected to kallan samity, they stayed at home. After they are elected to the samity, we see them quite busy. Every afternoon they are in the kallan samity/CPF office. Many other people, who as far as I know do not live in our community, are in the office gossiping and discussing with them. They seem to be government high officials indicated by the vehicles they use. I don't know what they are doing for community policing.* (Community participant, Uttara West)

The desire to remain visible and to continue to engage with social and professional networks seems to be one of the reasons for these retirees wanting to spend time in the CPF office. In another sense it also indicates that the CPF facilitates a sense of belonging and of personal worth and value to society along with a means to maintain social identity and status, as the following quote from a retired government official demonstrates:

> *I have enough time after my retirement to engage in social work. I can also consistently maintain liaison with other government and non-government offices. I also want to add my value to social work and community policing.* (CPF participant, Uttara West)

The issue of social identity was also of relevance to the CPF members of Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan. They used to prefer to be identified to the community residents as community police rather than simply members of the CPF. While some of the CPF members were really concerned with crime and anti-social behaviour, many of them tended to be in forums to demonstrate their identity as community police. They also tended to establish social control through this identity. To be associated with police in crime prevention activities gave them a feeling that they were different from other community members.

As explored in this study, there are two forms of community policing in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag. One uses paid security guards who are often labelled as community police, as far as community patrol is concerned (see Chapter Four). The other consists of CPF members who also prefer to be labelled as community police in addition to representing the community to work with the local police. To institutionalise their identity as CPF members or community police, the local police had previously, on request, issued them with ID cards, which provided another means

to establish their identity in the community. However, assertion of this identity involves both benefits and risk. On the one hand, it invites community members to turn to them with social problems and accept their intervention, thereby promoting community collective action. On the other hand, it may create unequal power relationships that foster social inequality. The police participants indicated that due to allegations of domination and intimidation by some CPF members using the ID cards, the cards were not renewed. However, as to the justification of holding ID cards, one CPF participant stated:

> *So long as we had ID card we were regarded as community police and people of the community obeyed us. We used the ID card as our recognition by the local police. So, it was easier for us to control crime in neighbourhoods. After expiry of the validity, the ID cards were neither reissued nor renewed. Community people no longer value us as before.* (CPF participant, Turag)

The possession of ID cards entails various implications. Firstly, it identifies those who have one as different from others. It provides them with authority to exercise social control. Although this authority causes others to comply with them and facilitates community efforts towards crime prevention, at the same time it creates or exacerbates social inequality. This may also be viewed as a flaw in the whole community policing implementation process through replication of the police hierarchy within the community. Regardless of the connection between the police and the CPF leaders, the former tend to control the latter, as evident in the non-renewal of the ID cards and the conflict of authority it engendered. The tendency of the CPF members to use their identity to control and dominate other community members points to an insufficient screening process. Nevertheless, these drawbacks of identity assertion can be attributed to the desire to maintain social status.

It is clear there is a fundamental difference between the CPF members of Uttara West and those of the rest of Uttara around the intention of social identity and status. The difference is due to different perception of and attitude towards social identity. While CPF membership in Uttara West was perceived as a mean to assert identity as social leaders, the CPF members of the rest of Uttara preferred to be regarded as community police for their social identity. For the latter group, labelling as community police seemed more effective to establish social control. On the other hand, inclusion in the CPF in Uttara West was perceived to have provided the forum members with the opportunity to exercise a community leadership role through exploiting existing social and professional networks. This different thinking around social identity might be ascribed to the different demographics discussed in Chapter Four.

Alternative ways of promoting and sustaining popularity

Another motivating interest for involvement in Uttara community policing was connected to the potential for political gain, particularly for some political party activists and local government representatives. As outlined in Chapter Four, the incumbent political party activists were significantly represented in CPFs, particularly in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan. Moreover, a significant number of the party activists were local government representatives. The inclusion of local government representatives in the CPFs was especially emphasised in the *National Strategy* because of their social influence and the acceptance needed for the promotion of community policing practice (Bangladesh Community Policing Strategy, 2010). So far as community policing practice is concerned, local government representatives (LGR) are considered to play an important role in their respective areas (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). As local leaders, they are also generally

enthusiastic in their involvement in local social phenomenon. However, not all of them were equally motivated or motivated by the same interests.

In this section, the causal factors motivating participation of some of the political party activists, including the LGR, are discussed. According to the police and community participants, local government representatives of both the incumbent and opposition political parties were willing for their inclusion into the forums. Political interest was identified as the principal cause of their motivation. Three police and four community participants noted that community policing programmes opened another avenue for the LGR to interact and communicate more with local community people. The participants believed that through participation in community policing activities the LGR could mobilise community support by demonstrating their contribution to crime prevention. As community representatives in the forums, the LGR could also share the credit of improving the crime situation, which would enhance their popularity in the community. Such political motive of using the forums to promote popularity probably led them to participate in the forums and community policing activities; at least it seemed to be the case with the incumbent party activists. Moreover, the police appeared to prefer the activists' inclusion in the forums, due to the police bias towards them, which probably prompted the activists in turn to pursue their political motives through participation in the community policing programmes.

In terms of the participation of LGR and activists from the opposition party, there appeared to different political motives and interests. While the LGR of the incumbent party were driven by the intention of promoting and enhancing their popularity, those of the opposition party were likely to participate in community policing activities, in general, and to be interested in inclusion in the forums, in particular, as a means to

sustain their popularity. Two former CPF members, who seemed to be activists of the opposition political party, indicated that it seemed the police preferred they did not participate in community policing programmes. Similarly, other government agencies did not facilitate their participation in community development activities. Their exclusion from state initiated social events resulted in a loss of public profile, hence affected their popularity. In relation to police prejudice against opposition party activists one community participant, who was a LGR of the opposition party, stated:

> *In my ward CPF I am not included as a member, even though I am the only councillor in my ward. In other ward CPFs of Turag the local government representatives of the incumbent political party have been included. Instead of me the ward president of the incumbent party has been made the CPF president.* (Community participant, Turag)

It seems that the police in collaboration with the incumbent party leaders conspired to exclude the opposition from participation in contexts that would facilitate interaction with the wider community. The potential damage for the opposition party of this police collusion is the loss of social connectivity and a decline in popularity.

In response, the opposition party activists tended to use community policing programmes, particularly the CPFs, as an alternative platform to promote and sustain their social connectivity. As a community participant, who seemed to be a member of the opposition political party, stated:

> *Police are not fairly treating us. You can hardly find a CPF in Uttara in which fair proportion relating to inclusion of members of political parties has been maintained. Through facilitating their inclusion in the CPF police are in fact helping them to popularise their party. We want fair proportion of representation. Not that we want to do political campaigning. But participating in crime prevention activities will also help us maintain our acceptance and our party popularity.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

In the context of Uttara, it is evident that political party activists are pursuing their vested interests through involvement in community policing. In particular, the CPFs are the main site for their participation. Activists of the two parties, however, are motivated to participate from two different situations to pursue their political interests. While the incumbent party activists participated in CPFs and other community policing programmes to promote their social connectivity and popularity, the opposition activists deemed community policing as a new avenue and alternative way of retaining some scope for participation in community activities. However, although the police appear to act as the referee of the game, they tend to favour one party over the other.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored and discussed the factors influencing community participation in policing in Uttara. Two important dimensions of participation have been identified: 1. community participation in crime prevention schemes; and 2. the interest of the privileged groups within the community for their inclusion in the CPFs. Those participating in policing were motivated by various individual and collective interests. For example, while crime and community safety seemed to be the main collective issue motivating community residents, in general terms, social identity, status and vested political interests were the motivation of some privileged individuals. Besides these, financial interests influenced both privileged and less privileged individuals to participate in crime prevention. They were motivated from two different view points: the privileged for the protection of their property and the less privileged for money.

The research findings have also identified the reality that while one factor could make individuals apathetic towards participation in community policing, other factors or understandings could motivate them to participate. For instance, although less privileged individuals in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag assumed crime prevention would benefit the privileged by protecting their property, they could not deny the bad effects of crime in the community as a whole. Such understanding eventually motivated them to participate in crime prevention programmes.

On the other hand, community attachment also seemed to be an influencing factor for participation. Long-term residents of a neighbourhood, who owned houses, had children studying in local schools and were involved in community activities were motivated to participate in crime prevention schemes. However, socio-economic differences affected the importance of attachment in some areas. For instance, less privileged indigenous people with long-term attachment in Turag and Dakhin Khan did not like the dominance in community policing activities of those who were more privileged and who had more recently migrated there. The less privileged ones in Turag and Dakhin Khan were motivated by other factors rather than their community attachment, which was affected by the class differences. However, such differences in Uttar Khan was said to have been mitigated by their interdependence through employment practices. Such interdependence reinforced the feelings of community attachment influencing their participation for the common interest of crime prevention.

This research also explored different police roles in different contexts. On the one hand, they worked to facilitate community participation in community policing, albeit in controlled way, for the common interest of crime prevention. On the other hand,

they favoured some individuals and particular group of people to pursue parochial personal and political interests. While the incumbent party activists considered community policing as another avenue to promote their social connectivity and popularity, the opposition activists deemed community policing as a means of retaining a level of participation in community activities. Above all, various competing issues relating to socio-economic and socio-political factors made community motivation for participation multi-dimensional.

However, there are some contesting motivational factors, which have been articulated in this chapter, and the police role highlighted in Chapter Four that indicate potential underlying challenges associated with community participation in community policing practice in Uttara. The following chapter will explore and discuss these challenges.

CHAPTER SIX

Challenges to Community Participation

Challenges to community participation are an important issue in relation to community policing practice. Myhill (2006) suggests that the necessity for effective community participation poses a challenge for an ideal community policing practice. Different factors that appear as the barriers to community participation in crime prevention practice are well documented in both empirical and anecdotal studies. For instance, inconsistency and ambiguity in the definition, interpretation and implementation of community policing (Morris, 2005); lack of trust in police and differing capacities of communities (Myhill, 2006); traditional police culture and reluctance to share power with communities (Herbert, 2001; Long et al., 2002; Sagar, 2005; Skogan, 1999); lack of social cohesion and heterogeneity (DuBois & Hartnett, 2002; Sagar, 2005; Skogan, 1999); and a lack of training for both communities and the police are very common factors that emerge as challenges to community participation in community policing practice.

Moreover, there are structural barriers to community participation. The police also undermine community participation in some contexts, as articulated in Chapter Five. As community participation is influenced by different interests, so it is affected by numerous factors. This chapter discusses the factors that appeared as challenges to community participation in Uttara community policing practice. Some factors relating to the challenges of community participation are similar to what the existing empirical studies suggest. However, there are some factors such as political intervention and a lack of integrity of some stakeholders that appeared distinct and related to the specific socio-political realities in Uttara.

Different understanding and priorities of community policing

Just as scholars have defined the concept, purposes and priorities of community policing in different ways (see for example, Bull, 2015; Fielding, 2005; Merrit & Dingwall, 2010; Novak, Alarid, & Lucas, 2003; Sparrow, 1988), stakeholders also have different views in relation to the priorities and purposes of community policing (O'Shea, 2000; Thatcher, 2001; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Sociologists suggest that the perceptions of police and citizens relating to the purposes and priorities of community policing are closely linked with their understandings of the concept (Fielding, 2005; Merrit & Dingwall, 2010; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988a; Thatcher, 2001).

This section focuses on the purposes and priorities that the police, community people and the CPF members have in relation to community policing practice. The information is based on responses to interview questions about their understanding of the notion of community policing. The specific questions asked were: (i) What do you mean by community policing?; (ii) Is it different from the existing traditional policing? If yes, how?; (iii) What should be the purposes and priorities of community policing? and (iv) Do you think community policing is being practised differently to what you expect? If so, in what ways it is different?

Their responses highlighted marked differences in terms of their understanding of the concept, purposes and priorities. The fact they had different views represents one of the challenges to establishing effective partnership in terms of co-determination and implementation of community policing. The differences articulated by these key stakeholders are discussed in the following.

Conceptual differences about community policing

Bull (2015) and Myhill (2006) suggest that the conceptual ambiguity of community policing poses a challenge, both to its implementation and the proper role of the stakeholders. This section focuses on the concept of community policing the research participants described. More specifically, the discussion aims to understand what conceptual differences exist among the stakeholders that impact on community participation in Uttara.

All of the participants, except one from Uttar Khan, agreed that community policing was fundamentally different from traditional law enforcement. They described it as a new policing strategy that police in cooperation with the community should implement to reduce crime. Whereas traditional policing (law enforcement) emphasises arresting offenders, community policing requires both the police and the community to address the causes of crimes before they take place. Thus, they seemed to agree on the philosophical dimension of community policing.

However, the majority of the participants, particularly those from the community, seemed to have no idea about the extent or the actual manner of cooperation between the police and the community in crime prevention. It was perhaps because they had different ideas and experiences about how community policing was implemented. For instance, community participants from Uttar Khan viewed community policing as patrolling the neighbourhoods by some community people or security guards wearing yellow-coloured jackets with red letters ‘community police’ written on the back. They seemed to conflate community policing with community police and viewed community patrollers as community police.

In respect of the elements of community policing, five community and two Community Police Forum (CPF) participants indicated that both the community patrol and the mediation of social disputes by the CPF members were important elements. They also considered that what the community police did was the community policing. In their opinion, the community patrollers and the CPF members are the principal stakeholders of Uttara community policing. The senior police participants, however, termed such an idea of community policing as a 'misconception' that had taken hold among some stakeholders. Community policing is, in their view, an organisational philosophy that underpins specific programmes such as community patrol. Accordingly, it is not only community patrollers who are to be regarded as community police, but rather all community members who work together with the local police agency for crime prevention. Furthermore, they felt that this misconception of community policing might narrowly define the scope of community participation.

The majority of the community and CPF participants did seem to have a somewhat restricted or narrow conception regarding the scope of police-community cooperation for crime prevention, defining it in terms of community participation in preventive patrol and mediation of social disputes. For instance, five CPF participants strongly emphasised the community role in mediating social disputes, but considered that dealing with traditional crime problems was a police matter. There were other CPF and community participants, however, who endorsed the importance of police-community cooperation in addressing the causes of crime. All of them admitted that there was a lack of ability of the community to contribute to, and a police tendency to not involve the community in, solving the causes of crimes. Three of the police participants did indicate in their responses that they interpreted problem-solving as an

innovative form of police intervention to problems that could involve community cooperation to the extent they thought appropriate. In other words, the front-line police participants conceptualised community policing as a police approach to crime reduction by law enforcement and by preventive measures involving the community where necessary and the extent of cooperation defined by the police. As one of the police participants stated:

> *What we do follow for policing are the rules and regulations of the criminal procedures. People do not understand that. They basically work to the extent we engage them. We seek information from community people about the whereabouts of criminals and facts about crimes that have occurred. Investigation of crimes is our principal duty. Therefore, we seek the cooperation of the community in favour of detecting crimes. Identifying the root causes of crime is a difficult task for both the police and the community. At the moment we generally prefer to engage the community only in what helps to detect crime and to arrest criminals.* (Police participant, Dakhin Khan)

This view of the police needing to define and control the community role seems symptomatic of the wider police culture of community policing practice in Uttara. Moreover, it could be argued that by deliberately underestimating the community's ability, it is the police who are misinterpreting community policing practice. The police use of community cooperation for purposes of law enforcement policing is, in fact, contrary to what is stated in the *Manual* and the policing literature. The *Manual* suggests that police-community cooperation should take place in the form of information sharing, consultation and partnership (Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). The wider research literature also asserts that community policing is based on police-community cooperation to identify and solve local community problems and implement the programmes to co-produce community

safety outcome (Bennett, Holloway, & Farrington, 2008; Braga, 2008a; Choi, 2013; Myhill, 2006; Myhill et al., 2003; Oliver, 2008).

With regards to the organisational dimensions of community policing, participants also presented somewhat contrasting views. The majority of the community and the CPF participants in Uttara viewed community policing as a separate organisation from the professional and uniformed police. It is because they think the uniformed police are the state agency meant for performing only the traditional police duties of investigating crimes and arresting criminals. They believe community police and the CPF were to practice community policing. According to them, community police (security guards) was an operational component and the CPF was the management component of Uttara community policing. The senior police participants, however, considered that community policing was not a separate organisation. Similarly, the *National Strategy* also suggests that community policing is not a 'B' team of the police. Rather besides enforcing law, police need to practice community policing in cooperation with the community (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010).

There was misconception relating to the range of police participation from some participants. For instance, one or two police officers of each police station of Uttara were deputed to co-ordinate community policing programmes and to maintain liaison with the CPFs and the community. The thana Officers-in-Charge (OCs) were of the opinion that community policing practice should be limited to these deputed officers only, which contradicts those theories of community policing suggesting that it is an organisational philosophy that should be embraced by all rank and file of the police department (Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 1998, 2000; Reiner, 2010).

Likewise, a wider community representation in community policing practice is suggested in the literature (Braga, 2008a; Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 2000, 2008; Palmiotto, 2011; Plant & Scott, 2009; Ren et al., 2006). However, in contrast with this theoretical proposition the front-line police officers interviewed considered that the CPF and community patrollers were the embodiment of community participation. Some CPF and community participants who were involved in community policing practice expressed a similar view. Senior police participants, however, opposed this view and pointed out their support for wider community representation. Such contrasting views as to the scope of community participation seemed a challenge to wider community participation.

Thus, participants' responses established that there existed both conceptual similarities and differences about community policing. This thesis argues that conceptual differences seemed to have an impact on community participation in Uttara. Although a relatively small number of the community, CPF and police members participated in this study, it can be taken that their views and experiences reflected those of their respective groups and organisations.

Different purposes and priorities of community policing

Literature suggests that there are competing interests in relation to community policing practice (Adams, Rohe, & Arcury, 2002; Moore, 2008; Myhill, 2006; Oliver, 2000, 2008; Razzak, 2010; Ren et al., 2006). Hoque (2014) argues that competing interests create different purposes and priorities for stakeholders about community policing. He also contends that there are different purposes and priorities of community policing practice along with a very basic and common one of crime

prevention. This section focuses on what purposes and priorities exist among stakeholders that are likely to create challenges to community participation in Uttara.

This study found that police priorities contrasted with the priorities of some community and CPF participants. The police seemed to focus on traditional crime control and improving police-public relations through community policing programmes. Traditional crime control involved investigation of a crime and arrest of the criminals. Addressing anti-social behaviour such as hanging out, eve-teasing and incivilities seemed to warrant less priority of police, whereas the majority of the community and five CPF participants emphasised strong and urgent intervention to these forms of anti-social behaviour. Some of them were critical of the police's reluctance to address these problems. A teacher of a girls' high school in Dakhin Khan stated:

> *In my school there are about five hundred girl students. Probably in May, 2013, some of the students complained to their class teachers that they were teased by some youths on their way to school. They felt offended by their behaviour. I informed the OC of the police station to look into this matter.The situation did not improve. I informed the officer again but no police response was made.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

According to the statement, anti-social behaviour seemed to be of less priority to the local police than traditional crime such as theft, robbery, murder, and so on. Police tended to prioritise crimes that were reported and recorded, and needed to be addressed through the criminal justice process. In general the police did not record anti-social behaviour, therefore, they were not accountable to any higher authority for these social problems. The police priority was seen to be linked to what they were accountable for.

In terms of the scope of activities and purposes of community policing, more than half of the community and the CPF participants preferred to see community policing practice as a comprehensive approach to community development including crime prevention. Therefore, overall community development was expected to take place around community policing practice, and this was the case especially in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag. This expectation was reflected in an interview of a community participant from Dakhin Khan:

> *We want to see local police as community workers and community policing as a social service to deal with the things affecting community life. For example, if a street light-post bulb is fused or stolen. As an instant response, the community police can fix it by raising money from us. They should also participate in social awareness programmes, such as campaigning for the national immunisation programme, birth registration, and distribution of books among the poor students that are supplied by the government, and so on. Crime prevention should be a part of the activities of community development.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

A similar expectation of community policing practice was also reflected in the response of an ex-CPF member in Turag who explained his experience of attempting to organise community members towards this approach:

> *After a few days of our initiative to organise community policing programmes we understood community sentiment and expectations. Many of the community residents insisted on us repairing broken roads that were severely affecting their movement throughout the neighbourhoods in Turag. They said repairing roads and improving drainage system were their top priority rather than crime prevention, although they understood crime prevention should be the general purpose of community policing practice*. (Community participant, Turag)

These statements reflect a community tendency to emphasise a wider scope of activities of community policing that contribute to community development. They

also indicate that social works, such as the improvement of the physical environment, should in some cases get more priority than crime prevention. Senior police participants explained that such expectations about the purposes of community policing in these areas was shaped by a long-felt necessity of community development, particularly infrastructural development. According to them, compared to Uttara West, these areas of Uttara were less developed in terms of community infrastructure, education, health facilities and utility services such as the supply of water, electricity and gas. As these areas were outside of the Dhaka municipality, they were not as developed as Uttara West. There was little evidence of any public agencies working for community development; hence, residents viewed community policing activities as a sign of some attention from the authorities to improve their situation, including community safety.

The prioritisation of community development in these areas of Uttara is, however, supported by Bull (2015) who argued that an appreciation of community development principles contributes to effective community policing . People of these areas of Uttara tended to view community policing as a means of community development that would also include crime prevention as a part of community safety.

In contrast, community safety was the priority of community policing in Uttara West. In these communities development works had already been undertaken by both the municipality and various sub-committees of each sector kallan samity before community policing was introduced in 2005. Therefore, the only priority Uttara West residents expected of the sector CPF and community policing after its introduction was community safety and crime prevention.

The existence of different priorities at varying levels across Uttara could be ascribed to the unequal socio-economic condition in areas of Uttara. Although the police adopted principally crime reducing community activities in relation to community policing practice, people of different areas appeared to assert their own priorities regarding its purpose. Moreover, the stakeholders also appeared to have different priorities around the types of crime and anti-social behaviour. Therefore, it can be argued that different purposes and priorities of community policing might have an impact on community participation.

This finding is supported by Adams et al. (2002), Moore (2008), Myhill (2006) and Razzak (2010) who observed competing interests of stakeholders to be challenges to effective community policing practice and community participation. However, these scholars did not point out the underlying causes of the varying purposes and priorities of community policing as revealed in this study, such as the existence of unequal socio-economic conditions across Uttara.

Financial constraints

Community policing involves both organisational and operational expenditure. Within the regular police budget it is quite difficult to bear the expenditure required for community policing programmes, if not allocated money for this purpose. The issue of allocation of money for the promotion of community policing is documented in the police literature. For example, Bill Clinton's administration in the United States spent a considerable amount of money to prevent crime through community policing practice. According to Maguire et al. (2015), the Colorado Springs Police Department, for example, was awarded in October 1997 a grant of $998,643 from the Community-Oriented Policing Services (COPS) office to support the development of

community policing. In the context of Bangladesh, there has not yet been any specific budgetary allocation to promote community policing.

In this study, financial constraints emerged as another vital problem for community participation. The police and CPF participants pointed to this problem existing throughout Uttara division. However, the problem was more prominent in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan than in Uttara West. The main financial expenses for community policing practice were primarily in holding Open House Day (OHD) in police stations, police-community meetings in CPF offices, maintenance of CPF offices, paying the monthly salary and providing basic security tools and uniforms to security guards (community police). Although no budgetary allocation was provided from the government, the Police Reform Programme (PRP) did provide each police station in its pilot areas across the country with US$1000 in 2012 and 2013 (Khaled, 2012, 2013). Police stations of the Uttara division were included in its pilot project (Police Reform Programme, 2009). The CPF participants and the OC of Dakhin Khan thana indicated that the money was spent on holding six police-community meetings and buying some stationary goods for two CPF offices.

The showing of hospitality towards attendees (community people) of the meetings held in both police stations and CPF offices concords with customary practice in Bangladesh. In such events the attendees are usually provided with tea/coffee and light snacks. Holding these meetings is one of the important features of community policing practice. According to the *Bangladesh Community Policing Manual* and the *National Strategy*, these meetings are to be held at least once a month in both police stations and CPF offices. Such events involve a considerable amount of money for which there is no budget allocation. One of the police station commanders noted that

on an average about five thousand taka (Bangladeshi currency), equal to seventy US dollars, was spent for one OHD meeting. A meeting in a CPF office also involved about three to four thousand taka. In most of the cases, the local police commanders or CPF leaders had to raise funds from either community people or businessmen to cover the expenses. Two OCs of the Uttara division noted that raising this money was somewhat onerous, as those who provided it did not do so on their own accord and had to be repeatedly requested to contribute. As they also found that repeated fund raising was embarrassing, they tended to avoid organising such meetings as much as they could, which in turn resulted in minimising the scope of formal participation of the community people.

A significant portion of the money required for community policing practice was mainly spent in paying the salaries and in buying uniforms and security equipment for the security guards. The money needed for this purposes was collected from community residents. In Uttara West, each sector kallan samity collected an amount of one hundred and fifty taka from every household. However, as the funds raised for this purpose were not sufficient, financial constraints still existed in Uttara West. It was even harder to collect money from the community residents in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan, as no tenant paid money for community policing and not all house owners paid or paid regularly. One police participant told that in those areas only about 30 per cent of the households paid money to the CPF collectors. The willingness of the residents to pay also seemed to be influenced by the prevalence of crime. For instance, four CPF participants noted that when crime rates decreased people did not want to continue paying money, even when some of the residents fell victims of crime and became aggrieved.

A common complaint from community participants was revealed in relation to an uneven deployment of security guards across the neighbourhoods. The complaint was pointed at the deployment of more security guards near and around houses and properties of some of the CPF members, thereby leaving the sites belonging to many other contributors unattended. This complaint was, however, refuted by three CPF participants in Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan with an excuse of insufficient number of security guards that led them to emphasise deployments at key strategic points. Further they contended that the money collected was also insufficient. Therefore, the members, in general, and the president and the secretary of the forum, in particular, had to supplement the money usually collected almost every month, which they stated was a heavy burden on them. Thus, the uneven deployment of security guards and unequal subscription seemed to create tension and disagreement between CPF members and community residents, particularly in Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan.

The CPF participants expected the police to share these expenses, at least, by providing basic security gear such as torches and whistles and uniform for the guards. As they believed, this partnering would relieve them of the whole burden and allow them to comfortably meet wages and office expenses. Moreover, they considered that the police were capable of sharing, as they received money from the PRP. They further suggested that if such allocation from the PRP office or the government was no longer provided, they (police) could approach local industrialists and business groups to contribute for this purpose. However, none of the OCs had taken initiative to this end. One OC rather argued:

> *We have not received any further allocation from the PRP office. We need regular allocation. So, we need public budget to bear expenses required for community policing. Yes, there may be community people or businessmen or*

> *industrialists to contribute. We suspect, however, they may expect undue privilege from the police in exchange and that may not be eventually helpful for sustaining community policing practice*. (Police participant, Dakhin Khan)

This study also revealed that regardless of budgetary allocation the financial constraints seemed more acute in the areas where residents had comparatively less capability to contribute. Therefore, the varying levels of financial constraints across Uttara can be attributed to uneven socio-economic conditions. Even in the case of Uttara West, which had more success in raising money, it was not yet enough to cover expenses. One CPF participant stated that twenty thousand taka, on average, could be raised against at least twenty-five thousand taka needed in a month. Financial constraint was the common problem across Uttara that not only hampered community policing practice but also had an impact on the working partnership of the three key partners: local police, CPF and community residents. As a result none of them seemed fully able to play their respective roles.

Thus, the present study revealed financial constraint as a challenge to community participation in community policing practice in Uttara, which is also supported by Hoque (2014) and Razzak (2010) who point out it is a very fundamental and common barrier to promoting community policing throughout Bangladesh. This study further revealed that financial constraint not only impeded the promotion of community policing, but also created tension between individuals as a result of uneven contribution.

Lack of public trust in police

Ahmed (2013) suggests that trust is an important contextual variable related to public perception of the police. It plays an important role to implement and promote community policing. The level of trust in the police is related to the level of

community policing practice in a particular neighbourhood, as it involves the police as a primary agent to initiate the approach (Crawford, 1998). Chavez (2012) notes that trust building is an important element of community policing and its role in community policing is diverse. The most vital role it plays is to improve police-citizens relationships (Friedmann, 1992; Raine & Dunstan, 2007; Trojanowicz et al., 2002).

That the community members in general do not trust the police emerged through the in-depth interviews of community and CPF participants. In their opinion, the uniformed police have become alienated from the public as a result of 'unjust' policing practice over the years. The participants iterated that the level of trust in the police is much lower than that in other public service providers. The majority of the community and CPF participants explained the level of trust in police by citing a very common phrase in Bengali: *Baghe dorle ake gha ar police-e dorle atharo gha* (The pain of a police arrest is eighteen times more severe than that of a tiger claw). They ascribed the low level of trust in the police to corruption, misbehaviour, unresponsiveness, coercion, bias in law enforcement, absence of the rule of law and political interference. According to senior police participants, the low level of trust posed a great challenge to involving community residents in policing. They suggested that trust building was a precondition for community participation and community policing practice could improve the level of trust.

Given the importance of trust building, the police emphasised community policing practice in Uttara. The police participants, particularly the OCs, talked about the initial difficulty they faced in organising community residents. In this task they appreciated the CPF's role, suggesting that it would be almost impossible to organise

the residents unless the CPF provided continual support. However, they also responded to the sense of a lack of public trust by adopting an innovative way to organise community residents. According to them, they initially attempted to motivate community leaders about community policing by highlighting what it was and what they wanted to do through it. The CPF participants corroborated this view, as the following interview excerpt conveys:

> *One day police knocked on my door and invited me to a meeting. There they told us about community policing, and it was the first time we came to know about it. This was the first time the police called us and wanted to involve us in policing. We thought that the police really wanted something good for us. And we started to trust them.* (CPF participant, Turag)

This was not simply a success story of motivating community leaders; rather, it also alluded to the communication gap created as a result of mistrust between the police and the community. The majority of the CPF participants recognised community policing as an important element for trust building in that the changed policing style provided a police-community partnership for crime prevention. However, they also emphasised the need for a change in police attitudes and willingness, suggesting that a 'pro-people police attitude' could contribute to building trust for community participation.

It was evident from responses that not everyone could see discernable changes in the police attitudes. For instance, only four CPF and two community participants observed a change, and that it was not only because of community policing practice. They noted that although community policing brought about closer interaction between the police and the community that helped make a change in police behaviour, there were some other important factors such as police training on human rights,

motivation and the good academic background of the young officers that could be credited to the behavioural change in police.

Almost half of the community participants disagreed with the claim of a change in police attitude, noting that whatever change was perceived to have been brought about was due to media oversight and criticism and organisational accountability. Five of them bluntly said that there had neither been any change in police attitude and behaviour, nor in the level of their acceptance by the community. According to them, the police still seemed unresponsive to community needs and pursued unnecessary arrests. One of the community participants explained her experience relating to police unresponsiveness:

> *I cannot remember the exact date when it happened. But it was in the evening. One of my neighbours informed me by mobile phone that another neighbour assaulted her son for unknown reason in front of her house. She informed me because I am the founder president of an organisation of which she is a member. I phoned the police station. After half an hour, a mobile patrol came and a few minutes later left without any action. I again phoned the OC. He said that they could not do anything against the offender. He could not explain the reason why.* (Community participant, Uttara West)

The participant's statement alludes to the fact that the police probably conceded to either external interference or the offender might have had an unfair connection with the police. The perception of police inability or deliberate collusion might have affected police credibility. Similarly, some other community participants talked about corruption and political interference that they argued was prejudicial to rebuilding trust. According to them, such police demeanour seemed to be in sharp contrast to the slogan the police used to motivate residents: "The police are the public and the public are the police". They asserted that unless the police could demonstrate similarity

between what they said and what they did, community residents would not fully trust them.

In addition to these reasons, the police role in forming the CPFs with a political bias was identified to be another cause of the credibility gap between the police and the community in Uttara. The CPF constituting process has been articulated in Chapter Four and the political influence to this end is detailed in the next section of this chapter.

Thus, given the participants' views in relation to police attitudes and behaviour that people in the community still experience, it can be argued that community policing has not yet been able to build trust in the police. As a consequence, the community seems barely motivated to participate in community policing in Uttara.

Hence, this study revealed that the introduction of community policing ushered a new hope among Uttara people that the police would change their traditional role and behaviour. However, external factors and the 'status quo' of traditional police demeanour work against fulfilling people's aspirations and building trust in the police and, thereby, demotivating community participation in Uttara community policing. This finding is supported by Hoque (2014) and Razzak (2010) who contend that lack of trust in police is a common factor challenging community policing practice across Bangladesh.

Political influence on forming the CPF

Political influence on forming CPFs appeared as one of the vital challenges to wider community participation. The majority of community and police participants described how local political leaders gradually established political control over

forming and re-forming the forums, albeit implemented through the local police themselves. According to the participants, since its inception community policing has passed through two consecutive but different regimes. During the time of a non-party political caretaker government (2007-2008), the CPFs formed in the Uttara Division comprised people regardless of their political affiliation. During this time, there were no apparent tensions among the CPF members regarding political backgrounds. Since the current political government[14] took over in 2009, local political leaders of the ruling party started influencing the police to re-form the CPFs with their chosen people. This happened particularly in Turag and Dakhin Khan and, to a lesser extent, in Uttar Khan where it was the police who usually initiated forming the CPFs. In other words, political desire in relation to re-forming CPFs was implemented through the local police.

As stated, every two years the CPFs were to be re-formed with new members, which posed a dilemma for the police participants. On the one hand, it was their obligation to re-form the forums with new faces, while on the other hand, they were being pressurised by the senior political leaders to re-form with the chosen people of local political leaders. To this end, the local political leaders of the incumbent party along with the local government representatives, who opposed community policing in apprehension of losing their authority to the CPFs, successfully lobbied senior political leaders to direct the local police to comply with what the former expected.

[14]The incumbent government of Bangladesh has been in power since 2009 and took office after the non-party caretaker government, which was charged with the task of holding parliamentary elections, handed control over to it. The caretaker government was formed in 2007 under a Constitutional provision allowing for a three-month caretaker period. However, due to the unstable political situation in the country at the time, its term was extended for two years. The current government, which was elected in 2009, was re-elected in 2014 for another five-year term.

According to two ex-members of the CPFs, some police officers who were inclined to the incumbent political party seemed to enthusiastically implement the desire of the local political leaders. In contrast, the senior police participants indicated that police officers who had tried to maintain neutrality felt embarrassed with re-forming the forums. Most of the police officers wanted wider community representation in the forums. One of the police participants noted:

> *Ideally, CPFs should comprise wider representation of the community. It was to a large extent possible to ensure it when these were first formed in 2007 during the non-party caretaker government. That is why the forums had a great acceptance to the community people. With increasing political interference people's confidence in the CPFs gradually decreased afterwards. I want to say – forums have now been politically hijacked*. (Police participant, Turag)

The cost of this political interference was a decrease in the level of the CPF's acceptance by the community. Moreover, political interference was not only limited to the inclusion of like-minded people into the forum, but also extended to the expulsion of members of opposition political parties from it on some occasions. The excerpt also highlights the extent to which the police are losing their control over the forums to political interests. The level of such political interference was reflected in an interview with one ex-CPF member who narrated the unjust manner of removal of some incumbent members of a forum in Turag. He said that the police had been notified that five members, including him, were supporters of the opposition. As he suggested, the police for a few months tried to maintain neutrality by not taking any initiative to reshuffle the forum. However, towards the end of 2009, all of a sudden, the police issued a letter to inform them that they had been replaced by new five members who were known as members of the incumbent party. The participants resented that they were not allowed to have a respectful exit, let alone receive

recognition of their contribution to the promotion of community policing by mobilising communities at the outset. The political interference not only humiliated the removed members but also demotivated many of the community members to approach the newly re-formed forum. One community participant said:

> *The previous members were concerned with social problems. We sought their help to solve our problems. The new members are busy with their political activities. They are less concerned with our problems. Moreover, we cannot expect fair justice from them. They are politically biased.* (Community participant, Turag)

The political influence not only impeded wider community participation but also demoralised the police officers who wanted promotion of community policing, as the police and community participants indicated. The community participants tended to argue that their communities along with many of the police officers were also frustrated with the process of re-forming and reshuffling forums. Two incumbent members of the Lalon Shah-2[15] observed the non-cooperation of police with the forum. They suggested that the non-cooperation of police might have an impact on community policing practice in two ways. Firstly, due to the lack of police cooperation, the CPF members might not be able to contribute to the promotion of community policing in their communities. Secondly, they might lose legitimacy and approval of the community that would eventually impede their participation. The participants of the Lalon Shah-2 perceived non-cooperation on the part of the community reflected in a tendency to not report problems to the CPF or to accept any decision by them. Thus, the people's tendency to avoid the forum seemed to result in

[15]Lalon Shah-2 is the CPF of ward-2 in Turag. It is named after Lalon Shah who was a Bengali Baul saint, mystic, songwriter, social reformer and thinker. In Bengali culture, he is considered as an icon of religious tolerance whose songs inspired and influenced many poets, social and religious thinkers. He rejected all distinctions of caste and creed. All ward CPFs in Turag are named as Lalon Shah-1, Lalon Shah-2 and so on to inspire community people to help and join the forums.

the community's disowning of community policing and the retaining of the 'call for police response' approach, which is contrary to the philosophy of the former.

The problem of political influences on reshuffling the CPFs and its affect on community participation in Uttar Khan was not so prominent as in Turag and Dakhin Khan. Senior police participants of Uttara division suggested it was because the community groups in Uttar Khan were not driven by vested political interests. They indicated that the opposition political party had a strong hold in Uttar Khan as opposed to Turag and Dakhin Khan, consequently local political leaders in Uttar Khan were perceived not to be in a position to influence the police. In the case of Uttara West, no political interference could take place because of the democratic election procedure followed, as described in Chapter Four.

It is clear from participant account that political influence benefited local leaders of the incumbent party in terms of their dominant presence in the forums. Although, they may have fulfilled their political objectives, their controversial presence seems to have undermined community policing practice through losing community approval. Political interference over re-forming or reshuffling the forums, thus, more likely made the community residents apathetic towards their participation in policing. Moreover, community policing seemed to have created the opportunity for political power plays to foster tension and power imbalance.

Thus, this study found a tendency of the incumbent political leaders to make their political hold stronger by restricting the access of opposition party members into the forums. This finding is consistent with the study findings of Obaidullah (2010) in Bangladesh and Kwena (2013) in Kenya. Obaidullah (2010) suggests that powerful political stakeholders for their own interests tend to thwart the participation of their

counterparts. Similarly, Kwena (2013) notes that political interference is a common phenomenon in the rural development process in Kenya through which the local ruling party political leaders facilitate maximum participation of their followers and limit it for their counterparts, in particular, and the wider community, in general, for their own benefits.

Political motivation of some CPF members

As with political influence on forming the CPFs, the political motivation of some members of the forums also appeared as a demotivating factor for community participation in policing. It is worth mentioning that the CPFs are the most important partner for practicing community policing in their neighbourhoods, as their commitment and devotion to community safety influences members of the community to cooperate with them and the police as well. The majority of the police and community participants indicated that, at the outset, the CPF members seemed more committed to the cause of their community, and the forums emerged as a community organisation concerning community safety and security. They considered that with the passage of time the forums had gradually transformed into a wing of the incumbent political party, even though there were only a few members who were politically motivated.

The participants talked about how these few members used their political identity to pursue their own political interests and eventually negatively impacted on community policing practice and de-motivated community participation. They were perceived to be attempting to materialise their own political objectives in the community by using the forums. They maintained communication with some of the political higher-ups, thereby facilitating influence over other members in any decision-making. Thus,

eventually the forums were run according to their agenda. Consequently, they emerged as the political leaders in their communities through success in using the forums as a power base for political gain. A community participant, who was a former CPF member, explained his reasons for leaving the forum in Dakhin Khan:

> *I was a member of a Ward CPF in Dakhin Khan. I was committed to crime prevention. With the political government took over in 2009, only a few members who were political party activists changed their attitude. They tended to use political influence in any decision-making. I was not feeling compatible and left the forum. Other members who remained in the forum did almost nothing for crime prevention.* (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

The forums, as venues for wider community representation, thus lost members committed to promoting community policing activities. Most of those who remained became inactive due to the dominance of a politically motivated few and, in turn, the forums became gradually less effective in the principal task of crime prevention. Kwena (2013) suggests that stakeholders who have the same objectives can achieve effective participation outcomes. In the case of this study the politically motivated members were dominant over the pro-community policing members in the forums, and both had different and opposite objectives. The former tended to exploit the forums to gain political benefits, while the latter to promote community policing activities for crime prevention. These contrasting objectives gradually demotivated the latter to contribute to community policing activities. The political motivation of some CPF members is, therefore, one of the critical underlying challenges to wider community participation in Uttara community policing practice.

According to senior police participants, one of the probable reasons that enabled a few members to politically influence the forums was due to the political imbalance. As people of the opposition party were barely included in the forums, those members

who were pursuing their own political interests were able to exert influence over members who were politically neutral. In these circumstances, the community members who were supporters of the opposition party were more likely not to consent to what the forums did. However, this was not happening with all forums in Uttara. For instance, Uttara West sector forums, Lalon Shah-1[16] of Turag and a few others in Uttar Khan and Dakhin Khan were perceived to be free from political influence, according to the senior police participants of Uttara division. In these forums people with a parochial political outlook were not included either due to a fair selection procedure or their unwillingness for inclusion.

Throughout Uttara communities there were both supporters of the ruling party and the opposition. While many of the forums seemed to be influenced by only those of the former, the community residents who were supporters of the latter tended not to participate in policing activities facilitated by the forums. This study finding is supported by Myhill et al. (2003) who note that local political differences are also one of the main barriers to community engagement in community policing practice. The current study, however, also explored how and why the political differences, as articulated in this and the preceding sections, acted as the barrier to wider community participation in the context of Uttara community policing practice.

Lack of integrity of some stakeholders

The activities of CPF members and community security guards reflect and represent community participation in policing. Both groups have established formal and informal communication networks with local community residents to help facilitate and promote community cooperation in crime prevention activities. However, it was

[16]Lalon Shah-1 is a CPF of ward-1 in Turag.

evident that the lack of integrity of both the CPFs and community police in some cases was one of the factors demotivating community residents to cooperate with them. The lack of integrity in this thesis means nepotism, favouritism and malpractice on the part of the CPF members.

The CPF members were also the residents of the community, so had to maintain good relations and understanding with their neighbours. In their role as community representatives, the CPF members were informed by residents of any incivility and social problems in their areas. In cases involving local youth in anti-social activities, the CPF members usually informed their parents for rectification. According to six community participants, however, there were some cases in which the CPF members hesitated to inform the relevant parents of their children's alleged involvement in incivility for concern of creating a misunderstanding. This reluctance on the part of the CPF members tended to raise questions of their integrity in the eyes of community residents. Two of the CPF participants ascribed this to the unfortunate reality that some parents did not like to receive complaints against their children; rather, they looked upon it as interference. In such situations, they preferred to refrain from informing the parents in order to maintain good relations with them. Nevertheless, five community participants evaluated this behaviour as amounting to favouritism that resulted in discouraging them to co-operate with the CPF members in cases of delinquency.

There were other forms of favouritism and malpractice of the CPF members, narrated by participants. For instance, the majority of community participants in Turag and Dakhin Khan and three in Uttara and Uttar Khan raised the question of the neutrality of some CPF members in relation to mediating social disputes, which are one of the

important responsibilities of the CPFs. In some cases, they were perceived to have engaged in nepotism and favouritism by favouring one of the parties involved in a dispute. However, this usually happened only in those cases involving parties who were relatively close to them. Although it was desirable that CPF members would maintain neutrality in their mediation role, the reality was that some of them could not overcome their own bias, which eventually affected public co-operation.

A few cases of malpractice by some CPF members were reported by participants, such as the following from a community participant from Uttara West. The incident related to some CPF members' involvement in alleged unethical dealings with a number of street vendors in Uttara West. This was also corroborated by a report published in a daily newspaper *The Prothom Alo* (Kabir, 2013). According to these sources, some local influential CPF members unfairly permitted vendors to install makeshift stalls across the pavement of the avenue road hampering easy movement of pedestrians. The community participant interviewed was highly critical of the role of CPF members involved, stating that:

> *Before the police were used to be involved in this type of malpractice. Now the CPF has replaced them. I think the CPF is working as a police agent, for a common interest. They (both police and the CPF) have underhand connections with these footpath shopkeepers. They all may be benefited, but it creates much inconvenience to us who use the footpath.* (Community participant, Uttara West)

The interviewee noted the apparent collusion between the police and the CPF with the latter seemingly acting as a police agent to implement their common vested interests. In doing so they were seen to inconvenience the public's use of the street with impunity.

According to the CPF participants, they claimed they had permitted them to do so in response to the demands of the wider community who preferred buying kitchen items at comparatively low price from these makeshift shops. However, none of the community participants interviewed agreed with their claim, but rather questioned the credibility and trustworthiness of the CPF members. On the other hand, the police participants admitted that such makeshift shops created inconvenience to the pedestrians and stated that they had asked the CPF to intervene. No initiative was taken by the CPF to remove these, according to the community participant. Therefore, such non-compliance indicates an unjust nexus between the police, the CPF and the vendors.

Similarly, the security guards or community police were also perceived to be implicated in unfair dealings and practices across Uttara. They were believed to do so mainly for two reasons. Firstly, as their economic base was weak, they could hardly make ends meet on their poor wages. Therefore, many of them tended to seek additional income by maintaining links with some offenders. Even some of the security guards were said to have underhand connections with criminals. Secondly, at times some of them would overlook a crime or let criminals go for fear they might be hurt if they did not do so. Five community participants mentioned cases involving security guards, who were usually the first point of contact for residents to report crimes. One community participant observed:

> *The security guards have to play an important role in crime reduction, and they do so. But some of them sometimes are found talking with suspicious people. We doubt they might have connections with them. Our doubt is not baseless. Because when they do so, an offence such as theft or burglary takes place in the neighbourhood they are deployed. We don't trust them to inform them about any criminality and offenders in the apprehension that they may disclose it to them*

> *[offenders] who may then take retaliation*. (Community participant, Dakhin Khan)

The perceived connection of some of the security guards with the offenders seemed to have affected community participation. The residents in some cases were unwilling to inform the security guards of suspicious activities in apprehension of information leakage and, eventually, for fear of retaliation. This is supported by Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) who argue that community participation may indeed be affected by fear of retaliation. Although the context for the 'fear of retaliation' might be different, the probability of it commonly exists in any community policing practice (Myhill, 2006)

Thus, the lack of integrity and improper behaviour on the part of both the security guards and the CPF members appeared to be prejudicial to community policing practice in Uttara. On the one hand, community residents considered community policing effective in crime prevention; on the other hand, the perceived involvement of some of the CPF members and security guards in malpractice in execution of their roles led the residents, in general, to doubt the programme's efficacy.

Non-cooperation of some local government representatives

While some local government representatives (LGRs) belonging to both the incumbent and the opposition political parties seemed willing to participate in community policing as articulated in Chapter Five, the tendency of some LGRs not to co-operate with the police and the CPFs was also revealed, particularly in Turag and Dakhin Khan. Senior police and CPF participants attributed their non-cooperation to the following reasons.

Firstly, the LGRs tended to consider community policing as a competing entity to their local government, which had given them judicial authority in relation to some trivial offences that they could exercise in local criminal justice procedure. In line with this authority, the chairman of a Union Parishad[17] solves social disputes through mediation and arbitration. Such authority is legally and traditionally accepted and established in Bangladesh. According to five police and six CPF participants from Dakhin Khan and Turag, the chairmen of the Union Parishads might fear the shifting of their authority to the CPFs that have also been entrusted with the authority to mediate social disputes. Community people might also prefer the CPFs to solve their problems instead of the Union Parishad chairmen because of the closer proximity of the formers' offices in the neighbourhoods. Therefore, they were to some extent reluctant to promote local community policing practice. They neither wanted to be included into CPFs nor did they co-operate with the local police and the CPFs in community policing practice.

Secondly, the LGRs tended to fear that some of the CPF members might emerge as their potential political competitors. The CPF members were usually nominated from among residents, some of whom were popular and socially accepted and also had social influence. In the course of community policing practice, their acceptance and influence were likely to be enhanced because of regular contact with local people and the policing service they would render to the community. With this perceived and probable increase in popularity they might emerge as their future political competitors. This potential fear seemed to grip the LGRs of the incumbent political party, in particular. For, as Jalil (2012) suggests, the elected members of the incumbent party probably lose popularity mainly due to failing to implement

[17] Union Parishad represents the lower layer of local government bodies in Bangladesh.

unrealistic election promises. He also observes that the people of Bangladesh have the general tendency to vote for the rival candidates of the incumbent ones. This is why the latter tend to limit all possible opportunities of their potential political competitors (Jalil, 2012).

Although all members of the CPFs were not activists of political parties, most of them had social influence over the community. With this in mind, the LGRs seemed apprehensive about the CPF members' potential debut in the political field as their competitors. In respect of such conservative political behaviour, Kwena (2013) contends that historically politicians tend to preserve politics among a very small homogeneous elite to keep their political authority protected and do not like to open avenues for others to challenge them. Therefore, they tended not to promote community policing practice in order to check the debut of their potential competitors. Their non-cooperation posed a challenge to the promotion of community policing, because it prevented many of their political followers in the community from participation.

Their reluctance to promote community policing can be understood by Blumer's *group position theory* (cited in Weitzer & Tuch, 2006). The theory posits that the dominant group in a society holds positive feelings towards social institutions, such as the police, that protect their interests. Therefore, they like the status quo and tend to resist any reforms to such social institutions. They also see any reforms to such institutions as a threat to their interests.

Such challenges, however, did not exist as explicitly in Uttara West and Uttar Khan as in Turag and Dakhin Khan, according to the senior police participants of Uttara division. They attributed this to the different political ideology and philosophy of the

LGRs of Uttar Khan. They considered that the LGRs in Uttar Khan seemed to be involved in community policing practice without apprehension of losing authority to other CPF members. One LGR in his interview noted that he thought himself a social leader rather than simply a local political leader. In connection to any social activity he was there to organise the local community rather than divide it for personal political interest. He believed that trying to pursue a political goal through participating in community policing would not truly help prevent crime in the community, as community policing might lose community support. According to him, political leaders should be evaluated in terms of the service they could render to the community. He viewed practising community policing as a policing service to the community and considered that participation in it would in fact increase his community profile.

On the other hand, Uttara West is the only area of Uttara division that is included in the Dhaka City Corporation where the City Ward Councillors are not as empowered with judicial authority as their counterparts of the Union Parishads are in Dakhin Khan, Turag and Uttar Khan. Therefore, exercising authority in solving social problems by the CPF members does not pose challenges to the authority of the City Ward Councillors in Uttara West. Moreover, the sector kallan samity members who are also the members of the sector CPFs are directly elected by the community members. The sector kallan samity and consequently the sector CPFs are perceived to represent wider communities in Uttara West. Consequently, their support was thought to matter for the success of the Ward City Councillors in the City Corporation elections. Without opposing the CPFs and the community policing practice, the City Councillors rather seemed to co-operate to gain their supports. As a result, community

policing practitioners did not face challenges from LGRs (City Councillors) in Uttara West, according to the police participants of Uttara West.

Uneven power relations

In Uttara there was evidence of uneven power relations that was linked to an eventual lack of cooperation among the main three partners – the police, the CPFs and the community. The uneven power relations led to non-cooperation, particularly of the community with the police. In this power play, one partner tended to retain more power by pushing other partners to lose it. How the operation of power was played out at various layers and sites and the reasons for its occurrence are articulated in the following.

Tension around the power relations between the police and the CPF were evident in the former's attempt to disempower the latter by restricting them in arbitrating social disputes, as outlined in Chapter Five. Relating to this formal restriction enshrined in *Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual*, the police asserted that arbitration was a matter of formal criminal justice procedure. Ahmed (2010) suggests that due to a lack of access to the formal justice system, alternative dispute resolution is often carried out informally through the traditional arbitration system at the rural and urban poor community level. Consistently, three CPF and five community participants said that in many cases residents, particularly in Turag, Dakhin Khan and Uttar Khan, preferred alternative dispute resolution by the CPFs.

On the other hand, some CPFs even went as far as settling some serious crimes like rape and grievous assaults committed as a result of feuds between individuals, which absolutely fall within the jurisdiction of criminal justice. In a sense there is no contradiction, as community policing does not oppose law enforcement, rather the

practice of both types of policing for crime prevention and order maintenance is advocated in the literature (Braga, 2008a; Myhill, 2006, Oliver, 2000, 2008). The *National Strategy* and the *Manual* define the role of the CPF to act as a partner of the police in proactive policing (Bangladesh Community Policing National Strategy, 2010; Bangladesh Community Policing Service Manual, 2010). Given this proposition, the case of arbitrating a serious crime by a CPF can be viewed as surpassing the boundary of an ideal practice of proactive community policing.

The police participants, particularly the OCs, noted that the tendency of arbitrating incidents of rape and other serious crime made them concerned, as it appeared to be usurping their role. They considered that the arbitration of crime was not crime prevention. The PRP official, in his interview, also acknowledged these two opposite stands of the police and the CPFs relating to the authority of jurisdiction. According to three community and two senior police participants, this tension over power relations between the police and the CPF seemed to make community residents confused about what should be reported respectively to the police and to the CPF, particularly in the sub-urban communities such as Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag.

Uneven power relations between the police and the community were manifested in different ways in Uttara. As stated in Chapter Four, even though the police used to facilitate community participation in terms of information sharing – more specifically extract information from the community – they tended to keep them aside from consultation and decision-making. Myhill (2006) suggests that effective participation takes place and the balance of power relations are maintained when the stakeholders are equally involved in consultation and decision-making. In this study, it was

reported and also observed that the agenda of meetings were controlled by the police and, in most cases, effective consultation did not take place and decisions were taken elsewhere. Reiner (2010) suggests unless the police facilitate their involvement community people cannot effectively participate in crime prevention. Similarly, Myhill (2006) concludes that empowering the community is essential for their effective participation. In this study, the police were observed to hold traditional police authority in controlling the agenda and proceedings of meetings. Consequently, the balance of power was tilted towards them.

Myhill (2006) suggests that the issue of power relations is a critical one in connection to police-community partnership. Crawford (1998) concludes that the police tend to have ultimate power and control over other stakeholders, particularly the community, in implementing community policing programmes. He further argues that this structural advantage of the police is a result of the greater authority and resources that they have. Police power relating to community policing practice can be explained by *social resource theory* proposed by Wong (2008). The theory posits that crime is a problem of people and police power is a social resource. People call the police to address their problem as they have insufficient resources in terms of knowledge, skill and competence to address it. If a society has the necessary resources, it can prevent or resolve problems without always relying on the state's intervention. The proponents of this theory suggest empowering the people to meet their needs and correcting the lopsided relationship between the police. This proposition implies empowering community people to exercise their authority, which is ideally required to establish an effective partnership for community policing practice. In the context of Uttara, there is no evidence of the police empowering community people to establish a power balance for effective partnership between them.

Given the views and experiences of the participants, this thesis argues that the unequal power relations outlined have tended to gradually marginalise the community in their role as a co-partner for crime prevention. The police have tended to create structural barriers to community participation instead of empowering them within the framework of traditional power relations.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed and analysed various underlying challenges that affect community participation in policing practice in Uttara. The challenging factors identified in this study are linked to various socio-political and socio-economic factors. The chapter has articulated how various socio-economic and socio-political interests of a few individual directly or indirectly seem to affect wider community participation. The socio-political issues that emerged with the newly adopted community policing include: the political influence on forming the forums and some of the forum members' political motivations; non-cooperation of some local government representatives; conflicting power relations among the stakeholders; and contesting interests around the purposes and priorities of community policing. In addition, there exists a lack of public trust in the police – that has deep historical roots – and an associated image crisis; while financial constraints, unethical dealings of some CPF members and security guards all have socio-economic implications affecting community policing practice. The complexity of these socio-political and socio-economic dimensions is generated in most part by parochial individual interests. Above all, motivating community people to participate in policing by overcoming these underlying challenges offers a great challenge to the community policing practitioners.

CONCLUSION

This final part presents a conclusion of this doctoral thesis. This is divided into two sections. Section one provides a summary of the research and the key findings. The second section outlines the significant contribution to knowledge and suggestions for future research and policy directions that are aimed at informing effective implementation of community participation.

Summary of the research

Community policing is comparatively a new concept in Bangladesh that has been adopted from other jurisdictions. The concept of community policing, based on the Peelian principles of the London Metropolitan Police, evolved through a reform process in the United Kingdom and the United States in reaction to the failure of traditional crime control policing, and was then diffused to many other countries, including Bangladesh.

In line with the principles of the New Public Management (NPM) and the changing policing strategy from crime control to crime prevention, community policing was introduced in Bangladesh as a part of the PRP in 2005. However, as established in this thesis, adoption of the Western model of community policing was also driven by institutional isomorphism along with the need for crime prevention.

While being practised countrywide, the implementation of community policing in the Dhaka Metropolitan City is more critical given that it is the largest city, which is still expanding as a result of the on-going unbanisation process in the context of socio-economic and socio-political transitions. Consequently, the police authority has laid

more emphasis on crime prevention in this city where the single largest police unit (DMP) is deployed.

In the policing literature, community participation appears as one of the fundamental aspects that is critically involved in community policing practice. The theories of community policing and community participation, as discussed in Chapter One and Two, contributed to development of the research questions.

This research aimed to critically examine the implementation of community participation in community policing practice in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. To achieve this aim, three research questions were developed: (i) what is the community participation process in community policing practice; (ii) what are the factors motivating the community to participate; and (iii) what are the challenges the community encounter to participate in community policing practice in Uttara, DMP?

This research was undertaken in the context that no in-depth study had so far been conducted since the adoption of community policing in Bangladesh. The knowledge gap created by the absence of in-depth qualitative inquiries on the community policing practice in a specific geographic area led to focus on the stated aspects of community policing in Uttara.

A qualitative case study approach was adopted to understand through a thorough description and analysis of community policing practice in a small geographic area of a police unit. Given the nature and level of crime and the diverse characteristics of communities, four police stations of the Uttara Division of the DMP were selected as a case study for this research. Justified by the subjectivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology a qualitative method was used for data collection. The data collection

methods involved semi-structured in-depth interviews, observation of three different forms of formal police-community meetings and content analysis of different official documents. A total of 45 participants drawn from three groups – community members, police personnel and Community Police Forum (CPF) members – were interviewed. The data were analysed according to the research question themes. This study also explored the emergent theme of community policing role in reinforcing and sustaining social hierarchy and inequality.

Summary of key findings

Findings from the study's key areas of focus are presented in three sub-sections, based on how each research question was addressed in Chapters Four, Five and Six respectively.

Community participation process

The study identified that community participation took place in Uttara community policing practice through a process that began with constituting the CPF, which was viewed as a community representative body. Constitution of the CPF was found to have provided a dual scope of community participation by means of inclusion into the CPF and playing a role in the selection of CPF members. However, two different procedures were found to be in practice to constitute the CPFs in Uttara. The selection of the CPF members in the presence of community residents in Uttar Khan, Dakhin Khan and Turag was heavily controlled by the police, as opposed to the election of the same in Uttara West, which utilised a more transparent process. Moreover, comparatively less democratic practice was reflected in forming the CPF coordination committees, as community people were not even informed.

The most common mechanism of community participation that this study identified was three types of public meetings such as Open House Day held in the thana premises, anti-crime meetings in neighbourhoods and the CPF meetings in the CPF offices. These meetings were viewed as community organising initiatives as well as community awareness programmes that determined the crime prevention programmes to adopt and set out the community's involvement in them. However, these meetings hardly involved wider community representation because of the police and the CPF roles that simultaneously facilitated but also controlled community participation. Moreover, these meetings were used primarily as a source of information that police preferred to collect from the community and also provided a narrowly defined format for controlled community consultation and decision-making.

Community participation in the implementation of community policing programmes was identified as the most important stage in the participation process. Different levels of community participation were explored in different crime prevention activities. For example, the types of participation of the community in problem-solving models were defined by the police. Members of the community were used as one of the sources to identify community problems. The extent to which they were engaged in the intervention to solve problems was determined according to the police's agenda. The community did not appear as a co-partner in the implementation of problem-solving, as proposed by the theories of community policing. However, there was community ownership in mediating social disputes, even though power games were played out between the police authorising the CPF to mediate disputes and the police restricting the traditional authority that the community leaders exercised in arbitrating offences. On the other hand, community patrol was identified as one of the important components of the community policing programmes reflecting

police-community partnership. The community participated in this approach in two forms: (1) financial contribution to pay the employed patrollers, and (2) patrolling by themselves. The ability and willingness to engage in these forms of participation was related to an individual's socio-economic condition. The levels and types of community participation in community policing practice took place in the context of specific programmes and were influenced by the socio-economic and socio-political backgrounds of the community individuals.

This study furthermore identified the social impact that community policing practice created as a by-product. The participation process in the Uttara community policing appeared to reinforce and sustain existing social hierarchies and inequalities. The following factors were found to have contributed to these:

1. Police preference in creating various levels of community representative groups such as ward CPFs and two levels of coordination committees.

2. Stakeholders appeared to have differing levels of capability due to different social, economic and political backgrounds that created inequality in the participation process.

3. The uneven distribution of power and opportunity among the stakeholders resulted in inequality in the participation process.

Motivation for community participation

In relation to community participation in Uttara policing, two distinct groups of people were identified that coalesced around the existing social hierarchy. There is a socio-economically and socio-politically privileged group and a less privileged group.

Both were found to be actively associated with community policing practice, in pursuit of some common as well as different interests.

This study found that one of the nine principles of Peel's modern civilian police "the police are the public and the public are the police", which was used as the campaigning slogan, initially acted as the primary impetus for the community people to be organised and to participate – primarily in the community-police meetings in Uttara. However, in relation to community policing practice, the two groups of people remained motivated to continue their participation for the following factors.

Community attachment and crime were identified as the common motivating factors for participation, albeit mediated by an individual's length of residence and involvement in community activities. However, the level of attachment was correlated with the level of motivation. As regards to crime, wealthy people were more motivated to promote community policing for the protection of their property. Although, less wealthy or poor people were considered to be not as much affected by crime as the rich, they did not deny its effect as a whole. Thus, an emotional attachment and the effects of crime commonly motivated those who participated in crime prevention for safer community.

This study also revealed some individualist factors such as social identity and financial and political interests that influenced some residents to participate. More specifically, inclusion of some people into the CPFs and coordination committees was principally promoted by the desire for social identity and pursuit of political purposes. They were likely to view the CPFs or committees as the appropriate avenue to exert influence and control, even though some members might also have intentions to serve the community. On the other hand, financial attachment in terms of investment in

business and housing motivated the investors and house-owners to build a safer community, while underprivileged people who participated in community patrol were influenced by the need for money.

The motivating factors that were identified in this study could, thus, be characterised as individualist and collectivist in nature. Those who participated in community policing appeared to be motivated by one or more of these factors. Nevertheless, there were also community residents who were still not participating in this initiative, either because both the police and the CPF could not organise them or they were not interested for various reasons.

Challenges to community participation

As with motivation, community participation is faced with some challenges in Uttara community policing practice. The challenging factors that were revealed in this study include different understanding and priorities, financial constraints, lack of trust in police, political influence, lack of integrity of some stakeholders, non-cooperation of some stakeholders and uneven power relations.

The concept and priorities of community policing were different for different individuals in Uttara. People seemed confused about its meaning, the roles they should play and how to participate. In terms of priorities, some were supportive of a focus on crime while others favoured environmental development. Therefore, to the extent that the police focused on crime prevention, community people with different priorities did not want to cooperate.

Due to some negative attributes, such as a traditional coercive manner, corruption, unresponsiveness and political motivation, the police have failed to achieve public trust. At the time of the introduction of community policing, the police had not yet

been able to repair their relations with the community, consequently community cooperation had not yet reached its expected level.

Financial constraints appeared to be another challenge for the implementation of community policing and its essential community participation. Due to financial constraints on their budgets, the police have tended to lessen the frequency of organising community-police meetings, which are viewed as the primary mechanism of community participation.

Political interference was identified as a distinct challenging factor for community participation. Political influence in forming the CPFs, and the associated political motivation of some CPF members to use them for their own purposes have led to a decline in the public's trust of the CPF, which is the primary agent for organising community people. Similarly, some CPF members' lack of integrity in terms of nepotism and favouritism in respect of their mediation of social disputes has affected their credibility in the eyes of the community.

Uneven power relations were found as an impediment to the participation of the less wealthy or the underprivileged residents, particularly in the processes of consultation and decision-making. Although they were sometimes invited to the meetings, they were not allowed to participate in consultation and decision-making. Their presence, however, was manipulated to give the impression that they approved the decisions taken by the police and the privileged community members. To date, there have been no initiatives taken to empower this group of community people to influence the decision.

Contribution to knowledge

The in-depth qualitative inquiry has explored some critical aspects around community policing practice; thereby contributing significant new knowledge as follows:

(1) This study identified that social, economic and political factors have an impact on community participation and community policing practice. Specifically, these factors contribute to understanding why and how community participation in community policing is implemented in a particular area. These factors are linked to individuals' willingness, capability and opportunity for participation, and define levels and types of participation. For example, the CPF and community patrol were found to be two important avenues of community participation in the Uttara community policing practice. The features of community participation in these two approaches were shaped by the social, economic and political backgrounds of the participants. Similarly, the motivation and challenges for participation were influenced by these factors.

(2) A top-down community policing approach, as introduced in Bangladesh, may not be always a suitable initiative for effective implementation of both community policing and its essential element of community participation. Davis, Henderson and Merrick (2010) consistently argue that the local context and history contribute to shaping and developing community policing programmes. Regarding probable differences of community policing practice in developed and developing countries, Casey (2010, p.9) highlights that community policing approaches in Western developed countries are focused

on the police searching for community, while in developing countries it is the community in search of policing.

Some practices identified in this study support this argument. The introduction of community patrol by the Uttara West community itself and the traditional practice of mediating social disputes across Uttara are the two examples of socio-cultural aspects in Bangladesh that may not be found in Western democracies. However, the introduction of community policing and police support have revitalised these practices and appear to have established community ownership in these two components of community policing practice in Uttara. On the other hand, the isomorphic practice of the problem-solving SARA model developed in the United States and adopted by the Uttara police seemed not to be as successful in involving the community as the indigenous problem-solving tool of mediation. This study identified the reflection of comparatively strong community ownership and authority exercised throughout the process of mediation. However, the top-down community policing took the arbitrating authority away from the community elite, with police intervention defining the scope of mediation.

Similarly, the idea of the CPFs was imposed by the donor-financed NGOs working in Bangladesh. Positively they have improved communication between police and communities and provided intelligence, intervention and dispute resolution. Negatively they are elite dominated. Despite the difficulties, the imported elements of community policing are valued and are not seen as unwelcome imports. Hence, this thesis argues that the elements of community policing that are implemented need to be consistent with local

needs. This argument also supports Baker's (2008) finding of community policing practice in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

(3) Given that the Uttara communities seem to have the capability of self-policing because of their cultural and historical orientations, the police may promote and facilitate them to do the same. Furthermore, an ideal community policing practice in Uttara may require the police to facilitate the communities to identify local problems and implement the mutually adopted programmes for effective community participation. The current trend identified in this study was that police preferred their own priority in identifying crime problems and undertaking strategies and programmes to address them accordingly. Hence, adoption of community policing programmes was not ideally inclusive and, therefore, did not foster community innovation and capability, as opposed to community policing philosophy.

(4) This research has found little evidence of police facilitating community participation. Rather, this study has demonstrated the extent to which the police control wider community participation by means of fostering inequality and reinforcing hierarchy and creating community groups in the form of CPFs and coordination committees consisting of their chosen people.

Together, these findings provide insights into community policing practice in a given community that has been shaped in unique ways by social, political and economic processes of transition. Future policy makers and community policing practitioners should take into consideration these aspects for the promotion and successful implementation of community participation.

Future research direction

The current study was carried out in a sprawling area of Dhaka metropolitan city, which contains unique characteristics of diverse communities going through social, political and economic transitions. In this context, community policing practice in Uttara was found to be impacted by social, political and economic factors. More specifically, the process, motivation and challenges for community participation were influenced by the dynamics of these factors occurring in the diverse communities of Uttara. However, there is no in-depth research so far undertaken in Bangladesh to explore whether or not these factors similarly impact on community policing practice, particularly community participation, in comparatively older parts of the urban area which are not similarly going through social, political and economic transitions. Given this knowledge gap, this thesis proposes for undertaking further in-depth research in comparatively less diversified communities of older urban areas to enhance knowledge on these particular aspects of community policing.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview questions

Personal profile

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Occupation:

Work place:

Annual income:

Residence status:

Address of residence:

Previous experience of victimisation:

Contact number:

Questions

1. What do you mean by community policing and community participation?
2. How community policing is different from traditional law enforcement?
3. Why do you think community policing has been adopted?
4. What are the programmes being implemented under community policing?
5. How do people know about community policing?
6. Do the people participate in community policing? If yes, what type of activities do they participate in?
7. Who in the community participate in community policing and why?
8. What do the people do by participating in community policing activities?
9. How are the CPFs formed?
10. What are the functions of CPFs?
11. Why do the people like to be in community policing?
12. Why do you think the coordination committees are formed?
13. How do the CPFs establish link between police and community?
14. What other agencies work with police and how?
15. Is there any barrier for the people to participate in community policing? If yes, what are the barriers, and why?

Appendix 2: Approval Letter

Japan Study Center

University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Approval Letter

To whom it may concern

This is to inform you that Mr. Mohammad Abdul Kader, a PhD student of Monash University, Australia has requested to give him consent to nominate me as a contact person in Bangladesh in relation to his field work to be conducted in Dhaka Metropolitan police, Bangladesh. I am informed that Mr. Kader will conduct data collection as part of his PhD research on "Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh" this year after ethics approval by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC). I am informed that the participants of this research project are: (1) community members (2) Police personnel and (3) members of community-police forums. Explanatory statements designed for all three groups have been sent to me that I have perused. I agree that any participant of this project may contact me in the following address, with a complaint concerning the manner in which this research to be conducted.

I wish for successful completion of this research.

Regards,

[redacted]

Professor Dr. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah
Director in Charge
Japan Study Center
1037 Arts Building,
University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

[redacted]

Appendix 3: Permission Letter (1)

Dhaka Metropolitan Police

Permission Letter

Permission Letter for the research on"Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh"

Dated:

Mohammad Abdul Kader
[redacted]
School of Applied Media and Social Science (SAMSS)
Faculty of Arts, [redacted]
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800

Dear **Mr Mohammad Abdul Kader**,

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from **Police Personnel of Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research **Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,
[redacted]
Md. Nisharul Arif
Deputy Police Commissioner,
Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police,
Dhaka, Bangladesh
[redacted]

Appendix 4: Permission Letter (2)

Permission Letter

Permission Letter for the research on"Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh"

Dated:

Mohammad Abdul Kader
[redacted]
School of Applied Media and Social Science (SAMSS)
Faculty of Arts, [redacted]
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800

Dear **Mr Mohammad Abdul Kader**,

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from **Community-Police Forums/Committees in Uttara West Thana (Police Station), Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research **Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,

[redacted]

Md. Shahadat Ali

President
Community-Police Coordination Committee
Uttara West Thana (police station)
Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police,
Dhaka, Bangladesh
Contact No. [redacted]

Appendix 5: Permission Letter (3)

Permission Letter

Permission Letter for the research on"Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh"

Dated:

Mohammad Abdul Kader
[redacted]
School of Applied Media and Social Science (SAMSS)
Faculty of Arts, C[redacted]
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800

Dear **Mr Mohammad Abdul Kader**,

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from **Community-Police Forums/Committees, Uttar Khan Thana (Police Station), Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research **Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,

[redacted]

Md. Kamal Uddin
Convener
Community-Police Corodination Committee,
Uttar Khan Thana (police station)
Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police,
Dhaka, Bangladesh
Contact N[redacted]

Appendix 6: Permission Letter (4)

Permission Letter

Permission Letter for the research on"Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh"

Dated:

Mohammad Abdul Kader
[redacted]
School of Applied Media and Social Science (SAMSS)
Faculty of Arts, [redacted]
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800

Dear **Mr Mohammad Abdul Kader**,

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from **Community-Police Forums/Committes, Dakhin Khan Thana (Police Station), Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research **Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,

[redacted]

SM Tofazzal Hossain
President
Community-Police Coordination Committee,
Dakhin Khan Thana (police station)
Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police,
Dhaka, Bangladesh
Contact N[redacted]

Appendix 7: Permission Letter (5)

Permission Letter

Permission Letter for the research on"Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh"

Dated:

Mohammad Abdul Kader
[redacted]
School of Applied Media and Social Science (SAMSS)
Faculty of Arts, Gippsland Campus
MONASH UNIVERSITY VIC 3800

Dear **Mr Mohammad Abdul Kader**,

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from **Community-Police Forums/Committees in Turag Thana(Police Station), Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research **Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh** and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,
[redacted]
Alhazz Md. Lehaz Uddin
Convener
Community-Police Coordination Committee,
Turag Thana (police station)
Uttara Division, Dhaka Metropolitan Police,
Dhaka, Bangladesh
Contact No. [redacted]

Appendix 8: Explanatory Statement – Community members (Group-1)

MONASH University

Explanatory Statement

FAST TRANSLATION

JUDGE MD. AMAN ULLAH (ID) NOTARY PUBLIC WHOLE OF BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH

Dated:

Explanatory Statement – **Community members (Group-1)**

Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

My name is **Mohammad Abdul Kader** and I am conducting a research project with **Dr Chris Laming, a senior lecturer and Dr Karen Crinall, a senior lecturer** in the Department of **Community Welfare and Counselling** towards a **PhD** at Monash University. This means that I will be writing **a thesis which is the equivalent of a 300 page book.** We have funding from AusAID for conducting this research.

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before making a decision.
As a community member, you seem to be an important potential participant of this research project, who can provide valuable information in relation to the issues of this research.

The aim of this study is to investigate and examine how community policing is being practised in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. I am conducting this research to (1) find out how community policing in the Uttara division of the DMP, Bangladesh addresses 'safety and security'; (2) explore and evaluate the community participation process in policing; and (3) examine different perceptions of and challenges to community participation in policing in the Uttara Division of the DMP, Bangladesh.

There will be no direct benefits for the participants of this study. However, your valuable information will greatly contribute to the findings of this study that will add to the body of knowledge in this area, and help strengthen community policing in Bangladesh through right understanding and appropriate practice.

The research does not involve any financial payment or reward offered to you.

The study involves semi-structured In-depth interviews. The interview will be taken at a place that is convenient for you. It will take up to 60 minutes. You may be requested to interview for a second or third time of 30 minutes each. Any potential level of inconvenience and discomfort to you is not anticipated. However, if you may do feel distressed after the interview for any reason, you are advised to contact the student researcher who will then refer you to an appropriate counselling service in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Being in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. However, if you do consent to participate, you may withdraw from further participation at any stage and you will also be able to withdraw data prior to your approval of the interview transcript.

The research will maintain confidentiality of data collected. Tapes, transcripts and notes of your interview will be safely stored at Monash University for five years (or until the project is completed) and only the researchers will have access to them. All identifying details will be removed. No information which could identify any individual participant will be published. You are free to choose not to answer questions put to you or to discontinue the interview at any time.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact **Mohammad Abdul Kader on +61 3 512 26511 or +61 470320064.** The findings are accessible for **three years.**

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research is being conducted, please contact:
Dr Chris Laming **Lecturer** **School of Applied Media and Social Sciences** [redacted] **Monash University,** **Vic, Australia.** [redacted]	**Professor Dr. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah** **Director in Charge** **Japan Study Center** [redacted] **University of Dhaka** [redacted]

Appendix 9: Consent Form – Community members (Group-1)

Consent Form

Consent Form – Community members (Group-1)
Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.

I understand I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records.

I understand that:	YES	NO
- **I will be asked to be interviewed by the researcher**	☐	☐
- **unless I otherwise inform the researcher before the interview I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped**	☐	☐
- **I will be asked to complete questionnaires asking me about Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh**	☐	☐

and

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the interview without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

and/or

I understand that no information I have provided that could lead to the identification of any other individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

and

I understand that data from the interview will be kept in secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

and

I do understand I will remain anonymous at all times in any reports or publications from the project.

Participant's name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 10: Explanatory Statement – Police Personnel (Group-2)

MONASH University

Explanatory Statement

FAST TRANSLATION

JUDGE MD. AMAN ULLAH (RETD) NOTARY PUBLIC MINISTRY OF LAW GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH

Dated:

Explanatory Statement – **Police Personnel (Group-2)**

Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

My name is **Mohammad Abdul Kader** and I am conducting a research project with **Dr Chris Laming, a senior lecturer and Dr Karen Crinall, a senior lecturer** in the Department of **Community Welfare and Counselling** towards a **PhD** at Monash University. This means that I will be writing **a thesis which is the equivalent of a 300 page book.** We have funding from AusAID for conducting this research.

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before making a decision.
As a police officer, you seem to be an important potential participant of this research project, who can provide valuable information in relation to the issues of this research.

The aim of this study is to investigate and examine how community policing is being practised in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. I am conducting this research to (1) find out how community policing in the Uttara division of the DMP, Bangladesh addresses 'safety and security'; (2) explore and evaluate the community participation process in policing; and (3) examine different perceptions of and challenges to community participation in policing in the Uttara Division of the DMP, Bangladesh.

There will be no direct benefits for the participants of this study. However, your valuable information will greatly contribute to the findings of this study that will add to the body of knowledge in this area, and help strengthen community policing in Bangladesh through right understanding and appropriate practice.

The research does not involve any financial payment or reward offered to you.

The study involves semi-structured In-depth interviews. The interview will be taken at a place that is convenient for you. It will take up to 60 minutes. You may be requested to interview for a second or third time of 30 minutes each. Any potential level of inconvenience and discomfort to you is not anticipated. However, if you may do feel distressed after the interview for any reason, you are advised to contact the student researcher who will then refer you to an appropriate counselling service in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Being in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. However, if you do consent to participate, you may withdraw from further participation at any stage and you will also be able to withdraw data prior to your approval of the interview transcript.

The research will maintain confidentiality of data collected. Tapes, transcripts and notes of your interview will be safely stored at Monash University for five years (or until the project is completed) and only the researchers will have access to them. All identifying details will be removed. No information which could identify any individual participant will be published. You are free to choose not to answer questions put to you or to discontinue the interview at any time.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact **Mohammad Abdul Kader on +61 3 512 26511 or +61 470320064.** The findings are accessible for **three years.**

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research is being conducted, please contact:
Dr Chris Laming **Lecturer** **School of Applied Media and Social Sciences** [redacted] **Monash University,** **Vic, Australia.** [redacted]	**Professor Dr. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah** **Director in Charge** **Japan Study Center** [redacted] **University of Dhaka** [redacted]

Thank you.

Mohammad Abdul Kader

Appendix 11: Consent Form – Police Personnel (Group-2)

Consent Form

Consent Form – Police personnel (Group-2)
Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.

I understand I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records.

I understand that:	YES	NO
- **I will be asked to be interviewed by the researcher**	☐	☐
- **unless I otherwise inform the researcher before the interview I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped**	☐	☐
- **I will be asked to complete questionnaires asking me about Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh**	☐	☐

and

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the interview without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

and/or

I understand that no information I have provided that could lead to the identification of any other individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

and

I understand that data from the interview will be kept in secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

and

I do understand I will remain anonymous at all times in any reports or publications from the project.

Participant's name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 12: Explanatory Statement – Members of Community-Police Forums (CPFs) (Group-3)

MONASH University

Explanatory Statement

FAST TRANSLATION

JUDGE MD. AMAN ULLAH (REED) NOTARY PUBLIC WHOLE OF BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH

Dated:

Explanatory Statement – **Members of Community-Police Forums (CPFs) (Group-3)**

Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

My name is **Mohammad Abdul Kader** and I am conducting a research project with **Dr Chris Laming, a senior lecturer and Dr Karen Crinall, a senior lecturer** in the Department of **Community Welfare and Counselling** towards a **PhD** at Monash University. This means that I will be writing **a thesis which is the equivalent of a 300 page book.** We have funding from AusAID for conducting this research.

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before making a decision.
As a member of the CPF, you seem to be an important potential participant of this research project, who can provide valuable information in relation to the issues of this research.

The aim of this study is to investigate and examine how community policing is being practised in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. I am conducting this research to (1) find out how community policing in the Uttara division of the DMP, Bangladesh addresses 'safety and security'; (2) explore and evaluate the community participation process in policing; and (3) examine different perceptions of and challenges to community participation in policing in the Uttara Division of the DMP, Bangladesh.

There will be no direct benefits for the participants of this study. However, your valuable information will greatly contribute to the findings of this study that will add to the body of knowledge in this area, and help strengthen community policing in Bangladesh through right understanding and appropriate practice.

The research does not involve any financial payment or reward offered to you.

The study involves semi-structured In-depth interviews. The interview will be taken at a place that is convenient for you. It will take up to 60 minutes. You may be requested to interview for a second or third time of 30 minutes each. Any potential level of inconvenience and discomfort to you is not anticipated. However, if you may do feel distressed after the interview for any reason, you are advised to contact the student researcher who will then refer you to an appropriate counselling service in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Being in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. However, if you do consent to participate, you may withdraw from further participation at any stage and you will also be able to withdraw data prior to your approval of the interview transcript.

The research will maintain confidentiality of data collected. Tapes, transcripts and notes of your interview will be safely stored at Monash University for five years (or until the project is completed) and only the researchers will have access to them. All identifying details will be removed. No information which could identify any individual participant will be published. You are free to choose not to answer questions put to you or to discontinue the interview at any time.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact **Mohammad Abdul Kader on +61 3 512 26511 or +61 470320064.** The findings are accessible for **three years.**

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research is being conducted, please contact:
Dr Chris Laming **Lecturer** **School of Applied Media and Social Sciences** [redacted]**Monash University,** **Vic, Australia.** [redacted]	**Professor Dr. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah** **Director in Charge** **Japan Study Center** [redacted] **University of Dhaka** [redacted]

Thank you.

Mohammad Abdul Kader

Appendix 13: Consent Form – Members of Community-Police Forums/Committees (Group-3)

Consent Form

Consent Form – Members of Community-Police Forums/Committees (Group-3)
Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh

NOTE: **This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.**

I understand I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records.

I understand that:	YES	NO
- **I will be asked to be interviewed by the researcher**	☐	☐
- **unless I otherwise inform the researcher before the interview I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped**	☐	☐
- **I will be asked to complete questionnaires asking me about Participation in Community Policing in Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh**	☐	☐

and

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the interview without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

and/or

I understand that no information I have provided that could lead to the identification of any other individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

and

I understand that data from the interview will be kept in secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

and

I do understand I will remain anonymous at all times in any reports or publications from the project.

Participant's name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 14: Explanatory Statement – Participants of Police-Community meetings

MONASH University

Explanatory Statement

Dated:

Explanatory Statement – **Participants of the police-community meetings**

Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

My name is **Mohammad Abdul Kader** and I am conducting a research project with **Dr Chris Laming, a senior lecturer and Dr Karen Crinall, a senior lecturer** in the Department of **Community Welfare and Counselling** towards a **PhD** at Monash University. This means that I will be writing **a thesis which is the equivalent of a 300 page book.**

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before your consent and the meeting commences.

As a participant of the police community meeting, you seem to be an important potential informant of this research. You are likely to be an important informant who can provide valuable information through participation in this meeting that may be related to the issues of this study.

The aim of this study is to investigate and examine how community policing is being practised in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), Bangladesh. I am conducting this research to (1) find out how community policing in the Uttara division of the DMP, Bangladesh addresses 'safety and security'; (2) explore and evaluate the community participation process in policing; and (3) examine different perceptions of and challenges to community participation in policing in the Uttara Division of the DMP, Bangladesh.

There will be no direct benefits for the participants of this study. However, the information to be derived from your participation and conversation in the meeting will greatly contribute to the findings of this study that will add to the body of knowledge in this area, and help strengthen community policing in Bangladesh through right understanding and appropriate practice.

The researcher has no right to influence neither the selection of meeting agenda nor the proceedings of the meeting. The researcher cannot influence or request any attendee of the meeting to take part in discussion in the meeting nor can he request or make compel anyone to attend this meeting. The researcher will simply observe the meeting proceedings. He cannot take part in discussion of the meeting. The discussion of the meeting in which attendees take part will be audio-taped.

The research will maintain confidentiality of data collected. Tapes, transcripts and notes to be taken in connection with the meeting proceedings will be safely stored at Monash University for five years (or until the project is completed) and only the researchers will have access to them. The identity of participants in any report or publication on the research will not be disclosed. No information which could identify any individual participant will be published.

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact **Mohammad Abdul Kader on** [redacted] The findings are accessible for **three years.**

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research is being conducted, please contact:
Dr Chris Laming **Lecturer** **School of Applied Media and Social Sciences** [redacted] **Monash University,** **Vic, Australia.** **Tel: +** [redacted] **Fax: -** [redacted] **Email** [redacted]	**Professor Dr. Nazmul Ahsan Kalimullah** **Director in Charge** **Japan Study Center** [redacted] **University of Dhaka** **Tel: +** [redacted] **Fax: -** [redacted] **Email** [redacted]

Thank you.

Mohammad Abdul Kader

Appendix 15: Consent Form - Participants of Police-Community meetings

Consent Form

Consent Form – Participants of the Police-Community Meetings

Title: Participation in Community Policing in the Uttara Division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Bangladesh

NOTE: **This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records.**

I understand I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records.

I understand that:	YES	NO
- **I am free to take part in discussion of the meeting**	☐	☐
- **My conversation/discussion in the meeting will be audio-taped**	☐	☐

and

I understand that I am not influenced by the researcher to take part in the meeting, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the meeting without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from discussion of the meeting for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

and/or

I understand that no information I have provided that could lead to the identification of any other individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

and

I understand that data from the conversation/discussion in the meeting will be kept in secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

and

I do understand that I will remain anonymous at all times in any reports or publications from the project.

Participant's name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

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