

An Evaluation of the Community Policing Programme in Kerala

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION AND METHDOLOGY

Introduction:

Decentralisation and democratisation has been the key objective of reform processes that have been initiated in various sectors of governance. The 1990s heralded the era of decentralisation in local governance in India. This was manifest in reforms in sectors as diverse as panchayati raj, irrigation management, forest management and so on. The implementation of Community Policing, the world over, and in different parts of the country, emphasizes on the same principles of democratization and participation, wherein the community assumes centre stage in policing activities. Like all other attempts at the democratisation of sectors that were hitherto centralised, the community policing effort carries with it the promise of a new approach. An approach wherein people's voices matter, and where people's needs are taken seriously. However, like all other reform processes that are community-centered, it carries with it the risk of not being able to institutionalize principles of participation and democratization that are essential to any reform agenda.

The Janamaitri Suraksha Project (JSP) was initiated in 2008 in Kerala, following recommendations made to this effect by the K T Thomas Commission, which was constituted to review the functioning of the police department in the state. It was initiated on an experimental basis in 20 police stations in the first phase, soon followed by another 23 police stations in the second phase, and 105 stations in the third phase. The fourth phase of implementation has just begun, which covers an additional 100 police stations. A number of concurrent evaluations were undertaken to assess progress in implementation. The present evaluation was conducted during the months of Feb-April 2013, almost five years since the commencement of implementation.

Research Methodology:

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were used for data collection. Detailed interviews with a range of people coupled with Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) provided the data base for the study. The study design consisted of a comparative study of 19 Janamaitri (henceforth referred to as JM stations) and non Janamaitri stations (henceforth referred to as non JM stations), as well as in-depth studies of 10 Janamaitri stations. Interviews and FGDs were conducted for both the comparative and in-depth studies.

A set of detailed interview schedules were administered to beat officers, Station House Officers (SHOs), Janamaitri Samiti members, complainants and local people residing within the police station limits. Interview schedules combined both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Particular emphasis was given to perceptions of the police and the people regarding Janamaitri, their assessment of the changes introduced through JSP, its shortcomings and so on. FGDs were conducted with both the police and the people.

The Sample

The comparative and in-depth study covered a total of 48 police stations. The comparative study covered 38 stations (19 Janamaitri and 19 non Janamaitri stations) and the in-depth study covered 10 stations. The full list of stations covered is given in Appendix 1.

All of the above-mentioned categories of people were interviewed for the in-depth and comparative study. A total of 32 people were interviewed per station for each of the in-depth studies. The total sample size for the in-depth study was therefore 320.

This 32 interviews per station included interviews with

- a) 9 randomly selected Community Police Officers (CPOs)
- b) 10 randomly selected complainants (giving adequate representation to women, SC/ST communities)
- c) 4 representatives of the Janamaitri Samiti
- d) 9 members of the general public, who have no direct role in Janamaitri implementation (this was to assess general awareness levels about this program). In Janamaitri stations, the local people were selected from areas where Janamaitri had been implemented¹.

For the comparative study a total of 10 interviews were conducted per station, covering 3 Police Officers, 4 complainants and 3 members of the general public (randomly selected). A total of 380 interviews were conducted in 38 police stations (19 Janamaitri and 19 non Janamaitri), taking the total number of interviews to in this category to 380.

In total therefore 700 interviews were conducted in the Janamaitri and non Janamaitri police stations. Of the 700 interviews, 510 were conducted in Janamaitri stations and 190 in non Janamaitri stations. The category-wise break-up of the 700 interviews is presented in Appendix II

Focus Group Discussions

In addition to the interviews, focus group discussions were conducted with police personnel, local people, and women's groups in different parts of the Janamaitri stations covered in the study. A total of 80 FGDs were conducted across police stations. The FGDs were useful in providing a collective understanding of issues related to Janamaitri.

¹ JSP has been implemented only in certain parts of a police station. So while a station may be designated as a Janamaitri station, not all parts of the station area come under JSP implementation.

Limitations of the Study

As the data collection for the study had to be completed within a period of two months, the sample size had to be restricted to 700. This shortcoming was partially covered by holding 80 FGDs across the police stations.

A major constraint faced was in motivating the respondents to open up. The police officers were extremely cautious while speaking out, especially while answering questions that elicited their personal opinions. Civil Police Officers were reluctant to speak out, being apprehensive about their opinions inviting disciplinary action. Some of them answered questions just for the sake of answering. Hence some of their answers cannot be taken at face value. Some opened up after considerable prodding and agreed to speak out openly, only when they were assured of confidentiality. Names and identities of beat officers and other police officers have been withheld for this purpose.

There was also a lack of clarity about the purpose of the visit of the research team. Many of them had assumed that the research team was going to assess their understanding of Janamaitri. Some of them were tense about the interview and anxious to give 'correct answers'. Hence, many of them were seen preparing themselves for the interview, by reading the Janamaitri Guidelines before coming for the interview. This prevented a free-flowing conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee, and responses appeared artificial. On many occasions, it was difficult to get beat officers and SHOs for interviews, as they were preoccupied with other duties. Many of them were not able to spare one hour at a stretch, as they kept getting called for work. This was the case despite intimation being provided from the Police Headquarters. Since the data collection had to be completed within a short time period, the research team was also under pressure to complete the interviews and focus group discussions on time.

In the case of FGDs, despite prior intimation from the Police Head Quarters, civil police officers were intimidated only in the last minute. A lot of time was therefore spent in waiting for the respondents to come together. There were a few instances when the superior officers in the station were unresponsive and disinterested. This affected the pace of data collection.

Reluctance to speak out was observed amongst the local people and complainants as well, more so with the complainants, who feared whether it would adversely affect case investigations. Many cases were pending in court and complainants were afraid to express critical views. In general, people were reluctant to speak out openly about the police, often misunderstanding that members of the research team were sent for enquiries by the police department. They would express their personal views only towards the end of the interview and would request that they not be quoted. It is for this reason, that confidentiality of the respondents has been maintained in the report.

Chapter II: THE BEAT PROCESS

This section examines in detail, the impact of the Janamaitri Beat Process on the maintenance of law and order in Janamaitri Police stations. It examines the beat process, posing observations made by both the police and the local people. Through the data collected in this regard, this section portrays the existing status of Janamaitri implementation in the state.

The impact of JANAMAITRI on Law and Order and Crime

One of the key objectives of the Janamaitri programme is to reduce and prevent the incidence of crime and law and order problems through coordinated efforts by the police and the people. Both police officers and local people from the areas where JSP has been implemented, were asked about the existing law and order problems in their area and the impact of JSP implementation on these problems.

It is pertinent to note that while robberies are not very predominant, alcoholism and related problems predominate

Roughly 60% of the beat officers from JM stations cited alcoholism to be the major problem in their areas, which was manifest in domestic violence, public nuisance and so on. Beat officers estimate this to be a much more serious problem than local people, perhaps because they speak with reference to the entire beat area, whereas local people and complainants speak with reference to their locality alone. Other problems cited include political conflicts and communal issues in certain pockets, small local fights largely under the influence of alcohol, boundary disputes, smuggling of sand, domestic violence and robberies. It is pertinent to note that while robberies are not very predominant, alcoholism and related problems predominate.

The nature of problems indicate that a regular beat process could prevent them from developing into full-fledged crimes.

As in the case of beat officers, local people too reported alcoholism to be the predominant problem across police stations, manifest in alcoholism within the home which led to family feuds as well as drinking in public places making it difficult for local people to move around safely in the evenings. Also reported was fighting amongst local people, mostly a fall out of alcoholism. The remaining people reported boundary disputes, political problems, gambling, sale of ganja and illicit brewing. In many cases, a combination of these factors was reported. By and large, most of the problems being reported could be resolved through consistent monitoring and follow-up activities by the police and the people. This is substantiated by the fact that 84% of the local people from Janamaitri stations seemed to feel that their areas of residence were problem-free, safe and secure. Except for certain stations where there was an incidence of communal violence such as Marad and Payyanoor, or political unrest as in the case of Vadakara, the others have largely been problem free.

Do you feel a sense of security when you live here?- Feedback from Local People		
	Percent in JM	Percent in Non JM area
Yes	83.89	86.89
No	10.07	13.11
No response	6.04	0
Total	100.00	100
	N= 149	N= 61

This indicates that by and large, society here is peaceful. Interestingly, a greater proportion of local people (87%) in non Janamaitri stations felt secure living where they did. What makes people insecure in both JM and non JM stations is the consumption of alcohol in public places, goondaism and related problems, particularly in low income settlements.

That most of the stations covered were problem-free is indicated by the fact that only 16% of the Beat Officers in Janamaitri stations remarked that there are problems areas in their beat area. And almost all of them have not faced problems visiting such problem pockets.

What makes people insecure is the incidence of alcoholism during the evenings, particularly in low income settlements.

Are there problem areas in your beat area?- Feedback from Beat Officers /CPOs			
	JM	Percent	Non JM
Yes		16.67	24.39
No		81.25	70.73
Don't know		2.08	4.88
Total		100.00	100.00
	N=96		n=41

In comparison, 24% of beat officers in non Janamaitri stations reported the existence of problem areas. This could be treated as an indicator of the positive impact of the Janamaitri beat process.

Have Problems Increased or Decreased through the Janamaitri programme?

70% of the beat officers in Janamaitri stations say that these problems have decreased since JSP. 15% say that they have increased despite JSP and another 15% say that there is no change.

Have these problems increased or decreased since JSP		
	SHO (percent)	Beat Officer (Percent)
Increased	4.35	15.63
Decreased	60.87	69.79

Can't say clearly	34.78	14.58
Total	100.00	100.00

N=23

N=96

In comparison, only 61% of the SHOs in Janamaitri stations feel that these problems have decreased with JSP, and a significant proportion of 35% feel that there is no change.

In comparison to the 70% of the beat officers in Janamaitri stations who had reported that law and order problems had decreased since JSP implementation, only 49% of the beat officers in non Janamaitri stations said that problems had decreased in their area over the past couple of years. This could also be treated as an indicator of the positive impact of the Janamaitri programme that was manifest in reduced incidence of problems in Janamaitri stations.

Social Interventions through Janamaitri:

In the following section, we highlight some of the notable activities taken up under the JM programme over the past 3-5 years. The first set of issues relates to interventions in social problems and the next set relates to interventions in personal issues and conflicts. They give us an idea of the broad range of activities that have been taken up under the JM programme, largely under the initiative of concerned Beat Officers. These are mostly based on narrations by beat officers and local people. These examples illustrate the advantages of the Janamaitri programme and the value of the beat process. It also reveals how closer proximity between the police and the people have helped the police to intervene in social problems.

The following examples illustrate how the Janamaitri programme has addressed some of the commonly cited problems, viz. alcohol brewing, communal tensions, robberies, sand smuggling and so on.

Hosdurg PS- In a bid to reduce alcohol brewing in Hosdurg, the JM police organized a rally against it along the beach, and asked the problem makers themselves to hold the banner, which put pressure on them to discontinue with the practice, as they felt involved and responsible for the programme. In a particular case, the beat officer had identified a woman who used to brew alcohol. Instead of confronting her, the beat officer began to make local enquires which generated local discussion. Finally her grandson, grew ashamed of his grandmother's misdeeds, went home and broke all the pots in which alcohol was being brewed and put an end to this activity.

Another issue cited in Hosdurg was when the police took up a strong effort to control communal tensions. Five clubs were reported to be functioning in the beat area, which were fuelling communal tensions. A coordinated intervention by the police and the Sub Collector led to the closing down of these clubs and the formation of one club called 'We are One'. This seems to have restored the confidence of the people in the government and the police.

In Irinjalakuda, a 26 member youth patrolling group work with the police and has reportedly reduced the number of robberies and petty thefts in the town area.

In Irinjalakuda, a 26 member youth patrolling group work with the police and has reportedly reduced the number of robberies and petty thefts in the town area. While frequency of beat visits are on the decline, night patrolling is being carried on regularly in certain pockets. In a discussion with the youth members, it was pointed out that they have become so accustomed to it, that they feel awkward when they don't go for patrolling on the scheduled day. In some cases, the police are over burdened and not able to come for night patrolling, but the youth members volunteer on their own. Some of the older members are demanding identity cards for their own protection. What we saw in Irinjalakuda was that certain local people were self motivated and were willing to carry on night patrolling even if the police were not able to make

it at night. We saw a similar enthusiasm in certain pockets of Thrissur East station, where a high level of trust existed between the local people and some of the older beat officers.

Cheruthuruthy station faces smuggling of sand in a big way. Some of the local people feel that the police are not intervening effectively in this problem. The police however feel they made a good effort by constituting the Janakeeya Puzha Samrakshana Samiti under the JM programme, and motivating people to understand the importance of river conservation and the dangers of sand mining from the river bed.

In Ranni PS, it was reported that JM has helped to control functioning of quotation sangams, who were close to political power centres.

In Vadakara PS, beat officers helped to control a conflict that used to routinely break out between two local factions at the local festival. The beat officers from two adjoining beat areas constituted what they called a 'Samadhana Committee' (Committee for Peace), and since the past two years, the festival has been conflict free.

In Thodupuzha station it was reported that frequent beat visits to problem-prone areas helped to control the incidence of alcoholism and petty fights. The number of distress phone calls from such pockets declined with frequent beat visits, they report.

In Perintalmanna, waste water from some of the main hospitals was released into open drains. This issue was raised in Janamaitri meetings and subsequently action was taken to cover the open drain with concrete slabs.

In Irinjalakuda, a beat officer took the initiative to curb the sale of the addictive, HANS in the vicinity of the school, and children too participated in this campaign.

A beat officer from Thodupuzha reported how he linked up with the 75 odd residents associations in his beat area, and drew out a schedule for Night Patrolling in which members of each association participated turn by turn.

Trichur East- Night patrolling was very active in certain pockets of Trichur East, and it helped to control robberies and gambling. Today, night patrolling is not being carried out with the same intensity.

In Ottapalam station, a tribal colony, the Cherikunnu colony was located just below a water tank from where water was distributed to many parts of the panchayat. The colony however was not supplied water from this

tank, and residents had to go far down below to a well to draw water. The panchayat had not done anything to redress their problem. The beat officers intervened and put pressure on the authorities such that pipes were laid to the colony, which now gets water from the tank.

Perintalmanna PS- It was reported from Perintalmanna, that problems between police and people are lesser when rallies are organized as the police and people now have a relation and hence enjoy a higher degree of trust and personal proximity with one another.

Mananthavady- There was an issue of outsiders creating problems in tribal settlements, as a result of which night patrolling around tribal settlements has been strengthened and the problem has been controlled to some extent.

Trichur East- Night patrolling was very active in certain pockets of Trichur East, and it helped to control robberies and gambling. Today, night patrolling is not being carried out with the same intensity.

In general it was reported that when regular beat visits are conducted, police get timely information before a small issue balloons into a big problem of a criminal nature. That people

develop the freedom to call and report problems to the beat officer and report a problem has been cited universally. Beat officers report that even women are more forthcoming in calling the police for help. Since the number of women with individual cell phone numbers has increased, they don't hesitate to call the beat officers when in need.

Personal Interventions through Janamaitri

Apart from intervening in social issues, police officers have also intervened and helped people to deal with personal stress and family conflicts. Instances have been cited when beat officers have conducted themselves with extreme sensitivity. Some of them have been able to rehabilitate people in stress or helped to wean them away from anti social activities. Such interventions from the side of police have been much appreciated by the people as well, and must have gone on to build trust in a significant way². Beat officers were asked to narrate the most significant experience while implementing the Janamaitri programme. While most of the officers narrated charity work, some of them quoted instances of reforming alcoholics or resolving family conflicts, helping to rehabilitate people who were inclined to engage in anti-social activities and so on. It is such experiences that have been cited here. Though they constitute a minority, they reflect the benefits of a close interaction between the police and the people.

In Trichur East station, a young woman who had fallen into the habit of stealing from homes was identified by the beat officer, who assisted her in finding a small job. Instead of accusing her, he helped to get out of this habit.

² Beat officers were asked to narrate the most significant experience while implementing the Janamaitri programme. While most of the officers narrated charity work, some of them quoted instances of reforming alcoholics or resolving family conflicts. Some others have reported helping to rehabilitate mentally challenged people or those with criminal tendencies by helping them to find a job.

A woman beat officer from Payyanur reported how she succeeded in sending an engineering student back to college. The student had quit college after having undergone the trauma of ragging. The reassurance she gave him enabled him to go back to college.

An instance cited from Vadakara station wherein a person who used to engage in home based sales of alcohol was motivated by the beat officer and the local people to give up this profession. They helped him to set up sale of lottery, which compensated for his loss of income. Unfortunately, with the slowing down of the beat process however, and lack of regular interaction, he went back to his old ways.

On one of his routine beat visits, a Beat Officer from Perintalmanna chanced to speak with a young boy who was alone at home. . He asked him very casually if all was well, and the boy replied that he was unhappy as his father used to drink and beat up his mother every day. The beat officer took up the matter with the father, was able to talk to him and intervene in this issue.

Another instance quoted by a beat officer from Vadakara, wherein he was able to convince an alcoholic to go for de-addiction treatment. They had mutually fixed up a date when the beat officer would accompany the alcoholic to a de-addiction centre. The beat officer however could not accompany him as promised due to some other duties. By the time he fixed up another appointment, the alcoholic had been brainwashed by some others about the dangers of de-addiction, and he went back to his old habit. The beat officer feels that timely action from his side could have avoided such a setback.

An instance was cited when parents brought their son to the police station as he was a problem child and was difficult to handle at home. The beat officer was sensitive and intelligent enough to realize that the child had a psychological disturbance, and helped in arranging suitable treatment for the child. As a result, the child is better adjusted today. In the beat officer's own

words, in earlier times, the police would rarely intervene in such a matter. They would not consider such issues at all in the past.

One of the most remarkable stories narrated to us was one in which a woman beat officer from Palarivattam helped to reform an alcoholic. Being a skilled worker, he used to earn a good amount as daily wage which he spent on alcohol. He would routinely beat his wife and children, and destroy utensils and other valuables at home. On one such occasion, when his wife and children intimidated the police, the women beat officers came and asked the man to clean up the whole house. They then took him to the town and made him buy utensils and other material that he had destroyed. The beat officers told him that they would visit him again the following day, which was the day of Easter. When they went the next day, they found the house back in shape, and the family had prepared a feast for them. Since that day, the man has changed and the issue has been resolved.

An incident was cited when a young man, who had committed crimes as a juvenile, by being a part of a goonda group, was rehabilitated at the initiative of the beat officer and an interested Samiti member from Thrissur East police station. They placed him with a man who was a professional painter, and soon the young man was able to cut off his links with the goonda group and come back to normal life.

These examples also throw light on the range of issues, both personal and social, that get resolved through a regularly conducted beat process.

In a nutshell, these examples illustrate the importance of regular interactions between the police and the people. It has been observed that a personal interaction with the police is valued highly by ordinary people. These examples also throw light on the range of issues, both personal and social, that get resolved through a regularly conducted beat process.

Activities taken up under JSP

In addition to personal initiatives and success stories, a number of common activities were found to be taken up in all JM stations.

The most commonly cited activity was related to organizing awareness classes focused on various themes. Off late, most such classes have been centered on the

All of these various activities have helped to give a human face to the police, but they have also compelled the police to intervene in sectors that they were not familiar with.

theme of exploitation of women and girls, alcoholism and de-addiction. Since the Delhi Rape incident in December 2012, there has been an increase in the number of awareness programmes targeted at the safety of women and children. Camps and classes have also been organized around the theme of traffic awareness, career guidance, dangers of addiction, career guidance, and sports coaching. In certain stations, PSC coaching has been organized in certain pockets. Medical camps too are organized with the cooperation of the health department.

The other predominant activities pertain to interventions in areas that are not really the mandate of the police. These include the following-

Camps have been organized for identification of blood groups and blood donation. The police have intervened in activities related to drinking water supply and waste disposal, rectifying failed power supply, fixing street lights and so on. While these are not a part of policing activities in any way, police report that people prefer to report such failures to them rather than to the concerned service delivery agency (be it the KWA , KSEB , the municipality or other agencies). When the police call up the KSEB or the KWA, there is a higher chance of timely action. This has however increased the load on the police.

A number of activities fall in the realm of charity work. This includes distribution of food kits to identified poor families or elderly couples, providing educational support to children from poor

families through distribution of books and other accessories, arranging for electrification of houses to extremely poor families, building houses for poor families, distribution of water beds to poor patients, distribution of rice gruel (*kanji*) and black coffee in hospitals, distribution of wheel chairs to physically handicapped people and so on.

All of these various activities have helped to give a human face to the police, but they have also compelled the police to intervene in sectors that they were not familiar with. A discussion on this issue is taken up later in the report.

Views of Local People on Police Interventions:

The local people were asked about the intervention of police in commonly prevailing law and order problems discussed in the earlier section. Their responses, among

On Police Interventions

Hosdurg- 'Police come when called and drive away the culprits'.

Chandera- 'Police interventions in the sand mining issue could be strengthened. They come when we report issues, but we feel they could do more'.

Payyanur- 'Earlier JM police used to come regularly, now they do not come regularly, and hence problems related to alcoholism have increased'. It was stated that when JM was active here, the police could control robberies through Night Patrolling conducted with the support of local people. The Beat Officer was known to all. With the gradual fading out of the night patrolling system, robberies are making a comeback in the area.

Ottappalam- 'They come when we call, but they take some action for name sake, like asking culprits to pay a fine or take them to the station and leave them. But the problem remains'.

other things, indicate the regularity with which beat visits are being undertaken currently. The predominant response from the people was that the police come when called. 'They come when we call them; they warn the people or take some of them to the station'. While this is positive, the regular beat process that is the characteristic feature of the JSP programme is reported to be declining.

Only about 7% of the local people interviewed commented that the police *do not* come when called. Though small, this is serious considering that this is reported from Janamaitri areas. This section of people has responded that when the police are called, they cite the non-availability of vehicles as a reason for not being able to come. This was substantiated by beat officers from certain

Chertala- 'The police do not come very promptly, so by the time they arrive, the problem makers would have disappeared. Even if the police come, their intervention is not strong enough, and the problems continue'.

Kollam East- 'When JM started, Beat Officers used to come regularly, now it is not so'.

Attingal- 'When we call, they say that they do not have vehicles to come. By the time they reach, the issue would have passed over'.

Vadakara- 'Night patrolling has been strengthened here since the outbreak of political skirmishes, this has nothing to do with JM'.

Perintalmanna- 'The police come when they are called. People try to resolve issues on their own, and call the police only if needed'.

stations who have reported that off late, they are unable to attend to grievances reported from the beat area, owing to non-availability of vehicles or because they have had to attend to other duties. 'I have had to turn my face away, when I see people from my beat area in public places. They too must be disappointed in me, as I was not able to go when they called me', says a beat officer.

There have also been a few reports of police not coming to the spot, or of not taking any follow-up action. In the case of an incident in Chertala, wherein a group of people were drinking in public places and creating a public nuisance, the people had this to say-'We call the police. But they don't come on time. By the time they come, the problem makers would have left', or that 'people run away when the police come, only to return a few days later'. Such instances indicate the need for regular follow-up on the part of the police.

The positive element herein is that the police come when they are called, barring a few reports of the police not responding to calls from the beat area. However what is evident is that beat visits which had marked the presence of the Janamaitri programme are now declining. People have reported that when a problem surfaces, police patrol the area for a few days, and then they withdraw, and the problem may re-surface some time later.

This has been substantiated by responses from the beat officers as well. It has been widely reported, that beat officers could complete one round of house visits in their respective beat areas during the initial phase of JSP. The present lot of JM beat officers, who replaced the old lot, has not been able to do the same. People therefore associate the beat process with the first batch of beat officers. They also tend to say that the old beat officer was prompt and regular, while the new officers are not so committed. In most stations, both people and the beat officers refer to a golden period, when JSP was active.

Do the JM police visit your area?- Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	61.07
No	29.53
Don't know	9.40
Total	100.00

n= 149

As per the response of the local people, only 61% of them reported that beat officers visit their area. Beat officers complain that they are not able to go regularly for the JM beat duty, primarily due to over duty. Many have reported that they are called back to the station while they are on beat duty, to look into law and order problems or other official responsibilities, which cannot be sidelined.

The following responses from beat officers are indicative. Their names have been withheld, for they have expressed these opinions on assurance of anonymity.

'We are not allowed to go for beat duty, there is so much of other work'.

'A beat officer in this station has charge of a beat area that includes 2500 houses. Beat visits have stopped almost totally here. We go only if there is an enquiry to be made. Either the extent of the beat area has to be reduced or the number of beat officers per beat has to be increased'.

Is there a complaint box in your beat area? Feedback from Beat Officers

	Valid Percent
Yes	31.25
No	68.75
Total	100.00

N=96

'We are not allowed to go for beat duty; there is so much of other work'.

'Since JM, people have begun to report problems in greater numbers. We don't have the staff strength to cater to their demands. Vehicles are less in number, especially 2 wheelers. Computer training has not been given to all, only 2 people in the station are computer trained, as a result of which paper work takes time. All this keeps us away from the beat area'.

An Asst Beat Officer since 2008, a WPC says that 'JM today is only in the book. The initial batch of beat officers have all left. There is no cooperation from the side of the present SI. So JM too is not alive'.

'Currently, JM is mostly through the phone, as people call us when in need. From a situation when the police reached out to people, the people now call us over the phone. It is better than nothing, but it is not a consolation either. How long will this carry on. Soon they will lose interest and trust in us'.

'I do not know which Asst Beat Officer is to accompany me on beat visits. This implies that the beat process is not taken seriously'.

'Currently, JM is mostly through the phone, as people call us when in need. From a situation when the police reached out to people, the people now call us over the phone. It is better than nothing, but it is not a consolation either. How long will this carry on. Soon they will lose interest and trust in us'.

Irregular beat visits have been reported by local people and Samiti members as well. The following statements illustrate this.

'The old beat officers have left and the new batch don't get time to visit the area. There is a growing distance between the people and the police due to this. Now the CI too is not able to come for meetings' a local person from Payyanur.

A few JM Samiti Members had to this to say-

‘People used to call the police whenever there was a problem, and the police used to come. But now the police don’t come, neither do the people call the police’.

‘At one time, all the people in the municipal area had the phone numbers of the JM officers, now that era is over’.

Beat Visits and House Visits

In this section we look into the existing levels of awareness amongst the general public about the Janamaitri programme. We also look into the current status of the beat visits and house visits being undertaken under the Janamaitri programme. Both local people and the complainants were asked to comment upon their experiences in this regard.

Amongst the local people residing in areas where Janamaitri had been implemented, 83% had heard about the JM programme. 17% had not heard about the JM programme. Roughly the same percentage did not know that their station was a JM station.

Have you heard of the JM programme?- Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	83.22
No	16.78
Total	100.00

N= 149

Is your station a JM station?- Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	84.56
No	3.36
Don't know	12.08
Total	100.00

N=149

Those who had heard about the programme were asked to speak about what they knew about it. Most of them described it as a programme wherein the 'police were friendly', or where 'the police and people come closer to one another'. Such comments do not really reveal much about their understanding. The comments listed below are those that are relatively more detailed and which give us an understanding of how ordinary people assess the present situation.

The following responses from local people are listed below to provide an insight into how ordinary people have assessed the programme-

Thodupuzha PS- 'JM Police are those who interact with the people and who come to our area once a month. Now they don't come so often'.

Irinjalakuda PS- 'They are police who understand the problems people face'.

Mannarkad PS- "I don't know too much about the JM programme, but I have the visiting card of the Beat Officer.

Kattapana- 'I know that is something to do with police and people'.

- "I don't know too much about the JM programme, but I have the visiting card of the Beat Officer.

‘We know JM police as police who will come if there is a problem. Police have told us that even if we find a snake at home, we could call them and they would come’- from Chandra PS.

Chemungad PS- ‘I think JM is about police treating people well. I don’t know too much about it’.

Kalpetta PS- ‘I have heard of the term JM, but I do not know what it is’.

Another person from Payyanur- The police clean the roads, and I have seen reports about their work in the news papers and the local news channels.

A woman from Vadakara knew that the police had come to all the homes in the area, and had given a booklet. And that they could call the police if there was a problem, but she had not heard of Janamaitri.

A woman in Marad- ‘I think the JM programme organizes classes in the Anganwadi’.

Another local person from Marad- ‘I have heard that there is a Janakeeya Police, who have asked us to call when needed, and that there is a committee which holds meetings in police stations’. Another person knew that the police in his station were Janamaitri police, but he did not know what their activities were.

A person from Mananthavady- ‘The police establish relations with the people, but now it has stopped. I think it is because of the change in government’. Another person from the same area remarked that JM is a programme that has funds. The reason he cited was that the JM police had organized a programme here, and the local people were entrusted with arranging the lunch, for which the police gave them Rs 1500. This led them to conclude that there was plenty of money with the department for organising such programmes.

A tribal Paniya woman from Mananthavadi- 'I don't know about JM, but my husband who is the Oorumoopan may know. Another person from the same area- '2-3 police used to come here once in a while. Havent seen them for more than a year now'.

Mararikulam- 'The police came here initially and did a kind of survey. Now they don't come here'.

A woman from Chertala- 'The police have come to our homes, and said that they will do the needful. They also drove way some drunkards in the area'.

Mararikulam- 'People get awards from the police through this programme and the police behave politely with people'.

Ranni- 'the JM police are good police who do good things for poor people'

'They came here once and gave their numbers, that is all we know about them' - Payyanoor

The Need for Effective Communication:

Some of the responses from people about the Janamaitri programme indicate the need for more effective communication.

For instance, an Anganwadi teacher in Hosdurg mentions that two police officers had come to take down details and had given her a card with phone numbers, but she did not know anything more about the purpose of the visit.

In a tribal colony with about 40 households in Hosdurg, the police had come once and given their phone numbers. But the residents who were interviewed were not able to link this visit with the JM programme. The police had made an attempt to stop illicit brewing of alcohol here, but it has resumed again. Residents of a coastal village in Chithari in Hosdurg do not remember the police ever having come there.

In Mannarkad station area, an Anganwadi teacher reported an issue where people engaged in gambling used to routinely meet in the Anganwadi premises in the evenings. They would not allow the Anganwadi teacher to lock the gate, so that they could use that space in the evenings. There have been instances when she and the helper would lock themselves up in the Anganwadi when the gamblers were outside. They are scared of complaining, for on an earlier occasion when a gambler in the area was caught by the police, the helper was accused of passing on information to the police. It is evident that the beat process has not been effective here, for this Anganwadi teacher had heard of the JM Programme being implemented in the station in a meeting, but she was not aware of the nature of implementation. She mentioned that a police officer had come once to enquire whether there were enough chairs in the Anganwadi and whether meetings were being held for adolescent girls, but she did not know that this visit by the police was a part of the Janamaitri programme. This indicates the need for more effective communication on the part of the police.

House Visits

Do the police visit your homes?- Local People	
	Percent
Yes	49.66
No	50.34
Total	100.00

N=149

Amongst the local people interviewed, while 83% had heard about the JM programme, only 50% said that the police had visited their homes. It is to be noted that this 50% mostly referred

to the first-time house visit made by beat officers when the JM Programme was launched in their station area. What was consistently reported across stations is that there was a time when police officers used to come regularly, sometimes even twice and thrice a month. But now, they are seen only once in a while. In majority of the stations, people say that it has weakened over the past 1-2 years. In a few areas, people have reported that they come once a month, but they are far outnumbered by the people who say that they haven't been coming with any regularity. In some areas, people were not even aware that the Beat Officer in their area had been transferred.

When people were asked about the number of times that the JM police visited their home the previous month, only 7 people (less than 5%) of the interviewed local people confirmed that the police had visited their home the previous month. This is one indicator of the regularity of house visits. The remaining 95% said that they had not come the previous month. Majority of people in the latter group reported that they had not seen the beat officers for the past three months, yet another indicator of the weakening beat process.

Process of making House Visits

Police Visits to the Beat Area- Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
By foot	38.46
By vehicle	50.55
Don't know	10.99
Total	100.00

N=149

As per the guidelines, beat officers are supposed to travel through the beat area by foot. This is intended to enhance the interaction between the police and the people. Only 23% of the local people said that they come by foot. Majority of the people stated that when they make beat visits, the police bike through the main road. Needless to say, this reduces the chances of having inter personal communication with local people. This was corroborated by beat officers too.

Beat officers have reported that they bike through the main road, but may not go into the pocket roads for want of time. 'When I go to the beat area, I bike through the main road. I meet with the residents association officer bearers if they are around. I don't know the pocket roads, and I can't go to all the houses either'. Another beat officer says that nowadays they go in a hurry, see a few women, a few shop keepers and auto drivers and come back. Another beat officer remarked that they go for beat visits like the postman goes to deliver letters. They get very little time to spend in each house, they just say hello and go to the next house, to fulfill the quota of houses they are required to visit.

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Selective Visits

It also appears that beat officers are selective while making house visits when they go to the beat area. This could perhaps be due to the fact that they are not assigned JM duty exclusively, as a result of which they do not get adequate time to spend in the beat area. It has been reported that beat officers'

visit a few houses or shops, and maintain contact with a few key people, such as shop owners whose shops are frequented by many people in the area, Kudumbashree workers, members of residents associations, social workers and so on. These people would have all the information of the JM programme, but others did not have much of an idea.

In Hosdurg station for instance, a shop keeper whose shop was located on the beach, was aware of the beat officer passing that way. The beat officer stopped by his shop when he passed by. But very few members of the fishing village located close by were aware of the

police making beat visits. The few key people whom the Beat Officer frequents act as key information providers for the police. When colony visits were undertaken as a part of this study, people would often ask the research team to meet with these key people saying that 'They will have all the information you are looking for, I do not know too much'.

As a result, when visits were made to settlements within the JM area of a police station, not all residents would be aware of the Janamaitri programme, or of beat visits. There would be some who would have more knowledge and others who did not know much about the programme, except for a vague understanding of a meeting or a class being held.

Selective visits by the police leads people to feel that they are being sidelined by the police. A local person from Marad was bitter about this trend-' I don't have any interest in the JM programme, for the police come and meet one or two people, and go to their homes only'. Another person who runs a

A settlement located amidst paddy fields in Payyanur PS, mostly inhabited by daily wage labourers. The first few houses we walked into, people were not too clear about the JM programme and did not recall house visits. They told us to meet a Kudumbashree worker there, who turned out to be an ardent advocate of JM. The ADS secretary was also present there. The Kudumbashree worker used to be the main contact point for the Beat officer in the colony. She used to work as a part-time sweeper in the municipality which is located very close to the police station. The Beat Officer would send notices to be distributed in the colony through her and she would also mobilize people for programmes. Since she lost her job as part time sweeper, she too is not too clear about JM activities, to the extent that she does not know who the current Beat officer is.

tailoring shop in the beat area says that when the police travel by the main road, they stop by his shop and talk to him. They don't come to the area where he lives, but they stop by his shop for a small chat.

In certain areas, selective home visits have aggravated internal conflict within the community. During a colony visit in the Medical College station area, there were two strong rival groups and the beat officer had close relations with one group, as a result of which the other group was antagonistic to the Janamaitri programme. More so because one of the members in the group which was close to the Beat Officer was working as an administrative staff in the police department. During our visit to the colony, a JM awareness programme had been organized there, and the group that was distanced from the police, remained aloof, and were mere observers. This indicates that beat officers have to be extremely cautious while building community relations, and need to be aware of intra-community conflicts. Through beat and house visits, they should be able to bring people together and should take care not to aggravate existing rifts.

Do you feel there is any benefit out of these house visits?	
	Percent
Yes	71.62
No	28.38
Total	100.00

N=74, as house visits were made to the homes of only 74 out of the 149 local people interviewed.

Benefits of House Visits.

Despite only 50% of the local people reporting that house visits were made by Beat officers, 72% of them found the house visits beneficial. House visits have made the people more confident of speaking openly with the police.

People also report that house visits, when conducted with regularity, make them feel safer. This is especially so for elderly women living on their own.

This is what a Muslim woman from Marad had to say regarding house visits- 'It is difficult to go to the police station and report small issues. People will talk about it. Now when the Beat Officer comes here, we are able to talk about it to him'. This indicates the value that people give to house visits and the importance of establishing personal contact with the police.

A Muslim woman deserted by her husband, living alone with her two children in a low income settlement in Ottappalam PS- 'In the evenings, people drink and hang around here along the main road, in front of our house and at the junction. Sometimes the police jeep passes by on routine patrolling and that is good. Since I have a grown up daughter, we sit indoors when it is dark, or we go to our neighbour's home. Women like us cannot enjoy the evening air or sit out after dark. If the police would come regularly, it would definitely be good for women like us'.

A woman from Thodupuzha- 'It gives confidence to women as police visits scare men who drink and hit their wives'. Another lady from Thodupuzha-'Their coming is a bonus for us, but they don't come regularly anymore'.

People have reported that frequent visits by the police had helped in sorting out many domestic problems due to alcoholism. Women from Vadakara have said that when the JM police used to come regularly, they would threaten their husbands that they would report their drinking habits to the police. Now that the police don't come so regularly, their husbands are not affected by such threats, they say. It was also reported that if the police came to their area regularly, they could approach the police, without approaching political party representatives.

Women are happy when the police come and nab a few of the problem makers. They can then sleep peacefully. 'But the police should come at least once a month for beat visits'- A woman from Palarivattam.

Mararikulam- 'When they police used to come, we used to feel good. But now we don't get to see them'.

Ranni- 'We can speak to them more openly when they come home. When we have to go to the station to report a problem, we cannot speak so openly'.

Thodupuzha- 'There are problems due to alcoholism and goondaism in certain pockets. If the police come on a visit, there is peace for the next 4 days, and then it starts all over again. Police should be able to come in regularly, without follow-up there is no point in starting such programmes'.

Beat Visits and People's Sense of Security: Beat Visits on the Decline.

When asked about police interventions that could enhance their sense of security, the response of people was as follows-

'JM progressed very well in the initial stages. Now house visits have declined. JM is in a paralysed state. The frequency of house visits should be increased. By the time we get familiar with one Beat Officer, he is transferred, and this should change'. – Local person from Trichur East station.

'The police used to come regularly for beat earlier. There would be a place where they would come and sign. A complaint box was installed in the area as well. Today all of that is missing'- local person from Attingal

‘Police should come into the pocket roads and by lanes when they make beat visits. Right now we can see them pass by on the main road’- Local person from Perintalmanna.

‘I am a woman living on my own here. I feel scared many a time. It surely feels safer when the police come this way. But they are not able to do that regularly’- woman from Ranni.

‘I feel they should watch over the elderly and those living on their own and give them their phone nos. This was done during the initial stages of JM, but there has been no follow up’.

A woman from Medical College PS- ‘It was good when they began. Now they

The Case of Perintalmanna PS

When JM was launched here, a jeep and 8 motorcycles were given. Regular beat visits started. Initial beat meetings recorded good participation. Eight beat officers covered 32 wards and they were enthused. Special meetings were organized for women, children, the elderly and so on. They recalled the meetings held at Chirathamanna where people participated in large numbers. Grievances were recorded and were addressed by the DYSP and SP. There was a decrease in property disputes, robberies and domestic violence. This lasted for 1-1.5 years. This was the golden period for JM here. The original team of beat officers was dismantled, particularly with the parliament and municipal elections. The initial tempo died down, there was little follow-up. What did we do through JM? We started it off and gave it wide publicity, and then left it.

The research team visited Chirathamanna. People there recalled JM as a thing of the past as beat visits were not active there. A Kudumbashree worker whom we visited had not met the beat officer of the area. (As narrated by two JM Samiti members from the area).

'Police should be alert during election times when conflicts are bound to erupt, regular patrolling during the election period is important to control politically motivated conflicts'-
Local person from Vadakara PS.

‘There is a need to convene Janamaitri beat meetings every month and for police to publicly remove alcoholics who create a public nuisance would make the area safer for women and children’.

Do you consider the police as a source of support and strength in times of crisis?

40

In Janamaitri stations, 85% of the local people felt that they could view the police as a source of support in times of stress. 25% of those who felt so were not able to substantiate upon this statement. 36% of those who felt so qualified this by saying that the police come when they call them, and so they feel that the police can be counted upon in times of stress. Some of them felt that having the phone numbers of the beat officers assured them of access to the police. 13% viewed the police as a source of support, for they could not see anybody else who would play that role. This group felt that they approached the police for want of any other option. There were others who said that their trust in the police would be strengthened if the beat process was re activated.

10% of the people were able to cite a specific instance that made them feel that the police could be counted upon. A local person from Irinjalakuda for instance cited the instance where a beat officer resolved the issue of contamination of drinking water and a conflict that had erupted around the issue of a slaughter house, which conveyed to the people that the police could be approached for help. In Kottayam East station, they referred to a sand mining issue and when it was reported, the police came in mufti, and when this was known the sand miners gradually withdrew.

8% of the people interviewed in Janamaitri stations felt that the police could not be viewed as a source of support, and another 7% were undecided and hence could not answer clearly. This section of people quoted personal instances when the police could not address their grievances, and of how the police had supported people with money and power. They were upset about the high handed behavior of the police in such instances, and also of how the police could not make timely interventions in certain crisis situations.

While 85% of the local people in Janamaitri stations felt that the police could be viewed as a source of support and strength in times of crisis, a much lesser percentage of people (69%) said that they would call the police for help in the event of a public nuisance.

Who will be approached first?- Feedback from Local People in Janamaitri Stations

	In the event of a public nuisance	In the event of a verbal dispute/ dispute with neighbours/ domestic problem
Police	69.13	51.68
Others	22.82	44.30
No response	8.05	4.03
Total	100.00	100.00

N=149

This indicates that calling the police for help is not always treated as a first option when people encounter a public nuisance, even in areas where the JM has been implemented. The percentage was even lower (52%) when people were caught in disputes with neighbours or domestic issues. The reasons cited for not calling the police were that they would try to resolve the issue through local mediators, elderly people in the community, the Jamaat in the case of the Muslim communities, through ward councilors and political party mediators. They felt it was easier to sort it out this way than involving the police and that they would call the police only as a last resort. On the one hand, this indicates that people have resort to local support systems to handle issues and conflicts that affect their daily living. On the other hand despite the initiation of the Janamaitri process, the level of trust in the police is not very high.

Who will be approached first?- Feedback from Local People in Non Janamaitri Stations

	In the event of a public nuisance	In the event of a verbal dispute/ dispute with neighbours/ domestic problem
Police	91.80	45.90

Others	8.20	54.10
Total	100.00	100.00

N=61

Ironically, a much higher percentage of local people from Non Janamaitri stations said that they would call the police in the event of a public nuisance. Non Janamaitri stations however fared poorer than the Janamaitri stations, in terms of the level of trust that the people had in the police in resolving disputes with neighbours and domestic issues. The difference between the two is however not very significant in this regard. This once again points questions at the effectiveness of the beat process and the extent to which it has been able to sustain people's trust in the police as people who would come to their aid in times of stress.

Janamaitri Interventions in Problem Areas

This section takes a closer look at Janamaitri interventions in problem-areas, by taking a few cases. These cases illustrate the relevance of location-specific strategies in problem-areas.

Pullikada Colony, Kollam East Police Station-

This is a very congested colony, with very poor living conditions. Drinking water and sanitation are extremely serious issues here. Open sewers run through the settlement, and there are very few common toilets for the residents. People here are bitter about the fact that the government has not reached out to them with welfare schemes. The colony borders a high-income residential area marked by large houses, which adds to the bitterness of the colony residents. The Janamaitri Programme has not made much of a presence here. Beat visits appear to be weak. On speaking with the people, it was evident that they do not hold the police in trust. As far as the police are concerned, this is a problem area. They have had to arrest people

for engaging in anti-social activities. The police themselves admit that it is poverty and poor living conditions that drive people into anti-social activities. Most recently, residents had staged a protest in front of the Corporation Office, demanding that houses be built for them. As a result, they were arrested by the police. This has widened the gap between the police and the people, for the latter feel that their genuine demand for houses was not acknowledged.

In such areas, the JSP needs to carefully plan out intervention strategies. For one, a regular beat process is essential here. In such situations, the police needs to liaison with other arms of the government in providing gainful employment opportunities for the youth, so that they are weaned away from anti-social activities. Instead of arresting people who demand for houses, the police could win over the trust of the people by bringing the issue to the notice of the government. Such issues also raise contradictions about the JSP programme. While it is not the mandate of the police to engage with issues related to housing and sanitation, in special cases such as this, the police may have to liason with other government agencies to ensure that these basic needs are met, so that people can live in peaceful and safe environments that reduce the incidence of crime.

Thekkumukku Bund Colony, Medical College Station, Trivandrum

This is yet another congested settlement, located on both sides of a stream that has over the years got converted into an open sewer that carries the city's waste. It has all the properties of a 'slum', with about two hundred one-room houses. Janamaitri is reported to have been active here in the initial stages, but there has been a lull in activities. It was reported that JSP became inactive here following the arrest of one of the residents. The people have turned hostile to the police since then. Over the past year, beat visits to the area have declined. This is yet another problem area for the police. Once again, in such problem areas, where living conditions are extremely poor and where there is a tendency for a greater number of people to get trapped in anti-social activities, a larger development strategy needs to be worked out. Crime prevention in such areas is intricately linked with ensuring basic needs of the people , viz. housing, drinking

water, sanitation and employment. There are limitations to what the police can do in such a setting. This is an area where the government needs to work hand in hand with the police in ensuring crime prevention on one hand and livelihood security on the other hand.

Both the above-mentioned colonies represent the increasing number of 'slum communities' that are sprouting and expanding across the fast urbanizing landscape of Kerala. Located at the peripheries of municipalities and corporations, the absence of basic living conditions and gainful employment opportunities make such pockets the breeding ground for anti social activities. The JSP needs to have a long-term, location-specific strategies to win over the trust of the people in such areas.

The Case of Marad

Marad is a problem area where there has been focused intervention by the police in general as well as by the Janamaitri Police. There has been a heavy police presence in Marad since the outbreak of communal violence here in 2002, much before the Janamaitri programme was initiated. Since a large number of people were arrested from this area following the outbreak of communal violence, families of those who have been arrested continue to be hostile to the police. They are not inclined to talk about Janamaitri either.

The response to the large number of police check posts in the area has been mixed. While some people feel that it has enhanced their security, most of the people were tired of the frequent inspections at these check posts. Since the police at the check posts interrogate all people passing by, auto drivers were not inclined to come to this part, they say. People get stopped and checked even when they take their children to hospitals or when they go to the market.

People also complained of relatives hesitating to visit them due to this frequent interrogation and about difficulties in getting good marriage alliances for their children.

While Marad is a relatively small station, beat visits are not being conducted uniformly here. In areas close to the station, regular beat visits do not appear to be taking place. These are the areas where communal violence first broke out. Beat officers have reported that when they go for beat visits, people are not cooperative as their relatives may be in prison. In such pockets, the tension continues to exist, but people are not willing to talk about it openly. Older women spoke of the fear that continues to exist, as memories of the violence continue to be alive. In such pockets, people were not able to distinguish between the Janamaitri Police and the other Police. In areas further away from the station, which were not much affected by communal violence, the beat process appears to be taking place more regularly. Certain beat officers were taking initiatives to organize employment opportunities through women's groups.

CHAPTER III : CONSTRAINTS FACED WHILE IMPLEMENTING JANAMAITRI

Constraints faced while implementing JM.

This section details on the day to day constraints faced by the police officers while implementing the JM programme. They throw light on the present status of Janamaitri implementation, and hence have been outlined in detail.

Responses of the beat officers form the major part of the analysis. 93% of beat officers reported having faced constraints while implementing JM.

Have you faced constraints in implementing the JM programme?	
	Percent
Yes	92.71
No	7.29
Total	100.00

N=96

These mostly related to inadequate funds, inadequate time for conducting regular beat visits, staff and vehicle support.

Inadequate staff

It has been widely reported that the present staff deployment for Janamaitri is inadequate and not proportionate to the area that needs to be covered. Inadequate staff was an issue that was repeatedly raised at all the FGDs conducted with civil police officers in JM stations. The following issues need particular consideration:

The staff strength on paper is not available with each police station. A considerable number of people are deputed to offices of higher officials on working arrangement. The JM beat process requires staff to be exclusively deployed for JM duty, which is not possible with the available strength in most police stations. Especially so as each beat area covers a fairly large area, with about 1000-1500 houses (against the prescribed 500 houses). In many stations, additional staff was provided when JM was initiated. In Kollam East for instance, 10 additional CPOs were provided from the police camp, as a result of which 10 beat officers could be deployed in 14 beat areas. Being a densely populated area, adequate staff was a must. After some time however, the additional force was withdrawn. JM was introduced into other stations as well, increasing the demand for additional staff. As a result, after the first 2 years, regular beat visits have been difficult in this station. Currently, not only have the additional ten staff been withdrawn, they are suffering from a shortage of 12 CPOs. It is with this reduced staff strength that JM has to be implemented.

This was reported from most stations. In Medical College police station in Trivandrum for instance, 10 people posted from the police camp were taken away after the initial phase of JSP implementation. During the initial phase, this additional work force took over routine police duties, while those designated as JM Beat officers went for beat visits on a regular basis. During the initial phase, the JM beat officers were not given night duty, so that they would be able to do beat duty during the day time. This even made non JM officers envious of the JM officers, it is reported.

In Mannarkad station, additional WPCs were deputed from Ottappalam and Kuzhalmannam stations. With 10 JM Beat areas in Mannarkad station, a minimum of 20 beat officers (one male and one female per beat area) are needed. Each beat area is densely reported, with a minimum of 1000 houses. The additional WPCs however returned to their home stations. The WPCs from Kuzhalmannam for instance found it difficult to travel the long distance to Mannarkad. The withdrawal of additional force, made it difficult to undertake regular beat process in Mannarkad.

In Ottappalam, 15 male and 15 female CPOs were designated for the 15 beat areas. They were also given 15 two wheelers. 10 additional staff were provided from the police camp to help with the routine policing duties that the JM officers did earlier. In the current situation, due to shortage of staff, WPCs are not available for JM duty. This creates problems while going for beat visits to Muslim dominated areas. Male beat officers report difficulties in going alone for house visits.

In Marad, the non availability of staff has led to a reduction in beat areas from 8 to 4.

Lower Priority to JM duties and Irregular Beat Visits:

Beat officers have reported that JM beat officers, like all other civil police officers are given multiple duties. 'Plus Plus duty' is how beat officers refer to multiple duties, saying that typically they are given 'JM plus Court or JM plus traffic'. Other duties such as Station Duty or Court or Prisoner Escort or traffic duty takes precedence over JM. 'The JM reports we send to the higher-ups is only 'recordical'. 'Statistical' is another word that was used by beat officers while referring to beat duty, implying that the reports they file are only to fulfill the daily quota on paper.

Q57 How many hours are you able to devote to JM activities in a week?- Feedback from Beat Officers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Less than one hour	24	25.00	25.00
	6-12 hours	40	41.67	41.67
	12-20 hours	29	30.21	30.21
	above 20 hours	3	3.13	3.13
	Total	96	100.00	100.00

N=96

As per the admission of beat officers, a significant 25% of beat officers were spending only one hour per week in the beat area. 42% were able to spend 6-12 hours per week, and 30% between 12 and 20 hours. On the face of it, SHOs maintained that they send beat officers for beat duty thrice a week. But comments made by certain SHOs in this regard, as well as those of beat officers lead us to believe that beat duty is not being discharged regularly. When an SHO was asked whether JM led to additional work, he said it only meant 'filling up an additional table', as he was unable to depute them for want of adequate strength. Another SHO said that JM reviews were '*kanakku opichukoduka*' (adjusting the figures). A Beat officer from the same station seemed to corroborate this statement by the SHO. She was with the same station when the JM programme was initiated- 'I was here in the initial stages of JM. People know me well. But I haven't been to the beat area for a long time. Last month, we organized a seminar in my beat area. I was keen to go and re-establish links with the people there. But on the previous day, I was asked to go as escort to a minister who was visiting the area and I could not go. People asked other police officers, why I had not gone, and whether I was no longer interested in going to the beat area. This only shows that there is no planning while assigning duties. I can't blame the SHO as he can only deploy available people'.

There are beat officers who report that just when they are about to go for beat visits, superior officers ask them 'Who asked you to go for JM duty today? There is much more important work to do'. In another case, a beat officer, who had taken charge 7 months ago, had not been able to go to the beat area so far. The underlying impression is that JM duty is not important or urgent; it can be done when there is nothing else to do.

A group of beat officers in one of the station seemed to feel that the lower priority given to JM was reflected in the time at which JM meetings were held in the station. During the discussion held with this group, some of them remarked-'This is the first time that people are coming and talking about JM to us in the morning hours, when we are not tired with work. It is the first time

that people are giving us the space to air our views in an open manner'. This was voiced by a fairly senior civil police officer in the station.

In a number of stations, it has been reported that beat visits by women beat officers is not treated as a priority. While beat duty is assigned to all, women CPOs are often entrusted with most of the paper work in the station, as a result of which they are not able to make beat visits. This is an area that requires careful examination and where remedial action needs to be taken. In one of the first phase JM stations, WPCs report that they are hesitant to go for beat visits as they have not been going regularly for some time now and are afraid of facing people's allegations. 'When I see people from the beat area, I have to turn my face away. On many occasions, people from our beat area call us at night. We may be at home, so we call up the station and ask those on duty to check the issue. But nobody goes from the station, and we are left with a poor image. Those of us, who have a personal contact with the people, feel bad of not being able to respond to their grievance, but others don't care'.

Some SHOs have admitted that they are not able to assign beat duty to beat officers many a time, due to inadequate staff. Some of them were therefore not so enthused about JM, saying that 'JM is nothing but the old beat system, with some spice added to it'. In one particular station, both the SHO and the CRO maintained that they sent beat officers regularly for beat duty. This was however contested by the beat officers. Women beat officers plainly stated that they hardly go for beat duty, and that they had travelled through all parts of the beat area by jeep once, so that they would at least know the boundaries of their beat area.

Attitude of Superior Officers

The attitude and interest of superior officers was considered to play an important role in JM implementation. Beat officers say that certain SHOs give the lowest priority to JM, asking them to go for beat after they have completed all their work. This has led some of the beat officers to

feel that there is a waning of interest at the higher levels. Beat officers report that while higher officers do not give a priority to JM, they ask them to do it along with other duties, so that they are able to fulfill the mandatory requirement. Hence, they are made to undertake beat visits for namesake. Many of them say SHOs are scared of getting memos from higher officers for not assigning JM duty, hence they do it for namesake and thrust it upon the beat officers who are over worked. In certain stations this has led to an arrangement wherein whoever is free, goes for beat duty. Beat officers are not assigned regular beat areas, as a result of which there is no consistency and regularity in the beat process. One beat officer reports- 'JM is a burden now. There are 23 beat areas in our station, and only 4 beat officers. 5 additional staff were given for JM, but they are all entrusted with other work. The implementation of new schemes like Student Police programme, the KARE programme and so on has only added to our work'. Some beat officers were bitter about the present state- 'Higher ups know that the required strength is not available at the lower levels. And yet they devise one programme after another. When an accused is in custody, we have to stay up the whole night watching over him. Then we have to escort him to court the next day. How then can we do JM duty on our return'?

Support of Superior Officers

Beat officers were asked as to whether they got adequate support from superior officers while implementing JM.

Do you get the required support from superior officers while implementing JM?	
	Percent
Yes	81.25
No	15.63
No Response	3.13
Total	100.00

N=96

This was an area where they were not very inclined to speak openly. Majority of the Beat officers replied very quickly that they were getting adequate support and stopped at that.

Hence, while 83% have recorded that they get adequate support, not all of it can be taken at face value. There were some beat officers who reported that superior officers were supporting them to the extent possible, as they too were overloaded with other duties. Others also said that while superior officers supported them, their support was confined to attending meetings and programmes. 'We organize programmes, the SI or the CI comes in the last minute to attend the programme. CDs are made out of our programmes for publicity purposes' they say.

Beat officers were however in a hurry to make it clear that they had no antagonism against superior officers in this regard.

It was only 5% of the beat officers who reported that SHOs assigned duties keeping in mind existing JM duties. In the great majority of cases, JM duty was assigned along with other duties. In certain stations it was reported that while the SI was supportive, the CI and DYSP were not able to appreciate the field situation adequately. The following response illustrates this sentiment- 'Even today there are beat officers who do not know their beat area. Only 4-5 beat officers are interested in doing beat duty here. Senior officers too are not inclined. The DYSP does not like to hear anything about JM. CI has no time. He barely comes for meetings. JM is considered to be the prerogative of the CRO and a few beat officers. *'Aarkokeyo vendi enthakayo nadakunnu'*.- A CRO from a JM station.

From their response of the beat officers, it appears that an active guidance and supervision from higher officers is missing. The presence of superior officers who are able to motivate beat officers to work with enthusiasm is amiss. They did however report that superior officers were far more supportive in the initial stages of JM implementation.

A Beat Officer had this to say- 'The last 3 years was the golden period for JM in this station. All superior officers had interest in the programme. The old people have left and JM has died here'. From the same station, another beat officer remarked that all the higher ups were

interested in the first phase, that funds were used carefully, but this interest is amiss now. Such references to a 'golden period' in JSP implementation have been reported from many stations.

Women police officers had another dimension to add. Some of them felt that women police officers do not have the freedom to express their opinions as their male counterparts have. Some of them feel inhibited to give their suggestions about issues that pertain to the JM beat area, for it is the male police officers who plan and execute mostly and they feel sidelined. So the issue of support from superior officers assumes an additional dimension in the case of women subordinate staff. It was mentioned that while male counterparts don't treat them as equals, superior officers do not correct this situation either.

Some beat officers complained about the lack of support from superior officers while organizing programmes. The date for programmes is chosen keeping in mind the availability of superior officers. Instances have been however reported wherein programmes have been cancelled in the last minute owing to the non availability of the superior officer. The beat officer faces the ire of the local people in such situations.

There was also the feeling that superior officers did not understand the relevance of issues that beat officers faced while going to the beat area. One women beat officer mentioned the need to undertake certain activities to maintain people's trust in the police, an issue that is not appreciated by all superior officers. She cited an incident during one of her beat visits, when she came to know of a bed ridden, elderly person, who was in a critical state. He was living on his own, and was uncared for. She immediately called the police station and asked for a vehicle to be sent to the beat area to take the old man to the hospital, but there was no response. This affected the credibility she held in the beat area. A couple of days later, when the media covered the story of the old person, the police intervened. That aggravated the ire of the local people.

Beat officers report that JM will be effective only if superior officers are constantly asked about the JM implementation by their superiors, indicating the need for a regular review. If SHOs treat JM as yet another routine activity, then it will not be effective. It requires closer attention and imaginative solutions, they say. In one station, beat officers recalled an incident in Paravur station in Kollam district, where beat officers who were uninterested in the JM process were transferred out. They felt that such strict measures were needed.

Beat Diaries:

While beat visits are not being conducted regularly, beat diaries are being updated and reports are also being sent to the head quarters that record that beat visits are being conducted. Beat officers talked about this only if they were assured of confidentiality, for they feared punishment by higher ups. The following statement by a beat officer was not an isolated one- 'we are given JM + *pooram* (temple festival) duty, and this is a station there there are plenty of temple festivals. So while JM is assigned to us in the duty book, we are not able to go. But we have to write the beat diary and also file regular reports. So we write in the beat diary as per the duty book. At present, they have given four additional people for JM, but they are all doing extra work'.

In one JM station, a beat officer had not been going to beat for the past 2 months, but as per records, he had gone even the previous day. A women beat officer in the same station says that she could not go to the beat for past 6 months.

In another JM station, the CRO was active and enthusiastic about organizing JM programmes in the beat area, but he had not noticed that beat diaries are not being written regularly.

The two main observations in this regard is that beat diaries are not up to date in all stations. In stations where beat diaries are up to date, beat officers have commented off-record that they

are not able to go to the field regularly and that diaries are written and reports filed only to fulfill procedural requirements.

There is no consistency and uniformity in the manner in which beat diaries are written. In some diaries, beat officers have only written the house numbers, which cannot be treated as proof of a house visit. In some diaries, only the names of places visited and important junctions are written. In some others, very detailed narrations with phone numbers of people they have met are recorded.

Frequent transfers:

Initially, the understanding was that beat officers would not be transferred out of the station for a period of 3 years. This is not followed strictly, as a result of which beat officers do get transferred before the 3 year period. This leads to a discontinuity in the beat process, as the new person takes time to get familiar with the situation. This is all the more important in the current situation, when beat officers are not able to devote as much time to beat duty as in the past. A beat officer who has been in the station for the past 6 years as CPO and 3 yrs as BO says that he has covered 1500 houses in his beat area, only because he has been posted here for a sufficiently long period of time. This is not the case with officers who get transferred out earlier, he says. Beat officers have requested that a 6 month transition period be ensured during which the old beat officers familiarizes the new beat officers with their beat area.

Inadequate vehicles

Certain stations have reported non availability of vehicles as one of the reason that has contributed to the slowing down of the beat process. It has been reported from stations that when JM started, adequate vehicle support was given. The vehicles were subsequently taken over for other routine activities.

Take the case of Ottappalam station. When JSP began to be implemented, each BO was given a two wheeler, and there was a provision to use 10 litres of petrol per month. But this provision for fuelling the vehicles was subsequently withdrawn. Certain beat officers have complained of having to pay for the petrol from their pockets. This is an area that requires closer examination. In Attingal station, 5 two wheelers were handed over for JM duty, two of which were in very poor condition. Beat officers report that if a vehicle is assigned to them, they are required to take care of its maintenance as well. They were also required to fuel it, for which no special allowance was given. They were not inclined to use these vehicles therefore, as a result of which regular beat process suffered.

It was brought to the notice of the research team that in Marad and Ottapalam stations, the jeep that was assigned for JM was now being used by the SHO, as there was no other jeep in the station.

Phone facilities

Beat officers have reported that as a fall out of the JM process, they receive a large number of calls from the beat area. This was especially so in the initial stages. Despite the slowing down of the beat process, older beat officers continue to have links with local people through phone. Beat officers remark that when people call them under stress, they may have to talk for long. Beat officers begin to view this as a constraint, if their phone bills are not reimbursed. They have also demanded that CUG phone facilities be given, to facilitate internal communication.

In Ottappalam station, during the initial phase, Rs 500 was allocated for field expenses, primarily to meet phone related expenses. This was however only a one time allowance, as it was not given subsequently. In certain stations it was reported that when this provision was allowed, it was first availed of by senior officers, so the beat officers never got to avail of it.

A beat officer summed up the problems in the following manner- *'I think it will take another twenty years for JM to reach all the people and for the people to start viewing the police station as yet another office where people can freely walk in. The beat area is large and vehicles are inadequate. We are not able to go when people call us. So people lose faith in the police and in the JM system. They are not aware of the fact that we don't get adequate fuel or that we are overburdened with other duties'.*

Suggestions by Beat Officers to make JM more effective-

Suggestions given are more or less consistent across the police stations that were visited as a part of the study. They include

'I think it will take another twenty years for JM to reach all the people and for the people to start viewing the police station as yet another office where people can freely walk in. The beat area is large and vehicles are inadequate. We are not able to go when people call us. So people lose faith in the police and in the JM system. They are not aware of the fact that we don't get adequate fuel or that we are overburdened with other duties. On certain occasions the SI has not been able to reach on time and scheduled JM programmes have had to be cancelled'.

1. Enhance staff strength, so that there is an increase in the number of people available for JM duty.
2. Reduce the extent of the beat area so that beat officers are able to cover the area fully.
3. Recruit as beat officers only those who are interested and inclined to implement the JM programme. Or else they implement it only for namesake.
4. All police officers in the police station should undergo JM training. This will ensure that all staff appreciate the importance of JM.
5. It is particularly important to provide training and orientation to superior officers, especially the SHO and the Writer, as they assign duty to the beat officers. Only if they appreciate the importance of JM, will they facilitate the process of regular beat visits.

6. Do not assign other duties to beat officers on days when they are required to make beat visits.
7. In many stations, women beat officers are bogged down with paper work in the office as a result of which they are unable to go for regular beat duty. Beat visits by women police officers should be made mandatory.
8. Schedule beat duties in such a way that male and female beat officers are able to visit the beat area together.
9. Make available adequate funds for proper planning of programmes
10. Make available adequate number of vehicles. In some stations, adequate numbers of two wheelers were not available, particularly for women beat officers. In certain cases, the two wheelers are not in good working condition, and hence beat officers prefer not to use them.
11. Give a petrol allowance to beat officers when they go to the beat using two wheelers. There exists a certain amount of ambiguity as to whether systems are in place in this regard. Beat officers from a number of stations have reported that they themselves buy petrol. Vehicle repairs too are sometimes not reimbursed.
12. Provide a telephone allowances or provide recharge coupons for beat officers, as they have to make a number of phone calls to people in the beat area.
13. Install CUG phones to allow for free phone calls amongst police staff.
14. Put in place effective monitoring mechanisms to periodically review and monitor the evaluation of the JM programme.
15. Appoint beat officers for a minimum of 5 years. When a beat officer gets transferred, allow the new officer to work with the old officer for at least a month, so that s/he gets time to familiarize with the beat area.
16. Create a situation wherein we are able to go to the beat area at least thrice a week.
17. Give freedom to beat officers to resolve problems in their respective beat areas. At the moment, they have no freedom to do so.

18. Create a special wing or cell for JM and give it a separate fund allocation with more staff. It requires more support than it receives now.
19. Ensure that beat officers are given JM training before they commence their work. IN many cases, beat officers are given training many months after commencement of duty.

CHAPTER IV : JANAMAITRI TRAINING: ADEQUACY AND SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS

This section looks into responses of Beat Officers regarding the Janamaitri training that had been imparted to them, and areas where they felt that further improvements could be made. An introductory 3-day training is imparted to Beat Officers before they take on responsibilities as Janamaitri Beat Officers.

Was the training given to you before JM implementation useful and beneficial?- Feedback from Beat Officers	
	Percent
Yes	66.67
No	32.00
No response	1.33
Total	100.00

N=75³

At the outset it may be stated that many Beat Officers were not open and frank in voicing their opinions. Many stopped with saying that 'the training programmes were OK'. 67% felt that the training received was useful, and 32% felt that it was not.

Roughly 22% of the beat officers interviewed had not received JM training, but were working as JM Beat officers. There were beat officers who had worked for a whole year before receiving training. It is important to ensure that all beat officers receive the required orientation before they take on responsibilities of a beat officer. Especially so as the police officers themselves admit that the initial orientation they received gave them an idea of how to function as Janamaitri Beat officers.

³ While a total of 96 Beat Officers were interviewed, only 75 had received JM Training.

The majority of police officers, who found the training useful, reported that the training gave them an idea of how to function as beat officers. It helped them to interact with people, and brought about some behavioural change. A widely cited opinion was that the Janamaitri training helped them to control their anger while interacting with people as a part of their duty. This statement reveals the need for introducing such sessions in the basic training that is given to all fresh police trainees at the beginning of their police careers. To be angry is still considered to be a part of the normal make-up of a police officer, which needs to be reviewed.

The following responses are indicative-

‘Through the JM training, we got an idea on how to interact with people, not just as a police officer, but as a human being’.

‘Earlier we used to speak with anger. Now we are able to behave differently. We are able to make better relations with people’.

The 32% who felt that it was not useful came up with a range of responses. The first set dealt with the organization of training sessions and the style of delivering classes.

Style of training

It was reported that the training sessions were too cramped, giving very little time for free discussions. The participants report that they did not get much of an opportunity to air their doubts and opinions. Some felt that those who took classes were not keen on listening to what the participants had to say. ‘The content is delivered in a hierarchical manner’. Given the prevailing hierarchical structure within the police department, unless the superior officer makes a conscious attempt to create space for the participants to air their views, a meaningful exchange of ideas will not take place. Hence some of them felt that non police resource persons

should take classes. Some felt that what they needed were workshops, not classes in the conventional style.

Training Content

Pertinent suggestions were voiced regarding the content of the training programme. Beat Officers have expressed the need to include sessions on public speaking, with a great majority saying that they have been compelled to address large audiences through the Janamaitri programme. For many it was the first time, and hence they feel the need for greater training in this regard. Many beat officers have had to intervene in domestic conflicts where personal counseling has been required. In this context they feel that they should receive some training in counseling so that they can effectively intervene in such issues. Beat Officers have also asked for training that helps them to design good awareness classes (which needs to be seriously taken, given the large number of awareness programmes being conducted under Janamaitri). Another very pertinent request has been the demand for classes on legal awareness for Beat Officers, so as to equip them to address peoples' queries in this regard. It will also enable them to guide people in distress. A section of Beat Officers have also asked for training programmes that enhance their intellectual abilities, their awareness of social issues and current affairs.

Training and Behavioural Change

Janamaitri is predominantly viewed by most beat officers as a programme wherein police officers undergo behavioural changes. This was evident in the manner in which beat officers responded to questions regarding JM training and its effectiveness. The main objective of Janamaitri was understood as the police 'behaving politely and kindly'. Beat officers made two sets of contradictory observations about the JM training, both of which reinforced the emphasis on behavioural change. One observation was that training alone would not change the mindset and attitude of the police. Neither would it motivate beat officers to become compassionate to ordinary people. The other opinion was that Janamaitri training had enabled them to overcome

their anger and impatience and enabled them to be friendly to people. Some Beat Officers also felt that Janamaitri Training had not brought about any significant changes to their personality, that they were compassionate to people even before Janamaitri. The focus on behavioural change was also evident in the suggestion that only those police officers who had a temperamental inclination to Janamaitri (implying those police officers who were temperamentally suited to working with people) should be appointed as Janamaitri Beat Officers. This gives the impression that Janamaitri is being increasingly correlated with a conducive temperamental inclination amongst the police.

Such comments reveal the underlying understanding about JM as many beat officers tend to view it as a programme where the police 'behaved well', were kinder and reached out to people. While Janamaitri does emphasise on polite and civil behaviour on the part of the police, the intended democratization of policing and coordinated efforts by police and people at crime prevention needs more emphasis. While it is commendable that Janamaitri has brought about a break in the conventional style of interaction between the police and the people, the larger goal of Janamaitri should not fall into the background. The spirit of a participatory policing process that is envisaged in the Janamaitri programme needs to be communicated during the induction training programme itself.

Recommendations by beat officers regarding changes to be made to the existing Janamaitri training module-

1. Incorporate field based sessions in the training programme. Merely having classes is not useful.
2. Incorporate sessions on public speaking, as many police officers have no experience in this. Many beat officers have reported that prior to JSP, they had never addressed a

large audience and that they learnt the art of public speaking, only through the programmes they organized under JSP.

3. Make the sessions more interactive so that Beat Officers can air out issues.
4. There should be more emphasis on the social commitment of police officers so that they deliver justice to the needy. Police should be made aware of the fact that they are drawing public money as salary, and hence they need to be reminded of their social obligations.
5. People should be trained on how to interact with people, as the police have been living in a world of their own. They do not trust people, and they should be re oriented.
6. Impart training in counseling, as beat officers have to address a range of social problems, many of which can be resolved through proper counselling. This is particularly so as alcoholism is on the rise and so are the domestic issues that it gives rise to.
7. Beat officers should be trained to design awareness programmes, so that they can organize better programmes.
8. These training sessions should provide information about schemes and programmes of other departments so that the police officers can provide correct guidance to people in need. For instance, they need correct information regarding various schemes for Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and BPL families.
9. The training content should be delivered in an interesting manner, using slide projectors. Or else people tend to get bored.
10. Through the training programme, it would be advisable to hold periodic review meetings so as to improve programme implementation.
11. Organise group discussions around various themes, so as to enhance the intellectual capacity of beat officers.
12. Include topics that will generate interest in the JSP process per se.
13. Organise district wise training sessions so that district wise issues can be discussed.

14. Provide training that helps us to change our behavioural patterns, that enables us to speak politely and softly, and to inculcate values of compassion and patience. We also need to learn to relax.
15. Legal awareness is a must, most of us do not know the various provisions under the law, which is important when we intervene in local issues and conflicts. At times when people ask us doubts, we are unable to clarify them.
16. Include experience sharing sessions amongst beat officers.
17. Enhance the documentation skills of beat officers.

CHAPTER V: THE JANAMAITRI SAMITI

THE JANAMAITRI SAMITI

The constitution of people's committees is to ensure and enhance people's participation in the Janamaitri process. While its constitution was intended to enhance the space for people's participation, the inherent contradiction in its design is that its members are selected by police officers. It has therefore been argued that the Janamaitri Samiti cannot be viewed as a democratic body (Kotwal and Patil 2012).

The Samiti consists of 20 members, consisting of police officers, elected ward councilors, former councillors, members of residents associations, and executive members of the Kudumbashree system, prominent social workers and so on. The members are mostly identified by police officers. Both the Convenor and the Secretary of the Samiti are police officers. On the face of it, politics does not appear to play a role. However, when members are selected, efforts are made to ensure that one particular party is not represented at the cost of others. Hence politics does creep in.

Not only is the Janamaitri Samiti constituted by the police department, its mandate too is decided by the department. Most Samiti members view their role as that of bringing problems to the notice of concerned beat officers, as functioning as mediators between the people and the police, attending Samiti meetings, and in assisting with the organization of Janamaitri programmes. A small section mentions that they intervene in local conflicts and issues, but this category mostly consist of elected representatives.

Samiti Meetings

Samiti members in certain police stations mention that when Janamaitri was active, the Samiti too was active. Now beat visits are declining, and while Samiti meetings are held, they are not as regular as before. It is the police who call for Samiti meetings; the non police Samiti members have no voice in this regard. Some Samiti members therefore view themselves as silent onlookers. Some others feel that the Samiti meetings gain recognition only if the police participate, indicating the dominance of police in organizing of meetings. The participation of high level officers such as the DYSP and SP is reported to have been more regular during the initial stages of Janamaitri.

There is a slight discrepancy in the responses from beat officers and Janamaitri Samiti members over the conduct of JM meetings. While 74% of the Samiti members report that JM meetings are held regularly, only 66% of beat officers report the same.

Are Janamaitri meetings held?	Samiti Members	Beat Officers
Yes	73.81	65.63
No	9.52	33.33
Don't know	16.67	1.04
Total	100.00	100.00

N=42 n=96

It appears that Janamaitri Samiti meetings are not held as regularly as before. The gradual decline in regular beat visits by beat officers may have something to do with this. 'Earlier, we used to conduct Samiti meetings regularly. Now we don't get time to go for beat visits, how then to conduct Samiti meetings, asks a Beat Officer.

Amongst the Samiti members, 9% said that meetings were not held, and 17% said that they did not know whether meetings were held or not, which is not a positive indicator. To be a Samiti member and to not know whether Samiti meetings were held or not indicates that they are not active members.

As per the norm Janamaitri Samiti meetings are to be held in rotation, in each beat area. While 48% of beat officers said that this pattern was being followed, only 19% of the Samiti members agreed to this.

Are JM Samiti meetings held in the beat area, turn by turn?		
	Samiti members (%)	Beat Officers (%)
Yes	19.05	47.92
No	64.29	48.96
Don't know	16.67	2.08
Not Applicable	0.00	1.04
Total	100.00	100.00
	N=42	N=96

Of the 64% of the Samiti members who said that the meetings were not held in the beat area, the majority said that they were held in the JM hall in the police station or in the DYSP office. Location of the JM meetings plays an important role in eliciting people's participation. When meetings are held in police stations, people are more inhibited in expressing critical comments regarding implementation of the programme. The police station continues to be an intimidating place for most people. This inhibition to express honest views is somewhat reduced when the JM meetings are held in the beat area, in a community hall or a similar place.

81% of Samiti members report that complaints are raised at JM Samiti meetings.

Are complaints raised at JM Samiti meetings?- Feedback from JM Samiti Members	
	Percent
Yes	80.95
No	11.90
Don't know	7.14
Total	100.00

N=42

Are actions taken on the basis of complaints intimated at next meeting? Feedback from Samiti Members	
	Percent
Yes	67.65
No	20.59
Don't know	11.76
Total	100.00

N=42

Of those who said that complaints are raised at the JM Samiti meetings, 67% said that action taken reports were presented at the following Samiti meeting. While this is positive, the fact that Samiti meetings are not being conducted regularly is a cause of concern regarding the effective functioning of the Samiti.

People's Participation through the Samiti

As per the norm, JM Samiti meetings are to ensure participation of maximum number of people from the beat area. This is however not being realized. Increasingly so, Samiti meetings are being attended mostly by Samiti members, with very little local participation.

The response of the Beat Officers and the Samiti members was fairly consistent in this regard with 60% of the former and 57% of the latter saying that non Samiti members did not participate in the meetings. It is a cause for concern that 14% of the Samiti members were not aware of whether people other than Samiti members participated in the meetings.

Participation of Non Samiti Members according to :		
	Samiti Members (%)	Beat Officers (Percent)
Yes	28.57	34.38
No	57.14	60.42
Don't know	14.29	4.17
No response	0	1.04
Total	100.00	100.00

N=42

N=96

Low levels of people's participation in Samiti meetings explains low levels of awareness amongst local people about the Samiti. Only 26% of local people had heard about the Samiti. Of those who had heard about the Samiti, only 41% were aware of the activities being taken up by the Samiti. Their understanding of the functioning of the JM Samiti therefore was largely peripheral. Similarly, only 67% amongst them were familiar with a JM Samiti member in their area.

Have you heard about the JM Samiti? Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	26.17
No	73.83
Total	100.00

N=149

Are you aware about the activities of the JM Samiti? Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	41.03
No	58.97
Total	100.00
N=149	

This indicates that the Samiti has not been able to establish itself as a significant entity, and have not been able to communicate their role effectively to the people. Most local people seem to think that the main role of JM Samiti members is to organize programmes and to mobilize people for the same. They feel that the JM Samiti has a very limited role in resolving local problems. If at all a problem was resolved it was when the Beat Officer was effective, in which case the Samiti members may play a supportive role, they report. Neither is the Samiti viewed as a platform for conflict resolution, where complaints are heard and resolved.

It is contradictory that while the JM Samiti meetings have low levels of people's participation, beat officers on the whole report that they find people's participation in policing desirable.

Is people's participation required in policing? Feedback from Beat Officers	
	Percent
Yes	98.96
No	1.04
Total	100.00

N=96

Almost all the beat officers reported that people's participation was vital to policing. On probing the responses of Beat Officers in this regard we find that a significant majority felt that people's participation was important because that was the only way by which the police could elicit reliable information from the people that would assist them in case investigations. So the need of getting people as informers was what made peoples participation in policing most important to this group of beat officers. In that sense, participation was valued only because of the results that it would yield.

In some stations like Irinjalakuda and Thrissur East where night patrolling was actively being pursued, the beat officers had a different view of people's participation. They were more in appreciation of the role that people could play. In the context of Thrissur East station, the beat officer says that the station is in the heart of town, where there is a large floating population, especially in the areas near the railway station and bus stand. Involving local people was a must

in ensuring the safety of people living in this area he feels. Similarly a beat officer from Vadakara reports that people's participation helped them to resolve conflicts faster. In the past, when the police had to rush to the spot to resolve local conflicts, they would often end up beating up the wrong people, as they were not adequately informed about the local situation. This is no longer the case in JM beat areas, for the concerned beat officer would possess more accurate information. People's participation has also been valued when the police have controlled alcoholic brewing in certain stations. In most stations however, except in the case of night patrolling, there do not appear to be too many avenues wherein people play an active role in ensuring safety and protection. There is a need for the police to have a finer appreciation of people's participation, rather than merely value their role as informers. This would also motivate them to take the beat process more seriously.

Selection of JM Samiti members

Approximately 48% of the Samiti members who were interviewed were nominated as Samiti members by virtue of being or having been ward members or councilors. The remaining were a

The constitution of the Samiti indicates that it mostly consists of people from a middle class and upper middle class economic background. People from a lower economic background are much fewer.

combination of active social workers, Anganwadi teachers, CDS chairpersons, members of residents associations and so on. They were either holding a position like that of Anganwadi teachers of CDS chairpersons, or were socially prominent in one way or the other.

Existing members were asked to comment on the mode of selection of JM Samiti members. Since it is the police who identify and nominate people, they had nothing to comment in this regard. There were Samiti members who felt that there was an over representation of elected representatives, who were always political in their thinking, and who used the JM Samiti to air their political opinions. They felt that people were tired of politics, and overcrowding JM Samiti

too with such people was not desirable. In a few cases, Samiti members were open about the fact that they had no opinion or voice, as the Samiti was controlled by the police. In most stations, there is no rotation of JM Samiti members.

Police officers say that it is not welcomed by existing members.

Beat officers say that people from economically weaker sections were far more welcoming when they went for house visits. The economically well off classes had direct links with higher ranked police officials, and they did not value an association with somebody from the constable rank.

The constitution of the Samiti indicates that it mostly consists of people from a middle class and upper middle class economic background. People from a lower economic background are much fewer. While Samiti members consist of people from a higher economic strata, it is people from the lower economic strata who attend most of the Janamaitri meetings. People from a higher economic background are less

inclined to attend meetings. Beat Officers justify this by saying that only well-placed individuals will be able to take on the position of a Samiti member, for only they would be able to 'speak sensibly'. A similar statement made by the police was that the poor are not included on the Samiti as it would increase chances of bickering and fighting. Such statements reflect commonly held stereotypes, which are not conducive in eliciting the participation of all sections of people.

A woman JM Samiti member, who hailed from a lower income group in Trichur East Station, cited an instance when Samiti members were told by the police to get 'good youth' involved in the JM programme. She says that she contested this request, saying that it was not just the 'good youth', but also the youth from difficult socio-economic situations, who needed to be roped in, for they were prone to get trapped in anti social activities. She says it was soon realized that it is these youth who could mobilize people for JM programmes, and not the well off people from residents associations.

It is pertinent to view that beat officers themselves feel far more comfortable working with people from poorer communities, than with the rich and the elite, who reside in the well known resident associations. Beat officers say that people from economically weaker sections were far more welcoming when they went for house visits. The economically well off classes had direct links with higher ranked police officials, and they did not value an association with somebody from the Civil Police Officer rank. The disinterest shown by relatively well off people when civil police officers made house visits was a dampener to many beat officers, de-motivating them to make house visits, it was reported.

In certain stations, it has been reported that JM Samiti members use their proximity to police staff to influence them. Some JM Samiti members try to persuade beat officers to not charge their acquaintances for helmetless driving. Some others call the police station to release people in custody. They have also developed the freedom to call the SI or higher ups, to seek their help in resolving certain cases. Beat officers say that the JM process has given the Samiti members greater proximity to higher ups in the police and some of them view it as a way to influence the junior officers. The proximity shown by senior police officers is misinterpreted by many Samiti members, as a way to get things done. Beat officers admit that during the initial stages of JM, they had gone out of their way to elicit the cooperation of residents association, which may have given them the feeling that the police were under their control.

Functioning of the Samiti

62% of the Samiti members said that they were satisfied with the functioning of the JM Samiti, the remaining were not. Those who said they were satisfied were happy with the headway that JM had made in bringing the police closer to the people. Some were satisfied with the charity work that they had been able to do through JM, such as distribution of food kits and Onam kits to the poor, helping children in orphanages and so on. They felt that the JM had reached the

poor when the municipality or the voluntary organizations had not. Some of them were happy with the meetings and classes that they have organized.

Majority of those who expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which the Samiti was functioning were unhappy about the fact that the JM programme was not active as it was before. They complained of beat officers not being able to make regular beat visits due to multiple work responsibilities, of JM meetings not being held regularly, of beat officers not being able to respond to people's grievances, of not coming when they were called to the problem area. They reiterated that the beat process be activated once again so that beat officers are able to come to the field area regularly. In certain stations, Samiti members were categorical in stating that 'Nothing takes place now. No beat visits, no programmes, this should change'. Another Samiti member had this to say- 'It was good in the early stages. Meetings were organized at the ward level in those days. Today it is like a headless chicken'. There were stations where the JM Samiti meetings had not been held for more than a year (Attingal).

In certain stations, Samiti members were categorical in stating that 'Nothing takes place now. No beat visits, no programmes, this should change'.

Are you satisfied with JMS functioning? Feedback from Samiti Members

	Percent
Yes	61.90
No	38.10
Total	100.00

N=42

Many Samiti Members were of the view that the Samiti was not really a people's Samiti as it was the opinion of the police which prevailed. In the presence of the police, people were

reluctant to express their opinions. 'During the last many meetings, I have been demanding that regular beat meetings be held. If at all they hold beat meetings, it is only for organizing classes, not for addressing people's grievances. Even today, there are houses where beat officers have not made visits'. Some felt that the Samiti was just a silent onlooker, with no power. This section of people felt that JM was focusing more on organizing big programmes and on publicity, but not on doing actual ground work, which they tried to do during the initial stages.

Others expressed their dissatisfaction with the content of programmes organized under JM. A pertinent remark in this regard was about the nature of social welfare activities undertaken under the JM programme. 'JM police should not undertake the responsibilities of panchayat members and councilors. There is no need to convert a suraksha project into a welfare programme. It is elected representatives who should build houses for people, not the police. Let them do their job well. The police should concentrate on making people aware of their safety, make them understand how they can avert social hazards and they should ensure that people are safe'. Some others felt that while the awareness classes organized around the theme of alcoholism, domestic violence and sexual harassment were extremely relevant; there is no point in imparting these classes to women and children. If these classes are to meet their intended objective, the police should think of how men can be brought into the classrooms. They felt that for the sake of ensuring numbers in the class, women and children were brought in.

In certain stations where communal tensions are high, Samiti members have expressed discontent with the non intervention of the Samiti in such sensitive issues. This has been reported in Calicut, Perintalmanna and Mannarkad stations, where communal tensions are high in certain pockets. An articulate Samiti member says- "Preventing communal violence is an integral part of Jana Suraksha. If I raise this issue, then the opposing religious faction will turn against me and accuse me of passing communal statements at the Samiti meeting. The police

department has not taken a pro-active stand in this regard, despite all this talk of ‘Suraksha’ and ‘Maitri’.

Suggestions from Samiti Members to make Janamaitri more active

1. The need for a proper implementation mechanism that does not get upset each time the SI or the CI gets transferred.
2. Create a special wing for JM
3. Regular review of the implementation process.
4. Hold regular JM Samiti meetings
5. Include more people in the JM Samiti, who are active in public life.
6. Reduce the extent of the beat area.
7. Prioritise on security and safety of people, and less on social welfare.
8. Implement special programmes for the security of the elderly.
9. Instead of expanding JM to new areas, strengthen its implementation in existing areas.
10. Restrict the number of political party representatives on the Samiti.
11. Samiti members need to be made aware of their role and mandate, they are many a time not aware.
12. Do not give beat officers multiple duties, allow them to go the beat and strengthen the house visit process.
13. Install complaint boxes in all beat areas.
14. Provide training to all beat officers and equip them.

The Samiti does not appear to play a significant role in Janamaitri implementation.

Conclusion

The Samiti does not appear to play a significant role in Janamaitri implementation. The role of the members is largely limited to organizing people for programmes. In most Samitis, the old members continue, with very little rotation. The Samiti is found to suffer from two major handicaps. One that it is largely a police-controlled Samiti, hence participation of the people is limited by the mandate set out by the police. Two, the Samiti has not been able to elicit participation of all sections of people. In a society such as ours that is highly skewed in terms of class, caste and gender, organizations like the Janamaitri Samiti will have to take special measures to ensure that all sections of people participate.

CHAPTER VI: Janamaitri Fund

JM fund adequacy

One of the pre requisites of a participatory programme is that the participants should have a clear idea about the availability of funds and its expenditure. Both JM beat officers and the JM Samiti members who are entrusted with responsibilities do not have a clear picture of the availability of funds.

Beat officers had two responses to questions about adequacy of funds. The majority response was that funds were inadequate, due to which they had to mobilise money for organizing programmes. There were some who stated that they had no idea about the fund picture, that it was the CRO and the CI who knew about fund availability. Majority of the beat officers reported that fund inadequacy prompted them to either spend money from their own pockets or to mobilize money through the JM Samiti members. Beat officers report that they have had to spend money to arrange for tea and snacks provided during classes or programmes organised under JM, for mike sets, and to pay honorarium to resource people who took classes for the people. In certain cases, beat officers report that bills were not reimbursed.

It has been noticed that a wide range of awareness classes have been organized under the JM programme. Beat offices report that funds are provided for organizing specific programmes such as awareness classes for women and children. So if they have to organize other programmes, they have to mobilise the funds. There are also reports that funds come late, mostly during the period between December and March, and the expenditure has to be incurred by the end of March. So they are left with little or no funds for programmes organized during the rest of the year. 'The fund we get is a mockery. We get it only by March end, and

there is no time to plan activities. We just do something for namesake' was an often heard comment from beat officers.

The fund picture varies from station to station and there appears to be no consistency in the availability and expenditure of funds. In Irinjalakuda police station for instance, it was reported, that this year, they had received a total allocation for Rs 2 lakhs for JM. But this does not appear to be the case with other stations. Beat Officers are not aware of the total plan fund availability and the heads under which they have to be spent. There is also a lack of clarity about various provisions under the Janamaitri programme. Beat officers in Kottayam East station for instance mention that they got to know of the provision to pay a cash award of Rs 500 to informers very late. Similarly, beat officers in Chertala report that Janamaitri funds are available only for awards and not for organizing programmes. Beat officers from Thodupuzha report that they are cutting down on the number of programmes to be organized as funds were available only for big programmes.

The lack of transparency in the release of funds and its expenditure could create misunderstandings about the actual fund status,

Women Beat Officers from Thodupuzha report that the neighbourhood groups of women bear the cost of tea provided at smaller meetings. At the same time a local person from Mananthavady station reports that the police gave a sum of Rs 1500 to a group of local volunteers for making food arrangements for a programme. This has led him to assume that plenty of funds were available with the police under the JM programme, how else would such a big amount be available, he asks. In Thrissur East station, like many other stations, beat officers report that they cannot organize programmes without arranging for sponsorship. Both beat officers and JM Samiti members are involved in arranging for sponsorship. Instances were also reported of beat officers mortgaging their gold rings to mobilise money for programmes and then mobilizing the money to take back their gold, with the department not providing any support .

The fund inadequacy was reported not just in organizing programmes. Beat officers have reported having to buy beat diaries with their own money, as the department had not purchased it for them. They have also talked of the need to get their phone bills reimbursed, as they have to make phone calls to the beat area, an expense that needs to be factored in the JM accounts.

The inadequacy of funds was one of the key issues raised by JM Samiti members as well.

Is JM fund adequate? Feedback from Samiti Members	
	Percent
Yes	23.81
No	50.00
Don't know	26.19
Total	100.00

N=42

50% of the Samiti members felt that funds were not adequate and another 24% had no idea about funds⁴. Only 26% felt that funds were adequate. Even the 24% who said that funds were adequate referred to the money that was mobilized through sponsorships and voluntary

⁴ A JM Samiti member narrated an incident, wherein she was invited to attend a meeting at Trivandrum in connection with Janamaitri in Feb 2013. When she went for the meeting, her train tickets were reimbursed. That is when it struck her, she says, that there are funds in this programme. And she feels that now she should enquire and find out where the funds for JM come from, and how they are spent. The lack of transparency in the release of funds and its expenditure could create misunderstandings about the actual fund status, such as the one discussed above.

contributions. Samiti members had little idea about the plan fund allocation for Janamaitri. A great majority of them referred to the money that they had raised through various means for JM programmes. Samiti members are quite actively involved in fund mobilization and some of them personally contribute as well, either in cash, or by arranging for tea and snacks for programmes. The lack of funds is also reported to lead to a reduction in the number of participants in JM programmes. Samiti members have reported that when funds are less, they try to reduce the number of participants, so that the cost of tea and snacks can be brought down. There appears to be no clear accounts for the money collected through sponsorship. Only from one police station was it reported that a special account was started in the name of the CI and the Samiti Chairman, for the funds that has been mobilized.

The availability of adequate funds needs to be tied up with the annual plan for Janamaitri in each police station. Currently fund mobilization, like Janamaitri activities are arbitrarily undertaken. Each station needs to have an annual plan that reflects issues that are specific to the area. Also required is a clear understanding of the available plan funds and the areas in which it has to be spent. Regular meetings of the SI, CRO and Beat Officers need to be held to review progress of implementation and fund expenditure. These meetings should also discuss issues related to fund deficit and work out strategies to mobilize the required funds.

CHAPTER VII: POLICE- PEOPLE INTERACTION: THE POLICE AND THE PEOPLE ARE CHANGING

This section moves away from issues related to Janamaitri implementation per se. It looks at the how people were treated when they approached the police station with a grievance. It presents data collected from both Janamaitri and Non Janamaitri stations, and it assesses the extent to which JSP has made an impact on the behaviour of the police with their clients.

Are the Police Changing?

The overall behaviour and approach of the police has undergone changes over the past decade. Higher education levels at the entry level have played a role. The new breed of civil police officers are much more educated. Better salary packages have also reportedly reduced the propensity to take bribes amongst police officers. The number of police staff who are alcohol or smoking addicts is also reported to be falling. Local people feel that the practice of using foul language in police stations is also declining. The increased awareness amongst the public about various legal provisions as well as about human rights violations, have made the police more cautious in their dealing with ordinary people. It is not clear whether Janamaitri per se has led to a behavioural change in the police. It has however put pressure on the police to change.

80% of the beat officers in Janamaitri stations felt that their behavior towards people and complainants had changed since the implementation of JM.

Has JM led to a change in your behaviour towards people and complainants? Feedback from Beat Officers	
	Percent
Yes	79.17
No	13.54
No Response	7.29
Total	100.00

N=96

They were also asked to comment upon the changes that have come upon in the overall approach and functioning of the police since JM. Their response to this question indicates that upon entering the police force, they have acquired certain behavioural traits, which they have been able to overcome partially through

‘JM is a new face of the police. It has started a new culture as far as the police is concerned, that is manifest even in the way in which police investigate cases’.

the JM exercise. The most common response was that JM has prompted the police to become softer in their approach and style of speaking, and to use better language while talking to people. It appears that the implementation of JM has made them conscious of their overall style and approach, and the manner in which they interact with ordinary people. Some beat officers have remarked that they are aware of the fact that their stations are Jana Maitri stations and that puts pressure on them to behave cordially with people who come to the station.

The following responses from beat officers indicates the changes that have come about in their perception and attitude. It also indicates that the older mind frame was not conducive to open and transparent relations with people.

‘In the past, the police was only involved in case investigation. Now they are doing social work and hence the social consciousness of the police has increased, making them more sensitive to people’.

Woman beat officer ‘I am friendlier now. I am able to speak to people without intimidating them’.

‘The police are softer in their approach. We genuinely try to respond to people’s grievances when they call and report a problem to us’.

‘JM is a new face of the police. It has started a new culture as far as the police is concerned, that is manifest even in the way in which police investigate cases’.

A woman beat officer told a woman interviewer that the very fact that the latter could speak casually to the police officer was proof that the police had changed their attitude!

‘The police have really transformed themselves into service providers’.

Some police officers were very articulate about the change in behavior and attitude. A woman beat officer, says that in the past the understanding was that the police needs only physical strength, not intelligence. ‘Now we understand that changes are required in both the level of intelligence as well as in attitude’.

‘In the past if someone wanted to meet the SI, he would be made to wait for long. Now he can come and see the SI directly’.

The field exposure that beat officers have got through the JM programme is articulated by many.

A woman beat officer –‘It is only after undertaking beat visits, that we have got an opportunity to understand the real living conditions of the poor people. Until then we used to interact with just the people who used to come to the station, either the complainants or the accused’.

The change is also manifest in the way the police treat people in police stations.

‘There is a change, right from the way in which we receive people when they come to the station’.

‘We ask the complainant to sit and talk to them. It is only since the implementation of JM that we purchased so many chairs at the station. Another beat officer from the same station remarked that they not only give a seat to all who come, but also give mosquito repellants and food to those in lock up’.

Local people too were asked about changes that have come about to the police and whether JM has played a role in it. The most often heard comment was that police had become softer in their style of speaking and kinder while

‘We ask the complainant to sit and talk to them. It is only since the implementation of JM that we purchased so many chairs at the station.’

interacting with people. Many people did not know whether this change could be attributed to the JM, but they were clear that there has been a change. In the words of a local person from Trichur East- ‘They have changed substantially. There is a change in the style of speaking and in body language. They have begun to ask questions politely. The new generation of police are educated and they do not intimidate people’. Another person remarked that ‘there is a change even in their facial expression’. There were others who said that the change was minor, in terms of speaking and behaving, but in terms of actions, they remained the same, that one still needed influence to deal with them. But there was general consensus that the use of verbal abuse and slang has reduced as compared to the past. It was reported that when ordinary people go with complaints to the police station, they were given a seat and at times even some water to drink.

Change in people's attitude to the police

Beat officers' report that with the coming of JM, people have lost their fear of the police, and have developed the confidence to report issues and problems to the police.

Since JM has there been a change in people's attitude to the police? Feedback from Beat Officers	
	Percent
Yes	90.63
No	4.17
Don't know	4.17
No response	1.04
Total	100.00
N= 96	

In areas where the beat officer has developed personal relationships with a large number of people, people hold her/him in great trust. In the words of a beat officer from Cheruthuruthy, 'people see the beat officer as a mediator between people and police, and not just as a police person'. It was also reported that when people from the beat area come to the police station with a grievance, they first meet the beat officer, and then only go to the SI.

A widely subscribed observation by the police is that since JM, people have lost their fear of coming to police stations on their own and that even women are found to come alone. 90% of beat officers felt that people's attitude to the police has changed since Janamaitri. Local people and complainants too were asked to talk about their observations about the treatment of people at police stations. Roughly 80% of the local people and 75% of the complainants who were interviewed felt that the police station would be welcoming to an ordinary person going on his own with a grievance. The percentage of people who felt that this was true for women going alone was slightly, though not substantially, lower.

Do you think an ordinary person can go alone and file a complaint?- Views of Local People and Complainants from Janamaitri Stations.		
	Local People	Complainants
Yes	79.87	75.00
No	11.41	22.09
Don't know	8.72	2.91
Total	100.00	100.00

N=149

N=172

Do you think a woman can go alone and file a complaint?- Views of Local People and Complainants from Janamaitri Stations		
	Local People	Complainants
Yes	78.52	71.51
No	11.41	23.26
Don't know	7.38	5.23
No response	2.68	0
Total	100.00	100.00
	N=149	N=172

Interestingly, while 75% of complainants in Janamaitri stations felt that an ordinary person could go alone with a grievance to the police station, only 46% of the complainants actually went alone and the remaining 54% chose to be accompanied by somebody.

Did u go alone to the PS to give your complaint?- Feedback from Complainants	
	Percent
Yes	45.69
No	54.31
Total	100.00

n=151, as 21 complainants had not gone to the PS to file the complaint, the complaint was registered by the police at the hospital or at the accident site.

54% of the complainants, who went with others, were accompanied mostly by relatives and in a few cases by friends. The predominant reason they cited for not going alone was the lack of confidence, the fear and the nervousness that they felt in going alone. Hence while a significant majority of complainants stated that an ordinary person could go on his/her own with a grievance to the police station, in actual practice, only 46% did so. This indicates that much more needs to be done by the police to communicate the message that the police station is a people-friendly place.

Interestingly the same questions were posed to local people and complainants from non Janamaitri stations. A higher percentage of both local people and complainants felt that ordinary people and women could go alone to the police station with a grievance.

Can an ordinary person go on his own with a grievance to a police station?- Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	83.61
No	13.11
Don't know	3.28
Total	100.00

Can a woman go on her own with a grievance to the police station? Feedback from Local People	
	Percent
Yes	86.89
No	9.84
Don't know	3.28
Total	100.00

N=61

The reasons cited were that the police had changed in their overall outlook and behaved decently with people who went with a grievance. The fact that local people from non Janamaitri stations give a higher rating to the behaviour of the police staff, perhaps indicates that the Janamaitri programme has not made any significant impact on the behaviour of the police within police stations. An overall change may have come about to the attitudes and behaviour of the police in general.

This is somewhat substantiated by the opinion of SHOs from Janamaitri stations. 60% of the SHOs felt that there was no significant change in the style of functioning of JM and Non Janamaitri stations, except for the fact that beat visits are conducted in JM stations. They feel that the police on the whole have undergone a change with respect to attitudes and behaviour. They also feel that higher levels of education amongst the police have played a role in this change. The fact that SHOs do not perceive a remarkable difference in JM and non JM stations points to inadequacies in the implementation of short coming in the implementation of JM.

JM and Case Investigations

62.5% of the beat officers say that there has been a reduction in time taken for case investigation since JM.

Has there been a reduction in time taken for case investigation since JM- Feedback of Beat Officers	
	Percent
Yes	62.50
No	21.88
Depends on the case	13.54
No response	2.08
Total	100.00

The reasons cited include the ability of the beat officer to provide accurate information about the case to the investigating officer, if the case located in her or his beat area. The relationship is not very clear though as JM beat officers are not directly involved in case investigation. However if a case pertains to the beat area of a particular officer, he/she may provide background information.

Another factor that could contribute to reduction in time taken for case investigation is the willingness of local people to cooperate with case enquiries. 84% of the beat officers say that there has been a positive change in the response of people to case investigations. They say that people on the whole cooperate much more when they have developed a familiarity with the police. While people are still reluctant to come forward as witnesses or sign the mehessar, on the whole there is a greater degree of trust in the police. 15% of the police however said that this has not changed.

Any change in people's response during case investigation since JM	
	Percent
Yes	84.38
No	14.58
No response	1.04
Total	100.00

The following responses from beat officers in this regard illustrate this change.

A beat officer from Chandera said that earlier police used to go for beat visits in mufti. Since JM they go in uniform and have explained their visit to the people. This has helped to build trust. Women, who never used to open doors when police visited their homes, are now changing.

A woman beat officer in Mannarkad, who worked here in this station even before it became a JM station. She feels that prior to JM, people were not willing to sign the mehessar, but now they are coming forward.

A woman beat officer from Cheruthuruthy reported an incident where a person came forward as a witness to a controversial rape case, only because the person was from the JM beat area and had developed trust in the police to do so.

One suggestion put forward is to make local people aware of the implications of signing the mehessar or coming forward as a witness. Most people harbor misunderstanding and feel that it is a big hassle and hence keep away, which prolongs case investigations.

In general, beat officers state that people are more willing to come forward as witnesses or to disclose critical information. SHOs were not so clear about whether JM has had an impact on case investigation except that in a few cases, the information provided by Beat Officers have helped to solve certain cases. Some SHOs and Beat Officers maintained that JM beat process had nothing to do with case investigation.

While the police felt that people's cooperation with case investigations have increased, 29% of the local people interviewed from areas where Janamaitri has been implemented stated that they were not willing to come forward as witnesses. Another 5% did not respond at all this question suggesting possible non-compliance.

Will you be ready to stand as witness to a crime you have seen directly?	
	Percent
Yes	66.44
No	28.86
No response	4.70
Total	100.00

Treatment of Complainants at the JM Police Stations

Complainants were asked about the treatment they received at the police station when they went with a grievance, to assess whether the implementation of JM had changed the attitude and behaviour of the police. Majority of the complainants did not have to wait for long and their grievance was attended to within half an hour. Those who were made to wait had to do so as the SI was not free. The grievance of those who had to wait however needs to be taken seriously. A few cases were reported when the complainant was made to wait in the station unduly, which added to their mental trauma

In the Janamaitri category, of the complainants who went to the police station to file a complaint, approximately 50% said that the investigations started immediately. Amongst those who had to wait, the waiting period varied from 2 hours to cases where they had to wait for more than a month.

Waiting Period	Percentage of Complainants
2-6 hours	22%
One day	25%
2-6 days	27%
One week	12%
More than a week	5%
One month	3%
More than a month	6%
Total	100

N=151

Treatment of women complainants in police stations

67% of the women complainants in Janamaitri stations reported that as women they had been treated well when they went to the police station. When asked to explain, most of them passed general statements such as ‘the police treated us well’ or that ‘they spoke politely’ and so on. It needs to be noted that most complainants were reluctant to speak out openly. Many of them were not fully convinced that members of the research team did not represent the police department in any way. They also feared that criticizing the police would affect their case.

Some of them however gave detailed narrations of their experiences with the police. Some of them had extremely positive experiences to narrate, which went far beyond their expectations of the police. Some others have had negative experiences to narrate. We present below both sets of responses, to indicate both extremes. We begin with narrations wherein women felt that the police behaved in a proactive manner. It must be noted that not all of the 67% of women who reported that the police behaved fairly made such detailed narrations. As mentioned earlier, the greater majority of them preferred to keep their responses briefly, with a statement that ‘they behaved well’.

When the police responded with care

A 60 year old Tiyya woman was attacked by a group of inebriated youngsters. Her leg was injured and she was taken to the police station in a vehicle. The police came to the vehicle and spoke to her, saying that she need not get out of the vehicle and walk. She was touched by that act of kindness.

A forty old woman, who was living on her own, was harassed by her relative's son. She gave the case via the JM Beat Officer, with whom she had discussed the problem earlier. Her case was treated with due seriousness when she went to the station.

A 24 year old young woman was verbally abused by her neighbor, who was drunk. Upon her filing a complaint at the station, the police came by evening to investigate. She did not expect kind behavior from the police, but she was happy that the police was attentive while listening to her case. The presence of the WPCs greatly added to her confidence she says.

A 26 year old SC woman was harassed by a man at her workplace, where he threatened to inflict physical injury on her and insulted her by calling her by her caste name. She was extremely flustered when she went into the police station. The WPC came to her aid; she was given a seat, some water to drink, given paper and a pen to write out her complaint. 'The police did not behave as I expected them to. They were kind and open to me and took action based on my complaint'.

A 68 year old woman was harassed by her own children, who wanted her pension money. She was greatly comforted by the approach of the police, who gave her the assurance she required.

Instances of unfair treatment

33% of the women complainants reported a personal experience of having received poor treatment at the station or when the police came home for investigations. The following narrations give a flavor of their experiences. They also give an insight into the reasons that made people feel that they were ill-treated.

A 36 year old SC woman had gone to file a complaint regarding a dispute over the access road to their house. "They made me and my old mother wait at the police station for half a day and

then asked us to come again the next day". She feels they were treated badly because they were women from a low caste group.

A 77 year old woman had gone to file a case against her children who had thrown her out of their house. The WPCs spoke kindly to her, but in the end, she was forced by the police officers to agree to a compromise, and her grievances were not addressed. She feels that the police station is not a place for voiceless and weak people like her.

A 45 year old woman was wrongly accused in a case filed by her son in law's family. Her daughter began to face dowry harassment 2 days after her marriage, and when she questioned them, a false case was charged against her by her son-in-law's family. The police spoke rudely to her at the station and used a lot of verbal slang. They came to her house to enquire into the matter, and they tried to break open the gate. They also discussed this issue with local people, thereby providing publicity to her case.

A 64 year old woman had filed a complaint over a road access issue with her neighbor. She got a court order in her favour, but the police are not willing to implement the order saying that the opposing party is politically powerful.

In a case in where a tribal woman was harassed and deserted by her husband, the police scolded her when she went to file a complaint. She had married him by choice, and so the police asked her "Why did you run away with him and get married? Now we have to make all these enquiries. You now better obey him and live with him"

In another case in where a woman was harassed by her husband and mother in law, the police asked- 'Why can't you listen to what your husband says? Isn't he taking care of you? They said this in front of her husband and she regretting going there to file a complaint, she says.

Certain difficult cases were reported, and they illustrate the need for greater sensitivity on the part of police officers. In one particular case, an old woman's house was attacked and demolished by a group of people, to settle scores with her sons, both of whom were alcoholic. She is a Muslim woman, who came to reside in the area less than a year ago. This must be one of the reasons why the community or the 'mosque committee' which normally takes up such issues, has stayed away. Since this case commenced, she has been suffering from bouts of mental instability. So she has nobody to rely on but the police. When the police came to her house for enquiring into the matter, the concerned officer raised his hand to hit her son and intimidated all of them and asked her to keep her sons under control. Later she was compelled by the police to agree to a compromise and they placed the onus on her to keep her sons under control. She continues to suffer the harassment she was subjected to. Such a case illustrates how the Janamaitri approach could be made use of and it also illustrates how it is not being done despite the station being a JM station.

A couple of cases were reported where the police did not respond with the anticipated sensitivity in dealing with women's harassment issues. This reveals the need for sensitizing the police so that they can intervene with a sense of justice. All the women who faced such issues, complained of rude and intimidating behaviour on the part of the police.

A case of dowry harassment was reported by a 27 year old young woman. She was subsequently deserted by her husband. The police spoke in favour of her husband and she feels she was denied justice. In another case, a 28 year old woman complained about her husband being suspicious of her and harassing her. Her parents are daily wage workers, and she has now been sent back to her parental home by her husband. She feels that the police spoke in support of her husband who had mobilized political influence over the investigating officers. So she did not get justice, as she was poor and powerless. Another case that was reported related to a 30 year old Muslim woman who was harassed by her husband and his family. The Kudumbashree CDS asked her to file a complaint and accompanied her to the police station. They were

disappointed with the response of the police who said 'Why don't you just listen to what your husband says' (using the word 'nee' which smacks of disrespect) in the presence of her husband. She felt that police officers should have assessed the situation before they accused her in the presence of her husband.

A 60 year old Muslim woman was attacked by her son in law, as she had filed a case against him for harassing her daughter. Of the treatment she received at the station, she says- 'I wish they would treat me as they would treat their mother. The SI there was intimidating. Both the police and the lawyers need money, and we don't have money. So this is to be expected'.

A 50 year old woman had filed a complaint over a boundary dispute. The police were not interested in registering her case she feels and when she later called up to enquire about the status of the case, the police spoke to her in a rude manner asking her "Why are you women calling again and again and pestering us?" She is left with the feeling that the police have not reprimanded the culprits, but reprimands her for filing a complaint.

A 29 year old woman went to file a case against her husband who was always suspicious about her. She and her sister were made to wait for a long time as the SI was not there. During that period the women police were friendly to her and were supportive. But the male police were unfriendly. In her words- "they treat us like AIDS patients. They were not ready to listen to our complaints. I realized that is foolish to go to the police station without a man'.

A 61 year old woman had filed a case regarding a boundary dispute, wherein she had been attacked and her house too was destroyed by the opponents. Her first complaint was neglected, and she had to file a complaint with the SPs office upon which the SI came for enquiry. He spoke angrily to her and her daughter, behaving as though they had committed an offence. When they asked the police to come home and see the situation, the SI retorted saying 'What do you expect us to do? As soon as we get a complaint, should we come and sleep

there?’ ‘We went to the police to get peace of mind, but we came back feeling more disturbed’, she says.

A 75 year old tribal woman was hit by a non tribal landlord, and the police did not take her grievance seriously, and they appeared to be on the side of the accused she says. They did not take any action and finally it was the local people who intervened and made the landlord pay her a compensation of Rs 4000.

A woman and had gone to the station with her husband to complain against a group of people who had beaten up her son. They were made to wait for two hours, and the police spoke harshly using the word ‘nee’ when addressing her. The next time they had to go to the station in connection with the same case, they got some party people to go with them, so that the police would behave well with them.

A 23 year old SC woman went with her father to file a complaint against her husband who had slashed her hands with a knife. Her husband was a ganja addict, and she was not inclined to file a complaint, for she knew that the ganja lobby would bail him out. But she was forced to file a complaint by her father. She had gone with her injured hands, without any bandaging, and the police made her wait for 2 hours for the SI to come. After waiting for 2 hours, she went to the taluk hospital and the doctors there called the police and asked them to register a case. The case is now pending in court and is also being enquired by the Women’s Commission.

A 30 year old woman went with her husband to file a complaint. Both of them got injured when they tried to resolve a conflict between two drunken people. They were made to wait for a whole day and the police registered a case only after directions were issued from the IGs office. She had to go a number of times to the police station, and this has eroded her trust that the police will behave in an unbiased manner.

A 29 year old Muslim woman filed a case against a contractor, for not having completed house construction after having been paid his share. She reports that she had to wait for 3 days before she got a chance to meet with the SI. She feels the contractor used his power and influence and hence the police did not talk to her with an open mind.

These narrations are those of the complainants. The investigating officers could have another version to provide. What is pertinent from the point of view of the present evaluation is that the complainants came away with a feeling of unfair treatment, of not being listened to. Many of them have come with the view that the police have supported the opposing party, and in cases where the complainant is poor, such instances only reinforce the popular image that the police stands by those with wealth and power.

A loss of self-esteem

Complainants from both Janamaitri and non Janamaitri stations were asked whether they suffered a loss of self esteem during the course of investigations. While responding, complainants referred to the manner in which the police treated them. Once again, Janamaitri per se does not appear to have made an impact. In fact a larger percentage of complainants in Janamaitri stations rather than non Janamaitri stations felt that they had suffered a loss of self-esteem.

Did you feel a loss of self esteem when you approached the police for your case? Feedback from Complainants		
	Janamaitri Station	Non Janamaitri Station
Yes	19.77	12.16
No	80.23	87.84

Total	100.00	100.00
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N=172

n=74

Similarly, the fact that only 42% of the interviewed complainants from Janamaitri stations came back with the feeling that their grievance had been dealt with in a just manner is a comment on the manner in which the police deals with grievances. While Janamaitri stations have fared better than Non Janamaitri stations in this regard, their performance needs to be enhanced.

Do you feel you have got justice in this case?- Complainants from both Janamaitri and non Janamaitri Stations		
	Janamaitri Station	Non Janamaitri Stations
Yes	42.44	35.14
No	46.51	47.30
Case still in court	11.05	13.51
No Response	0.00	4.05
Total	100.00	100.00

N=172

n=74

70% of the complainants in Janamaitri police stations felt that they could view the police as a source of support and strength in times of difficulty and stress.

When you face a problem, will you consider the police as a help? Feedback from complainants		
	Janamaitri Area (Percent)	Non JM area (Percent)
Yes	70.35	82.43
No	27.33	17.57
Don't know	1.74	0.00
No response	0.58	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00

N=172

n=74

In non Janamaitri stations, a much higher percentage of complainants felt so (82%); once again indicating that adoption of Janamaitri has not made a significant change on the way in which police deal with clients in the police station.

In JM stations, complainants explained their trust in the police in the following three ways-

1. In statements such as 'they were supportive', 'they did what they could to solve our problem'.
2. By saying that there they count on the police because there is nobody else to help them out in times of stress.
3. Some of them narrated their personal experiences. In some such cases, the Beat Officers have played an instrumental role.

A 23 year old tribal woman filed a case against her father in law for brewing alcohol at home. After her marriage, she compelled him to stop this activity, by filing a case. The support she got from the beat officers was instrumental, she feels. .

The house of a 50 year old Muslim woman was attacked at night, This was part of a communal conflict between Hindus and Muslims. She says there were no men in the house, and she had to call the police for help. They came to her house and the problem area several times and they arrived at a compromise between the two factions. Since then the problem has calmed down. It is seen that in Hosdurg beach, the police has intervened well and formed the Hosdurg Vikasana Samiti in cooperation with people there. The communal issue is under control there now.

A 27 year old woman who lives in Rajeev Colony in Marad complained of harassment at the hands of her alcoholic husband. The SI tried to resolve the case through dialogue, but her husband did not cooperate. Today she is living with her husband, who continues to drink, but he does not physically harass her like before. She feels that she can stay with him, only because she has the assurance that the

A 30 year old tribal man was injured in a conflict with neighbours. The police did not take his statement, and did so only after the party people intervened. This has reinforced his view that the police will only act when people with power ask them to do so, that ordinary people like him can never count on the police.

police will come to her aid when she calls them. Her husband too is aware that if he misbehaves with her, he will be taken to task by the police. 'Their help is vital for me' she says.

A 34 year old woman, who was seriously injured in property conflict that turned violent, was subsequently paralysed. She was taken to the hospital by the police, and feels that they came to her help when none of her relatives came to help and support her.

A 47 year old man filed a case against a group of youngsters who used to routinely drink and abuse people in public places. He was attacked for questioning their ways. The police dealt with the trouble makers and ensured that the problem would not repeat. The police gave the complainant their phone number and asked him to call them in case of a problem.

The 27% of the complainants who felt that they could not count on the police in times of stress, felt so because they were disappointed with the manner in which the police had dealt with their grievance.

A 42 old man was attacked by a group of people. The police mistook it for a family conflict at first, and did not take his statement while he was in hospital. They spoke to him harshly when he went to file a complaint. On realizing that he was the victim of a larger issue, they calmed down. The police may be a source of help, but he feels that one cannot expect justice from them. His complaint is that some of the police succumb to political pressures, and those who succumb to money power.

A 75 year old man and his son were injured in a conflict over a road issue. The police, without hearing their complaint, was rude and aggressive, throwing him out of the station and putting the son in lock-up. 'After such an experience, how can I view them as a help in times of stress'?

A 30 year old tribal man was injured in a conflict with neighbours. The police did not take his statement, and did so only after the party people intervened. This has reinforced his view that the police will only act when people with power ask them to do so, that ordinary people like him can never count on the police.

Those who feel that the police can be viewed as a source of support in times of crisis, quote instances when the police treated them with care and regard. It is the lack of the very same care and regard that make the others feel that the police cannot be trusted upon. As is evident, the above mentioned cases represent only the complainant's side of the story. The police would surely view the case and the grievance from a different angle. The issue that deserves attention is that the complainant has come away with a feeling that his grievance was not

heard, that she or he had to face unfair treatment, and that the police stands by those with power and money.

Conclusion

The information collected indicates that there is no significant difference between Janamaitri and Non Janamaitri police stations in the treatment meted out to people at police stations. The proportion of police officers who treat people with care and regard and those who do not, is more or less the same in both stations. People's expectations from the police are however higher in Janamaitri stations.

The information collected indicates that there is no significant difference between Janamaitri and Non Janamaitri police stations in the treatment meted out to people at police stations.

CHAPTER VIII : JANAMAITRI- AN APPROACH OR A PROGRAMME?

In this section, we look into issues that relate to the adoption of Janamaitri as a working philosophy of the police department. Janamaitri has been implemented only partially, covering only municipal areas, or only one panchayat in a police station area. In addition, only some civil police officers are entrusted with Janamaitri implementation in a police station. This has created differences of opinions amongst civil police officers. Moreover, since only the Janamaitri beat officers have been given an orientation into the Janamaitri programme, the others have an inadequate understanding and appreciation of the programme. Some of them also tend to view the Janamaitri programme with a bit of contempt.

Attitude of Non JM officers

It was difficult to get clear and honest answers about the attitude of non JM beat officers to the JM programme. Amongst the beat officers, 18% did not answer this question clearly. 42% of the beat officers clearly stated that non Janamaitri officers were unsupportive towards JM beat officers.

'Non JM officers refer to us Beat Officers as 'Beat officers who are not needed for any work'. They view us with contempt. The SI asks us to go for JM duty only because he fears that he will get a memo if he does not do so. There is a lack of sincerity of non JM officers and even higher officers towards the JM programme'.

40% of the beat officers said that non JM police officers were cooperative, and that all the civil police officers shared all the work that had to be done. The responses of the latter were however brief and to the point, whereas those who felt that non JM officers were unsupportive had a lot more to say in this regard. This gives us the impression that there is a significant lack of understanding between JM and non JM officers, perhaps much more than what has been expressed.

In certain stations, all the interviewed beat officers were unanimous in saying that non JM officers were not supportive of their work.

‘When we go for beat duty, they (non JM officers) remark that we are going out for a walk’.

‘The non JM officers see us as enemies. Since there is no strength, they get overloaded with duty when we go for JM duty. This makes them more negative. The CI is supportive, but we are not assigned duty in a way that allows us to go for JM beat duty.

‘Even after so many years, there are people who cannot accept JM and remark that JM Beat Officers are idle’.

Such a statement indicates that beat visits are not considered as work. This reveals underlying assumption of what is work and what is not work according to the police. Beat visits are not considered as ‘work’.

‘The lack of cooperation is indicated by the fact that non JM officers do not take interest in addressing complaints from the beat area, when the concerned beat officer is not present in the station’.

‘We go out for beat visits in both heat and rain, but the others think we are just loitering around’.

‘Non JM officers ask us-‘don’t you have other work to do, why do you keep harping about JM?’”

Certain beat officers have reported unfair remarks of Non JM officers in this regard. 'When we go for beat duty, there are non JM officers who view this as an excuse from our side to evade from doing other duties. When a male and a female beat officer go together for duty, there are non JM officers who make unnecessary comments regarding this'.

Beat officers report that while JM officers come for JM programmes, they do so only for namesake. That their involvement is limited to arranging chairs at the meeting venue. JM is clearly identified as a programme of a few beat officers. There are others who cooperate with JM programmes, but they still view it as a 'JM programme', which they have nothing to do with. An SHO of a JM station said that there was a general lack of awareness about JM amongst the police. Some police continue to believe that JM police is just for walking hand in hand with the public. They don't realize that there are places where the public give more importance to the Beat Officer than to higher level officers'. Another SHO said that there were police who felt that the police had been rendered useless through the JM programme as the people don't fear the police anymore.

This perhaps explains the reason why a significant 96% of the beat officers felt that JM training should be given to all police officers, irrespective of whether they were designated as JM beat officers or not.

Should JM training be given to all police officers?	
	Percent
Yes	95.83
No	3.13
Don't know	1.04
Total	100.00

The main reasons they cited was that it would help all officers to appreciate the difference that JM makes and the work requirements of JM beat officers and support them more. The other reason cited was that the training would enable all officers to behave with a JM Perspective in mind. Or else non JM officers would continue to treat people who come to police station in the old rough style, they felt. It was also put an end to non JM officers ridiculing JM officers, as those who were lazy and who loiter around in the field in the name of beat duty. This indicates that there exists an unhealthy difference of opinion between JM and non Janamaitri officers.

The other reason they cite is when new beat officers take the place of old beat officers who have been transferred, they may not have received training. As a result, the others have to spend time orienting the new person. Imparting training to all would also enable other staff to discharge the duties of a beat officer in the event of her or his absence or taking leave.

‘If Janamaitri training is given to all, it will reduce the feeling that this is an exclusive programme run by JM beat officers alone’.

‘We tell the public that the police have changed. But when they come to the station, they may find the police behaving in the same old style. This is because not all have been oriented to behave differently. Then we face problems when we go to the beat again’.

A beat officer

The other opinion that was shared by many was that JM training be particularly imparted to higher level officers- SI, CI and even DYSP, for only then would they understand field level constraints and issues faced by JM Beat officers. There are superior officers who don’t understand the relevance of JM. In one station, beat officers recalled a former SHO, who was efficient and honest, but could not appreciate the relevance of

JM. He was very cordial with his subordinate staff and treated them as equals. But when they would say that they had to go for JM duty, he would ask them to do something else.

All of these issues indicate that there exists a gap in understanding and perspective of JM and non JM officers. The above statements also indicate that JM is yet to be fully internalized as a working philosophy of the police department. It continues to be viewed as a programme that is to be implemented by the CRO and the Janamaitri Beat officer, and not as an approach. This is true of police stations where JM has been implemented over the past 5 years.

Role Confusion:

The way the police perceive themselves is also seen to precipitate differences of opinion amongst JM and non JM police. A more friendly and cordial way of behaviour is often defined as a 'JM style' of behaviour amongst the police. A woman beat officer from remarked that through JM they realized that there is no point in behaving in the old style with people. Non JM officers according to her, continued to subscribe to the older pattern, and that they were not interested in the "JM style" of behavior.

The implementation of Janamaitri has also created an identity crisis for many civil police officers. In an attempt to become friendly with people, the police have had to revisit age old notions of how a police officer 'ought to behave' in public. This has generated a lot of internal discussions on this topic. It has also led to divided opinions on this issue between Janamaitri and non Janamaitri officers. Beat officers are struggling to cope with this change in identity. The following comments reveal this struggle

'Many of us intervene in social issues forgetting that we are police officers'. This implies that if they were to be reminded of their identity as police officers, they would behave differently.

Another beat officer – ‘Sometimes I feel that I have a dual personality, wherein I behave well with people when I go to the beat area, but behave rudely and harshly with an accused person when I am back at the station. JM is like a mask that you have to put on when you go to the beat area, an artificial behavior’.

Some others feel that JM does not mean being soft to everybody, but it means being civil and polite to people, but stern with accused. However, many of them experience a dichotomy and an identity crisis when they switch roles. This is an area, where beat officers require much more hand holding. Some of them report that people expect stern behavior from them, as the police are expected to be harsh and rude. When a woman who is abused by an alcoholic husband calls the police for help, she is reluctant to file a case, but she wants the police to intimidate him and perhaps even physically rough him up. Similarly when people report a group of people drinking and causing a public nuisance, they expect the police to come and give a thrashing to the problem makers, not just take them away. So even if the police want to change their behavior, very often people expect them and want them to be aggressive. This is therefore a time of change as far as the police are concerned.

CHAPTER IX ADDRESSING GRIEVANCES OF THE CIVIL POLICE OFFICERS

In this final section we discuss issues related to the work environment within the police stations we visited. We found that these issues, though not directly related to Janamaitri implementation, do affect the motivation levels of the implementing officers of the JSP.

Grievances of Civil Police Officers

As is evident, civil police officers play the most critical role in the implementation of the JM programme. Their self esteem and sense of well being is critical in enabling them to effectively intervene in local conflicts and issues. In an earlier section, we have discussed work-related constraints that prevent Beat Officers from undertaking regular beat duty. Across stations, civil police officers have reported long working hours, which are unpredictable. In the event of emergencies, they have to work round the clock. The lack of physical and mental rest was cited by a number of CPOs and SHOs. Most frequently cited was the non availability of a day off every week on a regular basis. While they got a day off if they did night duty, it was argued that it was not equivalent to an off day. The inability to spend quality time with families was widely reported.

‘We get no holidays. Nobody in this station has taken holidays for 10-15 days at a stretch. We don’t get to attend family functions. The only time we spend 10-15 days away from the station is when we are assigned Sabarimala duty, where we get to meet many of our colleagues from different stations. That is a time when we can relax’.

‘If you talk to our families, they will vent out their frustration to you. Then you will understand how strained we are. When we go back home we hear only complaints from family members, for we are not able to attend to their needs’.

SHOs in the station too were of the same view.

An SHO had this to say- “There is a difference between leave and leisure. I get leave when I am ill or when one of my family members is ill. But I also need leisure, I would like to spend a day doing what I like to do. That is not for people like us”.

Another SHO says-‘The police do not get any extra allowance for doing difficult jobs like attending to dead bodies. I am given a risk allowance of Rs 60 per month. That is a joke. When I am personally frustrated, how will I deliver justice? I have a five year old son, and I hardly get to see him’.

In addition to the nature of work, the hierarchical work structure that prevails within the police department makes multiple work duties more burdensome. Most of the group discussions that were conducted with civil police officers, turned out into venting-out sessions. Many of them remarked that it was the first time that they were able to air out their grievances, openly and frankly. The pent-up frustration was evident. Many commented that during the periodic review meetings organised by the department, they did not feel free enough to express their opinions openly. The fear of punishment and of their careers being harmed was very high. For many of them therefore, Janamaitri provided a much needed release and break from the routine monotony of policing. For those who were temperamentally averse to aggressive behaviour, Janamaitri was a blessing in disguise, they say. A significant majority of the civil police officers we met were young and educated. They were clearly unhappy with the work culture within the department, wherein their opinions had no voice. Many of the CPOs remarked –‘When we ourselves are personally frustrated, how can we empathise with people?’.

Another factor that added to their discontent was the lack of adequate facilities at the station. Non availability of funds to buy paper for official use, non functioning photocopy machines, vehicles in disrepair were some of the commonly cited factors. In many stations, the staff pool money and buy paper, repair vehicle tyres and even buy food for the accused in lock-up. Such inadequacies reflect the absence of a well functioning system, making the work environment unprofessional.

Some stations did not have adequate toilets. It was accidentally brought to our notice that there was only one toilet for the 66 police staff in a station. Running water too was a problem in these stations. There were stations where the rest room for WPCs were cramped and poorly ventilated. There could be more stations with such problems. Such inadequacies add to the existing frustration levels of the CPOs. In such circumstances, there is a higher chance of JM being viewed as nothing but 'an additional work burden'.

Grievances of Women Civil Police Officers

In the case of WPCs, the issue is even more complex. In addition to being entrusted with multiple duties like their male counterparts, many of them feel discriminated within the department. The most commonly voiced grievance was that WPCs were not treated as equals in the department. Derogatory statements were passed by their male colleagues, accusing them of 'just sitting in the office', and not doing as much work as their male colleagues, but getting an equal pay. WPCs say that they had to hear such statements, each time they signed the register before getting their monthly pay. With salaries being remitted to bank accounts, some of them feel relieved at being spared of this insult.

WPCs say they are accused of being lazy, merely because they do not do as much of night duty and night patrolling as their male counterparts. The practical problems of women staying away from their homes at night is overlooked, they argue. Some of them therefore feel insulted when they have to hear derogatory statements from male colleagues, the most commonly heard being 'May I be born as a WPC in my next life'. WPCs remark that there are lazy people amongst both male and female police officers. There are men who sleep while on duty at the station, those who take their children for tuitions while on duty. The very same people are the first to accuse women of being lazy.

That we live in a gendered world where domestic work is considered to be the sole responsibility of women is often ignored. WPCs have complained of high levels of mental stress in living up to expectations both at office and home. Male colleagues accuse them of running home at 5 pm, not knowing that they do not get a moment's rest once they reach home⁵. This was particularly so with WPCs who has young children to take care of. One such WPC says – 'I long to sleep for eight hours at night. Between my small children and work timings, sleep is a luxury for me'.

Another serious grievance raised by WPCs was that they are being confined within the police station and made to do most of the paper work in the station. As a result they feel their exposure to other kinds of work gets reduced. Almost 50% or more of the cases in a police station are *suo moto* cases, and the writing work related to these cases is

Says a women beat officer- 'What do they know of my struggle? On my way back home from work, I have to buy fish and vegetables, go home and cook it amidst taking care of my small children, get up early so as to be able to come to work on time. While doing this, I am accused by my husband for neglecting home and my children. A male police officer whose wife does all this work, will never be able to understand our struggle. While we sit in the station, we are working throughout. Writing out FIRs is almost exclusively done by WPCs, especially writing out the large number of *suo moto* cases. I have learnt the computer while at work in the station. We also do traffic duty, escort prisoners, go to court. Why then do they accuse us of being lazy? It is absolutely demotivating and frustrating to hear such remarks. It smacks of complete insensitivity to the daily struggles of a woman'.

done almost exclusively by WPCs. No special time is allocated for this work, WPCs do this work amidst other duties, they report.

A section of WPCs feel they should be made to do the work that WPCs were intended to do when they were recruited, viz. facilitate delivery of justice to women. They report that while they are made to write out FIRs, they are not sent out for recording statements of complainants or recording meheessars. Only if they do this, can they write out FIRs well, they argue. Currently they play a very limited role in case investigations, even in women related cases. They feel that in many controversial cases of women's harassment, sensitive WPCs will be able to get more details which can help in delivering justice to the victims. They feel that WPCs should be given more training to enhance their capacities in case investigation and writing out FIRs. This group of WPCs also argued that they be sent out on evening beats, to check harassment of women in public places.

The pent-up feelings of frustration at being viewed as second rate officers was humiliating for many WPCs. Many of the WPCs we met during the group discussions were graduates or post-graduates. Following the initial euphoria they felt at being selected as WPCs, many of them currently experience disillusionment. They appear frustrated at not being able to voice their grievances within the department, and they fear that it would invite punishments in the form of over-duty. Many of them repeatedly asked the research team to keep their views confidential and said they were speaking out openly only because we did not represent the police department.

Pent-up frustration and discontent are not conducive to healthy working relations and efforts need to be made to address this issue. Gender-sensitivity and equal treatment of men and women is an issue that needs to be treated with due seriousness within the department, in order to ensure that WPCs function with a sense of self-esteem and well-being.

Conclusion:

The grievances voiced by both male and female civil police officers require serious attention. They need to be addressed in order to ensure a professional and conducive work environment.

This is all the more important as it these officers who are in greatest contact with ordinary citizens. While sensitising them to the larger goal of Janamaitri, measures that enhance their own sense of self-worth and well-being needs to be ensured. The following measures may be considered-

1. Conduct a thorough evaluation of the work demands on both male and female police officers and the constraints that they face in this regard. It appears that civil police officers are less likely to speak out openly if the assessment is to be conducted by higher-ups of the police department.
 2. Schedule the work in a way that they get adequate rest. It is important to ensure that all police officers get to spend adequate time with their families.
 3. There is an urgent need to introduce e-governance systems in order to reduce time taken on routine and repetitive paper work. Given the large number of highly educated people at the CPO level, this should not be a difficult task.
 4. Review the existing division of labour between male and female police officers. Take measures to enhance their skills in all areas, particularly so for women police officers.
 5. Enhance sensitivity to gender issues within the department so as to create a conducive and professional work environment.
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CHAPTER X : CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Beat Process

The JSP has been an important first step towards democratisation of policing activities. For the first time, the police department felt the need to reach out to people and to taken them into confidence. The first phase therefore witnessed a number of initiatives, where the police literally worked hand in hand with local people in addressing a range of local issues and conflicts, ranging from illicit alcohol brewing and consumption to small fights to robberies to family disputes to communal tensions.

People first watched this with disbelief, for they had never expected that the police would come so close to them. It opened floodgates of expectation, as the police officer who was once feared, was now just a phone call away.

For many of the Beat Officers, JSP opened up a completely new arena of work. As they observe, JSP gave them an opportunity to interact with common people and common concerns, not just with anti socials and criminals. The Beat Officers also got a chance to intervene in local conflicts before they snowballed into a larger crime and in that sense, they got a larger social understanding of the emergence and prevention of crime. The formation of local youth groups and local Night Patrolling groups with active support of the Janamaitri Samiti created the synergy that was required.

The beat process was at the heart of JSP implementation. During the initial stages of JSP implementation, adequate staff and vehicle support was given to facilitate the beat process. Additional staff was brought in from police camps and from near-by police stations where JSP was yet to be implemented. This made it possible for JM beat officers to be entrusted with exclusive beat duty, who were able to complete the house to house survey process. They were

also able to establish contacts with a large number of people, and given them the contact phone numbers of the police. The additional staff was however gradually withdrawn, leading to a situation where in those designated as JM beat officers had to do all other routine policing work along with making beat visits.

In addition, the first batch of beat officers were transferred out of their stations and the new beat officers did not get the time that the older batch had, to familiarise themselves with the area and the people. Lack of staff coupled with a lack of time led to a de-prioritisation of the JM beat process, which has been reported from across the state.

Beat visits which were initially conducted thrice a week, have now been reduced. At the same time, reports of beat visits are sent in the prescribed format to the higher levels. Beat officers were given a minimum of at least 2 duties along with JM, and it is a known fact now that JM receives the least priority.

Recommendations:

1. Conduct a station-wise assessment of staff requirements and ensure that these staff are present in the station, and not sent elsewhere on work arrangement
2. Conduct a station-wise assessment of staff requirements for Janamaitri programme, in such a way that JM Beat Officers are not entrusted with other duty while doing JM duty.
3. Conduct a station-wise assessment of existing availability of vehicles for making beat visits. Ensure that the number of two wheelers matches the number of existing beat officers (including women beat officers) in each station.
4. Provide fuel allowance so that beat officers will readily go for beat visits. There are reports of beat officers having to pay for the petrol as well as for vehicle repairs. This should be avoided.

5. Ensure that beat visits are being conducted on a regular basis. Put in place systems that will cross check whether beat visits are being made, and assess the number of hours spent in the field.
6. Beat visits are being conducted in a selective fashion wherein beat officers maintain links with a few key people, leaving out the greater majority. These key people function as informers to the police, providing them with key information. While collection of information is important, community engagement as a part of the beat process needs to be enhanced. While more than 95% of the beat officers stated that people's participation in policing was required, they valued it for the information channels it would open up. Participation was therefore equated with provision of information, and willingness to sign the mehessar and come forward as witnesses. Larger issues of democratisation and community engagement are not being considered. This reflects a clear lack of understanding about the potential democratisation process envisaged under Janamaitri.
7. In all the 48 stations covered as a part of the study, women Beat Officers are designated as Assistant Beat Officers, except in Hosdurg station. Many WPCs therefore consider that they are meant to play only a secondary role in the beat process. While some WPCs have taken personal initiatives to get involved in the beat process, by and large, this differential designation has created problems in the way in which WPCs view their role in the beat process. Both male and female Beat Officers need to be conferred with equal designations and entrusted with equal responsibilities.
8. Schedule beat duties in such a way that a male and female beat officer go together to the beat area. Currently even if such duty is assigned, only either of them is available for beat duty.
9. The presence of women beat officers in the beat area is of extreme importance, especially so as women will open up much more to WPCs. Regular beat visits by WPCs will also help to control harassment of women and children. It is unfortunate that WPCs

are entrusted with most of the paper work in the station, making it difficult for them to move out into the beat. Once again, a clear assessment of station duties is required such that this anomaly can be corrected.

10. The number of WPCs who travel by bike to the beat area is substantially low. Some of them are not confident of riding bikes. The inadequate number of bikes leads to a situation where the men take the bikes. Provide adequate two wheelers to ensure that both male and female beat officers go to the beat area regularly.
11. Institute a due process and format for recording and reporting of beat visits. Currently, the pattern of writing beat diaries is arbitrary and does not follow a clear procedure.

Awareness about Janamaitri Process

Only 83% of local people residing in areas where JM was implemented, were aware of this programme. Their understanding of the JM process was peripheral, not fully knowing the details of why the police were making house visits, or the role of the police and the people in the JM programme. This needs to be changed.

1. Provide a very clear understanding of the intended objectives of Janamaitri to the local people through the JM Samiti.
2. Publish a Citizens Charter that explains the services that will be provided in a Janamaitri station. Also clarify the functions that a JM Beat Officer should discharge while on beat duty. It should be made clear that the primary mandate of the JM programme is not to engage in welfare activities such as providing housing or drinking water, or organising medical camps, but to ensure safety and security of local people, especially of the poor and vulnerable, elderly sections of society.
3. It should be made clear to the people that familiarity with the beat officer does not imply evasion of laws and rules by the public, including the JM Samiti members.

4. Make clear to the public, the areas in which they can involve themselves, and work towards the larger goal of safety and security.

Janamaitri Samiti

The Samiti is the institutional arrangement to ensure participation of local people in the implementation of the JSP. Its functioning however is dictated by the police department and there is little room for independent initiatives by the Samiti. It is more like a body that graces over public functions and most Samiti members view their role as assisting in organisation of programmes and mobilising people for the same. Samiti is therefore not entrusted with any significant responsibility, and the Samiti members also do not view their role seriously.

Recommendations

1. Organise regular monthly meetings of the Samiti in the beat area. Currently, most of the Samiti meetings are convened in the police station.
2. Ensure that the Samiti functions in a democratic manner. In the current scenario, the position of Chairperson does not hold any decision making power. The position therefore is of ornamental value only. The Chairperson should be selected by the members of the Samiti, and her or his mandate should be made clear and specific.
3. The Samiti should have an Annual Plan and Budget. The resource allocation for JSP should be clear to all Samiti members, and should be related with the Annual Plan. Currently there is no annual plan for each station, and programmes are organised arbitrarily as and when funds are released.

4. One third of the Samiti members should be replaced every year and no Samiti member should hold the position for more than three consecutive terms. A number of members were found to hold this position since the beginning of the programme.
5. Minutes of Samiti meetings should be recorded regularly. The agenda for the JM Samiti meetings should include a monthly mandatory review of the beat process.
6. The mandate of the Samiti and its members should be explained through an induction training programme for the Samiti members.
7. The Samiti should take a leadership role in organising night patrolling activities as well as other local activities that enhance safety and security.
8. In order to ensure safety and security of the elderly people in the station area, youth groups may be formed and encouraged to work with the Samiti and the concerned Beat Officer.
9. The entire funds made available for the JSP implementation (including allocation from the department, sponsorships and voluntary contributions) should be brought into a single accounting system. The accounts should be maintained by the Samiti and it should be audited by an accredited agency. The accounts should be read out at a bi-annual meeting.

JSP Activities

A plethora of awareness programmes have been organised under the JSP. There appears to be a serious lack of planning and focus in the organisation of these programmes. A good part of the awareness programmes deal with issues related to harassment of women and children, particularly since the Nirbhaya case in Delhi. Not much thought input has gone into developing the content of the programme and how it should be delivered. There is also very little planning before the conduct of the programme. Resource persons for such programmes are not

necessarily experts in the field. At times the class is delivered by the SI or CI, or the CRO. In many stations, due to fund constraints, police invite resource persons who may offer their services for free. The quality of classes therefore needs careful examination. In most cases, such classes are located in poor colonies, where people come to attend, only because it is the police who are calling them.

The other pertinent factor is that very few men come to listen to these classes. This has been reported as a serious drawback by the beat officers, for it is only women and children who come to listen to classes on harassment or alcoholism.

In general, there has been a shift in the nature of activities taken up under JSP. During the initial stages, the activities taken up were a mix of programmes aimed at safety and security, as well as programmes that generated popular support. The latter were undertaken so as to gain the confidence of the people. As a part of ensuring safety and security, night patrolling was actively taken up in many police stations, where youth groups were encouraged to be a part of the night patrolling team. Beat offices also coordinated with night watchmen and security personnel in urban centres. There were also attempts to curb communal tensions and also illicit brewing of alcohol, both of which were a threat to law and order.

The other set of activities were mostly popularity and charity driven activities. Charity driven activities included distribution of food kits and Onam kits to poor families, distribution of educational aid to students from poor families and so on. The popular programmes included medical camps, blood identification and donation camps, football tournaments, organ donation programmes and so on.

Gradually, this mix of activities which emphasised on safety and security gradually tilted in favour of charity and popularity driven activities. Coupled with this was the decline in the beat process, which further weakened activities aimed at safety. Night patrolling has weakened and fully died down in most stations.

In addition, we find the police intervening in areas which were never a part of policing activities. This includes interventions to correct failures in the supply of drinking water and electricity, organize medical camps and so on. Police are found to intervene when power supply to a particular area has been disrupted. The police feel that if they do not respond to people's grievances in this regard, the people will lose their trust in the police. There is an inherent contradiction in this. There is little need for the police to intervene in such issues, which are the responsibility of concerned departments and service delivery agencies. Covering up for their inefficiency should not be the mandate of the police department. This can send out wrong signals to the people as well, which raises false expectations about the JSP programme. At the same time, there may be special cases where the police may have to intervene in such issues for a very short period of time. Care should however be taken to ensure that such activities do not comprise the main component of Janamaitri.

The impression we get from the field is that Janamaitri is being increasingly viewed as a charity and welfare programme, definitely not being viewed as a professional activity taken up by the police department. Unfortunately the publicity material available at various police stations is also focused on this dimension, where the police is viewed as a 'do-gooder'.

Recommendations:

1. Reactivate the beat process.
2. Bring in more focus on the aspect of local safety and security
3. Reactivate night patrolling with regular beat process
4. Introduce measures that ensure the safety of the elderly. Ensure regular beat visits to their homes. Constitutions of groups of youth volunteers may be considered for this purpose.

5. Create and update a database for each beat area, which indicates problem areas as well as families where regular beat visits are a must. In the event of transfer of the existing beat officer, this data base should be transferred to the new beat officer.
6. Beat officers have been found to intervene in many domestic conflicts, and they have come to the aid of women, children and the elderly. In such a context, the beat officer functions more as a counsellor than as a police officer. There is however a limit to the number of cases that a beat officer can take up. Training for beat officers should include a strong counselling component. The possibility of setting up a professionally trained group of counsellors for each police station may be considered, who can take up cases that are identified by the Beat Officers. The Janamaitri hall in the police station may be used for this purpose.
7. Develop a strategy to monitor the well-being of individuals who have been weaned away from anti social activities (such as illicit brewing of alcohol, sale of alcohol and other addictives) by the Beat officer. There have been cases when such individuals have slipped back into their older habits or livelihoods, in the absence of a monitoring system. Those who have been successfully rehabilitated may be asked to come and speak to those who are in the process, so as to impart strength and conviction to the latter.
8. On a number of occasions, the police are found to intervene to correct problems with regard to supply of drinking water, power etc. Very often, when the police call up the concerned agencies, action is faster. As a result, a number of distress calls come to the police station, which adds to their work burden. When the police intervene in such issues, it is a reassurance to those in distress. At the same time, systems need to be devised in order to facilitate such inter department communication, and reduce the load on the individual police officers.

Janamaitri Training

The present training consists of a 3-day orientation to the Janamaitri policing programme. This is an introductory orientation that is provided to beat officers, intended to equip them to work as beat officers in the Janamaitri programme. Discussions with beat officers reveal that while they appreciated the training programme in general, there are areas where further improvements are suggested. Most of the recommendations listed below were provided by the beat officers themselves. Put together, their recommendations and suggestion are quite comprehensive.

1. The style of training- Beat officers have found the training sessions to be more of a 'class', with very little room for discussions and interactions. They feel their questions are not encouraged. There is a need therefore to re-examine the current style of delivering classes. Some beat officers have even recommended that non-police personnel come and deliver classes.
2. Content of training- Apart from sessions on the operationalisation of the Janamaitri programme, beat officers have asked for sessions on legal awareness, counselling, documentation skills and public speaking skills.
3. From the existing understanding of beat officers about the Janamaitri programme, it appears that they have not imbibed the larger philosophy of Community Policing, especially about the democratisation process that it aims at. Many beat officers remarked that the training enabled them to control their anger, and to 'behave well' with ordinary people. Some others remarked that a 3-day training would not change the basic character and attitude of the police. They seemed to understanding

Janamaitri as a programme that motivated them to 'interact in a better fashion'. The larger democratic process was not evident in their understanding. The training content therefore should be modified in order to impart this dimension to the officers.

4. Efforts need to be made to ensure that training is given before an officer begins to work as a Janamaitri beat officer. 22% of the beat officers interviewed received the training after they had begun work.
5. Janamaitri training should be given to all police officers in a Janamaitri station. This has been emphasised by a great majority of beat officers. The reasons cited is that superior officers are not able to appreciate the significance of Janamaitri, which is reflected in the assigning of Janamaitri duties as well. Similarly, many of the non Janamaitri police officers in a Janamaitri station do not have a positive attitude towards Janamaitri implementation.

Janamaitri as a Working Philosophy

42% of the Janamaitri beat officers clearly reported that non Janamaitri beat officers were unsupportive and viewed the programme with contempt. Does this indicate that a significant portion of the police force does not endorse the principles of community policing? On the other hand, those who have worked as Janamaitri beat officers feel that this is a very valuable reform process. There is therefore an urgent need to take the entire police force into confidence and mainstream the Janamaitri working approach. Despite the impact it has made, it continues to be viewed as a programme that is implemented in certain areas of the police station. With the recent weakening of the beat process, it stands the danger of degrading into a publicity programme alone. The concept and spirit of Community Policing needs to be re-emphasised.

CHAPTER XI THE WAY FORWARD

The implementation of the Janamaitri Suraksha Project marked a new chapter in the history of police governance in Kerala. For the first time, the police force reached out to the people and shared their concerns. People were shocked initially, to see a police officer knocking at their doors, enquiring about their families and appearing friendly. Over a period of time, they became accustomed to the civil police officers who would visit them occasionally, and who could be seen around in the area. In areas where JSP activities were strong, the Beat Officer was more of a friend and in some cases a family member, and less of a police officer.

Checking robberies through night patrolling in which the police and the local people went as a team was one of the notable initiatives under the JSP. So also were attempts to control illicit brewing of alcohol, consumption of alcohol in public places, gambling, communal tensions and so on. In addition, the police department organised a range of activities to win the support of the people, and to convey the message that the police were interested in the welfare of the people. These ranged from awareness classes to blood donation and organ donation camps, karate training, PSC coaching, football tournaments and so on. Beat officers were also found to assist in psycho-social rehabilitation of individuals in stress.

As this report has revealed, regular beat visits by concerned beat officers were an integral part of the implementation of the JSP. The personal relationship between the Beat Officer and the people defined the success of activities taken up. During the initial stages, the additional staff provided to the Janamaitri stations ensured that Beat Officers were not entrusted with multiple duties. Beat Officers were able to devote time to the process of building relationships with communities, gathering information and organising programmes. Over a period of time, the additional staff was withdrawn and the workload on the existing workforce appears to have increased. Beat Officers today are entrusted with multiple duties as a result of which 'beat visits' have fallen in priority. The transfer of the initial batch of beat officers and superior officers slowed down the tempo. The new batch of beat officers were not able to carry forward

the work at the same pace owing to multiple duties and perhaps a slight waning of interest. The beat process is not as live as it was during the initial stages. Today Janamaitri is mostly confined to organisation of programmes and classes.

Regular contact with people and groups in the beat area is of immense value. It enables the beat officer to keep track of local issues and to intervene in issues in a timely manner. As local people have commented, routine visits by beat officers does enhance their sense of security, provided they are conducted regularly. Reactivation of the beat and house visits needs to be undertaken on priority. Support by way of adequate staff, vehicles, petrol allowance and phone allowances needs to be provided. Superior officers and Beat Officers need to collectively review the programmes that have been taken up under JSP, examine the content of programmes and ensure that issues of public safety (Jana Suraksha) get importance. The weakening of night patrolling in most stations is to be viewed with concern. The trend towards organising popular programmes like football tournaments, and charity oriented programmes like distribution of food kits needs to be critically reviewed.

This study also highlights that intervening in local issues and conflicts requires a sensitivity to social dynamics. Community interventions are extremely complex, and it is not an area that police officers are familiar with. There have been occasions when beat officers have sensitively handled issues as complex as communal tensions. There have also been occasions when beat officers have aggravated internal conflict within communities by selectively reaching out to one group of people. Hence the training given to beat officers needs to sensitise them to this dimension. Equally important is a sensitivity to the concerns of poor and the ability of beat officers to intervene with a sense of justice and social commitment. There are beat officers who have conducted themselves with a very high order of social commitment, and those who conduct beat visits only to fulfil the laid out quota. A well worked out sensitisation strategy will enable these officers to identify issues of relevance during their beat visits. Particularly needed is a sensitivity to the concerns of women, children as well vulnerable communities.

A serious concern is the extent to which the Janamaitri philosophy has been mainstreamed into the overall conduct of the police department. Currently Janamaitri is implemented only in certain parts of the police station area. On an average only 10-15 civil police officers are designated as Janamaitri Beat Officers in a police station. The remaining police officers carry on with the routine mode. It is observed that Janamaitri implementation is considered to be the prerogative of the Janamaitri beat officers and the CRO. It is not owned up by the rest of the police. A significant portion of Janamaitri Beat Officers have reported non cooperation from their non Janamaitri counterparts. The latter are reportedly unhappy with the 'JM style' of behaviour, wherein police are friendly with people. They also do not consider beat visits as serious work. This reflects the need for a much wider appreciation of the relevance of the Janamaitri approach, particularly to the importance of involving ordinary people in maintaining law and order. The current trend is to view it as a programme, and not as a philosophy and a mind set that questions age old beliefs about how the 'police should behave'. The study reveals that there is no significant difference between Janamaitri and non Janamaitri stations in the way they deal with complainants who come with a grievance to the station. While the police of today have moved away from their old behavioural style, a lot more needs to change. Some of the complainants have been upset about intimidating and harsh behaviour on the part of the police. Surely this is a contradiction when observed in Janamaitri police stations.

The 3-day Janamaitri orientation that is provided to beat officers working in the Janamaitri programme, needs to be universally administered to all police officers. Also required is regular follow-up of this training programmes, which may be organised district-wise, wherein progress is reviewed and constraints resolved. Only then will all police officers appreciate the relevance of the programme.

The word Janamaitri has led to conceptual confusions amongst the police. There are discussions about what is expected of a Janamaitri police officer. Is s/he somebody who is kind to people? Is he a law enforcer? Is s/he both? This is an area where the police officers need more hand holding and guidance. The initial 3-day training on Janamaitri is not adequate to sort out and

clarify such conceptual confusions. Equally required is a broad orientation of the public to the fundamental objectives of Community Policing, wherein they get a realistic understanding of what the police are expected to do, and what they are not expected to do. This is particularly so as proximity with the police has always been treated as a symbol of power in our society. The general public should be clear that friendly relations with the police does not imply that the police closes its eyes to violations of laws and regulations.

Ensuring participation of all sections of people in department-led participatory programmes is always a challenge. Especially so when the concerned department has a history of being hierarchical and non participatory. The relevance of the Janamaitri approach lies in the fact that it was for the first time that the police department gave emphasis to people's involvement in policing activities. The constitution of the Janamaitri Samiti, which consisted of both police and non-police executive members was intended to provide greater space for people's participation. However, as is the case with many government-led participatory programmes, the functioning of the Samiti has been limited. There are two contentious issues in this regard. One is that the Samiti is largely controlled by the police. Two that the Samiti does not represent all sections of society. Regarding the first issue, while the Janamaitri Samiti is a people's committee, its members are selected by the police department. Its mandate too is to a large extent moulded by the police. Some of the Samiti members are unhappy with the fact that Samiti has no real independent mandate. It only functions as per the wishes of the police, they say. There are others, who have no critical opinion as they are happy with the fact that they enjoy proximity with the police. This group of people are largely passive members. At present, with the weakening of the beat process in many police stations, the Samitis too are becoming inactive. The Samiti needs to come to the forefront, as active participants in the implementation of the Janamaitri.

The other challenge that the Samiti is faced with is to elicit participation of all sections of society. While women and members of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribe communities are incorporated on the executive body, their involvement is inadequate. Samiti office-bearers

tend to be dominated by people of a particular economic class. Executive members mostly consist of retired professionals, elected representatives and so on, who hold relatively higher positions in society. In a society that is highly skewed along lines of class, caste and gender, eliciting the participation of all sections of society is a real challenge. If the Samiti is to evolve into a truly participatory organisation, it needs to rope in all sections of people, both men and women into its functioning.

Active implementation of JSP requires formulation of well laid out annual action plans that should be formulated jointly by the people and the police. The Samiti can play a pro active role here. This annual plan should reflect the specific issues that are manifest in each police station. This annual plan should be tied up with the total annual plan allocation. The existing lack of clarity about the actual fund availability has made the fund issue a grey area for both police officers and Samiti members. Availability of funds is reported to be a constraint while organising programmes. Many a time, sponsorships are sought for by beat officers and Samiti members. Personal contributions by both these groups of people have not been reimbursed many a time. There is a need to streamline the fund availability issue, and to bring in greater transparency and accountability in the manner in which funds are mobilised and being spent.

The well being of civil police officers designated as Janamaitri Beat Officers is critical for the effective implementation of the JSP. Their self-esteem and sense of well-being is critical if they are to make successful interventions in local conflicts and issues. The discontent that civil police officers face within the police hierarchy is an issue that affects the manner in which they discharge their official responsibilities, particularly so when they are required to undertake new responsibilities such as making beat visits. 'Before we talk of Janamaitri, let us have some Maitri within the department' is what they say.

There is a latent discontent amongst civil police officers who are located at the lowest rung of the department hierarchy. They are unhappy with the way in which they are treated by senior officials. The more educated amongst them are unhappy about the fact that even today they are only expected to 'obey orders'; that they are not treated as an intelligent force. Some of

them have requested for training programmes that enhance their intellectual abilities. The grievances were even more strongly voiced by women police officers, who have complained of the secondary status that they are given in the department. They are bitter about being treated as less equal to their male counterparts, of not being involved in case investigations, of being confined to the station and then being accused of being lazy people who prefer office work. The lowered self esteem that civil police officers experience needs to be addressed urgently. Regular review meetings of police officers, wherein officers of the same rank are brought together, will facilitate more honest exchange of ideas and grievances. A democratisation process within the police force is as necessary as the democratisation process envisaged under Janamaitri.

APPENDIX I List of Police stations studied .

LIST OF JANAMAITRI POLICE STATIONS WHERE DATA COLLECTION HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN FOR THE JSP EVALUATION STUDY

NO	POLICE DISTRICT	NAME OF JANAMAITRI PS
1	KASARGODE	1. CHANDERA 2. HOSDURG
2	KANNUR	1. KANNAPURAM 2. PAYYANUR
3	CALICUT URBAN	1. CHEMMANGAD 2. MARAD
4	CALICUT RURAL	1. VADAKARA
5	MALAPPURAM	1. PERINTALMANNA 2. TIRUR
6	WAYANAD	1. MANANTHAVADY 2. KALPETTA
7	TRICHUR URBAN	1. TRICHUR EAST
8	TRICHUR RURAL	1. CHERUTHURUTHY 2. IRINJALAKUDA
9	PALAKKAD	1. MANNARKAD 2. OTTAPPALAM
10	ERNAKULAM URBAN	1. PALARIVATTAM
11	ERNAKULAM RURAL	1. MUVATUPUZHA
12	KOTTAYAM	1. KOTTAYAM EAST
13	PATHANAMTHITTA	1. RANNI
14	ALAPUZHA	1. CHERTALA 2. MARARIKULAM
15	IDUKKI	1. KATTAPANA 2. THODUPUZHA
16	KOLLAM URBAN	1. KOLLAM EAST

17	KOLLAM RURAL	1. SASTHAMKOTTA
18	TRIVANDRUM RURAL	1. ATTINGAL
19	TRIVANDRUM URBAN	1. MEDICAL COLLEGE 2. PETTAH

TOTAL- 29 JM STATIONS

LIST OF NON JANAMAITRI POLICE STATIONS

NO	POLICE DISTRICT	NON JM POLICE STATIONS
1	KASARGODE	BEKAL
2	KANNUR	PAZHAYANGADI
3	CALICUT URBAN	FAROKE
4	CALICUT RURAL	EDACHERI
5	MALAPPURAM	MELATTOOR
6	WAYANAD	TALAPUZHA
7	TRICHUR URBAN	PERAMANGALAM
8	TRICHUR RURAL	CHELAKKARA
9	PALAKKAD	NATTUKAL
10	ERNAKULAM URBAN	CHERANELLOOR
11	ERNAKULAM RURAL	VAZHAKULAM
12	KOTTAYAM	KUMARAKOM
13	PATHANAMTHITTA	PERUMPATTY
14	ALAPUZHA	POOCHAKKAL

15	IDUKKI	UPPUTHARA
16	KOLLAM URBAN	OCHIRA
17	KOLLAM RURAL	SOORANADU
18	TRIVANDRUM RURAL	CHERAYANKEEZHU
19	TRIVANDRUM URBAN	VANCHIYOOR

TOTAL 19 NON JM STATIONS

APPENDIX II Break-up of categories of people

In Janamaitri stations

Category	Numbers
Complainants	172
Local People	149
Janamaitri Beat Officers	96
Non Janamaitri Beat Officers	28
SHOs	23
Janamaitri Samiti Members	42
Total	510

In Non Janamaitri Stations

Category	Numbers
Complainants	74
Local People	61
Civil Police Officers	41
SHOs	14
Total	190

Appendix III

List of Field Researchers involved in data collection

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