

Police-Community Relationship in Kuwait: Public Relations Perspective

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Abstract

This thesis explores the current police-community relationships in Kuwait where no previous research on this particular topic is known. Therefore, the overall goal of this thesis is to both describe the current relationship between the Kuwaiti police and the community and, based on the results, provide suitable recommendations to help forge and maintain positive relations. In order to accurately illustrate the current relationship, this thesis utilises three major theoretical concepts: the co-creational approach (relational approach and community theory), systems theory, and social exchange theory. Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) was also discussed to shed light on the power dynamic of the police-community relationship. Although these theories differ in their approach, they present the public relations approach through a shared focal point – relationships, which is the primary focus of this research.

In a qualitative approach, twenty-two participants were interviewed and their answers coded and transcribed. Particular attention was paid to the sampling of interview participants through the use of the qualitative sampling techniques of quota and purposive sampling.

In the analysis of data, three themes, *Faith*, *Communitarianism*, and *Optimism* represent an important and special context for the public relations theorist. They contribute to our understanding of public relations in the context of Kuwaiti police-community relations. Furthermore, the relational elements of trust, satisfaction, control mutuality and commitment are integrated with the three aforementioned themes. This analytical framework strengthened the analysis by adding a comparative and universal perspective.

The main findings of this research are the key attributes affecting the police-community relationship in Kuwait, such as trust, satisfaction, commitment, control, mutuality, and the worldviews through which the participants regard the police: *Faith*, *Communitarianism*, and *Optimism*. Furthermore, the implication of this thesis goes beyond that of the police-community relationship in that country. It also provides a thorough discussion regarding 1) public relations theory and practice, and 2) a thematic analysis of the Kuwaiti police.

This thesis adds to public relations theories as it extends the body of knowledge of public relations to a specific context of police public relations in Kuwait. This will help to round-out existing police PR data, especially by adding a Middle Eastern and Arabic perspective to otherwise Western theories (e.g. relational, community, systems and social exchange). Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates how environmental factors (Kuwaiti history, culture and economics) influence organisation-public relations.

This thesis explores an essential area for Kuwaiti police that has not been explored before. Through the investigation of interview data, this thesis provides a snapshot of the current police-community relationship, highlighting important issues that are obstacles to a better police-community relationship. The most salient two are (1) police force behaviour, and (2) the organization's communication style. It is recommended that Kuwaiti police should adapt the community policing approach. This thesis proposes that adapting the community policing approach will help to improve behaviour and communication styles by addressing root issues. This adjustment will require the police organisation to adjust its goals and mission so as to become aligned with that of the community's goals and mission.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

His biological father divorced his mother without first registering the marriage certificate. In the meantime, the father remarried and established a new family. When Khalid grew up, he found that due to this administrative error, he had no official papers and as such, no legal standing as a Kuwaiti citizen. In addition, his father refused to recognise that Khalid was, in fact, his son. Khalid took his father to court in order to prove the relationship with a DNA test; however, during the proceedings his father passed away. According to Kuwaiti Law, he could not force his siblings to take the DNA test.

As with most cases, this analysis began with a brief to write a report about a situation that had attracted media attention. Usually, this involves drafting a paper-based report early in the morning, which is then sent to the Minister of the Interior, Deputy Minister, the Director of Public Relations, the Head of the Media Relations Sector, and any relevant senior police officers. On this particular occasion, my department (police public relations department) contacted the person who had filed the complaint in order to make an appointment for the following day. At 9:30, the following morning, a man in his mid-thirties came to my office (who we are calling Khalid), looking concerned, holding a small yellow file in his left hand and a newspaper cutting in his right.

Me: Khalid, you know that this is not the fault of the Ministry.

Khalid: I know, but it is not my fault either. I have no job, I can't get married, and I have no future. I'm a desperate person. Believe me, if the police don't help me, I'll be their problem eventually.

After he left, I wrote my report. The finding was simple: the case did not concern the police. As such, we could not help him. However, I also wrote a recommendation,

indicating steps that would help Khalid. This included the opinion that the police should be more flexible and go beyond their immediate role of security to help Khalid and others in similarly difficult situations. This reflected my belief that the police could contribute to solving community problems such as this.

This case is an example of my encounters with complainants and the media. In my position, I have contacted media reporters to provide information, arranged press releases, interviewed dissatisfied citizens, and explained the Ministry's position on an issue. I have constructed a personal reality of the status of relations between the police and the Kuwaiti community. This personal interaction with the community, especially with unsatisfied members, has contributed significantly to my personal perception of the current relationship. For instance, one of my job responsibilities has been to meet and investigate citizens who have complained through the media about the police; needless to say, I have come across extreme cases. However, during my tenure, I have never come across, conducted research on, or surveyed the community's opinions of the police. Instead, the police's public relations department relies heavily on the media to deliver the community's voice. Therefore, my experience and discovery of the lack of academic research on this topic was the inspiration behind this current study.

1.1 Inside/Outside Perspective

My position as a police officer and researcher has complicated my role. This dilemma is often referred to as the inside/outside perspective (Greenfield, 2000), related to reflexivity as a way of integrating subjectivity. In order to help the reader understand the conflict, I have explained myself, my role and position through a subjectivity statement.

The subjectivity statement is “a summary of who researchers are in relation to what and whom they are studying” (Preissle, 2008, p.844). By identifying who I am, I am acknowledging my experience, background and bias. I am a mix of complex, overlapping, sometimes competing identities. As a police officer who was trained to unquestionably serve the interests of his organization, I am also a public relations professional who often experiences ethical dilemmas which arise as a result of competing loyalties between my professional and personal obligations. Moreover, as a member of the Kuwaiti community, I want to participate and contribute to the welfare of this community as a citizen and, as a citizen, I am a middle-class Bedouin husband and father; a man who is responsible for four family members. Finally, I am a researcher investigating the current state of Kuwaiti relations between the police and its citizenry. As a police officer in Kuwait since 2001, I have had professional experience as a public relations officer. My department—Public Relations—is responsible for a wide range of ever-changing responsibilities. After two years in this position, I applied for, and was granted, admission to a graduate programme for a Master's Degree in Mass Communication at Kansas State University. After graduation (2007), I returned to Kuwait and was promoted to the rank of captain and head of the Media Relations Sector.

The Public Relations Department's mission revolves around constructing a positive image of the Ministry of Interior. Our targeted public is the Kuwaiti media and community; specifically, the community that has police complaints or concerns. For the media, we are instructed to establish and maintain a strong relationship with the people working in it. We also use it to construct and distribute our messages to the community. Almost every day we are faced with issues or crises that require comment

or resolution. Sometimes we succeed, sometimes we do not. These crises usually come from community complaints or media criticism.

I grew up in a protective and caring extended family network. Our home was like a beehive, with sisters, brothers, cousins and neighbours constantly being welcomed into the house. I have a close relationship with my family, especially with my twin brother and an older sister who helped my mother raise me. I believe my early life experience has strengthened my appreciation of the importance of personal relationships and the community in general. In the family context, I know how trust and commitment are important elements in the relationships.

This thesis explores current police-community relationships in Kuwait. No previous research on this particular topic is known; therefore, I am breaking new ground. As a result, I have formulated the research question and its qualitative, thematic methodology to cover all possible aspects. Specifically, the question is: *What is the current relationship status between the Kuwaiti community and its police?*

The reason for the general nature of this question is important because it allows the research to be flexible enough to cover all possible aspects of this unknown phenomenon. In answering this question, the thesis is driven by a public relations focus equipped to address relationships and communications as seen in the rest of this thesis.

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter One presents the introduction, which discusses the objectives, motivation, and research question. Chapter Two, 'Kuwaiti Culture and Context', presents a general overview of Kuwaiti society, the purpose of which is to provide essential background information to help Western readers better

understand the traditional and established relationship between Kuwaiti citizens and their police force. Chapter Three presents a review of relevant literature, drawing in a range of academic disciplines, including public relations, sociology, policing, and history. This chapter discusses the key framework of the thesis: the co-creational approach (relational approach and community theory) which focuses on organization-public relationships, communicative action theory, systems theory, and social exchange theory. Although these three differ in their approach, they share a focal point – relationships, the very focus of this research. Chapter Four is the methodology chapter, where the methodological design is discussed. Chapters Five and Six present the analysis used in this thesis, from design to implementation, empirical data and analysis. Chapter Seven is the final chapter, where the conclusion and implications are presented.

Chapter 2

Kuwaiti Culture and Context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter's purpose is to provide a context for the police-community relationship in Kuwait. To accomplish this, the historical, political, and economic facets are explored, as each are important attributes. Scholars such as Bayle (1977) emphasise the historical context, and Loader and Mulcahy (2003) state:

... it seems safer to suppose that policing remains rooted - perhaps firmly so - in the soil of the national political cultures; that its operative meanings have national genealogies that vary according to how processes of state and police have unfolded historically; and that they take contemporary forms that are conditioned by, and in turn condition, the particular polities of which they form part. The place that police institutions occupy in national histories, mythologies, and consciousness, their involvement in regulating social and political conflict, prevailing sentiment towards the appropriate role of state and civil society in the production of security, the narrative representation of policing that circulate in the media; these are all likely to give rise to differing levels of identification with - or distance from - the police, as well as to specific cultural constructions of the relationship between policing and the social (p. 54).

Crystal (2005, p. 158) not only notes the significance of history as related to a police force's policies and behaviour, but also that of its influence on their permanence; "These origins are important because, once established, police institutions remain remarkably stable over time" (Bayley, 1985 p. 43). The historical context is especially important because its current structure and ideology are heavily influenced, not only by past Kuwaiti conventions, but also that of Western societies. As such, this chapter is presented in such a way as to present, review, and place in context the background information that will help Western readers better understand the relationship between Kuwaiti citizens and their police force. The format of this chapter is descriptive in nature, wherein the following four sections - *Information about Kuwait, Kuwaiti*

police, Public Relations in Kuwait, and Kuwaiti Culture - touch upon the most salient aspects of the police-community relationship.

2.2 Information about Kuwait

2.2.1 Demographics

Kuwait is a small country that lies on the northwest corner of the Arabian Gulf. It shares a border with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (in the south and southwest) and Iraq (to the north and west) and totals 17,818 square kilometres (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). Kuwait is a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which is similar to the European Union and includes five other countries: Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). These are split into six districts: Al-Asymah, Al-Ahmadi, Al-Farwaniyah, Aljahra, Hawali, and Mubark Al-Kabeer (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). Kuwait also has nine islands, eight of which are uninhabited. The country is in a low, sandy region that is generally barren and sparsely settled (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). Kuwait has no rivers or mountains, with just a few low hills and shallow depressions (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). As a desert country, Kuwait is famous for its dry and hot climate, where summer begins in April and continues until October (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). The summer months are extremely hot and dry – while the daytime summer temperature averages 33°C, it can go as high as 51°C. During winter, the daytime average hovers around 13°C (Kuwait Government Online, 2008).

According to the 2008 census, the total population amounts to 3.328 million, of which 1.038 are Kuwaiti, and 59.9 percent are male. Muslims make up 85 percent of the population, the rest being Christians (the largest minority), Hindus, and Parsi.

Kuwait's official language is Arabic, although English is widely spoken. Other important languages include Persian, Malayalam, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Filipino (Ministry of Planning, 2008).

2.2.2 Language

In Kuwaiti schools, English is taught alongside Arabic. Arabic is predominantly spoken in all Middle Eastern countries, although different dialects exist. The Kuwaiti dialect is known as Khaliji, the major difference between this and other Gulf Arabic dialects being the presence of a few Persian, Hindi, and English words (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). In fact, the Kuwaiti language has adopted many foreign words, the long-term cultural implications of which are unpredictable (Al-Juhaim, 2008).

2.2.3 Religion

Islam is the official religion and this corresponds to the constitution, which states that “The religion of the state is Islam and the Sharia shall be the main source of legislation” (Kuwait Constitution, 1962). As mentioned previously, 85 percent of Kuwait's population is Muslim. The majority of Kuwaiti Muslims are Sunnis, but a minority are Shi'a (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). Adherents of other religions are given complete freedom to practice their own rituals (Kuwait Government Online, 2008).

The Islamic religion influences many aspects of Kuwaiti life, including family relations, business etiquette, dress, food, and personal hygiene; it is an entire way of life that helps to unify the people of Kuwait (Rice, 1999). For example, Islam implements a socio-economic system that has its own guidelines and laws which include interest, taxation, and the circulation of wealth, the latter relating also to

various business relationships, such as those between buyers and sellers, or employers and employees (Rice, 1999). Furthermore, Islam includes a business code of ethics. For example, it encourages truthfulness in business, where Muslim businessmen are obligated to fulfil their contracts and promises (Al-Ajmi, 2003).

2.2.4 History of Kuwait

At the beginning of the 18th century, the settlement of Kuwait is believed to have taken place amongst a group of people from central Arabia who, driven by drought, left their own lands seeking food and water. After travelling for some time, the group arrived on the southern shore of *Kut*, today known as Kuwait Bay. After finding a good supply of sweet water, they stayed. The group was under the direct authority of the Beni Khalid tribe, which dominated eastern Arabia between the 16th and 18th centuries. Internal disputes among the Beni Khalid and the rise of the Wahhabis gave the new arrivals their independence (Abu Hakima, 1965). It is worth mentioning that the establishment of Kuwait was different from that of any other country in the Middle East, as it was the result of a free election, not political upheaval (Tetrault, 2000). In 1884, E. Reclus, a French observer, said that “The people of this Republic (Kuwait) are one of the freest peoples in the world” (Tetrault, 2000, p.35). In 1756, the Kuwaiti people elected Sabah I, a direct ancestor of the current ruler, as their Emir (leader), and once Sabah’s authority was established, the town saw rapid growth (Abu Hakima, 1965).

Economic stability and growth accompanied political stability in Kuwait. While this political stability helped contribute to positive economic growth, it is Kuwait's geographical location that was an essential factor in its development. Moreover, its access to open water via *Khour Abdullah* (the Kuwaiti harbour) was

key. These were considered as “the most important port facilities for trade within the Gulf and for trade linking Aleppo to the Indian Ocean” (Alhabib, 2010, p.5). Furthermore, Kuwait was considered to be one of the safest, most stable places for living and trading in the region (Alhabib, 2010). The minimal fees and tax-free market of Kuwait was another important factor that attracted traders and visitors (Alhabib, 2010).

Nevertheless, this independence did not last long for the tiny but prosperous country. It became attractive to the British and the Ottoman imperial powers at the time. The Ottoman Empire claimed Kuwait as part of its empire and the Kuwaiti Sheik as an Ottoman employee (Abu Hakima, 1965). Mubarak Al-Sabah, the Kuwaiti Emir at that time, did not agree with this claim, perceiving it as aggressive interference in Kuwait's affairs. In response, he began negotiations with the British in 1897 (Peretz, 1963). In an effort by the Emir and Sheikh Mubarak to evade Ottoman control, a treaty was signed between Kuwait and the British Empire. At first, the British were hesitant to accept Sheikh Mubarak's offer, for the fear of angering the Ottomans. However, as a member of the Ottoman Empire, part of Kuwait would have been annexed to Germany in order to build the Berlin-Baghdad railway, a political event that would have been detrimental to British interests (Peretz, 1963). On 23 January 1899, an agreement was signed (Busch, 1967) giving Kuwait “British support in exchange for exclusive control over its foreign policy” (Ashton, 1998, p. 163). From 1899 until 1961, Kuwait was a British protectorate before it acquired full political independence.

However, not all was perfect in Kuwait. The economy suffered its share of hardships due to the hot weather, dry land, and scarce food and drinking water, as the land was unsuitable for agriculture and the supplies of water limited. For the

Kuwaitis, the sea was the only available means of survival and economic prosperity (Al-Hijji, 2006). Thus, fishing, shipbuilding, and marine trade were pillars of the economy, in addition to its mainstay at the turn of the century– pearl diving (Casey, 2007). However, the focus shifted after the Japanese began to culture pearls on a large scale in the 1930s (Kennedy, 2004). At this point, Kuwait leveraged its seaside location and a skilful merchant class established and controlled a large-scale Gulf trading industry. Kuwaiti merchants offered transit trading services, with their ships carrying cargo consisting of dates and grain from Iraq to India and the eastern coast of Africa. On their return route, their ships carried wood, tea, rice, spices, cotton yarn, and various other goods (Al-Sabah, 1980). In addition to pearl fishing, the Kuwaiti economy was also powered in part by seafaring (Al-Sabah, 1980), where the Kuwaitis built the ships needed for the two industries. Eventually, the country became the centre of boat-building for the whole of the Gulf. Annually, Kuwait built an average of 50 ships of different types and shape, of which there were typically more than 10 types. For example, Kuwait built ships at a rate of 2-3 boats per month in 1939, all of which were exclusively hand-made (Al-Sabah, 1980).

As did many other things, Kuwaiti economic and social life changed after World War II, as it was then discovered to be home to the world's third largest oil reserves. Crude oil, now the staple of the economy, was first shipped from Kuwait in 1946. The new economic boom strengthened Kuwait's position in their negotiation for independence with Britain (Ashton, 1998), which came on 19 June, 1961, when the 1899 agreement was terminated (Abu Hakima, 1984). However, this did not end the relationship with Britain, as a new agreement promised continued British protection, as necessary, where “nothing in these conclusions shall affect the readiness of Her Majesty's Government to assist the Government of Kuwait if the

latter request such assistance” (Public Records Office, 1961). This protection proved necessary, as just six days after declaring independence Iraq declared war, claiming Kuwait was part of Iraq; British troops arrived and were soon followed by forces from the League of Arab States (Arab League) which resulted in the withdrawal of Iraqi forces (Alani, 1990).

Nevertheless, the above threat did not have a significant effect on Kuwait's political and economic growth. In the coming decades the country continued its prosperity and development, noted by significant increases in national income which allowed the country to offer citizens free healthcare, education, and housing (Kuwait Petroleum Corporation, 2007). The presence of oil as an economic factor caused the nation of Kuwait to shift from a simple administrative government to a more complex, relatively large management structure (Al-Dekhayel, 2000). Kuwait embarked on the development of the country's infrastructure, including schools, hospitals, roads, drinking water, sewage systems, and deep-water ports. Within relatively few years, the country was transformed from a barren desert into a modern metropolis (Kennedy, 2004). Furthermore, the government supported and sponsored plans that benefited Kuwaiti citizens, such as a retirement income, marriage bonuses, housing loans, virtually guaranteed employment, free medical services, education at all levels, and zero income tax (Al-Ajmi, 2003).

On the other hand, in 1990, Kuwait was again threatened by its neighbour Iraq and on this occasion, the effect was devastating. Kuwait was invaded by Iraq and occupied for seven months before direct military intervention was undertaken by the United States, the United Kingdom, and other international forces. During the occupation, more than 400 people were martyred, hundreds were tortured, and tens of thousands of women were raped (Tawfiq, 1991). Nearly 750 Kuwaiti oil wells were

set ablaze by the retreating Iraqi army, which resulted in a major environmental and economic catastrophe (Tawfiq, 1991). Overall, Kuwait's infrastructure was badly damaged during the war and many areas needed to be rebuilt (Al-Ajmi, 2003). The destruction paralysed economic and development activities for some time, but the country was gradually able to regain its strength, resuming its various activities in all fields to achieve high rates of development, comparable to those of other high-income, oil-exporting developing countries (Al-Ajmi, 2003).

Kuwait is now a tax-free country with an open economy. It is able to maintain this unique status as a result of sitting upon 10 percent of the world's reserves of crude oil. The resulting GDP is US\$149.1 billion, where per capita income is US\$57,600, making it the third richest country in the world (The World Factbook, 2009). Furthermore, Kuwait's Human Development Index (HDI) stands at 0.891, the second highest in the Middle East. With a GDP growth rate of 8.5 percent, Kuwait has one of the fastest growing economies in the region (The World Factbook, 2009). The Kuwaiti Stock Exchange, which has around 200 firms listed, is the second-largest stock exchange in the Arab world, with a total market capitalisation of US\$235 billion (Kuwait Stock Exchange, 2008).

It is not surprising that Kuwait's economy is dominated by oil, as 90 percent of export revenues and 75 percent of government income is derived from petroleum resources. Kuwait's government remains dominant over the local economy (Al-Dekhayel, 2000). Kuwait's economic system, modelled on a welfare state, provides for a large measure of government regulation. These regulations restrict participation and competition in a number of sectors in the economy and strictly control the roles of foreign capital and expatriate labour (Al-Sabah, 1980). About 91 percent of Kuwaitis work for the government, while more than 94 percent of all jobs in the private sector

are held by non-Kuwaitis. However, the Kuwaiti Government is seeking to change this situation by increasing the number of Kuwaitis in the private sector (OBG, 2007).

2.2.5 Politics

Kuwait is a constitutional monarchy with the oldest directly elected parliament among the Arab states in the Arabian Gulf. The head of state is the Emir, which is a hereditary office. A Council of Ministries, also known as Cabinet Ministers, aids the Prime Minister in his task as head of the Kuwaiti government (Al-Dewan Al-Amiri, 2009). The power of the legislature in Kuwait is vested in the National Assembly (*Majlis Al-Umma*), which consists of 50 members (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). The power of the judiciary is vested in the Supreme Court of Kuwait, which is responsible for the operation of the courts throughout the country. Kuwait's legal system is similar in many ways to those of Western countries; however, some of the laws are taken from Islamic teachings (Ministry of Justice, 2009).

The ruling lineage had its origins just after the demise of the Beni Khalid tribe in the 17th century. Al-Sabah was the new governing family in Kuwait (Al-Sabah, 1980) and, along with members of several other families who later became famous Kuwaiti merchants, these people and their descendants were, and in many cases still are, considered to be, the most influential political and economic group in Kuwait (Al-Refaei, 1990). In the 1920s, the first political reforms were pushed by the influential merchant community (Al-Refaei, 1990), the purpose of which was to expand power from the hands of the Emir to the merchant class. In 1921 and 1938, these merchants spearheaded this reformist movement. Some of their structural changes were introduced, such as the establishment of various councils and departments as well as a brief constitution that was drafted in 1938 (Baaklini, 1982).

Until independence in 1961, these legislative committees continued to grow in number and influence (Baaklini, 1982). In 1961, Emir Abdullah Al-Salem Al-Sabah's actions brought about significant political change, the bulk of which transformed the patriarch's absolute rule to that of a role within a constitutional monarchy (Baaklini, 1982). He started by calling an election for the National Assembly members to provide them with the responsibility of drafting the first constitution (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). This Constitution of 1962 consisted of 183 articles, affirming the elite position of Al-Sabah as the ruling family in the political system by declaring Kuwait to be a hereditary Emirate. It emphasised both the Arabic and Islamic character of Kuwait and declared the system of the government to be democratic (Constitution of Kuwait, 1962).

Today, the state of Kuwait is divided into six governorates: Al-Asymah, Hawalli, Ahmadi, Jahra, Farwaniyah, and Mubarak Al-Kabir. Each is headed by a governor, who is a direct representative of the Emir, and each of these is supported by a council called the 'governorate'. These governorates are further divided into several districts and each district is headed by a Mukhtar, or Mayor, who is responsible to the Minister of the Interior (Kennedy, 2004).

2.2.5.1 The National Assembly (Majlis al-Umma)

The National Assembly (*Majlis al-Umma*) consists of 50 members who are chosen in elections. Government ministers are also granted membership into parliament, numbering up to a maximum of 16, since the law states that ministers may not amount to more than one-third of the total Assembly members (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). The Assembly's function is mainly legislative, and although it may question the decisions of the prime minister and other ministers, its control over the executive

branch is limited (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). Elections are held every four years. Annual parliamentary sessions begin in October and recess in late summer.

Voting is straightforward – Kuwait is divided into five constituencies and each constituency elects 10 members. All eligible citizens are entitled to four votes, but they may choose to cast only one. Previously, the right to vote was limited to male Kuwaiti citizens above the age of 21, those in the armed forces, and those in the police force. In 2005, the Assembly passed a law in support of women's political rights, allowing them to both vote and run for office (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). In 2009, five Kuwaiti females were elected as members of parliament, the first in Kuwaiti history.

2.2.5.2 The Cabinet

The Cabinet is the executive authority in Kuwait (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). The chairman of the Council, now termed the Prime Minister, used to be the Crown Prince and was appointed by the Emir (Kuwait Regime, 2008). This position is now recommended by the Emir and confirmed by the legislature. Ministers are not necessarily parliament members, but after appointment they become ex-officio members (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). These ministers are formally appointed by the Emir after receiving the Prime Minister's recommendation and the legislature's approval. Note that the Assembly has no power in choosing these ministers, only the power to accept or reject the Prime Minister's recommendations (Kuwait Government Online, 2008). The total number of ministers cannot be more than one-third of the total number of members in the Assembly. Finally, the Prime Minister presides over meetings of the Council of Ministers, otherwise known as the Cabinet (Kuwait Regime, 2008).

2.3 Kuwait's Police

In Kuwait, the police force is continuously evolving. It began officially in 1938 and steadily grew until 1962, when it then came under the authority of the Ministry of Interior according to Law 23/1968, the purpose of which was to reorganise law enforcement (Al-Refaei, 1990).

It is worth mentioning here that the interviewees of this research used the term “police” and “Ministry of Interior” interchangeably when referring to the Kuwaiti police organisation. In searching the interviewees’ manuscripts, nothing was found indicating a difference between the two terminologies in terms of meaning. Therefore, the terms *police* and *the Ministry of Interior* are exchangeable through this thesis, in which they indicate the Kuwaiti police organisation.

In the past, Kuwait was a small community and its members were known to each other, sharing more similarities than differences. Crystal (2005) describes this period eloquently, saying that, “The order of the past was far more localised and transient, consisting of multiple overlapping hierarchies that were maintained in multiple, overlapping ways: neighbourhoods organised around mosques, family elders watching youngsters, merchants monitoring markets, ship captains monitoring divers” (p. 166). In this period of localised order, the Emir controlled crises by sending his personal guards to maintain order; their role was terminated upon restoring order, at which point they returned to the services of the Emir (Crystal, 2005).

Throughout these years, Kuwaiti society existed, survived, and progressed for more than two hundred years without organised police. Policing was the responsibility of these localised communities, the structure of which was organised through other institutions, and motivated by social responsibility (Crystal, 2005). In this regard, Reiner (2010), a police scholar, states that:

The sources of order lie outside the ambit of the police, in the political economy and culture of a society. To the extent that these provide most people with meaningful and rewarding lives, conflict crimes, and disorder will be relatively infrequent (p. xiii).

It is not surprising then that the first Kuwaiti police organisation was established by the community via that of a municipality – an elected, financially independent institution (Crystal, 1995). The new police force continued its small role as market guard until 1938 when the *Majlis* (the first elected parliament) created “institutionalised policing” (Crystal, 2005, p. 161). The new *Majlis* then issued laws that recognised and organised the police through uniform, training, and stations (Al-Hatim, 1999).

This function and mentality of the Kuwaiti police is related to its purpose for existence and evolution. The Kuwaiti police did not emerge “to handle regime-threatening internal dissent” (Crystal, 2005, p. 180), but were instead established to keep peace and order within the state, to protect people’s property, and to enforce the law (Ministry of Interior, 1968). Crystal expresses her positive opinions on how the Kuwaiti police function and carry out their police work, saying:

What is striking about the police in Kuwait, compared to other [Gulf] states, is the degree to which the regular police actually spend their time in tasks related to maintaining general order. They are not found plotting coups, as in Qatar, enforcing dress codes, as in Saudi Arabia, or using excessive force, as in so many states, to protect the regime (p.180).

At this point of history, the obligations and accountability of the police towards the Kuwaiti community is clear, which means that the police organisation is legitimised in the community eyes, since it represents the community's values and needs. According to Beetham (1991), people do not accept an institution's legitimacy because of its good behaviour or fairness, “but also because they regard the institutions as representing particular normative and ethical frameworks” (Jackson,

Bradford, Hough and Murray, 2012, p. 33). Al-Fahed (1989) believes that such connections are necessary for the police to be effective and efficient.

However, the police organisation has been through a “complex process... [that] occurred in conjunction with the development of Kuwait as a modern nation state” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p.1). During the 1950s and 1960s, this mirrored that of a crude oil revolution that realised a sudden rise in wealth for the country and its citizens. Crude oil was first shipped from Kuwait in 1946, heralding economic prosperity and the rapid development of Kuwait’s economic and social sectors, the result of which brought free healthcare, education, and housing for its citizens (Kuwait Petroleum Corporation, 2007). Within a few years, building sites were transformed from barren desert into modern cities (Kennedy, 2004). As briefly mentioned earlier, the presence of oil as an economic factor caused Kuwait to shift from its simple administration to a complex and relatively large social management structure (Al-Dekhayel, 2000), where the government supported and sponsored generous plans that benefited Kuwaiti citizens, such as pensions, financial aid for newlyweds, housing loans, jobs, a free health service, education at all levels, and no income tax (Al-Ajmi, 2003). The economic boom attracted foreign labour to Kuwait that has permanently changed its demographics; today, the Kuwaiti people are a minority in their own country (Al-Mekaimi, 2003), numbering just 1.038 m of the 3.328 m population. As a result of this wealth and influx of foreign workers, a new tension was born within a previously homogeneous, localised society.

The police organisation in fact began “as a small domestic police service... and emerged into a small national armed force in the mid-1950s” (Al-Fahed, 1989):

With the discovery of oil, [police] emerged as an arm of the government to protect the economic interest of those in power as well as the people of Kuwait. The police, from a political perspective, are

an instrument of the State, whose legitimate function is to maintain order, keep peace and enforce the laws (p.89).

Since its inception, the police department has grown in complexity along with the government: its powers expanding and its role more explicit (Al-Refaei, 1990). Control now falls under the Ministry of the Interior, which itself is governed by the Emir. This is in accordance with the constitution of Kuwait, which states that “the Emir of the State is considered to be the chief of the police” and the Ministry of Interior is the immediate superior of the police (Constitution of Kuwait, 1962).

This complex structure is at odds with its humble roots. In 1938, the *Majlis* (the first Kuwaiti parliament) was dissolved by the Kuwaiti ruler, Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah only months after its inception. It was at this time that the police fell under the authority of the ruling family, not the legislature. As a result, Kuwaiti police are “by the nature of their jobs, the enforcers of politically-motivated decisions” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 2). This makes for tension during political events, where the police are placed in difficult conflict between their proscribed role (as protectors of the citizenry) and the authority of their ruler. Al-Fahed (1989) went further to question such a transformation, saying that:

This is a difficult transition time for Kuwait, and there are those who would argue that the instruments of state, specifically the police, will only be allowed to give the appearance of serving the rule of law when in fact behind their very visible activities they will continue to serve the interests of the ruling family (p. 168).

The balance between police accountability and irresponsibility is not clear because, according to Al-Fahed (1989), Kuwait is still in a transitional period. I believe that the current political instability and the communitarian movements in the Middle East, specifically in Kuwait, demonstrates this transition. Further discussions of the police's role and its accountability are found in Chapter 5.

In terms of structure, The Minister of the Interior is assisted by his undersecretary, a post usually filled by a senior police officer. According to the 23/1968 law, all police ranks must be identified by a title, similar to the Army (Al-Enizi, 1985). The Police Act 23/1968 identifies law enforcement forces as synonymous with armed forces, which fall under the command of the Minister of the Interior (Al-Enizi, 1985). Under 23/1968, police members are also subject to many rules similar to those for the military; therefore, the Kuwaiti police are considered as a regular organisation which could be termed quasi-military—as they are the national police administered as one body by the Ministry of Interior (Al-Enizi, 1985), with a top-down structure in which authority is centralised rather than decentralised. Discipline, chain of command, strict rules, procedures, and policy directives characterise this policing model, which is reflected in the police force's rank structure (Al-Enizi, 1985), themselves similar to ranks in the army. Ranks are similarly divided into two grades: commissioned and non-commissioned officers (Al-Enizi, 1985). Commissioned police officers' ranks are as follows: Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier, Major General, and Lieutenant General. Non-commissioned police officers' ranks are as follows: Constable, Lance Corporal, Corporal, Sergeant, and Staff Sergeant (Al-Enizi, 1985).

The issue at hand is actually related to the concept of the police elite, which is discussed more thoroughly in the *Literature Review* Chapter. The commissioned and non-commissioned police officers are socially classified, so that the non-commissioned officers “do not share the same social or political stature as police at higher ranks” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 2). The description of the commissioned officers as organisational elites fits the general social science definition that refers to the elite as “the rich, powerful, and privileged in society” (Marcus, 1983, p. 3). However, Shore

(2002, p. 3) notes that more requirements were added to the general definition of the police elite to achieve the “distinction”. In other words, this thesis constructs an operational definition of the police elite category that is relevant to this research, and these requirements are discussed in the *Methodology* Chapter.

Nevertheless, in the general definition of the elite concept, the commissioned officers enjoy greater social standing and privilege. This makes sense, as their socio-economic backgrounds and education are typically different, whereas commissioned officers are only required to have a secondary school degree. They are also required to be Kuwaiti natives, where both parents are descended from a Kuwaiti family. Non-commissioned officers, on the other hand, are only required to hold current Kuwaiti citizenship and present a basic school diploma.

Consequently, the commissioned police officers, as elites, are more involved in the decision making and planning of organisational policies. Marcus (1983) explains it more eloquently by stating that:

The concept of elite carries with it the notion that such groups are the major source of change within relevant levels of social organisation—local, regional, societal, and international; they are the force behind institutional processes in which others—the masses, non-elites—participate with them (p. 9).

Structurally, the police are divided into divisions based on region and function. Regionally, Kuwait is divided into six provinces or governorates. In each governorate there is a police department headed by a director—usually a commissioned officer that is nominated by the Governor and appointed by the Minister of the Interior. Functionally, the Ministry of Interior is divided into several general departments, including Civil Defence, Migration, Criminal Investigation, Prisons, Police Academy, Criminal Evidence, Public Police Affairs, Nationality and Administration, Traffic, Communication and Emergency, and Public Relations. Each department contains

many smaller sub-departments. A department is headed by a director with one of the highest ranks, or by a civilian appointed by the Minister of Interior from nominations submitted by the Minister's undersecretary (Al-Enezi, 1991).

It is worth mentioning that the Kuwaiti police force was dominated by males, and that women were excluded from serving as officers until 2009. It is difficult to comment on the female police officer progress in the police force in such short period, especially where they still at the bottom of the police hierarchy. However, culturally, females in Kuwait are never perceived as authoritative figures, whereas men are expected to be the head of a family, community, or country. In the Kuwaiti social hierarchy, "the only formal authority to which he [a Kuwaiti male] was answerable was that of the older male kin and the state" (Longva, 1997, p. 128). Therefore, I confidently surmise that female police officers will be facing obstacles in an authoritative organisation such as the police.

2.3.1 Kuwaiti Police: Communication Techniques in Practice

This section addresses the issue of police communication practices from two vantage points: 1) public relations with its citizenry, and 2) communication within the organisation itself. The former is the main focus of this section.

The police's public relations approach to the community is defined by two primary characteristics: 1) the exclusion of the community from the process, and 2) excessive reliance on the media as a communication channel, according to the interviewers of this thesis. Such characteristics fit Al-Enad's (1990) description of Middle Eastern government organisations that want to achieve two goals: to educate the public regarding a particular subject or law, or to publicise the organisation's achievement (p.26). As a PR practitioner for the Kuwaiti police force, I have my share

of experience observing their public relations techniques. I find this functionalistic approach accurately depicts the Kuwaiti police's communication style; it “creates and disseminates information that helps the organization to accomplish its goals” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). In communicating with outsiders, the police are always interested in giving their point of view, regardless of the information's irrelevancy or accuracy. This is obvious in our practice as public relations officers, as our job is to focus on the positive side of police actions and ultimately to minimise events, sometimes altering the negative aspects.

The lack of accessibility to the police by the community is intentional, as this limits community members' input in the decision-making process. This comes from the belief on the part of the police that they “know what should be done” (Gaines and Worrall, 2011, p. 36), and it is also a precept that some community members agree with. Such organisational behaviour is explained by Carden (2005) as a sign of a closed system that “fosters an atmosphere of distrust that results in limited information being provided to key publics and little, if any, feedback” (p. 643). According to Caparini (2004), this system is preferred by security organisations: “Of all the sectors of public policy, however, the security sector has historically proven one of the most resistant to public input” (2004, p. 181).

However, the police's message does not go unchallenged. Since Kuwait is a relatively open, democratic society, the media is a strong, dominant force. As such, the police rely on media channels to deliver their message. It is the media's strong position in society that allows it to challenge a government institution like the police. In Kuwait, freedom of speech and of the press are protected in the Constitution, specifically under Article 36: “Every person shall have the right to express and propagate his opinion verbally, in writing or otherwise, in accordance with the

conditions and procedure specified by law,” and in Article 37, “freedom of the press, printing, and publishing shall be guaranteed in accordance with conditions and manner specified by law” (Constitution of Kuwait, 1962). According to Freedom House (2008), an organisation which surveys world media every year and studies the freedom enjoyed by the media in different parts of the world, “Kuwait has a diverse media environment that is one of the most open in the Middle East” (Freedom House, 2008). This is further backed by the Worldwide Press Freedom Index, an annual publication by Reporters without Borders, which puts Kuwait at the top of their list of Arab countries (OBG, 2007). Kuwait also ranked first, followed by Jordan, Egypt and Qatar, in a recent report by the Arab Journalists Union that measures media freedom across the Arabic world (OBG, 2007).

William A. Rugh, an American scholar and former United States Ambassador in several Arabic countries, considers the Kuwaiti media to be one of the most critical and outspoken among the Middle Eastern countries, where more in-depth reporting and a wider diversity of opinions are present in newspapers than in broadcast media. On further reflection, Rugh (2004) broadly categorises the press in the Arabic world into four systems: 1) mobilisation – national governments use the media as a political mobilisation tool; 2) loyalist press – although private ownership is granted, the press remains loyal to the government; 3) diverse press—characterised by less authoritarianism and a diversity of opinion, and, 4) transitional press—defined as a press which is government controlled. Due to Kuwait’s media freedom, quality, diversity, and outspokenness, Rugh classifies the press system in Kuwait as a 'diverse' system, which has a degree of diversity and freedom that sets it apart from other press systems in the Arab world (Rugh, 2004).

In fact, the media influence on the formation of public opinion puts its personnel on the map of community elites. The quality of controlling information, which is a characteristic of media personnel as gate keepers and agenda setters, gives them the “distinction” that constitute them as elites. Actually, this coincides with Marcus’s (1983) assertion that “the elite concept has been more closely associated with human controlling functions in the institutions than it has with the more abstract process of social class formation” (p. 41). However, in this research, the media elites are integrated with other community groups of policy makers, public figures, and activists, to represent the community elites, as discussed in the *Methodology* Chapter.

Despite their lack of control over the medium, the Kuwaiti police understand the media's powerful, credible voice and its power within the community. In general, they understand what Bentele and Seidenglaz (2008) say with regard to media influence on community trust:

Journalistic news factors (Staab, 1990) such as negativism, conflict, controversy, as well as journalistic routines such as “topical instrumentalization” (Kepplinger, 1994) are capable of fostering media construction and perception of discrepancies on the perception end. Particularly published conflicts are prone to transport, reinforce and generate discrepancies and, thus, to effect the public loss of trust in agents from economy, politics and so on (p. 57).

In this way, the police force is not only using a channel that reaches the widest audience, but also one that legitimises its message.

The internal communication approach of the police is highly influenced by its structure, according to Al-Fahed (1989). He says that “the hierarchical structure of bureaucracies can lead to communication problems, especially when they are compounded by the traditions of military organisation” (p.1979). Actually, Musallam (2004) has found through surveys that the Kuwaiti “public sector organizations faced more conflict due to the lack of trust between the employees and upper management

compared to the private sector” (p. 127). She attributes such a lack of trust to the organisation's rigid, top-down structure and one-way communication approach.

The police's hierarchical, quasi-military structure not only limits what the lower-rung officers are allowed to say, but also limits the leeway in what is actually said. The message is one that must be approved by many people, sometimes accommodating police, political, and personal agendas. This issue is pervasive in most governmental organisations, according to Musallam (2004) who claims:

In the public sector, employees are suffering from the lack of open dialogue to express their needs and their concerns. Neglecting employees' needs could lead to conflict. Organizational communication scholars recommend the use of open dialogue between the management and employees as an effective communication strategy and as a means of dealing with a crisis or a conflict, but few Kuwaiti organizations employ this strategy (p. 128).

The police department's size and complex structure also concentrate the decision-making process in the hands of a few people, thus creating a monopoly that includes the communication channel. Al-Fahed (1989) explains that this influences internal communication methods as well as external methods, saying that:

Information passed on to the worker can be manipulated, distorted or withheld, leaving those in power in control. Although this may contribute to alienating rank-and-file members of the organisation, it perpetuates the stronghold of the elite. If this process is repeated in a multitude of bureaucratic entities in the same environment, those in control (the elite) are able to secure their power base, but at the expense of the free flow of information and thus organizational effectiveness (p. 182).

In this atmosphere, “communication is downward and delivered in a militaristic tone, thus curtailing any possible rebuttal or challenge from even mid-level ranks” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p.155).

2.4 Public Relations in Kuwait

In discussing the status of public relations in Kuwait, it is important to mention that there is not much in the way of published academic papers; in other words, the state of academic knowledge in regard to this topic is rather small. As such, this section discusses public relations in the Arab world and concludes with that of police public relations in general.

Arabs have utilised public relations for thousands of years (Alanazi, 1996). A famous example is the press release, first used by the Babylonian government in the year 2000 B.C., for the purpose of teaching Babylonian farmers ways of increasing crop yields (Sriramesh, 2009, p. 997). Another example is the Assyrian usage of the bulletin, sent from the battlefield home in order to inform the public of a victory (Fakhri, Alsheekly and Zalzal, 1980). Egyptian Pharaohs applied the same idea using different methods, such as recording messages on stones and leaves from special types of trees (Fakhri, Alsheekly and Zalzal, 1980, p. 36). Okaz Souk, an open market in the Arab peninsula that dates back some 3000 years, has also been a forum for poetry debate in one of the richest eras in the history of Arab literature and culture. In this forum, every tribe would present their most eloquent speakers and poets to compete in glorifying their band (Alanazi, 1996).

When Islam was first introduced to the Arab world, it was rejected because of its radical ideology—the existence of one God, and that all humans are equal regardless of class, race, and gender (Quran). Since the issue was divisive, it provided an opportunity for significant public relations campaigns. As L’Etang (2008) states, “Public relations arises at points of change and over issues where there is a disagreement over policy or practice” (p. 31). Prophet Mohammed spent 23 years advocating that Islam use different public relations strategies in order to win Arab

acceptance. According to Alsaqr (2006), the first Islamic campaign was called *Da'awah*, or *Tabligh*, the goal of which was to promulgate Islam. Literally translated, the Arabic term means 'general relations'. Of note is the fact that the word 'public' (i.e., a group of people) does not exist in Arabic public relations textbooks (Al-Enad, 1990). Al-Enad (1990) provides two possible explanations for this: it could be a result of the political sensitivity to the word, shunned in order to distinguish it from the similar idea of 'public opinion', or it could be the result of unintentional mistranslation in the past that no one has attempted to change (p. 24).

The fact that such concepts and words are lacking in Arabic texts hints at vagueness in the field. Al-Enad (1990) describes this by noting the differences in developing countries, where modern public relations is imported from Western societies based on a democratic atmosphere, technological development, middle class growth, large scale business, etc. (Al-Enad, 1990). Most developing countries lack such infrastructure; thus, applying similar ideas to such a different culture creates the vagueness with which it is taught. In addition, there exist many Arab-centric conditions that are unique, some of which are noted by Kirat (2005), including the relatively short history life of modern public relations practice, the perception of public relations as a governmental tool, and the collective nature of the Arab culture and its effect on the idea and practice of individual freedom and opinion.

In practice, most Arab public relations practices function to disseminate public information (Al-Enad, 1990, Kirat, 2005). Kirat (2005) goes so far as to say that most public relations practitioners' duties are "secondary PR jobs such as assisting customers, guests, fulfilling hospitality functions at the expense of professional public relations, strategic planning, research and providing top management with sound advice" (p. 324). While this fairly accurate regard for public relations in the Middle

East might look gloomy and pessimistic, the situation is changing. One such positive example is the existence now of the Middle East Public Relations Association (MEPRA), a non-profit organisation whose goal it is to raise the ethical and professional standards of public relations practitioners.

Although Kuwait has a fair atmosphere for public relations, including considerable advances in advertising, a relatively free media and political structure, as well as a strong economy, it is still in its relative infancy when it comes to public relations (Musallam, 2004). In an interview conducted by the Oxford Business Group with Brian Shrowder, general manager of multinational PR firm Hill and Knowlton at their Kuwait office, Shrowder explains that “PR has, up until now, generally consisted of punching out a corporate press release” (OBG, 2007). Shrowder also argues that the biggest obstacle faced by locally based PR firms is the general lack of public relations talent available for recruitment in Kuwait (OBG, 2007). According to an interview with Al-Rjeeb, conducted by Al-Musallam (2004), the modern, Western practice of public relations in Kuwait comes from two sources: 1) the arrival of Western oil companies to invest in Kuwait’s oil fields, and 2) the arrival of immigrant workers from countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Palestine (Musallam, 2004). In fact, the first academic programme for public relations in Kuwait was offered in 1992, when Kuwait University established the Department of Mass Communication (Sharif, 2003).

2.4.1 Public Relations in the Public Sector

A public relations practitioner in the public sector is, in theory, a link between an organisation and the public; they help to communicate, educate, and inform the public about the daily implementation of objectives, programmes, policies, and crises

(Williams, 2004). According to Al-Enad (1990), public relations in the Middle East, especially in the public sector, is different in terms of its purpose and mission from that of developed countries. He believes that one of the reasons behind such differences consists of “environmental factors”, such as the authoritarian theory of the press. To this end, Al Enad (1990) remarks:

One can safely say that public relations in governmental institutions operate in light of these communication modes. In most cases, communication is one-way, its purpose is unbalanced, and the tools are the mass media which not only publish and transmit whatever comes from government public relations, but have no power to edit or change any part in most cases (p. 26).

He also believes that public relations in governmental agencies in the Middle East work as information offices to achieve one or two goals: a) to educate the public on subjects related to the clients’ fields of work, increasing their knowledge of pertinent issues, and persuading them to behave or act differently (e.g. to go to school, immunise, obey traffic rules, etc.), and, b) to publicise the achievements of clients and/or society as a whole in order to encourage public satisfaction (Al-Enad, 1990). Furthermore, Al-Rejeeb (1995) believes that the mission of public relations in the public sector is primarily based on an administrative duty to itself and the people.

From several academic studies (Al-Enad, 1990; Al-Rjeeb, 1995; Musallam, 2004; Sharif, 2003) and from personal experience, the obstacles to public relations in the public sector appear to be related to a misunderstanding of the profession from upper management, poor budgets, the small size of PR departments, lack of research studies, circumnavigation of the PR department in the decision-making process and a host of employee attributes, including poor qualifications and lack of experience.

2.4.1.1 Police Public Relations

Police public relations departments are not much different from others in the public sector in terms of purpose and shortcomings. It began in the Ministry of Interior in 1955 as the press sector, charged with entertaining police force members and conducting awareness campaigns (Al-Refaei, 1990). Then, in 1964, the press sector became the Department of Public Relations and took on wider responsibilities, focusing on maintaining good relationships, both inside and outside the organisation (Al-Refaei, 1990). To achieve its mission, the new department used the press and radio (television was not widely in use at the time) (Al-Ebraheem, 1995). At present, the public relations department is headed by the department director and his assistant, as part of the undersecretary's administrative staff. The department consists of broadcasting (television and radio), press (newspapers), the Ministry magazine, press (publishing house), guests, internal public, and external relations sectors.

The broadcasting sector is responsible for producing different types of videos and airing them on Kuwait Television, the official television station in the country. This sector produces a weekly programme, spots, and messages (Al-Masod, 1999). The television sector covers the Minister's meetings and conferences both inside and outside Kuwait, Ministry speeches, graduation speeches, and planned or unplanned-for events that are taped and not aired for security reasons, as well as other public government-sponsored events (Al-Masod, 1999).

For example, in the press sector (newspapers), the staff has a few daily responsibilities, which include monitoring media outlets, and preparing daily reports for the Minister, the undersecretary, and all senior officers. The media is reviewed for any reports or comments about the Ministry of the Interior. The report generated generally contains the daily headlines, public complaints, evidence that the public

relations campaign is or is not going well, and relevant newspaper columns. Furthermore, the press sector is responsible for responding to enquiries from the media, the public, and to complaints reported to the media that fall under the purview of the Ministry of Interior (MOI). In this sector, staff maintains personal relationships with media personnel. Furthermore, they measure and analyse the press articles that discuss Ministry issues and provide a weekly report for the Office of the Minister.

Internally, the press sector (the printing house of the MOI) is responsible for publishing *The Ministry*, a monthly magazine distributed primarily to members of the MOI. It focuses on providing a positive perspective on the police force. The press and graphic sectors are also charged with publishing Ministry posters, catalogues, brochures, special event logos, and advertising campaign materials for special weeks or events, such as an 'accident-free' week (Ministry of Interior Magazine, 2006).

It is the responsibility of the guest sector to entertain any guests of the Ministry of Interior and to arrange their arrival, accommodation, and transportation. The external relations sector facilitates relationships with other government ministries, and the internal public sector is concerned with the police as an internal public body. Its mission is to make use of positive public relations strategies within the organisation by helping to build a positive work atmosphere. One of their products is a calendar of entertainment events for the year for police members and their families. The police public relations department activities, as discussed previously, focus on communication and media relations. The police public relations officers' activities range from answering media queries, event planning, receiving guests, and handling administrative tasks.

As a whole, the police public relations department has virtually no role in the decision-making process of the police structure or organisation. Its mission is solely

to distribute the organisation's message and interpret the media and public's response. The role fits Al-Enad's (1990) general description of governmental public relations in Middle East, marked by a "purpose [which] is unbalanced, and the tools are the mass media which not only publish and transmit whatever comes from government public relations but have no power to edit or change any part in most cases" (p. 25). For example, when a newspaper columnist writes something unflattering about the police, an event, or police performance, a police public relations staffer typically contacts the columnist to discuss the case; in doing so, the PR staffer often makes the point that the negative incident is isolated, and non-representative of the police as a whole.

As an example of a police public relations campaign, one may look to a 2008 drive to educate the public about the ban on mobile phone use while driving. The Kuwaiti police public relations department was responsible for publicising the new law. As such, a huge public relations campaign began two months before the new law was applied. The goal was to raise public awareness in a simple manner, making it easy for everyone to understand the new mandate. The campaign involved all forms of media, ranging from Kuwaiti Radio and TV, satellite TV channels, SMS messages, postings on the Ministry's website, and leaflets printed in Arabic and English that were distributed in public places throughout the country. The data accessed in the public relations archives shows the daily media coverage of the campaign. The new law was reported and analysed in newspaper articles, television news bulletins and daily radio broadcasts.

2.5 Culture

Culture also plays a very important role in the way that people, organisations, and governments communicate with one another. This section first begins by discussing

three general theories of social culture–Hall’s Context Theory, Hofstede’s Cultural Framework (representing National Culture), and Kaplan and Manners' Determinants of Culture–then continues to address Kuwaiti culture and its influence on the police-community relationship. Since the academic literature on Kuwaiti culture in relation to public relations is very thin, the three theories have therefore guided this thesis’ observations in explaining the latter.

Culture is a very abstract concept that has no consensus on its definition (Gong, Li and Stump, 2007) but has generated various definitions throughout time. In fact, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn gathered a list of 164 definitions of culture in 1952 (Doney, Cannon and Mullen, 1998). Although a strict definition of culture is still a challenge for some scholars, there is a consensus on two prime characteristics of culture: first, it has a shared meaning among its members, and second, it is learned and not transmitted genetically (Fischer, 2009).

2.5.1 National culture

National culture is “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another” (Hofstede, 1980, p. 21). Furthermore, Poortinga (1992) defines national culture as the boundaries that can separate human behaviour through defining acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (as cited in Bik, 2010, p. 45). In Clark's (1990) review of national character, culture is described “as a distinctive, enduring pattern of behaviour and/or personality characteristics” (p. 66). There are two major approaches that researchers usually subscribe to when researching national culture. These comprise: 1) developing classification systems, and 2) “dimensionalising” national culture (Doney, Cannon and Mullen, 1998, p. 608). A good example of the first approach is Hall’s cultural classification (1976),

with the second approach being Hofstede's (2001) cultural framework (Gong, Li and Stump, 2007).

2.5.1.1 Hall's Context Theory

Hall groups countries into either high/low or high/medium/low categories, based on the way messages are communicated within a society. Hall also defines context as “the information that surrounds an event; it is inextricably bound up with the meaning of the event” (Hall, 1982, p. 18). Therefore, Hall's context results from the “collection of social and cultural conditions that surround and influence the life of an individual, organisation, or community” (Al-Krenawi and Graham, 2005, p. 301). The difference between high and low-context cultures depends on how much meaning is found in the context versus the code. In a high context culture (e.g. Kuwait), many things are left unsaid, where the contextual cues are important in the interpretation of a message (Zaharna, 1995). On the other hand, in low-context cultures (e.g. the UK) most of the information is explicitly expressed (Cho and Cheon, 2005, p. 102). High-context cultures, such as Kuwait, are collectivistic, and so there is an emphasis on the group rather than on the individual. In this sense, the members of Kuwaiti culture are primarily concerned with the needs of the group and thus tend to view ‘self’ as entrenched in group relationships (Al-Husaini, 2004). This feeling strengthens the rule of ‘obligations’ over ‘rights’. For example, those decisions essential to one's life, such as marriage and career, are influenced by group decisions and may be more group-oriented than in a low-context community (Al-Krenawi and Graham, 2005).

Furthermore, nonverbal communication in low context cultures is also different from that of high context cultures. High context communication is identified by Hall as involving “more of the information in the physical context or internalized

in the person” (Hall, 1976, p. 79). In other words, greater confidence is placed on the non-verbal aspects of communication than on the verbal aspects. In high context cultures, the emphasis is on non-verbal communication and subtlety, rather than frankness. Thus, ambiguity and obscurity characterise conversations in a high-context culture (Zaharna, 1995).

The Kuwaiti high-context culture influences the communication style and this in turn influences the police's public relations role. The police's public relations department must be careful in constructing its message because in such a high-context culture, people search for meaning between the lines. Furthermore, the messages need to be supported by strong, accepted clues, such as the Quran, as opposed to other statements from credible sources.

2.5.1.2 Hofstede's Cultural Framework

Hofstede (1980; 1991; 2003) also offers another approach to examining national culture and his is considered to be the most influential study of cultural effect (Steenkamp, 2001). In his model, Hofstede (1980; 1991) develops five dimensions of culture: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and long-term orientation (Hofstede, 2003). The description of the five dimensions is as follows:

- **Power distance (PDI):** The extent to which less powerful members of a society expect and accept unequal power distributions within government and society.
- **Individualism (IDV):** The degree to which members of a society are integrated into strong, cohesive groups over a lifetime. On the one side, collectivism is the degree to which individuals are

integrated into groups. On the other side, individualism describes a society where everyone is expected to look after themselves or their immediate family.

- **Masculinity (MAS):** Versus its opposite – femininity –refers to the distribution of roles between the genders.
- **Uncertainty avoidance (UAV):** This deals with a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity; it ultimately refers to man's search for truth and indicates the extent to which a culture programmes its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations, where unstructured situations are novel, unknown, surprising, and different from the norm.
- **Long-term orientation (LTO):** As opposed to short-term orientation, it can be said that LTO deals with virtue, regardless of truth. Values associated with long-term orientation are thrift and perseverance, whereas values associated with short-term orientation are respect for tradition, fulfilling social obligations, and 'saving face'.

Geert Hofstede's analysis of the Arab world, which includes the countries of Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, demonstrates that the Muslim faith plays a significant role in people's lives. Hofstede (2001) focuses on the Muslim faith as an important element in shaping Arab culture:

The Muslim faith plays a large role in the people's lives. Large power distance and uncertainty avoidance are the predominant characteristics for this region. This indicates that it is expected and

accepted that leaders separate themselves from the group and issue complete and special directives (p. 384).

Furthermore, Hofstede (2003) also argues that:

These societies are more likely to follow a caste system that does not allow significant upward mobility of its citizens. They are also highly rule-oriented with laws, rules, regulations, and controls in order to reduce the amount of uncertainty, while inequalities of power and wealth have been allowed to grow within the society.

In addition, the power distance dimension (PDI) has a score of 80, which indicates a high-level power and wealth inequality. This means that these populations accept that leaders separate themselves from the group and that society considers this situation to be part of the cultural heritage. This dimension has a clear implication for the police's public relations diplomacy. It actually explains the exclusion of the public relations department from decision-making in the police organisation, where such culture emphasises the concentration of power in the hands of a few. Furthermore, inequality of power exists in the Kuwaiti community, which means that the police organisation needs not only to know their public, but also how and when to communicate with it.

The uncertainty avoidance index for Kuwait (UAI) is 68, which identifies it as a society with a low-level tolerance for uncertainty. In order to reduce the level of uncertainty, a society needs to adopt and implement strict rules, laws, policies, and regulations whose aim is to reduce unanticipated reactions. In doing so, the police public relations department needs to understand and appreciate the community and its conservative nature. Al-Kandari and Gaither (2011) believe that, in such a culture:

The moment of consumption in Arab culture suggests public relations practitioners tend toward employing communications modalities that do not challenge existing societal beliefs and values and carefully consider the role of religion in how Arabs are likely to use an information subsidy. Relative power, including the nationality of the communicator, their role in society, Arabic language skills and dialect and gender would also fall under this moment, offering additional

insights into the many hidden webs of culture that guide Arab society (p. 270).

When power distance and uncertainty avoidance are combined, a situation is created in which leaders have virtually absolute power and authority and the rules, laws and regulations, developed by those in power, reinforce their own leadership and control (Hofstede, 2003).

Moreover, the masculinity (MAS) dimension in Kuwait is the third highest, with a score of 52 in the Arabic world. “This would indicate that while women in the Arab World are limited in their rights, it may be due more to the Muslim religion rather than a cultural paradigm” (Hofstede, 2003). The lowest dimension for the Arabic world is individualism (IDV), which scores only 38, compared to a world average of 64. This indicates that Arabic culture can be classified as collectivist. Moreover, Hofstede (2003) has identified that the low level of individualism in Arabic countries is evident in a close long-term commitment to family members, to the extended family, or to extended relationships, as “loyalty in a collectivist culture is paramount, and overrides most other societal rules” (Hofstede, 2003).

In communicating with the community, the police public relations department needs to incorporate ‘we’ instead of ‘us’ in their messages. This is especially true in Kuwait (as stated above), a “highly collectivist [country], where commitment to a group such as a family, extended family, or extended relationship override most other societal values” (Al-Kandari and Gaither, 2011, p. 269). Hall and Hofstede's theories of national culture shed light on Kuwaiti culture, singalling-out its collectivistic nature. Such a quality affects the communication style between its members and, more importantly, explains the power dynamic that contextualises the relationship between the police and the Kuwaiti people.

2.5.2 Kaplan and Manners - Determinants of Culture

By using these authors' theory (Determinants of Culture) in each aspect of Kuwaiti culture, there is an effort to broaden the reader's understanding of this topic. Kaplan and Manners (1972) introduce four culture determinants –techno-economic, social structure, ideology, and personality – in an attempt to identify the factors that differentiate cultures from one another. The authors defined these subsystems as “a set of variables or aspects of institutionalized behaviour that can be analytically isolated for purposes of explaining, at least in part, how a society both maintains itself and undergoes change” (p. 89). Scholars have thus utilised these determinants in their research to describe different cultures (Sriramesh and White, 1992).

2.5.2.1 Techno-economics

Techno-economic refers to the variables influencing the economic development of a society (Kaplan and Manners, 1972). The first part, ‘techno’, refers to technical materials, machines, and tools employed by society; the second part, ‘economics’, is the way that technology is organised for use and knowledge for the “production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services” (p. 93). According to Sriramesh and White (1992), ‘techno-economics’ can also mean “the opportunities available to a society and economics as the way in which that opportunity is exploited to the benefit of society” (p. 604). Furthermore, Sriramesh and White (1992) have argued that such a variable has its effect on the entire ‘cultural system’. They reference Nimkoff and Middleton’s (1968) study as an example of such an effect, where the impact of techno-economics was measured by sampling 549 cultures to identify whether techno-economics changed the family structure. The “hunting-and-gathering and industrial societies predominately had conjugal, independent families whereas horticultural or

agricultural societies tend to favour the joint or extended family” (as cited in Sriramesh and White, 1992, p. 604). In the case of Kuwait, the techno-economic effect on society has been observed in two separate waves. The first one came to Kuwait in the 18th century when the marine industry, as mentioned previously, was the main economic source. New immigrants adapted to their new environment and practiced different professions in the marine industries including pearling, fishing, boat building, and sea-borne trade. This transformed the Kuwaiti tribal tradition of the desert into an urban community, bringing with it strong communal bonds between people (Ghabra, 1997). The second wave of techno-economic change was in 1946 when a new source of economy emerged. This change in techno-economic circumstances encouraged Kuwaiti society to adapt (Tétreault and Al-Mughni, 1995). The new economic source was powerful and its effect was a collection of social and cultural change that included occupational specialisation, urbanisation, and higher levels of education (Kennedy, 2004). Nath (1978), a development economist, describes the changes which took place in the early stages of the new wealth:

From 1950 to 1965, Kuwait was transformed from a small, traditional Arab sheikhdom of carrier-traders, fishermen, pearl divers, and Bedouins to a modern city-state with large commercial and financial institutions. The Kuwaitis modernized their life-styles with astonishing speed and vigour. They filled the new schools and offices opened by the government in the thousands, and crammed their new modern houses with consumer goods of every description (p. 174).

Techno-economics therefore have had a continuous effect on Kuwaiti society. For example, the economic boom attracted foreign labour to Kuwait that, in its turn, changed the demographics of the nation, making the Kuwaiti people a minority in their own country (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). In an attempt to resolve the issue, the Kuwaiti government encouraged women to enter the labour market, which eventually affected the family structure as well as women’s social and economic status (Tétreault and Al-

Mughni, 1995). It also affected public relations and expedited its growth, as the former grew with the telecommunications industry, internet, and other means of fast, cheap and ubiquitous access to information.

2.5.2.2 Social Structure

The second cultural determinant of Kaplan and Manners' theory is 'social structure'. After reviewing many definitions, Kaplan and Manners (1972) accepted that definition which was put forward by Radcliffe-Brown, a famous British anthropologist: "the continuing arrangement of persons in relationships defined or controlled by institutions" (p. 101). Kuwait has a small, connected social network of people thanks in large part to its geography, homogenous race, and Islamic values (Al-Sabah, 2001, p. 31). However, there are differences in social strata. Starting from the top, there are the ruling family, the old Kuwaiti merchant families, the urban class, Shia, Bedouin, and women (Al-Mekaimi, 2003).

2.5.2.2.1 Ruling family (Al- Sabah)

The current ruling family descends from Sabah I. They are currently led by Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah; in total, the family numbers over 1,200 (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). They are officially registered as members of the title of Sheikh (female: Sheihka) (Al-Mekaimi, 2003) and have ruled Kuwait since 1752. Members of the ruling family hold key cabinet posts, such as in the Ministry of Defence, the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of the Interior, the Oil Ministry, and most importantly, the Office of the Prime Minister (Rush, 1988).

2.5.2.2.2 The Old Kuwaiti Merchant Families

These families are the wealthiest Kuwaitis; traditionally, they were members of what was once a powerful and distinct merchant class. Before the discovery of oil, the financial influence of the merchants came from their control of trade and import duties (Crystal, 1995). After the discovery of oil, this class gained political power and, during the 1920s and 1930s, demanded political reform (Al-Mekaimi, 2003) that would concentrate their power. Fortunately, these families are the leading progressive class and should be given credit for the educational and intellectual movement in Kuwait. Their accomplishments include opening the first school, the first library, and publishing the first newspaper (Ghabra, 1995).

2.5.2.2.3 Urban class

The rapid economic and educational development of the 1950s transformed the working class, such as sailors and pearl divers, to the Kuwaiti middle class (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). In addition, the new urban class experienced a transformation in their occupational roles: from sailors and pearl divers to university professors, teachers, writers, lawyers, doctors and journalists (Ghabra, 1997). The members of the urban middle class helped to shape the Kuwaiti political, economic, and educational systems during the 1980s and 1990s (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). Ghabra stated that “this segment of the middle class was critical of the traditional Kuwaiti political and social systems. Some of its better known political critics were Ahmad Khatib and Jasim al-Qattami of the Kuwaiti Arab Nationalist Movement, a movement that has played a crucial role in supervising Kuwait's parliamentary system since independence” (Ghabra, 1997, p. 360).

2.5.2.2.4 The Bedouin

The Bedouin were tribal immigrants who were attracted by Kuwait's prosperity, brought on by oil production after the 1940s. The Kuwaiti Bedouin originate mostly from Saudi Arabia (66 percent), Iraq (21 percent), and Syria (3 percent) (Al-Naqib, 1981). The Kuwaiti government welcomed the Bedouins and gave them citizenship for reasons other than labour, including: 1) to balance the large number of workers from other Arab countries, and 2) for the fact that the Bedouin are traditionally loyal to their Sheikh (Ghabra, 1997). High Bedouin birth rates have predominantly been responsible for making them the largest demographic group in Kuwait (Ghabra, 1997).

2.5.2.2.5 Shia

The majority of the Shia are Persian and originally came from Iran; they often speak Farsi as well as Arabic (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). Shia are not classified by ethnicity or economics, but by their religious beliefs. They comprise the second largest sect of Islam after Sunnis (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). In Kuwait, they constitute 20 to 30 percent of Kuwait's total population (The World Factbook, 2009). Similar to the Bedouins, they migrated to Kuwait after the oil boom (Al-Mekaimi, 2003).

2.5.2.2.6 Women

Kuwait is traditionally a collective, family-oriented society, where men and women perform two different kinds of tasks, each of which are established by societal mores. Furthermore, women “whether from the Bedouin camps or the town, were expected to behave according to the social values that situated them in the private sphere. They were instructed by their families to be submissive and modest” (Alsuwailan, 2006, p.

55). However, women have made real progress; today women in Kuwait have many of the same rights as men. Such a change over the last few decades is considered to be a significant leap in Kuwaiti women's rights. For example, 30 to 40 percent of Kuwaiti women make up the country's workforce (Al-Mekaimi, 2003), where 10 percent of the National Assembly (MPs) are female following the equal rights mandates of 2005 (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). This is a relatively huge success for women in the Arab world.

Accordingly, the police should not only be aware of these differing social groups, but also the best techniques with which to communicate with them. Al-Kandari and Gaither (2011) have declared that:

Mass media might be effective in spreading information and for reinforcing ideas on certain issues, but they might not necessarily be effective to produce change in attitudes of Arabs. Other methods of communication such as contact with opinion leaders might be more effective (p. 271).

2.5.2.3 Ideology

Ideology, according to Kaplan and Manners (1972), includes values, norms, 'knowledge', philosophies, religious beliefs, sentiments, ethical principles, symbols, and myths (Sriramesh and White, 1992). Sriramesh and White (1992, p. 606) also state that "this implies that the same ideologies and symbols that humans use to order their social and natural environments will be utilized to set up, maintain, and change social and culture structures". The origin of Kuwaiti ideology is to be found in the Islamic religion as well as tradition and culture (Alsuwailan, 2006).

Islam, in fact, means peace and submission to the will of God. In Islam, there exist two main sources of edict: the *Holy Qur'an* and the *Hadith*, the latter being a compendium of traditions based on the words of the Prophet. Islamic law (Sharia) continues to rule and govern all aspects of human behaviour, including individual

actions, social interaction, politics and economics (Rice, 1999). Furthermore, Islam regulates social life and lays down detailed rules for personal and interpersonal conduct, which covers dress, food, relationships, and family relationships. The concepts of *Halal* and *Haram* are related to traditional forms of cultural norms that are steeped in religious context, as they are measures of Muslim morality; Halal means lawful or legal, and *Haram* means forbidden (Rice, 1999).

Although Islam has produced radical changes in the ideology of Arab people, the tribal practices of Arabs have not completely died out (Bledsoe, 2005). Arabs are heavily influenced by their religion, to the degree that most Arabs use the words Muslim and Arab interchangeably, which causes confusion as to what is religion and what is culture (Bledsoe, 2005). Religion is often practised as if it were part of Arab culture and old culture is adopted by some who think it is Islamic (Hill, Loch, Straub and El-Sheshai, 1998). For example, gender-separation is still a part of Kuwaiti lifestyle, where women and men gather separately during social activities, such as parties or dinners; some practice this as a religious duty, whilst others consider it as a tradition. Kuwaiti culture itself is derived from Arab tribal tradition –the original *Utub* were tribal Arabs (Bedouin) from the interior of Arabia, who changed to a settled way of life on the coast. Bedouin tradition has been reinforced over the centuries by the constant migration of tribes through Kuwaiti territory (Ghabra, 1997).

2.5.2.4 Personality

The fourth and final determinant, as identified by Kaplan and Manners (1972), is personality. According to Kroeber (1917), there are three ways to conceptualise personality: a cultural ethos, a national character, and an aggregate personality (as cited in McCrae and Terracciano, 2005). Ethos, the focus of interest in the present

section, refers to the traits and characteristics of the institutions and customs of the culture, such as its folktales, political organisation, child rearing practices, and religious beliefs. National character forms personality traits which are prototypical of the common members of a culture (Peabody, 1985), and the aggregate personality is the assessed mean personality trait level of members of a culture (McCrae and Terracciano, 2005). According to McCrae and Terracciano (2005, p. 6), “Dimensions of ethos are sometimes inferred from the values of individual culture members but they might be abstracted directly from features of culture, such as economic systems or health statistics”. Sriramesh and White (1992, p. 607) state that “these personality traits, anthropologists argued, have an impact on the primary or secondary institutions of society. The family is the primary institution and establishments such as art, religion, mythology, or folklore are secondary institutions”. I have consequently chosen three key characteristics of Kuwaiti culture: the Kuwaiti family, *dewaniya*, and *wasta*.

2.5.2.4.1 The Kuwaiti Family

Kuwaiti nationality is restricted to Kuwaiti descendants through the male line of individuals who were in the country in 1920 (Kennedy, 2004), with the ratio of male to female Kuwaitis being practically even. However, age distribution is heavily skewed towards the young. Over 26.4 percent are under 15 and 71 percent are aged 15–64 (Ministry of Planning, 2008). Moreover, Kuwaitis have a strong sense of nationality, which was reinforced by the 1990 invasion. Diverse groups within Kuwaiti society are joined together by their common history, which is reflected in music, poetry, song and drama, reinforced by the media and the education system (Kennedy, 2004).

According to Ibn Khaldûn, in his book *Al-Muqaddima* (1968) “As Mohammed has said: ‘Every child is born in a natural state. It is his parents who make him into a Jew, Christian, or Zoroastrian’” (p. 246). Arab society, both traditional and contemporary, considers the family as the basic unit of social organisation (Barakat, 1993). The Kuwaiti family is heterogeneous due to the fact that Kuwaiti people are descended from different cultures and civilisations, e.g. from Saudi Arabia, Iran and Iraq (Hadi and Al-Fayez, 2002).

Patai (1952) lists six characteristics of a Middle Eastern family: extended, patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, endogamous, and (occasionally) polygamous. Traditionally, decisions over marriage are a family concern, since it is a way to reinforce family ties, besides fulfilling its other function of reproduction (Barakat, 1993). Kuwaiti society is family-oriented, where the family is generally very closed and private (Al-Thakeb, 1985). It consists of a closely-knit, yet extended family circle, with some members only distantly related. Thus, the family is a cohesive institution, with individuals helping out with the many different tasks within the family, supporting each other, rallying around in times of difficulty, and often pooling resources for business ventures or to overcome hardship (Al-Mekaimi, 2003). In Kuwait, the extended family is an acceptable form of social structure and individual identity. It includes the nuclear family, immediate relatives, distant relatives, tribe members, friends, and neighbours (Al-Thakeb, 1985).

This characteristic of Kuwaiti culture emphasises interpersonal communication in relationships. Police public relations need to incorporate such a perspective in its communication with the Kuwaiti community. Furthermore, the public relations communication approach should contain emotional clues that

appreciate the cultural values. In this regard, Al-Kandari and Gaither (2011) explain that:

To Arabs, communication embodies a social experience and ritual that involves sharing knowledge and emotions. For Westerners, communication is generally a conduit for information transmission; for Arabs, almost all forms of communication are infused with emotions, even petty and quick messages (p. 271).

In short, the Kuwaiti family is a distinctive feature of the Kuwaiti cultural personality, one that is shared with other Arabic cultures. Kuwaiti *Dewaniya*, the other selected characteristic of Kuwaiti culture, is unique and limited to the Kuwaiti culture.

2.5.2.4.2 *Dewaniya*

As mentioned previously, Kuwaiti society can be described as a collective society. The most distinctive characteristic of Kuwaiti culture is the *dewaniya*, a large reception room used for social gatherings and mostly used by close male family members (Kennedy, 2004). The uniqueness of the *dewaniya* is specific to Kuwait, in that, according to Al-Kandari (2002), no other country in the Middle East has such a social arrangement on a day-to-day basis. Al-Kandari's book *Kuwaiti Dewaniya* is a richly informing text in a limited field of literature that discusses the concept of *dewaniya*. In his book, Dr. Al-Kandari focuses on the social functions of the *dewaniya* in the lives of Kuwaiti people. The *dewaniya* is in fact an indispensable feature of a Kuwaiti man's social life; hence, it has become a mark of traditional daily life in Kuwait (Al-Kandari, 2002). The term originally referred to the section of a Bedouin tent where the men and their male visitors sat apart from the family to discuss pertinent issues of the day (Al-Kandari, 2002). Today, the *dewaniya* has evolved as a more regular, casual gathering place for males in families, tribes, and accommodate any stranger who cares to attend (Al-Kandari, 2002).

The hosts of the *dewaniya* are well-known, usually local, males, each being the acknowledged head of an extended family (Al-Mughni, 2000). In the past, *dewaniya* ownership was exclusive to prominent males as total incomes were lower in real terms compared with those of modern Kuwaitis; secondly, owning and maintaining a *dewaniya* is not cheap (Al-Kandari, 2002). For example, serving tea and Arabic coffee to male guests is an obligation and providing meals is sometimes important if male guests are specially invited or have travelled far, perhaps even from another country (Al-Jassar, 2009).

There exist several types of *Dewaniya*: private, public, and family (Al-Kandari, 2002). The private type is for close male friends who usually gather daily; the public type is fixed at weekly times when anyone can visit, while the family *dewaniya* is an official gathering of a prominent family, where anyone can come and meet the family members (Al-Kandari, 2002).

The *dewaniya* constitutes the roots of Kuwait's consensual political system (Al-Kandari, 2002). It takes the role of a political forum where the people of the country can discuss their concerns, and throughout the history of Kuwait they have proven to be of great political influence on numerous occasions (Al-Kandari, 2002). A *dewaniya* may be convened to discuss a particular topic, sometimes with invited guest speakers; it could also be called for a particular purpose, such as an election campaign. A general election campaign for National Assembly elections is mostly completed through the *dewaniya* system (Al-Kandari, 2002). This is because a *dewaniya* is considered to be a visible Kuwaiti institution (Tetreault, 1993).

Its history is actually steeped in political change. An obvious example of is the *dewaniya* movement that started in 1986 (Crystal 2005), which began when thousands of Kuwaiti people attended the weekly *dewaniyas* of former Assembly members

(MPs), the point of which being to discuss the re-establishment of the Kuwaiti National Assembly that had been dissolved three years previously (Alnajjar, 2000). The *dewaniya* was also an important educational institution, where some *dewaniya* proprietors had knowledge of religion and literature and possessed libraries that covered such topics as language (Al-Kandari, 2002). The men would gather there to read books and attend lessons given by the *dewaniya* proprietor or the scientists who visited (Al-Kandari, 2002).

The fact that the *dewaniya* is a place reserved exclusively for men is derived from the influence of Islamic culture which supports a separation between men and women. Moreover, the cultural perspective influences such separation and considers a women's access to a male *dewaniya* as unacceptable due to social values and cultural norms (al-Mughni, 2000). This mix of religion and culture discourages women from entering the public sphere, but even though *dewaniyas* are traditionally only for men, some do welcome a mixed gender audience. The first to officially break the men-only tradition in Kuwait was the *dewaniya* of the Education Undersecretary, Sheikha Dr. Rasha Al-Sabah (Al-Kandari, 2002), although in an interview, Sheikha Rasha stated there had been other mixed *dewaniya* before hers, the first being that of Sheikha Aisha Al-Sabah (the daughter of Mubarak the Great) in the years 1896-1915 (Anahar Newspaper, 2008, April 20).

Furthermore, the *dewaniya* serves as a communication medium. In the past, especially during the 19th century, most newspapers were brought into Kuwait from Iraq, Egypt, India, and other countries, initially coming to the *dewaniya* where Kuwaiti males gathered to read and discuss world news. Today the *dewaniya* still serve such a purpose, and *dewaniya* attendees can discuss information that cannot be published in the media (Al-Kandari, 2002). Despite the fact that the media has general

freedom of speech, there are certain limitations and these are not enforced in the *dewaniyas*. However, as they are legally considered as part of the house, the house's privacy is protected by law (Tétreault, 1993). In other words, whatever is discussed on the *dewaniya* premises is a private matter and not accountable to the law. As such, the *dewaniya* is an “essential element in Kuwaiti civil society” (Norton, 1993, p. 210). Kuwaiti history is witness to the *dewaniya*'s role in shaping the opinions of the Kuwaiti community. Describing the political role of *dewaniya*, Al-Naser (2001) records:

Today the Amir, Crown Prince, and other officials use the diwanahs to keep their fingers on the pulse of the nation. They hear grievances, suggestions, and opinions on all matters of relevance. It is also a platform to establish important directions and make decisions concerning the entire country. During election time, the hum of activity is not limited to the diwanahs, of course, but they are at the central areas of political involvement. Tents are set up alongside the most influential diwanahs to be able to accommodate the increased number of attendees. Truly, the diwanah is the “nucleus” of the political system (p. 14).

2.5.2.4.3 *Wasta*

Wasta – an indigenous term that does not have equivalent in English – is described by Gardner (2010):

Strictly translating into ‘intermediary’ or ‘intermediary means’, *Wasta* is a way to get there. When I say that I have a *wasta* in the Traffic Directorate, it means that I’ve got somebody there who can help me cut through the red tape. They can take care of my problem. But that term really evolved new meanings—now you can say ‘Oh, his dad is a real *wasta*’, meaning that he can get stuff done for you. So it refers to a person. But you can also think of it as a process: ‘*wasta* does its worth’. You’re not talking about a specific person anymore. Or “with *wasta* you can do anything. You better get *wasta*” is a very common clause in speech. If you have *wasta*, you can get it done in a day. It means you can get it done if you have a way—an intermediary way, a way to get in, or someone inside the system. People even talk about Vitamin W—that’s *wasta* (p.154).

Wasta is a product of a culture and is not exclusive in Kuwait; it is used as a term in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Bahrain. Originally, *wasta* conveyed a positive connotation describing people who used their social connections to help needy people and solve problems. These days, *wasta* has a negative connotation – especially in Kuwait. It means that a person has connections that could help him get things that he does not merit, even allowing him to escape punishment when he breaks the law.

Although *wasta* is a cultural product, it is inextricably linked to the police as an organisation. In terms of structure, the police are a hierarchical, quasi-military organisation. This structure is based on a chain of command, where the power is not equality distributed throughout the chain, but instead is concentrated at higher levels. This power-skew is fertile ground for corruption, where the powerful elite in the police are immune from punishment. The senior police officers are highly influential figures, such that it is common for a senior police officer to resign and run for parliamentary election after he has used his position to establish political connections. The other condition that makes the Kuwaiti police susceptible to *wasta* is the lack of accountability to the community. The police communication model, as discussed earlier, allows the organisation to operate without transparency, increasing its ability to wield under-the-table power without review or repercussions. Further discussion of *wasta* and its implications for the police-community relationship is to be found in the analysis and concluding chapters.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided relevant historical, political and socio-cultural background as a clear context for this study. The key characteristics central to the thesis and

focusing on police-community relations are the police organisation, the community, and the culture. The centrality of culture and cultural change is noted in relation to the research-focus and research question of this thesis. This thesis also contributes a unique insight into these phenomena and these perspectives are viewed through the lens of police-community relations.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The overall goal of this thesis is to both describe the current relationship between the Kuwaiti police and the community and, based on the results, to provide suitable recommendations that will help forge and maintain positive relations between these two sides. In order to accurately illustrate the current relationship, this chapter utilises three major theoretical concepts: the co-creational approach (relational approach and community theory) which focuses on organisation-public relationships, systems theory, and social exchange theory. Habermas's theory of communicative action (TCA) is also discussed in this chapter to shed light on the power dynamic of the police-community relationship.

Although these theories differ in their approach, they present a public relations approach through a shared focal point—relationship, the very focus of this research. The focus of public relations on relationship is a new shift and evolves from functionalistic/tactical function into strategic counselling (Heath, 2001). Therefore, the public relations approach is suitable in this thesis as it aims to explore the nature of the current relationship between the police and community in Kuwait.

The co-creational perspective is the newest. It has shifted public relations from a functionalistic approach, where the goal of public relations is a means of achieving organisational goals (Botan and Taylor, 2004), to an analysis of meaning from the perspective of the public. In essence, the public and the organisation act as co-creators of meaning. Within this perspective there exist several theories and approaches, the most salient of which are the relational approach, co-orientation theory, accommodation theory, and dialogue theory. This thesis has selected the relational

approach and community theory which “explicitly share [the co-creational] values” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652). The relational approach is adopted by various scholars (Ledingham and Bruning, 2000; Sallot, Lyon, Acosta-Alzuru and Jones, 2003; Botan and Taylor, 2004) and promotes mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and the relevant sector of the public. It considers the community to be an important part of its mission (Jahansoozi, 2007). Community theory goes further to suggest that the public relations role maintains a sense of community (Kruckeberg and Starck, 1988).

In fact, the co-creational approach itself is rooted in systems theory, which emphasises the interdependency of relationships within an organisation (Grunig, Grunig and Ehling, 1992; Spicer, 1997). Social exchange differs in its focus in that it attempts to explain why, when, and how each relationship begins, is maintained, and ends (Kelley, 1979; Dindia and Canary, 1993); the theory has been used by scholars “explaining public behaviour within the broader framework of relationship management” (Ledingham, 2001, p. 289).

This chapter comprises sections related to the public relations field: the theoretical framework; the organisational perspective that focuses on the public role of the police, and the organisational culture of the police.

3.2 Public Relations

Public relations is a relatively new academic discipline, one with porous boundaries that are sometimes ambiguous from an academic and practical perspective; its roots lie in marketing, management, sociology, psychology, communication, and management (L’Etang, 2008). It is also subdivided into specialised practices, such as media relations, public affairs, corporate social responsibility, investor relations, etc.

These specialities occasionally overlap and sometimes compete with one another. Such multiple avenues of approach are often cited by scholars as a weakness (Ihlen, Van Ruler and Fredriksson, 2009). Some even go so far as to call for a generalised theory, such as Ledingham's General Relationship Management Theory (Ledingham, 2003).

Alternatively, other scholars argue that these multiple approaches are a sign of the field's maturity (Toth, 2009); these authors criticise attempts to unify the approaches (McKie, 2001). For instance, Heath (2001) claims that the failed attempts of public relations scholars to cooperate and collaborate with other disciplines negatively affect the field's development. Hutton (2010) believes that such isolation has "created the vacuum that marketing is now filling" (p. 509). This chapter supports this latter view. A multi-theory approach is therefore considered as best to support the goal of the thesis. Three different theories from different academic backgrounds have been applied to the theoretical framework of the thesis. Such an approach will permit the examination of the issue from different perspectives, the goal of which is to better understand qualitative data.

3.3 Theoretical framework

3.3.1 The Co-creational Approach

Public relations actually started as a "highly practical" profession (Cheney and Christensen, 2001, p. 167), with a mission to help organisations achieve their goals. Heath (2001) has declared that "regardless of how we define public relations, it is useful only to the extent that it helps organizations, regardless of their type, to achieve and to maintain legitimacy" (p.186). In this way, a hired public relations practitioner is often working for the interest of his or her employer. Grunig and Grunig (1990)

acknowledge that “many, if not most, practitioners consider themselves to be advocate for or defenders of their organizations and cite the advocacy system in law as an analogy” (p. 32). However, this practice has faded, ushering in a new regard for the beneficiaries of public relations work – a mutually beneficial relationship between an organisation and its publics, where the emphasis is on this relationship and not that of the hiring party. Heath (2001) states that “instead of engineering acceptance of a product or service, the new view of public relations assumes that markets are attracted to and kept by organizations that can create mutually beneficial relationships” (p. 3). It is worth mentioning that advocacy is an ethical term, especially when it “assumes that ideas will grow in quality through dialogue as a win-win outcome” (Heath, 2007, p. 43).

This shift in practice has been a “transition from a functional perspective to a co-creational one” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 651). Botan and Taylor (2004) define the co-creational approach as one that:

... sees publics as co-creators of meaning and communication as what makes it possible to agree to shared meanings, interpretations, and goals. This perspective is long term in its orientation and focuses on relationships among publics and organizations. Research is used to advance understanding and the perspective embraces theories that either explicitly share these values (e.g., relational approaches or community) or can be used to advance them (p. 652).

Such a perspective emphasises an organisation’s relational maintenance with the public that it serves. According to this approach, public relations “uses communication to help groups to negotiate meaning and build relationships” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). This thesis applied the community and relational approaches that “explicitly share [the co-creational] values” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652).

3.3.1.1 The Relational Perspective

Ferguson (1984) was credited with this new regard for public relations—she proposed a paradigm shift in the public relations field, from focusing on effective communication towards an analysis of organisational-public relationships (OPRs); she used the relational approach, but only as a unit of analysis for public relations research. Ehling (1992) described this change as “an important change in the primary mission of public relations” (p. 622). In contemporary public relations theory, the new concept of ‘relationship’ (as a unit for analysis) has been both accepted and pushed further toward a comprehensive paradigm. The work has also contributed to the formulation of organisation-public relations (OPR), which pursues resolution through relationship management, defined by Bruning, Castle, and Schrepfer (2004) as “the management of organization-public relationships around common interests and goals” (p. 435) and as “the management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends” by Cutlip, Center and Broom (2000, p. 1).

This emphasis on value-recognition is the motivating factor behind the relational perspective, where ‘value’ is defined as an approach’s ability to deliver a message while simultaneously reducing costs. Biddlecombe, a British practitioner, (1971) emphasises this point, “PR people should have to account for every single penny in providing the effect of their operations” (p. 4, as cited in L’Etang, 2008, p. 247). The theory states that this is best accomplished by building long-lasting, strategic relationships with the public. Likewise, Huang (2001) argues that the positive relationships between an organisation and its public contribute to organisational effectiveness. These positive relationships reduce costs associated with litigation, boycotts, or similar action, thus substantiating the statement “the major

purpose of public relations is to save money for the organisation by building relationships with publics that constrain or enhance the ability of the organization to meet its mission” (Grunig, 1992, p. 20). To achieve this, the relational method uses “quantitative methods to track relationship changes over time” (Bruning and Ledingham 1999, p. 158) and, in the process, emphasises long-term relationships over that of the near-term. The research that guides these quantitative approaches is focused on (1) measuring the types of relationships that exist between an organisation and its public, and (2) measuring organisation-public relationships in terms of the consequences for maintenance strategies.

The first wave of research to these ends began with Ledingham, Bruning, Thomlison, and Lesko (1997). They identified 17 key variables by reviewing literature from interpersonal relationships, marketing relationships, and others. They further reduced these to five dimensions of relationship, including trust, openness, involvement, investment, and commitment (Ledingham and Bruning, 1998) by utilising Wood’s (1995) five dimensions of interpersonal relationships. The authors weighed the relational-dimension relations against each other by testing the attitude of consumers toward an organisation. They concluded that these dimensions were able to evaluate the organisation-public relationship, which demonstrates the value and effectiveness of public relations to the organisation’s bottom-line. By recognising their multi-dimensional properties, Ledingham and Bruning (1998) then developed a multi-item, multi-dimensional scale to measure the state of organisation-public relationships (Bruning and Ledingham, 1999). In measuring the public’s perceptions of the relationship between itself and its community leaders, Ledingham (2001) advocates the use of this multi-dimensional scale, which measures three types of relationship (personal, professional and community) across eight different dimensions

(trust, openness, involvement, investment, commitment, reciprocity, mutual legitimacy, and mutual understanding). Later, Bruning and Galloway (2003) added two more dimensions of commitment, personal and structural, to the Bruning-Ledingham Scale.

The second approach (mentioned earlier) differs in its focus in that it analyses the value associated with maintenance strategies. Grunig, Grunig, and Ehling (1992) propose reciprocity, trust, mutual legitimacy, openness, mutual satisfaction, and mutual understanding as possible dimensions of an organisation-public relationship. In addition, Huang (1997) has developed a scale to measure the relational quality outcomes of organisation-public relations that include trust, control mutuality, commitment, and satisfaction. From the perspective of social psychology, Hon and Grunig (1999) later added two more dimensions: exchange relationships and communal relationships.

3.3.1.2 Community Theory

Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) are credited with having been the first to support community relations in public relations studies (Hallahan, 2004). Their work is derived from the Chicago School of Social Thought that posited it as a loss of community resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation (Kruckeberg and Starck, 1988). The authors believe that the mission of public relations should be the restoration and maintenance of the sense of community, where “the greatest stakeholder—the ultimate environmental consistency—is society itself, to which such corporations are ultimately and irrefutably answerable” (p. 59). They emphasise the importance of community and the obligation of organisations to build relationships with the community. By embracing such a view, an organisation should be able to

accommodate community differences, thus reducing conflict. Ledingham (2001) explains that “in this perspective, public relations techniques and processes act to resolve differences within the social system comprised of organizations and the publics with which they interact” (pp. 286-87). Other public relations scholars (i.e. Wilson, Culbertson, and Chen) also understand the importance of community and have called for a greater focus on the community in public relations (Hallahan, 2005). For example, Wilson (1996) believes that “public relations must begin to think of our publics and our organizations in the sense of community” (p. 74). However, when discussing the community concept, it is difficult to ignore the concept of public that is pervasive in public relations theories and practice. Therefore, in the next few paragraphs, the importance of the ‘public’ in public relations is discussed.

The concept of ‘public’ originates with the 18th century courtiers of Louis XV and Louis XVI who, in their time, described a small community of France’s elite (Herbst and Beniger, 1994, as cited in Hallahan, 2004). Now, it describes the opinions of all people. The generally accepted definitions often fall into two main categories: 1) general will or overall consensus; and 2) majority opinion (Pieczka, 2006, L’Etang, 2008). Most scholars admit that public opinion is rooted in political science and remains so, despite the major contributions and influence of other disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, and communications (Pieczka, 2006). According to Pieczka (2006), Locke was the first to explicitly recognise the mechanism of public opinion (p. 424) when he proposed three laws governing human conduct: the divine law, the civil law, and the law of opinion and reputation (Locke 1690, as cited in Price, 1992, p. 6). Rousseau was the first to use the concept of public opinion (‘L’ opinion publique’) and presented it as a social phenomenon, defining it as “the collective expression of the moral and social values of people, the shared sentiments and

convictions embodied in a nation's customs and manners and applied in its judgments of individual action" (Baker, 1990, p.168, as cited in Pieczka, 2006, p. 424). Over time, the conceptualisations of public opinion have changed significantly from the general will to the opinion of the majority (Pieczka, 2006). Today, public opinion is used to help organisations better understand their public. Four methods, according to Price (1992), are identified as being effective in measuring it: survey research or polling, focus groups, experimental research, and mass media analysis.

The concept of 'public' is essential to this research, and is defined as something that includes community, an audience, a market, and a segment (Hallahan, 2004). For example, Ehling, White and Grunig (1992) compare 'public' (in terms of relations) with that of 'market' in marketing. Dewey (1927) defines 'public' as a group of people who face a problem, recognise the existence of the problem, and make arrangements to solve it (as cited in Hallahan, 2000). Later, Blumer (1946) proposed a new definition that viewed the public as a group of people who confronted an issue and engaged in discussion on how to deal with this issue (as cited in Hallahan, 2004).

Based on Dewey and Blumer, Grunig defines the public as "disconnected systems of individuals experiencing common problems: but they can evolve into organized and powerful activist groups" (Grunig and Repper, 1992, p. 138). From this perspective, Grunig developed the situational theory which provides a useful strategy for researchers to identify those publics most likely to become activists (Grunig, 1997). The theory recognises the formation of publics in response to issues (Grunig, 1997).

Although the concept of 'public' is central to public relations (Botan and Taylor, 2004), it is also "one of the most conceptually troublesome notions in

contemporary public relations” (p.500). Some scholars believe it to be problematic both in theoretical and ethical terms (L’Etang, 2008, Hallahan, 2004, Leitch and Neilson, 2001). Their argument is that the concept of ‘public’ in public relations is presented from the organisation's perspective, which is strongly biased. This perspective perceives the public as something to be managed in order for the organisation to survive (Hallahan, 2004). Furthermore, the concept of ‘public’ lacks essential elements that comprise the actual public. First, organisations do not have a “sense of shared identity or solidarity” (Leitch and Neilson, 2001, p. 136, as cited in L’Etang, 2008, p. 103). Second, they exist because the organisation has identified them as a ‘public’, which means that they are not involved in constructing their own identity (Leitch and Neilson, 2001, as cited in L’Etang, 2008).

This approach views the public from an organisational perspective, but it should not simply include the public (those who are directly affected by the organisation); it should also include those who are not directly affected. According to Hallahan (2004), it is a European perspective, where the focus is on the public in general; this differs from the American approach, which focuses on the organisation's perspective. Different scholars (Hallahan 2001, Moffitt, 2001, Leitch and Neilson, 2001, Chay-Nemeth, 2001) have argued the case for alternative or reconceptualised concepts of the term ‘public’. For example, Moffitt (2001) proposes the concept of “public positions” (as cited in Hallahan, 2004, p. 26) and Leitch and Neilson (2001) suggest a public-centric approach to public relations or community concepts.

The Kuwaiti community is best represented by this community concept, where a broader concept of ‘public’ is used. It is defined as “any group that shares common interests developed through common experience” (Hallahan, 2004, p. 243). Hallahan

(2004) argues that the community is more suitable for public relations than the concept of 'public', by stating:

Community, on the other hand, embodies both social scientific and humanistic approaches and recognizes that self-identifying communities exist without regard to their relationship to any particular organization or problem. Communities can thrive based on social, cultural, and economic interests as well as general political interests unrelated to any particular problem. Importantly, members often can readily identify themselves as members of a particular community. By contrast, few people willingly identify themselves as members of a public (p. 245).

As a broader concept than 'public', communities are the units from which issues-based publics emerge. For a public to emerge, it is necessary for members of the community to be able to interact and share a set of common beliefs, values, and symbols. Indeed, communities shape the factors that might influence the formation of issues-based publics. In his nested model for the segmentation for information campaigns, Grunig (1989) acknowledges communities as being the social structure that most closely encircles a public. In turn, publics do not always dissolve following the successful resolution of a problem, but often persevere by becoming a community. Notably, however, the scope of the group's interests inevitably expands. Kruckeberg and Starck (2001) define community as something which "encompasses what we also refer to as *environmental constituents*, that is, all those groups that affect or are affected by an organization" (p. 56).

The community, as a concept, is the most applicable to this research's goal for several reasons, including: 1) the Kuwaiti community exists beyond the organisational perspective—in other words, the community is not identified or constructed by the organisation; 2) the community concept encompasses an emphasis on the existence of multiple publics that organisations need to acknowledge. In much the same way, every person in Kuwait is entitled to MOI (Ministry of the Interior) services and, as a

result, the MOI must therefore forge and maintain relationships with different ‘publics’, all of which need to be acknowledged; and 3) the Kuwaiti community is both limited in number and socially connected in a ‘collectivistic’ lifestyle.

Another important concept in relation to this discussion is the elite concept. I include the elite (police and community elites) in the sample within the frame of this research under the assumption that “if we wish to study society, polity, and culture, it is necessary to study those at the top, those whose positions are powerful and enviable” (Cohen, 1983, p. 63). Therefore, the purpose of discussing the elite concept in the next few paragraphs as part of this chapter is to provide sufficient background to this concept, relevant to the present research.

Social scientists, sociologists, and political scientists have shown an interest in assessing and addressing the perspectives of the elite in a variety of ways (Delaney, 2007). However, the concept of the elite, in social science, appears to be a “flexible cover term” that focuses on influential persons with power in society (Marcus, 1983, p. 3). Marcus (1983), in his introductory discussion of the elite concept, eloquently states:

Elite is as a word that we use with facility in everyday discourse despite the considerable ambiguity surrounding it [...] clear in what it signifies, but ambiguous as to its precise referents, the concept of elite in general usage has a certain force; it locates agency in social events by evoking the image of ruling, controlling few, while being intractably vague. In everyday use, a reference to elites suggests an image of inequality and the wielding of power in interpersonal relations while remaining moot about whether an elite is an empirically more or less self-reproducing fixture of social organization. The concept points to certain essential features of society, the more explicit expression of which would be ideologically awkward in Western (or at least Anglo-American) society. Only when elite is elaborated as an interest of social theory and research, which address as their purpose the empirical referents of the concept, does the inherited vagueness of the concept become a major difficulty (p. 7).

This observation of Marcus (1983) emphasises the vagueness of the definition of the elite concept and its wider flexibility in terms of its usage. It applies, conventionally, to almost any powerful, wealthy, or privileged person. Another observation of Marcus (1983) points out that the elite have three main characteristics, including agency, exclusivity and relationship. Agency refers to the ability of the elite to cause change, where exclusivity means separation (more than superiority) of the elite from others, and finally the relationship quality that refers to the relationship of the elite with non-elites, which defines the elite.

In echoing Marcus (1983), in describing and mapping elites, Shore (2002) provides a working definition of this concept, which I find relevant to the research:

Elites can be characterised as those who occupy the most influential positions or roles in the important spheres of social life. They are typically incumbents: the leaders, rulers and decision makers in any sector of society, or custodians of the machinery of policy making. Elites are thus ‘makers and shakers’: groups whose ‘cultural capital’ positions them above their fellow citizens and whose decisions crucially shape what happens in the wider society. Equally important, they are the groups that dominate what Elias (1978) called ‘means of orientation’: people whose ideas and interests are hegemonic (p. 4).

Applying Shore’s (2002) working definition to this research, the elite (police elite and community elite) qualify for this designation. The police elite (senior police officers) “occupy the most influential positions” in the police organisation where they are the “decision makers”. They are also positioned “above their fellow” policemen, where they “do not share the same social or political stature” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 2) with other police officers and most specifically with non-commissioned police officers.

Community elites, on the other hand, such as media personnel, policy makers, public figures, and activists, share the qualities of agency and exclusion with the police elite. However, the critical difference between the two groups is that the police

elite influence the decision making of police organisations, while the community elite influence the formation of community public opinion. This qualifies that both groups to be included in this research as elite in the context of the police-community relationship.

In short, this co-creational perspective is useful in this thesis for two primary reasons: 1) this approach has the unique “potential to identify an appropriate framework or methodology to effectively evaluate the relationship between an organization and its public” (Jahansoozi, 2006, p.78), and 2) applying such a framework could help better serve the public at the Ministry of Interior (MOI) by improving the public relations as more than just “protocol tasks, publicity functions and secondary roles” (Kirat, 2005, p.326).

Moreover, the combination of a relational approach and community theory identify the existence and strength of the relationships between an organisation and its public and the relational effects on an organisation's reputation. For example, Fombrun (1996) states that “to acquire a reputation that is positive, enduring, and resilient requires managers to invest heavily in building and maintaining good relationships with their company’s constituents” (p. 57), while Coombs (2000) suggests that the impact on an organisation's reputation during a crisis (i.e. maintenance periods) usually results from negative stakeholder-organisation relationships.

Reputation is also an important concept, as it is reputation that is most often recalled by a public when asked about its opinion of an organisation. According to Vilma Luoma-aho (2005), members of society perceive each other based on both past behaviour and that of perceived future behaviour. The author also emphasises the importance of reputation, stating that:

Intangibles are becoming more important for exchange and society as a whole, as decisions are made based on impressions and reputation, instead of rationality (Juholin, 2003, Aula & Heinonen 2002, Fombrun 1996). This shift creates new challenges for organisations, as their survival is no longer dependent only on economic performance, but also on how the organization is perceived by its stakeholders (p. 71).

In other words, reputation is essential to the organisation because it is an accurate reflection of an organisation's effectiveness in the mind of the public. Clearly, this is precisely the reason why public relations professionals are interested in managing variables. This perception is very real, to the extent that it mirrors "what is collectively said or believed about a person or thing" (Bromley, 1993). Fombrun and Van Riel define it as the "collective representation of a firm's past actions and results" (Fombrun and Van Riel, 1997). Grunig and Hung (2002) also conceptualise reputation as a collective phenomenon, defining it as "the distribution of cognitive representations that members of a collective hold about an organization, representations that may, but do not always, include evaluative components" (p. 20).

Gaining a good reputation can be possible through the co-creational approach of public relations that focuses on building and maintaining a good relationship with the public which make it suitable to the context of Kuwaiti community-police relationships. In other words, the relationship between Kuwaiti citizens and the police is the focus of this research and by indicating the status of this relationship, the reputation of the police is consequently indicated. For example, if the relationship between the Kuwaiti police and the community is positive, then the police organisation has been successful in their reputation-building activities.

3.3.2 Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action (TCA)

The Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) is one of the major sociological theories contributing "frames of interpretation" to public relations practice (Holmström, 1997, p.2). Habermas defines Communicative Action as a "form of social interaction in which the plans of action of different actors are co-ordinated through an exchange of communicative acts, that is, through the use of language ... orientated towards reaching understanding" (Habermas, 1982, p. 234).

TCA is relevant to this thesis because its focus is on the power dynamic between the organisation and its public. TCA resonates with the co-creational paradigm that, in its essence, perceives the public and the organisation as co-creators of meaning. The TCA also emphasises the need for the system to acknowledge the 'lifeworld' contribution that will shape the relationship. Lifeworld refers to the community members' shared common background or context that includes "cultural knowledge, social norms and individual abilities, all that relates to family, culture, morals, religion, shared communities outside work and political bodies" (Holmström, 1997, p.7). More explicitly Holmström (1997) said that "It becomes the ideal task of public relations to re-establish the coupling between lifeworld and system, i.e., to re-establish lifeworld rationality as the basic foundation of systems' rationality and by doing so ensuring social acceptance for organizational activities" (p. 9).

The central premise of this theory is that ideal relationships are based on dialogical communication between the organisation (system) and community (lifeworld) (Habermas, 1982). Again, this shows that TCA is similar in its perspective to the co-creational approach to the organisation-public relationship.

However, the TCA as a critical theory pays special attention to the power factor in relationships. Power is a major influential factor in creating (or not) such an

ideal communication status, according to TCA. In other words, TCA suggests that efforts need to be made to reduce the impact of power in relationships that would otherwise distort the possibility of true communication. L'Etang (1996) asserts that the unequal distribution of power is a major factor in preventing 'the general symmetry requirement' or 'ideal speech communication' (L'Etang, 1996, p. 121). The analysis chapters will discuss the power dynamic of the police-community relationship, relying on TCA.

Furthermore, according to TCA, public relations practitioners play a crucial role in the status of the organisation-public relationship through their communicative action (Holmström, 1997). Holmström explains this thought:

Public relations practice could be seen as an “interpreter” between the communicative rationality of the lifeworld oriented to understanding and the system's goal rationality. The dialogue between these two rationalities takes place in the public sphere—often in the mass media. Lifeworld rationality is represented by the organisation's “publics”, while the organisation represents the system. The “interpretation” can be performed in two directions, which depends on how the public relations practitioner views his/her professional objectives. A critical issue is to what extent public relations practice is capable of contributing to recoupling the system to the rationality of the lifeworld and thereby to reintegration in society. Or whether public relations is a tool for the system to force through its goal rationality, i.e., contribute to the invasion of private particular interests into the public sphere and thereby to the colonisation of the lifeworld (p. 9).

Habermas's TCA focuses on what is needed for a state of true dialogue where stakeholders have access to the public deliberation through communicative action (Meisenbach and Feldner, 2009). Pearson (1989) proposes that Habermas' TCA provides a theoretical basis for the concept of symmetrical communication in communication terms. Actually, Pearson defines public relations practice as “the management of the dialectical interaction among inter-organizational discourses” (p.

177). The public relations role and influence on the police-community relationship is discussed in the analysis and concluding chapters.

In short, this theory, as part of a theoretical framework, has been used to create "frames of interpretation" in analysing the results of this thesis in relation to the power dynamic of the police-community relationship.

3.3.3 .3 Systems Theory

Although systems theory is roughly three hundred years old, it was not widely adapted for organisation theory until the 1950s (Jahansoozi, 2006), thus rivalling classical theories whose goal was to create organisations in the likeness of precise machines (Morgan, 2006). However, the latter ignored the reality of two ever-present variables in organisations: the environment and the human aspect. Systems Theory, however, posits that all living systems are “operationally closed but structurally and cognitively open entities” (Gunaratne, 2005, p. 754). They are thought to be either closed or open, where the former are isolated from their environment and the latter openly exchange information with their environment. These systems are further classified as conceptual, concrete, abstract, regulated, toti-potential (self-sufficient), auto-poietic (self-reproducing), or hierarchical (Bailey, 1994; Miller, 1978). Recently, Systems Theory has been challenged by two Chilean biologists, Maturana and Varela, who each argue that all living systems are closed (Pieczka, 2006b). The two biologists have coined the term ‘Autopoiesis’ to indicate the capability of systems to self-create and self-renew (Morgan, 2006). Morgan states:

In saying that living systems are closed and autonomous, Maturana and Varela are not saying these systems are isolated. The closure and autonomy to which they refer are organizational. They are saying that living systems close in on themselves to maintain stable patterns of relationships and that it is this process of closure or

self-reference that ultimately distinguishes a system as a system (p. 244).

Nikolas Luhmann adapted this new approach and applied it to social systems, formulating his own self-referential, Social Systems Theory (Pieczka, 2006b; Morgan, 2006). In his theory, Luhmann posits that modern society, which he calls the “functionally differentiated society”, contains different subsystems with different functions in societal systems. The functionally of a differentiated society is the result of social evolution from traditional societies that have stratified and which are hierarchically structured (Holmstrom, 2009). In the functionally differentiated society, the subsystems fulfil different and exclusive functions. For example, the political system provides decisions, law systems provide justice, police systems provides safety, etc. Although these systems existed long before the functionally differentiated society, they were not exclusive system that operated autonomously in the traditional society (Görke and Scholl, 2006).

Communication is also a core element in Luhmann’s theory, where social systems basically mirror communication systems. He has coined the phrase “reduction of the complexity,” which refers to a system that operates by selecting only a limited amount of information from that which is available, where the criterion of selecting information is based on the assumption that each system has a distinctive identity that is constantly reproduced in its communication and is based on what is considered as meaningful (Holmstrom, 2009). However, the organisation cannot totally detach itself from the environment if it is to survive, so it needs to be open in order to be able to function and survive. Görke and Scholl (2006) summarise by stating that:

Consequently, systems are closed in the sense that they operate autonomously: they constitute their identity on the basis of system-specific operations, which can be described with the help of

exclusive functions, codes, leading differences and generalized symbolic communication media. On the other hand, every system needs stimulations or irritations from outside the system, although these external stimuli cannot determine the operations of and within the system. From the perspective of structure or “programs”, systems are open to their environment (p. 648).

The traditional approach asserts that the relationship between an organisation as a system and its environmental is crucial to the survival of the organisation. Luhmann’s view differs slightly, instead focusing on reflexive and reflective qualities of the environment as measured by three interrelated organisational functions: sensitivity, self-observation, and self-presentation.

Sensitivity: how an organisation deals with its environment. Reflexive organisations have a narrow perspective of their environment, focusing only on the inherited environment (Holmstrom, 2009). Reflective organisations, on the other hand, are more interested in their actual environment (Holmstrom, 2009).

Self-observation: “deals with the organization’s view of itself and with premises of its decision processes and the self-referential of the environment;” (Holmstrom, 2009, p. 201). Reflexive organisations assume their world view to be a given and, consequently, perceive their decisions as socially responsible. In contrast, reflective organisations acknowledge the existence of other worldviews and they understand they are responsible for the effect of their decisions on the environment.

Self-presentation: facilitates the observation of the organisation by the environment. This function focuses on the trustworthiness of the organisation, relative to the environment. Reflexive organisations rely on the passive confidence of the environment, whereas reflective organisations believe they should actively earn stakeholder trust (Holmstrom, 2009).

Luhmann's approach, in summary, asserts that systems are operationally closed, but structurally and cognitively open to their environment. Furthermore, a socially functional system maintains its identity by drawing its boundary through a communications defined binary code (e.g. the legal/illegal distinction demarcating law; profitability/unprofitability for the economy; information/non-information for the mass media, and so on) and this even though the systems are operationally closed, where both the psychic and social systems interact. In this way, Systems Theory focuses on organisational behaviour relative to open or closed systems (Pieczka, 2006b). Spicer (1997) argues that the Systems approach is considered to be one of the dominant paradigms in public relations research, stating that:

Systems theory concepts and conceptualization help us understand the complexity of interaction between organizational components. It has helped immensely in directing our attention to the overwhelming diversity and complexity of external components with which an organization might have to attend. (p. 70).

In this way, the role of public relations is to adapt the organisation and the environment through the "detection of environmental turbulence or change likely to affect the homeostasis of the system" (Dozier, 1990, p. 5). For the organisation to best employ these tactics, it needs to maintain a positive, long-term relationship with its public, which is termed a 'community' by Berkowitz and Turnmire (1994)—"an especially important level of environmental linkage for an organization because successful organizational operations are closely linked to the effectiveness of community relations on an almost daily basis" (p. 106). This thesis holds that the open system is the best method of public relations for the Kuwaiti police, as it is most likely to be effective in changing the status quo, although it is expected that a closed system will persist.

The application of Systems Theory is advantageous to this research due to the fact that it focuses on the relationship it provides and its explanation of the relationship process. However, Social Exchange Theory is capable of offering more powerful and deeper explanations of relationships, such as answering questions on when and why the relationship existed and when and why it is maintained or ended (Dindia and Canary, 1993). The ability of this theory to describe the relationship process makes it attractive to both public relations scholars (Hung, 2006) and this research.

3.3.4 Social Exchange Theory

According to Social Exchange Theory, social relationships are initiated because people need other people. Economic and social exchanges are based on the assumption of need. Through dependency, it may be stated that we obtain “much of what we need and value in life (e.g. goods, services, companionship, approval, status, and information), that can only be obtained from others” (Molm, 1997, p. 11). The theory boldly argues that all human relationships are formed on the basis of exchanged resources (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959). According to Knapp (1984) and Devito (1996), the form of exchanged resources is very diverse, from “status, information, goods, services, money, intimacy, friendship, companionship, social acceptance, to security and love” (as cited in Thomlison, 2000, p. 179). The concept of exchange is originally a marketing-theory concept, stemming from “the example of economic exchange” (Molm, 1997, p. 11). Nonetheless, social exchange differs from the economic exchange on a crucial point—the social exchange theory “tends to engender feelings of personal obligations, gratitude, and trust; purely economic exchange as such does not” (Blau, 1964, p. 94). The trust variable, created by the

social exchange, is the foundation of the long-term relationship between the involved parties. The relationship, according to social exchange theory, is driven between actors by rewards and costs. When relationship rewards exceed costs, a person moves to expand the exchange in a relationship. However, when cost exceeds rewards, the person will halt the relationship before it begins or terminate an existing relationship. This concept is called the “Comparison Level”, developed by Thibaut and Kelley (1959).

This model basically argues that people use past experience and present expectations to determine whether they are satisfied, based on the rewards and cost of a relationship. However, satisfaction alone is not enough motivation to continue or end a relationship. Therefore, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) have developed another model called the “Comparison Level for Alternatives” to explain how much cost, over and above rewards, a person will accept while maintaining a relationship. In other words, if there are alternatives and these alternatives are more attractive than the status quo, the actors will be motivated to end the current relationship and move toward another. The models of Comparison Level and Comparison Level for Alternatives yield a clear perspective as to when parties are likely to terminate relationships (Thomlison, 2000). Furthermore, Thomlison (2000) suggests that we can use relational dimensions, such as trust and commitment “to identify the desired level of satisfaction (Comparison Level)” for the public’s relationship with the organisation (p. 187).

3. 3.5 Police Communications/Community Relations

The purpose of this section purpose is to discuss the applicability and relevance of the theoretical framework of this thesis to the case study of the police and community

relationship in Kuwait. The construction of the thesis' theoretical framework is motivated by the notion that public relations are capable, as proposed by Kruckeberg and Starck (1988), of reducing conflict and accommodating diverse perspectives (Ledingham, 2001). In other words, "public relations techniques and processes act to resolve differences within the social system comprised of organizations and the publics with which they interact" (Ledingham, 2001, p. 285). From this perspective, exploring the status of the police-community relationship is the first step in this direction.

A relationship, according to Social Exchange Theory, is based on cost-benefit analysis by the engaged parties. The results of such analysis will significantly influence the relationship status. Consequently, in terms of positive relationships, the relationship between the parties will grow and flourish as long as the reward exceeds the cost. Furthermore, in such a relationship, the partners are encouraged to maintain the relationship by communicating their goals and objectives to create a shared meaning.

This is applicable to the police-community relationship as both parties are looking to maximize their rewards and reduce their cost. The ability of the social exchange theory to explain the relationship process in the police-community dynamic renders the theory a valuable asset to this thesis, as it is already a valuable and effective theory in public relations discipline (Thomlison, 2000; Hung, 2005, 2006). The Social Exchange Theory is important in assessing police and community expectations of their relationship, thus providing a clear map for the changing needs of the relationship in meeting partners' expectations and goals. Furthermore, assessing the level of comparison (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959) will help predict the current status of satisfaction and the amount needed to form a healthy relationship.

Social Exchange Theory and Systems Theory are important for this thesis and these theories complement each other:

Whereas the latter provides the rationale for the existence of relationships and frames the phenomenon within specific boundaries, social exchange approaches explain why and when a relationship develops, grows and fades (Cortese, 2008, pp. 29-30).

Furthermore, the relational approach, as a co-creational theory, is applicable and valuable in this research context. The relational approach emphasises that building and maintaining a long and healthy relationship between the organisation and its public is the main role of public relations (Avidar, 2012). The police-community relationship case is approached from the public relations perspective; that is, from the co-creational angle, focused on building and maintaining a healthy relationship with the community. Since there is no available data describing the current relationship, the first step in this direction is to assess the current relationship status of the police-community relationship.

Therefore, the relational dimensions of trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality have been implemented. Although the relational perspective has identified more than twenty dimensions, these four are the most often utilised and validated in organisation-public relations studies (Cortese, 2008). Furthermore, the focus of the relational approach on the relationship as a unit of analysis helps this thesis reveal the current status of the police-community relationship.

Moreover, the Community Theory, as a co-creational theory, compliments the relational approach by emphasising the community's position in public relations. On a personal note, I find this theory very suitable in the collective, conservative culture of Kuwait, as I find its premise that the community is the focal point of any government-citizen relationship, to be both logical and rational. It is my personal belief that the role of the police is to live up to the community's expectations.

In short, the relationship between the police and the community in Kuwait is the unit of analysis in this thesis, with the aim of exploring the nature of this relationship. The theoretical framework of this thesis is therefore constructed so as to achieve such a goal. However, there are factors that influence the organisation's relationship with its environment, such as the organisation's culture. The next section will discuss organisational culture, starting with a brief history of how it came to be a part of organisation theory.

3.4 Organisational Approach

3.4.1 Organisational Culture

According to the British sociologist, Chris Jenks, 'culture' is used to refer to 'the cultivation of corps'; a notion related to the 'cultivation of humans' by anthropologists and sociologists during the nineteenth century (Jenks, 1993, as cited in Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006, p. 178). The early anthropologists investigated human beings and animals in an effort to differentiate between culture and nature. An example of such a mentality is the definition of culture proposed by British social anthropologist, E.B. Tylor, who defined it as a "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871/1958, p. 1, as cited in Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006, p. 178). Early sociologists, on the other hand, studied culture in order to justify the uniqueness of human development (in terms of 'evolutionary theory'). They posit, "if humans develop along some sort of evolutionary continuum as other animal species do, then culture provides an explanation for the distinctiveness of human development" (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006, p. 179). As a result of studying tribal communities around the world, a scale of societal rankings (from primitive to

advanced) emerged. Anthropologists shifted their application of culture from humans as a species to specific groups of people. This modern definition is best exemplified by an often-cited quote: it is “the customary or traditional ways of doing things, which are shared to a greater or lesser extent by all members of the organization and which new members must learn and at least partially accept in order to be accepted into the service of the firm” (Jacques, 1951, as cited in Makin and Cox, 2004, p. 129).

These approaches within organisational culture have been grouped by Joanne Martin (1992) into three general categories, each of which represents a worldview that tackles the complexity of the culture of an organisation from a certain angle (p. 108). These three components are: the Integration Perspective, the Differentiation Perspective, and the Fragmentation Perspective (Martin, 1992).

The Integration Perspective focuses on the cultural unity in which “ambiguity is excluded” (p. 12). The Integration Perspective itself is further comprised of three characteristics:

Organisation-wide consensus: every culture has values and basic assumptions that are shared by its members on an organisation-wide basis (Martin, 1992).

Consistency: members of the culture consistently enact these values and basic assumptions via different cultural expressions.

Clarity: members of organisational culture are fully aware of their duties and importance in the organisation.

However, this perspective ignores subcultures within an organisation (Martin, 1992).

To account for this, the Differentiation Perspective analyses:

Inconsistency: interpretations of values and basic assumptions in differentiation studies are, for the most part, inconsistent.

Sub-cultural consensus: the differentiation perspective is suspicious of organisation-wide consensus.

Relegation of ambiguity to the periphery of subcultures: the differentiation perspective emphasises the clarity of sub-cultural boundaries without ambiguity.

Yet another competing perspective is that of Fragmentation, which focuses on the uncertainty and complexity of relationships. Martin (1992) states that “from the Fragmentation viewpoint, both the unity of integration and the clearly defined differences in the Differentiation perspective seem to be myths of simplicity, order, and predictability imposed on a socially constructed reality that is characterized by complexity, multiplicity, and flux” (p.132). However, “lack of consistency, lack of consensus, and ambiguity are the hallmarks of a Fragmentation view of culture” (Martin, Frost and O'Neill, 2006, p. 732).

Critical theorists criticise these approaches on the assumption that it just presents a managerial perspective (Martin, Frost and O'Neill, 2006). The critical theorists' point of view insists that organisational cultural studies should represent all members, not just the managerial part. For example, the critical scholars view the integration approach as “an oppressive hegemony that successfully controls employees, in some cases even giving them a false consciousness that approves of their own oppression” (Martin, Frost and O'Neill, 2006, p. 734).

L'Etang (2008) presents the instrumental and interpretative approaches as two ways of viewing organisational culture. The instrumental approach, or the corporate culture approach, views culture as “an objectified tool of management control” (Wright, 1994, p. 4, as cited in L'Etang, 2008, p. 192) that can be engineered in favour of the organisation's management. Furthermore, this approach assumes that

culture can be “defined judgmentally as ‘strong’ or ‘weak’” (L’Etang, 2008, p. 193). Alternatively, the interpretative approach (that represents the critical school of thought) views culture as “the *lived experience* of the organization” (L’Etang, 2008, p. 192). The organisation's culture from this perspective is, basically, a result of different aspects of all members’ values, behaviours, identities, emotion and cannot be engineered or manipulated.

The common ground among the above perspectives culminates in Society Culture (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006). This regards an organisation’s culture as a subculture of the society at large; for instance, “...when a policeman dons his uniform, he enters a distinct subculture governed by norms and values designed to manage the strains created by his unique role in the community” (Van Maanen and Barley, 1985, cited in Paoline, 2003, p. 200).

3.4.2 Police Organisations

In modern society, the relationship between the police and society, according to Reith (1940), has evolved around the notion of “demise” (as cited in Habermas, 1997). It basically posits that without police, modern society would cease to exist as a result of the chaos and lack of social order. Reiner (2010) rejects this ideology, calling it “police fetishism”. He emphasises that throughout history, police-less societies have existed and survived “without formal force of any kind and certainly without the present model” (p. 3). This ideology, according to Martin Innes (2003), comes from what Manning (1997) calls “the mythology of policing” (p. 64). This has helped the police organization generate support and legitimacy by emphasizing the dangerousness of police work and the heroism of the police force in controlling crime and protecting civilians from evil doers (Innes, 2003).

One seemingly counter-intuitive fact seems to be true: police work does not directly affect crime rates (Reiner, 2010), although this does not mean that the police have no role in managing crime, but rather that police intervention in proportion to the crime rate is an “impossible mandate” (Reiner, 2010, p. 19). The rate and the control of crime in any state depend on the contribution and relationship between different elements and factors, where police are but just one part of the mix (Reiner, 2010). So then, what is the role of the police in society? In modern society, the role of the police, according to Martin (1990) “involves a variety of tasks and responsibilities. Officers are expected to prevent crime, protect life and property, enforce laws, maintain peace and public order, and provide a wide range of services to citizens ...” (p. 6). In modern societies, the main duty of the police is generally to enforce the law and maintain order, although the specific duties of the police differ from country to country.

In Kuwait, the constitution states that “the Emir of the State is considered to be the chief of the police” and the Ministry of the Interior is the immediate superior of the police (Constitution of Kuwait, 1962). The Police Act 23/1968 identifies the police as both a law enforcement force and a regular armed force under the command of the Minister of the Interior. Its tasks are to keep peace and order within the state, to protect people’s property and to enforce the law. Under 23/1968, police members are subject to many rules similar to those for the military; therefore, the Kuwaiti police are considered as a regular organisation that could be termed quasi-military—as they are the national police administered as one body by the Ministry of the Interior. In addition, all police departments and stations throughout the country are controlled by, and considered as part of, the Ministry of the Interior (Al-Enezi, 1991).

3.4.3 Police-Community Relations

In many ways, the PR style of the police force is influenced by a society's culture and history. As Varghese (2009) claims, "the evolvement of the police is primarily rooted on the socio-cultural and historic background of the country". This is true both its inception and its behaviour.

The Kuwaiti police "emerged as an arm of the government to protect the economic interest of those in power as well as the people of Kuwait" (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 89). While this began to change in 1939, it still informs the way that the police behave and citizens regard the institution. The effect is that, even today, police members self-identify as insiders, while community members self-identify as civilian outsiders. This viewpoint is supported by the prevailing Arabic culture in Kuwait, where legitimacy is related to power; the Kuwaiti police yield power for many reasons, not the least of which is to affirm their authority. They have historically been careful to maintain this powerful image. One of the better examples is its decision to exclude women from serving as officers (reversed in 2009); the prevailing reason for this was that females in Kuwait are never perceived as authoritative figures in the Arab or Islamic worlds, where men are expected to be the head of a family, community, or country. In the Kuwaiti social hierarchy, "the only formal authority to which he [a Kuwaiti male] was answerable was that of the older male kin and the state" (Longva, 1997, p. 128). It is in this very way that the Emir of Kuwait, for example, is able to "keep order and manage defense", all without "any absolute right or by brute force" (Peter Lienhardt, 1975, p. 68, as cited in Onley and Khalaf, 2006, p. 193). This adversarial, police-as-powerful image is not shared in all cultures.

For instance, the UK police are regarded as workers in a service institution that exists to keep order and its citizens safe. Likewise, their policies are influenced

by the UK's culture and history. The police force was established in 1829 (Villier, 2009, p. 16), when the famous Sir Robert Peel was responsible for creating the new model of policing. Peel wanted to replace the corrupt, illiterate police force with an ethical policing model that would "be acceptable to the public of all classes; to this end he set up, recruited and equipped a police service which was to be distinguished by its civility" (Villier, 2009, p. 17). This 'policing by consent' became a famous characteristic of the British system, where the police being unarmed is a "much cited attribute" (Chavez, 2012, p. 204). In many ways the system is related to the community policing model, wherein the police operate with "the consent and support of local communities" (Chavez, 2009, p. 43).

Al-Fahed (1989, p. 7) believes that policing by consent is "a fundamental principle for good police"; however, he still believes that such a concept cannot be applied in the Kuwaiti context. Elaborating on this, Al-Fahed (1989) states:

The difficulty in implementing this style of thinking in Kuwait is that it may be too progressive for the community to accept. The traditions of this small country are to be fervently loyal to its ruling family and any departure from this is viewed in a dismal light. Therefore, implementation of the concept of policing by consent must be achieved through efforts condoned by the ruling family. To begin this process, the attitudes of the public about the police must be made known and of equal importance is the investigation of how the police, themselves, perceive their role, their organisation and the public they serve (pp. 21-22).

Another tenet of UK policing that differs from that of Kuwait is decentralisation, which is basically about distributing power and functions. There exists a long history of decentralisation in UK policing and, to this day, it influences policies and practice. This trait is common among those police organisations that employ community policing, to the extent that Merrit and Dingwall (2010) cite decentralisation as a defining characteristic (p. 389). Specifically, the UK police are a coordinated, decentralised police force (Varghese, 2009). Varghese describes it further:

The UK does not have a national police service, but a network of 43 individual police forces responsible for policing specific counties, cities, or areas, excluding the forces with special jurisdiction. These 43 forces are formed of more than 140,500 police officers, 14,000 volunteer special constables and 13,400 community support officers (p. 4).

This variation in structure has a direct effect on the police-community relationship. In the UK example, such a structure assigns the police an independence that “prevents political interference in policing and avoids giving any single organisation power over the entire police service” (Varghese, 2009, p. 5). Kuwaiti police, on the other hand, fall under the authority of the government and ruling family. As a result, the Kuwaiti police are “by the nature of their jobs, the enforcers of politically-motivated decisions” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 2). This makes the accountability of the police to the community questionable, especially during political events, where the police are placed in conflict with their proscribed role (as protectors of the citizenry) and the authority of their ruler.

As such, the discussion examines the roles of history, cultural mores, and the political influence on the Kuwaiti police force. By better understanding the context of the force’s creation and purpose, one is also better able to understand the relationship between the police and their citizens. In this case, the relationship between the police and community, from the co-creational perspective, has developed from shared meaning and values. Therefore, the philosophy of policing practiced by the police institution and manifested through its communication approach is an essential element in co-creating this meaning with the community.

3.4.4 Police Culture

The concept of “police culture” has emerged from ethnographic studies of police work (Chan, 1996). Chan (1996) asserts that the focus on police culture is a result

of considering that police culture can be an obstacle to police reform. This is a representation of the instrumental school of thought (L'Etang, 2008). However, before going further in discussing police culture, both the Instrumental and the Interpretative Approaches are presented.

The Instrumental Approach, as discussed earlier, regards the organisational culture as a possession that can be engineered and manipulated. Consequently, conventional strategic organisational management investigates the culture of an organisation, rating it as “strong” or “weak” (L'Etang, 2008). For example, Reiner (1992) emphasises the sources of *strength* in police culture come from the sense of mission, stating that it is “a worthwhile enterprise, not just another job” (p. 112). Furthermore, the literature consistently explains the generality of police culture (Chan, 1996). Paoline (2004) argues that this perspective (termed the “monolithic” view) of police culture by its public is “an occupational phenomenon that encompasses all police officers” (p. 205). Different studies “found striking similarities between police cultures across countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia. Even in socially, politically, and culturally different countries, such as Japan and India, studies have found remarkable similarities with Western police culture, noting the existence of characteristics such as machismo, a sense of “us against them”, and cynicism (Moon, 2006, p. 705).

This perspective presents police culture as a distinctive culture shared by police organisations everywhere. There are similarities in police behaviour, values, and the degree to which each officer has been institutionalised: “they are elements of culture that have a broad acceptance, and we do them because we share a belief that they are the right thing to do” (Crank, 2004). The emergence of the police as a subculture reflects the nature of police work as authoritarian and corrective (Reiner,

1992). Other than corrective authority, Paoline (2003) adds that the presence of or potential for danger is a second element of 'forming police culture', seeing as how police officers encounter dangerous situations as a result of restricting people's freedom. The instrumentalists argue that the police share a culture united by common themes. Several researchers have tried to identify these key ingredients of police culture. Skolnick (1994) argues that the uniqueness of the characteristics of policing generate police culture, while Crank (2004) asserts that themes are "the essential building blocks of culture" (p. 53). Paoline and Terril (2005) have listed the main characteristics of police culture: "a distrust and suspiciousness of citizens, the need to maintain the edge during interactions with citizens, a lay-low/cover-your-ass approach to police work to minimize procedural errors, a strong endorsement of the crime-fighting mandate of the police, a we-versus-they sentiment toward citizens, and a strong loyalty to fellow officers" (pp. 456, 457). Additionally, Crank (2004) has cited twenty-two of the most common themes in police culture, which include dominion, use of force, guns, militarisation, suspicion, danger and its anticipation, unpredictability and situational uncertainty, turbulence and edge control, seduction, police morality, common sense, masculinity, solidarity, racism, outsiders, individualism, deception, deterrence, bullshit, death, and police funerals. However, among them, the most discussed themes are typically negative: isolation, solidarity, perception of danger, and suspicion (Kucukuysal, 2008).

3.4.4.1 Isolation

Harrison (1998) argues that police research has acknowledged the tendency towards isolation amongst the police. Kappeler *et al.* (1998) define police isolation as "an emotional and physical condition that makes it difficult for members of one social

group to have a relationship and interact with members of another social group” (p. 100). Paoline (2003) argues that isolation and police loyalty are products of the police’s occupational and organisational environments. Paoline (2003) states that:

Although the occupation of policing itself works to separate police officers from general society ... the chief factors contributing to social isolation are found in officers’ occupational environment. The hostility and danger in the occupational environment, as well as the coercive authority that officers wield, separates police from ‘nonpolice’ (p. 203).

3.4.4.2 Solidarity

Solidarity is one of most identified characteristics of police culture (Crank, 2004). Shernock (1995) states that “the sociological concept of solidarity refers to the unique sense of identity, belonging, and cohesion that one develops as part of a group of colleagues who share in common social roles, interests, problems, concerns, and even lifestyle” (p. 619). In turn, Crank (2004, p. 237) states that “the loyalty of police officers toward their own kind is legendary.” Shernock (1995) builds on this, stating that solidarity is a result of occupational culture that isolates the police from the community because of the perception of danger and public rejection. Furthermore, Palmiotto (1999) argues that police solidarity stems from three main sources—defensiveness, professionalisation, and depersonalisation, where defensiveness is a trait that tends to “reflect in-group/out-group tensions and is an adaptation to an external social world perceived as hostile and critical” (p. 46). Moreover, professionalisation is instilled within police recruits during training, and solidarity is reinforced with the perception that outsiders can never know what policing is really like or what it requires. Depersonalisation refers to the depersonalisation of outsiders (Palmiotto, 1999).

3.4.4.3 Perception of Danger

Danger is a major theme in police culture, one where people “vicariously experience, learn, and relearn the potential for danger through ‘war stories’” (Kappeler *et al.* 1994, as cited in Crank, 2004 p. 246). Dangers, according to Kappeler *et al.* (1998), have unified police force members, something that tends to separate them from the public. Furthermore, Skolnick (1994) and Paoline (2003) argue that the perception of danger is an influential factor in shaping police culture. Both authors suggest that next to authority, danger is one of two determinants of police personality—“two of the most widely cited elements of this environment are the presence or potential for danger ... and the unique coercive power and authority that police officers possess over citizens” (Paoline, 2003, pp. 201-202).

3.4.4.4 Suspicion

Suspicion is considered as a necessary element of police work since it is required to identify potential criminals (Skolnick, 1994). Siegal (1986) states that suspicion is a typical police personality that is usually embodied daily (as cited in Hollin, 1998). Police officers tend to be more suspicious than average people because they have been trained to identify “suspicious and threatening people, and to develop their own cues of suspicious behaviour based on their individual experience” (Alpert, MacDonald, and Dunham, 2005, p. 415).

On the other hand, the interpretative approach to organisational culture is “the lived experience of the organization,” (L’Etang, 2008, p. 192) where “corporate culture” is imposed on an organisation. Chan (1996) argues for a “theory of police” to acknowledge the co-existence of different cultures and “variation among police forces” (p. 111). For example, Manning’s (1993) research suggests the existence

of three subcultures regarding policing: command, middle management, and lower participants. In this approach, police officers are not merely passive recipients in the culture, but are rather active participants that shape and reshape the culture of their organisation (Shearing and Ericson, 1991, as cited in Chan, 1996). This perspective also focuses on the segmentation of culture in police organisations. Reuss-Ianni (1983) states that multiple subcultures exist within a policing organisation: traditional culture and management culture among them. Rank is another distinctive element of groups' classification in police culture. Based on this segmentation, Manning (1994) presents three subcultures, including line of officers, middle management, and command. The distinction between the three subgroups of the police organisation is based on concerns, orientations, values, norms, and sentiments which dominate each culture (Farkas, 1997). Paoline has undertaken a different line of reasoning (cited in Crank, 2004), by applying a statistical methodology (the cluster analysis technique) to identify seven police-oriented subcultures: "the lay-low, old-pros, traditionalists, anti-organization street cops, 'Dirty Harry enforcers', peace-keepers, and law enforcers" (as cited in Crank, 2004, p. 49).

In sum, the unique role and culture of the police will have an effect on its relationship with the community. The previous section has discussed in detail the organisational perspective, including the police's social role and culture.

3.5 Conclusion

The overall goal of this thesis is to evaluate the current relationship between the Kuwaiti police force and its community. In order to accurately illustrate the current relationship, we need to understand how the current relationship is perceived by the police and the community. This chapter utilises three major theoretical concepts: the

co-creational approach (relational approach and community theory), systems theory, and social exchange theory. Although these theories differ in their approach, they share a core focal point—the relationship between the parties.

The first approach—the co-creational perspective—assumes that both the police and the Kuwaiti community are co-creators of meaning. Within this theory are two relevant tools—the relational approach and community theory, both of which “explicitly share [co-creational] values” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652). The relational approach promotes mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and their public. The community theory goes further to suggest that the public relations role is to maintain a sense of community (Kruckeberg and Starck, 1988).

The relational dimensions of trust, satisfaction, commitment, and control mutuality are well suited to this research’s goals. Jahansoozi (2007) expands on the advantage of this theory in large-scale, community-based research, saying that:

The relational perspective allows academics and practitioners the room to explore the organization, its publics and the relationships they all have and share with each other in order to gain a holistic view and understanding of the actual environment the organization operates in. This overall view enables practitioners to understand the relationships between different groups and the organization and to prioritise them according to the level of importance and impact upon the environment. It also allows for the development of proactive strategies for grooming, developing and maintaining organization-public relationships, which are critical for the organization’s survival (p.85).

While the relational approach helps to explain agents’ perceptions, community theory discusses the point of PR. Simply put, public relations should engage its audience and should do so by creating and maintaining a sense of community (Kruckeberg and Starck 1988), where “the greatest stakeholder—the ultimate environmental consistency—is society itself, to which such corporations are ultimately and irrefutably answerable” (p. 59). The theory emphasises the importance of community

and the obligation of organisations to build relationships with the community. By embracing such a view, the police are expected to reduce conflict between themselves and their public.

Overall, the co-creational perspective is “an appropriate framework or methodology to effectively evaluate the relationship between an organization and its public” (Jahansoozi, 2006, p. 78), and would be applied in a discussion regarding the police PR department’s most common duties, “protocol tasks, publicity functions and secondary roles” (Kirat, 2005). Moreover, the combination of the relational approach and community theory indicate the existence and strength of the relationships between an organisation and its public and the relational effects to an organisation's reputation.

Social Exchange Theory and Systems Theory are mainly utilised to interpret findings in this thesis. Social Exchange Theory differs in its focus, in that it attempts to explain why, when, and how each relationship begins, is maintained, and ends (Kelley, 1979; Dindia and Canary, 1993); the theory has been used by scholars “to explain public behaviour within the broader framework of relationship management” (Ledingham, 2001, p. 289). Additionally, it aids researchers in crafting deeper explanations by offering tools that better describe the relational process between stakeholders.

Systems Theory is another major concept in the theoretical framework. In fact, the co-creational approach is rooted in Systems Theory. The breakout focus in the former is on the interdependency of relationships within an organisation (Grunig, Grunig and Ehling, 1992; Spicer, 1997). The TCA is also harmonious with the co-creational paradigm, in that in its essence, it perceives the public and the organisation as acting as co-creators of meaning. TCA is relevant to this thesis because of its focus on the power dynamic between the organisation and its public. TCA also emphasises

the need for the system to acknowledge life and world contributions, the sum of which shape the relationship. This theory, as a part of the theoretical framework, was used as a “frame of interpretation” in analysing the results of this thesis, respective to the power dynamic of the police-community relationship.

In short, the theoretical framework is being used in this research to guide the researcher in exploring the police-community relationship in Kuwait, where there is no previously known academic research that has analysed these populations in such a manner. Furthermore, integrating these Western theories, the co-creational approach, Systems Theory, and Social Exchange Theory, into the context of the Kuwaiti police-community relationship is another contribution of this chapter to this thesis.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and defend the thesis' methodological design, data collection, and analysis. The chapter begins with a definition of the research goals, a brief explanation of the academic theory that has influenced the research approach/design, and an illustration and analysis of the methodological design.

The co-creational paradigm of public relations that guides this research methodology is discussed in terms of its philosophy and how it is positioned in this research paradigm. Since it is the relationship between the Kuwaiti people and its police force that this thesis explores, an interview-based approach was chosen. In this qualitative approach, 22 participants from the community and the police were interviewed, with their answers then coded and transcribed. The interview method is described within the body of this chapter, the details of which focus on the appropriateness of use and the results obtained. Particular attention has been paid to the sampling of interview participants; in these discussions, the qualitative sampling techniques of quota and purposive sampling are described. Following the sampling section, the data collection process is discussed. Both the data and its limitations are noted.

4.2 Research Questions

What is the current relationship status between the Kuwaiti community and its police?

The overall goal of the thesis is to explore the relationship between the Kuwaiti community and its police force, there being no prior research on this topic relative to

Kuwait. The rest of this chapter describes the methodology designed to explore this question.

4.3 Public Relations Paradigm

Public relations is interdisciplinary, with porous, ambiguous boundaries; its roots are in marketing, management, sociology, psychology, communications, and management (L'Etang, 2008, p. 7). Furthermore, public relations is usually divided into paradigms and approaches in the academic world, the most prominent theories of which follow¹:

- 1) Rhetorical and Critical: Toth (1992) asserts that public relations as an academic discipline can be divided into the following categories: systems, rhetorical, critical. She asserts that these perspectives are complementary and can be combined to enrich an understanding of public relations.
- 2) Organisation and Management: Ruler and Verčič (2005) assert that public relations is defined by organisation and management.
- 3) Functionalistic or Co-creational: Botan and Taylor (2004) assert that public relations adopts either functionalistic or co-creational approaches.

This thesis generally regards the practice of public relations has a co-creational approach, that “sees publics as co-creators of meaning and communication”, not just focusing on public relations as a means of achieving an organisation's goals (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652). This thesis explores the research question from a co-creational approach, in which the community's opinions and perspective of their

¹For additional, less prominent theories, see Pieczka, 1996; Hallahan, 1999; Hutton, 1999; Miller, 2000; Leichy, 2003.

relationship is considered and measured. Therefore, in this section I will illustrate how the co-creational paradigm of public relations is situated in the research paradigm.

Botan and Taylor (2004) define the co-creational approach as one that:

... sees publics as co-creators of meaning and communication as what makes it possible to agree to shared meanings, interpretations, and goals. This perspective is long term in its orientation and focuses on relationships among publics and organizations. Research is used to advance understanding and the perspective embraces theories that either explicitly share these values (e.g., relational approaches or community) or can be used to advance them (p. 652).

In this context, the focus of public relations rests with “conflicts between the different norms or interests of society” (Holmström, 1996). This contrasts with the sociological approach to public relations, which is used in conjunction with the co-creational perspective to describe the Kuwaiti-police relationship. Holmström (1996) advocates the application of the sociological perspective:

Public relations as a professional practice arose in pluralistic, democratic societies in the course of the present century and should be examined in connection with developments in structures and processes in society. It is therefore necessary to apply theories of sociology to describe, analyse, interpret and discuss the phenomenon and to place its manifoldness in a meaningful whole (p. 3).

The co-creational paradigm focuses this view by providing perspectives on the role of community opinion in the relationship. As a result, this thesis has adopted community and relational approaches that “explicitly share [co-creational] values” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652).

The methodological design of this research initially started out as a quantitative co-orientation that aimed at exploring the current relationship between the police and the community from different perspectives. However, as the research has shifted the design to a qualitative approach, it is still able to tackle the issue from different perspectives using the co-creational approach. However, the research gained

more insight through the strength of the qualitative paradigm that provides a holistic view of the police-community relationship.

4.3.1 Relational Approach

Before moving forward, another approach will be discussed. The relational approach—one “central to the public relations practice,” (Jahansoozi, 2007 p. 87) is emphasised. This approach focuses on assessing and improving the relationship between an organisation and its public. It constitutes a functionalistic sub-perspective, according to Heath (2001), and it is valid since “regardless of how we define public relations, it is useful only to the extent that it helps organizations, regardless of their type, to achieve and to maintain legitimacy” (p. 186). In short, the value added to an organisation-public relationship is of interest, where “PR people should have to account for every single penny in providing the effect of their operations” (Biddlecombe, 1971, p. 4, as cited in L’Etang, 2008, p. 247).

Ferguson (1984) was first credited with the formulation of this theory when she proposed a paradigm shift in the public relations field. The shift was from a focus on analysing effective communication towards an analysis of organisational-public relationships (OPRs). She has proposed the relational approach, but only as a unit of analysis for public relations research. Ehling (1992) describes this change as “an important change in the primary mission of public relations” (p. 622). In contemporary public relations theory, the new concept of ‘relationship’ (as a unit for analysis) has been both accepted and pushed further toward a comprehensive paradigm. The theory states that this is best accomplished by building long-lasting, strategic relationships with the public.

In practice, the relational approach is considered as a quantitative method when it tracks relationship changes over time (Bruning and Ledingham, 1999, p. 158), where long-term relationships are given more attention and status than short-term ones. In a qualitative approach, subjects are only interviewed once or twice, the data being interpreted as static illustrations of the subject matter. While there is a “noticeable lack of qualitative research exploring organization-public relationships,” this is in spite of the fact that “qualitative approaches are more suited to evaluating how relationships are perceived and experienced as they provide a rich description and holistic view of the relationship” (Jahansoozi, 2007, p. 88). Research conducted by Ni (2007) and Jahansoozi (2007) are among the few that have applied the qualitative relational method. Ni (2007) has applied the qualitative approach to explore the relationship status between managers and employees in an organisation, using in-depth interviews during which she focused on the relational elements of trust, control mutuality, relational satisfaction, relational commitment, exchange relationships, and communal relationships as measurements. Jahansoozi (2007) also applied the qualitative approach using in-depth interviews that focused on the relational elements of trust, transparency, dialogue, commitment, and power. As part of the co-creational paradigm, this thesis uses the relational approach by employing its elements of trust, satisfaction commitment, and control mutuality as an analysis measurement of the quality of the relationship between police and community. This will provide this thesis with unique insight into the nature of the police-community relationship.

4.3.2 Community Theory

The relational approach is centred round the community to which the organisation relates (Jahansoozi, 2007). Community theory goes further, suggesting that the role of public relations is to maintain a sense of community, of which the organisation is a part (Kruckeberg and Starck, 1988). The communitarian approach emphasises the essential needs of public relations practitioners to focus on the welfare of their community. This is built on the assumption that what is good for the community is good for the organisation. Leeper (1996) explains this point eloquently stating that:

A communitarian approach would suggest that what is best for the community is ultimately in the best interests of the organization. Because of the interdependence between the organization and the community, anything which affects the community negatively ultimately affects the organization negatively (p. 173).

In this context, public relations practitioners are expected to serve the community (Kruckeberg and Starck, 1988) and with this in mind, it is assumed that in Kuwait, what is good for the community is good for the police. Furthermore, an accurate assessment of the police-community relationship may be obtained by exploring the community's perspective, and vice-versa. As such, the aim of this research is to assess the police-community relationship by investigating community member perspectives and those of police officers. The integration of co-creational and community theories provides a unique qualitative approach to an even more focused target—the police-community relationship in Kuwait

In this thesis, I have drawn on communitarianism in my understanding of my research aim of exploring the police-community relationship. The communitarian theory, as part of the co-creational approach, helps this thesis to gain a holistic view of the current relationship by acknowledging the community voice. In other words,

the communitarian theory would help me empower the Kuwaiti community by legitimising their perspective on their relationship with police.

4.4 Research Paradigm

Generally, a paradigm influences the research by guiding the ways in which knowledge is studied and interpreted. The research paradigm in this thesis is qualitative, although the theoretical framework (i.e. Systems Theory) is largely quantitative. The quantitative paradigm is useful in identifying factors and elements that influence the police-community relationship (Creswell, 2003, pp. 21-22), however the qualitative approach is better in proving a holistic view of newly explored phenomena.

The rationale behind the adaptation of the qualitative paradigm is its suitability to address this research question. As I mentioned previously, the police-community relationship in Kuwait is an unexplored phenomenon that needs a flexible approach to include all possible outcomes. The qualitative approach is likely to be successful due to its holistic approach that considers the context of the police-community relationship. Actually, the qualitative approach “stresses the importance of context, setting, and the participants’ frame of reference” (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 58). The setting for these interviews was casual; the tone and question order used by the interviewer, similar. This not only enabled the researcher to remain independent in an attempt to achieve objectivity, but also for the interviewees to feel they could be expansive and natural in their answers. While this method's resulting data is inherently subjective, it also provides a more comprehensive range of data since it allows “the researcher to develop a level of detail from high involvement in the actual experiences” (Williams, 2007, p. 67).

The public relations co-creational paradigm stresses the importance of public perspectives and views of their relationship with the organisation, as they are the “co-creators of meaning and communication as what makes it possible to agree to shared meanings, interpretations, and goals” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652). Therefore, identifying these co-creators’ perspectives was essential in this thesis in order to understand the phenomena at hand. The qualitative paradigm acknowledges the importance of the “participants’ frame of reference” (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 58), which adds another advantage to the application of the qualitative paradigm herein. These are precisely the reasons that Marshall and Rossman (1999) recommend the qualitative paradigm, when there is little known about a community-based topic. This is especially true when there is little or no relatable field research. As an example, Tewksbury (2009) explains how qualitative depth rather than breadth is advantageous in criminology:

Qualitative data, whether collected from one on one interviews, observations, focus groups or immersion in a setting, provides an understanding of very specific individuals and settings, which while applicable beyond those specific settings and individuals, is limited in how widely generalizable such findings may be. But, overcoming this limitation is the value of learning about something deeply, and in a complete context (p. 54).

Since the aim of this thesis is not to test a hypothesis, but rather to deepen understanding of an organisation-community relationship, this holistic approach is appropriate.

4.5 Data Collection

The interview was the main qualitative method used in this thesis. The rationale behind employing interviews as a data collection method is to obtain first-hand information about the police-community relationship. The interview method is a

valid, widely-used element in exploratory qualitative research “permitting us to see that which is not ordinarily on view and examine that which is looked at but seldom seen” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, as cited in Myers and Newman, 2007, p. 3).

4.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews

These semi-structured interviews have been the basis of the data collection process in this thesis, the point of which is to “gather descriptive data in the subject's own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world” (Bogdan and Biklen 1982, p. 135, as cited in Packer, 2010, p. 49) The semi-structured approach helps to uncover themes and perspectives not previously considered by the researcher (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). While the structured interview is useful, it is a closed system: “the same questions with the same wording and in the same sequence” (Corbetta, 2003, p. 269). While this approach reduces bias, it also restricts the freedom of data exploration. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview allows the interviewer to clarify answers and to probe for further examples. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the semi-structured format is explorative, the process here aims to keep the type of collected data consistent across all interviewees in order to reduce the ‘dross rate’ that usually results from unstructured in-depth interview (Daymon and Holloway 2002, p. 170).

The questions used in this thesis were guided by Rubin and Rubin (1995), who state that there are three types of questions: 1) those that comprise the main focus, which guide the process; 2) probing questions, which guide the subject’s elaboration; and 3) the follow-up question, which is intended to uncover specific areas of interest. The interview guide was informed by prominent research in the field.² Additionally, a

²Daymon and Holloway, 2002; Marshall and Rossman, 2010; Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003.

preliminary review of the relationship between the Kuwaiti police and their public was conducted by the researcher. The resulting interview guide is presented in Appendix 1, the purpose of which has been to guide the researcher in an effort to extract as much relevant information as possible, rather than to lead him down a specific path or toward a specific end.

However, it is worth mentioning that the interviews were structured around existing concepts (relational elements) rather than having a more open approach. The reason behind that is this research is approaching a new and unexplored topic. The relational elements are applicable and valuable in this context. The relational approach emphasises that building and maintaining a long and healthy relationship between the organisation and its public is the main role of public relations (Avidar, 2012). The police-community relationship case is approached from the public relations perspective; that is, from the co-creational angle, focused on building and maintaining a healthy relationship with the community. Since there is no available data describing the current relationship, the first step in this direction is to assess the current relationship status of the police-community relationship.

Therefore, the relational dimensions of trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality have been implemented. Although the relational perspective has identified more than twenty dimensions, these four are the most often utilised and validated in organisation-public relations studies (Cortese, 2008). Furthermore, the focus of the relational approach on the relationship as a unit of analysis helps this thesis reveal the current status of the police-community relationship.

Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in-depth. An in-depth interview is a conversation that is designed to uncover the meaning of certain themes sourced from participant interviews (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Using in-

depth interviews as a data collection method has enabled this research to uncover the participants' perspectives of the police-community relationship, and this in some depth. Such a method allows the research to gather together a large amount of data within a reasonable time (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Marshall and Rossman (1999) also note the strength of this technique when used in combination with others, saying that “in-depth interviewing may be the overall strategy or one of several methods employed in a study” (p. 80). In this research, two groups were included in the population sample: 1) community and police members, and 2) the community and the police elite. I applied in-depth semi-structured interviews in both cases.

4.5.1.1 Elite Interviewees

As discussed in the *Literature Review* Chapter (Chapter 3), the inclusion of elites in the sample framed by this research stems from the assumption that “if we wish to study society, polity, and culture, it is necessary to study those at the top, those whose positions are powerful and enviable” (Cohen, 1983, p. 63). Therefore, interviewing elite groups can be advantageous in that “valuable information can be gained from these participants because of the positions they hold in social, political, financial, or administrative realms” (Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 105).

Relative to the police, senior officers comprise ‘organisational elites’. In the case of the community, prominent community members comprise ‘community elites’. The reason behind interviewing the elite is that their expertise and knowledge can bring a special perspective to the discussion of the police-community relationship.

The same interview guide was used for elite participants, although a different strategy was adopted, as a power differential exists between the interviewer and these elite individuals. This is an acknowledged disadvantage of interviewing members of

an elite group (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). In fact, Marshall and Rossman (2006) believe that elite interviewees are usually “quite sophisticated in managing the interview process...They may want an active interplay with the interviewer. Well practiced at meeting the public and being in control, an elite person may turn the interview around, thereby taking charge of it” (p. 106).

While such a situation makes it more difficult for the interviewer to control the interview, Delaney’s advice (2007) was applied. This premise is based on a *jujitsu* principle as a solution, stating that one should use the “opponent’s momentum to [his own] advantage” (p. 215).

Accessibility is another disadvantage of interviewing the elite. “It is often difficult to gain access to elites because they are usually busy people operating under demanding time constraints; they are also often difficult to contact initially” (Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 105). This was found to be true in conducting this research, but it is worth mentioning that the researcher gained access to the police elite via his role as a public relations officer for the Kuwaiti police. The elite in the community were accessed via a variety of channels. More details regarding accessibility issues are to be found in the *interview process* section.

4.5.2 Sampling

One of the early, crucial decisions in designing any methodology concerns sampling. It is not possible to include all members of a population in a study, but fortunately, it is not necessary in order to gather reasonably accurate results. Furthermore, in a qualitative approach, sampling is determined by the “relevance to the research topic rather than their representativeness which determines the way in which the people to be studied are selected” (p. 41, as cited in Neuman, 2010, p. 241). In short, the

number of participants is less important to data validity than the total sample's relevance to the research question. As such, sampling selections are critical, a fact that Neuman (2010) asserts: "A good sampling frame is crucial for accurate sampling" (p. 246), the point of which is to define "the members of the *population* who are eligible to be included in a given *sample*—in the sense of drawing a boundary or frame around those cases that are acceptable for inclusion in the sample" (Morgan 2008, p. 800). Therefore, researchers have come up with sampling techniques that require fewer participants while consistently maintaining validity.

This study uses a combination of two sampling techniques; specifically, that of quota and purposive sampling, where quota sampling is used to identify members of the Kuwaiti community. Purposive sampling is used to identify special participants with unique contributions.

4.5.2.1 Quota Sampling

Quota Sampling, according to Neuman (2010), is "a non-random sample in which the researcher first identifies general categories into which cases or people will be placed and then selects cases to reach a predetermined number in each category" (p. 243). Quota sampling is famous among non-probability sampling techniques because it promotes diversity within the sample. This method is used in this research to obtain a sample of Kuwaiti community and police members that not only represent the population at large, but who also "avoid bias on key characteristics, by assuring their inclusion in the sample" (Morgan, 2008, p. 723). In total, eleven participants were chosen (seven represent the Kuwaiti community and four represent the police organisation).

4.5.2.2 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling (or judgmental sampling) is appropriate when one's purpose is to learn about informative cases (Neuman, 2010). The purposive qualitative sample is not aimed at a representation of the population, but rather to serve the purpose of the research by identifying information-rich cases that can be studied in depth (Daymon and Holloway, 2002). The use of purposive sampling, according to Neuman (2010), is "to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation to gain a deeper understanding of types" (p. 268). This method is used in order to compare the data from the general Kuwaiti population and that of the cultural elite. In order to assemble the cultural elite, I relied on my experience and connections as a public relations officer for access and insight. In total, eleven (seven community elite and four police elite) participants were chosen.

The implication of quota and purposive sampling techniques on this research sample produced four categories of participants including community members, police members (quota sampling), community elites, and police elites (purposive sampling).

4.5.2.3 Community Members

The quota in the community sample is based on the social classification of the Kuwaiti community, discussed further in the *Kuwaiti Culture and Context* Chapter. The research follows Al-Mekaimi's (2003) social classification; she proposes that the Kuwaiti community may be categorised into six social classes that include the ruling families (Al-Sabah), the old Kuwaiti merchant families, women, urban classes, Shia, and Bedouins. This research has applied this social classification system as the sample frame for the quota sampling.

Although non-Kuwaitis represent the major part of the Kuwait community, I chose not to include non-citizens in the population sample, as this would have unnecessarily complicated the research by splitting the focus even further on the top-level. Furthermore, the non-Kuwaiti population is extremely diverse with regard to race, country of origin, language, culture, etc. The Ministry of Planning (2008) states that non-citizens are comprised of over 100 nationalities, with primary languages including Persian, Malayalam, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Filipino.

It is worth mentioning that the identification of women is not based on gender here, but on social classification. This social class was established by Kuwaiti culture throughout history, as discussed in the *Kuwaiti Culture and Context* Chapter. Therefore, I will not construct their class based on gender, but on the social stratification that stems from a cultural perspective and expectation. In identifying cases from these categories, the research applies convenience sampling methods, which means that the criterion for their selection is based their availability and accessibility. I recruited participants using referrals from locals (e.g. university professors and social workers) and through personal connections (e.g. friends, family and colleagues). To limit the shortcomings of the quota method, the research used quota categories which were broad enough to ensure the inclusion of the maximum number of Kuwaiti community members. In total, seven participants were chosen to represent the Kuwaiti community.

4.5.2.4 Police Members

The quota in the police sample is based on police ranks: commissioned and non-commissioned police officers. The non-commissioned officers “do not share the same social or political stature as police at higher ranks” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 2). Therefore,

including both categories in the sample frame helped the research to “avoid bias on key characteristics” (Morgan, 2008, p. 723). Furthermore, two additional categories were included: retired police officers and female employees in the police organisation. Consequently, four participants in total were chosen to represent the police members' sample.

4.5.2.5 unity Elite

The Kuwaiti community elite are media personnel, policy makers, public figures, and activists. The first category comprises National Assembly MPs who are members of the Ministry of Defence and Interior Commission. This Commission has five members and supervises the Ministry of the Interior in legislative, financial, and political domains. They even have the legislative power to question the Minister of the Interior for perceived misconduct. This group has specialised privileges in the community, and as such, it also has a unique perspective regarding the police. Although this category is an important part of the community elite, it was excluded from the sample frame due its lack of accessibility, which is discussed in detail in the *data collection* section.

Civil society leaders are also part of the community elite. In this category, a prominent figure in a non-governmental organisation was interviewed, along with a number of media personnel and activists. In total, seven participants were chosen.

4.5.2.6 The Police Elite

Although, in the general definition of elites the commissioned police officers are elites, yet more restrictions were applied to the general definition of police elites to achieve the “distinction” according to Shore (2002, p. 3). In other words, I

constructed an operational definition of the police ‘elite’ category that only included the decision makers, as we discussed on the *Literature Review* Chapter.

Therefore, senior police officers were only included in this category. Furthermore, senior officers were chosen based on the following criteria: 1) rank (brigadier general or higher); 2) position (general manger or higher); and, 3) experience (those who have occupied different positions and performed different tasks were preferred over those who had only been in one line of work). These standards are consistent for every position in the Ministry except for one—the Assistant Director of the Public Relations Department. The position of Public Relations Director and the Assistant Director are always held by the rank of colonel or lower (according to the Ministry’s organisational protocol) since a mid-level rank job should be held by a mid-level ranking officer. However, such positions entitle their holder to a unique perspective that is needed in this investigation. Therefore, I have included the Assistant Director of the Public Relations Department in the category of police elite. In total, four senior police officers were chosen.

4.5.2.7 ample Size

The total number of participants in this thesis equals 22. However, in qualitative studies, the sample size is less important in determining validity than is the case with quantitative studies (Neuman, 2010, p. 241). Patton (2002) states that “the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/ analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size” (p. 245), due to the fact that:

- 1) Increasing the sample size beyond a certain point does not significantly contribute to the research validity because “there will

come a point where very little new evidence is obtained from each additional fieldwork unit. This is because phenomena need only to appear once to be part of the analytical map.” (p. 83).

- 2) The generalisation of the results that require statistical precision is not the primary requirement or goal in qualitative research.
- 3) The richness, in terms of information, in each individual case in qualitative research obligates the researcher to limit the sample size for him or her to be able to manage the data.

In determining the sample size for this project, the researcher decided that when the data saturation point was reached, it would indicate that a sufficient sample had been attained, the saturation point being when the topic of investigation was finally exhausted and no further perspectives were arising. This is because the aim of this thesis guided by the qualitative paradigm is “not the amount of data but rather the richness of the data, not the total counts but the detailed descriptions” (Tuckett, 2004, p. 56). This thesis is exploratory, and so it is the depth of investigation into the police community relationship which is desired. Therefore, according to Patton (2002), the breadth, instead of the trade-off, is preferable in such a case.

If the researcher desires depth, he or she would interview a relatively small number of participants while spending considerable time to understand an experience or phenomenon as thoroughly as possible. When breadth is the concern, less time is spent with each participant in exchange for studying a large number of participants (Franco, 2009, p. 38).

This is exactly what was done in each interview, where all possible aspects of the police-community relationship were covered over the average interview of one and one half hours, although in some cases, the interviews reached three hours. In total, more than 30 hours were spent discussing the police-community relationship with the participants.

Researchers differ in the number of participants included in their qualitative research (Franco, 2009). For example, Groenewald (2004) and Creswell (2003) regard 2 to 10 participants as a sufficient number. Leedy and Ormrod (2005), on the other hand, assert that 5 to 25 is the typical number of participants expected in qualitative research. In sum, the amount of the time spent interviewing the 22 participants in this research is sufficiently large since the saturation point was achieved accordingly.

4.5.3 Data Collection Process

In this section, the interview process, its limitations, and its validity are discussed.

4.5.3.1 Interview Process

In the data collection process, 22 interviews were conducted. The length of the interviews varied between 45 minutes to 3 hours. All of the interviews were tape recorded and conducted in Arabic, except for one, which was conducted in English.

The participants varied in their enthusiasm and emotional distance from the topic. For example, one interviewee burst into tears when narrating a story (see section on research ethics). Emotions could have been tempered by the fact that interviews with members of the community, rather than the elite, were usually conducted in public places (e.g. cafes and restaurants). Since I am a member of the police force, I resisted any kind of response to a participant's answer (e.g. approval or disapproval), including signals such as nodding.

The elite interviews were different in that the interviewees were sometimes confrontational and the power dynamic was set in the other direction. The interviews were conducted in these interviewees' offices. As a result of this dynamic, the

interviewees were constantly, albeit indirectly, reminded of the purpose of the research.

The order of these interviews was staggered; I moved back and forth between three samples of police elite, community elite, police members, and members of the community. My aim was to be consistently reminded of different perspectives and, when relevant, use those perspectives in the semi-structured interview process. For example, police and media interviewees have different perspectives regarding the media coverage of police misconduct; I led the police sample to comment on media interviewee quotes, and vice versa. In this way, I was able to gain a holistic view and the interviewees' honest reactions.

The major challenge faced during data collection was the accessibility of the interviewees, which differed between those conducted with officers of the police force and that of citizens and the civil elite. With regard to the former, permission from the Ministry of Interior was required—a process that took more than three weeks. That said, access was unencumbered after gaining this permission. This differed from the interviews with the citizenry, although it was more difficult to build a suitable sample pool since citizens from different sectors of society were required. In order to make the initial civil-interviewee connections, I turned to friends, relatives, and professional networks for help. Despite the connections that were made through mutual acquaintances, some refused to be interviewed, while others initially agreed only to renege, or ignore my calls.

The least accessible sample was that of the Kuwaiti MPs. I was not able to obtain a single interview despite countless attempts. One of the MPs, after agreeing to return my calls, asked me to summarise my research, then arranged an appointment, only to cancel it later. Another scheduled the interview three times, then refused to

meet me. During three months of trying to interview an MP, I exhausted all possible means without any success. MPs are extremely busy and reluctant to be interviewed due to the political instability in Kuwait (the Emir had dissolved the National Assembly that very same year). These circumstances forced me to exclude this group from the community elite category in this sample.

4.6 Data Analysis

As explained at length, the most appropriate method for this type of research was deemed to be interview-based and so this thesis employs semi-structured interviews in order to elicit honest, expansive responses from a variety of community and police members. In the next sections, I explain the analytical approach and its limitations.

4.6.1 General Approach

Primarily, Miles and Huberman's (1994) proposed process for data analysis was used, which includes data reduction, data display, drawing conclusions and verification. Data reduction enables the researcher to manage the data by summarising its contents, coding, cluster construction, and data transformation. Finally, conclusions were drawn after evaluating the data for themes, the process of which was guided by thematic analysis.

4.6.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is an approach to data analysis through the application of coding and creation of themes. This type of analysis is actually common in the social sciences, as scholars from different disciplines—history, art, political analysis, psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, etc.—have applied thematic analysis

without its being “specifically described, and it may be referred to many different names” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 6). Furthermore, Miller and Crabtree (1992) show that thematic analysis is applicable in various traditions and domains of qualitative research, regardless of the ontology or epistemology (as cited by Boyatzis, 1998, p. 6). In this particular case, Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six phases of thematic analysis are used to make use of the interviews and eliminate noise; they include: 1) familiarisation with the data, 2) generating the initial categorisation codes, 3) searching for themes, 4) reviewing themes, 5) defining and naming themes, and 6) producing the report.

4.6.2.1 Familiarisation with the Data

During this stage, I conducted the interviews and the accompanying re-listening sessions. My aim was to immerse myself in the interviews in order to become familiarised with them and to look for depth. After this stage, the interviews were transcribed verbatim into Arabic, after which they were also translated into English.

Translation was another process where I needed to be careful not to distort the original transcript. Although it is impossible to produce an identical English transcript (Cronin, 2006), translations were furnished by the researcher in a manner that preserved the meaning of each sentence, rather than a literal translation. I was careful to limit my influence over the translation, keeping the interviewees’ original meaning intact. Although the translations were ultimately completed by the researcher, I sought additional consultation with people fluent in both languages and familiar with both cultures—in this case my own brother and a friend, the latter being both an English Literature lecturer at Kuwait University and a translator for one of the princes of

Kuwait. The final version of the English transcripts was then ready for the next step of the thematic analysis.

4.6.2.2 Generating Initial Categorisation Codes

Boyatzis (1998) defines categorisation codes as “the most basic element of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63). Pottton (2002) informally describes the process as a way to “look at what is there and give it a name, a label” (p. 463). Working manually, I searched the data systematically looking for interesting concepts “that may form the basis of repeated patterns (themes)” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 89), following Braun and Clarke’s (2006) tips by coding as much as possible any aspect of the data that might be a potential theme. In coding the interview transcripts, the ‘block and file’ technique, recommended by Grbich (2007, p. 32), was used. This approach’s coding and analysis process is comprised of two stages: (1) each interviewee transcript is individually and manually coded, line by line, and (2) similar quotes are gathered from interviewees’ manuscripts, grouped into segments, and organised in a table for further analysis.

After identifying potential patterns, a search for themes was begun. This was done by re-reading the coded segments and comparing them to each other in order to find a relationship of similarities and differences that could produce a bigger picture, this being a thematic map, itself a visual representation of the relationship between themes which, in this case, represent themes and sub-themes related to the overarching theme of the role of the police (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

4.6.2.3 Searching for Themes

The researcher combed the data looking for connections by combining and correlating relevant codes in order to create themes and sub-themes. This stage is illustrated in the analysis section of this thesis.

4.6.2.4 Reviewing Themes

After finding several themes, a thematic map was created in order to organise them. This was completed in two stages, the first requiring the codes to be reviewed, then tested. During this review, the themes were reorganised, i.e. they were collapsed, divided, or discarded. At this point, a complete thematic map was produced. Secondly, the researcher checked these themes against that of the entire dataset in order to analyse “how the emerging themes are the true reflection of the original data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 91). For further testing, I applied Patton's (2002) *internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity* for judging categories in the final thematic map, which requires that each theme be internally coherent and externally distinctive and clear.

4.6.2.5 Defining and Naming Themes

In this phase, the focus was on individual themes, trying capture each theme's essence and its contribution to the analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 93). The data was reviewed within each theme, trying to read overall meaning in the data. Some themes remained the same, while others were renamed.

4.6.2.6 Producing the Report

This is the last phase of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six thematic analysis. At this stage, the researcher organises the data and presents his analysis. The report that results from this thematic analysis forms the basis of the chapters, *Police Role* and *Police-Community Relationship: Relational Elements*.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

It is important for a researcher to take ethics into consideration when conducting research. I had no intention of causing harm to any of the interview participants. Certain steps were taken to confirm that harm was and would be avoided. A research proposal was sent to the Ministry of Interior clearly stating and explaining the purpose of the study and its procedures. After gaining approval, I started my interviews by stating that the research forms part of a doctoral thesis, gave a time-commitment estimate, and asked for the participant's permission to audio-tape. Furthermore, I explained that participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and so the participants would be free to quit at any time. They were made aware that this thesis will be a publicly available document, however, they were assured that the information disclosed during the interviews would remain absolutely confidential.

Confidentiality, according to Christians (2011), "must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure" (p. 66). Therefore, to protect the participants' confidentiality I omitted names and any other information that could expose their identity. For the purpose of identifying the quotes from the interviews, each interviewer was assigned a number proceeded by **M**, for men, and **W**, for women. Furthermore, the transcripts containing the interviewees' actual names and

identities were kept confidential. All data was to be destroyed after the completion of the study.

Consideration was also given to the interviewees' emotional state. In some cases, the interviewees became distressed and emotionally unstable. In such scenarios, the interview was stopped and the tape recorder switched off until the interviewee was able to regain his or her composure.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodological design for the thesis and discussed important aspects of this design, including the qualitative paradigm, public relations paradigm, data collection methods, and analysis. My purpose has been to clearly articulate my choice of methods and the appropriateness of these methods in answering the research question. The next section of this thesis presents the analysis, which spans the chapters *Police Role* and *Police-Community Relationship: Relational Elements*. In these chapters I present the results of the analytical methods and techniques for thematic analysis.

Chapter 5

Police Role

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first chapter in the analysis section of the thesis, which includes *Police-Community Relationship: Relational Elements*. In these chapters, I apply the analytical method and techniques of thematic analysis in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the Kuwaiti people and their police force. While history, daily interaction, and the way the police handle their public relations are all major components, the role of police officers within Kuwaiti society is the focus of this chapter.

In the following pages, the interview data are discussed then summarised in an analytical model. At the end of this chapter, the reader should have an intimate understanding regarding the various worldviews that influence the Kuwaiti people's perception of the role of the police in society.

5.2 Thematic Analysis of the Interview Data

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of this thematic analysis, including interviewees' conceptions of the intended and actual role of the police in Kuwait, as well as their actual role. In order to explore the answers provided by the interviewed police officials, community members, and media personnel, the subjects were asked questions relating to their understanding of the role of the police force, their experiences of the police force, and their opinion of the purpose of the police force in Kuwaiti society. These questions are presented in Appendix 1. The resulting interview data was reviewed using thematic analysis, which is a process that searches for patterns and meaningful themes within the interview data. In conducting this analysis,

Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide to a six-phase analysis, illustrated in Table 1 of Appendix 2, was used. Through this process, the data was coded, the fruit of which consists of identifiable themes related to the police-community relationship in Kuwait, each of which is linked to expansive, supporting quotes.

The perceived role of the police is perhaps the most important attribute affecting interviewee perspectives. It is an overall theme discovered while coding the data, based on the inductive thematic approach. Within this overall theme, it appeared that multiple themes help determine an individual person's conception regarding the intended purpose and actual role of the police in Kuwaiti society, each falling under one of this chapter's three worldviews, i.e. ***Faith***, whose proponents presume that the police must exist because society needs a police force and so both it, and its members, are sacred, at times even idealised; ***Communitarianism***, whose proponents assume that the police force is yet another one of many necessary government institutions that exist to service the community, and, ***Optimism***, whose proponents hold that, while abuses of the police exist, they are generally benevolent and will improve with time. Before moving forward with an analysis of the police's role via these worldviews, the thematic process must be introduced and discussed.

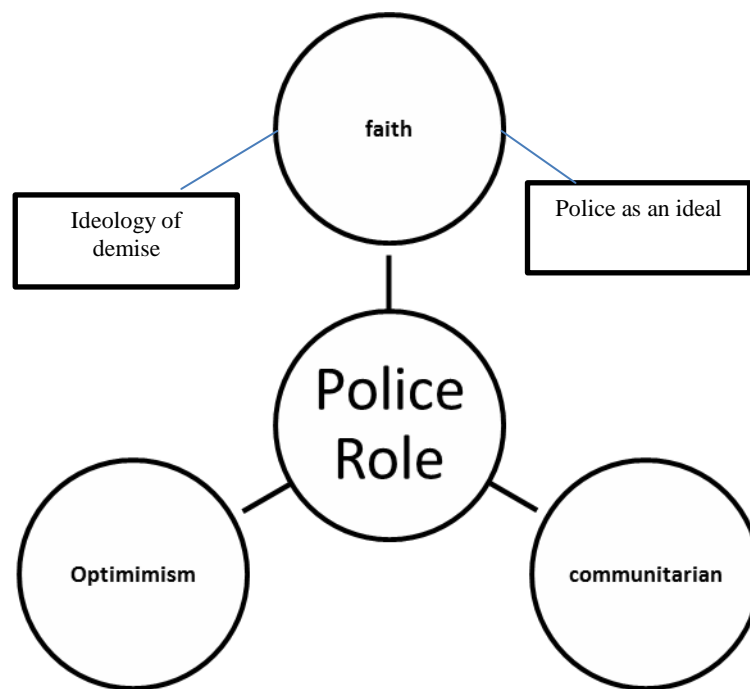
In coding the interview transcripts, the *block and file* approach was used, as recommended by Grbich (2007, p. 32). This coding and analysis process is comprised of two stages: (1) each interviewee transcript is individually and manually coded, line by line, an example of which is to be found in Appendix 3, Diagram 1; (2) similar quotes are gathered from interviewee manuscripts, grouped into segments, and organised in a table for further analysis (as illustrated in Table 2 of Appendix 4). After identifying potential patterns, the researcher searches for themes and groups on the basis of relational similarities and differences that could produce a bigger picture, this

being a thematic map, which is in itself a visual representation of the relationship between themes, here consisting of themes and sub-themes related to the overarching theme of the role of the police (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In the initial stages of this chapter's thematic process, four themes were identified (as illustrated in Figure 1). In reviewing these four themes by refining and defining them, they were developed further. For instance, the themes *police as an ideal* and *police fetishism* were discovered to be closely related and, as a result, combined to form the ***Faith*** worldview (shown in the final thematic map, Figure 2). For further testing, I applied Patton's (2002) *internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity* techniques, which judge categories in the final thematic map according to the requirement for each theme to be internally coherent and externally distinctive and clear.

Figure 1 Initial Thematic Map of Role of the Police



Figure 2: Final Thematic Map of the Role of the Police



The extraction of these themes from the data started when I noticed emotional attribution to the role of the police role in society in some of the interviewee transcripts. Searching other transcripts, I found similar emotional descriptions in words such as “*Kudwah*” and “father”. As explained earlier, coding these words and sentences revealed a pattern across the transcripts that represented the interviewees' perspectives of the role of the police that I coded as ***Faith***.

Comparing the faith pattern to the rest of the data in the interviewees' transcripts, other patterns seemed to be singled out that did not indicate the same emotional attachment to the police. The first was a critical view of the police that had a demanding tone I called ***Communitarianism***, and the other had a mild perspective of the police in general with an optimistic attitude that I labelled ***Optimism***.

However, it is worth mentioning that these worldviews are not associated with particular groups of respondents but seem to vary with the issue being discussed. Searching the manuscripts, I could not find an interviewee who was consistent, in

terms of worldview, in all issues. In other words, there is no actual *Faith* (*communitarian* or *optimistic*) interviewee but there is a *Faith* (*communitarian* or *optimistic*) perspective regarding a specific issue. In the following sections I will discuss these three emerging themes in detail.

5.3 *Faith*

The *Faith* theme is the most recognisable due to the strong emotional response associated with it during the interview process. It is termed “*Faith*” in order to emphasise the emotional attachment, as faith's definition is “a firm belief in something for which there is no proof” or “something that is believed with especially strong conviction” (Merriam Webster, 2009). This is not to say that no proof or reason for such a sentiment exists, but rather that the worldview manifests as a “feeling” as opposed to a concrete abstraction of incidents and policies. With the *Faith* worldview, interviewees expressed their unconditional support of the police and their ability to keep social order. This notion is identified in police literature by Reiner (2003) as “*police fetishism*”, in which it presents the first sub-theme of the *Faith* theme. In terms of characteristics, this view idealises the police by describing their presence and power with the Arabic term “*Kudwah*” which is an Arabic reference to political power, or “swagger”. This is presented as part of the second sub-theme of “*Police as an ideal*”.

5.3.1 *Police Fetishism*

“Law enforcers: without them there is no law and without the law there is no society” (Interviewee **W2**). Interviewee **M12** states that the “Police and community relationship is an ancient relationship. Societies need security and safety to survive

and flourish. There is no community without police”. The previous statements of the interviewers articulate the belief that the police are the source of social order and gatekeepers of chaos. Others share the same conviction, citing recent instability (such as the Egyptian political changes of 2011) as examples of the need for the police. For example, **W1** emphasises that,

The community and police coexist and no one without the other. A great example of what happens if we don't have police is our beloved Egypt. There is no police meaning there is no safety. Without safety we will always be frightened and the economy will be affected greatly and we will be living in chaos.

The Egyptian situation is a vivid example that validates the perception of the essential work of the police. **W3** draws parallels, again citing Egypt:

Egypt is the ultimate example of the essential work of the police. The disappearance of the police after the collapse of the formal political regime made people feel terrified and affected the whole country. My Egyptian friends and colleagues told me on the phone that they are afraid to go out and that every family relied on its members to provide security.

The term *Police Fetishism* is borrowed from Reiner (2003), who explains that it is said to be the result of people's belief that the police are “a functional pre-requisite of social order, so that, without a police force there would be chaos and uncontrolled war of all against all” (p. 259). In other words, it is the pre-supposition that in modern society, the relationship between the police and the community is framed in a ‘without police, there is no order’ mind-set.

At first glance, this ideology regarding the police seems to be at odds with the history of the police force in Kuwait. This is because the Kuwaiti community existed and survived without a police force for centuries. The most salient evidence of this is that, prior to the 1930s, the police force did not exist. At that time, Kuwait was made up of a small community and its members were known to each other, sharing more similarities than differences. Crystal (2005) describes this period eloquently, saying

that “the order of the past was far more localised and transient, consisting of multiple overlapping hierarchies that were maintained in multiple, overlapping ways: neighbourhoods organised around mosques, family elders watching youngsters, merchants monitoring markets, ship captains monitoring divers” (p. 166).

Although this view seems to be aberrant historically, it has become a relevant way to interpret the contemporary situation since Kuwait is a very different country today than it was a century ago.

Kuwait developed from a tribal entity into a state, moving from subsistence to state-sponsored welfare and from a nation of little importance to one of significant power in regional and international affairs. Oil lifted Kuwaiti society out of its traditional economic environment of hunting, pearl-diving and limited trade. The entire way of life of Kuwaitis changed in a very brief period of time (Ghabra, 1997, p. 359).

This is exactly what Reiner (2010) calls the “complex of cultural processes”, where it is the reasoning behind the myth of the police as a source of social order (p. 22). Kuwaiti society has undergone a process of change that has affected its perception of the police's role and mission. Although the first and major change came through the economic aspects of Kuwaiti social life, it was the start of the chain reaction that has changed life in Kuwait in all its aspects.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Kuwaiti community saw a crude oil revolution and a sudden rise in wealth. Crude oil was first shipped from Kuwait in 1946, heralding economic prosperity and the rapid development of Kuwait's economic and social sectors, the result of which brought free healthcare, education, and housing for its citizens (Kuwait Petroleum Corporation, 2007). Within a few years, building sites transformed barren desert into modern cities (Kennedy, 2004). The presence of oil as an economic factor caused Kuwait to shift from its simple administration to a complex and relatively large social management structure (Al-

Dekhayel, 2000), where the government supported and sponsored generous plans to benefit Kuwaiti citizens, such as retirement income, marriage bonuses, housing loans, virtually guaranteed employment, free medical services, education at all levels, and zero income tax (Al-Ajmi, 2003). The economic boom attracted foreign labour to Kuwait, which in turn, forever changed the demographics; the Kuwaiti people are now a minority in their own country (Al-Mekaimi, 2003) and represent just 1.038 of the 3.328 million population. As a result of this fast accumulation of wealth and influx of foreign workers, new social strata were created. The first of these consists of “guest workers”; the second, “*bidun*” – illegal immigrants, or stateless people in general, most of whom have lived in Kuwait for a long time but do not have identification papers because of their illegal immigrant status. *Bidun* differ from guest workers in that the latter are classed as immigrants because their residency is bound by a pre-determined contract that stipulates their departure date. Furthermore, Kuwaiti law prevents guest workers from becoming permanent residents or citizens of the country (Al-Ajmi, 1995). These two groups (Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti citizens) coexist functionally in one society, yet with very different roles; the difference being stark enough for Lienhardt (1993) to posit whether the mix could even be termed society: “[Kuwait] a society that was changing, but proved quite unexpectedly difficult to think of the local population of Kuwait, indigenous and immigrant, as anything coherent enough to be called a society” (p. 35). This chapter argues that Kuwait is indeed a society—a Plural Society.

According to Furnivall (1948), a Plural Society is “in the strictest sense a medley, for [people] mix but do not combine” (p. 304, as cited in Longva, 1997). He believes the commonality between the sectors of this society is their business relationship, which is strikingly similar to that of Kuwaiti demographics and

cohesion. The goal orientation of each group is different, where the Kuwaitis pursue nation-building and non-Kuwaitis pursue life improvement. This relationship is the central feature of Kuwaiti society, as the first group is the employer and the second group is the employee. This is by definition, as stipulated by the *Kafala* (sponsorship) system, where Kuwaiti law states that any foreigner (a person with citizenship other than from one of the Gulf Cooperation Countries) needs Kuwaiti sponsorship from the public or private sectors, or from a private citizen. This distinction is what Longva (1997, p. 5) calls the “politics of citizenship”. She believes that citizenship dichotomy is “the most closed and exclusive category, just as its opposite, non-Kuwaiti, was the most open and inclusive one. The distinction between the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti was a fundamental feature of daily life in the emirate, and it was actively used by everyone and in every conceivable situation” (p. 47). Furthermore, Longva (1997, p. 141) believes that the stratification of the non-Kuwaiti group is based on ethnicity and class. After illustrating traditional debate in sociology between Marx and Weber on relationship status associated with ethnicity and class, she concurs that:

In both perspectives, one can claim that the relations between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis were relations of class that, at the same time, were also ethnic relations. Here, class and ethnicity were united through the institution of sponsorship: not only do Kuwaiti citizens own the means of production and appropriate the surplus value produced through the migrants’ labour, but as sponsors, they have absolute authority over the migrants and legal ability to decide on their life situations while the migrants could not decide on theirs. Also, ethnic stereotyping, which can be taken as a major index of the rule of ethnicity, faithfully reflected the organization of the labour market and the sponsorship systems.

This occurs even though most non-Kuwaitis are of an ethnically Arab background, their sense of otherness pervades their sense of purpose and status in Kuwaiti society. Longva (1997) believes that such self-identification is evidence of one’s own identity signalling. She explains that “in the absence of clear racial distinctions, the dress code

played a major role in ethnic signalization” (p. 116). The Kuwaiti *dishdasha* (a traditional dress-robe for males) and *abaya* (for women) represent traditionally and culturally rooted dress codes that signal identity, not only within Kuwaiti groups, but also the fact of belonging to a Kuwaiti group. This dress code proves to be “a highly efficient means of inter-ethnic communication in Kuwait” (p. 125). One explanation for such exclusions arising is that is a way for Kuwaitis to defend a consistent identity. Longva (1997) adds that the “Kuwaitis' capacity for cultural absorption seemed to have reached a point of saturation. Drowning in the midst of aliens from East and West, the small native population was desperately looking for ways to shield itself and to preserve a sense of cultural identity” (p. 124).

Since 1975, non-Kuwaitis have consistently comprised roughly 80% of the nation's labour force (Shah, 2007). Statistics show that, in 2007, non-Kuwaiti labour increased slightly to 85%, of which 59% were of Asian descent, 39% were Arab, and less than 2%, were African, European, American or Australian (Shah, 2007). However, it must be added that Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis seem to engage in different segments of the labour force. While Kuwaitis compose 80% of the public sector, non-Kuwaitis comprise 54% of production, manual labour, and related occupations, with 17% in service occupations, and 10% in clerical and related occupations (Shah, 2007). In addition, a large number of non-Kuwaitis engage in unskilled labour; for example, 45% of non-Kuwaiti males and 72% non-Kuwaiti females work in the service sector, primarily as domestic workers. This indicates that a large number “of foreign workers are concentrated in occupations that are not central to economic productivity within the country” (Shah, 2007, p.7). The importance of this, in terms of this thesis, is in the way that the police force interacts with non-Kuwaitis, as non-citizens who are working in the country illegally or

through pre-determined contracts. Therefore, while it is important for these workers to feel welcome and Kuwait does not make it difficult for workers to come into the country, the police force have no real incentive to treat these workers with the same respect as full citizens.

In Kuwait, the two groups also have distinct living standards. For example, most Kuwaiti families live in housing that is government-built, or purchased with government loans, having been bought outright by the residents. Non-Kuwaitis (especially guest workers) live in communities comprised mostly of individuals, not families, and which are located in different areas constructed by the private sector; furthermore, they pay for their own health and education services. Another difference is political and relatively intractable—a provision in the Kuwait Constitution states that the government is obligated to provide for or employ every Kuwaiti; furthermore, the government is required to support employees' families by adding allowances to his salary for his wife and every child. Obviously, this is not the case with non-citizens, so pay is often very different between citizens and non-citizens who have the same job. Several recent incidents have widened the divide between the two groups, further enhancing a feeling of insecurity. For instance, in 1999, the Egyptian community in Kuwait rioted after claims of police mistreatment; the specific incident was simple—an Egyptian was involved in a scuffle with a Bangladeshi resident over a broken plate in a supermarket—but the outcome went far beyond this. The riots lasted two days and ended with the police's special forces having to intervene and arrest roughly five thousand people. The media covered this incident, calling the situation a ticking bomb, citing an unhealthy and unstable demographic.

A second non-Kuwaiti group (Bengalis) demonstrated in a memorable 2008 incident over unpaid wages and poor living conditions. The riot lasted for three days

and ended after the government intervened by putting pressure on employers to pay the workers their wages. This time, the media called the situation a “ball of fire”. The Kuwaiti people had their concerns documented in the media, where one woman declared that “It is quite scary to think there are thousands of angry men situated just down the road; this is not to be taken lightly; they killed a man!” Another citizen said, “The violence has to be stopped immediately—police must get in there and arrest the culprits” (Kuwait Times, 2008).

The third and most recent riot was amongst *bidun* residents. After their population swelled to approximately 100,000, the Kuwaiti government established a programme to grant citizenship, given certain requirements and restrictions. At the same time, rules were established to force identity fakers (i.e. those who claimed statelessness) to disclose their real citizenship and documents. In February 2011, hundreds of *bidun* protested, demanding citizenship and the right to work. Their riot lasted for a few hours before the police responded with forceful intervention. The government responded by complying with some of their demands in relation to education and healthcare. These incidents underscore the lack of trust between citizens and non-citizens, which is further enforced by unequal pay, unequal rights, and a higher non-citizen crime rate. Overall, the Kuwaiti community relies on the police to protect them from the hostile surroundings.

Such has been the case during previous riots and instability. This is especially true since the majority of the population in Kuwait are guest workers who are regarded as 'others' in terms of status, integration, and in some cases, civil rights. The mood is changing, however. The policy of non-integration was used many years ago to preserve Kuwaiti culture and identity in the face of the numerical superiority of non-Kuwaitis, but has been relaxed in recent years. This is in spite of the fact that

Kuwaitis are not very happy with the demographic changes in their formerly homogenous community. “We used to know all the Kuwaitis, and to trust each other,” an old Kuwaiti woman said, “In the old days, when someone made a promise, you knew he would keep it. We were like a big family. Now, everyone is a stranger. You don't know whom to trust anymore” (Longva, 1997, pp. 124-125). This view is further intensified by the fact that non-Kuwaitis account for a greater than proportional share of convicted crimes (Al-Ajmi, 1995, p. 2). Al-Ajmi (1995, p. 32) continues to explain:

Data indicates that the incidence of crime in the country had increased at an alarming rate during the last three decades. For example, during 20 years between 1964 and 1983, reported felonies more than doubled. Felonious property thefts also showed a similar pattern of increase. Drugs and alcohol offenses, very serious crimes in an Islamic society, also increased dramatically - by about 12 times during the same period. During the ten-year period between 1977 and 1986, the number of reported felonies increased by about 136%. During the five-year period between 1981 and 1986, crime increased by about 27%.

This combination the rapid demographic change, the higher rate of crime by non-Kuwaitis, and the incidents of riots among non-Kuwaitis—have all contributed to the *Faith* worldview and Police Fetishism. This is especially true when a new story is released, such as the sensational, gripping stories of a (foreign) maid killing a (Kuwaiti) housewife, or a taxi driver trying to kidnap a passenger. Even though the Al-Ajmi (1995) study shows that the guest workers' crimes are more attributable to factors such as income and opportunity rather than inherent cultural disregard for life, order, and incarceration, for the most part, the Kuwaiti people seem only to be concerned with the reported crimes (p. 93). As a result, the term “demographic instability” has become part of the Kuwaiti lexicon. The community's negative feelings towards non-Kuwaitis are also backed by the police force, which treats non-Kuwaiti criminals as a “possible national security risk” (Al-Ajmi 1995, p. 103). The

police force even goes so far as to acknowledge their efforts to control illegal residents (guest workers who refuse to leave) and deport them.

In short, the sub-theme of Police Fetishism is that its premise regards social order as paramount and the police as the pre-requisite for this social order, even for society. Therefore, a society without police is a society headed for demise. I am proposing that demographic instability in Kuwait represents Reiner's (2010) "complex of cultural processes" that underlies the conviction that the police are the source of social order. I feel this helps to explain why the *Faith* worldview of the role of the police role is such a powerful source of social order.

5.3.2 Police as an Ideal

The Police as an ideal represents the second sub-theme within the *Faith* worldview. People who hold this view ascribe positive, sometimes unrealistic, virtues to the police force. Four distinctive characteristics were repeatedly mentioned in the interviews: patriarchy, honour, respect, and *Kudwah*. These characteristics, I believe, are emotionally driven and resonate with the *Faith* worldview premise. "Ideal" is defined for this chapter's purposes as "existing as a mental image or in fancy or imagination only; broadly: lacking practicality" (Merriam Webster, 2011) and "without fault, perfect, or the best possible" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2011). Contextualising this view in Kuwait history has identified three possible factors which contributed to the idolising of the police, including the perception of the police as: (1) a source of social order, (2) symbolic authority, and (3) benign (use of minimum force). Each of these three views is discussed as follows.

5.3.2.1 The Police as a source of social order

The Kuwaiti people believe that with great responsibility comes great honour. In other words, if one believes that the police are the source of social order, then one must hold them in high regard. This is basically what interviewee **W2** thinks when she says, “Of course there are *Kudwah*, law enforcers, and without them [law enforcers] there is no law, and without the law there is no society”. **M1** shares the same sentiment:

Definitely, the police are our *Kudwah*; we need them to be our *Kudwah* because we need them to be dependable in time of need. Why do you think our kids dress like police officers? Why is the police academy graduation such a big deal that the Emir himself attends the ceremony? Police have an oath to take which is to protect and defend us [the community].

This factor resonates with the previous sub-theme of Police Fetishism, which perceives the police to be the source of social order. Such a position in the social order has provided the police with community and government support, referred to in Bourdieu’s theory as “symbolic capital” (Chan, 2004, p. 330). Therefore, the police enjoy a high level of power in fulfilling their functions. Chan (2004) explains this by saying, “Because of their highly symbolic position in society’s defence of power and morality, police officers are vested with wide discretionary powers to stop, question, arrest, search and detain suspects” (p. 331). In the next section I will elaborate more on this point in the Kuwaiti context.

5.3.2.2 Symbolic Authority

The image of the police force is not constructed in a vacuum, but rather “already occupies a place in the order of things that authorize their entitlement to pronounce on the world” (Loader and Mulcahy, 2003, p. 46). In Kuwait, the police force derives its legitimacy from its connection with the Kuwaiti Emir. In other words, I am proposing

here that the police acquire their 'symbolic authority' from their historical connection with the Emir except for short periods of time. For example, the ruler's guards were traditionally the tool that the rulers used to enforce authority, to the point they became “the criminal justice system: they investigated, convicted, and sanctioned” (p. 160). The police force had traditionally applied the law in the name of the Kuwaiti Emir, a figure respected and trusted by the people, which in turn granted it legitimacy and trust. However, the Emir-police relationship is a two-way relationship, where the Emir needs the police to provide people with the security that will, in turn, mirror his legitimacy; through this channel, the police gain symbolic authority due to their connection to the Emir.

An interesting observation comes from Greenhouse (1983) who asserted that *elite* is purely symbolical concept. That means, in this context, the police force is included among the elites because of their connection to the Emir. Elaborating on this point Greenhouse (1983) said that:

Folk conceptualizations of elite status are not necessary descriptive, but prescriptive... The idiom of elite status refers to specific elements of socio-cultural context in which elite status is relevant. This means that elites are not socio-cultural entities a priori, with absolute characteristics (p. 136).

The specific socio-cultural element, in relation to our discussion, is the police relationship with the Emir which makes them elites by association. However, the police seem to gain more than authority; in a sense, they gain a little bit of the Emir's image and power. In other words, the police became *Kudwah* (i.e. 'father of all') by association. Such a connection dates back to 1938. In December 1938, roughly a few months after the police force was created, the organisation was explicitly placed under the command of the Emir of Kuwait. *Majlis* (the first elected parliament) was dissolved by the then Kuwaiti ruler, Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, and from then

until 1962 the police were under the direct authority of the ruling family. Even though the police force technically became a government organisation in 1962, it was still influenced by the ruling family, as the Ministry of the Interior has always been headed by a member of the ruling family in the role of Minister of the Interior.

The legitimacy of the Emir's power is historically based on two factors: the need for security, and the Emir's charismatic attributes. With regard to the first, the Arabian Peninsula is harsh, natural resources have always been scarce, and where they existed, there was "fierce competition between and within tribes and ruling families for control of the Gulf's scarce resources" (Onley and Khalaf, 2006, p. 192). Despite these geographic constraints (prior to oil), Kuwait was historically a prosperous Arab coastal country, since the country is small, but the people and their assets needed protection from other tribes and states. Yom (2011, p. 218) asserts that during crises, the Kuwaiti community endorsed "autocracy not out of apathy or fear, but because their own interests are married to the regime's perpetuity". Peter Lienhardt went further, saying that the ruling sheikhs "held their power in order to do a job for the people, keeping order and managing defense, and were not there either by any absolute right or by brute force" (as cited in Onley and Khalaf, 2006, p. 193). The second factor of the Kuwaiti Emir's legitimacy is based on his people's perception of his performance as a ruler. In other words, the Emir is "constantly challenged by the need for legitimacy in the eyes of his family, tribes, and merchants. A ruler gained legitimacy by observing a series of commonly recognized obligations of rulership—obligations that still remain in place today" (p. 198).

Scholars have proposed several characteristics that people require in their Emir. Reviewing history, Onley and Khalaf (2006) assert that people in the Arabian Peninsula expected their ruler to acquire four qualities: personal attributes (wisdom,

eloquence, persuasiveness, courage, etc.), to behave as a “father of his people”, hold an open house, and exhibit generosity (pp. 198 – 199).

It seems that some of these characteristics are now shared in testing the police force's legitimacy. The interview data supports this, as the terms *Kudwah* and “father” were littered throughout the conversations. The former term, *Kudwah*, generally means 'role model', one that serves as an example for people to emulate by dint of their admiration. However, the parlance is different in Kuwait, where *Kudwah* encompasses both adult-adult and youth-adult relationships and can also be used pejoratively to describe someone's political and cultural power (or swagger). Interviewee **W2** used *Kudwah* to describe the police when she said that, “of course there are [police] *Kudwah*”, saying on another occasion that “basically, a policeman is a *Kudwah*”. Furthermore, **M1** said that “definitely, the police are our *Kudwah*”. **M3** did not say *Kudwah per se*, but he meant it when he said that, “we dress our kids in police costumes ... everybody looks up to them”.

Another way to refer to the police is as “father”. **M7** said that “the police force is like the father of a house”. According to Onley and Khalaf (2006), “father of his people” is one of the qualities that people expect of a ruler, both historically and currently. “Father” is appropriate because, in Arabic and Islamic culture, men are socially endowed with more power than women. They are expected to be the head of family, community, and country. In the Kuwaiti social hierarchy, “the only formal authority to which he [Kuwaiti male] was answerable was that of the older male kin and the state” (Longva, 1997, p. 128).

After explaining the symbolic connection between the police and Emir evident from the historical context, I want to digress by making an interesting observation from the data. Some interviewees seem to hold a contradictory view of the police

regarding their symbolic image. For example, **M7** stated that “the police force is like the father of a house—you know what a good father should and shouldn’t do. Unfortunately, the policeman is like a father who tells you not to smoke, yet he smokes”. Another similar example can be seen from a statement by **W2**; “Kuwaiti people respect the uniform; basically a policeman is a *Kudwah*, but this is the problem. The police are the negative *Kudwah* in Kuwait because of their behaviour”.

It seems confusing; how can such contradictory emotions co-exist in one person and be expressed in one statement? Albert Hirschman (1991) holds that it stems from “unrealistic optimism” and “overstated despair” (as cited in Loader and Mulcahy, 2003, p. 108), from which come negative emotion.

This chapter posits that these interviewees are influenced by their emotional perspective on the police, which ultimately contradicts reality. The following discussion of two interviewees' statements explains this phenomenon further. The first is from **W3**: “The respect that we have for the police is, I think, the remaining image of the past when the police used to apply the law. The respect remains but the trust couldn’t because of the continual violation of the law by the police”. The coexistence of the contradictory emotion is clear in her statement, with words like *respect*, *trust*, and *violation*. The second supporting statement is from **M1**, who demonstrated a uniquely detailed perspective: “The community used to trust the police, even though most policemen only had a basic education ... That did not prevent them from being professional. They were punctual in their job, their uniforms were always presentable, and they had distinctive personalities ... now the policemen are different”. These two statements hold overly positive images of the past, as exemplified when asking for supporting evidence of this past image (they offered little in return). Even when a retired senior police officer was questioned on this point, he did not agree that the

police were significantly more professional and polished in the past. In fact, several sources, such as Al-Taher (1995), Crystal (2005) and Al-Fahed (1989) seem to indicate otherwise. For example, in 1963, several parliamentary sessions were held by MPs to discuss the deteriorating state of police performance (Al-Taher, 1995). One MP described the police's outrageous behaviour through his experience at a police station. He said that when he went to report a theft, the police officer at the station told him, "We know that these things have been happening for a long time, but we couldn't do anything then, and we can't do anything now" (Al-Taher, 1995). So why do some still lionise the past? It stems from the influence of *Faith*. The previous statements exemplify that beliefs and convictions about the role of the police have been driven by the "unrealistic optimism" of the past to counter the "despair" of the present. In other words, the image of the police as representing "patriarchy", "honour", "respect" and "*Kudwah*" is in contradiction with the present performance and behaviour of the police force.

5.3.2.3 The Benign Police and the Use of Minimum Force

The third and final factor influencing these participants' sentiments, which are ultimately their idealisation, is that even when the police are inappropriate in their actions, the effect is relatively benign. For example, they believe that the Kuwaiti police force rarely uses violence to settle disputes. This has been mostly true in the most famous documented riots: the *Majlis* Movement of 1938, the Arab Nationalist riot of 1959, and the Dewaniya Movement of 1986.

The *Majlis* Movement was a major political crisis that started after the Emir dissolved the *Majlis* in 1939. As a response, these elected members resisted the ruler's decree, beginning to organise a movement against the Emir (Alnajjar, 2000).

Eventually, the Emir dispatched his forces, the result of which was two dead citizens and several imprisonments for a period of four years. Historians (Crystal 1995, 2005; Alnajjar, 2000; Yom, 2011) described the police and Emir's reaction as mild, and tolerant. The second crisis was in 1959 with the advent of the Arab Nationalist Movement. This movement was effected through a wave of political uprisings across the Middle East, with rioters demanding political reforms. Opposed to these uprisings and concerned about what had happened as a result of force in other Arab countries, the Kuwaiti Emir showed tolerance of this movement and made cautionary decisions, detaining some activists, closing political clubs and papers, and opening dialogue with the movement's leaders. Again, the Emir and police set another example by deciding against the use of force.

The final historical crisis was the *Dewaniya* Movement in 1986. The movement began when thousands of Kuwaiti people attended the weekly *dewaniyas* of former National Assembly members (MPs), the point of which was to discuss re-establishing the Kuwaiti National Assembly that had been dissolved three years earlier. The police's reaction to the incident was again non-violent—some of the *dewaniyas* were closed with barricades and a few arrests were made. Eventually, the government allowed these *dewaniyas* to open, reinstating dialogue that continued until the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Again, the non-violence of these police actions helped them to gain favour with the community. Alnajjar (2000) describes the Kuwaiti political atmosphere, saying that:

Unwillingness to use violence to settle political differences has helped in easing the tension and bitterness for the victims and created a better atmosphere for dialogue ... It seems that the Kuwaiti culture is a non-violent culture, which sheds minimal blood to settle political differences (p. 256).

I want to conclude the theme of **Faith** with an overview of its implications for the police-community relationship. Although the implications of the **Faith** worldview on the police-community relationship are discussed in detail in the next chapter, *Police-Community Relationship: Relational Elements*, I feel an overview of such implications is necessary as it indicates the importance of this worldview's influence on the participants.

The emotional attachment of the **Faith** worldview influences the participants' perspectives on police ineffectiveness and abuses because they hold social order (and the police force's ability to provide order) as more important than occasional police abuses. For example, as **W1** states, "There are no alternatives; look at Egypt. There is no safety without police." In the same vein, **W3** expresses the importance of the role of the police in Kuwaiti society, saying that "the security and safety job of the police could not be fulfilled by other organizations. Actually, it is very dangerous to privatize security and safety". Furthermore, someone who holds such a view is less prone to criticise police performance, even though they may also acknowledge police misbehaviour and mistakes. The best example of this is the Al Mimoni incident – where a man was murdered by police during his interrogation. Statements that resonate with the **Faith** view present the murder of Al Mimoni as isolated. For example, **W1** describes the misbehaviour of the police as "small things that happen here and there." When I asked her to clarify, she said:

I mean the isolated incidents of misbehaviour in the police force, and I specifically mean the Al Mimoni Incident. Let me say first that I don't blame the Kuwaiti community if they have a negative attitude because they see that the police, their *Kudwah*, instead of protecting them are abusing its power. However this is an isolated incident and should not be generalized for the whole police force.

In effect, the **Faith** view influences the participants' perspective of the police, where they project positive attributes onto the police beyond what the police actually

deserve. This is done because of the feeling that the police are not only necessary, but are also comforting when one believes that their police force is fair and effective.

5.4 Communitarianism

This term, *communitarianism*, is a philosophical theory of social obligations and relationships which emphasises the social-community role in terms of the way a country ought to function. Such an idea of the importance of community was articulated by the participants in this research. However, that was through the police-community relationship, where some interviewees acknowledged the community's importance in the relationship, as opposed to those with the *Faith* worldview. For example, phrases such as, the “police are public servants”, “our relationship is defined by the law”, and “police and community members are equals in their relationship” were used (M9, and M2). As one of my interviewees pointed out, the police's role in relation to the community that it serves is one of public safety, in which the police's power is limited to performing their duties. In other words, the community believes that it should have the power and, furthermore, the responsibility, to determine the role of police. Contextualising this idea within Kuwaiti history shows us that this is valid, as the police as an organisation is a contemporary idea manufactured by the community to fulfil a prescribed role, first by Kuwaiti merchants for the “broad mandate for health and social affairs” (Crystal, 1995, p. 46). The first police organisation was established by the community; it was the establishment of a municipality—an elected and financially independent institution (Crystal, 1995, p. 46). The new police force continued its minor role as a market guard until 1938, when the *Majlis* (the first elected Parliament) created “institutionalised policing” (Crystal, 2005, p. 161). The new *Majlis* then issued laws that recognised and organised the

police through uniforms, training, and stations (Al-Hatim, 1999). Therefore, Kuwaiti history may be linked to communitarian theory even though it gained prominence elsewhere, most notably in the US (Etzioni, 1997), where such a theory emphasises “the supremacy of community, where members, through active engagement, create a direct democracy that is united around shared core values—considered to be indistinguishable from facts—thereby constraining authoritarianism, nurturing mutuality and promoting a more egalitarian society” (Dixon, Dogan and Sanderson, 2005, p. 14).

With the *Communitarian* worldview, police exist to serve the community, where their performance is based on how well they do so in serving the community's needs. **M6** articulated this idea when he described the police-community relationship as “a business relationship where the police are responsible for providing safety to their customers”. The terms “responsible,” “providing,” and “customers” illustrate the practicality of this view, which “stresses the utility or purpose” of the police role. Another example of the customer-business simile was echoed by **W4**, who said that “you could look at it by the actual productivity of the police and how the police actually perform, what they give to the public, or what the public expects from the police”. This business comparison is certainly a creative way of articulating community members’ ability to participate in the relationship as opposed to the unresponsive bureaucracy model of public service. This, I believe, indicates the community members' desire to contribute to the police decision-making process. Actually, this was explicitly articulated by **M14**, who criticised the police of excluding the community from the decision-making process, thus trivialising the community. “The police are not interested in hearing outside voices. This is how the community interpreted it”.

In comparison with the *Faith* worldview, the *Communitarian* worldview is less emotionally committed/loyal. It is more practical, where citizens constantly evaluate police behaviour in order to decide whether it supports their stated role. As an example of this, **M9** describes it as “an organization responsible for providing the safety of the society through enforcing the law ... our relationship is defined by the law that each side is committed to”. The tone of this quote is emotionless, straightforward and rational, defining the police as an organisation that is “responsible” for “providing” safety to the community. Such a tone is different from the *Faith* worldview, where the cultural importance of the police in one's daily life is emphasised. Furthermore, there exists no powerful, alluring mystique in this viewpoint. **M9** argues that the police are nothing more than law enforcers, their duties no more sacred than peacekeeping, and “...police are public servants. They provide services to society as any other governmental organization. I believe we could survive without the police as we survived the Iraqi invasion”. The policemen are basically, according to **M10**, “your brother, my cousin, and our neighbour. These are the Kuwaiti policemen”. Therefore, the police are not idealised as with the *Faith* worldview perspective, but are considered as normal and equal in their rights and responsibilities.

Rights and responsibilities are a key element in the communitarian theory, whose subscribers perceive the community as the boss in the relationship, a relationship “which [has] special qualities of mutual help and trust” (Braithwaite, 1989, p. 100, as cited in Hughes, 1996, p. 20). “Police and community members are equal in their relationship” claims **M2**. This means that policemen, as members of the community, are accountable in front of the law, just like an ordinary citizen. This is based on the predicate that there are commonly understood and practiced values, or

the “belief that most or all people accept and adhere to basic norms” (Putnam 2000, p. 137). Regardless of community composition, however, the *Communitarian* view ascribes no sanctity to the role of the police officer beyond that which the community grants him; rather, the worth of a police officer is measured by his contribution to the community as the centre of this relationship. Such a view is more critical of police performance and behaviour as there is no sanctity assigned to the police institution. In this view, community members have the right to monitor police performance through the country's civil society institutions. The most visible Kuwaiti civil society institutions are *Dewaniyas*, Mosques, and the media. The latter is perhaps the most salient in this discussion, as it is the “most critical of all civil society institutions” (Shaw, 1996, p. 31, as cited in Taylor, 2000, p. 3), especially because the Kuwaiti media, as discussed in the *Kuwait Culture Context* chapter, is “one of the most open in the Middle East” (Freedom House, 2008).

The implications of the *Communitarian* worldview toward the police-community relationship are discussed in detail in the next chapter of *Police-Community Relationship: Relational Elements*.

5.5 Optimism

The last theme, *Optimism*, is shared by those who are critical of the police but believe that such shortcomings are problems that can be fixed and, instead, choose to focus on the positive side of the relationship. Most often, people with this lens see the benefits of the relationship rather than evaluating the effect it has on the community (*Communitarian*) or its necessity for survival (*Faith*). Articulating this idea, **M4** declares that “The police and the community are partners in achieving the country's security”. The positive connotation of this quote is illustrated through the term

“partners” that is usually used in a rhetorical way, especially in the police-community relationship.

M14’s statement is another example of the positivism and *optimism* of the worldview of this theme. He emphasises how, “as the police slogan says 'the police are in the service of the public'. This relationship should be positive and the Kuwaiti feels that the police are there to protect him and he [the policeman] is his friend and also an agent of the law. This kind of relationship is what we need”. The tone of this statement illustrates positive connotations with terms such as "positive" and “friend”. This is opposed to what we saw previously in the *Communitarian* theme, where the interviews define the role in a demanding tone with terms such as “responsibility” and “providing”. **M11** also emphasises the *Optimistic* view, saying that “in general, it is a relationship that is built on respect ... if you respect others, people will respect you”. In his view, this mutual respect should be a key feature of the police-community relationship. **M10** expresses a similar attitude (one of *Optimism*, based on mutual respect):

When you see the policeman you feel safe ... because you feel that the policeman is there to prevent a crime, to help people during an accident, etc ... Secondly, people deal with the police in Kuwait on a daily basis. People in Kuwait respect and love the police; we don't have scary police, such as in other countries.

Again, a positive attitude towards the police is articulated in the above statement with words such as “safe,” “prevent a crime,” “help people,” “respect,” “love,” and “not scary.” These words clearly indicate the positive general tone of the statement. . Police history is full of events that could have contributed to the evolution of this *Optimistic* lens. There is of course the reluctance of the police to use force. It could also be due to the symbolic authority driven by the Emir's association. However, it is

posited here that the political, social, and economic atmosphere is the driving force behind the *Optimistic* view of these participants.

The transformation of Kuwait's economic climate in the 1950s affected the power structure in Kuwait. The Emir of Kuwait became “the sole manager and owner of the new wealth” (Alnajjar, 2000, p. 243), where the government controlled “100% of the oil industry, the main source of income for Kuwait ... owns (and has since as far back as 1954) 97 percent of the land ... employs over 95 percent of the Kuwaiti labour force, and is thus able to affect directly the livelihood of most citizens” (p. 243). However, as always, the ruling family proved to be selective in the manner in which they cared for their people. The Emir “sacrificed” the temptation of this new power and used the new wealth to empower the Kuwaiti community (Yom, 2011, p. 219). The wealth was distributed to all Kuwaiti people without discrimination. The political dynamic was regained through Emir Abdullah Al-Salem Al-Sabah’s actions that brought about significant political changes which transformed the patriarchal rule to a constitutional monarchy (Baaklini, 1982). He started by calling an election for the National Assembly members to empower them to draft the first Constitution (Kuwait National Assembly, 2009). Yom (2011) describes this counter-intuitive move by the Kuwaiti government, saying that, “Kuwait sharply rebuts received wisdom that hydrocarbon wealth automatically weakens the relationship between rulers and citizens” (p. 219). Therefore, the Emir's actions have positively affected the relationship between the community and the government; in turn, the police force has benefited from the Emir's benevolence. The police, by affiliation with the Emir, have since 1939 received the same respect from the Kuwaiti people. Actually Crystal (2005, p. 158) described the Kuwaiti police as, “relatively benign (by both global and Gulf standards).”

Ultimately, this view has modest implications for the police-community relationship. It is less critical of the police performance and also less emotionally attached to the police persona. This seems to position *Optimism* between the *Faith* and *Communitarian* worldviews with respect to its critical nature, as *Optimism* sees misbehaviour but chooses instead to regard the police force positively without wavering, probably there is the need to believe that the government, political structure, and rulers are benevolent, despite any evidence to the contrary.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the three worldviews of the participants as identified through thematic analysis. The three themes of *Faith*, *Communitarianism*, and *Optimism* were discussed in the light of Kuwaiti history and culture in order to give reasons as to why some interviewees differed in their worldviews. It also discussed the implications of this chapter on the relationship, public relations and communication between the police and the community. In this way, the reader is better able to understand the factors that influence some agents on the community-side of the police-community relationship. In the next chapter, the three worldviews model is integrated with the relational elements of trust, satisfaction, control mutuality and commitment in order to further analyse interviewees' attitudes to those of the Kuwaiti police.

Chapter 6

Police-Community Relationship: Relational Elements

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the second comprising the analysis section of this research, which includes: *police role* and *police-community relationship: relational elements*. This chapter analyses, thematically, the participants' perspective of the police-community relationship. Towards this end, I have integrated the relational elements of trust, satisfaction, control mutuality and commitment with the three aforementioned worldviews: ***Faith***, ***Communitarianism***, and ***Optimism***. I have done so by subscribing to the relational theoretical framework that has been previously used by scholars in the field (Ni, 2007; Jahansoozi, 2007). This research contributes original data, to which the framework was qualitatively applied, and the three worldviews were derived from the way the community regards its police. This analytical framework strengthened the analysis by adding a real world perspective, such as *wasta*, an established cultural phenomenon which will be explained fully in this section.

In the following pages, the application of this analytical framework is discussed in detail, starting with a description of the thematic analysis process. The rest of this chapter discusses the relational factors of trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality. At the end of this chapter, the reader should have an intimate understanding of the police-community relationship.

6.2 Thematic Analysis of the Interview Data

The thematic framework includes interviewee data from participants whose roles and professions range from police officials to community members to media professionals. This chapter differs in respect to what is analysed—specifically, the interviewees'

perspective toward the police-community relationship. All responses are grouped into four categories, termed relational elements: trust, satisfaction, commitment, and control mutuality. Using these themes, this chapter explores the general attitude of the participants toward the police force. To begin, the thematic process is again introduced and discussed briefly, at which point the themes are discussed in detail.

Thematic analysis is a process that searches for patterns and meaningful themes within interview data. In conducting this analysis, Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase analysis guide was used (Appendix 2). Through this process, the data was coded, the fruit of which were the identifiable themes related to the police-community relationship in Kuwait, each of which was linked to expansive, supporting quotes. The themes and the way in which they emerge are shown in detail in the Appendices (Diagram 1 of Appendix 3, Table 2 in Appendix 4, Figure 3 and Figure 4). The data in this chapter were thematically analysed using deductive and inductive approaches. The deductive approach is represented by the use of relational factors developed prior to the data collection. In other words, the relational factors of trust, satisfaction, control mutuality and commitment are drawn from the literature (Stafford and Canary, 1991; Huang, 2001; Ni's, 2007 and many others). They are established elements that are not the products of this research. However, they have been incorporated into this research through the interview guide. Nevertheless, the participant's opinions and perspectives have shaped the content of these themes and established sub-themes. For example, the interviewees have (partly) associated their satisfaction with the police with the cultural phenomena of *wasta*, as in the *Satisfaction* section of this chapter.

In coding the interview transcripts, the Block and File approach recommended by Grbich (2007) was used (as in the previous chapter), and consists of two stages: (1) each interviewee transcript is individually and manually coded, line by line (illustrated in the

previous chapter, see Diagram 1 of Appendix 3), and (2) similar quotes are gathered from interviewees' manuscripts, grouped into segments, and organised in a table for further analysis (also illustrated in the previous chapter; see Table 2 in Appendix 4). After identifying potential patterns, themes are selected by re-reading the coded segments and comparing them with each other in order to find similarities and differences that could produce a thematic map (i.e., bigger picture). In this chapter, this is a visual representation of the police-community themes and sub-themes (the Initial Thematic Map is shown in Figure 3) (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Figure 3: Initial Thematic Map of the Police-Community Relationship

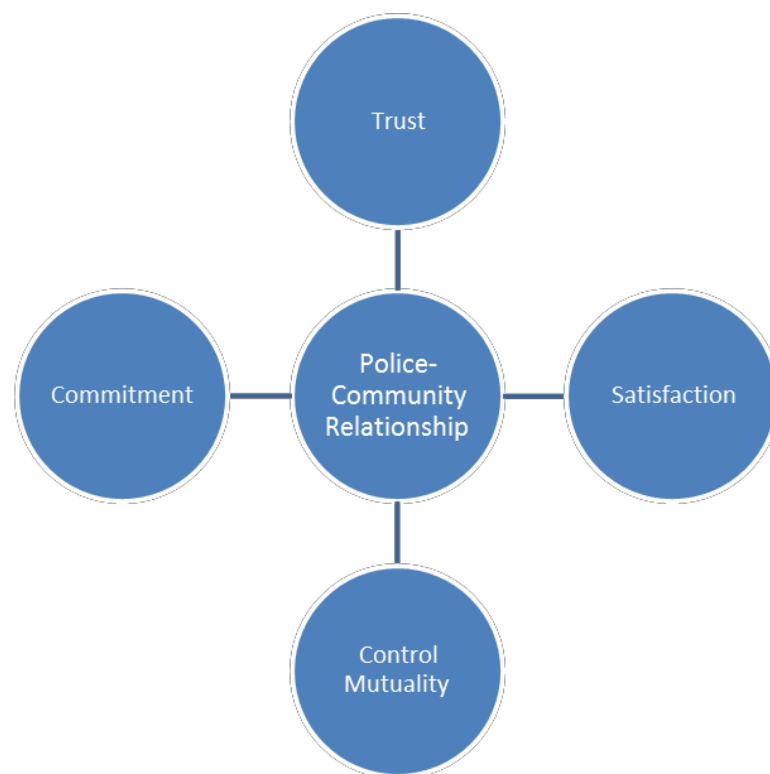
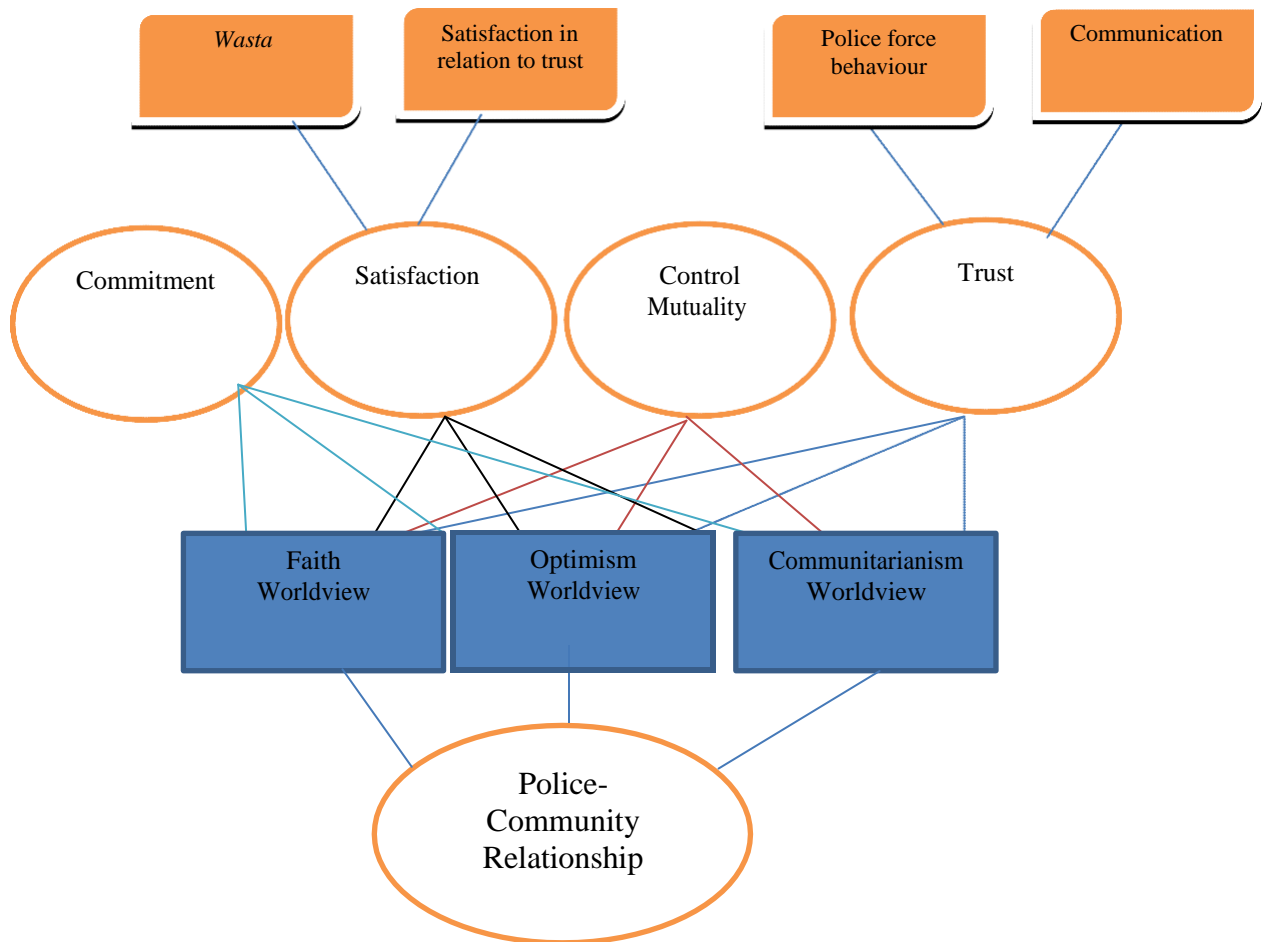


Figure 4: Final Thematic Map of the Police-Community Relationship



In the initial stage, themes were identified. In reviewing these four themes by refining and defining them, they were developed further; for instance, two sub-themes emerged within the *Trust* and *Satisfaction* themes. For further testing, Patton's (2002) *internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity* methods were used; these judge categories in the final thematic map, which requires that each theme be internally coherent and externally distinctive and clear. In addition to the thematic map, the three worldviews were used as lenses through which the police-community relationship could be actualised. As a result, interviewee data was coded into themes and sub-themes with a consideration of the worldview influence on participants. The final map is shown in Figure 4.

It is worth mentioning that the development of the initial and final thematic map in this chapter was different to that of the previous chapter. In this chapter, the data in the interviewees' transcripts revolved around the relational factors of trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality. In other words, because the interviewees discuss the relational element in their presentation of police-community relations, the themes of the initial map were already established. However, the influence of the three worldviews, *Faith*, *Communitarianism*, and *Optimism* has shaped the content of themes and produced four sub-themes through their influence on the participants' perspectives of the police-community relationship. In the following sections, I have discussed the themes of this chapter in detail.

Thematic Analysis Results

1. Trust:

a) Police force behaviour

b) Communication

2. Satisfaction:

a) Satisfaction in relation to trust

b) Wasta

3. Commitment

4. Control Mutuality

6.3 Trust

Interviewees stated that trust was essential. In fact, it was the most discussed element among the relational factors. However, the interviewees held diverse perspectives. For instance, the *Faith* Worldview is one that is completely in favour of trusting the police

implicitly, often ignoring or justifying police mistakes. On the other hand, the *Communitarian* Worldview is critical of police performance; the *Optimistic* worldview acknowledged that, while police make mistakes, people should focus on solutions instead of laying blame.

The *Faith* worldview is based on the idea that people want to have faith in those who have important jobs that affect their lives; in this particular example, citizens want to believe they can trust the police. This was best exemplified by **W1**, who thinks that regardless of how the police behave, citizens “must trust the police; without the trust there is no relationship. How could you feel safe if you think the police are not able to protect you?”. In this worldview, it is the police that are at the centre; community members are obligated to trust, otherwise it is assumed they will not feel safe.

When **W1** was told that some interviewees do not trust the police, she replied by claiming that “Police have in fact experienced worse situations in the past and moved past them; in the end it is necessary that the Kuwaiti community trust the police and support their work”. The *Faith* worldview, in this context, “refers to a set of beliefs or expectations rather than to a purely affective reaction” (Devos, Spini and Schwartz, 2002, p. 484). Actually, Goldsmith (2005) acknowledged that such trust might exist in relation to the community’s trust in the police because the police have power and control in society which places them (p. 445) “in a position of formal public trust, whether or not their actions accord with their official responsibilities.” Therefore, the *Faith* worldview encourages trust in the police regardless of their performance. An example of such a practice came from **M11**, who says that “in general, we are having a minor setback on trust ... what happened is temporary; the police will regain trust again—soon perhaps”. Another *Faith* proponent is **M12**, who believes that “People need to trust the police ...

people know and appreciate the police's role when they realize that they sleep peacefully with their house doors unlocked".

The *Communitarian* worldview emphasises the idea that the police are merely a function to protect and keep order within the community. With this view, community members monitor police performance. Their view is more critical of police performance, since there is no need to revere police in order to feel safe; thus, there is less obligation to trust the police beyond police performance. **M14** states that, "In theory, the police organization is responsible for enforcing the law and guarding the law from law violators; however, in reality, they break the law and this is a major thing". These double standards erode trust in the police, which eventually breeds suspicion and cynicism (Goldsmith, 2005). Stone and Ward (2000) share the same sentiment, saying that the "police in democracies must be accountable when they violate rules, laws, and civil rights ... police must be accountable for both their behaviour and the protection of public safety" (p. 13). Accountability means that the police will comply with the law, ultimately in an effort to serve the community. When police abuse this trust, they violate two rules: (1) community rights, and (2) their charter, to support the community without overextending their power. This is how, according to **M15**, the police's "relationship with the community became grey and confused". The relationship currently suffers because the community expects a higher level of performance from police. **W2** summarises, "unfortunately today, no one trusts the police ... they are not organised and do not do their jobs. We have reached a point where we are asking the police to just do their jobs".

The *Optimistic* worldview acknowledges that the police make mistakes, but there are solutions to lessen their frequency. For example, **W3** believes that "our trust in the police is shaken, but we still respect them and they will come around sooner or later." In the same vein, **M10** acknowledges the trust issue, saying that, "Yes, we have a trust crisis,

but I think the police have become more aware and educated ... all we need is for them to be constantly reminded of their mission”. A possible solution is proposed by **M10**, who believes that with constant reminders of their mission, the police will adjust their performance. In turn, this will bring about trust from citizens and, in the light of a short bout of poor performance, all trust would not be lost. In this sense, trust would still be constantly in flux, but the overall level would rise. **M2** makes this point:

Incidents that happen usually affect the trust the people hold in the police. Negative incidents affect the trust negatively and positive incidents affect the trust positively. That means that trust is not fixed but more like a scale, a thermometer that goes up and down; so, based on what it is happening now, I think the thermometer is down...however, imagine that the police today caught a terrorist cell; you would find extensive media coverage and everybody would be cheering for the police ... the thermometer would be up again.

This highlights the core of the *Optimistic* worldview, where people acknowledge the police’s faults but instead choose to focus on their positive potential. Such Optimism stems from the idea that the police, and others who protect and serve the public, are benevolent (Goldsmith, 2005). This is rarely stated explicitly in the interviewees' words, but the logic and defence of their position clearly supports the theme.

These three worldviews are defined more specifically in the previous paragraphs. They produce two sub-themes of *Trust: Police Force Behaviour* and *Communication*.

6.3.1 Police Force Behaviour

The behaviour of the Kuwaiti police force was the most discussed sub-theme during the interviews, perhaps because police behaviour is the most visible aspect of police duties. **M6** agrees, saying that, “Police behaviour in the street is a vital factor that affects our [community] trust ... the police organization needs to understand that”. **M9** points out that “The police as an organization is organized and equipped nicely, but the problem is with police behaviour”. Such a generalisation seems to indicate that poor police behaviour is

common, as articulated by **W2**, who believes that “the bad behaviour is everywhere and everyone can see”.

The *Communitarian* view seems to have the most vocal of critics in regard to this point, insisting that the police do not correctly understand their role as community servants. In other words, the behaviour of the police force towards the community indicates that the police lack understanding of their position in the power dynamic between themselves and the community they serve. This contrasts with the *Faith* worldview, which recognises occasional police indiscretions but largely ignores them because there is the belief that the police are necessary for civil stability. For example, **W1** believes that people “must trust the police; without trust there is no relationship”. **M12** agrees:

People need to trust the police ... yes the Al-Mimoni incident did damage the police’s reputation for us, but people still remember the good deeds and how the police solve big cases ... people know and appreciate the police role when they realize that they sleep peacefully with their house doors unlocked.

The fact that this view is supportive of the police does not mean that the *Faith* view completely ignores poor performance or bad behaviour. **M5** recognises that improvements could be made: “The police need public relations workshops on how to deal with community members”. In the same vein, **M10** proposes a solution to the current issue of police behaviour by “training them through workshops how to deal professionally with the public ... we need to improve the police moral code and ethics... the police need a constant reminder of their mission”.

6.3.1.1 Police Incidents and Worldviews

In the following paragraphs, police incidents are discussed. The least salient issues are discussed first, while those with the greatest impact are discussed thereafter. The *Faith*

and *Communitarian* worldviews are examined together, not one after another, in order to provide greater detail. First, however, the *Optimistic* view is discussed.

The *Optimist* worldview simply asks for iterative improvements in behaviour and performance. For example, **M5** states that “what people need from the police is a smile ... you could do a lot of good and avoid damage with a smile”. Again, there is an attainable solution for the acknowledged issue. In the same vein, **M11** illustrates this view, saying:

Respect and treat people nicely and they will respect you...they usually react according to your behaviour with them. Did you see the people who just went out of my office? I do not know them personally. After we had had our meeting I walked with them to the door and sent them off warmly... believe me, they are satisfied.

The police literature stresses the crucial implications of police interaction with the community to the point that “sometimes a single contact between a citizen and a police officer can have a profound influence upon perceptions of the police” (Goldsmith, 2005, p. 454). “There is rudeness; it's like they want you to fear them, not respect them” says **W4**, articulating her thoughts about police behaviour with community members. She described her personal experience with a police officer, citing that he was rude and unsympathetic:

My daughter's cat died. We had the cat for eleven years. She had cancer and the doctor had to give her a shot to make her die. My daughter held the cat while she died and we were not going to throw the cat away. We went to a nice place to bury her, she put her in her favourite blanket and she buried her. This policeman comes ... did you know what he says to her? He says “Do you have a baby girl in there? You are burying a baby girl!” So he grasped it from her and the cat falls out. My daughter picks up the cat, wraps the cat again, and puts her in the hole. And do you know what he did? He gave her his phone number and said "Honey, call me when you are finished, I have something for you.”

M15 agrees that it is likely such police attitudes exist because the police members feel saturated with power. He said, “The need to understand that they are not the law— they are enforcing the law ... if they want to gain the people's trust and respect they need to

focus on this issue”. In the same vein, **M1** says that “some police officers lack basic social behaviour and are impolite ... for example, when traffic police stop you they sometimes stay in the police car, waiting for you to come to them, although the procedure should obviously be reversed.” Personally, I would say that is a common practice amongst police officers in Kuwait. Such situations occur because police officers do not see themselves as serving the public; they see themselves as the community elite who have been chosen to do an honorary task which is to protect civilians. According to Bailey (1983), this is a plausible explanation because “an elite of whatever variety will have a myth or ideology explaining and justifying its existence and its actions” (p. 111). In this sense, the police are an elite force and the holders of arbitrary power that “know what should be done” (Gaines and Worrall, 2011, p. 36).

The following examples represent the *Faith* view, where police misbehaviour is ignored. For instance, **M10** says that he has had “no bad experiences with police. On the contrary, I find them helpful and understanding. On several occasions, they did not give a ticket and were very polite”. In the same vein, **W3** acknowledged the bad reputation of the police force but thinks that such a reputation is groundless. She stated that, “I have never experienced such a thing. Actually, I always greet them and they wave their hands when I pass them by.”

Again, this differs from the *Communitarian* view, which indicated police carelessness and a lack of sympathy, where “the police don’t care ... they just want to finish their shift and go home” (**M5**) and that they “smoke in the police car and use cell phones while driving.” (**M7**). **M7** illustrates the connection by giving an example of a real case saying, “One of my friends had a car stolen, but he did not file a complaint because he thought the police would not do anything”. Another example of police indifference was articulated by **M9**:

I have two examples of police behaviour. Once, I waited an hour and a half to report an accident I had had. I was waiting on a summer day, when the temperature was 49 degrees. Another time, I saw a car accident and I called the emergency line (777) four times to report an accident, but no one answered.

This carelessness and lack of sympathy is a form of neglect which, according to Goldsmith (2005), is one of the factors that affect trust because it is related to the perception of competence. **M5** believes that neglect manifests itself in the police station, saying:

Entering the police station, you will always find the police officer at reception sleeping, eating, or smoking. This is the police behaviour at reception; I can't imagine the situation inside ... I have seen a lot of things, such as broken chairs, the police officer being absent, screams from prisoners ... this is why going to the police station is avoided by community members.

Goldsmith (2005) defines such behaviour as incompetence, saying (p. 455) that “an apparent failure to respond to reported matters is widely interpreted by citizens as police incompetence”. It is not uncommon for such a view to become defensive, blaming outside factors instead of police force members. For example, **M16** believes that the source of such misbehaviour of the police is the confusion of their actual role in the community. He explains:

Part of the problem is the lack of the general vision in the MOI and the neglect of such an important point is a major issue ... the focus on police work will solve the problem from its root and we will not be discussing police behaviour on the street.

Another justification for police misbehaviour comes from **M12**, who acknowledges it, yet believes that it is exaggerated. He states that “The intense focus of the media on the wrong-doings of the police has made a great impact on their image”.

This is in stark contrast to those in the *Communitarian* camp, where people do not need to hold police blameless. Rather, they tend to look at the flaws in police conduct so that the force can become better at protecting and serving the community in future. These

interviewees each expressed concern over police behaviour, such as **M13** who declared that the rate at which these incidents occur is alarming, even dangerous:

The misbehaviour of police is not a secret; it becomes common knowledge and is reported every day in the newspapers. However, this corrupt behaviour has been increasing for a while, and now we have reached the peak, which is the killing of a human being [the Al Mimoni incident].

The misbehaviour of the police discussed in the following paragraphs focuses on the criminal behaviour of the police; specifically in terms of the Al Mimoni incident —a recent case that received a great deal of media attention because it was the first time that a person had died while in police detention.

6.3.1.2 Al Mimoni

The Al Mimoni incident began one morning when a dead body arrived at the hospital from the police station in Al Ahmadi Governate. The deceased was 35-year-old Mohammad Ghazzai Al-Mimoni. Immediately, the incident attracted media attention. During the National Assembly's weekly session the following day, the Minister of the Interior issued the following statement:

Contrary to the media coverage, the deceased was not tortured and his death was a result of chest pain during interrogation, at which point he was sent to hospital where he passed away. On Saturday, January 8, Al Mimoni was arrested for possession of the illegal substance, alcohol, intending to sell it. The investigating and arresting officers followed the correct procedures and legal channels. The previous circumstances and Al Mimoni's confession clearly reveal that the torture allegation is unfounded.

Things soon changed as facts that countered the MOI statement began to surface. Specifically, Mussallam Al-Barrak released a hospital report that said Al-Mimoni was severely beaten prior to arriving at the hospital where, upon examination, he was immediately pronounced dead. These facts surprised the Minister. The two statements

were then televised in tandem and the entire country began speculating. The media started to investigate the story and published information that contradicted the Minister of the Interior's initial statement. Not long after, the Minister issued a new statement along with his resignation, confirming that a police crime was suspected in Al-Mimoni's death; he apologised for having misled the public, saying, "I resign bearing my responsibilities and duties, and living up to my word that I would never head a Ministry that assaults citizens." Brutal details of the torture and murder of Al-Mimoni were on all the front pages of the newspapers. The Kuwait National Assembly formed a panel to investigate the case and pressure from the Ministry of Interior forced them to open a probe. Eventual charges against officers included premeditated murder, abduction, forced detention, torture, and forgery. The legal case is on-going, ultimately shaking the public's trust of the Kuwaiti police.

Regardless of the interviewees' position or perspective in relation to the Al Mimoni incident, there is a consensus that it is one of the most memorable incidents in the history of the police-community relationship. The intensive media coverage of the case has provided the participants with adequate background on the issue. However, some interviewees politely refused to discuss the case, stressing that the investigation is still pending, while others were more open to discussing it. For example, **M7** commented that the:

Al-Mimoni incident is an excellent example of our trust of the police ... they committed a crime and they tried to hide it ... this case reveals two important things: 1) the big corruption at the Ministry of Interior, and 2) that things like this in the past could have happened without anyone knowing and it was only the death of Al-Mimoni that caught them.

This statement presents the *Communitarian* view, grieving over ineffective police accountability. In a similar vein, **M14** expresses his amazement at the collaboration between police officers in murdering a person. He was of the opinion that:

The torture and murder had been done collectively and several policemen were involved for several days. This indicates that they have done such thing before, especially when they tried to cover it up and deceived their Minister by giving him incorrect information ... if they did that to their superior, what kind of trust is still there?

Such brutality has severe negative implications for trust. Goldsmith's theory (2005, pp. 456-7) posits that police brutality “might be considered the very antithesis of *policing by consent*; hence its destructive consequences for trust”. The idea of policing by consent is essential to the *Communitarian* view; actually, it is viewed as essential in democratic societies (Lea and Young, 1984, as cited in Goldsmith, 2005). Another interesting observation from the Al-Mimoni case is that some interviewees have credited the media (a civil society institution) for uncovering such a case of police brutality. **M2** emphasises this point when discussing the case:

This is corruption ... if you look more closely at the incident you will see that the media uncovered the truth when the police tried to hide the crime ... several police departments and senior police officers were involved in the first statement that deceived their own Minister before the public ... if this is not corruption, then what is corruption?

However, some interviewees did not share this attitude and criminalized the action but not the police. This was clearly illustrated by **W1**, who was the first to make reference to Al Mimoni, hinting about “small things that happen here and there”. When I asked her to clarify, she said:

I mean the isolated incidents of misbehaviour by the police force and I specifically mean the Al-Mimoni Incident. Let me say first that I don't blame the Kuwaiti community if they have negative attitudes because they see the police, their *Kudwah*, abusing its power instead of protecting them. However, this is an isolated incident and should not be generalized to all of the police force.

Inspecting the statement closely, you will find several clues that represent the *Faith* worldview. *Kudwah*, as we discussed in the previous chapter, is one of the terms that is associated with the *Faith* view. Secondly, the established belief is that police are a source of social order, a sentiment represented in the statement “instead of protecting them”. And

finally, the issue is trivialised as an isolated incident. Again, this is where tension arises between the *Faith* worldview and *Communitarianism*. A great example illustrating such conflict in these two views is presented by **M13**, who anticipated *Faith* responses in his one-to-one interview, saying:

I know that they will say that such a thing has never happened before. I agree; but do you know why it never happened before? ... Because they [police] have reached a new level of corruption. They need some time to get used to it as they did before when the first kidnapping happened; they said the same thing, and after a while, it became common. Then they moved to the next level (rape), and so on.

M1 had different views on the issue. He believes that although this is “odd behaviour, yet it could have happened anywhere; no police organization is immune from such behaviour”. I felt that the justification that no police organisation is immune to murdering a person was surprising, but I also know that **M1** perceives the use of physical pressure, especially during interrogation, as acceptable when put in perspective. Actually, he thinks of it is logical:

Do you think a criminal will tell you everything if he does not have to say anything? ... and sometimes he has information that is a key in solving a case, so you cannot go soft ... yes, the police went too far with the Al-Mimoni case, but you need to admit this is an effective way to extricate essential information.

M11 confirmed the existence of such practices and described them as an unwritten accepted rule. He also said that “the police have experienced similar incidents but the media did not get it”. I discussed this topic later with **M13**, and I told him that some interviewees (who would remain anonymous) justified the use of physical pressure. **M13** became angry and said, “This is outrageous, unethical, inhuman, and violates every rule in the book ... we have gone far and this is dangerous; it has to be stopped”. I stopped the recording and I waited for him to calm down, asking him to drink some water.

Ten minutes later, we resumed the interview and **M13** started the conversation calmly, asking, “Do you know that the police not only violate the accuser's rights, but that

of his family? ... I know cases where they arrest a fugitive's brother to pressure him to surrender ... basically it's the doctrine of an end that justifies the means".

Even though torture is a universal phenomenon that has been accepted and practiced through history (Luban, 2005), the difference here is that it is practiced by police on ordinary citizens, and it is ordinary citizens (the *Faith* worldview) who not only justify torture, but perhaps feel safer in its justification. In other words, people are somehow ready to accept the torture of others if they believe that it is necessary to protect them, their religion, morals, etc. from outsiders. Nevertheless, vigilant *Communitarians*—typically, media and human rights activists—continuously report such cases of police torture (Alkarama, 2011).

Much of this is not helped by the fact that the police communicate in a way that is overtly authoritative, which *Communitarians* dislike. It negatively affects trust, as discussed in the following section, *Communication*.

6.3.2 *Communication*

Communication is central to a discussion of trust. Li Liu, a social psychologist, believes that the most important part of trust is imparted in communication, and vice versa:

[T]he trustor is in communicative relationship with trustee either through personal interaction in the case of interpersonal trust, or through a “generalized media of communication” in the case of institutional trust. It is through the communicative genres that the trustor and the trustee become the co-authors of trust (Liu, 2008, p. 72).

In discussing trust, the interviewees showed great interest. **M7** said that “Any healthy relationship is built on communication ... two-way communication”. Two-way and one-way communication are classifications of communication style produced by Grunig and Hunt's (1984) *Four Models of Public Relations* (Nage, 2005, p. 869). The major

difference between the two communication styles is the feedback that only exists in the two-way communication style (Nage, 2005). Grunig and Hunt (1984) consider two-way communication to be the most appropriate form of communication the organisation should adapt, as opposed to one-way communication, which itself contributes negatively to image and public relations (Nage, 2005).

Grunig and Hunt (1984) have created another classification, between two-way symmetrical and two-way asymmetrical communication. However, this time the classification is not based on feedback, but on interest (Nage, 2005). In this two-way, asymmetrical form of communication, the organisation is interested so that it will be able to speak more persuasively with regard to the organisation's goals. However, in two-way, symmetrical communication, the organisation is genuinely interested in the public's opinion and perspectives, while its intention is to inform (Nage, 2005). Actually, Nage (2005, p. 869) refers to two-way symmetrical communication as “the only one of the four models that is actually a dialogue”. However, such association between dialogue and two-way symmetrical communication is controversial among public relations scholars. Kent (2005, p. 251), for example, clarifies that:

Until recently, dialogue in public relations was equated with “two-way symmetrical” communication. The equating of dialogue with symmetrical communication, however, has primarily been the result of casual language use. More recent treatments of dialogue in public relations have focused on dialogue as a useful framework for effective (ethical) organization-public communication.

Theunissen and Wan Noordin (2012) assert that functionalist and systematic approaches in public relations is the reason for the “uncritical, equated confusion between dialogue and two-way symmetrical communication as if they were two sides of the same coin, and in instances where dialogue is mentioned, the focus remains on two-way communication rather than dialogue *per se*” (p. 5). As a matter of fact, public relations scholars not only

distinguish between dialogue and two-way symmetrical communication, but go further to criticise two-way symmetrical communication as an idealised form of communication (Pieccka, 1996; L'Etang, 2006, and others). For example, some scholars believe that the symmetrical model is a “utopian ideal that cannot be practiced in reality” (Grunig, 2001, p. 13). This is because of the existence of conflict between symmetry and public relations practitioners' advocacy of their organisation (L'Etang, 2006). Pieccka (1996, p. 355) singled out this contradiction in the Grunig model when she asked, “How can it be possible to talk about decentralization, empowerment and trust, and at the same time claim that to be effective, public relations needs to be in the dominant coalition?”

Theunissen and Wan Noordin (2012) explain that control is an important obstacle to equating dialogue with two-way symmetrical communication (p. 6). They explain the issue saying that:

One of the challenges facing the concept of “symmetry”—and per implication, dialogue—relates to relinquishing control over the result or outcome. Giving up control is not something managers are likely to do, and yet it is a requirement for achieving dialogue (see Mersham *et al.*, 2009). This is the crux of the argument: systems theory as it is applied in public relations is inherently about control and balance, while dialogue is about giving up some control in the sense of needing to achieve a desired outcome and to contain its content. By doing so, the participant in the dialogic encounter accepts that the outcome is not always predictable and that the precise outcome cannot always be achieved. It is a philosophical disposition rather than a physical action (Theunissen and Wan Noordin, 2012, p. 7).

Instead of thinking of Kuwaiti police communication as one or two-way, this chapter uses these styles as attributes that help to describe two acknowledged classifications in public relations: the functionalist and co-creational approaches. The functionalist approach perceives public relations as a means of achieving an organisation's goals, where it “sees publics and communication as tools or means to achieve organizational ends. The focus is, generally, on techniques and production of strategic organizational messages” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 651). Such modes of communication from the police force is

characterised as authoritarian communication. It is produced by the power imbalance in the police-community relationship, where the police have greater access to resources. The power impact, as predicted by the TCA, distorts the police-community communication status.

Furthermore, this approach resonates with the practice of public relations, not just in the police but in the Middle East in general (Al-Enad, 1990; Kirat, 2005). In this approach, the organisation is interested in delivering its messages for the organisation's purposes (Al-Enad, 1990, Kirat, 2005). This fits **M7's** observation, in which he focuses on delivering information and messages, observing:

In my opinion, the relationship between the police and Kuwaiti almost does not exist because it comes all the time from the police toward citizens. It supposes to be an interaction, however. What I see in Kuwait is one-way and the citizens cannot easily communicate. The Kuwaiti citizens need to go through steps and connections to deliver their message to the police, which is wrong.

The direction of information, from the police to the community, is functionalistic, where public relations is implemented “as an instrument to accomplish specific organizational goals rather than on relationships” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 651). On the other hand, **M7** desires an interactive dialogue between the police and the community, which describes a co-creational approach, one that regards the public as “co-creators of meaning and communication as what makes it possible to agree to shared meanings, interpretations, and goals” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 652). The point is that merely depending on providing information, even accurate information, does not necessarily help the police gain the community's trust (Bentele and Seidenglaz, 2008). The absence of transparent interaction excludes the community, which contradicts the community's expectations of the police with regard to their accountability and answerability to the community.

In this context, Habermas' theory of communicative action encourages the parties involved in the relationship to adapt a dialogue in their communication, which will result in a deeper understanding of the other position (L'Etang, 1996, p.121). Such acts are considered as ethical, since the power is unequally distributed, meaning that the police in Kuwait have an ethical obligation to engage in dialogue with the Kuwaiti community. The current inaccessibility to the community is hurting the relationship and is highly unappreciated by the community members. The dialogical approach that I propose would provide a platform for communicative action as a suitable alternative for the current communication status.

From the *Communitarian* perspective, a police-community relationship is viewed as “a part of a more encompassing whole, rather than as fully independent and antagonistic” (Etzioni, 1993, p. 155). Community, in this context, is central to the relationship. From such a perspective, the police are accountable and answerable to a community; consequently, the community needs access to the police. **M14** notes the way that police currently communicate:

The police are not interested in hearing outside voices. This is how the community interpreted it. Otherwise, why would the police department of control and inspection be difficult to locate? They don't even have contact numbers for the community... one of the department responsibilities receive complaints or allegations of police force misconduct and deal with it ... OK, the logic says that a community member should be able to have access to this department or at least their contact number.

The lack of accessibility is intentional, as this limits community members in the decision-making process. This is noted by **M14** as an act of trivialising community input, i.e., “the police are not interested in hearing outside voices. This is how the community have interpreted it”. Actually, **M14's** observation is echoed by **M16** who believes that the police's rejection of “involvement from outsiders” has denied a prerequisite for police effectiveness. Furthermore, the community is excluded from decision making. **W2** agrees,

saying that the police not only ignore journalists, but when one tries “to contact the MOI, he reaches a dead end”. The indifference towards input from outside the organisation, such as the community, rests on the belief that such input would interfere with the police, who “know what should be done” (Gaines and Worrall, 2011, p. 36). Such organisational behaviour is explained by Carden (2005) as a sign of a closed system that “fosters an atmosphere of distrust that results in limited information being provided to key publics and little, if any, feedback ” (p. 643). According to Caparini (2004), this system is preferred by security organisations. She asserts (2004, p. 181) that “of all the sectors of public policy, however, the security sector has historically proven one of the most resistant to public input.” Actually, **M16** believes that this system and mentality is intentional, stating that:

The problem is that the police are influenced greatly by outsiders. I mean by outsiders the community, the political organization and the governmental organization ... the police organization is one fabric and the decision process is based on the system of chain of command with no involvement from outsiders.

The isolation of police organisations and resistance of input could also be explained by the fact that the police, as an elite organisation, are interested in control of its environment. This explanation coincides with Marcus (1983) belief that “the elite concept has been more closely associated with human controlling functions in the institutions than it has with more abstract process of social class formation” (p. 41). Actually, **M16** is proposing that the police have the right to control information flow:

There are things that are not for the common people. Cases that have the nature of drugs; politics affecting families' reputations or the country's reputation cannot be published. We are in a conservative Islamic society that is sensitive and doesn't want to hear its negative aspects ... actually; in Arabic countries, the less you publicise your problems, the more you are perceived to be a successful administrator.

Another interesting observation was made by **W4** who agrees with **M16** on the fact that the police are not interested in publishing the negative aspect of its work. However, she believes that this is related to culture more than anything else:

This is Kuwait and in Kuwait you don't air your dirty laundry and you don't talk about things negatively. This is a cultural thing. So of course the police are going to say everything is OK, we have got it under control and people love us.

In the context of communication, the *Communitarian* view stresses the need for accessibility to the police, the organisation, and relevant information. According to Caparini (2004), the community members' participation in their institution's decision-making is essential for good governance. She claims it "rests on the assumption that citizen participation, beyond the formalistic expressions of democracy (periodic elections, referenda), is legitimate and to be encouraged" (2004, p. 179). Actually, Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2000) define trust as "one party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is (a) benevolent, (b) reliable, (c) competent, (d) honest, and (e) open" (p. 556, as cited in Rawlins, 2008, p. 5).

Openness is the key difference between these two worldviews, where *Faith* not only expects, but does not mind that the police force employs a closed communication system. However, in order to appease the majority of the community, openness is necessary. Heath (2005) explains that, "In short, various contextual and environmental factors need to be considered, and organizations need to have some degree of openness in order to prosper"(p. 593). In this sense, openness is defined as transparency, as both are relational characteristics (Jahansoozi, 2006). Rawlins (2008) goes further to say that in organisation-public relationship literature, openness is identified as transparency. Jahansoozi (2006, p. 82) defines organisational transparency as "based upon the assumption that external publics have access to the information and are also capable of processing it".

While the Kuwaiti media is “one of the most open in the Middle East” (Freedom House, 2008), and plays an integral role, interviewees mostly focused on the police-media relationship, not its role in encouraging or maintaining openness. For instance, **M12** blames the media for its negative focus on the police:

The media negatively focuses on the police’s job and this is not right ... the police relationship with the community needs to have some privacy and the media should not have access to police work ... I mean that the media should rely on the police to collect the right information and they should work together to protect lives and privacy.

In short, **M12** proposes that the police should be the information gatekeeper and the media should support them. Others share the same idea; for instance, **M15** states that “the media is not consulting the police before publishing their news ... they need to understand the sensitivity of the police work”. **M6** expresses the same attitude, saying, “I don’t trust police; not just because of their behaviour in the street, but also because the media has played a major role in disfiguring their image”. Bentele and Seidenglaz (2008) write about media influence on the community’s trust towards the organisation:

Journalistic news factors (Staab, 1990) such as negativism, conflict, controversy, as well as journalistic routines such as “topical instrumentalization” (Kepplinger, 1994) are capable of fostering media construction and perception of discrepancies on the perception end. Particularly published conflicts are prone to transport, reinforce and generate discrepancies and, thus, to effect the public loss of trust in agents from economy, politics and so on (p. 57).

It is obvious that such views resonate with the *Faith* worldview. *Communitarianism* acknowledges the situation as such, but with a different explanation as to why it exists.

M13 explains:

True. Yes, the media coverage of the police is almost always negative, but not because they want to be, but because the police members do not give them good examples that we can cover ... the problem is that they don’t admit that they are ever wrong; instead, they attack.

So while the *Faith* view emphasises public safety as a reason to restrict communication, the *Communitarian* view insists that police should be open, believing that limited access to the police is unjustifiable and a sign of police misbehaviour.

A current example illustrates the issue more clearly. In July 2008, Al-Qabas, a widely read newspaper in Kuwait, launched a campaign focusing on the police force's behaviour and misconduct, entitled "Policemen's Dangerous Misbehaviours in a Moving Vehicle" (Ibrahim, 2008, July, 10). The story was based on interviews and opinion polls of community members. The newspaper also published stories of police abuse and misconduct, as told by the victims, with headlines such as "Young Girls Tell Their Experience with Police Sexual Harassment", "The Police Station is Horrifying for Women," and "Media Personnel are being Intimidated by Police." Police regarded the news reports as highly prejudicial, and not a reflection of the wider truth. Some of the interviewees seem to agree with this. For example, **W1** said that the media "need to be more socially responsible and help the police gain the community's trust for the sake of everybody". On the other hand, the Kuwait Transparency Society hailed the newspaper campaign and praised the work in their own reports, citing it as a healthy example of the media's role of scrutinising government corruption (Al-Ghazali, 2008). **M14** thus affirmed, "I wish that the police organization discovered and announced incidents of misconduct and misbehaviour instead of the media or MPs ... but since this is not happening, the media is doing that job and they are appreciated". In the same vein, **M5** supported this view, "No, I don't think it exists [in regard to an existence of unfair bias] ... What the media write is a reflection of what they see. The negative aspect of police work is way bigger than the positive side ... actually, if the police were doing their job, the people would not need to come to the media in the first place."

It seems clear that the source of the perceived tension in the police-media relationship is the contradictory perspectives of the obligations of communication. The *Faith* view emphasises the media's cooperation with police as central to the community's stability. However, with the *Communitarian* worldview, the media is a civil society institution that keeps the police accountable by informing the community. With the *Faith* worldview, the police have a central position; a glorious mission that helps to secure community stability. Therefore, the media, along with other institutions, need to cooperate with the police to accomplish such a goal. The media's role in such a scheme is to enforce the positive image of the police. The media's effort should therefore be for the encouragement of the community's trust in the police, since trust is obligatory for the police-community relationship to thrive.

The *Communitarian* view, on the other hand, incorporates the belief that the media are not obligated to trust the police. They are however, obliged to report on police performance without positive or negative bias. W2 articulates this media mission, saying, "The media don't write from imagination, but write on what's there. The media mission is not cheering, but rather watching government performance". Monitoring the police performance is a civil society institution mission that "seeks to act as a type of watchdog over the state and so function as a force for accountability, pressuring officials to inform the public about what they are doing and explain their decisions, thereby holding them responsible for their actions" (Caparini, 2004, p. 180). This helps to keep the media as a known, trusted channel of communication that facilitates public debate. Pluralists of elite theorists believe that "there are many elites because there are many interest groups affecting decisions" (Cohen, 1983, p. 64). In this context the police and media organisation are elites institutions that are "involved in defining the boundaries of a social system and institutional processes within them" (Marcus, 1983, p. 30). Therefore, based

on this perspective, the conflict between the media and police is struggle of power between two elite groups.

In short, *Faith* desires positive reports so as to maintain faith in the institution (i.e. the police) and keep social order. Therefore, the negative coverage of the police is destructive, not only to the police-community relationship, but to the way that people think of police in general. On the other hand, in the *Communitarian* view, the media monitors police behaviour, abuses, and performance; it checks the police against its *Communitarian* purpose—to keep order in society without abusing police power. *Optimists*, on the other hand, acknowledge that there is indeed some police corruption, abuse and misconduct, but that it is a small part of a largely functioning system. As an example of the latter, **M10** illustrates:

We understand that some police officers practice and are involved in corrupt behaviour and appreciate the media that inform us. However, we still believe that most of our police officers are honest and hardworking Kuwaitis.

Interestingly, both *Faith* and *Communitarian* perspectives were critical of police public-relations performance, though for very different reasons. The first blame the department for the negative image of the police by not better controlling the information flow, while the latter blame the police for not being more transparent. The *Faith* view of police public relations is as a gatekeeper, a sentiment that is related to the functionalistic approach and one that “creates and disseminates information that helps the organization to accomplish its goals” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). Defending the status quo, **M16** believes that the functionalistic role of police public relations is enforced by the police's top management. Despite the fact that the PR department at the MOI is in the central office, PR people are not considered or consulted during a decision making process. These were the thoughts of **M16**, justifying the functionalistic role of police PR:

What happened with the Al-Mimoni incident is evidence of how limited the public relations department is in the police hierarchy. The department [MOI PR department] had no actual role in the first misleading statement by the Minister of the Interior other than writing the statement. The PR department was asked to write the Minister's statement and a press release for the media based specifically on the fact sheet prepared by the general department of investigation, the same department in question, and the PR department was not asked or able to check the facts. This has proven to be a fatal mistake.

In the opinion of the above participant, the police's top management does not consider the public relations department to be of importance to the organisation. Such attitudes are not unfamiliar for public relations practitioners in public organisations, especially in the Middle East. According to Al-Enad (1990), public sector relations in the Middle East have different missions than in most developed countries. He believes that one of the reasons behind such differences is due to 'environmental factors', which can influence public relations practice. As an example of environmental factors is the authoritarian theory of the press, Al Enad (1990) remarks:

One can safely say that public relations in governmental institutions operates in the light of these communication modes. In most cases, communication is one-way, its purpose is unbalanced, and the tools are the mass media which not only publish and transmit whatever comes from government public relations, but have no power to edit or change any part in most cases (Al-Enad, 1990, p. 26).

He also believes that public relations in government agencies in the Middle East work as information offices to achieve one or two goals: a) to educate the public on subjects related to the clients' fields of work, increase their knowledge about pertinent issues, and persuade them to behave or act differently (e.g. go to school, immunise, obey traffic rules), and, b) to publicise the achievements of clients and/or society as a whole, in order to encourage the public to feel satisfied (Al-Enad, 1990). Several academic studies in Kuwait (Al-Rjeeb, 1995; Musallam, 2004; Sharif, 2003) support Al-Enad's (1990) perspective in the role of public relations in governmental organisations. These previous studies perceive the problem for public relations in the public sector as a

misunderstanding of the profession from upper management, poor budgets, understaffed departments, poor employee qualifications, lack of staff experience, lack of research studies, and the exclusion of the PR department in the decision-making process. The previous discussion revolves around the *Faith* view of public relations in a functionalistic role. The *Faith* view of police public relations as a gatekeeper is associated with the functionalistic approach of public relations, the crux of which is to accomplish the organisation's goal rather than the relationship's goal. In this perspective, the public relations department is expected to maintain a positive police image regardless of actual behaviour.

The *Communitarian* view of police public relations functions is at odds with this perspective. According to Taylor (2010), *Communitarian* PR falls under the co-creational approach, which perceives the police and community as co-creators of meaning. According to this approach, public relations “uses communication to help groups to negotiate meaning and build relationships” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). The *Communitarian* worldview requires a rethinking of public relations practice and the organisation's position in the community. As a philosophical theory of social obligations and relationships, the public relations role should be conceptualised according to its role as maintaining a sense of community (Kruckeberg and Starck, 1988). Kruckeberg and Starck's (1988) view of public relations is of a department that services the community, while other authors believe that it is “to communicate in ways that nurture the development of positive and supportive communities, communities of which their institutions see themselves as members” (Banks, 1995, as cited in Hallahan, 2004, p. 260). In other words, PR from a *Communitarian* worldview assumes that “what is best for the community is ultimately in the best interests of the organization” (Leeper, 1996, p. 173). However, there is a feeling that the police PR department has fallen short of its community function, instead focusing

on protecting the police department and its management from attack. That was clearly articulated by some interviewees and their concerns with police PR incompetence. **M6**, for example, complained that “They are busy satisfying the police top management ... they are contributing to the isolation of police by not doing their jobs”. In the same vein, **M7** describes police public relations as a functionalistic department whose primary mission is to “look good, speak to the media, and cover-up mistakes”. **M5** goes so far as to describe the department and its methods as out-dated. He highlights the fact that “the core problem is police public relations ... out-dated and needing to be reconstructed; with the help of outside PR consultation, the police could be better in communicating with the community”. This improvement in communication can not only serve to improve trust among community members, but also their self-reported levels of satisfaction.

6.4 Satisfaction

Satisfaction is a complicated relational dimension to measure; however, it is still widely used in evaluating an organisation’s relationship with its public (Hung, 2002). Scholars in public relations and interpersonal communication have identified satisfaction as a crucial factor in relationship qualities. Some of them perceive satisfaction as an outcome of the quality of a relationship (Bruning, Langenhop and Green, 2004; Bruning and Ledingham, 2000), while others perceive it as an antecedent to behavioural intention (Ki and Hon, 2007). Interestingly enough, both approaches were acknowledged by participants of this research. The first was mentioned by one interviewee who said that “if I trust the police I have to be satisfied” (**W1**). The second approach has perceived satisfaction as an antecedent to trust, acknowledged by the participants who associated their satisfaction with the issue of *wasta* (nepotism). **M9**’s statement is a clear example of satisfaction as an antecedent to behavioural intention, stating that:

There are two types of community members when we are talking about satisfaction ... the first kind is the one who respects and obeys the law and this one is not satisfied. The other type is the one who has connections and *wasta* and this I think is satisfied because the system serves him or her well.

The previous two perspectives of satisfaction represent the two sub-themes of satisfaction, which I have entitled: *Satisfaction in Relation to Trust* and *Wasta*. The three overarching worldviews (*Faith*, *Communitarianism*, and *Optimism*) were also addressed for each.

6.4.1 Satisfaction in Relation to Trust

Scholars have repeatedly emphasised the strong correlation between trust and satisfaction, where trust precedes satisfaction and commitment (Jo, Hon and Brunner, 2004). This seems to be a valid connection in this sub-theme, where the interviewees have associated their satisfaction with the police by rating their trust. This is clearly articulated by **M2**, who expresses his satisfaction with the police when he says, “I think the community has a high level of satisfaction in general. People perceive the police to be their shelter and their helper in time of need and this is a positive thing”. In this statement, **M2** believes that the community is satisfied with the police; however, he links community satisfaction not to police performance, but to the natural role of police. This is the premise of the *Faith* view, which perceives the police as a source of social order, where trust is not earned, but is rather obligatory. In other words, from the *Faith* perspective, the police's actual performance is minor because “If I trust the police I have to be satisfied” (**W1**). **W3**'s statement is another example of such a worldview: “Yes we are satisfied ... the presence of the police officers on the street gives us the feeling of safety”. Again, performance is not mentioned, but rather the police's role in society. The *Faith* worldview defends the police by minimising fault on the part of the police. **M12** gives an example with the following response:

People are never satisfied and never agree or are totally satisfied with something ... however, the MOI does all that it can with its available resources to meet the satisfaction of the public ... also the MOI as a governmental organization has taken great steps in the direction of serving the public the last few years... proof that the public appreciates the police's work is the consensus of the MPs to raise police salaries.

M12 uses vague notions of human nature to defend the police. Furthermore, he capitalises on increased police salaries in the face of public dissatisfaction. The *Communitarian* view also relates satisfaction to trust, although it does so by evaluating police performance. **M14** makes this connection:

Of course not [in regard to whether he is satisfied with police performance]. Maybe if you asked me this question a while ago I would say 50 to 60 per cent satisfied, but today I will say 20 to 30 per cent ... the MOI needs a huge campaign. Not a publicity and propaganda campaign, but a corruption-cleaning campaign, rebuilding-trust campaign, and holding corrupted police accountable for their mistakes while being transparent about it.

In other words, if someone does not trust the police because of their performance, he is not satisfied. Satisfaction would be achieved by openly holding the police accountable for misbehaviour because, in their own words, such misbehaviour is rampant. In the same vein, **M6** makes the same connection when he says that, "No one is satisfied... go to the traffic department, immigration or police stations and you will see for yourself how things are ... when you enter the department you will feel anxious because of the chaos there". *Optimism* recognises the merits of both the *Faith* and *Communitarian* views. This worldview acknowledges that problems exist, but tries to compare them with other police organisations to try and get a perspective. For example, **M10** asserts, "Yes, we are satisfied ... I can't imagine why we would not be satisfied", a view echoed in **M11's** statement, "although there are some cases and isolated incidents ... yet in general, yes, I am [satisfied]". Moreover, **M16** justifies police performance by relating it to others: "If you compare the Kuwaiti police to some of the police organizations in the Middle East,

you will find that we are in a good shape; here the police do not take bribes, are not the public enemy, and do not solely exist to protect the political regime”.

This sub-theme focuses on the correlation between trust and satisfaction, where the interviewees have associated their satisfaction with the police by rating their trust. This was not the only way that the interviewees in this research expressed their satisfaction with police; there was another issue that was mentioned repeatedly during interviews when discussing satisfaction, i.e. *wasta*.

6.4.2 Wasta

Wasta is a product of a culture and is not exclusive to Kuwait; it is used as a term in Arabic-speaking countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Bahrain. Originally, *wasta* conveyed a positive connotation, describing people who used their social connections to help needy people and solve problems. These days, *wasta* has a negative connotation—especially in Kuwait. Now it means that a person has connections that could help him get things that he does not deserve, even allowing him to escape punishment when he breaks the law. This was noted by **M9**, who stated that:

There are two types of community members when we are talking about satisfaction ... the first kind is the one who respects and obeys the law, and this one is not satisfied. The other type is the one who has connections and *wasta* and I think this type is satisfied because the system serves him or her well.

M3 agrees with **M9's** dichotomy, confirming:

I think people are not satisfied because of the system and the bureaucratic process; unless you know someone who could speed things up for you.... For example, I was at the police traffic department for my car's MOT.... At first I decided to go through the process without any help, and found out it is exhausting ... I went from office to office for a signature, a stamp, and sometimes to find the employee. After a while I decided to do as usual, so I went to the director of the office and introduced myself, sat there, and before I finished my tea my MOT was done.

The practice of *wasta* has an undesirable, negative impact on the community in general because of the unequal treatment of community members. Additionally, it is made possible by abusing the special status given to the police by these very same community members. Such practices negatively influence police-community relations. This is supported by Social Exchange Theory, which states that people are not only interested in maximising their rewards while minimising their cost, but also in fair and equitable treatment in the absence of explicit advantages (Hatfield, Rapson and Bensman, 2012). Adams also (1965) acknowledges the connection between fairness and the perception of satisfaction through his theory of equity. The premise of the theory is based on the assumption that people regard fairness as a result of a comparison of input-output factors, where one feels a situation is ‘fair’, reflecting what a person feels he or she deserves. Furthermore, the theory proposes that there are other situations where the input-output ratio is unbalanced. As a result, people might receive either fewer or too many benefits. With unfair applications of *wasta*, people experience “anger, sadness, and resentment” (Hatfield, Rapson and Bensman, 2012, p. 418). This is similar to sentiments expressed by many interviewees in response to *wasta*. For example, **M6** explains his dissatisfaction with a tone of anger due to a personal experience with *wasta*. He says, “A common scene is that in front of everyone, an employee picks his friend from the line to finish his paper work”. In the same vein, **M12** says that “Everyone has a family and friends that he loves; he wants to see them satisfied, but not to corrupt the system”.

Receiving too many benefits, on the other hand, makes people feel “pity, guilt, and shame” (Hatfield, Rapson and Bensman, 2012, p. 418). Such a sentiment was expressed by some the interviewees when they discussed the non-Kuwaitis’ relationship with the police. This was illustrated by their eagerness to talk about these relationships, even though they were instructed at the beginning of the interview that the Kuwaiti community

was the focus of this research. Still, they persisted, stating that non-Kuwaitis were treated unfairly by the police. **M5** expanded on this, explaining that “non-Kuwaiti friends of mine usually contact me, asking for *wasta* when they need to go to the police station. They say that without *wasta* they will not be treated properly”. **M8** also comments on this:

The discrimination based on citizenship is something you see in a [Kuwaiti] police station. For example, if a Kuwaiti citizen enters the police station, he will be treated well and he will be finished in no time; but if a non-Kuwaiti approaches the police at the desk, the first thing he or she will hear is 'have a seat'.

Other interviewees have mentioned that their non-citizen friends have been assaulted, treated badly, or jailed illegally. For example, **M15** describes this: “Yes, we have experienced such incidents, some of them being reported and the police got their punishment and, in others, we don’t hear about the resolution”. Nevertheless, the participants of this research acknowledge the fact that *wasta* is a cultural product that is beyond police control. **W3** expresses this opinion when she remarks that “Our system is suffering from *wasta* in general, and the police are a victim of cultural influence”. In the same vein, **M6** observes that “What happens in our society affects police performance, and I’m talking about general frustration, *wasta*, and political instability.” In other words, although *wasta* negatively affects the relationship between the police and the community, it is the practice of *wasta* by the police that they are truly accountable for, not the very presence of *wasta* in Kuwaiti society. Therefore, interviewees associate it with their perception of satisfaction, not trust, since “unlike control mutuality and trust, which might involve cognitive dimensions, satisfaction encompasses affection and emotion” (Huang, 2001, p. 67). **M7** provides a similar explanation when he describes his dissatisfaction with the police, remarking:

I'm not satisfied either, but I'm not going to discredit the police because some of them are trying their best...but one can't work alone. Police members are frustrated because they are not appreciated by

their organization and also because of *wasta*. The one who has *wasta* gets appointed to a better position.

M7 acknowledges clearly that, although he is not satisfied, the creation of *wasta* is not the police's fault. More importantly, the statement acknowledges that the police are also suffering from *wasta* which, according to **M7**, frustrates the police force. **W2** expressed the same view, saying:

Yes, *wasta* is part of our culture but it affects police performance ... some police get away with it because they have *wasta* and maybe get promoted because of their *wasta*, and others are frustrated because of *wasta*. Recently I was heading toward a checkpoint and in front of me there was a motorcyclist who was not wearing a helmet and was without a license plate. I was curious about what the police at the checkpoint would do to him. To my surprise, he basically let him pass without even bothering to talk to him. When I asked the officer, 'Why did you let him go?' he said, 'I will go through all that trouble and then he will have *wasta* that will release him'.

It seems that although the participants are unhappy about *wasta's* place within the police force, they are aware that even the police fall victim to it. While this does not rectify the situation, it certainly helps to bridge the gap between the worldviews of **Faith** and **Communitarianism**. What also helps bridge the gap is both parties' stress on equality. They both recognise a need for fairness. Everything about *wasta* violates this principle. To kill *wasta*, the law needs to be fairly applied. **W2** believes that applying this at the highest levels would achieve the best, most lasting results:

I wish I could tell the Prime Minister to gather his Ministers and ask them not allow any *wasta* in their houses. What would happen is that we would have a different country. In my position, I experience a lot pressure from the MPs and influential people who come to my office trying to leverage *wasta*. I always refuse, but do so politely, saying I'm sorry, I wish I could help, but this is not my decision, etc. Eventually they would give up and start not to show up.

The steady application of the law and equality is the solution in fighting *wasta* and eventually earning the community's respect and satisfaction. This is exactly what **W3** believes:

In my organisation, I inform my subordinate of my rules of behaviour, such as switching off cell phones, not eating or talking during a meeting ... following these rules show that they respect the organisation and respect me ... if I thought I could not enforce these rules I would not respect myself, let alone my institution.

The emphasis on equality and the rejection of *wasta* shows that the interviewees are concerned with social justice, which relates primarily to satisfaction. Unequal treatment is an important factor in perceiving fairness in police treatment. Sarat (1977) says that the "perception of unequal treatment is the single most important source of popular dissatisfaction with the American legal system" (as cited in Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, p. 156).

6.5 Commitment

The relational dimension of commitment is perceived as the desire to maintain the existing relationship. Michaels, Acock and Edwards (1986) define it as "one's desire and intent to maintain, rather than terminate, a relationship" (p. 162). However, researchers have repeatedly emphasised the strong correlation between trust and satisfaction where trust precedes satisfaction and commitment (Jo, Hon and Brunner, 2004). The following paragraphs examine the relational aspect of commitment from the world views of *Faith*, *Communitarianism*, and *Optimism*. One thing is shared, however, among all of these views—they are all committed to the community-police relationship. In order to probe further, commitment theory, as formulated by Meyer and Allen (1991), helps to distinguish among the three worldviews.

The theory argues that (a) affective commitment, (b) continuance commitment, (c) and normative commitment are the three most common types of commitment that develop between individuals and organisations (Meyer and Allen, 1991). Affective commitment refers to the individual's emotional attachment to the organisation, effectively measuring

an individual's *desire* to continue the relationship. The continuance commitment or 'calculated commitment' represents an individual's calculated cost of leaving the relationship—this assesses one's ability to leave and measures *need*. Normative commitment represents the individual's sense of self-obligation, measuring whether she *ought* to remain in the relationship in relation to whether she *ought* to maintain it (Allen and Meyer, 1991, p. 67). Furthermore, Allen and Meyer (1991) state that commitment is a psychological state that is affected by antecedents in a person's relationship. In this research, these antecedents are the worldviews of *Faith*, *Communitarianism* and *Optimism*, although the bulk of the discussion concerns normative commitment and continuance commitment, which represent the individual's obligation to be committed to the police.

6.5.1 Normative Commitment

Allen and Meyer (1991) explain that loyalty is usually developed in a social or cultural context. The *Faith* worldview most strongly and clearly embodies this. In this culture, the police are considered to be a source of social order and “without police, there is no law and there is chaos” (M7). Therefore, commitment from such a perspective is obligatory. Such commitment is more related to personal responsibility and moral value than to trust in or satisfaction with the police. Police literature posits that communities comply with the police as social control agents usually because of the "significant normative dimension" (Jackson, Bradford, Hough and Murray, 2012, p. 30). As M15 has stated, “Our society is a close society that is different from that of Europe or America ... we are so connected and related that sometimes is difficult to separate our job from our society”. Jackson *et al.* (2012) also explains that:

Individuals comply with the law for reasons other than an instrumental calculation of benefits and risks of offending. Most people obey most

laws most of the time, because it is the 'right thing to do'. In this regard, genetics, socialisation, psychological development, moral reasoning, community context, social norms, and networks may all help sustain the routine compliance that is 'ingrained in everyday life' (p. 30).

The interviewees expressed their willingness to comply with the police as a commitment to obey the law, which is exhibited in one's obeying the law and a police officer, as he is an enforcer of the law. Therefore, the commitment that interviewees showed is related to the police as an agent and enforcer of the law. This legitimacy is given as "a property of an authority or institution that leads people to feel that the authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed" (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003b, p. 514). Kelman and Hamilton (1989) explain eloquently that:

A person holds authority only over, or with respect to, another person. Thus, authority refers to a role relationship between two sets of actors within a social unit: the authority holders (or "authorities") on the one hand, and the subordinates or ordinary members on the other ... Since authority is a relationship, the role of each of the two parties is defined with reference to the role of the other: The role of authorities entitles them to make certain demands on citizens, and the role of citizens obligates them to accede to these demands (pp. 54-55).

In this sense, the commitment to the police, as agents of the law, is more related to a moral obligation and self-preservation than to considering the police to be trustworthy. Such a conclusion was mentioned before by Beetham (1991), who believes that "People confer legitimacy on institutions not simply because the latter adhere to standards of good behaviour, but also because they regard the institutions as representing particular normative and ethical frameworks" (as cited in Jackson, Bradford, Hough and Murray, 2012, p. 33). Likewise, Sunshine and Tyler's (2003b) results show that police legitimacy influences community compliance, cooperation with the police, and a willingness to empower the police. Although the authors base their definition of legitimacy on 'fair' judicial procedures, they still believe that "legitimacy may also derive from philosophical

or political perspectives and is not simply a reflection of police behaviour” (p. 535). Furthermore, Tyler and Jackson (2013) asserted that “empirical research findings have shown that legitimacy—typically operationalized as felt obligation to obey authorizes and trust and confidence in the relevant institutions—plays an important role in achieving such compliance” (p. 1).

In fact, Tom Tyler and his colleagues are responsible for renewing the interest in police legitimacy (Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis and Manning, 2012). This stream of research started in the 80s and produced an influential number of studies (see Tyler, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004; Tyler and Huo, 2002; Tyler and Fagan, 2008), emphasising how perceptions of the police can influence people's willingness to comply with the law.

In short, the existence of the police is regarded as essential to the survival of the community in the *Faith* view; therefore, the commitment of the community is mandatory.

6.5.2 Continuanace Commitment

The *Communitarian* view is a similar view, although it does not attempt to shield the police from blame in this way. It supports that the institution is necessary, but does not support that it is necessary for the organisation to misbehave. Still, the antecedent for the *Communitarian* view is represented by the lack of alternatives. Actually, the word ‘alternative’ was mentioned several times by the interviewees. For example, **W1** says “There are no other alternatives for the police in Kuwait”. From this perspective, **M14** describes his commitment to the police as ‘inevitable’: “What other choices do we have? Police are an essential element in our society” (**M14**). As a matter of fact, Jones, Fox, Taylor and Fabrigar (2010), in their study on customer commitment, considered the lack

of alternatives or substitutes as a motivating factor behind continued customer patronage, even in the face of poor products, service or support.

A customer who experiences a high level of continuance commitment has, by definition, given thought to the lack of alternatives, i.e. they have considered the relative benefits of remaining with their current service providers and have determined that the costs (e.g. search costs) of finding a suitable alternative outweigh any potential gains (p. 18).

Such a description fits the Kuwaiti situation, where the police are funded and operated by the Kuwaiti government. The Kuwaiti government, as mentioned before, control "100% of the oil industry, the main source of income for Kuwait ... owns (as far back as 1954) 97 percent of the land ... employs over 95 percent of the Kuwaiti labour force, " (Alnajjar, 2000, p. 243). Therefore, the lack of alternatives is the sole reason for the continued commitment to the *Communitarian* worldview of the police. However, it is possible in a world with no alternatives to at least recognize that the product is not all that it could be. As **W3** suggests, The services part of the police job could be privatized or given to other governmental organizations, which I think could help the police be more focused and efficient". **M1** observes that providing security and services is a burden on the MOI and that could distract the organization from its sole mission of security and safety. "The Ministry of the Interior is suffering from a shortage of police on the street and in police stations. Some stations have just one police officer and yet they [MOI] have many police officers working in desk jobs that any civilian could do".

In short, Commitment Theory helps to further explain the relationship between the community and its police, describing the way that they react to incidents and feel about police performance and behaviour. Specifically, two kinds of commitment out of the three explored were correlated with interviewees' commitment toward the police: Normative Commitment represents the *Faith* perspective, where police are deemed as mandatory,

whereas the *Communitarian* view correlates with Continuance Commitment, which builds commitment from a lack of suitable alternatives.

6.6. Control Mutuality

Control mutuality is the fourth and final relational factor discussed by the interviewees in this research. According to Stafford and Canary (1991), control mutuality is “the degree to which partners agree about which of them should decide relational goals and behavioural routines” (p. 224). In this sense, control mutuality is likened to communicative action theory since both focus on the power dynamic in a relationship (Jahansoozi, 2007, p. 59). Therefore, the premise of this relational factor is the power distribution between the police and community. Furthermore, in discussing such a subject, the interviewees of this research focused on the power imbalance in the relationship. The *Communitarian* view perceives that the community should have more power in the relationship. On the other hand, the *Faith* view holds that the police should have the power in the relationship.

W2 believes that power is balanced in favour of the police who “have guns, a uniform; they can stop us, question us, and we are obligated to obey”. This was justified by the fact that the police force is a social control agency. **M10** agreed that the police “should have the power and authority. We call them law enforcement”. The above statements reflect the *Faith* view, which believes that an empowered police organisation is best able to perform its duties. In this context, it is understood that the necessary, normal function of the police legitimises its authority, one that “entitles them to make certain demands on citizens, and the role of citizens obligates them to accede to these demands” (Kelman and Hamilton, 1989, pp. 54-55). From this perspective, the power imbalance is normal since one of the parties has more access to resources. However, even

to challenge police authority is considered unhealthy. Thus were the thoughts of **W2**, who believes that “in normal circumstances the police should have more power; but because we don’t trust the police, if we do we will not be challenging its authority but we will voluntarily obey its orders”. She further explains the consequences of such an abnormal situation saying that:

Police should have the power, not the community. Now we have people who are above the law and the police cannot reach them. It is always healthier and more natural that the police are more powerful and influential.

The *Communitarian* view differs from the *Faith* view that presumes that power should always be in the hands of the police. It actually considers such a situation as unhealthy, and possibly dangerous. This was echoed by **M13**, who thinks that the police are already “more powerful and influential in a bad way. The police are immune from punishment”. The imbalance can be improved in many ways, one of which is to share access to the decision-making process (Stafford and Canary, 1991). Although the *Communitarian* view accepts police authority over community members, *Communitarians* would like to limit this authority. This was articulated by **M9**, who confirms this. “The police are stronger since they have the law beside them and this is the right thing ... however, if the police are not enforcing the law correctly, the power is shifted to the public ... and now the people are more powerful”. **M8** supports **M9**’s previous statement:

In Kuwait, the Kuwaiti citizens have all their rights and power. In 1996, the Kuwait MOI issued new laws that doubled the fines for traffic violations; however, the Kuwaiti citizens, through their MPs have pressured the MOI to change that law ... in my opinion, the Kuwaiti citizens are more powerful.

M15 agrees: “The balance of power that we have here is healthy because we are living in a civilized society where the law is respected and obeyed”. In this relationship, the community exercises its rightful power in monitoring police performance. This was echoed by **M14**:

The police have coercive authority over the community, given to them by the law; however, if the police abuse this power, the community has its channels to influence the police, such as the media and the Kuwait National Assembly.

Communitarians incorporate an appreciation of how important checks and balances are, especially over those that control power; this view does not seek to strip the police of their power, but to make sure it is being appropriately used. In other words, if no reviews of power are made through civil society institutions (the media and the Kuwait National Assembly), police misconduct will rise. The *Optimists* share this view, believing the police and their special powers to be necessary, but also believing that misconduct can be reduced through proper checks and balances. **M2** articulates an interesting perspective that supports the *Optimistic* view, saying:

Because the MOI is the organized group and has a distinctive and clear purpose, it is more powerful in this relationship in this sense...however, because the law is the line that defines police power and citizens' rights and because we are in a democratic society, I think there is a balance.

The *Optimistic* view, as implied by the term, is for the most part happy with the status quo of society's structure. Such optimism stems from the idea that the police are benevolent (Goldsmith, 2005). Furthermore, this view emphasises the need for a balance of power and encourages reliance on media outlets to maintain this delicate balance.

6.7 Implications for Communication and Public Relations

The discussion in this chapter has shown that interviewees have their own perspectives on the police's communication style and police Public Relations practice in Kuwait. Regardless of the connotations of these perspectives, communication and Public Relations practice play a major role in shaping police-community relations in Kuwait.

In terms of communication, the police–community relationship needs more transparency and openness and this is heavily dependent on the police institution. The

community needs access to facilities, information and decision-making. This is not possible unless the police acknowledge and appreciate the community's input into the decision-making process. In this case, I recommend that the police institution adopts a dialogical communication style and abandons closed-system communication.

This chapter also has implications for Public Relations practice. The criticism of the police Public Relations department was among the few things that the *Communitarian* and *Faith* proponents agreed on. Police Public Relations practice in Kuwait resonates more with a functionalistic approach to Public Relations, which has been highly criticised. In fact, Botan and Taylor (2004) view the functionalistic approach as an out-dated practice and the Public Relations is in a “transition from a functional perspective to a co-creational one” (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p. 651). A major outcome of this research is my recommendation that Kuwait's police Public Relations practice moves forward and adopts the co-creational approach that allows Public Relations practice to connect the police with the community. As Pearson points out (1989), it is the “core ethical responsibility of public relations to manage all communication systems that link the organization to its publics as closely as possible to the constructs of dialogue” (as cited in Theunissen and Wan Noordin, 2012, p. 7).

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has used a thematic framework in order to explore the relationship between the police and its community. In doing so, the interviewee data was analysed, from which worldview themes were identified. These were the lenses through which different forms of communication styles were discussed as they relate to trust and satisfaction, two major variables that affect community satisfaction. The purpose of this analytical framework was to simplify the complex data that interpret the police-community relationship without

taking it out of its context, thus eventually increasing the data's capacity for interpretation. The analysis showed that the participants in this research hold different perspectives on trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality. These variations of perception are due to the influence of the three worldviews on participants' perspectives. The most important implication of this chapter, I believe, is being able to understand the participants' perspectives (whether negative or positive) towards the community-police relationship. In other words, an analysis of the data explains why a participant is trusted (distrusted), or satisfied (dissatisfied) with his or her relationship with the Kuwaiti police. Furthermore, the implications of this chapter for communication and Public Relations are also important.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Implications

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores this thesis' findings and limitations. It begins with the findings of the research, then presents its implications and limitations, and concludes with a reflexive account of the thesis process. The specific purpose of this chapter is not to present the data, as was the case in previous chapters, but rather to introduce the key findings and implications.

7.2 Research Findings

The data here describes key attributes of the police-community relationship, such as trust, satisfaction, commitment and control mutuality, and the worldviews through which the participants regard the police—specifically that of *Faith*, *Communitarianism* and *Optimism*.

The worldviews of *Faith*, *Communitarianism* and *Optimism* evolved unexpectedly from the data during Thematic Analysis. They are the lenses through which the participants see the police and the relationship they have with them. Understanding and identifying these worldviews have certainly helped to explore the relationship between the police and the community. It will also help the police force to better communicate with a fractured community, in which some citizens expect completely different behaviour and communication styles from that displayed by the current police force.

The relational elements identified in this thesis measure the participants' perceptions of the police-community relationship and are of course also influenced by the worldviews. Therefore, relational elements are integrated with worldviews, in that

they subscribe to a relational theoretical framework that has been previously used qualitatively by different scholars (Ni, 2007; Jahansoozi, 2007); this thesis has built on it by adding the three worldviews.

Trust was the most discussed relational element among the participants. Police behaviour and communication style were the most visibly discussed issues in the interviews. In fact, when discussed in tandem with trust, the interviewees were passionate about their answers. Furthermore, regardless of the participants' perspectives, in terms of the influence of the worldviews, every interviewee acknowledged the existence of such trust issues. For example, although the *Faith* worldview is pro-police, it did not deny police misbehaviour. Instead, it downplayed it greatly, referring to any and all as isolated incidents. In short, the three worldviews held significant sway over the opinions of the interviewees, where police misbehaviour and communication style topped the attributes list.

Furthermore, the relations factor of commitment added another interesting finding to this research. Across all the worldviews, the interviewees showed high levels of commitment. This flies against the prevailing research, which indicates that a strong correlation between trust and satisfaction is a prerequisite for commitment (Jo, Hon and Brunner, 2004).

7.3 Implications

This Kuwait-specific contribution goes beyond that of the police-community relationship in that country. It also provides a thorough discussion regarding 1) Public Relations theory and practice, and 2) a thematic analysis of the Kuwaiti police.

7.3.1 .1 Public Relations Theory and Practice

This thesis has added to Public Relations theory as it has extended the body of knowledge on Public Relations in the specific context of police Public Relations in Kuwait. This will help to round-out existing police PR data, especially by adding a Middle Eastern and Arabic perspective to otherwise Western theories (e.g. Relational, Community, Systems and Social Exchange). Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates how environmental factors (Kuwaiti history, cultural and economic) could influence organisation-public relations.

In terms of Public Relations practice, this thesis offers a closer look at functionalistic Public Relations practice in Kuwait. This functionalistic approach states that the PR department is not charged with maintaining a positive relationship with its community, but rather with managing the positive image and reputation of police.

The police Public Relations department has virtually no role in the decision-making process of the police structure or organisation. Its mission is solely to distribute the organisation's message and interpret the media and public's response. The role fits Al-Enad's (1990) general description of governmental Public Relations in the Middle East, marked by a “purpose [which] is unbalanced, and the tools are the mass media which not only publish and transmit whatever comes from government public relations but have no power to edit or change any part in most cases” (p. 25).

7.3.1.1 The Co-creational Approach

The results of this thesis show that the police Public Relations departments need to adapt by connecting the police to its community in order to achieve higher levels of satisfaction and trust. To achieve this, the focus should be shifted toward community-

building and open communication, thus increasing transparency and access to dialogue. Furthermore, Public Relations practitioners, as ‘cultural intermediaries’ (Hodges, 2006, p. 88), are ethically responsible for their contribution to the building of the community. The co-creational approach is a suitable alternative for the current practice of a functionalistic approach to police Public Relations. The approach assumes that both the police and the Kuwaiti community are co-creators of meaning, where community input in decision making is valuable and appreciated. This approach encourages the police organisation to be open to the community and to communicate more transparently. More importantly, this shift in police Public Relations practice will improve “protocol tasks, publicity functions and secondary roles” (Kirat, 2005, p. 326), where more members of the force are brought into management activities and decision-making. Instead of the force focusing on input and approval from top management (by doing trivial chores that satisfy protocol), the practice will move toward researching community opinion and proactively identifying potential issues. In its history, the Kuwaiti police’s PR team has never researched the community’s opinion or attitude toward any issue. In short, the co-creational approach to Public Relations will improve the relationship with the public. Moreover, this shift from a functionalistic towards a co-creational approach will improve the efficacy of the Public Relations department.

The internal communication approach of the police, as discussed in the Kuwaiti context chapter, is highly influenced by its structure, according to Al-Fahed (1989). He explains that “the hierarchical structure of bureaucracies can lead to communication problems, especially when they are compounded by the traditions of military organisation” (1989, p. 1979). Actually, Musallam (2004) found through surveys that the “public sector organizations faced more conflict due to the lack of

trust between the employees and upper management compared to the private sector” (p. 127). She attributes such a lack of trust to the organisation's rigid, top-down structure and one-way communication approach. The police's hierarchical, quasi-military structure not only limits what the lower-rung officers are allowed to say, but also limits the leeway on what is actually said. The message is also one that must be approved by many people, sometimes accommodating police, political, and personal agendas. This issue is pervasive in most governmental organisations, according to Musallam (2004, p. 128). The police department's size and complex structure also concentrates the decision-making process in the hands of a few people, creating a monopoly that includes the communication channel. In this atmosphere “communication is downward and delivered in a militaristic tone, thus curtailing any possible rebuttal or challenge from even mid-level ranks” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 155).

With senior police officers, as elites, they are more involved in the decision making and planning the organization policies than any other rank. Marcus (1983) explains it more eloquently by stating that:

The concept of elite carries with it the notion that such groups are the major source of change within relevant levels of social organisation—local, regional, societal, and international; they are the force behind institutional processes in which others—the masses, non-elites—participate with them (p. 9).

Furthermore, according to Marcus (1983), the senior police officers, as elites, are “more closely associated with human controlling functions in the institutions” (p. 41). The police elites “occupy the most influential positions” in the police organisation in which they are the “decision makers”. They are also positioned “above their fellow” policemen, with whom they “do not share the same social or political stature” (Al-Fahed, 1989, p. 2), including other police officers and most specifically non-commissioned police officers.

The improvement of the status of police Public Relations to elites will consequently improve the department's ability to reach the police's internal publics and practice its co-creational approach of empowering these publics and delivering their voices. TCA suggests that efforts need to be made to reduce the impact of power in relationships that otherwise distort the possibility of true communication. L'Etang (1996) asserts that the unequal distribution of power is a major factor in preventing "the general symmetry requirement" or "ideal speech communication" (L'Etang, 1996, p. 121). As a result, police PR departments, although ethically obligated to engage the community, are prevented from doing so by more powerful departments within the organisation. This is because the current, internal-communication police model is characterised by authoritarian communication caused by the power imbalance in the police structure, where the top police management has greater access to resources. The power impact, as predicted by the TCA, distorts the internal police communication status. The co-creational approach, however, encourages communication between the police and its people.

At a practical level, this is not an easy recommendation. The police must change its communication style to one that favours dialogue within itself and with the people it serves. This is especially difficult to implement, what with the Kuwaiti style so heavily entrenched in the status quo. Such an approach is saturated with power and is probably resistant to change. However, this resistance to change is separate from the overall point of this thesis: that a co-creational shift will not only improve the relationship between the police and its citizens, but will make the police force more effective in carrying out its task, as well as being more accountable to its people.

7.3.2 .2 *The Kuwaiti Police*

This thesis has explored an essential area for the Kuwaiti police that has not been explored before. Through the investigation of interview data, it provides a snapshot of the current police-community relationship, highlighting the important issues that are obstacles to a better police-community relationship. The most salient two are (1) police force behaviour, and (2) the organisation's communication style, which I believe stem from the current practice of policing being influenced by the police culture. It is recommended that the Kuwaiti police adopt the community policing approach. Despite the fact that this traditional view has been abandoned by many cultures (Anderson, 2005), I believe that the Kuwaiti police still follow traditional ways, as shown by my first-hand experience with the rigidity of the police. Policing scholars also agree that the emergence of community policing is a result of pressured change with regard to traditional policing, which Manning (1993b) states is “a metaphor based on yearning and the wish for personalization of service which contrasts with bureaucratic and professional policing” (pp. 421-422).

I propose that the adoption of the community policing approach will help to improve behaviour and communication styles by addressing the root issue. This adjustment will require the police to adjust its goals and mission, aligning it to the goals and mission of its community. The openness of the communicative system will help the policemen to understand the community members' attitudes towards the police. This will consequently improve police effectiveness, as they will be “actively engaged with the environment and creating many boundary-spanning roles linking the organization to its immediate task environment as well as social, cultural, and economic environments” (Greene, 2000, p. 314). Furthermore, community policing

will bring about accountability through the acknowledgment of the police's role in the community.

Communication style will, by definition, become more open. It will shift away from a functionalistic approach, one that “creates and disseminates information that helps the organization to accomplish its goals” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6) and transmits its point of view, as opposed to listening to input from the community. Community policing and a co-creational communication approach will help to remedy this issue. According to Taylor (2010), co-creational PR “uses communication to help groups to negotiate meaning and build relationships” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). This leveraging of the PR department will eliminate some of the need for media voices regarding police affairs. Consequently, the department will acquire a more prominent role in community dialogue.

7.4 Limitations

There is no research without limitations, and this thesis has encountered several limitations that might influence the results. The first obstacle was in rounding-out the research sample. The original design included interviews with National Assembly MPs to represent the community elite. However, none responded positively despite numerous attempts. One of the MPs, after agreeing to return my calls, asked me to summarise my research, then arranged an appointment, ultimately cancelling. Another scheduled the interview three times, and then refused to meet me. These circumstances forced me to exclude this group from the ‘community elite’ category.

Sampling was also an issue. Although I believe that the non-Kuwaiti relationship with the police is as important as the one between Kuwaiti citizens, including them in this sample would have unnecessarily complicated the research by

splitting the focus even further at the top-level. Furthermore, the non-Kuwaiti population is extremely diverse with regard to race, country of origin, language, culture, etc. According to the Ministry of Planning, the non-Kuwaiti population includes more than 100 nationalities and speaks many languages, including Farsi, Malayalam, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Filipino (Ministry of Planning, 2008).

7.5 A Reflexive Account of the Thesis Process

My experience as a Public Relations Officer has given me a close look at the police-community relationship. However, writing this thesis was a transformational process for me. I started with one mind-set and ended with a different one. Four years ago, when applying for PhD studies, I had a different view of the thesis that I was going to conduct. Previously, I was aiming at designing a quantitative study of co-orientation. I now know that while not ‘wrong’, a quantitative approach would have had its limits; limits that were greater than that of the current research design. After I explored the qualitative approach, I was able to fully appreciate the usefulness of a qualitative paradigm for this research topic.

In the qualitative paradigm I had more flexibility in designing the methodology. Qualitative research has contributed a greater understanding of the police, the community, culture, history and context. It was a learning process that deepened my understanding of the police, my community, and my country. It also widened my worldview, perspective and outside-the-box thinking. The process of this thesis even changed my perspective of policing and how it should be practiced.

This section starts with a story that I chose as an entry-point to my personal reflection on this thesis. Then several sections follow that present my perspective on the police-community relationship.

[Spring 2008]

As I sat in my windowless office, I read the daily media report that had been prepared earlier by the media relations sector. I skimmed it for the media's daily thoughts regarding the Ministry of the Interior. It was at this point that a letter to the editor caught my eye: *To the Ministry of Interior: Homeless Kuwaiti female lives on the street*. At first, I thought that the reporter was exaggerating since there are no known homeless women in Kuwait; on reflection, I conjectured that the woman was temporarily homeless due to a domestic dispute. However, in anticipation of a directive from my supervisor, I decided to follow-up. The regular procedure in such a case is to contact the media personnel who published the piece, asking for the subject's contact information. Being unable to reach the reporter, I left a message and my personal number with the newspaper's answering service and, on a Friday evening, I received a call.

Me: Hello.

Journalist: Hi, is this Captain Talal?

Me: Yes, how can I help you?

Journalist: My name is Mushael. The newspaper told me that you are looking for me ... is this regarding the homeless story?

Me: Yes it is ... thank you for calling. I just want to verify a few things.

Journalist: Sure. Go ahead.

Me: Have you seen this woman yourself?

Journalist: To be honest no ... an eyewitness informed me. Someone trustworthy however; I contacted her via phone.

[*Interior Monologue*]

"I knew it. This is just a lazy journalist who publishes whatever he hears without verifying the story. A female living in the street, it does not make sense..."

Me: Can I have her contact number?

Journalist: Sure, I'll text it to you.

Me: Thank you. Goodbye.

After receiving the contact information minutes later, I immediately made the call:

Me: Hello, are you Dalal? [Not her real name]

Dalal: [in a weak and exhausted voice] Yes.

Me: [Unsympathetically] I'm Captain Talal Almutairi from the Ministry of Interior. Madam, I'm calling tonight regarding the newspaper piece and I want to verify its contents. Are you really homeless?

Dalal: Yes. I have been like this for a while.

Me: [Unsympathetically] Where is your family?

Dalal: They have disowned me ... my husband, daughter, and my family.

Me: Madam, what you are saying does not make sense... unless you are not telling me the whole story

[Silence, breathing].

Me: Ma'am, are you still there?

Dalal: I have AIDS.

Me: I'm sorry? What?

Dalal: I said, "I have AIDS."

[I was speechless as it was unexpected; I did not know what to say].

Dalal: I used to be a married women, I used to have two kids, a daughter and son. Now I don't. They hate me; they don't want to speak to me. I don't have any place to go.

Me: [I was not expecting this; I felt very bad]. I'm sorry, how do you know that you have AIDS?

Dalal: The hospital told me so ... I was hospitalized for a while and then released.

Me: Where are you now?

Dalal: I'm by the sea, in Al-Salmiya.

Me: Go to the nearest motel and sleep there tonight.

Dalal: But I don't have money.

Me: Just go there and I will take care of it.

After contacting the motel and delivery services for dinner, I went home to write the report. First thing in the morning, before passing the report to my superiors, I thought to cross-check her story's details. I contacted a counterpart who works at the Public Relations Department at the Ministry of Health. It took him less than an hour to call me back and confirm the story. According to him, she had been in the hospital for roughly a year and half; what's more, the hospital was supposed to release her much earlier. When asked why they had released her, he said that the procedure for AIDS cases is to inform and educate patients as to survival outside of the hospital when in-patient care is no longer needed and release them into the care of their family: "She needs her family to take her back and accept her situation".

I was shocked that her family had disowned her. Kuwait, at just over one million people, is a small, communal country, collectivist in nature. Families and tribes take care of their members, therefore, making someone homelessness very rare. Even though AIDS is a taboo subject, few families would leave someone on the street because the family would be worried about what neighbours and peers would think or say. Kuwaiti people are very cautious of their image and reputation in the community, especially where women are concerned.

From here, I passed the report to my superior, including all the evidence that I could find to support this case. On the coversheet, I wrote:

To the Director of the Public Relations Department

This report concerns the homeless female case that was published in Al Anbaa newspaper. I want to confirm that the report is accurate—we have a homeless Kuwaiti female living on the streets. Her family disowned her after discovering that she contracted AIDS through an extra-marital relationship. Furthermore, she is on the street after being kicked out of the Communicable Disease Hospital for having exhausted the maximum number of days.

In consideration of the facts, I believe it to be under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior, as public safety is our priority. She lives in a desperate situation, lacking all the essential elements for a decent life. Sir, this woman is a ticking bomb that will explode any minute, the consequences of which are dire. Therefore, I propose that with the cooperation of the Health

Ministry she should be given temporary housing until further arrangements can be made.

Captain Talal M. Almutairi

Sitting in front of him, in his spacious office, I saw the astonishment on his face while he read the report. Without hesitation, he called his secretary and asked him to send the report to the Ministry Deputy. He then left for the Deputy's office. His reaction gave me confidence that the situation would be resolved. As Public Relations Officer, there is little immediate action that we are able to take in individuals' lives. I was very happy that I could directly help a human being; I actually called my father to discuss it. However, an hour later my superior approached me about his conversation with the Deputy. In short, the Deputy's legal team ruled that the case did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior. I tried to persuade him otherwise, but my superior ordered me not to pursue it further.

I could not let it go. As a police officer, I believed it was our job to solve the case. I believe, as a member of the community, she is also entitled to the Ministry's services. While she is not in immediate danger herself or an immediate threat to others, one need not be a genius to understand the possible consequences of her presence on the street. As a human being, I also felt obligated; and since I could not do anything as a police officer, I decided to help her as a fellow human being.

I first contacted my friends and my father and asked them for donations. They were enthusiastic, ultimately contributing enough to house her for some weeks. The next step was to find an influential person who could convince the Ministry to do something. In our line of work, we regularly deal with VIPs. After contacting several people on my list who did not want to get involved, I got a positive response from a member of an international business firm. He told me that he knows a philanthropist

who is also a member of the royal family, explaining that even though the case is unattractive politically, he would mention it to this person.

Meanwhile, Dalal and I spoke on the telephone several times a day, usually no more than a minute or two in length. I usually asked after her condition and whether she needed assistance. Her attention, instead, was focused on the future. She was always eager to know what might come next, as if she was expecting me to abandon her at any moment. Her voice was distinctive throughout the process, calm, low, and weak. She never laughed, yet never cried. I tried to show sympathy by empathising with lines such as “I know what you are going through,” but, I was lying; after all, what did I know of being a woman in a conservative society who was homeless, terminally ill, and abandoned by her family? This is why every time we talked, I had a strange mix of guilt and anger. Finally, I received a call from the philanthropist's office:

Philanthropist: Hello, Captain Talal. How are you my son?

Me: Hi Ma'am, thank you for your call.

Philanthropist: Khalid has told me about the poor women. However, I'm wondering what I could do, especially when the Ministry of Interior is already involved.

Me: I want to first say that I am working on the case, but without support from the Ministry of Interior. All I'm asking is that someone in a position of influence could convince the MOI to take the action necessary in order to rescue this poor woman from the street.

Philanthropist: I'll see what I can do.

Me: Thank you very much for your call. Goodbye.

Soon after, I went back to my life, waiting with anticipation for a response that came the following day. She stated that she had spoken with an important person at the Ministry of Health who, after their conversation, had now taken an interest in the case; she asked me to pass Dalal's details to the Ministry so that an ambulance could transport her to a hospital. I happily phoned Dalal, telling her to keep an eye out for an ambulance; after hours and multiple calls to her, however, the ambulance failed to

arrive. The next morning I phoned the philanthropist, who was surprised at the no-show. After two days, she met with this VIP at a particular event and he told her that the ambulance waited an hour at the address. She asked again to confirm the address, then sent it to the Health Ministry for a follow-up ambulance visit.

After hearing the story, I thanked her. However, I knew that her contact had most likely did not disclosed the full story. I could not relate my true thoughts because she was either unaware or simply did not want to get involved. My concerns were confirmed when I received a call from the Health Ministry:

HM: Hello, who are you [Aggressively]?

Me: Who are you looking for?

HM: You are Talal, right? [Arrogantly].

Me: Yes, and who are you [Irritated]?

HM: I'm Dr. Salah [not his real name], from the Health Ministry
[Very arrogantly].

Me: And how can I help you [very irritated]?

HM: Stop calling the philanthropist and mind your own business
[Threatening tone].

[Instead of asking me for Dalal's address he was trying to intimidate me I was so angry that I needed a few seconds to gather my thoughts].

HM: Hello?

Me: Listen, I knew with such an attitude you're not calling to help, so stop wasting my time and go do something useful [Hanging up].

It was then clear that there would be no ambulance. Furthermore, I had exhausted all of my connections and my monetary resources. It was time to give up, time to let go. I thought to myself: I have done everything I can; what else is there? I have limited resources ... I'm not supposed to get involved. I'm endangering my job. If the director knows that I'm still pursuing the case, he would be furious. Dalal will understand. She will have to understand; and she will appreciate my effort.

I tried to convince myself that I had done everything that I could have. I called her and I told her that I had reached a dead-end, and that I was sorry.

Me: I'm sorry, I can't do anything.

Dalal: But where can I go?

Me: You still have one night at the motel but you need to leave tomorrow. I'm sorry.

Dalal: [long pause] Okay.

Me: Goodbye [I hung up].

Dalal: [Text message] Thank you Talal, for everything. Don't forget me.

The feelings of shame, disappointment, and cowardice began to fade away with every passing day. Dalal soon became a distant memory. However, one day, I was playing cards with friends at a *dewaniya* where a voice identical to Dalal's started to drift from an overhead television. I jumped up, made my way to the TV, and saw a small woman in a dirty scarf, shoeless, sitting in front of a mosque talking to a famous reporter. I was not sure if it was her because I had never seen her, but the voice was the same. The reporter had insisted on interviewing the shoeless woman in front of the mosque that had denied her entrance. Everyone in the room was moved. At the end of the show, the reporter asked for donations. Only a few hours later, the station reported that they had received a large donation from a businessman who offered to send the woman to America in order to receive treatment. Everyone at the *dewaniya* began to cheer upon hearing the news. This was the last time I heard anything about Dalal.

7.5.1 I am a Communitarian

I am now a ***Communitarianism*** advocate. I find this theory highly suitable in the collective, conservative culture of Kuwait. I find its premise, that the community is the focal point of any government-citizen relationship, to be both logical and rational. It is my personal belief that the police's role is to live up to the community's expectations.

Community policing seems to be influenced by the ***Communitarianism*** theory. According to the co-creational approach, there are great similarities between

the *Communitarianism* theory and the emerging practice of community policing, where both embrace the same principals; for example, they both embrace equity and accountability. Community policing is widely acknowledged and practiced around the world (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). For example Anderson (2005, p. 1) describes the emergence of community policing in Australia, saying that:

Community policing is thought to have gained momentum for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the general community dissatisfaction with traditional law enforcement practices and the demand for greater police accountability for increasing crime rates.

However, policing scholars agree that the emergence of community policing is a result of pressured change in regard to traditional policing, which Manning (1993b) states is “a metaphor based on yearning and the wish for personalization of service which contrasts with bureaucratic/professional policing” (p. 421-422). Greene (2000, p. 310) also defines traditional policing as:

... a narrow law enforcement and crime control or crime repression focus. It is centered on serious crime, as opposed to maintenance of community social order or general service delivery. The police are crime fighters under this model, and they shun any form of social work activity. Under the traditional model, police work is synonymous with catching crooks and is largely reactive, i.e., the police respond to calls for assistance from the public.

The isolation of the police from their environment in traditional methods of policing is an accepted practice that is thought to ensure police neutrality and accountability to the law (Greene, 2000). In this model, the institution of the police is independent from community resources. Furthermore, the traditional model of policing encourages “the development of a code of secrecy to fend off external control and oversight, and often a general disdain for the public at large” (Greene, 2000, p. 310). Although this traditional view has been abandoned by many cultures (Anderson, 2005), I believe that the Kuwaiti police still follow traditional methods. Nevertheless, traditional

policing has its supporters, such as in the *Faith* worldview. This view holds that community involvement takes away from the authority of police who “know what should be done” (Gaines and Worrall, 2011, p. 36). The perception of the police as an authoritative institution reinforces the police’s tendency towards isolation. This sense of isolation is common in the police (Caparini, 2004) and is associated with the classic Weberian viewpoint that sees the separation between an organisation and its environment as necessary to maintain uncertainty (Greene, 2000). In this perspective, Greene (2000, p. 312) describes traditional policing:

The police organization renders the environment incapable of changing its internal dynamics and ensures for itself some sense of control over the environment. In the parlance of organizations, police agencies under the traditional model see maintaining themselves as their primary goal. They are focused on maintaining structure and function—the means of policing—without much consideration to the ends of policing, such as safer communities.

Police culture is strong in this policing model, where there is identity separation between police members (as insiders) and community members (as civilian outsiders). A relevant example appeared recently when a friend of mine (a civilian) visited the police traffic department (DVLA). He said that during an argument with a police officer, the officer said, “Remember, you are a guest, so start to act like a guest.” This viewpoint is supported by the prevailing Arabic culture in Kuwait, where legitimacy is related to power. In this context, for example, the Emir of Kuwait used to derive his legitimacy from “keeping order and managing defence, and [was] not there either by any absolute right or by brute force” (Peter Lienhardt, 1975, p. 68, as cited in Onley and Khalaf, 2006, p. 193). Another example is the practice of excluding Kuwaiti females from joining the police force (enforced until 2009). The reason is that females in Kuwait hail from both Arab and Islamic cultures, each of which does not perceive women as authoritative figures. Instead, men are expected to

be the head of family, community, and country. In the Kuwaiti social hierarchy, “the only formal authority to which he [the Kuwaiti male] was answerable was that of the older male kin and the state” (Longva, 1997, 128).

In establishing this connection between culture and authority, I wanted to emphasise that traditional policing is culturally impeded. Since culture is relative and is affected by circumstantial changes (e.g. social and economic), I propose that the traditional form of policing is out-dated and extremely irrelevant in modern society. From this standpoint, the involvement of the community in decision-making is a right more than a privilege that will ensure the stability of the Kuwaiti community, where the police force will become transparent and accountable for its actions.

In the *Communitarianism* view, however, the police force is a service institution that exists to fulfil its purpose providing the community members with services that are needed to keep order. It is this focus on the community that makes the *Communitarianism* approach so attractive. I believe in the centrality of the community in the police-community relationship as strongly as I believe that the *Faith* worldview negatively affects transparency by encouraging police isolation.

7.5.1.1 .1 Community policing vs. traditional policing

Trust was the relational dimension most often discussed by the interviewees, the focus of which was on the way that the police communicate with their citizenry, and the openness with which they do so. Moving forward, these themes were integrated into the following discussion. Limiting the level of trust is a manifestation of police misbehaviour, but there are also several “trust-diminishing behaviours” identified by Goldsmith (2005, p. 454), which include neglect, indifference, incompetence, venality, extortion, discrimination, intimidation, excessive force, and brutality. The

media covers these abuses when they occur and, as a result, their reports have become commonplace in Kuwait. So commonplace, in fact, that the newspapers have assigned daily pages to the misconduct of the Kuwaiti police force.

Although I am not personally privy to such misbehaviour as I work in the Ministry's central office, I believe that the media's representation is accurate. The problem is not so much the policeman themselves as the current police structure; in Kuwait, the policeman perceives himself as an authority figure that should be obeyed and respected beyond the confines of the law. Moreover, since authority is highly associated with power, policemen are less tolerant of citizens who question their power. **M15** acknowledges this issue, saying that “police need to understand that they are not the law—they are enforcing the law ... if they want to gain the people’s trust and respect they need to focus on this issue”.

I believe that the situation is made even worse by the way that Arab cultures perceive police power and authority in general. This is in contrast to the *Communitarianism* view, which is less tolerant of police misconduct. The clash between the two views creates tension in the police-community relationship. The policemen feel less appreciated and respected as the community members become more demanding and aggressive in response. It is possible that this tension is a sign of progressive change, termed the 'dialectal approach', itself proposing that such confrontations are normal, temporary stages in any relationship that is poised for change (Baxter and Montgomery, 1996; Montgomery and Baxter, 1998). This change will most likely shift towards the communitarian relationship, as has happened in other countries:

Recent research in the United States, Europe, Asia, and Australia indicates that community policing is a coherent concept grounded on the notion that, together, police and public are more effective

and more humane co-producers of safety and public order than are the police alone (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988, p. 1).

I propose that the implementation of community policing will reduce the instances of police misbehaviour and misconduct. It will address the roots of the issue, which are traditional policing values. This adjustment will require the police organisation to adjust its goals and mission so as align themselves with the community's goals and mission. The openness of the communicative relationship will help the police to understand the community members' attitude towards them. This will consequently improve police effectiveness as they will be "actively engaged with the environment and creating many boundary-spanning roles linking the organization to its immediate task environment as well as social, cultural, and economic environments" (Greene, 2000, p. 314). Furthermore, community policing will bring about accountability through the acknowledgment of the police's accountability to the community. This resonates with Habermas's theory of communicative action that encourages engaged parties to adapt a dialogue that will bring about a deeper understanding of the other's position (L'Etang, 1996, p. 121). This will mean that, since the power is unequally distributed in favour of the police in Kuwait, the police have an ethical obligation to engage in dialogue with the Kuwaiti community.

Community policing will affect communication in two primary ways: by addressing 1) the exclusion of the community, and 2) excessive reliance on the media as a communication channel. Again, I find these critiques valid and grounded. I also believe that traditional policing is at the heart of the force's isolation. It is this disconnection that alienates most of the community-member interviewees, such as

M14 stated:

The police are not interested in hearing outside voices. This is how the community interpret it. Otherwise, why would the police department's control and inspection department be

difficult to locate? They don't even have contact numbers for the community... Logic says that a community member should be able to have access to this department or at least their contact number. This is not happening.

I believe that this communication style is practised by the police organisation. As a Public Relations Officer, I participate in and observe the application of such isolation. However, this is being implemented unconsciously as part of traditional policing. In terms of communication, the police organisation is practicing the functionalistic approach, which “creates and disseminates information that helps the organization to accomplish its goals” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). I find this functionalistic approach accurately depicts the Kuwaiti police's communication style (I have had my share of experience in practicing this very same approach as an agent of the Public Relations Department). In communicating with outsiders, the police are interested in providing their point of view regardless of the information's irrelevancy or accuracy. This is obvious from our practice as Public Relations Officers, as our job is to focus on the positive side of police action and minimise, sometimes altering, negative aspects. Although I agree that the police Public Relations Department does not live up to its full potential, I believe the problem is more closely related to the structure of the force than to the way the officers go about their jobs.

The other major interviewee critique was that the police relied too heavily on the media to deliver its message for them and to report back community sentiments. I also find this critique valid, stemming from the traditional practice that uses the media as a channel to limit communication with the public. Other than weekly media audit reports, I do not recall any other method we used to measure the community perspective of the police. In my years in the department, I never saw or participated in research focusing on community feedback. To implement true community policing methods, the Public Relations Department needs to adapt to a new approach of

openness and transparency. The suitable approach in this context is co-creational. According to Taylor (2010), co-creational PR “uses communication to help groups to negotiate meaning and build relationships” (Taylor, 2010, p. 6). This leveraging of the PR department will eliminate some of the need for media voices regarding police affairs. Consequently, the Department will acquire a more prominent role that will enable it to have input in the forefront of the dialogue between itself and the community; the new communication style will bolster community trust.

Of course, not all of the blame for the disconnection between the police and their citizens can be attributed to communication. There are still prevalent instances of police behaviour, mostly in the form of power abuses, that plague trust between the two parties. One such form is *wasta*.

7.5.1.2 .2 Traditional Policing and Wasta

Although the interviewees acknowledge that *wasta* is a cultural product beyond the police's control, they are still dissatisfied with the police leveraging *wasta*. This is because they feel they are being discriminated against. What is more, people feel as if *wasta* is inextricably linked to the police as an organisation.

In terms of structure, the police are a hierarchical, quasi-military organisation. This structure is based on a chain of command, where the power is not equally distributed throughout the chain, but instead concentrated in upper management. This power skew is fertile ground for corruption, where the powerful police elite are immune from punishment. The senior police officers are such powerful figures that it is common for a senior police officer to resign and run for parliamentary election after he has used his position to establish political connections.

The other condition that makes the Kuwaiti police susceptible to *wasta* is the lack of accountability to the community. The traditional model of policing, as we discussed earlier, allows the organisation to operate without transparency. From this perspective, it is “a common scene that in front of everyone, a police officer will pick his friend out of the queue to finish his paper work” (M6).

It is my proposal that the community policing model will help to control abuses and *wasta*. Community policing structures are flatter and there is more transparency between the police and the community. Greene (2000, p. 314) emphasises the differences:

Community policing is a way of making police agencies less bureaucratic, specialized, and hierarchical ... Decentralized management and service delivery are cornerstones of the community policing movement ... The police organization under community policing is seen as being in a dynamic state, actively engaged with the environment and creating many boundary-spanning roles linking the organization to its immediate task environment as well as social, cultural, and economic environments.

Decentralisation will help to reduce the prevalence of *wasta* by not only changing the power structure through a flattening of the police hierarchy, but also by increasing the transparency of the police, its actions, and its policies.

7.5.1.3 .3 Police Commitments

An analysis of the interviewees’ commitment, seen in the previous chapter, shows that participant commitment stems either from a feeling of obligation or a lack of alternatives. However, the results showed a high level of commitment, although I interpret this as superficial.

Normative commitment typically stems from a feeling of obligation. Although this moral obligation is more sustainable than calculated commitment, it is weakened and eroded by poor police performance and behaviour. Because this kind of

commitment is circumstantially imposed, there will be no reasons left to commit should circumstances change. In other words, when the people start to re-evaluate their obligation toward the police, mostly because of a changing culture, their commitment will change. Therefore, it is an unstable form of commitment.

Continuance commitment is even less strong, as it is born from a lack of credible alternatives to the status quo. In this form of commitment, the participants articulate that they are committed to the police because they have no viable alternative. This commitment is more delicate than the previous commitment because it is built on rational calculation. In other words, when the alternative is available, these people will not hesitate to abandon the relationship to which they have no emotional connection.

The most sustainable commitment is one built on the community's voluntary compliance and cooperation. This is viable when the police align themselves with the community's ethical and moral values. This same conclusion was reached in Sunshine and Tyler's (2003) study of people and the things that motivate them to cooperate with the police. Furthermore, Tyler and Jackson (2013) asserted that:

If people feel that the authorities are sincere, benevolent and concerned about their welfare, then they will trust them to act in ways that benefit the people over whom they exercise authority. Citizens will trust that power-holders exercise their power in ways that encapsulate subordinate interests, and they will cooperate with authorities that they trust (p. 3).

This is related to police legitimacy, since legitimacy is given as “a property of an authority or institution that leads people to feel that the authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed” (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003b, p. 514). Therefore, the police “value legitimacy because it motivates compliance with command and control generated decisions... [Because also] legitimacy leads to a respect for legal

guidelines for action that dictates appropriate and personally binding behavior” (Tyler and Jackson, 2013, p. 3). Therefore, legitimacy is an important antecedent for the community’s commitment, compliance and cooperation with police (Tyler and Jackson, 2013).

It may safely be said that legitimacy, in this context, is different from legitimacy in the traditional model of policing that seeks “to motivate compliance focused upon the threat or use of punishment through strategies of deterrence” (Tyler and Jackson, 2013, p. 3). The traditional model of policing also encourages police isolation from its surroundings. This is what makes community policing so viable for building stable, long-term relationships with an organisation’s audience—it helps to shape and be shaped by the identity of the community. In this model, the community is connected with the police for its own selfish reasons, and the police are then influenced by their input. In community policing, Dalal would have been taken care of because the police, who share the community's moral and ethical norms, would both understand and act on its obligation to help a community member in need. It would have meant that there was no need for the community to collect donations.

7.5.1.4 .4 Police in the Service of the People

Control mutuality is, according to Stafford and Canary (1991) “the degree to which partners agree about which of them should decide relational goals and behavioural routines” (p. 224). The analysis of the interviewees’ perspectives of control mutuality shows that there are two main worldviews, *Faith* and *Communitarianism*. With the former, the police are expected to gain the upper hand since it is the source of community stability. On the other hand, the *Communitarian* approach stresses the need for power to be skewed toward the people, not the police. In this model, the

police accept the community's input into the decision-making process; in turn, the community's opinion is thus legitimised. Moreover, the community is better able to monitor police performance due to enhanced transparency. This thesis advocates that a conscious shift by the Kuwaiti police toward a communitarian framework would not only improve police relations with its people, but more effectively utilise talent within the organisation.

7.6 Conclusion

In this final chapter, the thesis findings, implications, and limitations have been presented, illustrated, and discussed. The case for a communitarian approach was made, showing that it is not only preferred by most of the interviewees, but is also likely to lead to better talent utilisation within the organisation.

On a personal note, this thesis has been a long project and, most of the time, a tough one. I have gained invaluable knowledge and experience that is applicable beyond the limit of this thesis. Hopefully, others will also find the same.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1. Introduction:

- b. The researcher introduces himself.
- c. The research purpose and goals are presented.
- d. The topics are outlined.
- e. The purpose of the tape recording is explained.
- f. Participants sign the forms and the researcher assures them of confidentiality.

2. General questions:

- a. When I say 'Police' (Kuwaiti community) what is the first thing that comes to mind?
- b. Can you tell me about the Kuwaiti Police? Describe your experience? (for the Kuwaiti sample).
- c. What is your position in the organisation, and what are your job responsibilities? Can you describe your experience of the Kuwaiti community? (Police sample).

3. Relationship:

- d. What do you understand by the term 'relationship'?
- e. How would you describe your relationship with the police (Kuwaiti community)? Why?
- f. What do you get out of it?
- g. What are the important elements of any relationship, and why?
- h. What is the role of a police force in Kuwait? What are its key relationships (and why)?

4. Relationship Quality:

- I. Control mutuality*

- a. How would you describe the power balance between the police and the community? Why? Can you provide examples?
- b. Do you think both the police and the community agree on what they can expect from each other? Can you give examples?
- c. To what extent do you think the police have power over the community and vice versa?

II. Trust

- a. Do you think the police are trustworthy? Why? Give examples.

III. Commitment

- a. Do you think commitment is important in this relationship?
- b. How committed are you to this relationship? Why?

IV. Satisfaction

- a. How satisfied are you with the police? Please explain why.
- b. How do you think you benefit from this relationship?

Appendix 2

Table 1: Phases of Thematic Analysis

Phase	Description of the process
Familiarising yourself with the data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and rereading the data, noting down initial ideas.
Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set; collating data relevant to each code.
Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes; gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes:	Checking the themes in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2); generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
Defining and naming themes:	On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis unfolds; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis; selection of vivid, compelling extract examples; final analysis of selected extracts; relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, and producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Appendix 3

Diagram 1: First stage of Block and File approach

Who do perceive the relationship between police and community?

W4: you need my honest answer. You can look at it two ways. You could look at it by the actual productivity by the police and how the police actually...hhh.. What they giving to the public or what the public expect from the police, there is two different ways.

What they getting from the police from they expect is not too good unfortunately...hhh they feel that the police should be offering them more, giving them more protection doing more for them. But how the police do that when the people don't want to cooperate with them also. You see, you got to catch 22 damt of you do ayout damt of you don't. its very difficult situation the police need the people to cooperate and the people need the police to do more for them. So until the start to work together, it is not going to be easy mix.

[Me] so is it a beneficial kind of business relationship or social, because some people have describe the relationship as family and cozy relationship?

Unfortunately because of al wasta, it's too much of family relationship. Its like ohh you know my brother is in the police and he does this and this and this is how a lot of things get warmed out in Kuwait unfortunately. Therefore, this is why there is a lot of mistrust in the police because of the fact the you could use wasta to get out of this or this or be influenced for this, okay. I have had one traffic accident and the policemen knew immediately it wasn't my fault so I had very good experience with it. So it is ok you know. And I don't make trouble for the police, so I cooperate with them one hundred percent. So from my personal relationship with police here, every thing Mashal allah is being good. But when you see the others hhhh I think Kuwaiti police needs better community service.

[Me] Community service?

Community service, that's when you have a special office that works within community to how the police could get along better with them, such as gleebe alshwok, this is a bad place, but they need a community center there, a few officers that go out and know who the leader of the groups are, do you know what I mean, to get to know what they doing, be friend with them, that way that can be a little bit of a connection so the police understand what these people are doing, what they need in comparison to what we want to do to them. this is an aspect of the community relation program that you need in each department, in each section you need one.

[Me] let's talk about police role... during previous interviews I found out that people perceive the police role in term of services or safety? What is you perception?

Because I have several degrees in police work, I see many pitfalls in Kuwait. Everyday I'm like why is this not done, why is this not done, even if you are a traffic policeman, you should have be able to call into domestic dispute. You know, hhhh, ok, like you got your services, you got the custom, you got the passport office and things like that then.

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [1]: Practical view

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [2]: Exchange benefit

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [3]: struggle

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [4]: Culture effect

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [5]: Influence of Wasta

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [6]: Miscommunication

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [7]: Open system

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [8]: Personal communication

Author 2/5/13 16:13

Comment [9]: Communication

Appendix 4

Table 2: Second Stage of the Block and File approach

The police are essential for community survival	Policemen are highly regarded	The community view	The optimistic view
<p>W2: Law enforcers; without them there is no law and without the law there is no society.</p> <p>M12: The police and community relationship is an ancient relationship. Societies need security and safety to survive and flourish. There is no community without the police.</p> <p>W1: The community and police coexist and one does not exist without the other. A good example of what would happen if we did not have the police is our beloved Egypt. There are no police meaning there is no safety. Without safety we would always be frightened and the economy would be affected greatly and we would be living in chaos.</p> <p>W3: Egypt is the ultimate example of the essential work of the police. The disappearance of the police after the collapse of the formal political regime made people feel terrified and affected the whole country. My Egyptian friends and colleagues told me over the phone that they are afraid to go out and that every family relied on its members to provide security.</p>	<p>W2: Of course there are <i>Kudwah</i>, law enforcers, and without them [law enforcers] there is no law, and without the law there is no society.</p> <p>M1: Definitely, the police are our <i>Kudwah</i>; we need them to be our <i>Kudwah</i> because we need them to be dependable in time of needs. Why do you think our kids dress like police officers? Why are the police academy graduation such a big deal that the Emir himself attends the ceremony; the police have to take an oath to protect and defend us.</p> <p>M3: We dress our kids in the police costumes ... everybody looks up to them.</p> <p>M7: The police force is like the father of a house.</p>	<p>M9: [The police are] an organisation responsible for providing safety in society through enforcing the law... our relationship is defined by the law that each side is committed to.</p> <p>M9: The police are public servants; they provide services for society just like any other governmental organisation. I believe we could survive without the police as we survived the Iraqi invasion.</p> <p>M2: The police and community members are equal in their relationship.</p> <p>M6: A business relationship where the police are responsible for providing safety for its customers.</p> <p>W4: You could look at it from the actual productivity of the police and how the police actually perform; what they give to the public, or what the public expects from the police.</p>	<p>M4: the police and the community are partners in achieving the country security.</p> <p>M14: as the police slogan says 'the police are in the service of the public'. This relationship should be positive and the Kuwaiti feels that the police are there to protect him and he [the police man] is his friend and also agent of the law. This kind of relationship is what we need.</p> <p>M9: In general, it is a relationship that is built on respect ... if you respect others, people will respect you.</p> <p>M10: When you see the policeman you feel safe ... because you feel that the policeman is there to prevent a crime, to help people during an accident, etc ... Secondly people deal with the police in Kuwait on a daily basis. People in Kuwait respect and love the police; we don't have scary police, such as in other countries.</p>