

## Serving and Protecting? Victimization, Citizen Engagement and Policing in Lahore's Police Divisions

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The purpose of this report is to provide a baseline for the Punjab Safe Cities Authority (PSCA) that reports the differences in victimization rates and citizen perceptions of police effectiveness, procedural fairness and trust across Lahore's police divisions. **The aim is to enable Lahore Police and PSCA to calibrate their divisional strategies and interventions on the basis of evidence and to provide a baseline against which the future impact of PSCA interventions can be measured.**

The baseline information is based on primary evidence collected by the Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) through representative crime victimization and citizen perception surveys conducted between October 2016 and January 2017. While the surveys draw on international standard crime and victimization surveys and surveys of citizen perceptions of the police, they modified questions to Lahore's context after extensive field-testing.<sup>1</sup> Details of the sampling and methodology are given in Cheema, Hameed and Shapiro (2017)<sup>2</sup>, which has been shared with PSCA. The current report presents evidence on all Lahore's divisions except Cantonment as we were not given permission to survey there because of security concerns.

### 1. The public safety challenge in Lahore's police divisions

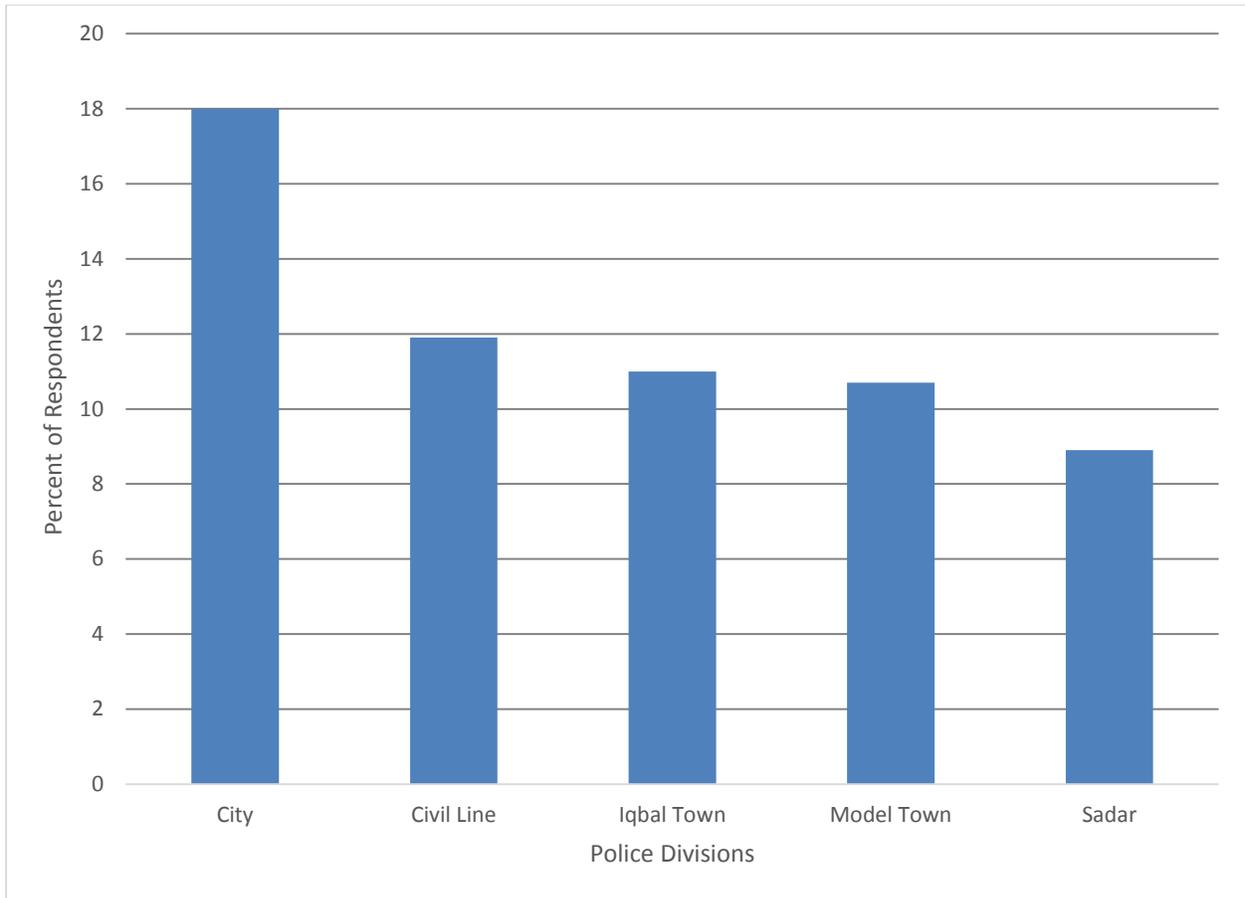
Our evidence shows that there is tremendous variation in the victimization rate across Lahore's divisions. Figure 1 shows that Lahore's City division is an outlier in terms of prevalence of victimization. The victimization rate reported in the IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey (CVS) (2016) by respondents in the City division (18%) is twice the level reported in the Sadar division (9%). This means that one in five residents of City division experienced at least one incident of victimization in 2016, whereas one in twelve citizens of Sadar experienced victimization during the same period. The victimizations rates in the remaining three divisions are marginally higher than the rate in Sadar.

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<sup>1</sup> The IDEAS crime and victimization survey drew on the following surveys on crime victimization and citizen perceptions: National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, JPAL public opinion survey, JPAL Indian Crime Survey, British Crime Survey and Kansas City Patrol (citizen) Survey (1972).

<sup>2</sup> Cheema, A., Hameed, Z. and Shapiro, J. N. (2017) *Victimization, Citizen Engagement and Policing in Lahore*, Policy Report: Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives.

Figure 1: Victimization Rates in Lahore’s Divisions



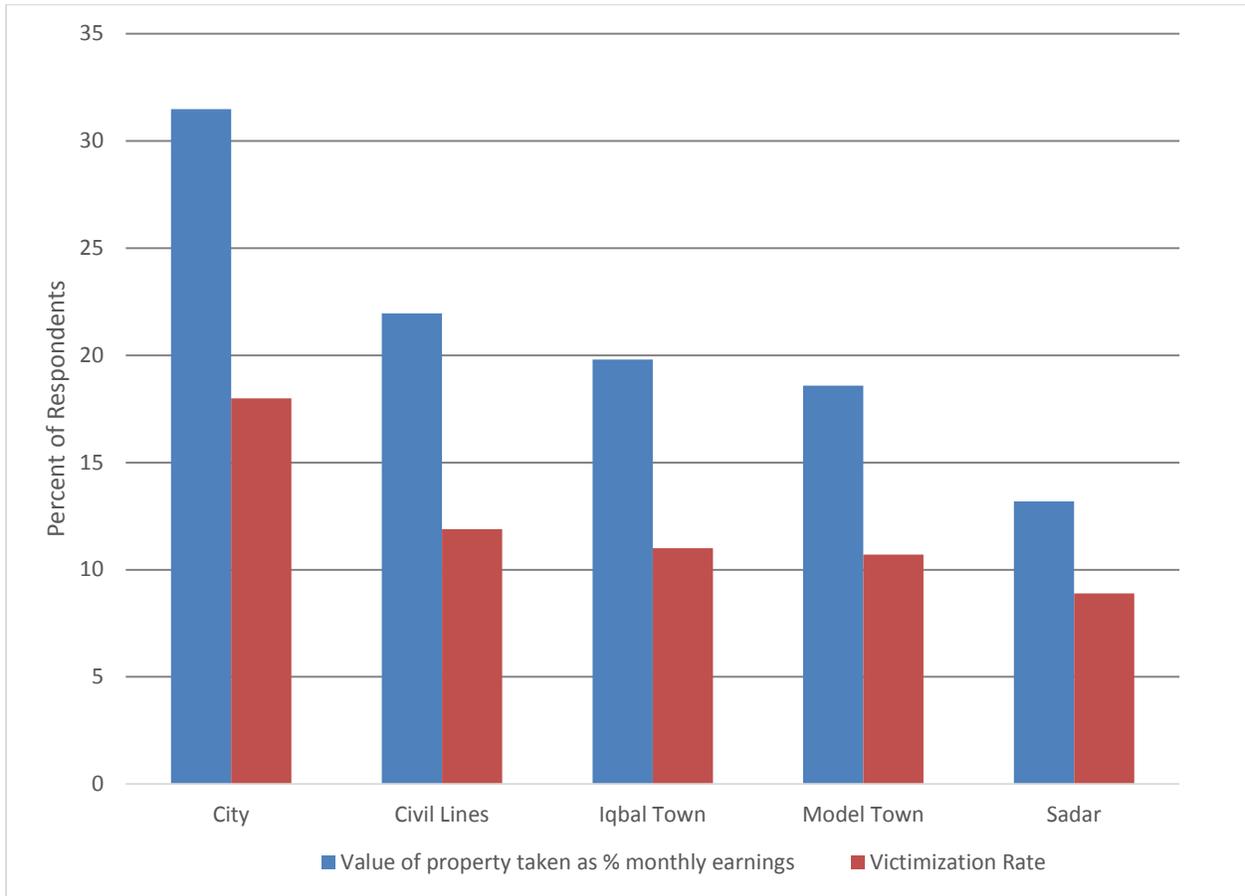
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

This suggests that there is considerable variation in the propensity of victimization across Lahore’s police divisions with the City Division being a clear outlier. The current study cannot say whether these differences across divisions reflect misallocation of police resources, differences in their effectiveness or the variation in environmental factors that give rise to crime. **Irrespective, PSCA and the Lahore Police need to take the variation in victimization rates across divisions into account when planning deployment of patrol and the allocation of surveillance technology. The deployment plan must treat the City division as a case for special attention.**

This is all the more important as the variation in the victimization rate is directly connected to the magnitude of economic loss suffered by victims in the different divisions (Figure 2). The IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey (CVS) asks respondents to report the value of property stolen or destroyed from a victimization incident. We estimate the economic loss of property victimization by adding up the value of property stolen or destroyed as a result of all incidents suffered by a victim. We derive a “magnitude of economic loss” measure that reports economic loss as a percentage of the monthly earnings of a victim. Figure 2 reports the average magnitude of economic loss across

Lahore’s divisions. It shows that the magnitude of economic loss across divisions is directly tied to their victimization rates. The burden of economic loss suffered by victims of property crime in the City division is three times the burden suffered by victims in Sadar. This suggests that the burden of economic loss for an average victim is higher in divisions that have a higher victimization rate. That is, not only do more citizens become victims in the high victimization divisions they also tend to lose a higher proportion of earnings in an incident in these divisions. **The analysis of the economic loss of victimization reinforces our earlier conclusions that deployment must take this variation in victimization into account and the City division must be treated as a case for special attention.**

Figure 2: Economic Loss Suffered from Victimization in Lahore’s Divisions



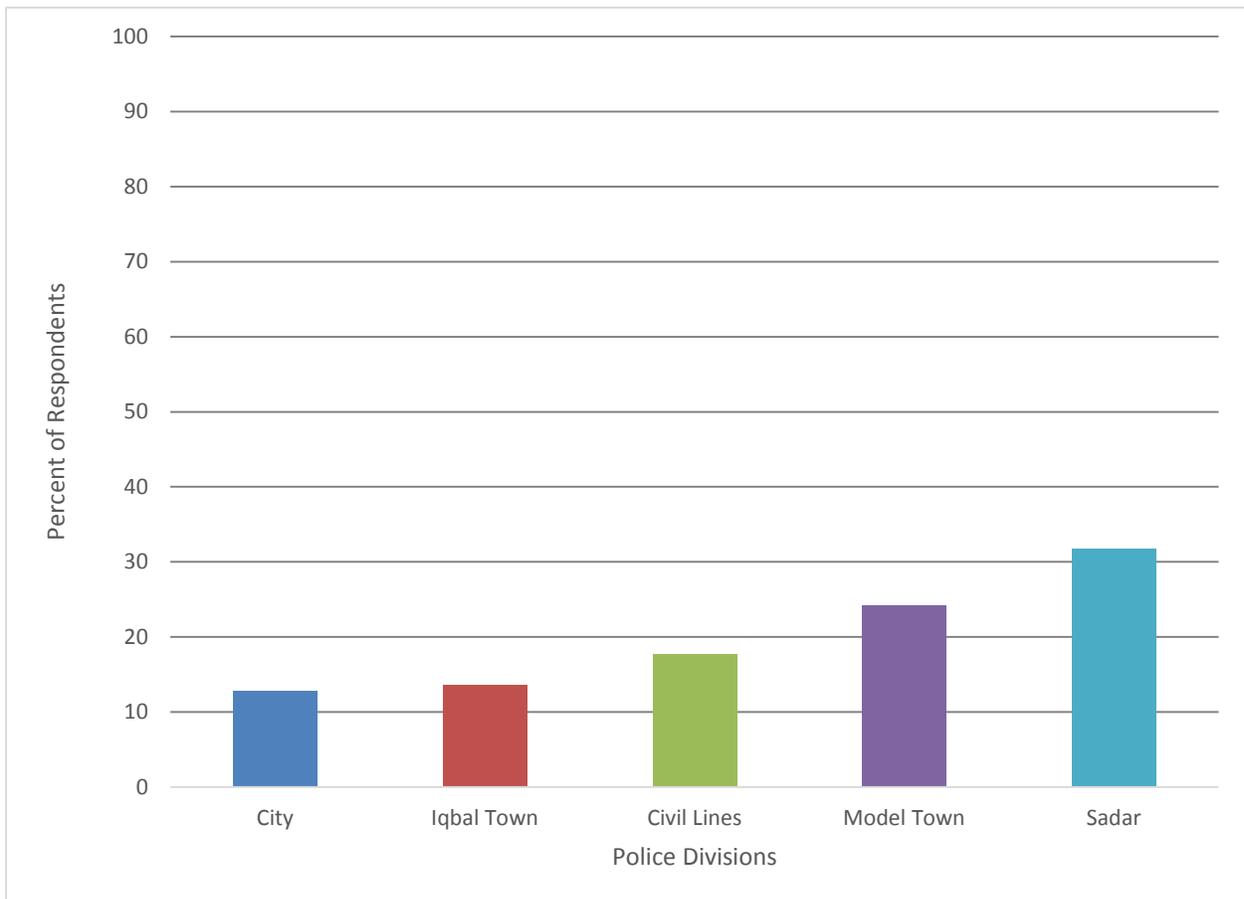
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Note: To measure the value of property lost as a result of victimization the survey asked respondents the following question; “In case any of your property was taken away during the crime, what was its value?”

## 2. Citizen perceptions of trust in police across Lahore’s divisions

Is citizen experience of victimization across Lahore’s divisions directly related to trust in their police? Figure 3 shows that it is indeed the case that citizen trust is lowest in the City division, which has the highest rate of victimization. Similarly, citizen trust is highest in Sadar division, which has the lowest victimization rate. However, there is more to citizen trust than the prevalence of victimization in a division. A comparison of Civil Lines, Iqbal Town and Model Town shows that they have extremely different levels of citizen trust despite having similar rates of victimization. The level of citizen trust in Model Town (more than 20% of respondents in the division say they trust the police) is double that of Iqbal Town (slightly more than 10% of respondents say they trust the police), whereas their victimization rates are very similar. This suggests that citizens’ perception of trust in a police division is affected by other factors in addition to victimization rates.

Figure 3: Citizen Trust in the Police in Lahore’s Divisions



Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Note: Generalized trust is measured by asking citizens how strongly they agree/disagree with the statement that “the Lahore police are trustworthy”.

### 3. Citizen perceptions of police's procedural fairness and effectiveness across Lahore's divisions

Following the literature, we document citizens' perceptions of two important metrics of citizen trust, their trust in police's procedural fairness and their trust in police effectiveness. The procedural justice theory (PJT) of criminology argues that citizens are less interested in the outcomes of the justice system and are more interested in the processes by which decisions are reached and in the motivations behind the actions of agents of the justice system (Tyler 2006a and b)<sup>3</sup>. The argument is that citizens are more likely to trust the police if they believe that the power of the police is balanced by due process and they are acting within the bounds of the law (Meares and Tyler 2014)<sup>4</sup>. PJT assumes that citizens are less interested in the effectiveness of authority as a mechanism of legitimacy than in due process.

Jackson et. al. (2014)<sup>5</sup> argue that in contrast to motive-based trust stemming from procedural fairness, citizens may follow an instrumental motivation to legitimate the police. This means that citizens will legitimize the police if they believe that the police are effective in providing safety and are acting as a strong deterrent force. Therefore, the IDEAS Lahore CVS measures citizen perceptions of both police's procedural fairness and effectiveness.

Figure 4 shows that citizen perceptions of procedural fairness in policing are far worse than their perception of police effectiveness across all divisions. 20-30% fewer citizens in any division agree that the police are procedurally fair compared to the percentage that agrees that it is effective.

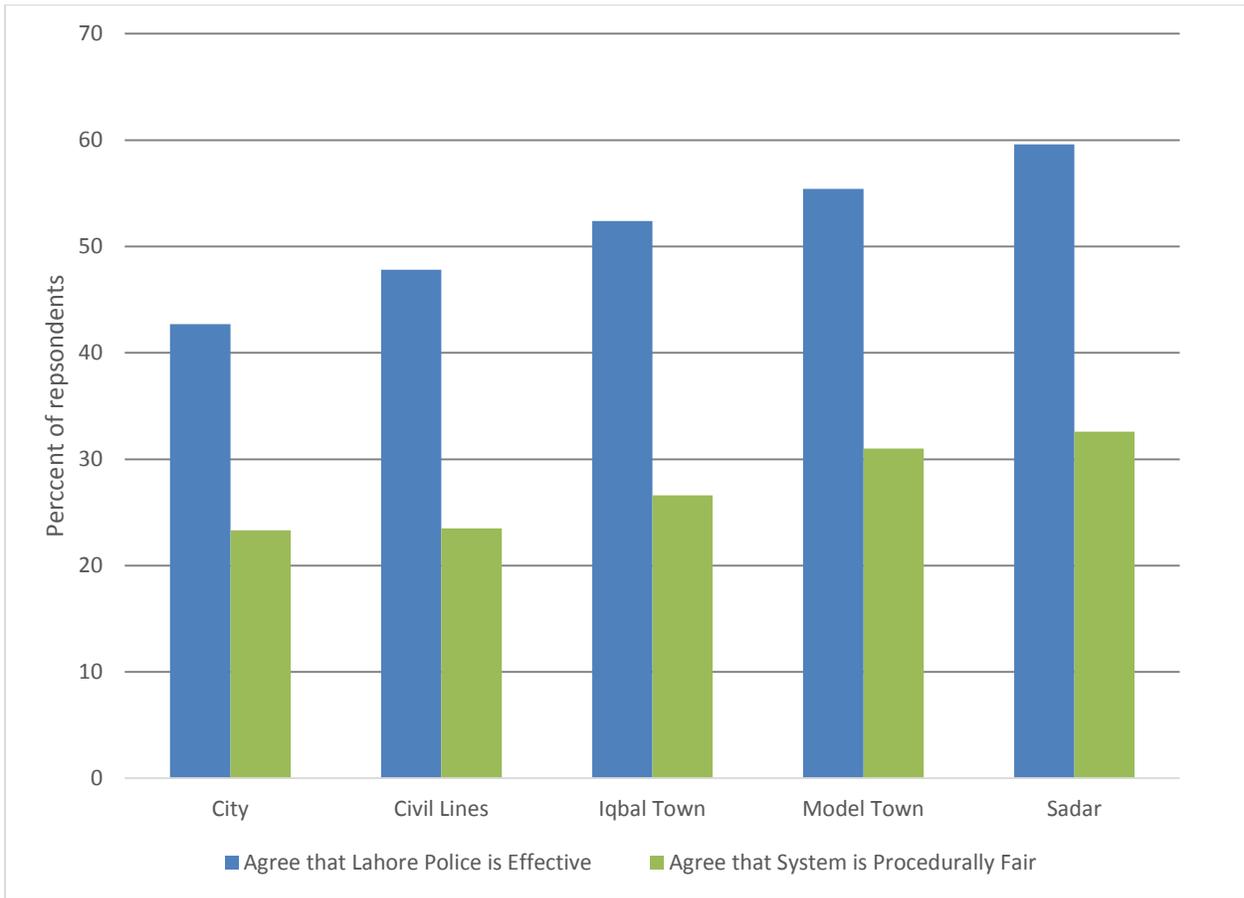
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<sup>3</sup> For details please see Tyler, T. R. (2006a) "Why People Obey the Law". Princeton University Press: United States and Tyler, T. R. (2006b) "Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57: 375–400.

<sup>4</sup> Meares, T. L. and Tyler, T.R. (2014) "Justice Sotomayor and the Jurisprudence of Procedural Justice," *The Yale Law Journal Forum*, Yale.

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, J., Asif, M., Bradford, B. and Zakar, M. Z. (2014). "Corruption and Police Legitimacy in Lahore, Pakistan", *British Journal of Criminology*, 54. 6: 1067-1088

Figure 4: Citizen Perceptions of Police Effectiveness and Procedural Fairness in Lahore’s Divisions



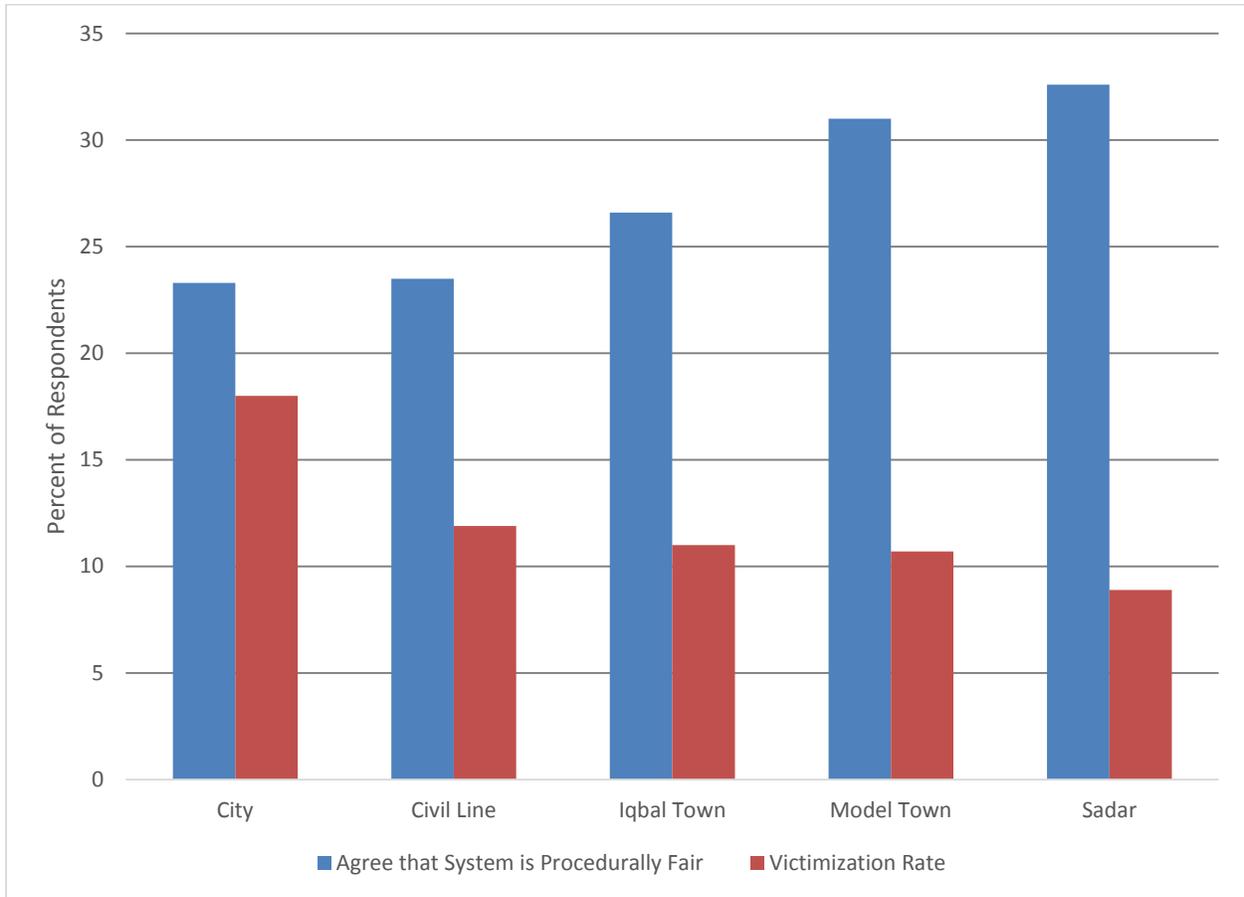
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Notes: (1) The survey measures citizens’ perceptions of police effectiveness through respondents’ strong agreement and disagreement with the following statements, on a 5 point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 5=strongly disagree; (a) “The police are well trained to pursue criminals”, (b) “The police responds promptly to calls about crimes”, (c) “The police reach there where you need them”, (d) “The police are always able to provide the assistance the public need from them”, (e) “The police does well at controlling violent crime” and (f) “The police does well at controlling property crime.” (2) The survey measures procedural fairness through respondents’ agreement with the following statements, on a 5 point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 5=strongly disagree; (a) “The police treats everyone with respect”, (b) “The police treats people they suspect of breaking the law harshly” (c) “The police respects people’s rights” (d) “The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions”, and disagreement with the following statement: (a) “The police enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time”.

Equally importantly, a very small percentage of respondents in any division agree that the police are procedurally fair (Figure 5). This percentage varies from 23% of respondents in City division to 32% in Sadar division. We also find that citizen perceptions of procedural fairness are not related to victimization rates (Figure 5). There is no difference in the percentage of citizens agreeing that the police are procedurally fair in City and Civil Lines division even though Civil Lines has a 6% lower victimization rate than the City division. **This evidence indicates that there is need for systematic reform of procedures in metropolitan policing that would seek to improve**

procedural fairness across all divisions. Cheema, Hameed and Shapiro (2017)<sup>6</sup> detail the direction of reforms that is needed to improve procedural fairness.

Figure 5: Relationship between Procedural Fairness and Victimization Rates



Source IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

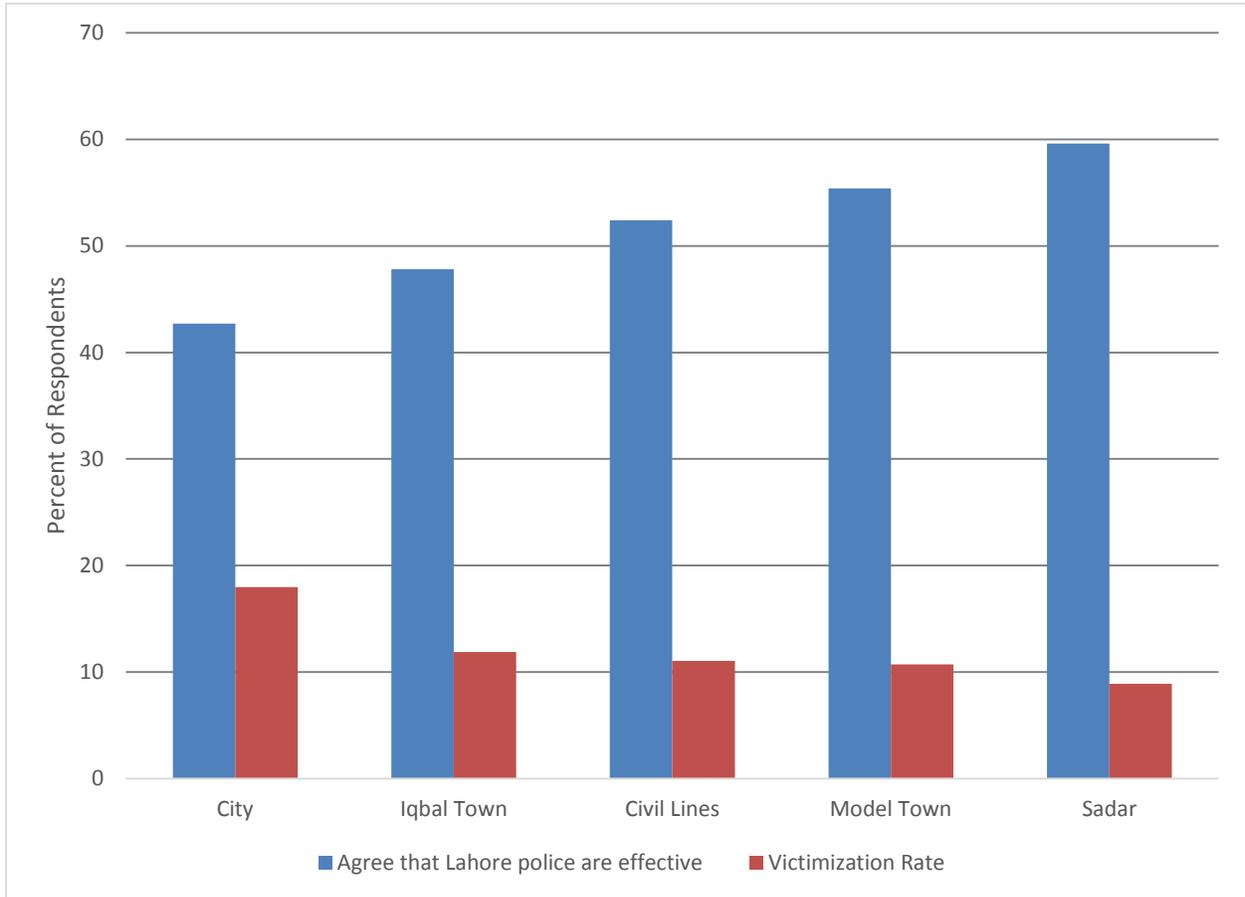
Note: The survey measures procedural fairness through respondents' agreement with the following statements, on a 5 point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 5=strongly disagree; (a) "The police treats everyone with respect", (b) "The police treats people they suspect of breaking the law harshly" (c) "The police respects people's rights" (d) "The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions", and disagreement with the following statement: (a) "The police enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time".

However, we do find that differences in citizen perceptions of police effectiveness across divisions vary with victimization rates (Figure 6). This raises the concern that differences in victimization rates across divisions may reflect differences in the effectiveness of policing in divisions as well as differences in their criminogenic environment. However, it is important to recognize that we cannot identify the direction of causality with data for one period and it may equally be the case that higher victimization rates in a division may make citizens lower the rating of police effectiveness in it. **We**

<sup>6</sup> Cheema, A., Hameed, Z. and Shapiro, J. N. (2017) *Victimization, Citizen Engagement and Policing in Lahore*, Policy Report: Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives.

recommend that the Police and PSCA commission an independent study to rigorously examine the differences in the effectiveness of patrol and investigation across divisions and their causes.

Figure 6: Relationship between Police Effectiveness and Victimization Rate



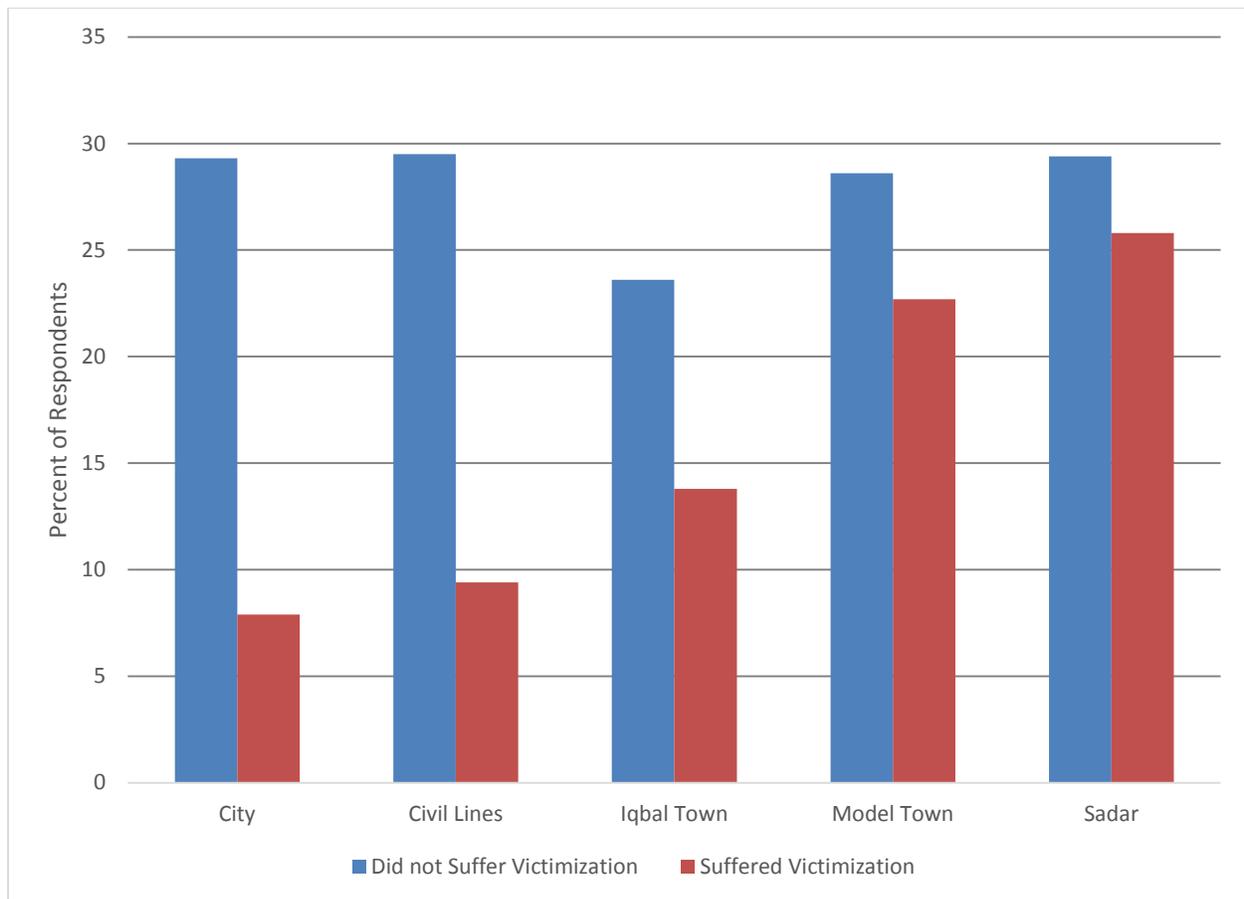
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Note: The survey measures citizens' perceptions of police effectiveness through respondents' strong agreement and disagreement with the following statements, on a 5 point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 5=strongly disagree; (a) "The police are well trained to pursue criminals", (b) "The police responds promptly to calls about crimes", (c) "The police reach there where you need them", (d) "The police are always able to provide the assistance the public need from them", (e) "The police does well at controlling violent crime" and (f) "The police does well at controlling property crime."

#### 4. Whose trust must the police win?

What is worrying is that perceptions across divisions are worse on both measures – procedural fairness and police effectiveness – among citizens who have suffered victimization compared to citizens who have not suffered victimization (Figures 7 and 8). There is little difference among citizen perceptions of procedural fairness among non-victims across Lahore’s police divisions. Around 30% of non-victims agree that the police are procedurally fair across all divisions with the exception of Iqbal Town.

Figure 7: Perceptions of Police Procedural Fairness in Lahore’s Divisions among Victims and Non-Victims



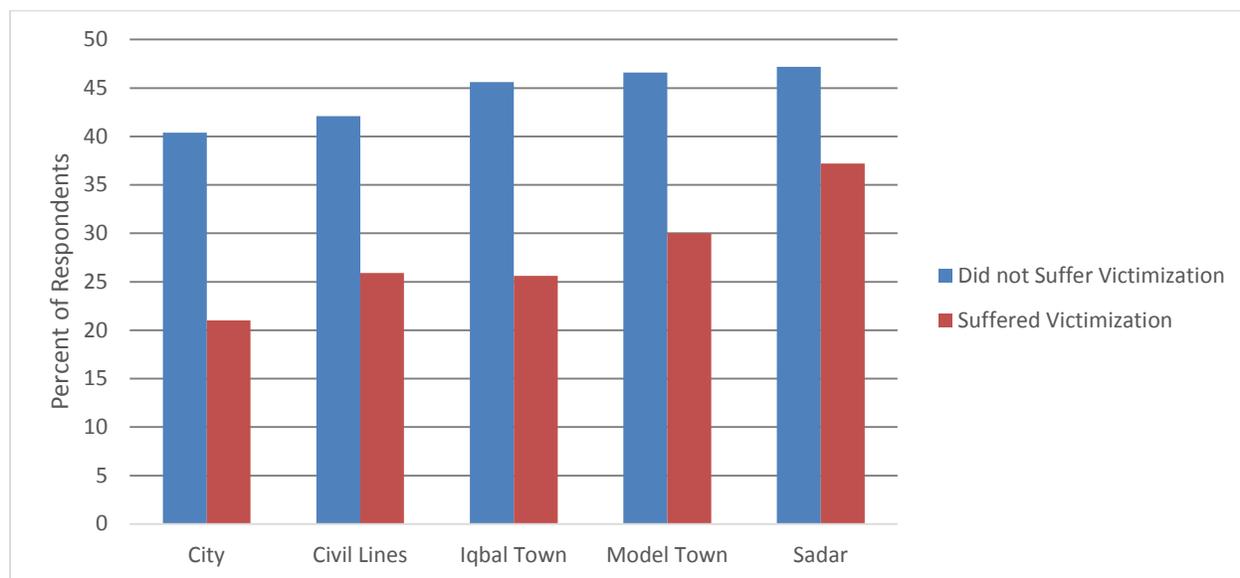
Source: IDEAS-Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Note: The survey measures procedural fairness through respondents’ agreement with the following statements, on a 5 point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 5=strongly disagree; (a) “The police treats everyone with respect”, (b) “The police treats people they suspect of breaking the law harshly” (c) “The police respects people’s rights” (d) “The police clearly explain the reasons for their actions”, and disagreement with the following statement: (a) “The police enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time”.

It is clear from figure 7 that the main reason for differences in perceptions of procedural fairness across Lahore’s divisions is related to differences in perceptions among citizens who have suffered victimization. Less than 10% of victims in City division agree that the police is procedurally fair, which is 18% lower than victims reporting agreement in Sadar. The IDEAS Lahore CVS shows that the main procedural challenge identified by victims in worse performing divisions relates to FIR registration. **This suggests that improving citizen perceptions of procedural fairness will require modernizing and reforming the FIR registration system in Lahore.**

There is also a much bigger difference in perceptions of police effectiveness across divisions among citizens who have suffered victimization compared to differences among non-victims (Figure 8). We find that perceptions of police effectiveness are fairly positive among non-victims across all divisions. We also find that the variation in the perception of police effectiveness among non-victims, which ranges from 40% in City division to 47% in Sadar, is small compared to the large variation in perception among victims, which ranges from 20% in City division to 37% in Sadar. The IDEAS Lahore CVS shows that the main effectiveness challenge identified by victims in worse performing divisions relates to case pendency. **This suggests that building citizen trust in police effectiveness will require institutionalizing tangible measures to lower case pendency at the investigation stage.**

Figure 8: Perceptions of Police Effectiveness in Lahore’s Divisions among Victims and Non-Victims



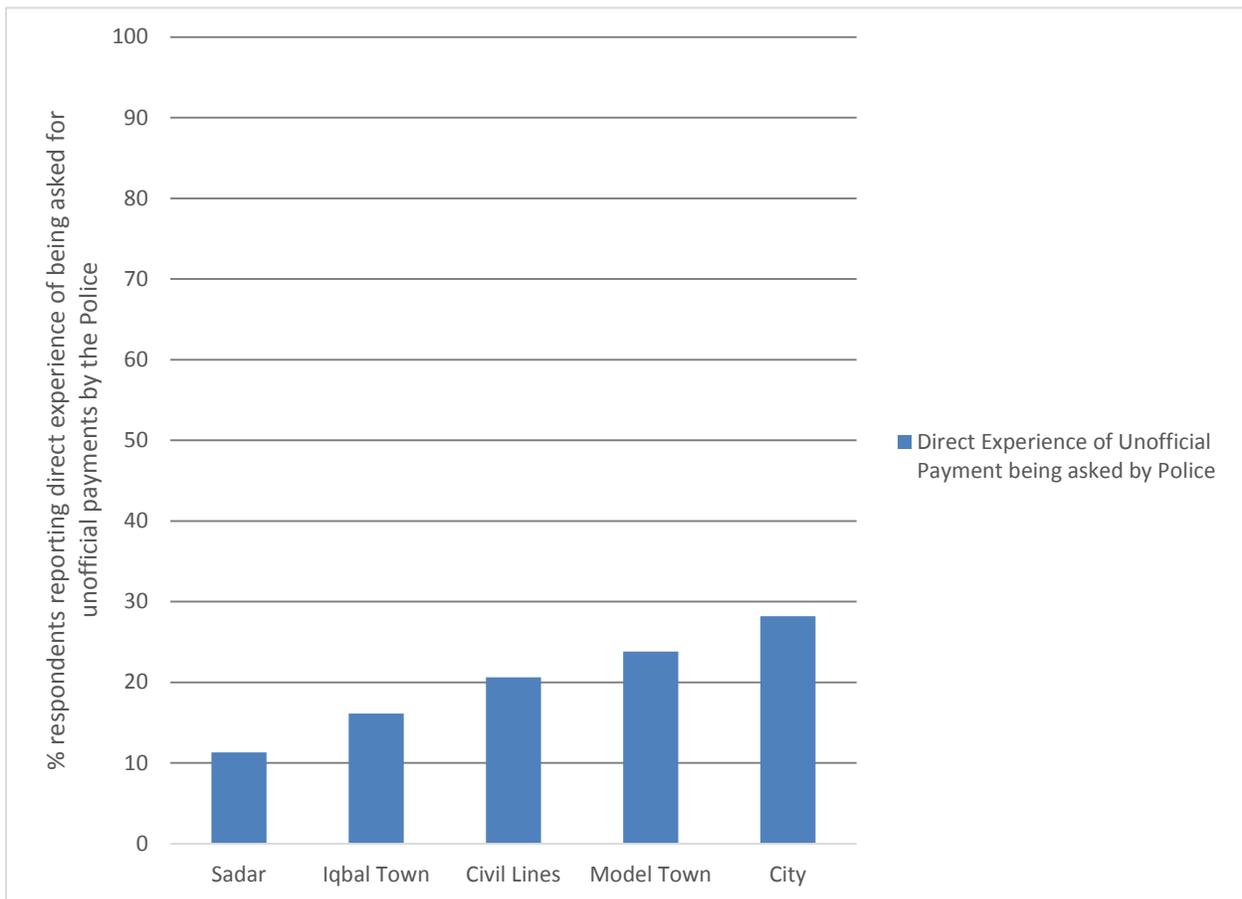
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Note: The survey measures citizens’ perceptions of police effectiveness through respondents’ strong agreement and disagreement with the following statements, on a 5 point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree, 5=strongly disagree; (a) “The police are well trained to pursue criminals”, (b) “The police responds promptly to calls about crimes”, (c) “The police reach there where you need them”, (d) “The police are always able to provide the assistance the public need from them”, (e) “The police does well at controlling violent crime” and (f) “The police does well at controlling property crime.”

## 5. Citizen experience, procedural reform and unofficial payments

Regarding police honesty, the IDEAS Lahore CVS asked respondents to report the number of times that the police demanded unofficial payments from them over the last year. Again, there is tremendous variation in citizens' direct experience with unofficial payments across divisions (Figure 9). Citizens are three times more likely to experience an episode involving unofficial payments in City division (nearly 30% of respondents report direct experience) compared to Sadar (around 10% report a direct experience).

Figure 9: Direct Experience of being asked by the Police for an Unofficial Payment in Lahore's Divisions



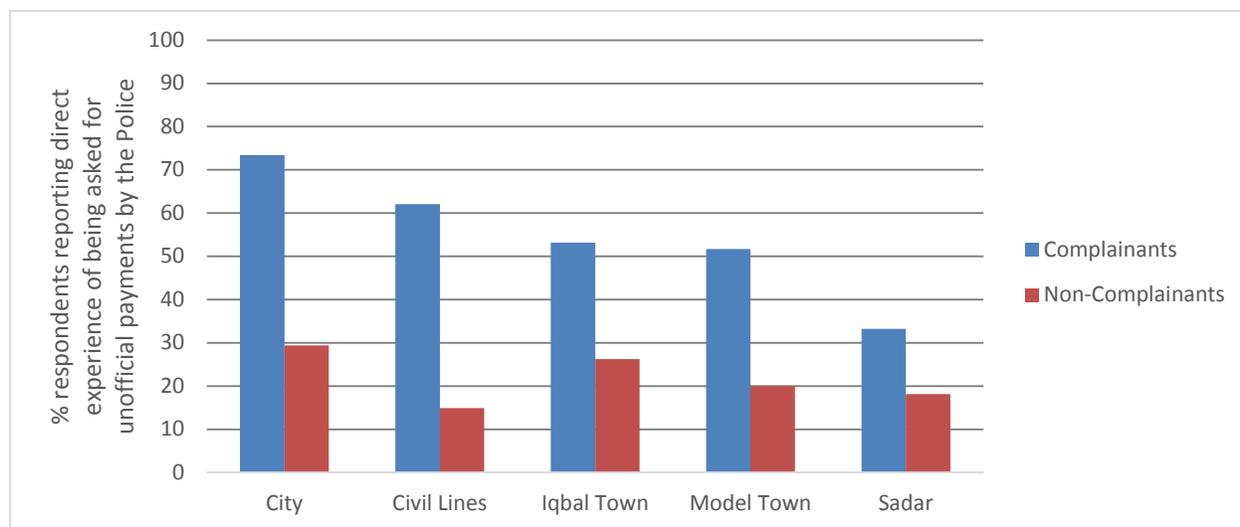
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Notes: (1) The survey measured respondents' direct experience with police corruption by asking "how many times have the police demanded an unofficial payment from them during the last 12 months?" The sample responding to this question is 5040; (2) Complainants are victims whose complaint application was recorded by the police during the past 12 months (a FIR may or may not have been registered) and non-complainants are respondents who did not suffer any victimization during this period or who suffered victimization and didn't report the incident or whose incident wasn't recorded by the police

Figure 10 shows that the main difference in citizens’ direct experience with unofficial payments across divisions relates to the experience of complainants. The evidence shows that there is much lower variation in non-complainants’ direct experience with unofficial payments across divisions compared to the variation among complainants.

The variation among non-complainants ranges from 18% in Sadar to 28% in City division. This is much lower than the large variation in the direct experience with unofficial payments among complainants that ranges from 32% of victims in Sadar to 70% in City division. Our respondents report that the main reason for the direct experience of unofficial payments among complainants relates to FIR registration. **These findings suggest that improving the FIR registration process must be a core objective of police reforms and institutionalizing effective reforms has the potential of having a significant impact on citizen trust and lowering citizen experience with unofficial payments. The institutionalization of Lahore’s Command, Control and Communication Centre (IC3) allows the possibility of lowering the cost of registration for citizens by unbundling the complaint registration function from the police station and embedding it into the IC3. This would result in an arm’s length process that is not subject to delays and is likely to reduce the opportunity of demanding unofficial payments as part of the registration process.**

Figure 10: Direct Experience of being asked by the Police for an Unofficial Payment across Complainants and Non-Complainants in Lahore’s Divisions



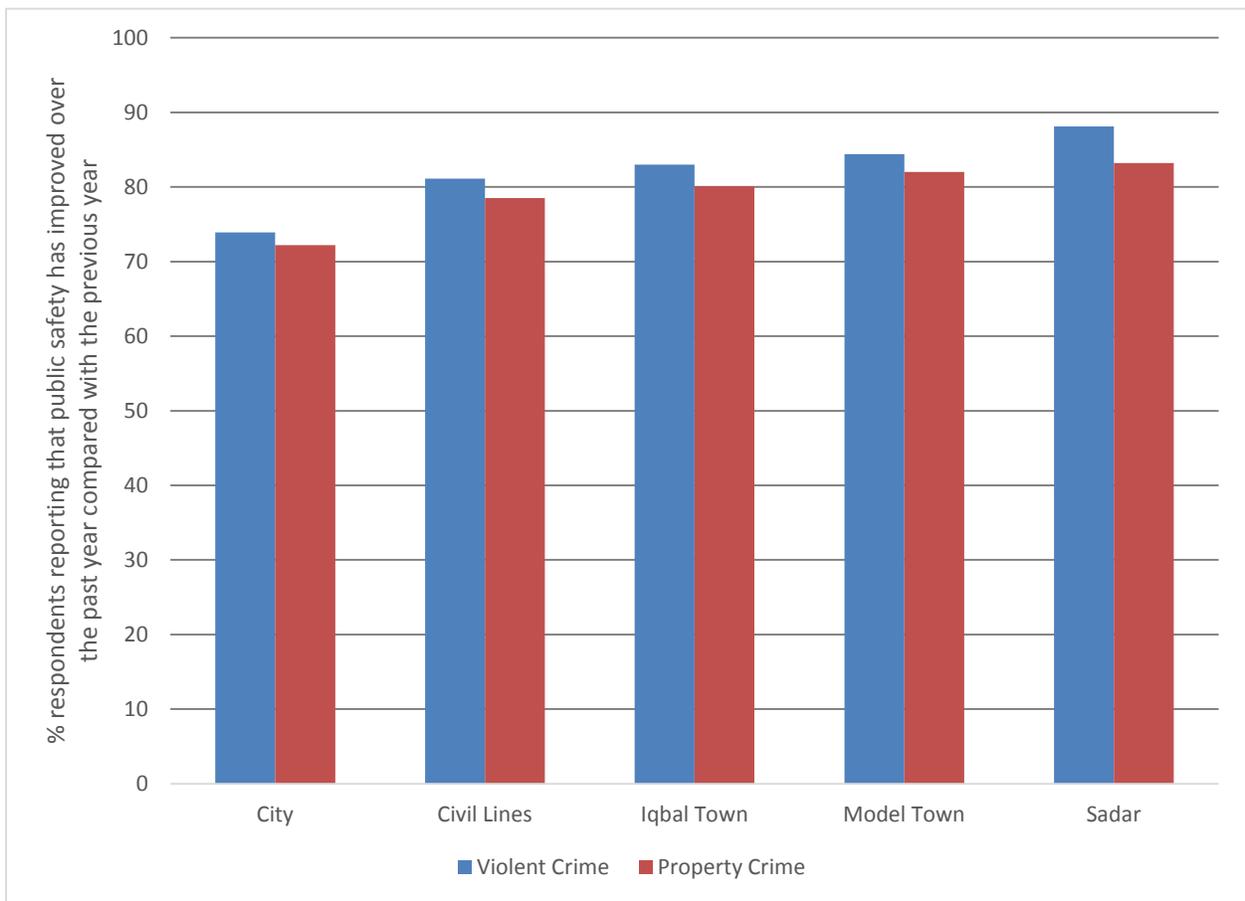
Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

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## 6. The silver lining

The silver lining is that a significant majority of IDEAS Lahore CVS respondents across divisions report that their perception of public safety has improved over the last year in their neighborhood (Figure 11). Although City division is lagging in citizens' perception of improvements in public safety, even here more than 70% of respondents report that safety has improved during the last year. This is good momentum that needs to be built upon with serious reforms of procedures, processes and measures to improve police effectiveness and lower the costs associated with registration. Cheema, Hameed and Shapiro (2017) detail innovative reforms that have the potential to lay the foundation of citizen-centric policing in metropolitan cities such as Lahore.

Figure 11: Citizen Perception of Improvement in Safety in Lahore's Divisions



Source: IDEAS Lahore Crime Victimization Survey, 2016.

Note: The IDEAS Lahore CVS asked respondents the following questions: (a) "Think now about violent crime in this area, I mean attacks on people like shootings, stabbings, and rapes. Would you say that during the past year things have been getting better or worse as compared to the previous year?" and (b) "Think now about property crime in this area, I mean crimes involving property like burglary, auto theft, and vandalism. Would you say that during the past year things have been getting better or worse as compared to the previous year?" Respondents were asked to give responses using a scale of 1-5, where 1 = much better, 3 = the same and 5 = much worse.

## 7. Conclusion

The baseline evidence shows that there is considerable variation in victimization rates across Lahore's divisions. This probably reflects differences in their criminogenic environment but could also reflect differences in police effectiveness across divisions. We find that the City division is an outlier in terms of victimization rates as well as the economic burden of victimization suffered by its citizens. **It is important that PSCA and the Lahore police take the variation in victimization rates across divisions into account when planning deployment of patrol and the allocation of surveillance technology and prevention resources. The deployment plan must treat the City division as a case for special attention.**

Citizen perceptions of procedural fairness in policing are low across all divisions and are particularly low among citizens who suffered victimization i.e. those who became prospective users of the criminal justice system. The main procedural challenge identified by these prospective users of the criminal justice system relates to FIR registration. **This evidence indicates that there is need for systematic reform of procedures in metropolitan policing that would seek to improve procedural fairness across all divisions. Improving the FIR registration process must be a core objective of these reforms as this has the potential of having a significant impact on citizen trust and lowering citizen experience with unofficial payments. The institutionalization of Lahore's Command, Control and Communication Centre (IC3) allows the possibility of lowering the cost of registration for citizens by unbundling the complaint registration function from the police station and embedding it into the IC3. This would result in an arm's length process that is not subject to delays and is likely to reduce the opportunity of demanding unofficial payments as part of the registration process.**

We find that citizen perceptions of police effectiveness across divisions vary with their victimization rates. This raises the concern that differences in victimization rates across divisions may reflect differences in the effectiveness of policing in divisions as well as the differences in their criminogenic environment. We cannot determine the direction of causality with data for one period and, therefore, we cannot say with certainty that it is, indeed, differences in police effectiveness across divisions that are driving the differences in victimization rates between them. **We recommend that the Police and PSCA commission an independent study to rigorously examine the differences in the effectiveness of patrol and investigation across divisions and their causes. This evidence would enable the police to devise effective strategies to mitigate any differences that exist in the effectiveness of policing across divisions.**