

Working Within Norms to Change Police Attitudes: Evidence from Community Policing in Pakistan

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Can a “norms-aware” model of a community policing intervention shift police officers’ beliefs and attitudes about gender-based violence?

Motivation for Focus on Beliefs and Attitudes

- Inequality in various domains, is reinforced by **discriminatory attitudes**, and beliefs in the legitimacy of inequality (
- Discriminatory attitudes are especially consequential for outcomes when bureaucrats enjoy **discretion** (Lipsky 1980; Emeriau 2021; Neggers 2018; White, Nathan and Fuller 2015)
- Gender-discriminatory attitudes especially likely in **masculinized sectors** like the military and police (Karim and Beardsley 2018)

DAWN
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Motorway rape occurred because victim travelled 'late night without husband's permission', CCPO tells Senate panel

Naval Siddiqui | Published September 28, 2023

Officer Interview (Female)

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Officer Interview (Male)

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“Hardly any such incidents are reported here. This isn't an issue in our area.”

- Officers have discretion over complaint registration, and investigation process

Gender Based Violence in Pakistan

- High prevalence – nearly a third of women report having experienced domestic violence (DHS 2018-2019)
- Low reporting – of the women who tell anyone about the violence, only 2% approach the police
- High impunity – conviction rate for rape cases was 3% in 2021

Policy Approaches: Gender Responsive Policing

- Increasing women's representation on police force; representative bureaucracy (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty 2006)
- Institutional solutions:
 - Segregation-based approaches: all-women's police stations (Jassal 2020)
 - Integration-based approaches: women's help desks within police stations (Sukhantar et al. 2021)
 - **Community policing** (Blair et al. 2020)

Metaketa IV: Community Policing

Community Policing in the Global South



- 1 Medellín, Colombia
- 2 Santa Catarina, Brazil
- 3 Monrovia, Liberia
- 4 Uganda (rural areas nationwide)
- 5 Sheikhpura Region, Pakistan
- 6 Sorsogon Province, Philippines

Community Policing Practices



FOOT PATROLS

Officers engage with citizens to get to know the community and identify concerns.



TOWN HALLS

Citizens share concerns and officers describe police roles.



REPORTING HOTLINES

Phone or text message number to report crimes and police abuse.



PROBLEM-ORIENTED POLICING

Problem-solving strategies to address concerns raised by citizens.

Does Community Policing...



Increase citizen trust in police



Increase citizen-police cooperation



Reduce crime

Headline Findings on Coordinated Study of Community Policing

“Community policing does not improve (or harm) crime victimization, citizen perceptions of the police, police perceptions of citizens, or citizen-police cooperation.” ([Blair et al. 2020](#))

1. How do gender norms shape the design of the intervention and affect its implementation?
2. Does the norms-aware model work to shift police attitudes about violence against women?
3. How does the intervention change attitudes?

1. Norms of gender-based segregation perpetuate women's exclusion when unaccounted for in the intervention
2. The “norms-aware” model of the intervention includes women, puts GBV on the agenda, and changes police officers beliefs and attitudes
3. Different processes of change for female and male officers in the intervention

Context: Gender-Based Segregation in Pakistan

1. Physical sex-based segregation in public spaces

- De-facto segregation exists in educational institutions, bureaucratic offices, healthcare, and public transport
- 85% of Pakistanis say they would favor making segregation of men and women in the workplace the law in their country, higher than in Egypt, Jordan, Nigeria, Indonesia, Turkey and Lebanon ([Pew 2010](#))

Context: Gender-Based Segregation in Pakistan

1. Physical sex-based segregation in public spaces
2. Occupational segregation: fewer than 2% of Pakistan's police force are women



Context: Gender-Based Segregation in Pakistan

1. Physical sex-based segregation in public spaces
2. Occupational segregation: fewer than 2% of Pakistan's police force are women
3. Task-based segregation

Table 1: Percent of Time Spent by Officer on an Activity on a Typical Day

Police Activity	Male Officers	Female Officers
Panel A: Main Policing Duties		
Spending Time with Community	1.8	0.0
Beat patrolling	55.3	0.0
FIR investigation	6.1	0.0
Panel B: Administrative Duties		
Duties inside Police Station	19.7	86.3
Court duties	6.4	5.8
Providing security to politicians and bureaucrats	1.3	4.0
Panel C: Others		
Refreshment Break	9.4	4.0
Don't Remember/Refuse to Answer	0.1	0.0

Notes: Total sample at endline: 59 officers in control beats, 40 officers in non-sample beats

Implications of “Neutral” Model of Community Policing

- Community policing teams:

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- Community policing teams: All-male
- “Open to all” community forums: Overwhelmingly male

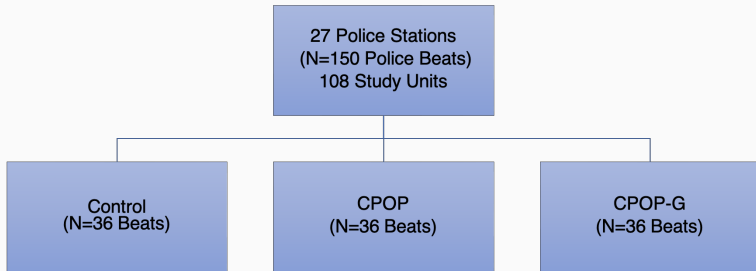
Implications of “Neutral” Model of Community Policing

- Community policing teams: All-male
- “Open to all” community forums: Overwhelmingly male
- In a context with norms of gender-segregation, a “neutral” model produced community policing by men, for men

Modified Intervention Design in Pakistan

Intervention Component	Neutral Model CPOP	Gender-Inclusive Model CPOP-G
Community Policing Team	2 (all-male) member team 1 officer rank ASI/SI 1 officer rank constable	3 member team 1 officer rank ASI/SI 1 officer rank constable 1 female constable
Monthly Community Forum	Open Forum	Open Forum + All-Women's Forum

Evaluation Design: Randomization

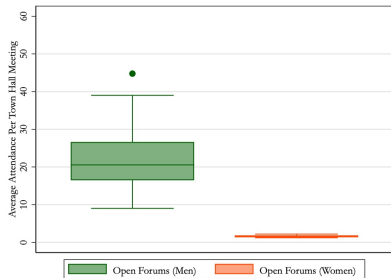


Outcomes I: Forums

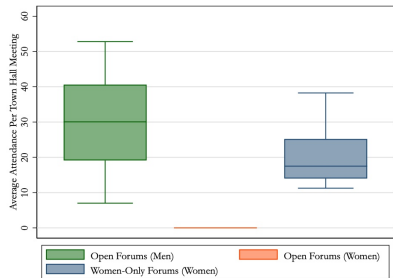
- Forum attendance
 - Average number of people who attended each forum
- Issues Prioritized
 - Whether attendees highlight gender based violence as a problem during community forums
- Data source: Administrative records of the monthly community forums

Forum Attendance

CPOP



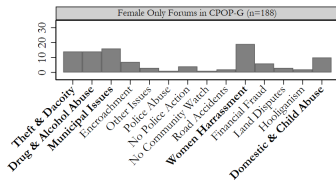
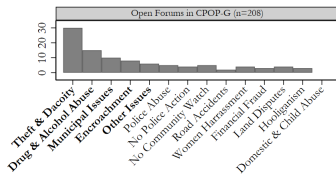
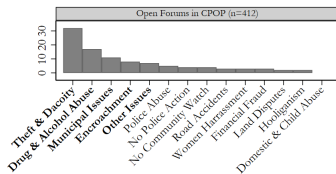
CPOP-G



Box plots show average and inter-quartile range of forum attendance for 412 open forums in CPOP (Feb 2019-Feb 2020); 208 open forums and 188 women's forums in CPOP-G (July 2019 -Feb 2020)

Forum Attendees Problem Prioritization

Percent problems identified



GBV Raised as an Issue, by Forum Type

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: Pr(Problem is GBV-related)			
CPOP-G vs. CPOP	0.101*** (0.019)		
Open forums in CPOP-G vs. Open Forums in CPOP		-0.0003 (0.016)	
All Women Forums in CPOP-G vs. Open forums in CPOP-G			0.262*** (0.031)
Constant	0.014 (0.015)	0.0004 (0.018)	0.065*** (0.012)
Total clusters	72	72	72
N	1,546	1,195	823
R ²	0.055	0.041	0.151
Panel B: Share of problems that are GBV related			
CPOP-G vs. CPOP	0.170*** (0.053)		
Open forums in CPOP-G vs. Open Forums in CPOP		-0.036 (0.045)	
All Women Forums in CPOP-G vs. Open forums in CPOP-G			0.352*** (0.092)
Constant	0.132 (0.115)	0.045 (0.057)	0.324*** (0.046)
Total clusters	72	72	72
N	108	72	72
R ²	0.270	0.341	0.460

Outcomes II: Officers' Priorities and Beliefs

- Probability that an officer reports the issue of gender-based violence among **top 3 concerns of community members**^{1 2}
- Probability that an officers reports gender based violence among **their own top 3 concerns**
- Data source: Panel surveys with 138 male officers (3 rounds) and 100 female officers (2 rounds)

¹ The list of public safety concerns included: burglary or theft (without a weapon); armed robbery; murder; vehicle accidents; public intoxication; sexual assault; domestic abuse; vehicle theft; police abuse; illegal guns; illegal drug use; child Abuse; disputes over land; street crime and others.

² A dummy variable was created for "gender-based concerns" which takes a value of 1 if "Sexual Assault, Domestic Abuse or Child Abuse" was among the reported concerns.

Officers' Beliefs about Citizen Priorities

Pr(Officer Ranks GBV Among Top 3 Citizen Priorities)		
Panel A: Female Officers		
	Midline Only	Endline Only
CPOP	0.083 (0.127)	0.023 (0.137)
CPOP-G	0.550*** (0.105)	0.322*** (0.124)
Constant	0.640*** (0.088)	0.122 (0.095)
CPOP-G vs CPOP (t-test value)	4.233	2.417
CPOP-G vs CPOP (p-value)	0.000	0.018
Total clusters	27	27
N	100	100
R ²	0.440	0.328
Panel B: Male Officers		
CPOP	-0.111 (0.090)	-0.062 (0.101)
CPOP-G	0.386*** (0.086)	0.203** (0.099)
Constant	0.821*** (0.074)	0.562*** (0.081)
CPOP-G vs CPOP (t-test value)	6.090	2.870
CPOP-G vs CPOP (p-value)	0.000	0.005
Total clusters	27	27
N	200	205
R ²	0.327	0.160

Officers' Own Priorities

Pr(Officer Ranks GBV Among Top 3 Own Priorities)		
Panel A: Female Officers		
	Midline Only	Endline Only
CPOP	-0.055 (0.138)	-0.048 (0.154)
CPOP-G	0.434*** (0.111)	-0.052 (0.146)
Constant	0.546*** (0.095)	0.639*** (0.108)
CPOP-G vs CPOP (t-test value)	4.191	-0.032
CPOP-G vs CPOP (p-value)	0.000	0.975
Total clusters	27	27
N	100	100
R ²	0.396	0.273
Panel B: Male Officers		
CPOP	0.027 (0.079)	0.209*** (0.080)
CPOP-G	0.385*** (0.097)	0.368*** (0.096)
Constant	0.280*** (0.068)	0.155** (0.060)
CPOP-G vs CPOP (t-test value)	4.123	1.851
CPOP-G vs CPOP (p-value)	0.000	0.066
Total clusters	27	27
N	200	205
R ²	0.240	0.250

- The CPOP-G intervention produced officer contact:
 - “since we worked together, we would gather at the end of the day and discuss everything” (Female Officer, CPOP-G)
 - “We were traveling together and our work was almost the same. We talked openly about the problems of the community” (Female Officer, CPOP-G)
- However, contact is not unique to the intervention:
 - “I usually talk with ease with male colleagues I don’t have any issue or hesitation in talking with them. We mostly talk [about matters] related to the police station” (Female Officer, Control)

Novelty of Information for Male Officers

- “I learned about unreported cases a lot through this program. These cases were quite common in our society but never seemed to get reported. This included harassment and disrespectful behaviour towards women that were just walking down the street and violence/domestic violence. The male forums mainly brought up cases of theft and drug abuse.” (Male, CPOP-G)

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- “After the forum, when the female constable approached us with her list of the female community members [issues], I noticed that most of the complaints were in regards to domestic violence. We would get to know how distressed the women are. I had always assumed that domestic violence is something between the husband and wife, and is a non issue. However, now I understand how many women lose their lives because of this.” (Male, CPOP-G)

...Not so new for female officers

- “they were the common issues I knew of already.” (Female, CPOP-G)

Gender Norms Remained Intact: Men's Protective Role

- “The existence of male staff makes the female staff feel more secure by deterring teasing and catcalling.” (Female Officer, CPOP-G)
- “If a female member is alone, she does not feel as safe as she does with a male member, which is why my experience of working together was very useful and advantageous.” (Female Officer, CPOP-G)

Discussion

- “Neutral” design produces exclusionary outcomes under strong norms of segregation
- “Norms-aware” design works around norms of segregation to achieve change
 - Separate spaces can facilitate women’s participation, and expression of distinctive preferences under such norms
 - Interactions on integrated teams can produce persisting change in men’s gender-related attitudes
- Some gains of representative bureaucracy achieved through task-based integration, without changing descriptive representation

Thank You!

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