



# STATUS OF POLICING IN INDIA REPORT 2019

POLICE ADEQUACY AND  
WORKING CONDITIONS



# STATUS OF POLICING IN INDIA REPORT 2019

POLICE ADEQUACY AND  
WORKING CONDITIONS



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# List of Abbreviations

AIGP	Assistant Inspector General of Police
AP	Andhra Pradesh
ASI	Assistant Sub- inspector
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BPRD	Bureau for Police Research & Development
CAG	Comptroller & Auditor General
CCTNS	Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System
CIPA	Common Integrated Police Application
CMS	Central Monitoring System
DGP	Director General of Police
DIG	Deputy Inspector General of Police
DySP	Deputy Superintendent
FIR	First Information Report
ICJS	Integrated Criminal Justice System
IO	Investigating officer
IPS	Indian Police Services
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MMP	Mission Mode Project
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MPF	Modernisation of Police Forces
NAT-GRID	National Intelligence Grid
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
NETRA	Network Traffic Analysis System
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PMR	Professional Mobile Radio Network
PAMR	Public Access Mobile Radio Network
SC	Scheduled Castes
SI	Sub-Inspector
SP	Superintendent of Police
SPIR	Status of Policing in India Report
SSP	Senior Superintendent of Police
ST	Scheduled Tribes
UP	Uttar Pradesh

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# Status of Policing in India: The Context



New Delhi, India- August 10, 2017: Agitated protestors outside the Parliament during the 'Bharat Bachao Andolan' at Parliament Street. (Credits: Sonu Mehta, Hindustan Times)

# Status of Policing in India Report (2019): The Context

The report you are reading is the result of year-long teamwork of researchers, field investigators and data analysts. It has been prepared by Common Cause and Lokniti programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). The idea is to offer policy-oriented insights into the conditions in which Indian police works. The analysis covers sensitivities and service conditions of police personnel, their resources and infrastructure, patterns of their routine contact with common people and the state of policing apparatus in the country.

The rule of law is the foundation of a just and democratic society. It requires a fair and effective criminal justice system in which the police has a central role to play. The police is also the most recognisable face of the State and a police station is invariably a citizen's first point of contact in an hour of crisis. We expect police persons to protect our lives and liberties, enforce the law and maintain peace and harmony in the society. The sheer range of duties and tasks assigned to them require both, adequate and modern infrastructure, as well as sensitive and well-trained personnel. We need to build capacities of our police persons for not only upholding the law but also in constitutional conduct and compassionate handling of crises involving all sections of citizens.

India aspires to be, and rightly so, an economic superpower with prosperity for all its citizens. But it is also true that India's future as a democracy and an economic powerhouse cannot be secured by an obsolete criminal justice system where the police works for the rulers of the day and not for the real masters, the people of the country. The police in a just and democratic setup, has to be made responsive to the prevailing and emerging needs of this new India.

It is in this spirit that Common Cause started its police reforms programme in the nineties. We were co-peti-

tioners in the historic *Prakash Singh vs Union of India* case in which the landmark Supreme Court judgment of 2006 is yet to be fully implemented. Our first study (SPIR 2018), also in collaboration with Lokniti-CSDS, surveyed over 15,500 respondents in 22 States on citizens' trust and satisfaction levels, discrimination against the vulnerable, police excesses, infrastructure, diversity, state of prisons and disposal of cases etc. The present report builds on the first SPIR.

The SPIR 2019 is also first of its kind in India and South Asia. Besides a survey of close to 12000 police personnel inside police stations or at their residences across India (21 States) the study also includes another sample of 10,595 of their family members who were interviewed. The study covers the trying working conditions of police personnel, their meagre resources and infrastructure, crime investigation, diversity, people-police contact and police violence. The survey was designed to elicit perceptions of police personnel about their work environments, their sensitivities, attitudes about the society, and levels of capacities and professional skills. The study also uses official data to construct the big picture of policing and its resources in the States and to show the need gaps in various vital areas.

In the age of algorithms, when data is treated as gold, or the new oil, human stories are often seen as a distraction. This report has avoided that trap. It works on the intersections of the official, often impersonal, data and direct human contact. The report looks at the big picture without ignoring the people behind the rows and columns of statistics. We have dissected data for hidden trends and complemented it with human responses gathered through face-to-face interviews with police personnel and their family members. Special care has been taken to involve men and women at the lowest rungs of policing hierarchies and from different social backgrounds.

You will find many ‘firsts’ in this second Status of Policing in India Report (SPIR 2019). It is for the first time that views of police personnel and their family members have been taken across India, and compared, on pressures faced by them and their vulnerabilities. It is also for the first time that official data is analysed to show the rates of improvement or decline in the indicators of the performance of police forces over time and on the parameters discussed above. Comparisons are done State-wise to bring out the variations across India.

## New and Emerging Challenges

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The new and emerging threats of cybercrimes, money laundering, terrorism and insurgency have posed new challenges to policing and intelligence gathering operations. Police forces the world over are experimenting with new levels of training and proficiencies, real-time use of data, humane but effective interrogation techniques and transparent tools of surveillance. Cybercrimes like phishing, identity theft, online banking frauds are forcing the police to keep itself updated with the latest technology, and hence an urgent need to modernise and digitise our policing (Gupta and Jain, 2018). Campaigns like ‘Digital India’ would ring hollow, if the police are not equipped with computers and necessary software, along with the skilled and trained staff.

We are also aware that big data policing may distort the traditional roles of police and prosecution. Global experiences show that the invasive ways of human targeting that are incrementally being used today can be inaccurate, and if misused or left unchecked, even damaging for the perception of fairness in the justice system (Ferguson, 2017). This tells us that technology is not value-neutral and the users must be made aware of its threats along with advantages. There is no alternative to a decisive policy change with abundant caution and appropriate capacity-building efforts down to the lowest rungs of police structures.

But sadly, despite India seeing itself as a global hub for Information Technology, there are still police stations without access to wireless, computers, vehicles or even telephones. Police personnel are often unable to reach a spot of crime or unrest because of the unavailability of vehicles or the staff. While the infrastructure to fight cybercrimes or terrorism is woefully inadequate, we still lack the rudimentary facilities. Hundreds of police stations are unable to provide drinking water or clean toilets to their personnel. The report shows that it is common for policemen and women to work 14

hours a day, in many States seven days a week. Why should anyone be surprised if police personnel come across as bitter, exasperated or fatigued?

The official data tells us, and it should be a cause for worry, that only about 6 percent of police personnel in most Indian States were provided in-service training in the past five years. Out of these, the senior officers were more likely to receive training than the constables. Isn’t there a correlation between the lack of training and a popular belief among police personnel that complaints about gender violence are bogus or that the migrants and the people of transgender or minority communities are naturally more prone to committing crimes?

## The study design and chapters

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In this report, we have avoided the temptation of reducing the findings of the entire report into elegant policy prescriptions or direct recommendations. This is to ensure that the policymakers and researchers take a closer look at the comparative figures and come to their conclusions. However, for the ease of reading and making quick sense of the chapters, a snapshot of the main findings is presented in bullet points in the beginning of each chapter. These are only markers and not meant to be a comprehensive summary of the chapters. We hope these will make the reading easy for a data-heavy study.

The face-to-face surveys were coordinated by Lokniti’s network of academics at the universities and research institutions across India. Getting access to police stations and homes of personnel was initially difficult during a pilot study in New Delhi. Fortunately, things became a lot easier once we got out of Delhi and after we generously received supporting letters from the Indian Police Foundation, a think tank dedicated to police reforms. These worked everywhere except in Tamil Nadu where the police hierarchy was particularly suspicious and unyielding. We sincerely hope to complete our survey in Tamil Nadu in the coming months and upload it online.

In the first chapter, on police adequacy, we use time-series data from official sources such as the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD) and the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), to measure the adequacy of police structures across States. The five major issues covered are staffing and recruitments, training, infrastructure, diversity, workload and functional autonomy. While the first chapter is entirely based on the analysis of trends and patterns in the of-

ficial data, the subsequent chapters are based on the survey findings across 21 States.

The second Chapter, on working conditions, focuses on one of the central drivers of the system – the police personnel themselves. The chapter starts from, and goes beyond, their common grievances and concentrates on the poor working and service conditions across the country. Inhuman duty hours can be directly attributed to the inability of the States to fill the sanctioned strength of the police force, which in turn impacts their efficiency.

The third Chapter, on resources and infrastructure, looks at the availability of adequate and functional infrastructure and skilled staff which forms the backbone of policing. It also audits the presence of bare minimum facilities like drinking water, clean toilets, stationery, storage facilities that are indispensable at any public office. In the survey, the police personnel in States were asked questions regarding the availability and access to basic physical, technological and human infrastructure, and all types of training imparted to them.

Chapter four on crime investigation looks at the abilities of the police to solve crimes. Apart from political interference, which has been recognised as a major problem even by the Supreme Court and the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, crime investigation is also affected by a range of other factors.<sup>1</sup> Some of these are lack of adequate infrastructure/ resources, staffing, the cooperation of witnesses and victims during an investigation, etc. This chapter tries to find the obstacles faced by the police during crime investigation. After looking at the workload and the resources available in the previous sections, this chapter attempts to uncover the frailty of the broader eco-system of criminal justice by examining the police attitudes and the external pressures working on them.

Chapter five dissects policing from the perspective of gender. Studies have shown that increasing female representation in the police is directly associated with increased reporting of violent crimes against women and a decline in domestic violence (Miller and Segal, 2018). Significantly, having more female officers can positively impact overall performance and police-com-

munity relationships. And yet, the representation of women in the Indian police continues to be poor, at 7.28 percent.<sup>2</sup> A lack of gender sensitivity leads to reinforcement of stereotypes, and biases, against both, the women within the police as well as women who have an interface with the police. The chapter presents women personnel's experience with working conditions, infrastructure and task deployment. We also analyse the attitudes and opinions of both male and female personnel regarding women in police and crimes against women.

Chapter six analyses the attitude of the police towards marginalised communities, both within its forces and outside. The NCRB report (2016) on Prison Statistics says that two-third of the prisoners are undertrials. As reported in SPIR 2018, disadvantaged sections such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims are disproportionately incarcerated<sup>3</sup> and also under-represented in the police forces. Similarly, the likelihood of poor people being awarded capital punishment is also much higher. The focus of the chapter is on discriminations on caste or religious identities. It analyses the extent to which training on human rights and caste sensitisation has been imparted to tackle prejudices. This chapter also examines perceptions of police personnel on juvenile delinquency and incidents of mob lynching etc.

The last chapter looks at the frictions between the people and the police by studying the attitudes of personnel towards incidents of crime and police violence. Ministry of Home Affairs, in its ranking of police stations in 2018, has emphasised on the need for the police station to be 'welcoming for citizens'. But the high number of non-reporting of the crimes reflects how police stations are viewed as spaces that discourage and intimidate common people. No wonder, about 99 percent of cases of violence against women are not reported (National Family Health Survey, round 4, 2015-16). Home Ministry's own police reforms programme is quite elaborate and ambitious but this report shows that its implementation on the ground leaves much to be desired.

Incidents of police brutality are also common across States. Unfortunately, India has not only failed to rati-

1 In *Prakash Singh vs Union of India*, 2006, the Supreme Court recognised that the police are under pressure to serve the interests of the political parties in power and gave landmark directions. It ruled that the law & order and investigation functions of the police should be separated. Unfortunately, these directives have not been complied with, and punishment postings and political interference continue to be common.

2 Figures available until 2016

3 SPIR 2018, Chapter 1: Only four States out of 22 have SC prisoners in proportion to or less than their population in the State; in case of STs this number of States is three and in case of Muslims, all of the 22 States have a higher proportion of prisoners than their population in the State (page 25).

fy the United Nation’s convention on human torture<sup>4</sup>, but has also refrained from passing the Prevention of Torture Bill, 2017. In this chapter, we examine how the police perceive the processes related to registration of the FIR. We study the police’s perceptions about whether and why people hesitate to contact them. We also review the propensity of police to use excessive violence or to justify the killings of ‘criminals’.

At Common Cause and CSDS we believe that if we wish to change something decisively, we must face it, comprehend it and be able to measure it. And that is why it is hoped the present series of SPIR studies will create baseline literature on policing in India and high-

<sup>4</sup> India is a signatory to the Convention Against Torture, but has not ratified it.

light the need gaps for policymakers and serious researchers. We hope the display of State-wise variances will encourage healthy competition among States and their political leaderships. Advocacy and awareness campaigns are important because real progress is difficult without political leadership grasping the problems and showing the resolve to change things. We hope this report will help all those in the police forces, politics, academics and civil society who want to use the empirical indicators for policy engagement or to create awareness and public pressure.

**Vipul Mudgal**  
Director, Common Cause

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# Structural Analysis of Police in India: Measuring Adequacy Through Official Data

*Gurgaon, India – October 23, 2017: The Gurgaon Police Control Room equipped with an IVR system, an automated telephone system that interacts with callers and gathers information.*  
(Credits: Parveen Kumar, Hindustan Times)

**I**n this chapter, we use official data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) and the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD) to assess police capacity and adequacy in a State-wise manner. Time-series data for a period of five years or more has been analysed on parameters such as police staff strength, training, infrastructure, diversity, case load and police autonomy. This is followed by a ranking of States on police adequacy. Following are the key findings of the chapter:

- The police in India works at 77 percent of its sanctioned strength, or just 3/4th of its required capacity
- Vacancies in the senior ranks are higher than vacancies at the constabulary ranks. This is despite the fact that only two States – West Bengal and Bihar have the ratio of constabulary to senior officers as per the Padmanabhaiah Committee recommendation, that is, four constabulary personnel per officer. In all other States, the number of constables per officer is much higher
- Over the last five years, on an average, only 6.4 percent of the police force have been provided in-service training. Senior police officers are much more likely to receive in-service training than the constabulary-level personnel
- Across the 22 States, 70 police stations do not have wireless devices, 214 police stations do not have access to telephones, and 24 police stations have access to neither wireless nor telephones
- On an average, the police stations in India have six computers per police station, but States like Assam and Bihar have an average of less than one computer per police station
- About 240 police stations across the 22 States have no access to vehicles
- Representation of SCs, STs, OBCs and women in the police is poor, with huge vacancies in the reserved positions. There are 60 and 53 percent vacancies for the reserved posts of SCs in UP and Haryana respectively, significantly higher than the overall vacancies in those States.
- SCs, STs, OBCs and women are less likely to be recruited/posted at officer-level ranks than general police personnel
- While transfer of SSPs and DIGs in less than two years has declined significantly since 2007, as of 2016, at the all India level 12 percent officers of the ranks have been transferred in less than two years. The highest proportion of transfers in less than two years were made in Haryana and UP. Premature transfers are higher during election years in the States.

# Structural Analysis of Police in India: Measuring Adequacy Through Official Data

Attempts to measure police performance in India are few and far between. The Status of Policing in India Report (SPIR) 2018 was one of the first attempts to measure police performance and people's perceptions of the police on a pan India scale. The study included a citizen's survey of perceptions and experiences with the police, a performance evaluation of the police as an organisation using official time-series data from sources such as the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD), the Comptroller and Auditor General's (CAG) Reports on police performance audits, etc.

Building on that foundation, in this edition of the SPIR the focus shifts to the adequacy and capacity of the police structure and working experiences of the police personnel. In this chapter, we use data from official sources such as the Data on Police Organisation reports from BPRD and the Crime in India reports from NCRB to measure the adequacy of police structures across States.

Policing requires certain basic infrastructural, manpower and capacity-building frameworks for it to function optimally. We look at the strength, training, physical infrastructure, diversity, reasonable case-load and functional autonomy as the sine qua non of any police force. To assess the adequacy of the police forces across the States, we ask the following five questions:

1. How well staffed is the police?
2. How well-trained is the police?
3. How adequate is the infrastructure of the police?
4. How diverse is the police?
5. What is the case load on the personnel?
6. How autonomous is the police in its functioning?

Sections in this chapter closely examine facets under each of these dimensions that together for us begin to give an idea of adequacy of the police. We use the data from official, publicly available sources to answer these questions for the police forces across the 22 States selected<sup>1</sup> for this study. For most variables, time-series data has been used over a period of five years or more. To assess the adequacy of structures, we have used averages of five years (wherever available), so that the peaks and troughs possibly caused due to extraneous circumstances, can be balanced out. Wherever possible, we consider the prescribed measures through law and policy to assess the performance on these parameters. In cases where it isn't available, we provide a relative ranking of States on the above parameters and juxtapose them against a cumulative average.

Towards the end of the chapter, we rank the State police forces on three fundamental parameters - utilisation of budgets, adequacy of physical infrastructure and percent deficit of personnel in police. This relative ranking, although occasionally a bit fluid, provides a glimpse of where the different States of India stand.

## 1.1: What is the personnel strength of the police?

Although personnel form the backbone of any police structure, across States in India, their strength itself is acutely inadequate. As of 2016, the police in India<sup>2</sup> worked at 77.4 percent of its sanctioned capacity. While it is a 2.3 percent increase from the previous year, the force, overall, functions with just about three-fourth of its required strength. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the shortage of personnel can be a major hurdle in fulfilling the duties of the police.

<sup>1</sup> In the survey, Tamil Nadu could not be covered due to lack of permissions. However, in the official data analysis, we have also included data on Tamil Nadu.

<sup>2</sup> Wherever in the chapter an all India figure is provided, unless otherwise stated, it refers to the overall value for the 22 selected States.

The problem of perpetual vacancies also exacerbates another closely related problem of overburdened police force, which is the root cause of physical as well as mental fatigue in police (J Vila, 2006).

Responses from the police survey data resonate with this. More than a third of the surveyed respondents have frequently encountered situations wherein they could not reach a crime scene on time because of lack of staff at the police station (see more in Chapter 2). When asked what steps the government should take to improve policing, the most frequently reported response was on the need to increase police strength, with a greater number of personnel highlighting the need for an increase in staff than those pointing to the need for better salaries (see more in Conclusion).

In this section, we look at the following factors to analyse the strength of police across police departments

of the 22 selected States (method of calculation of the following variables can be seen in Appendix 3):

- Percentage of total actual to sanctioned strength (civil and armed): The actual strength of the civil and armed police personnel in a State as a percentage of the sanctioned number of civil and armed police personnel in the State
- Actual as a percentage of sanctioned strength – constabulary: The actual strength of Head Constables and Constables as a percentage of the sanctioned number of Head Constables and Constables in a State
- Actual as a percentage of sanctioned strength-officers: The actual strength of officers (ASI and above ranks) as a percentage of the sanctioned number of officers in a State
- ‘Teeth to Tail’ ratio: The number of Constables and Head Constables as a ratio of the number of officers

**Table 1.1: Police in India functions at three-fourth of its sanctioned strength**

<i>Strength of police forces across States: Average of the last five-year percentages (2012 – 2016)</i>				
	Overall strength: actual as a percentage of sanctioned	Constabulary strength: actual as a percentage of sanctioned	Officer strength: actual as a percentage of sanctioned	Number of Constables per officer
Andhra Pradesh	80.7	80.2	84.1	6.3
Assam	84.9	84.9	85.5	6.9
Bihar	70.5	72.1	64.3	4.7
Chhattisgarh	79.9	81.5	66.9	10
Gujarat	67.4	67	69.3	4.9
Haryana	67.6	66.6	74.3	5.9
Himachal Pradesh	86.7	87.1	84.1	6.8
Jharkhand	74.8	76.3	67.3	6.1
Karnataka	71.5	71.1	74.2	6.9
Kerala	95	96	86.8	10
Madhya Pradesh	85	86.2	79.2	4.8
Maharashtra	93.2	94.4	87.9	4.8
Nagaland	102	102.7	94	13.5
Odisha	84	86.8	71.8	5.3
Punjab	89.4	89.4	89.3	7.1
Rajasthan	86.7	89.7	65.3	9.9
Tamil Nadu	84.4	85.4	76.5	9.3
Telangana	76	75.1	82	6.2
Uttar Pradesh	46.9	46.7	52.5	11.3
Uttarakhand	90.9	92.3	77.6	12.8
West Bengal	66.8	66.9	66.6	3.1
Delhi	94	94.6	91.4	4.2
AP + Telangana	78.8	78.5	81.5	6.4
<b>All-India</b>	<b>75.2</b>	<b>75.6</b>	<b>74.2</b>	<b>6.3</b>

As of 2016, Maharashtra has the highest total actual strength (2,25,475) followed by Uttar Pradesh (1,98,919) and Tamil Nadu (1,28,197). However, States like Nagaland, Delhi and Kerala have better actual to sanctioned percentages. In fact, amongst the selected States, Nagaland is the only State in which the total actual strength of police personnel is above its sanctioned strength, with vacancies to varying degrees being the main story in all other States. In Delhi and Kerala, the actual strength is 98.3 percent and 97.9 percent of their sanctioned strength respectively. Uttar Pradesh fares the worst, with its police force functioning at 48 percent of its capacity, less than half of its total sanctioned strength (Table 1.2).

Police has a hierarchical structure that consists of various ranks, allocated in a pyramidal manner—broad at the lower ranks and tapering towards the top ranks. The constabulary (Constables and Head Constables) are at the base and have the highest share in total police strength. The mid-section comprises the upper subordinates (Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Assistant Sub-Inspectors). Their share in the total strength is lower than that of the constabulary. From the Deputy Superintendent (DySP) rank onwards, all the gazetted officers form the top section of the pyramid and have the lowest share in the total strength.

When police strength is analysed rank-wise, the data reveals that vacancies are greater at the officer-level

**Table 1.2: In most States, vacancies are higher at the officer-level than at the constabulary level**

<i>Rank-wise strength of police forces and the rate of improvement as of 2016</i>						
	Overall		Constabulary (Head Constables and Constable)		Officer (ASI to DGP)	
	Actual to sanctioned percentage	Rate of improvement	Actual to sanctioned percentage	Rate of improvement	Actual to sanctioned percentage	Rate of improvement
Nagaland	107.2	1.5	108.3	1.7	95.1	-0.2
Delhi	98.3	1.2	100.0	1.6	90.9	-0.7
Kerala	97.9	1.2	100.4	1.7	76.6	-2.8
Himachal Pradesh	94.9	1.9	95.9	2.2	88.6	-0.2
Uttarakhand	94.6	3.3	95.5	3.6	86.1	-0.2
Tamil Nadu	94.3	1.8	96.1	1.9	78.4	0.8
Maharashtra	93.9	4.0	94.3	3.8	91.9	4.6
Punjab	91.8	0.2	92.3	0.4	88.1	-1.4
Rajasthan	85.7	-1.1	87.9	-1.2	69.6	-0.6
Odisha	85.4	0.4	88.7	0.7	70.1	-1.0
Madhya Pradesh	85.1	-1.3	86.0	-1.5	81.6	0.6
Chhattisgarh	84.8	1.8	87.0	2.0	68.4	1.1
Assam	84.4	-1.0	84.7	-1.0	82.5	-0.9
Andhra Pradesh	81.0	2.7	79.4	2.0	91.6	7.2
Karnataka	79.2	-1.6	78.2	-1.9	84.8	-0.1
Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	77.7	2.1	76.4	1.4	86.6	6.2
<b>All-India</b>	<b>77.4</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>76.2</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>72.3</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Telangana	74.6	-2.6	73.5	-3.0	81.8	0.1
Haryana	71.6	1.0	72.4	1.5	67.1	-2.0
West Bengal	71.4	0.0	71.3	-0.6	71.5	1.5
Gujarat	71.2	3.1	71.2	3.7	71.2	0.0
Jharkhand	69.6	-1.2	72.8	-0.9	57.5	-1.9
Bihar	69.4	-1.7	71.4	-1.4	62.6	-2.8
Uttar Pradesh	48.1	0.2	49.5	0.5	37.9	-1.6

For 'Rate of improvement', data from the past five years is considered.

(Table 1.2). As of 2016, the proportion of officers recruited against sanctioned number of officers, 72.3 percent, is lower than the proportion of constabulary, with 76.2 percent of the sanctioned strength of the constabulary being filled. Nagaland and Delhi have better strength at both the officers and constabulary levels. Percentages of sanctioned positions at officers' ranks filled in both States are 95.1 percent and 90.9 percent respectively in the year 2016. At the constabulary level, Nagaland has an excess against the sanctioned strength and in case of Delhi, the actual strength is nearly equal to its sanctioned strength.

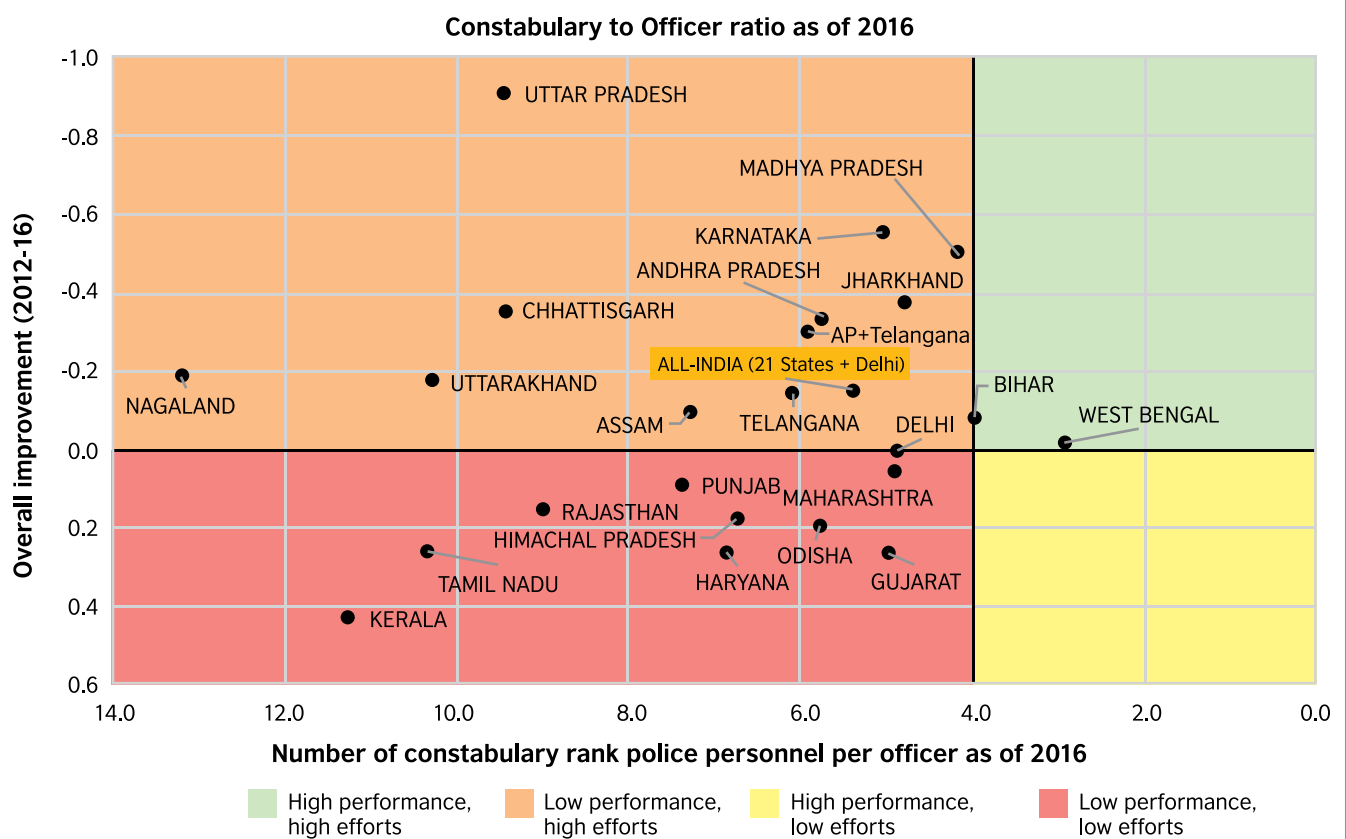
Police being a State subject, the roles, functions and duties at the different ranks vary across States. In general, however, as per the BPRD general guidelines, the personnel of ranks ASI and above are assigned the role of investigating officers (IOs) in cases. Therefore, a bulk of the crime investigation work, along with other decision-making duties are performed by

the officers in most States. This makes it crucial for the sanctioned positions of officers, already in much lower proportion than that of the constabulary, to be filled completely. The trend, however, is the reverse. Barring few exceptions, in most States the vacancies are much greater at the officer-level ranks, compared to the constabulary ranks. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu particularly,<sup>3</sup> the difference between vacancies among the two levels are significant.

Analysing data for a single year may not present an accurate picture of the condition across States because of the long-drawn recruitment processes. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh, the State's Police Recruitment and Personal Board invited applications for the 41,610 posts of Constables in the month of May 2013. Examination was held in four stages and final result was declared in July 2015. Thus, the board took two years and eight

<sup>3</sup> In Kerala, the Head Constables are also assigned Investigating Officer duties. Therefore, this figure should be read with caution.

**Figure 1.1: Number of constabulary per officer as of 2016**



Graph interpretation: The States have been divided into 4 categories- the first category (upper left quadrant) are States that improved the constabulary to officer ratio over the years, but the actual ratio as of 2016 is poor.

The second category (lower left quadrant) are the States that have neither improved the ratio over the five year period nor have the required ratio as of 2016.

The third category (lower right quadrant) are the States that have the required ratio as of 2016 but have not shown improvement over a five-year period.

The fourth, best performing category (upper right quadrant) are States that have both the required ratio as of 2016, and have made an improvement over a five-year period.

In this graph, a lower figure (in both x and y axis) represents better performance by the States.

months in completing the selection process (CAG Report, 2017). In some cases, legal objections also delay the recruitment process. To overcome these limitations, average of the last five years (2012 to 2016) has been considered for the analysis. The percentage of sanctioned positions filled at the all India level is 75.2 percent. Nagaland, Kerala and Delhi are the top three States with average percentages of 102, 95 and 94 percent respectively. Whereas Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Gujarat are the bottom three States with 46.9 percent, 66.8 percent and 67.4 percent of the sanctioned positions being filled respectively on an average in the last five years (Table 1.1).

We further deduce efforts made by the States towards improving the strength in their forces by analysing the rate at which the actual to sanctioned percentage has been increasing or decreasing over the last five years. As seen in Table 1.2, States like Maharashtra, Uttarakhand and Gujarat have made the most improvement in increasing the strength of personnel, while States like Telangana, Bihar and Karnataka, the overall strength has in fact decreased over the years, despite huge vacancies. Besides, the Table also shows trends on whether the States are focusing more on improving their constabulary strength or the officers' strength. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the increase in strength is mostly driven at the constabulary level, while in Andhra and Maharashtra the percentage of officers has seen a significant increase over the years.

Aside from the trends in overall strength, it is also important to study the distribution of the strength across the different ranks. With most powers concentrated at the officer-level in a majority of States, the Padmanabhaiah Committee on Restructuring of Police recommended in the year 2000 that the teeth-to-tail, or the officer-to-constabulary ratio should be 1:4. In other words, it recommended that there should be four constabulary (Head Constables and Constables) per officer (all ranks above Assistant Sub-Inspector). The Committee emphasised the need for greater recruitment at the Sub-Inspector (SI) level. In reality, however, the ratio is much higher, with most States having a much greater proportion of constabulary than officers.

As Figure 1.1 shows, only two States—West Bengal and Bihar—have teeth to tail ratio equal to or less than 1:4, that is, 4 or less constabulary per officer. Both States have good rate of improvement. At the all-India level, there are 5.4 constabulary per officer, and the ratio has been improving from the past five years. States like Nagaland, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra have impressive overall strength, but maintain a poor of-

ficier to constabulary ratio. In fact, in both Kerala and Tamil Nadu the ratio has not been improving since 2012. On the contrary, Bihar and West Bengal have significantly low strength overall, but the States have maintained a ratio of 4 or less constabulary per officer.

## 1.2: How well trained is the police?

Police training is conducted at both the State as well as the Central levels. Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD), the nodal training unit of the Centre, is involved in designing modules and conducting capacity-building programmes. It is responsible for standardising training methodology and framing policies for skill upgradation of personnel of all ranks. All of the special purpose national training schools in the country are supervised by BPRD.

The training of IPS (Indian Police Services) officers is majorly the responsibility of the Centre. By and large, the Central government's role is limited to research, structuring of courses and providing funds, aside from imparting training to IPS officers. The States, on the other hand, are responsible for utilising the resources provided at both the Central and the State level and imparting regular training to personnel at other ranks.

The data reveals that the level of training imparted to personnel is poor across all States. On an average, just 6.4 percent of the total actual police strength has been given in-service training in the last five years for which data is available (2012-2016), and the percentage has been constantly decreasing over the years. Haryana and Tamil Nadu have the highest in-service training percentages, with about one in five personnel from both States being provided in-service training. Gujarat has the poorest average of in-service training, with an average of less than one percent of its personnel having received such training in the last five years.

The percentage of constabulary receiving in-service training is much lesser than percentages of other higher-ranking officers, despite the constabulary constituting the majority of the share of the overall police strength. Barring exceptions of Tamil Nadu and Jharkhand, in almost all the States, officers with higher rank are given significantly more in-service training and the in-service training for Constables is neglected. In States like Haryana and Delhi, in-service training is imparted to almost all the higher rank officers every year, but even in these States the average percentages of Constables and Sub-Inspectors (SIs)/Assistant Sub-Inspectors (ASIs) given in-service training are very low.

At the all India level, only 6.4 percent of the Constables received in-service training on an average for the last five years. Against that, amongst personnel at ASI/SI, DySP (Deputy Superintendent) and IPS ranks, 17 percent, 27.2 percent and 38.3 percent personnel respectively received in-service training. Over a five-year period, the percentage of constabulary and ASI to DySP rank officers being given in-service training has been decreasing, while the percentage of IPS officers being given in-service training has been increasing. It needs to be noted, however, that while the State is primarily responsible for imparting training to the constabulary and State-level officers, the Centre is primarily responsible for providing training to IPS officers.

The quality of training directly depends on the training infrastructure available with the State. Ideally, a

State should regularly upgrade its training infrastructure. This upgradation, along with the costs of conducting periodic trainings, would reflect in the training expenditure incurred by the States.

Most States, however, are spending a miniscule share of their overall budget on training. The all-India (from the selected States) police training expenditure in the year 2016–17 was Rs. 885.5 crores, just about one percent of the total police expenditure.

The average training expenditure over the last five years (2012–2016) is only 1.26 percent of the total annual police expenditure, and worryingly, 15 (out of 22 States) have shown a steady decline in their respective expenditure percentages in the five-year period. The highest expenditure on training has been incurred by

**Table 1.3: Rank-wise percentage of personnel given in-service training (2012-2016 average)**

	<i>Police personnel given in service training as a percentage of their actual strength (2012 – 2016)</i>				
	Percentage of total police personnel given in -service training	Rank wise percentages			
		Constables	ASIs/SIs	DYSPs	IPS
Haryana	20.9	13.4	83.3	101.1	108.0
Tamil Nadu	20.2	44.2	108.7	8.2	21.2
Himachal Pradesh	13.6	8.7	67.6	66.7	49.5
Jharkhand	12.9	16.4	9.3	14.3	37.5
Delhi	11.7	8.9	38.1	175.5	103.7
Telangana	9.6	11.8	11.4	21.9	46.0
Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	8.2	10.5	8.4	13.5	29.0
Punjab	8.1	9.1	13.3	23.2	30.5
Andhra Pradesh	7.1	8.6	9.6	11.8	22.8
All-India	6.4	6.4	17.0	27.2	38.3
Assam	6.3	7.1	7.7	25.0	43.2
Uttarakhand	5.6	4.3	32.1	35.7	73.1
Bihar	5.4	6.9	2.2	10.2	6.6
Chhattisgarh	5.3	6.3	4.5	25.5	56.3
Uttar Pradesh	4.1	4.5	9.3	6.4	31.2
Rajasthan	4.1	2.8	20.5	47.3	50.5
Kerala	3.4	3.7	6.3	48.8	16.4
Odisha	3.2	1.6	14.3	23.1	22.5
Maharashtra	2.6	2.2	10.2	14.8	49.2
Madhya Pradesh	2.4	2.3	5.9	14.4	69.3
West Bengal	2.3	1.1	5.9	14.2	25.9
Nagaland	2.0	1.3	12.6	25.3	94.3
Karnataka	1.7	1.3	7.6	18.8	24.2
Gujarat	0.9	0.4	2.6	43.2	32.5

Delhi, with an average expenditure of 2.5 percent over the last five years. States like Kerala, Uttarakhand, Maharashtra, Bihar, and West Bengal have not even spent one percent of their total police expenditure on training, while in Maharashtra, Kerala and West Bengal the percentages have been constantly dropping.

Figure 1.2 shows States which have performed better in terms of the percentage of personnel imparted in-service training, along with the States which have consistently been making efforts through relatively better training expenditure. Tamil Nadu, Delhi and

Telangana have been doing well on both parameters-actual percentage of personnel being given in-service training as well as the expenditure incurred on training. West Bengal, Bihar and Maharashtra, on the other hand, are among the poorest performing States, with low proportions of both personnel given in-service training as well as training expenditure.

States like Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland have higher training expenditures but in-service training percentages in these States are lower than the national average. On the contrary, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jharkhand have higher in-service training percentages but have low training expenditure.

**Table 1.4: Expenditure on police training in India constitutes just a little over 1 percent of the total police expenditure**

States	<i>Expenditure on police training as a percentage of the total police expenditure (2012–2016 average)</i>		In the F.Y. year 2016-17
	From Financial Years 2012-13 to 2016-17	Rate of Improvement	
Delhi UT	2.49	-0.35	2.41
Telangana*	2.42	-3.08	NA
Chhattisgarh	2.09	-0.03	1.39
Madhya Pradesh	1.96	-0.02	2.09
Tamil Nadu	1.93	-0.54	0.27
Nagaland	1.85	0.25	1.32
Punjab	1.65	-0.02	1.14
Rajasthan	1.52	0.13	1.97
Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	1.50	-0.17	1.04
Karnataka	1.37	-0.02	0.74
Andhra Pradesh	1.34	-0.17	1.04
Assam	1.29	-0.04	1.02
ALL INDIA	1.26	-0.08	1.06
Gujarat	1.26	0.04	1.24
Uttar Pradesh	1.18	-0.05	0.95
Himachal Pradesh	1.15	-0.01	0.06
Odisha	1.09	0.04	1.27
Haryana	0.96	-0.07	0.93
Jharkhand	0.94	0.09	0.63
Kerala	0.85	-0.32	0.23
Uttarakhand	0.76	0.04	0.86
Maharashtra	0.49	-0.02	1.17
Bihar	0.48	0.04	0.7
West Bengal	0.25	-0.07	0.13

\*Data for 2012-13, 2013-14, 2016-17 is not available.

The data on training suggests that both the actual output in terms of the percentage of personnel imparted training, and the input, which is the expenditure incurred on training, the States overall are performing poorly. Even among those States with relatively better performance, just about one-fifth of the personnel strength receive in-service training.

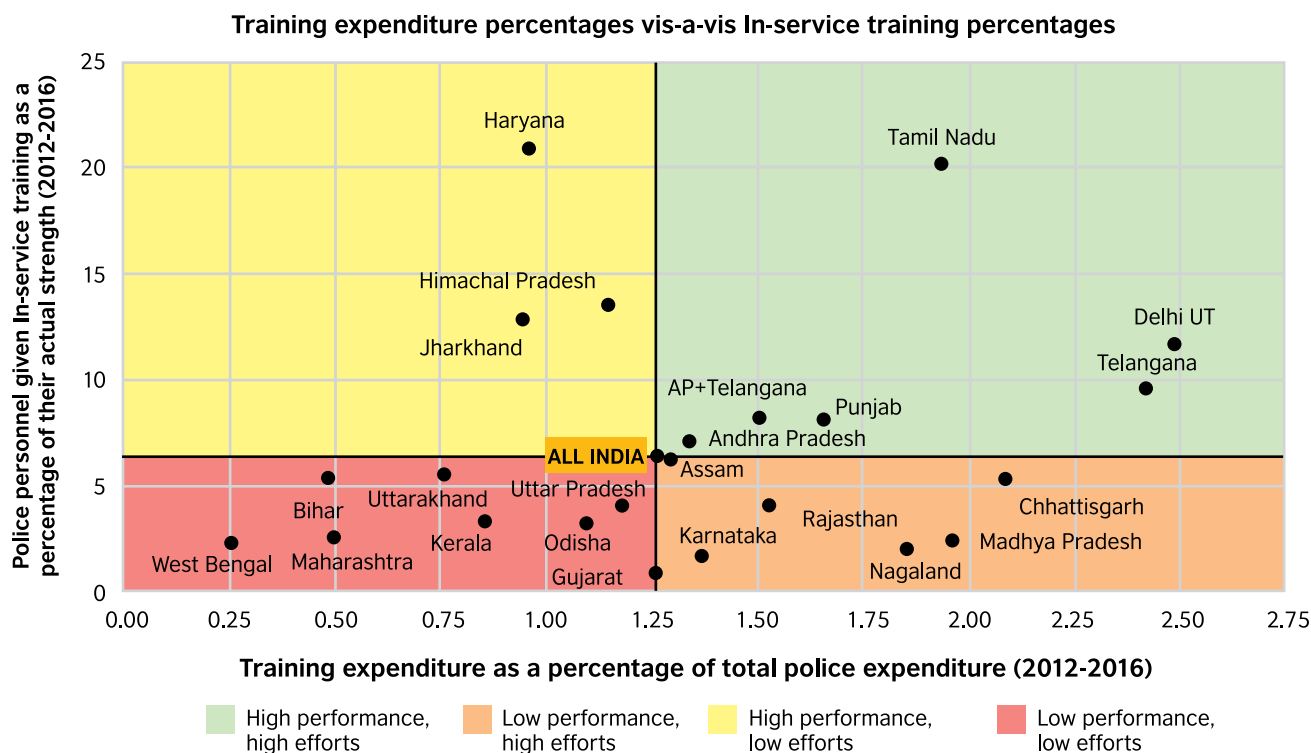
To be further noted is the fact that the input does not necessarily drive the output. If we juxtapose Haryana and Tamil Nadu against each other, Figure 1.2 shows that even though the proportion of personnel receiving in-service training in both the States is similar, but while Haryana spends just one percent of its total police expenditure on training, in the case of Tamil Nadu, the expenditure incurred on training is two percent of the total police expenditure. Against these States, there is also the case of Madhya Pradesh, which, despite spending nearly two percent of its total police expenditure on training, has managed to impart in-service training to just 2.4 percent of its total police force.

### 1.3: What are the infrastructural facilities available?

The police structure in India is responsible for performing an array of tasks such as maintaining law and order, crime prevention and mitigation. With the onset of the 21st century, these varied tasks have also evolved owing to the new nature of threats such as terrorism, insurgency, organised crime and man-made disasters. An accompanying issue has been the nature of threats being able to adapt to new technology, thus spawning newer variants of crime such as cybercrime.

It thus becomes essential to ensure that the police have access to an adequate infrastructural framework for proper communication and transport, which allows

**Figure 1.2: Expenditure on police training as a percentage of the total police expenditure vis-à-vis percentage of personnel given in-service training (2012–2016 average)**



Graph interpretation: The States have been divided into four categories:

The first category (upper left quadrant) are States that have provided in-service training to a greater proportion of personnel, but have incurred less expenditure on training.

The second category (lower left quadrant) are the States that have neither been able to provide in-service training to a significant proportion of personnel, nor have incurred a significant expenditure on training.

The third category (lower right quadrant) are the States that have incurred more expenditure on training than other States, but have low proportions of personnel provided in-service training.

The fourth, best performing category (upper right quadrant) are States that have both high proportions of personnel provided in-service training, as well as have incurred higher expenditure on training than other States

In this graph, a higher figure (in both x and y axis) represents better performance by the States.

not only for the citizenry to reach out to them but also for police officials to create an intra-communication network. For such a system to be developed, adequate investment is a prerequisite. While public order and police serve as entries within the State List (Entry no. 1 and 2), however, a few decades post-independence it was realised that States alone could not manage the operational costs of police modernisation. A large proportion of the police expenditure is incurred on the salaries of personnel, and resultantly there are limited funds to cover costs of general maintenance and acquisition of vehicles, communication equipment etc. Thus, from 1969-70 onwards, began the Modernisation of Police Forces (MPF) scheme, under which the Centre provided 60 percent share of the expenditure on police modernisation for most States.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In some States the ratio of expenditure is 90 percent by the Centre, 10 percent by the State

Till 1998-99, the modernisation assistance was of the amount of Rs. 4,650 million, with the beginning of the following financial year witnessing an assistance enhanced by Rs. 2,000 million per annum. However, a massive upturn was witnessed at the beginning of the new millennium in 2000, wherein the allocated amount was of Rs. 10,000 million (Kumar and Kumar, 2015). The modernisation scheme covers upgradation of police housing, weaponry, computerisation, transport, communications; and scientific aids to investigation, traffic and training.

The analysis of police infrastructure is done by studying the status of two essential features of infrastructure—police access to communication facilities and transportation facilities. For the communication facilities, the focus will be on basic communication facilities such wireless and telephones, along with digital

communications facilities such as the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS). While police access to vehicular facilities will be assessed across the four mandated variants of police vehicles—heavy-duty vehicles, medium-duty vehicles, light-duty vehicles and 2/3 wheelers.

### 1.3.1 Police communications

Access to communication services forms a critical part of ensuring public safety. This could be by means of a Professional Mobile Radio Network (PMR), or a Public Access Mobile Radio Network (PAMR). In addition, the increased access and usage of mobile phones necessitates the need for an efficient telecommunications network for optimal police functioning.

The importance of communication is pivotal for police involvement in a range of circumstances, be it traffic coordination and vehicular accidents, or major

instances such as mass killings, communal violence or a terrorist incident—events which necessitate the need for a rapid and effective communication mechanism to help the ‘first responders’ in India carry out their duties

Equally essential is for the police to be aware of the patterns developing in their arena of work. In a day and age where innovation in information and communications technology has created an avenue of opportunities for use and misuse, it is critical for policing agencies to be well aware of these developments and use it to improve the efficiency of their work. One such tool in recent usage is the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS), a program aimed at developing an integrated network across police stations for the ease of sharing information pertaining to individuals with criminal antecedents, victims and crime instances.

**Table 1.5: Twenty-four police stations in the selected States do not have access to either telephones or wireless**

States	Percentage of police stations not having wireless or telephone connectivity (2016)					
	Police stations having neither telephone nor wireless as of 2016		Police Station not having wireless as of 2016		Police Station not having telephone as of 2016	
	Actual number	Percentage	Actual number	Percentage	Actual number	Percentage
Andhra Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assam	0	0	2	0.6	0	0
Bihar	0	0	0	0	41	3.8
Chhattisgarh	0	0	0	0	23	5.5
Gujarat	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haryana	0	0	0	0	0	0
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jharkhand	11	2.2	22	4.4	64	12.8
Karnataka	0	0	0	0	12	1.3
Kerala	0	0	0	0	0	0
Madhya Pradesh	0	0	0	0	NA	NA
Maharashtra	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nagaland	11	14.1	13	16.7	NA	NA
Odisha	2	0.3	3	0.5	3	0.5
Punjab	0	0	16	4	30	7.4
Rajasthan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	0	0	0	0	0	0
Telangana	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	14	0.9	51	3.3
Uttarakhand	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Bengal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi UT	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL (21 States + Delhi)</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>1.5</b>

Under this sub-section, we reflect on the communication capacities of the existing police infrastructure in the selected States. In doing so, we assess the access to said infrastructure across the two parameters:

1. Police stations not having access to basic communication Infrastructure which includes telephones, wireless or not having access to both
2. Study of compliance with digital communication infrastructure which assesses the level of penetration and usage of the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network Systems (CCTNS).

### 1.3.2 Basic communication infrastructure

Access to wireless and telecommunication facilities for the police is an essential prerequisite for the discharge of their duties. These networks are administered by radio headquarters which enable the police to have an efficient network of communication across and within districts.

The basic communication infrastructure was assessed across the following three parameters, with the unit of measurement being per police station:

#### a. Deficiency with respect to access to wireless devices

The average percentage of police stations across States not having access to wireless devices was 0.5 percent for the year 2016. While this percentage appears miniscule, in absolute figures it translates into 70 police stations across the selected States which do not have the basic communication infrastructure of wireless devices. Within this category, the worst performing States are Jharkhand with 22 such police stations, Punjab with 16 police stations, Uttar Pradesh with 14 police stations, Nagaland with 13 police stations and Odisha with three police stations.

When examining the trend of the States from 2007 to 2016, the latter three States of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Odisha have consistently performed poorly on this metric. Overall, though, the country has seen an improvement in the availability of basic communication infrastructure over the last five years.

#### b. Deficiency with respect to access to telephones

The average percentage of police stations across selected States not having access to telephones was 1.5 percent for the year 2016, which comes out to be 224 police stations. The States which show the highest percentage of deficiency with respect to this are Jharkhand, which has 64 police stations with no ac-

cess to telephones, Uttar Pradesh with 51 such police stations, Bihar with 41 police stations, Punjab with 30 police stations and Chhattisgarh with 23 police stations.

Over the last 10-years for which data is available (2007–2016), the three States of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Chhattisgarh have consistently performed poorly on this metric.

#### c. Deficiency with respect to access to both wireless devices and telephones

The average percentage of police stations across States not having access to both wireless and telephones was 0.2 percent for the year 2016, which is around 24 police which do not have any of the basic communication infrastructure—neither telephones nor wireless. These police stations are concentrated in only three States, namely Nagaland (11 police stations), Jharkhand (11 police stations) and Odisha with 2 police stations.

This particular category has witnessed a steady improvement when one examines the trend of the data from 2007 to 2016.

Uttar Pradesh's failings with respect to improving the access to communications facilities for the police has also been highlighted in a 2017 Report by the Comptroller & Auditor General. According to the CAG's performance audit, a major reason for the State's lack of basic communication infrastructure is their inability to utilise the budget adequately by expediting procurement of essential equipment and replacement of obsolete equipment and technologies.

Odisha is a State which, on a bare perusal of the actual data as of the latest year, appears as one of the few States which is consistently deficient on basic communication infrastructure. However, a look at data across a 10-year period indicates that the access to basic communication infrastructure has consistently improved in the State over the years.

### 1.3.3 Digital Communication Infrastructure

When examining the genesis of the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network Systems (CCTNS), it is important to give credence to the one of the first programs created for digitisation of police records in India. Beginning in the year 2004, the project known as the Common Integrated Police Application (CIPA) was introduced with the intent of digitisation of instances of crime and criminal records at the police station level. Over a period of time, this thought evolved from a micro perspective to a macro one, resulting in the con-

ceptualisation of a system which would entail linkages between police stations across the country for aiding investigations and providing citizen-centric services. This idea found basis with the creation of the CCTNS program as a Mission Mode Project (MMP) under the aegis of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) in 2009.

The overarching objective for this program was to create a comprehensive and integrated system for enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of policing by relying on a network for investigation, detection and location of crime and criminals. CCTNS also serves as an integral cog of Integrated Criminal Justice System (ICJS) program as well as our national intelligence program. The former aims at the integration of CCTNS project with those of databases for e-courts and e-prisons and in the long term with other cogs of the criminal justice system such as forensics, prosecution and juvenile homes (Press Information Bureau, 2018). For the latter, that is, the national intelligence program, the CCTNS initiative is an important element alongside the likes of Central Monitoring System (CMS), National Intelligence Grid (NAT-GRID), and Network Traffic Analysis System (NETRA), among others (Tiwari, 2017). The cumulative objective for all these programs is to mine and analyse data across the spectrum of the activities such as mobile and telephonic communications, activities on the web to develop patterns of crime, identify criminals and hotspots of criminal activity by developing cross-linkages between these different platforms.

**Table 1.6: The level of compliance with CCTNS infrastructure among the selected States (including UT of Delhi) is 78 percent**

<i>Adequacy of CCTNS infrastructure across States as of December 2018</i>		
Rank	States	CCTNS compliance score* as of December 2018 in percentage
1	Karnataka	98.6
2	Telangana	96.4
3	Delhi	93.8
4	Himachal Pradesh	92.7
5	Gujarat	92.3
6	Assam	90.1
7	Andhra Pradesh	89.7
8	Madhya Pradesh	89.7
9	Chhattisgarh	88.3
10	Tamil Nadu	84.2
11	Punjab	83.5
12	Uttarakhand	80.6

13	Odisha	79.3
14	Haryana	78.8
15	Kerala	78.4
	<b>Total (21 States + Delhi)</b>	<b>78.3</b>
16	Maharashtra	77.0
17	Uttar Pradesh	76.5
18	Rajasthan	70.7
19	Jharkhand	69.6
20	West Bengal	63.9
21	Nagaland	39.8
22	Bihar	7.9

\*Score calculated using selected categories given on CCTNS Pragati Dashboard on 31.12.2018.

The variables that were taken into consideration to ascertain CCTNS compliance (till December 2018) were based on the idea of adequacy and were sourced from the NCRB provided data on Pragati dashboard. Starting from January 2017, the Pragati dashboard provides a monthly data on the compliance of CCTNS infrastructure. Till December 2018, the compliance score for the States' average was 78.3 percent. This was calculated on the basis of selected variables from the Pragati Dashboard which were focused on the adequacy of CCTNS infrastructure.<sup>5</sup>

Karnataka, Telangana and Delhi have the highest level of compliance, with scores above 90 percent. For most other States, the score ranges between 60 to 90 per-

<sup>5</sup> These data sets were split across 3 categories to ascertain the adequacy of the functioning of CCTNS:

A) CCTNS Infrastructure – this entails assessing it by the number of police stations where hardware and software deployment has been made along with the requisite capacity building mechanisms to equip the police personnel to use CCTNS.

The criterion considered from the Pragati Dashboard for this portion were the following: Number of Police Stations where complete hardware was commissioned, Number of Police Stations where CCTNS software was deployed and Capacity Building.

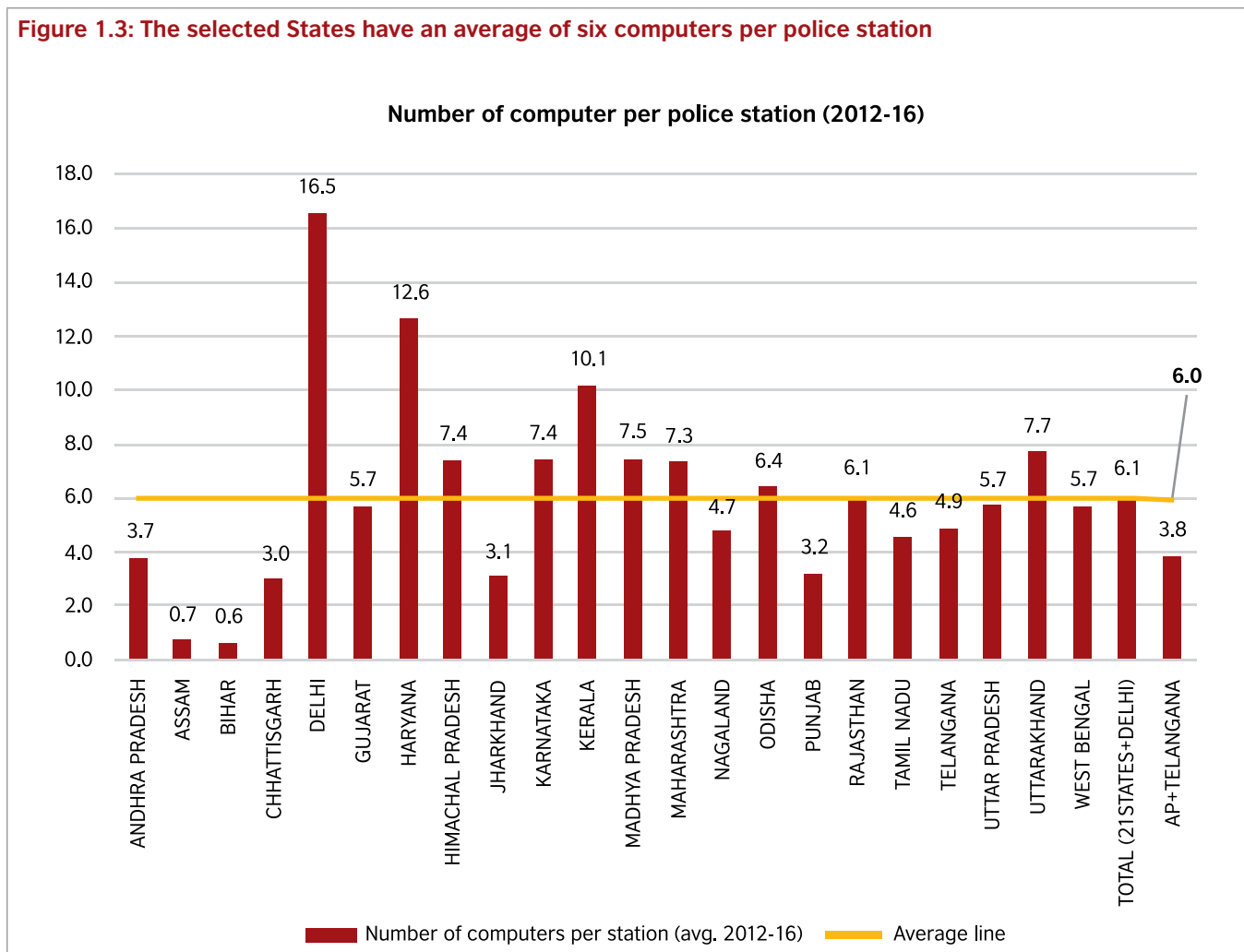
B) CCTNS Database: This portion largely assessed the integration of various data sets within the CCTNS framework such as the entry of data pertaining. Also, the data stored in older computer system (Legacy Systems) into the CCTNS among other aspects.

The criterion considered from the Pragati Dashboard for this portion were the following: No. of IIF 1 TO IIF6 forms in CAS, No. of IIF 8 TO IIF 11 and other forms in CAS, Legacy Data Migration done, Data syncing at SDC (no. of Police Stations synched in 7 days), Replicated Data at NDC (National Data Centre) and Data Bank services form entered in CCTNS. The IIF is a code for the various types of forms containing information about the different types of data pertaining to an individual's criminal charge and other accompanying information. For instance, I.I.F 1 denotes First Information Report and I.I.F-2 denotes Crime details form.

C) Usage of CCTNS Software: This aspect concerns the different functional features of the CCTNS software such as its Usages and Search query mechanism, Report generation and the number of Police Stations able to access the digital police portal.

The criterion for this category entailed the following: Usages and Search query of CCTNS, Report generated through CCTNS in Police Stations, Number of Police Stations able to access digital police portal and Fund Utilisation.

**Figure 1.3: The selected States have an average of six computers per police station**



cent. However, the poorest performing States under this parameter are Nagaland and Bihar. Nagaland has a compliance score of almost 40 percent, while Bihar has a much lower score of just about 8 percent. Both of these States, notably, also perform poorly on the indicator of basic communication infrastructure, with 13 police stations in Nagaland not having access to wireless and 11 police stations having access to neither wireless nor telephone, and 41 police stations in Bihar not having access to telephones.

A deeper dive into the CCTNS program brings to the surface certain inconsistencies. The survey data shows that only two thirds of the police reported having access to fully functional computers. Seventeen percent personnel said that a functional CCTNS software is never available at their police station/ workplace (See more in Chapter 3). However, the data released by the MHA in January 2019, states that 14,724 police stations out of 15,705 police stations (approximately 94%) have been able to enter the FIR's (First Information Report) on the CCTNS software. This suggests a contradiction between the reported official data and the actual situation on the ground.

Another inconsistency is in the data of the State of Assam. The State has one of the highest scores of compliance with CCTNS infrastructure, at 90.1 percent.<sup>6</sup> However, the data on the number of computers per police stations (Figure 1.3) shows that there is less than 1 computer per police station in Assam on an average over the last five years. Assam has an average of 0.8 computer per police station as of 2016. It is puzzling then to see how Assam has consistently ranked well when it comes to compliance with the implementation of the CCTNS program. Conversely, Bihar, which has ranked poorly on the number of computers per police station (0.6 per police station) has, as a result, also consistently scored poorly on compliance for CCTNS implementation.<sup>7</sup>

Complete implementation of the CCTNS network was aimed for 2012, but was thereafter delayed to 2015, then to 2017 and the latest target was for March 2019 which, as things stand, has not been achieved (Kuna-

<sup>6</sup> As assessed on the Pragati dashboard for all the factors pertaining to CCTNS

<sup>7</sup> A view also confirmed by the NCRB, as per the last estimate there are 894 stations in Bihar which are not connected.

wat and Kaura, 2018). The incongruence in the data also suggests a problem in the feedback mechanism on the implementation of this program. There is discrepancy between the publicly accessible data on the implementation of CCTNS, and the ground reality as highlighted by news reports as well as our survey findings (See Chapter 3).

The real time impact of the delayed implementation of this program has been witnessed in certain instances. In one case, a child named Saurav went missing in Hoshiarpur, Punjab in 2013. Found 40 kilometres away in Kapurthala district, the district police officials had no information about the missing person's report filed about him. Three years later, in 2016, he was due to be sent for adoption to Spain, when a district civil judge presiding over the matter noticed a procedural impropriety, and his photo was subsequently shown on television screens. Only then were his parents finally able to locate him (Khaira, 2018). An incident such as this highlights the critical need for an integrated police network system.

In addition to developing the infrastructural capacity, adequate attention needs to be given to training of personnel for proper usage of the system. Along with this, concomitant infrastructure such as a stable, easily accessible internet connection needs to be provided to police forces across the States.

### 1.3.2 Police Access to Vehicular Facilities

Police mobility is ensured by the ability of the police force to arrive at the site of crime/incident as quickly as possible. Their capacity to do that serves as a critical factor in maintaining law and order and is essential indicator for assessing police performance. A 2000 BPRD concept paper has prescribed the various types and numbers of operational vehicles required for police stations, district armed reserve and armed police battalions:

1. Armed battalion of States: Heavy-duty vehicles- 29, medium-duty vehicles- 8, light-duty vehicles- 13, and motorcycles - 5
2. District Police Line of States: Heavy-duty vehicles- 7, medium-duty vehicles- 17, light-duty vehicles- 14, motorcycles- 7, heavy-duty vehicles for district prisons- 2, medium-duty vehicles for sub-division- 1
3. Police Stations: Light-duty vehicles- 2, and motorcycles- 3
4. Police Posts: Motorcycles- 2

The emphasis on mobility has also been possible due to the ongoing Modernisation of Police Forces (MPF) scheme. On an average, about 15-20 percent of the MPF fund is spent on vehicles. The existing vehicles have a fixed shelf life and have to be replaced every few years. The demand for new police vehicles is assessed against the demand for vehicles which have been condemned, as well as the need for newer vehicles after the creation of new posts and new police units (BPRD, 2014).

The four categories of vehicles are: heavy-duty vehicles (includes buses, trucks and troop carriers etc.), medium-duty vehicles, light-duty vehicles (includes jeeps / cars etc.) and 2-3-wheeler vehicles.

For the purpose of this chapter, the vehicular deficit across the above four parameters is assessed for all selected States for the year 2016 (Table 1.7).

About 1.8 percent of the police stations across the selected States do not have access to a single vehicle. In actual numbers, that amounts to 240 police stations, a staggering number of police stations with no vehicles.

Amongst the States which contribute to this deficit are Chhattisgarh with 127 police stations, Telangana with 90 police stations and Jharkhand with 23 police stations. In Chhattisgarh, about 30 percent of the police stations do not have access to a single vehicle. This situation is worsened by the fact that the area per police station is 325 per square kilometre, the third highest amongst the selected States.

While Telangana has 91 out of 721 police stations not having a single vehicle in the State, it still has the highest number of overall vehicles available. In fact, it has a surplus of vehicles by 19.3 percent, when assessed against the BPRD norms. This discrepancy is caused primarily due to the surplus that it has with respect to light-duty vehicles and 2/3 wheelers, with severe deficiency in the medium-duty and heavy-duty vehicles.

When the availability of vehicles in police stations is broken down by the category of vehicles, it is observed that while in case of heavy-duty and medium-duty vehicles there are deficits across police stations, in case of light-duty vehicles the availability is much higher. Thirteen States are in surplus of the light-duty vehicles, while in case of heavy-duty vehicles all States except Tamil Nadu have a deficit. Sixty five and 68 percent police stations across the selected States do not have heavy-duty and medium-duty vehicles respectively. As in the case of light-duty vehicles, the deficit is

**Table 1.7: There is a one-fourth deficiency of vehicles in the selected States as of 2016**

<i>Deficiency of vehicles for police forces across States (2016 data)</i>							
States	Area in sq. km per police station	Percentage of police stations not having single vehicle as of 2016	Vehicle Deficiency in Percentage as of 2016				
			Heavy-duty	Medium-duty	Light-duty	2/3 wheelers	Overall
Telangana	159.3	12.6	93.2	43.4	(+)53.1	(+)43.5	(+) 19.3
Kerala	75.3	0	47.4	92.6	(+)59.7	(+)24.7	(+ )8.6
Delhi	7.7	0	78.6	80.4	(+)18.1	(+)169.6	(+)6.3
Tamil Nadu	84.8	0	(+)28.8	72.9	(+)0.9	(+)32.7	(+)4.4
Karnataka	201.7	0	66.4	64.7	(+)18.0	(+)24.4	2.5
Gujarat	311.1	0	62.8	61.7	(+)24.0	(+)0.5	9.4
West Bengal	152.8	0	76.5	53.4	(+)6.1	(+)27.1	11.6
Jharkhand	159.4	4.6	81.3	54.9	60.0	38.6	16.3
Assam	226.0	0	87.1	43.6	(+)8.3	(+)8.1	20.2
Andhra Pradesh	157.6	0	92.9	62.3	(+)15.0	34.1	21.4
<b>Total (21 States + Delhi)</b>	<b>204.4</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>65.3</b>	<b>67.8</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>23.9</b>
Bihar	88.3	0	62.8	78.6	8.0	42.1	24.6
Maharashtra	264.8	0	53.7	59.7	(+)1.4	23.2	25.6
Nagaland	212.6	0	62.7	19.5	(+)19.8	44.9	28.1
Punjab	124.7	0	86.0	64.6	(+)4.8	3.9	28.4
Odisha	256.5	0	76.6	32.7	0.3	32.4	29.0
Madhya Pradesh	281.5	0	61.5	58.6	6.5	27.2	29.5
Haryana	149.9	0	57.8	74.8	+2.2	24.1	32.5
Uttarakhand	342.8	0	40.6	42.6	22.1	48.2	39.6
Chhattisgarh	325.8	30.4	63.6	58.9	30.8	32.7	42.3
Rajasthan	397.5	0	83.7	76.8	30.8	44.8	48.3
Himachal Pradesh	479.9	0	94.2	62.3	41.0	38.9	52.7
Uttar Pradesh	157.7	0	70.5	86.9	39.7	45.4	57.8

(+) suggests surplus vehicles

also lower for 2/3 wheelers. About 12 percent of the police stations across the selected States do not have 2/3 wheelers. While nearly one in two police stations in Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh and Nagaland do not have 2/3 wheelers, there is a significant surplus in States like Delhi, Telangana and Tamil Nadu.

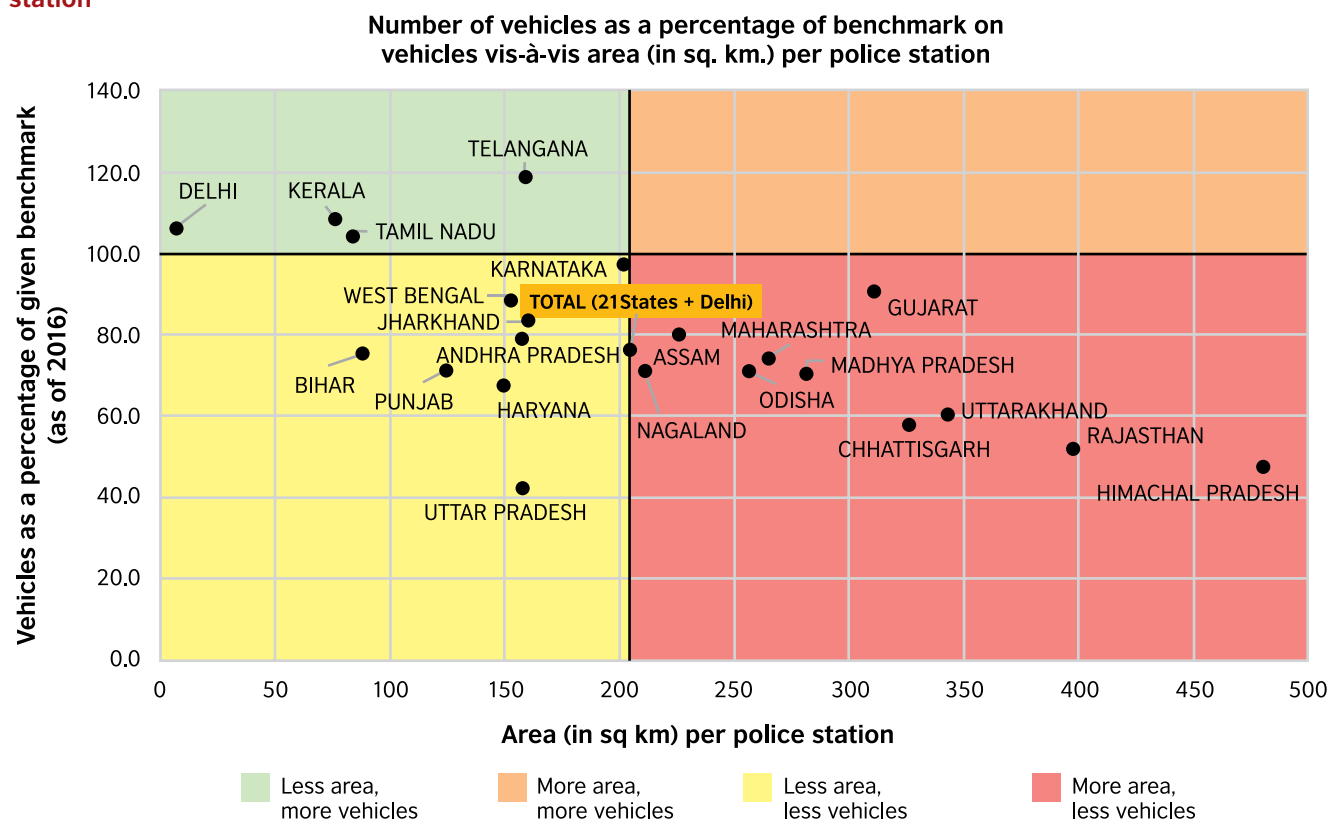
In Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Delhi the area per police station is well below the all-India average and all these States have a greater number of overall vehicles than the benchmark suggested by BPRD (Figure 1.4). The tasks of patrolling and policing is, therefore, likely to be easier in these States due to increased mobility.

Uttar Pradesh is the worst performing State with an overall vehicular deficit of 57.8 percent for all vehicles in the year 2016. A narrative behind this figure emerges when one examines the CAG's analysis on the vehicular deficit of Uttar Pradesh. The report substantiates the figure by underpinning the blame on poor deployment of vehicles and irregular procurement of vehicles, as a result of which the budget is surrendered unused. Other reasons include the failure to replace old and condemned vehicles.<sup>8</sup>

It would be premature to generalise the reasons for

<sup>8</sup> Condemned Vehicles refer to the vehicles which require replacement after being used for the mandated time period

**Figure 1.4: Number of vehicles as a percentage of benchmark on vehicles vis-à-vis area (in sq. km.) per police station**



Graph interpretation: The States have been divided into 4 categories-

The first category (upper left quadrant) are States that have adequate vehicles, and the area per police station is also low (optimal)

The second category (lower left quadrant) are the States that do not have adequate vehicles, but the area per police station is low.

The third category (lower right quadrant) are the States that do not have adequate vehicles per police stations and the area per police station is high (worst performing)

The fourth category (upper right quadrant) are States that have adequate vehicles, and the area per police station is also high.

In this graph, a lower figure in the x-axis means better performance by a State, and a higher figure in the y-axis means a better performance by a State.

Uttar Pradesh’s vehicular deficit for the rest of the country. However, multiple news reports across the country highlight poor procurement strategies as a key reason for vehicular deficits. Given the surplus of vehicles in certain categories, while there are huge deficits in others, it may be argued that the police are not timely in the replacement of old and condemned vehicles (thus the augmented figures), while also not utilising its budget adequately for procurement of heavy-duty and middle duty vehicles (Free Press Journal, 2019).

For the optimal functioning of the police force, a critical factor is the access to a functional line of vehicular support. In addition, the shortages as witnessed for the category of heavy-duty and medium-duty vehicles may also result in a problem of police mobilisation for emergency response tasks such as a terrorist attack, large scale disasters, etc. These are among the many situations in which police deployment may not be best served by relying on light-duty vehicles and 2-3 wheelers.

This situation is further complicated by the fact that there are only a few State police establishments that have vehicles capable of handling emergencies. In the event of a robbery, dacoity or a terror attack the vehicles should be equipped with walkie-talkies, microphones, fire extinguishers as well a variety other tactical gear. The situations that police officials contend with on a daily basis require a setup which keeps them protected as well enables them to protect any civilians and be able to preserve the crime scene.

### 1.3.3 Police infrastructure overview

The picture which emerges when looking at these specific indicators of police infrastructure is that deployment of resources for establishing infrastructural support of the police appears to take place in a top-down manner. While it is clear that the monetary resources are being sanctioned, but the inability of the States to secure resources, as witnessed in the case of vehicles, is leading to overstocking in one arena while there are gross deficits in another.

A related issue is the limited strength of the police personnel and whether they are being burdened with too many administrative duties in addition to their policing duties, an aspect supported by the survey data (See Chapter 2). For instance, news reports cite the delay experienced in the deployment of CCTNS, in part because police personnel are expected to be responsible for data entry. Thus, a set-up wherein management professionals work in conjunction with their police counterparts to address issues such as data entry within CCTNS software or timely procurement of basic resources such as wireless devices and vehicles may be experimented (Bose, 2015). All of this is likely to ensure the optimal utilisation and deployment of police officials.

### 1.4: How diverse is the police?

A 2000 study found that a more diverse police force is seen by the community as more legitimate, and the people are more likely to take ownership in policing when a department is diverse (Weitzer, 2000). Aside from the moral and productivity-based arguments in favour of diversity, it is also a legal mandate for police forces in the country. The Constitution makes provisions for reservations for Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in public service recruitments, including police, at both the State and the Central levels.

Further, the Ministry of Home Affairs has issued advisories to the State governments to increase the representation of women to at least 33 percent of the total police strength in the States. It is against these benchmarks of State-specific reservation quotas and the MHA advisory that we measure the diversity within the police forces of different States.

Data reveals that at the national level, SCs, STs and OBCs and women are under-represented in the police force. Further, the distribution of the force is such that STs and women are less likely to be posted at officer level, compared to the overall proportion of officers in the police force. The situation is the worst amongst women, both in terms of overall representation as well as in terms of proportion of women officers.

To assess the status of diversity within the police forces, we study both the actual representation of SCs/STs/OBCs and women in the police force, as well as the percentage of SC/ST/OBC and women officers, against the percentage of general officers in a State force.

The variables analysed in this sub-section are (see

methodology for calculation of variables in Appendix 3):

1. Representation of SCs/STs/OBCs and women in the police force:
  - a. Percentage of SCs in a State police force in proportion to the sanctioned percentage of posts for SCs in the force
  - b. Percentage of STs in a State police force in proportion to the sanctioned percentage of posts for STs in the force
  - c. Percentage of OBCs in a State police force in proportion to the sanctioned percentage of posts for OBCs in the force
  - d. Actual number of women in the police force as a percentage of the overall strength of the police force
2. Percentage officers amongst the SCs/STs/OBCs, women and general personnel in the police force:
  - a. Number of SCs of the ranks of ASI to DySP as a percentage of the total number of SCs in the State police force
  - b. Number of STs of the ranks of ASI to DySP as a percentage of the total number of STs in the State police force
  - c. Number of OBCs of the ranks of ASI to DySP as a percentage of the total number of OBCs in the State police force
  - d. Number of women of the ranks of ASI to DySP as a percentage of the total number of women in the State police force
  - e. Number of overall personnel of the ranks of ASI to DySP as a percentage of the total number of personnel in the State police force

It needs to be noted that the last variable is different from the earlier-mentioned teeth-to-tail ratio. This is so because in the teeth-to-tail ratio, all personnel from the ranks of Assistant Sub-Inspector (ASI) to Director General of Police (DGP) are considered as ‘officers’. In the above variable, however, only the personnel of ranks ASI to Deputy Superintendent (DySP) have been considered as ‘officers’. This has been done to maintain uniformity, since data on SCs, STs and OBCs in the police force is available only up to the rank of DySP, and not at the IPS-level ranks.

#### 1.4.1 Representation of disadvantaged communities in the police force

As noted in SPIR 2018, the vacancies within the reserved posts for SCs, STs and OBCs are notable, with only four States being able to fill the vacancies for SCs,

and eight States each for STs and OBCs. In several States, more than 50 percent of the reserved seats remain unfilled, such as in Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, there are 60 and 53 percent vacancies respectively within the reserved posts for SCs. This is significantly higher than the vacancies in the overall staff strength in these States.

The representation of women in the police force is even worse, with only 7.3 percent women police personnel at the national level in 2016. None of the States have been able to meet the 33 percent benchmark set out by the MHA, with Tamil Nadu having the highest representation of women at 12.9 percent in 2016.

**Table 1.8: There are vacancies in reserved posts for SCs, STs, OBCs and women in the police force across nearly all States**

<i>Actual percentage of SCs/STs/OBCs in proportion to the reserved percentage of SCs/STs/OBCs, and the actual percentage of women in the State police force (2012-2016 average)</i>				
States	SCs in police	STs in police	OBCs in police	Women in police
Andhra Pradesh	77	75.2	123.8	3.74
Assam	95.3	93.1	117.1	2.51
Bihar	66.8	122.5	70.6	5.22
Chhattisgarh	55	64.1	67.8	4.62
Gujarat	98.5	54.1	51.4	4.36
Haryana	57.1	3.6	50.9	7.13
Himachal Pradesh	98.8	127.1	58.2	11.29
Jharkhand	97.2	81.9	127.6	4.96
Karnataka	83.3	109.2	136.4	5.4
Kerala	86.5	57.9	87.5	6.08
Madhya Pradesh	65	52.1	62.5	4.85
Maharashtra	91.6	98.8	132	10.82
Nagaland	NA	101.7	NA	3.26
Odisha	88.9	92.1	118.5	8.66
Punjab	101.8	0	136.6	6.44
Rajasthan	75.4	88.9	55.7	7.77
Tamil Nadu	70.4	49	66	13.62
Telangana	79.3	144.6	145.3	2.83
Uttar Pradesh	40.2	38.8	49.3	4.1
Uttarakhand	100.8	152.5	105.3	8.08
West Bengal	62.1	67.1	22.6	6.47
Delhi UT	90.9	88.7	73.6	8
AP+Telangana	73.8	91	122.3	3.39

#### 1.4.2. Percentage of officers amongst disadvantaged communities in the police force

In Table 1.9, we look at the ranks at which different communities within the police force, are posted at. Put differently, here we analyse, among the SCs, STs, OBCs and women recruited in the police force, what proportion of them are at the officer level. This is juxtaposed against the overall distribution of force between the constabulary and the officers, or the percentage of officers in the overall police force.

The data for SCs, STs and OBCs is only available till the rank of DySP. Therefore, the percentage of officers

**Table 1.9: Women, STs and OBCs in police are less likely to be officers than the general police personnel**

<i>Percentage of officers (ASI to DySP) amongst SCs/STs/OBCs/Women and overall personnel in the police force (2012 - 16 average)</i>					
States	Women	SCs	STs	OBCs	Overall
Andhra Pradesh	10.9	11.2	11.3	11.5	13.4
Assam	17.3	13.6	10.5	12.6	12.4
Bihar	7.4	19.0	22.7	11.3	17.6
Chhattisgarh	7.6	10.6	7.4	8.7	8.9
Gujarat	16.1	19.9	20.7	12.9	16.7
Haryana	11.1	9.8	NA	9.2	14.5
Himachal Pradesh	2.6	10.7	13.6	6.9	12
Jharkhand	6.7	12.8	11.2	9.3	14
Karnataka	11.5	13.0	15.2	11.7	12.5
Kerala	3.3	14.7	11.3	8.4	8.9
Madhya Pradesh	27.7	20.1	21.8	9.9	16.9
Maharashtra	7.3	24.1	21.4	19.2	17.1
Nagaland	22.4	NA	3.8	NA	6.4
Odisha	13.8	14.1	8.8	8.3	15.6
Punjab	6.7	7.8	NA	9.0	11.9
Rajasthan	4.2	9.5	7.0	6.0	8.7
Tamil Nadu	12.3	10.4	10.4	11.0	9.6
Telangana	8.0	12.9	NA	NA	13.6
Uttar Pradesh	6.2	8.1	7.8	8.4	8.1
Uttarakhand	7.5	6.7	6.1	4.8	7
West Bengal	8.3	18.1	12.7	13.0	23.8
Delhi	20.0	17.8	18.2	4.0	20.6
AP+Telangana	10.1	13.7	10.0	12.2	13.3
<b>Total selected States</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>11.6</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>13.4</b>

amongst women in police and the overall police force has also been taken as the proportion of ASI to DySP to enable comparison across categories. It must be noted, further, that the reservation for SCs, STs is applicable even during the first promotion.

Among the selected States, the proportion of SC, ST, OBC and women officers is lower than the overall proportion of officers. As against 13.4 general officers, there are 11.5 percent SC officers, 11.6 percent ST officers, 11.1 percent OBC officers and 10.1 percent women officers.

In the case of women personnel, with the exception of five of the selected States (Assam, MP, Nagaland, Tamil Nadu and Uttarakhand), the proportion of women officers is consistently lower than the overall proportion of officers in all States. Data suggests that women are least likely to be posted at the officer level, compared to all other categories of personnel. This points to the need for reservation at the time of promotion for women as well (as in the case of SCs, STs), aside from reservation at the time of recruitment. Alternately, specialised recruitment drives for women in the police force at the ranks of ASI and above could be another measure to ensure proportionate distribution across ranks.

Eight States, or more than one-third of the selected States, have disproportionately lower number of officers amongst all four categories. The differences are significant in some States, such as in Delhi which has 4 percent OBC officers, compared to 20.6 percent overall officers.

Overall, States are performing poorly on the diversity indicator. Not only are there high vacancies in the sanctioned posts of SC, ST, OBC and women personnel, even amongst those who have been recruited, the chances of SCs, STs, OBCs and women being recruited at or promoted to the officer-level are lower than the chances of a general personnel being posted or recruited at the officer rank.

The worst off, however, are women, who have the lowest representation in the police force, as well the lowest representation at the officer-level in nearly all States. Kerala, for instance, a State that is known for its progressive policies and practices, has 3.3 percent officers amongst the total women personnel, against nearly 9 percent officers overall (Table 1.9). In fact, the proportion of women officers has actually gone down in the selected States over a 10-year period.

As is noted in SPIR 2018, another vulnerable and under-represented group, which, however, does not enjoy any reservation, is that of Muslims. Unfortunately, data on the representation, or the lack of it, of Muslims in the police force was discontinued by the NCRB after 2013. Data on SCs, STs and OBCs in the police force at the ranks of DySP and above has also not been made publicly available. This lack of official data dilutes all efforts towards analysis of trends in policing and advocacy initiatives.

### **1.5: What is the load of cases on the police?**

Indian police personnel are stretched and stressed. The survey of personnel finds that on an average, a personnel works for about 14 hours a day. Three out of four personnel felt that their workload was affecting their physical and mental health (See Chapter 2 for more details).

Caseload, or the load of investigation of cases, forms a major part of the workload of the police personnel. A 2014 study conducted with the South African Police Service Detectives suggests that the caseload carried by general detectives impacts on a number of factors, such as the inability to secure convictions, poor supervision, court delays, etc. Further, the study finds that detectives with high caseloads spend the least amount of time on real detective work, such as evidence collection and analysis.

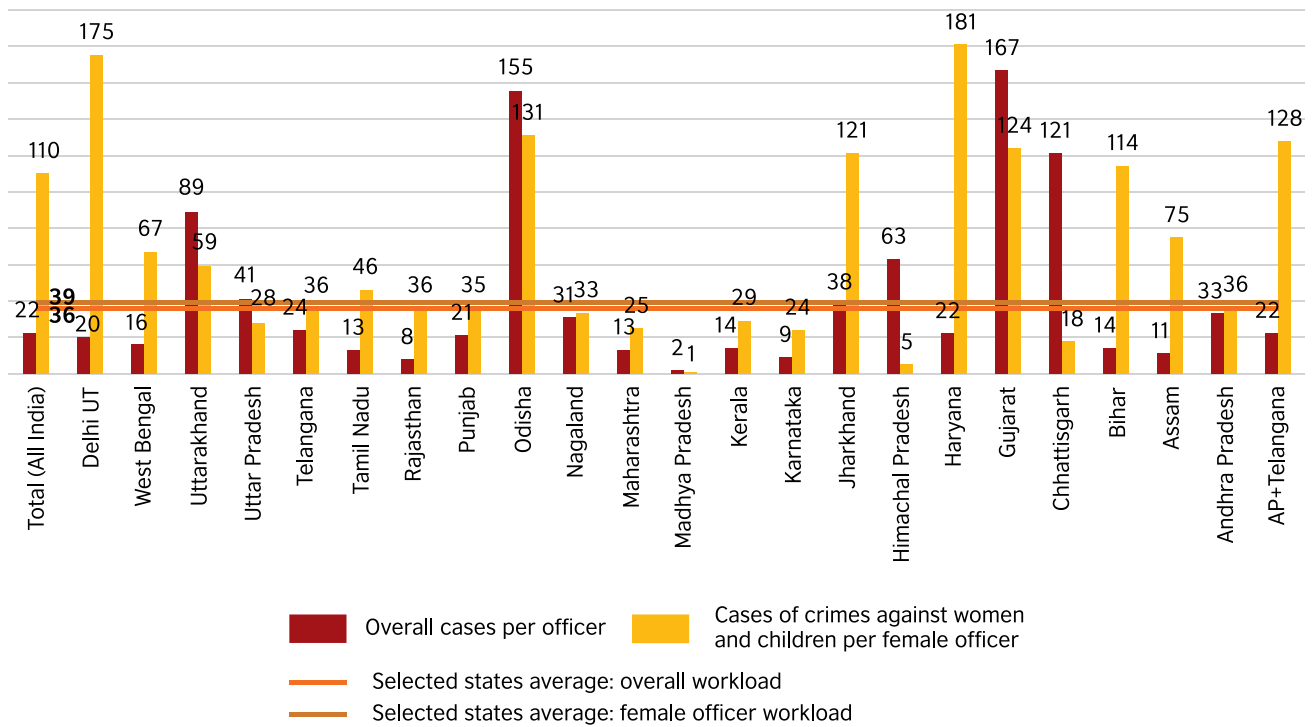
In India, the investigation of cases of crimes is normally conducted by investigating officers (IOs) of the ranks of ASI to Inspectors, although in some States, Head Constables are also authorised to be IOs in cases of petty crimes. Further, legal provisions have made it mandatory for women police officers to conduct investigations of all cases of crimes against children, and they are required, as far as practicable, to be present at the time of recording of the statement of the victims in cases of crimes against women.

In this sub-section, caseload, taken as a proxy for the overall workload, of the overall police officers of the upper subordinate ranks (ASI to Inspector), is compared to the caseload of women police officers of the same ranks for the cases of crimes against women and children. It needs to be noted here that investigation is only one part of the overall policing duties, and therefore does not give a true picture of the actual workload on the officers.

The following variables have been used to analyse the caseload of officers:

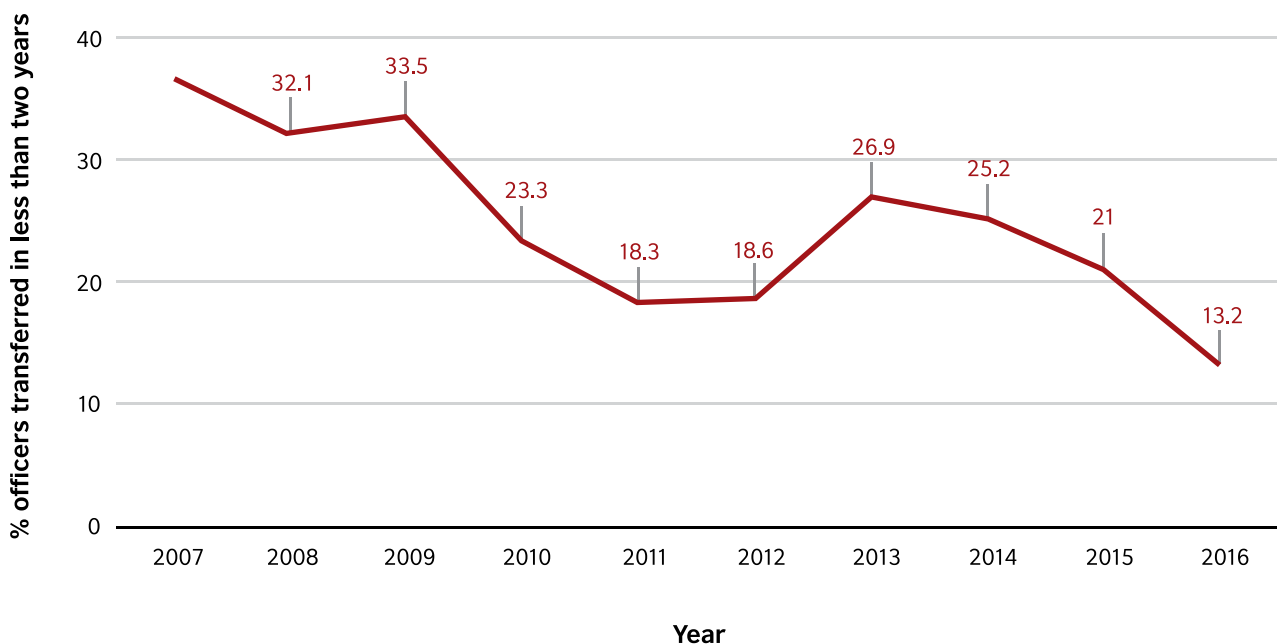
**Figure 1.5: In a majority of States, the case of women officers is much higher than the caseload of overall officers**

**Number of overall cases per upper subordinate vis-a-vis the number of cases of crimes against women and children per female upper subordinate officer**



**Figure 1.6: SSPs and DIGs (range) transferred in less than two years as a percentage of the total number of AIGP/SP/SSP/DIG in the selected States from 2007–2016**

**Officers transferred in less than two years as a % of the actual strength: All selected states**



1. Number of upper subordinate officers (ASI to Inspector rank) per the total reported incidents of cognisable crimes in States as of 2016
2. Number of upper subordinate female officers (ASI to Inspector rank) per the total reported cases of crimes against women and children as of 2016

Caseload has been analysed comparatively for the general police personnel and for the female personnel. A caveat that needs to be pointed out, however, is that the ranks of investigating officers vary across States, and the Head Constables are assigned investigating officer duties in some States. Therefore, this analysis should be seen only as indicative, and not representative.

At the national level, the case investigation load for women police officers for cases of crimes against women and children, at 39 cases per female officer, is comparable to the overall case investigation load for total cognisable crimes, at 36 cases per officer. How-

ever, in a majority of the selected States, caseloads of women officers are higher than the overall caseload of officers. Only six of the selected States have a lower case investigation load for female officers. In several States, this can also be attributed to two causes:

- a. In some States it may be attributed to the fact that crimes against women and children are severely under-reported
- b. On the contrary, in some States, such as Kerala, there is high-reporting of total cognisable crime cases, especially petty crimes, which brings up the caseload per officer.

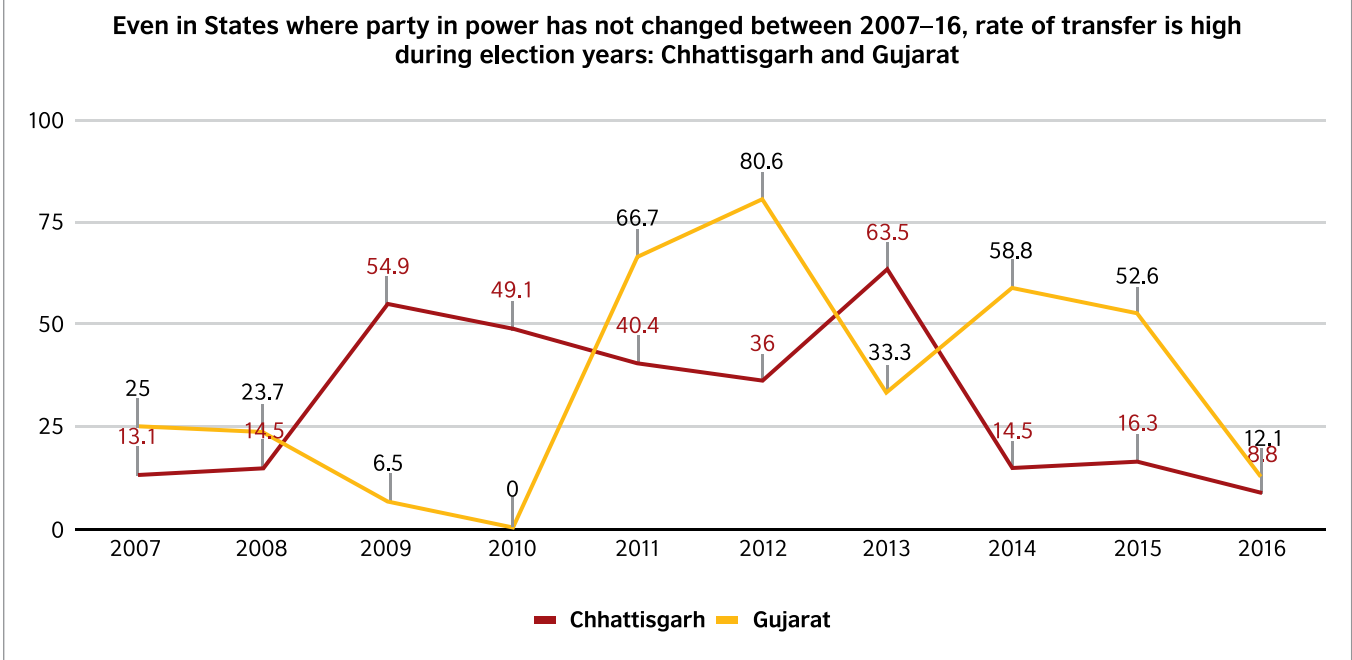
Amongst the 16 States that have a higher case investigation load for women officers, the gap is notable in some States: for instance, Assam has 175 cases of crimes against women and children per female officer, compared to 20 cases of cognisable crimes per officer (overall). Similarly, Telangana has 181 cases per female officer compared to 22 cases per general officer.

**Table 1.10: During 2007–16 eighteen percent SSPs and DIGs transferred in less than two years, on an average**

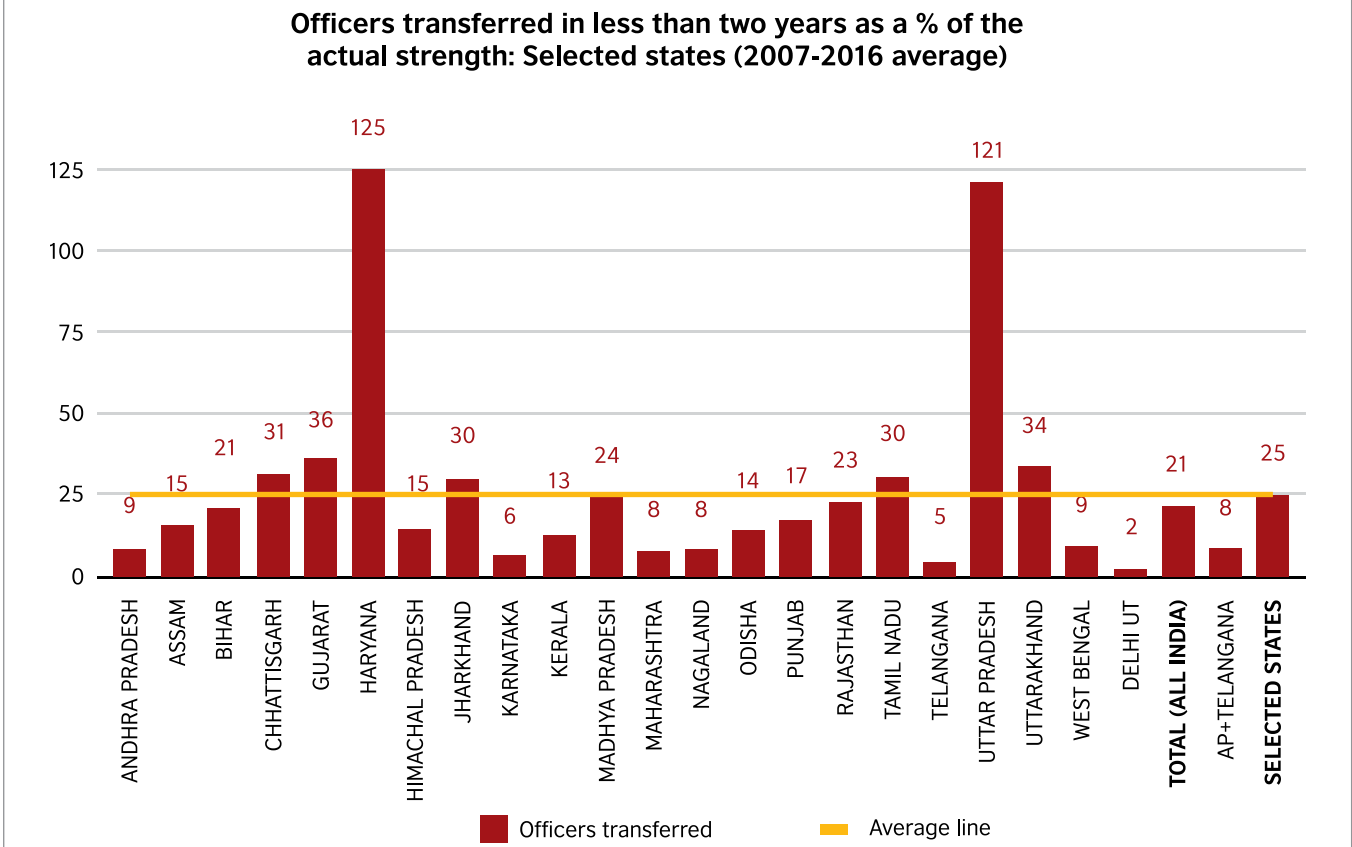
<i>Total number of Distt. SSPs and DIG (range) transferred in less than two years as a percentage of the actual number of AIGP/SSP/SP/DIG</i>				
States	2007	2012	2016	2007-16 average
Andhra Pradesh	6.9	7.3	9.2	7.7
Assam	8	16.5	13.1	12.9
Bihar	NA	10.3	13.4	22.1
Chhattisgarh	13.1	36	8.8	27.8
Gujarat	25	80.6	12.1	47.5
Haryana	NA	58	73.1	180.1
Himachal Pradesh	15.6	16.5	9.5	16.4
Jharkhand	53.2	6.8	9.1	24.6
Karnataka	5.7	3.5	8	5.7
Kerala	22.6	2.4	8	9.9
Madhya Pradesh	23.8	12.4	41.8	25.3
Maharashtra	NA	15.4	1.7	7.5
Nagaland	8.3	5.9	2.2	1.6
Odisha	16.9	11.3	13.4	9.5
Punjab	16.4	17.8	16	16.2
Rajasthan	0	21.2	37.4	43.1
Tamil Nadu	44.2	24.3	18.4	20.7
Telangana	NA	NA	0	4.6
Uttar Pradesh	194.9	50.8	13.4	64.7
Uttarakhand	46.2	32.3	55.8	37.6
West Bengal	1.6	3.5	7.6	11.4
Delhi UT	13.6	0	0	0.0
<b>TOTAL (ALL INDIA)</b>	<b>31.2</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>18.1</b>
Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	6.9	7.3	5.1	6.8

Complete table with data of all years given in Appendix 3

**Figure 1.7: SSPs and DIGs (range) transferred in less than two years as a percentage of the total number of AIGP/SP/SSP/DIG in the States: Chhattisgarh and Gujarat**



**Figure 1.8: SSPs and DIGs (range) transferred in less than two years as a percentage of the total number of AIGP/SP/SSP/DIG in the States: Selected States (2007–2016 average)**



The above data makes a case for the need of better representation of women in the police force, and higher recruitment of women at the officer-level ranks. Even in a scenario in which, as per NFHS data, 99 percent of cases of sexual assault go unreported, the caseload is relatively much higher for women in the police force in 16 of the selected States studied. Therefore, particularly in case of women in the police force, the argument for better representation does not arise just from the logic of diversity, but also from the legal requirement of processes to be followed while dealing with cases of crimes against women and children.

### 1.6: How autonomous is the police in its functioning?

In the landmark judgement of *Prakash Singh vs Union of India*, 2006 the Supreme Court directed the States to introduce legal amendments to ensure that, except under extraordinary circumstances, key police officers be guaranteed a minimum tenure of two years. This was to ensure that political interference is minimised at the posting and transfer levels, and police personnel have the “operational autonomy” to function efficiently without the threat of premature transfers. Following the judgement in 2006, five States—Punjab, Haryana, West Bengal, Kerala and Bihar—had moved the Apex Court seeking modification of the above directive regarding minimum tenure. These pleas, however, were dismissed by the Supreme Court (PTI, 2019). Yet, States have managed to circumvent the legal provisions to a certain extent, as is evident from the analysis of data.

For studying police autonomy, we analysed the data on transfer of SSPs and DIGs in less than two years. Data for a 10-year period, from 2007 to 2016, was studied and analysed.

Since 2007 (post the *Prakash Singh* judgment), the percentage of premature transfer of officers (of the ranks of SSPs and DIGs) has gone down significantly from 37 percent in 2007 to 13 percent in 2016, amongst the selected States. The judgment, therefore, appears to have a tangible impact on curbing the practise of undue and premature transfer of officers due to political and bureaucratic interference.

However, there is an anomaly in the data that needs to be noted. The data shows that the number of transfers for some States and in particular years (Haryana in 2014 and Uttar Pradesh from 2007–2010) is higher than the total number of SSPs and DIGs posted in those States in the particular years. This can, presuma-

bly, be caused due to the same officer being transferred multiple times in a year.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the decline in the percentage of transfers over the years at the national level, it continues to be high in many States, particularly in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. When seen as a 10-year average, in seven of the selected States more than 25 percent<sup>10</sup> SSPs and DIGs have been transferred prematurely (Table 1.10). Further, there seems to be a direct relationship between elections and transfers, with transfer percentages going up during or around election years in States. For instance, 98 percent of the SSPs and DIGs were transferred in Rajasthan in 2013, 32 percent officers were transferred in Haryana in the year 2013, and consistently between 28 to 53 percent officers were transferred in Jharkhand in all election years.

This is true for some States even when the party in power does not change post elections. That is, even if the incumbent party returns to power after elections in a State, yet, the percentage of transfer of officers in that year in the State is higher than usual. For instance, in States such as Gujarat and Chhattisgarh, the transfer percentages are higher during election years, even though the party in power has not changed over a decade (Figure 1.7). As seen in the graph, the percentage of transfer in Gujarat is high in the year 2012 (80 % transfer), an election year, and in Chhattisgarh the percentage of transfers is high in the year 2009 (elections were held in November 2008) and 2013, again an election year. In both the States, the Chief Ministers throughout the decade under consideration (2007-2016) have belonged to the BJP.

9 The Common Cause team went to the BPRD office to discuss and resolve this, and other similar anomalies in official data. This was the explanation provided to the team by the concerned officials at BPRD. In the meeting, we were informed that for most of the discrepancies in data that we had noted, the BPRD officials are themselves unsure about the exact reasons. They attribute this to the difference in the BPRD format and the way that the data is recorded by the States. Mr Shashikant Upadhyay, DIG, informed us that all housing and personnel-management related matters fall within the purview of the State governments, and the BPRD has no authority to interfere in these matters. The BPRD does not even collect any data other than what is published in its reports, and the States are under no obligation to report the numbers to BPRD. It can only request the States for the data within the given format, and often States fail to report that as well. BPRD, as a central institution, has a limited mandate of providing part of the training to State forces of police and collecting data on basic issues such as police strength. When discrepancies arise, BPRD often seeks clarification from the States, but it is not necessary that the States will respond, or will do so timely, since they are under no obligation to do so.

10 In this variable, a 25 percent benchmark has been set arbitrarily to look at States that have a high rate of premature transfers. We have set this benchmark keeping in mind that there may be circumstances in which premature transfers are necessary and/or desirable for the officers themselves, such as in the case of a promotion.

Overall, the States with the highest transfer percentages are Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, with average transfer of 121 percent and 125 percent respectively over the last 10-years for which data is available (Figure 1.8). The better-performing States in which transfers of officers within two years has been consistently below 25 percent (since 2007) are Delhi, Andhra, Telangana, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Karnataka.

### 1.7: Police Adequacy Index

In the final sub-section of this chapter, building on the adequacy arguments made in the earlier analysis, we develop an Index for ranking the selected States on the basis of adequacy of the police force.

For this ranking, the following variables are used:

1. Police strength:
  - a. Overall civil and armed police strength as a percentage of the sanctioned strength (2012-2016 average)

2. Police infrastructure:
  - a. Percentage of police stations having vehicles (2012-16 average)
  - b. Percentage of police stations having telephone and wireless devices (2012-16 average)
  - c. Number of computers per police station (2012-2016)
3. Police budget
  - a. Police expenditure as a percentage of police budget (2014-2016 average)

The indices developed for each of the above variable (methodology in Appendix 3), have been averaged to form the final index for police adequacy. The purpose of the index is to measure and rank States according to their respective capacities and adequacy of the police structure in those States.

**Table 1.11: Delhi, Kerala and Maharashtra have a more adequate policing structure than other selected States**

States	Police adequacy index			
	Overall Index	Strength	Infrastructure	Budget
Delhi	0.60	0.70	1.03	0.07
Kerala	0.55	0.71	0.89	0.06
Maharashtra	0.53	0.69	0.82	0.08
Nagaland	0.51	0.80	0.66	0.07
Uttarakhand	0.51	0.66	0.83	0.04
Himachal Pradesh	0.50	0.60	0.82	0.06
Rajasthan	0.49	0.60	0.80	0.08
Odisha	0.48	0.57	0.80	0.08
Madhya Pradesh	0.48	0.58	0.83	0.04
Tamil Nadu	0.48	0.58	0.76	0.09
Haryana	0.46	0.36	0.94	0.08
Punjab	0.44	0.64	0.62	0.07
Karnataka	0.43	0.41	0.83	0.06
Assam	0.43	0.58	0.68	0.02
All-India	0.42	0.46	0.75	0.06
Telangana	0.41	0.47	0.73	0.04
Andhra Pradesh	0.41	0.53	0.66	0.05
Jharkhand	0.41	0.45	0.70	0.07
West Bengal	0.40	0.35	0.79	0.07
Gujarat	0.40	0.36	0.79	0.05
Bihar	0.35	0.40	0.60	0.04
Chhattisgarh	0.34	0.52	0.47	0.04
Uttar Pradesh	0.31	0.10	0.79	0.05

**Index interpretation:** 0 means worst performing, 1 means best performing. Under the Infrastructure index, Delhi is exceeding the value of one because the formula used in the calculation of index takes into consideration the maximum value of the last five years, and not the current year. Since the value in Delhi in some of the years was greater than the maximum value observed in the previous five years, the index generated was greater than one. See Appendix 3 for details on index calculation.

In the absence of the requisite benchmarks, the ranking has been done in a relative manner, where States are scored according to the best and worst performing values amongst all States. The Index is a value between zero and one, where zero would be the worst performing State, and one would be the best performing State.

As **Table 1.11** shows, overall on the adequacy parameters, Delhi, Kerala and Maharashtra have the better capacity for policing than the rest of the States, while Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Bihar are States which are most poorly placed in terms of adequacy.

Delhi performs well on both the infrastructure and strength parameters. UP, on the other hand, performs poorly on both the strength and the budget indicators.

In general, the performance of all selected States under the infrastructure indicators are much better than their performance on the budget indicators.<sup>11</sup>

## 1.8: Conclusion

This chapter, besides providing an overview of adequacy of infrastructure aims to lay out the lenses through which the subsequent sections ought to be examined. Of importance is the point that we foreground the fact that primarily policing is a function of the State with some overlaps with the Centre. We therefore employ two kinds of data points on all parameters: a comparative juxtaposition with the national average and between States and an over-time comparison which helps understand the individual trajectories of the States.

The inadequacy of police infrastructure can hardly be attributed to the inadequacy of resources. Most States by a margin underutilise resources. Interestingly, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, despite using comparatively marginal proportion of the allocated budget boast of a better infrastructure than many other States. Yet, both States land in the absolute bottom of ranking (**Table 1.11**). Uttarakhand is the exact contrary to these two States. It uses much lesser proportion of the allocated budget but boasts better infrastructure and better proportionate strength and hence a better overall ranking. This tension between resources and adequacy, perhaps a marker of capacities/ efficiencies or the lack of them, will continue to resound in the chapters that follow.

<sup>11</sup> This is again caused due to certain discrepancies in data on budget utilisation. In some States for certain years (for example in Tamil Nadu in the Financial Year 2014-15), the police expenditure as a percentage of the police budget is greater than 100 percent. This causes the index of other States to go down on an average, since the ranking is calculated relatively.

Secondly, and very importantly, the section on diversity provides a larger contextual framework within which we examine the attitudinal questions in Chapter 6. Diversity of police is a parameter of utmost importance. Police is a powerful and armed wing of the State that needs to remain neutral in the face of both everyday as well as exceptional circumstances, and needs to work within the framework of democracy. We therefore consider the parameter of diversity as a building block for adequacy of the police. The aim of this section is to urge the readers to understand the data provided in the subsequent sections within the push and pull dynamic of adequacy and functionality. Doing this, we believe, will allow for a realistic rather than alarmist reading of the police.

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# Indian Police, Always on Duty!

2

*New Delhi, India- June 12, 2019: A traffic policeman on duty during heatwave in New Delhi.  
(Credits: Gokul VS, Hindustan Times)*

This chapter begins with the analysis of survey data from across 21 major Indian States. Responses were collected from personnel of all ranks, and the sample was representative of the opinions of women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes within the police force. The chapter covers the service conditions of personnel, including the average working hours, weekly rest, overtime work, etc. It also looks at the undue pressures imposed on senior officers on junior personnel, and the level of abuse of the senior position by officers. The chapter also covers the responses of the family members of personnel on issues such as work-related stress, personnel's ability to spend time with family, satisfaction with staff quarter, etc.

Following are the key findings:

- Police personnel work for 14 hours a day on an average, with about 80 percent police personnel working for more than 8 hours a day
- Except Nagaland, the average working hours of personnel is between 11 to 18 hours in all of the selected 21 states
- Nearly one in two personnel work overtime regularly, while eight out of ten personnel do not get paid for overtime work
- Nearly three out of five respondents from the families of personnel were dissatisfied with the government provided housing quarters
- One out of two personnel do not get any weekly off days
- Three out of four personnel believe that their workload is affecting their physical and mental health
- One out of four personnel reported that senior police personnel ask their juniors to do their household/personal jobs even though they are not meant to do it. SC, ST and OBC personnel are more likely to report this than other caste groups
- Two in five police personnel report the use of bad language by senior officers
- Thirty-seven percent personnel willing to give up their jobs for another profession, if the perks and salaries remain the same.

# Indian Police, Always on Duty!

Most sociological studies on policing in India tend to focus on issues external to the policing structure i.e., reported crime rates, victimisation rates, citizen's experiences and perceptions, and so on. This nationwide survey, as a contrast, attempts to study policing from within, focusing on one of the central drivers of the system—the police personnel themselves. While in the later sections many more issues around the experiences, perceptions and expectations of the police personnel are covered, this section starts from, and goes beyond, the common grievances of police personnel—the poor working and service conditions across the country. A phenomenon that can be directly attributed to the inability of the States to fill the sanctioned strength of the police force, the inhumane duty hours of the police in State after State can have impacts on the efficiency and overall functioning of the police.

After more than 70 years of independence, Indian police laws continue to echo the spirit of the colonial Indian Police Act of 1861, with little regard for either just service conditions for the police force, particularly those at the lower levels, or for the citizens of the country whom they serve. Consider, for instance, the following Sections from the statute books:

*“Every police-officer shall, for all purposes in this Act contained, be considered to be always on duty, and may at any time be employed as a police officer – officer in any part of the general police – district.”*

- Section 22, Indian Police Act 1861

*“The state government shall take effective steps to ensure that the average hours of duty of a police officer do not normally exceed eight hours a day; provided that in exceptional situations, the duty hours of a police officer may extend up to 12 hours or beyond.”*

- Section 18, Model Police Act 2006

Although police is a State subject, most of the State police Acts are influenced either by the central archaic Police Act of 1861 or the Model Police Act of 2006<sup>1</sup>. The usage of terms like ‘exceptional situations’ and ‘always on duty’ has given the leeway to arbitrarily stretch the working hours of police personnel, as per the convenience of the seniors. The provisions regarding ‘weekly offs’ are applied in similar erratic and irrational ways. The seminal work on requirement for eight hours-shift in police stations (2014) conducted by the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD) extensively highlights the gravity of this problem. Constable Ravindra Patil of Mumbai Police through his report ‘8 Hours Dream of Police’ has been persistently advocating for the eight hourly-shift system. Both these studies report that the irregular and long working hours not only affect the physical health but also contribute to mental stress of the police, ultimately impacting the efficiency of the force.

In November 2018, about 400 police constables in Patna protested the death of a fellow constable who was denied leave despite being physically sick. Eventually, 175 police officers (167 constables and eight officers) were dismissed from service, while another 27 *havaldars* and constables were put under suspension (*Hindustan Times*, November 2018). Another 50,000 constables in Karnataka had applied for mass leave on 6 June 2016 to register their protest against long working hours, wage inequality across ranks and the strict disciplinary actions they typically face (*The News Minute*, May 2016). The protests

<sup>1</sup> The Model Police Act, 2006 The central government set up the Police Act Drafting Committee (Chair: Soli Solabjee) in 2005 to draft a new model police law that could replace the Police Act 1861. The committee submitted the Model Police Act in 2006, which was circulated to all the States in 2006. 17 States (Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttarakhand,) passed new laws or amended existing law in this new model law.

and the response to these protests can be analysed in multiple ways, but the issue of ‘service conditions’ emerges as a common underlying concern.

Another closely related issue is the high stress level among the police personnel caused due to the nature of work. Psychological studies on the Indian police have identified and measured the stress levels and the different causal factors behind it (Mathur 1995; Rani, Garg and Rastogi 2012; Mohanraj and Natesan 2015, Tyagi and Dhar 2014 cited in Kumar and Kamlanabhan 2017; Tyagi 2014). Consistent with the Western literature on stress, the literature on police stress in India also broadly identifies two types of stressors—operational stressors—arising from the nature of work, and organisational stressors—arising from the work environment. Numerous survey-based quantitative studies across various States in India such as Uttar Pradesh (Singh and Kumar 2015), Delhi (Kumar and Kamlanabhan 2017), Haryana (Lambert, Qureshi, Frank, Keena and Hogan 2017) and Karnataka (Parsekar, Singh and Bhumika 2015) have generally identified the organisational factors like excessive workload, and relation with those working in a senior position as prime factors contributing to stress. This negatively impacts the psychological well-being of the personnel and further contributes to plummeting levels of job satisfaction among the police force. Studies also show that police personnel deal with such stressors by adopting maladaptive coping mechanisms such as denial and alcoholism (Ranta 2009, Singh 2016).

This report takes a deep dive into the world of police personnel across the country, studying a range of issues—from concerns regarding unjust service conditions, to their perceptions, attitudes and experiences of policing as a system. This chapter, as a starting point, focuses on the working conditions of the police personnel and the impact that these conditions have on their wellbeing.

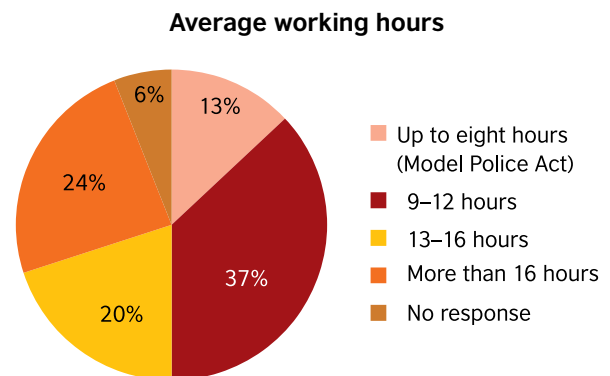
## 2.1: Average working hours of police

The Indian police forces of nearly all the States surveyed are excessively over-overworked, with an average police personnel working for 14 hours a day (Table 2.1). The most reported (mode) frequency of actual working hours was 12 hours, with about a quarter of the police reporting it. On the other hand, about 16 percent of the police personnel reported working around the clock for 24 hours.

Only 13 percent of the police reported working for up to eight hours on an average, considered the global standard for workers’ shifts, while about 81 percent of the police

personnel work for more than eight hours in a day (Figure 2.1). Amongst the latter category, about 44 percent work for more than 12 hours in a day, with nearly a quarter (24 percent) reporting that they work for more than 16 hours in a day on an average. The actual condition, thus, for the bulk of the police force in India is far from the ideal set out by the Model Police Act, 2006, of fixed shifts of 8 hours for all police personnel.

**Figure 2.1: Majority of the police personnel work for more than 8 hours a day**



**Question asked:** On an average, how many hours in a day do you actually work?

On an average, the senior, male, civil police personnel are likely to work longer than their counterparts, although the variation in the average working hours of these categories is not very high. Senior State police personnel are likely to work for about 15 hours—one hour more than an average constabulary police. Further, while the average working hours of men in police are also one hour longer than women in police, this divide exists primarily at the constabulary level. At senior positions, men and women officers have similar working hours. We also find that civil police work for a longer duration than the armed police.

**Table 2.1: Police personnel work for 14 hours a day on an average**

Category	Mean working hours
<i>Overall</i>	<i>14 hours</i>
Men	14 hours
Women	13 hours
Constabulary	14 hours
Senior State police	15 hours
Civil Police	14 hours
Armed Police	13 hours

Figures are rounded off.  $\sigma$  (Standard deviation) = 5 hours

**Question asked:** On an average, how many hours in a day do you actually work?

When further disaggregated across the verticals of gender, rank and contingent, the picture that emerges is that typically a male senior police officer of the civil cadre is more likely to work for more than 12 hours a day, compared to his counterparts across these categories. While the average working hours of all three categories do not vary by a great degree—within the range of 13 to 15 hours—the real differences emerge when we look at the frequency of police personnel who reported working for 12 hours or more, and study the variations across the above categories. A quarter of the male police personnel, for instance, reported working for more than 16 hours a day, compared to 18 percent women police personnel. Similarly, 28 percent senior officer reported putting in more than 16 hours a day, against 23 percent amongst the constabulary (Table 2.2).

In fact, as the number of years of experience in the police increases, the proportion of police personnel who reported that they worked for more than 16 hours in a day also increases (Figure 2.2). Thus, ‘seniority’, or increase in years of experience might indicate further increase in the workload.

When we disaggregate the data across different States (Table 2.3), we find that police personnel from Odisha reported highest average working hours of 18 hours in a day, while police personnel from Nagaland reported the lowest average, of eight working hours in a day. Nagaland, therefore, is the only State among the 21 studied States where the ideal condition is being met, an achievement that can be attributed to the fact that it is one of the few States in the country where the sanctioned strength of the police force is being filled optimally (see Chapter 1 on analysis of official data).

**Table 2.2: Male and senior police personnel from civil force report working for longer hours**

	Up to eight hours in a day	9–12 hours in a day	13–16 hours in a day	More than 16 hours in a day
<i>Overall</i>	13	37	20	24
Men	12	36	21	25
Women	17	41	17	18
Constabulary	13	38	20	23
Senior State police	10	33	22	28
Civil Police	12	37	22	24
Armed Police	18	37	13	21

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

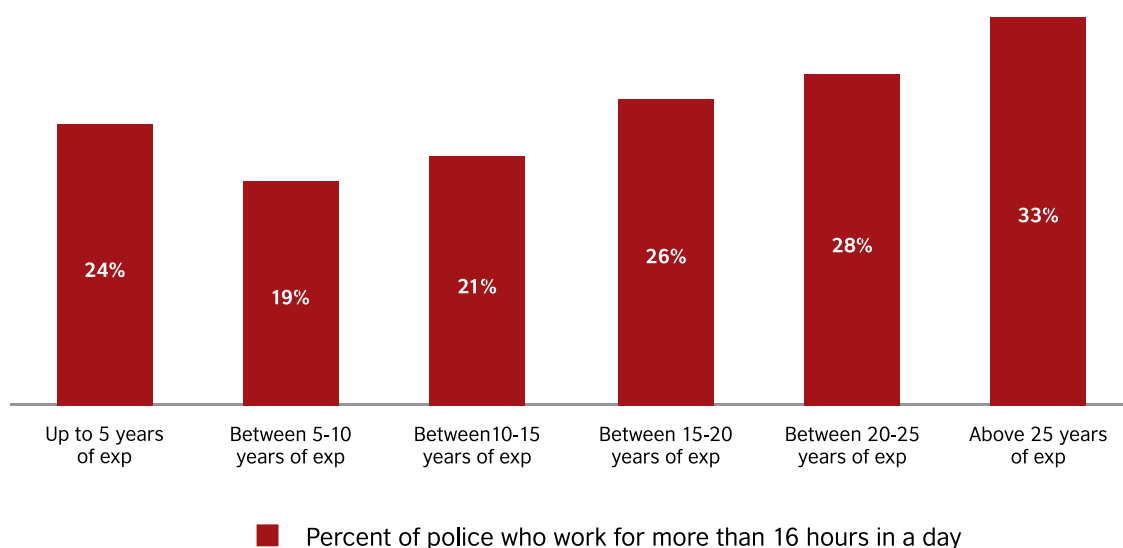
**Question asked:** On an average, how many hours in a day do you actually work?

## 2.2: Staying back after duty hours

Apart from being ambiguously defined, the duty hours of the police vary across different States in India. Here, we make a distinction between actual working hours and duty hours. Actual working hours denote the reported working hours by the police, while by duty hours we imply the mandated ‘legal’ or the ‘normal/conventional’ working hours stipulated for the police in that particular State.

Approximately half of the civil police personnel reported having to stay back many times after duty hours in a week. When the data is disaggregated by gender, rank and contingent, the trends are consistent.

**Figure 2.2: Police personnel with more years of experience report longer working hours**

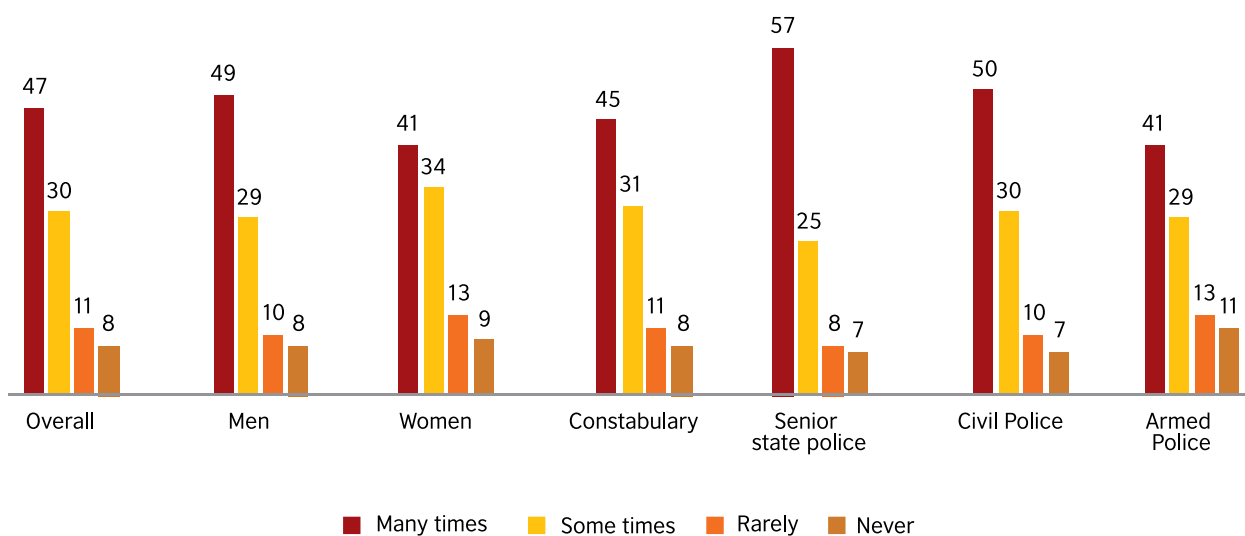


**Question asked:** On an average, how many hours in a day do you actually work?

ent with those of average working hours (Figure 2.3). More men, as compared to women, reported that in a week they stayed back many times at their workplace even after their duty hours. Similarly, senior State po-

lice officers were more likely to work overtime as compared to constabulary police, and a higher proportion of civil police—as compared to armed police—reported staying back at their station many times a week.

**Figure 2.3: Nearly one in two police personnel work over-time regularly.**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** How many times in a week do you have to stay at your station/workplace even after duty hours—Many times, sometimes, rarely or never?

**Table 2.3: State-wise working hours**

States	Average working hours in a day	Up to eight hours in a day (%)	9–12 hours in a day (%)	13–16 hours in a day (%)	More than 16 hours in a day (%)	No response (%)
Odisha	18 hours	4	14	22	60	1
Punjab	17 hours	9	29	11	49	3
Andhra Pradesh	16 hours	7	22	23	34	14
Bihar	16 hours	3	34	24	36	3
Chhattisgarh	16 hours	5	25	35	32	4
Haryana	16 hours	10	37	11	38	4
Himachal Pradesh	16 hours	7	28	29	33	3
Rajasthan	16 hours	4	22	27	46	1
Telangana	16 hours	4	47	15	28	6
Uttar Pradesh	15 hours	8	31	39	22	1
Assam	14 hours	12	30	24	19	15
Delhi	14 hours	8	39	39	13	2
Uttarakhand	14 hours	4	53	20	15	9
Karnataka	13 hours	18	39	31	11	1
West Bengal	13 hours	25	44	4	19	8
Gujarat	12 hours	25	35	13	13	16
Kerala	12 hours	12	56	17	10	5
Maharashtra	12 hours	11	70	13	3	4
Jharkhand	11 hours	17	60	9	5	9
Madhya Pradesh	11 hours	22	54	17	5	2
Nagaland	8 hours	60	14	0	6	19

All figures (apart from average working hours) are in percentages and rounded off.

The topmost reason for working overtime was ‘too much workload’—with about one third of the police personnel reporting this as the main reason. This response was commonly cited across the categories of gender, rank and type of police. This was followed by 15 percent of the police personnel citing ‘emergency duty/work’ as the reason. In Table 2.4, we see that armed police are more likely to report emergency duty as compared to civil police. The third most frequently reported reason for staying back was ‘lack of staff’. Responses with a frequency of less than five percent have been clubbed together as ‘other reasons’.

**Table 2.4: Reasons for staying back at station/workplace**

	Too much work /increasing workload	Emergency duty	Lack of staff	Other reasons	No response
Overall	32	16	10	26	18
Men	32	16	10	27	17
Women	29	18	8	25	20
Constabulary	31	14	11	25	19
Senior State police	34	18	8	27	13
Civil Police	32	15	11	25	17
Armed Police	30	21	5	23	21

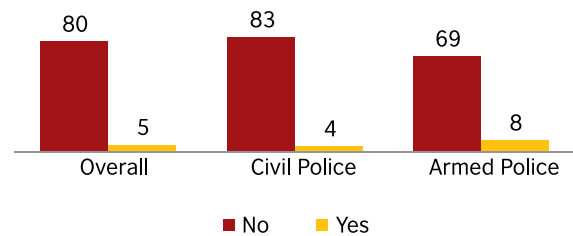
All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

**Question asked:** What is generally the most important reason for staying back at police station after duty hours?

Even though roughly half of the police personnel reported that they have to stay back at their workplace

many times in a week, four of every five police personnel reported that they do not get paid for overtime work. This number is only marginally better for armed police, with about eight percent of the armed police reporting that they get paid for their overtime work as compared to four percent of the civil police.

**Figure 2.4: Eight out of 10 police personnel do not get paid for overtime work**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you get paid for overtime work—yes or no?

### 2.3: Satisfaction with work evaluation and compensation

Although an overwhelming majority of the police reported that they do not get paid for their overtime work, that does not seem to reflect on any dissatisfaction with the remuneration received for their work since a little more than half of police personnel reported that their salary is at par with the kind of work they do. Further, three-fourth of the police also reported that their work is evaluated in a neutral way (Table 2.5). Thus, while the police are over-worked, a majority of them still hint at positive evaluation of their salary and the evaluation of their work in a neutral way.

**Table 2.5: Fifty one percent of the police personnel feel that their salary is at par with the kind of work they do**

	My salary is at par with the kind of work I do.		My work is evaluated in a neutral way	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Overall	51	44	75	25
Men	51	44	75	25
Women	53	43	72	28
Constabulary	51	45	74	26
Senior State police	53	43	76	24
Civil Police	52	45	75	25
Armed Police	49	43	72	28

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- My salary is at par with the kind of work I do.
- My work is evaluated in a neutral way.

Haryana, Rajasthan and Punjab are States with the highest proportion of respondents reporting that their salary is at par with the kind of work they do. On the other hand, the police personnel from West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh are least likely to report that their salary is at par with their work (Table 2.6). It is crucial to note that 30 percent of the police personnel in West Bengal chose to not answer this question.

**Table 2.6: State-wise attitude towards salary**

States	My salary is at par with the kind of work I do.	
	Agree	Disagree
Overall	51	44
Haryana	70	30
Rajasthan	70	29
Punjab	67	31
Kerala	64	35
Odisha	63	36
Telangana	63	35
Assam	62	34
Karnataka	61	37
Delhi	56	37
Jharkhand	54	46
Nagaland	54	40
Maharashtra	52	41
Madhya Pradesh	51	44
Andhra Pradesh	45	53
Himachal Pradesh	45	55
Gujarat	38	57
Uttarakhand	38	58
Bihar	37	62
West Bengal*	32	39
Uttar Pradesh	31	68
Chhattisgarh	25	63

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement—My salary is at par with the kind of work I do?

\*About 30 percent of the police personnel in West Bengal chose to not answer this question.

When we disaggregate the data on evaluation of work on the basis of States, we find that highest proportion of police personnel from Kerala, Odisha, and Telangana reported that their work is evaluated in a neutral way. On the other hand, the police personnel from Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Gujarat are least likely to report that their work is evaluated in a neutral way (Table 2.7). Again, a large proportion—

about 30 percent respondents from West Bengal and about 19 percent from Gujarat did not respond to the question.

**Table 2.7: State-wise attitude towards evaluation of work**

States	My work is evaluated in a neutral way	
	Agree	Disagree
Overall	71	24
Kerala	98	2
Odisha	89	9
Telangana	88	11
Andhra Pradesh	84	14
Rajasthan	80	17
Himachal	75	22
Punjab	74	23
Delhi	71	22
Uttar Pradesh	71	27
Karnataka	70	28
Chhattisgarh	69	25
Haryana	68	28
Maharashtra	68	29
Nagaland	66	22
Uttarakhand	66	30
Bihar	65	34
Assam	63	32
Jharkhand	57	41
Madhya Pradesh	57	38
West Bengal*	53	18
Gujarat*	49	32

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement—‘My work is evaluated in a neutral way’?

\*About 30 percent of the police in West Bengal and about 19 percent police in Gujarat did not respond to the question.

## 2.4: Police housing quarters

In our study, 48 percent of the police personnel reported staying in government housing quarters. The proportion of the armed police staying in government housing quarters was greater than the proportion of civil police (Figure 2.5a). Men and Senior Police Personnel were just slightly more likely to be staying in government housing quarters as compared to women and constabulary police. As the years of service in police increase, there is an increase in the proportion of police who reported staying in the government housing quarters (Figure 2.5b).

Among those living in government provided housing quarters, the satisfaction levels are fairly high with about 72 percent being satisfied with the housing conditions. Among those who were dissatisfied, the lack of facilities (21 percent) provided in the locality like water etc., the small size of the house (15 percent) and the lack of maintenance (13 percent) emerged as the primary reasons for dissatisfaction.

## 2.5: Weekly off days

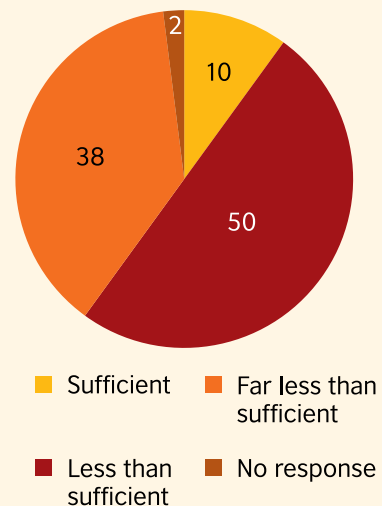
One in two police personnel reported not getting any stipulated holiday or rest day in a week (Figure 2.6). Conversely, only 25 percent reported that they get one weekly off, a standard suggested in the Model Police Act.

About 52 percent male police personnel reported no weekly off, against 48 percent women police personnel (Table 2.8). Further, senior State police personnel were less likely to get a weekly off, with 56 percent senior police personnel reporting no weekly offs as compared to 50 percent of the constabulary police.

Maharashtra is the only State in which more than 80 percent police personnel reported getting at least one day off. On the other hand, in States like Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Himachal Pradesh, 90 percent of the police personnel reported not getting any weekly off at all (Table 2.9).

*About forty percent of the family members of the police personnel responded that the police officer (in their family) spends far less than sufficient time with the family. Only about 10 percent of the family members of the police personnel reported that police spent sufficient time with the family.*

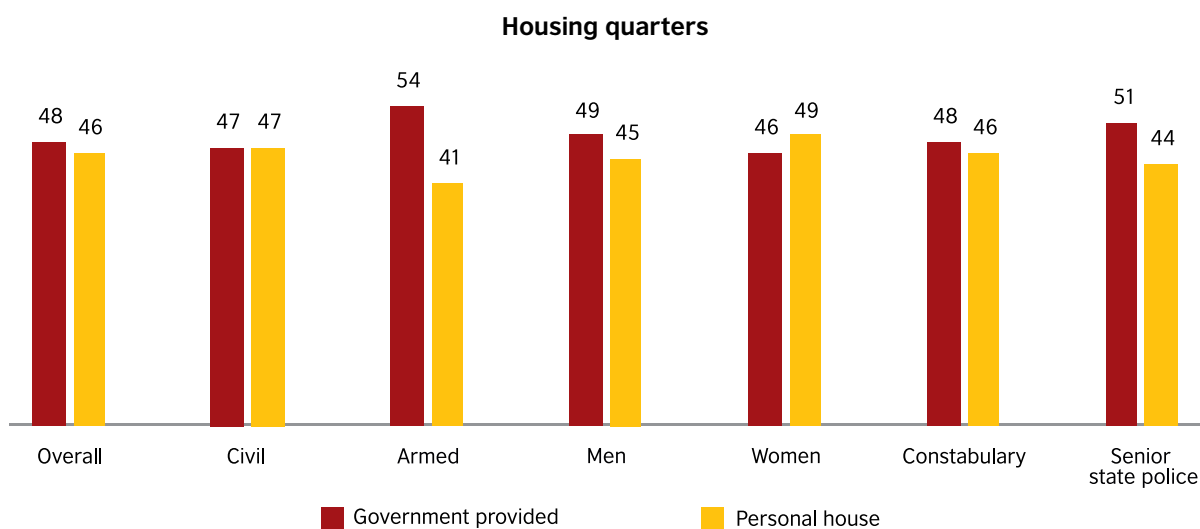
Time spent with the family



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

*58 percent of the respondents among the family members of the police personnel reported being satisfied with the government provided housing quarters. Among those who were dissatisfied, small size of the house (23 percent), no maintenance (19 percent) and bad facilities (14 percent) emerge as the primary three reasons behind dissatisfaction.*

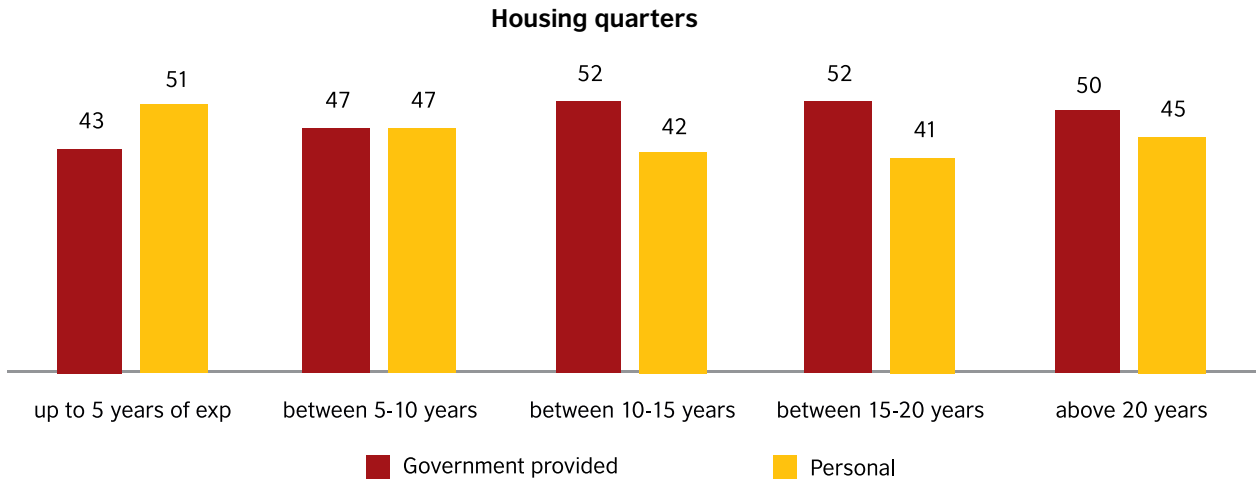
Figure 2.5a: Nearly half of the police personnel reside in government-provided housing accommodation



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer

Question asked: What type of house do you live in-personal house or government provided house?

**Figure 2.5b: Senior police personnel more likely to reside in government provided housing accommodation**



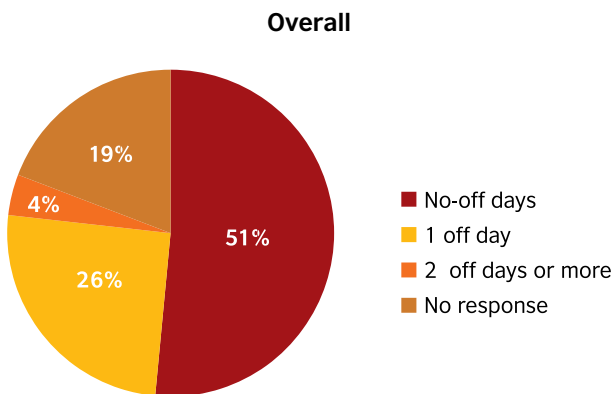
All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer  
**Question asked:** What type of house do you live in-personal house or government provided house?

**Table 2.8: Senior male police personnel from the civil police least likely to get weekly offs**

	No-off days in a week	1 off day in a week	2 off days or more in a week	No re-sponse
Overall	51	25	4	19
Men	52	24	4	19
Women	48	29	3	19
Constabulary	50	26	4	18
Senior State police	56	22	4	19
Civil Police	53	25	3	18
Armed Police	44	26	6	23

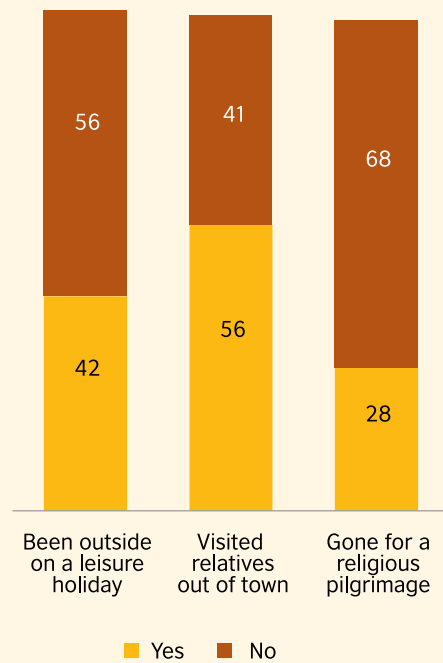
All figures are in percentages and rounded off.  
**Question asked:** On an average, how many weekly offs do you get? (Number of days)

**Figure 2.6: One out of two police personnel do not get any weekly off days**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off.  
**Question asked:** On an average, how many weekly offs do you actually get?

*More than half of the family members of the police personnel responded that in the past 2–3 years, their families (including police personnel) have not been on a leisure holiday. About 40 percent reported not having visited relatives out of town and more than two third of the respondents among family members responded that they have not gone for a religious pilgrimage in the past 2–3 years.*



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer. *Note:* Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## 2.6: Effects of workload

One of the major concerns that emerged in this study was the extent to which the police in the country is over-worked, as can be gathered from the long working hours and lack of weekly rest discussed in the above sections. The stress caused due to such service conditions gets manifested in various forms, impacting both work efficiency as well as personal well-being.

As many as three-fourth of the police agreed with the statement—“the workload is making it difficult for me to do my job well” (Table 2.10). About 40 percent of the overall respondents ‘completely agreed’ with this statement, while 36 percent ‘somewhat agreed’ with the statement. Civil police personnel are much more likely to agree with the statement.

**Table 2.9: State-wise weekly off days**

States	No-off days in a week	1 off day in a week	2 off days or more in a week	No response
Overall	51	26	4	19
Andhra Pradesh	56	28	4	12
Assam	57	8	5	30
Bihar	74	10	4	12
Chhattisgarh	92	3	0	5
Delhi	59	24	0	16
Gujarat	70	7	3	20
Haryana	27	52	0	20
Himachal Pradesh	90	2	0	7
Jharkhand	46	32	1	21
Karnataka	20	70	6	5
Kerala	27	57	5	11
Madhya Pradesh	47	23	0	29
Maharashtra	0	81	17	3
Nagaland	24	23	11	39
Odisha	94	0	0	6
Punjab	42	52	0	6
Rajasthan	53	14	4	28
Telangana	32	2	0	66
Uttar Pradesh	60	16	0	24
Uttarakhand	71	3	0	26
West Bengal	37	27	16	20

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. \*The provision of weekly off seems to be already in practice in Maharashtra.

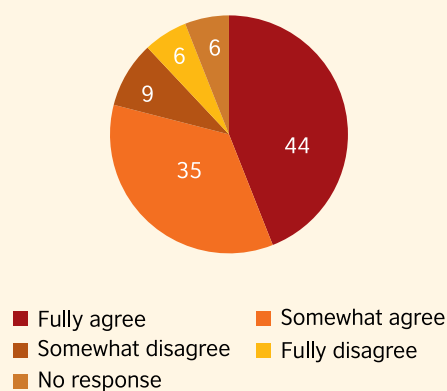
**Question asked:** On an average, how many weekly offs do you get? (Number of days)

Workload also seems to be taking a toll on the personal lives of the police, with a huge proportion of 84 percent police personnel agreeing with the statement, “I am not able to devote enough time to my family due to policing duties”. More than half of the police personnel—about 54 percent—‘completely agreed’ with this statement, while a little less than one-third (30 percent) ‘somewhat agreed’ with this statement.

The police personnel were also forthcoming in acknowledging the adverse impact of workload on their physical and mental health. Nearly three-fourths agreed with the statement, “My workload is affecting my physical and mental health conditions”. About 43 percent of the police ‘completely agreed’ with this statement, while 30 percent ‘somewhat agreed’.

*Roughly four-fifth of the respondents among the family of police personnel reported partial or complete agreement with the statement that policing is a very stressful job. When asked for the main reason behind this stress, about 37 percent reported too much work as the main reason.*

**Policing is a very stressful job?**



**Question asked:** It is often said that policing is a very stressful job. Do you agree or disagree with the statement?

Top five reasons for stress	%
There is too much work	37
No fixed work hours	8
Lot of Pressure*	8
There is too much responsibility on the police	6
They have to deal with the criminals	3

\*includes pressure from public, police department, court and political pressure.

**Table 2.10: Three out of four police personnel agree that the workload is making it difficult for them to do their job well**

	The workload makes it difficult for me to do my job well		I am not able to devote enough time to my family due to policing duties		My workload is affecting physical and mental health conditions	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Overall	76	22	84	14	73	24
Men	75	22	84	14	74	23
Women	77	21	84	15	73	24
Constabulary	76	21	84	15	73	24
Senior State police	75	22	86	12	75	23
Civil Police	78	21	85	13	74	23
Armed Police	69	25	80	17	70	24

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- The workload makes it difficult for me to do my job well.
- I am not able to devote enough time to my family due to policing duties.
- My workload is affecting physical and mental health conditions.

**Table 2.11: State-wise effects of workload**

<i>Percentage of police personnel who agree (somewhat and completely combined) with the following statements:</i>			
States	“The workload makes it difficult for me to do my job well”	“I am not able to devote enough time to my family due to policing duties”	“My workload is affecting physical and mental health conditions”
Andhra Pradesh	80	83	78
Assam	86	83	70
Bihar	87	90	85
Chhattisgarh	81	85	73
Delhi	71	77	75
Gujarat	75	87	73
Haryana	74	95	76
Himachal Pradesh	84	97	89
Jharkhand	72	63	53
Karnataka	93	83	83
Kerala	60	82	71
Madhya Pradesh	67	79	59
Maharashtra	81	81	69
Nagaland	43	68	37
Odisha	80	97	89
Punjab	82	84	76
Rajasthan	78	89	73
Telangana	71	81	78
Uttar Pradesh	82	97	84
Uttarakhand	84	93	84
West Bengal	59	75	69

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. They represent the proportion of police who agreed with the statements in the following question.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- The workload makes it difficult for me to do my job well.
- I am not able to devote enough time to my family due to policing duties.
- My workload is affecting physical and mental health conditions.

Seen across States (Table 2.11), we find that the lowest proportion of police personnel from Nagaland (43 percent) reported that ‘their workload makes it difficult for them to do their job well’. At the other end of the spectrum was Karnataka with 93 percent agreeing with the aforementioned statement.

On the statement that they are not able to devote enough time to family due to policing duties, we find the lowest proportion of police personnel (63%) from Jharkhand (one of the States with comparatively lower average working hours, 11 hours per day reporting that they agree with the statement, while police personnel from Himachal Pradesh, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh—with about 97 percent of the personnel— being most likely to agree with the given statement.

Nagaland (37 percent) had the smallest proportion of police reporting that their workload affects the physical and mental health conditions, against police personnel from Himachal Pradesh (89 percent), who are most likely to agree with this statement.

## 2.7: Relation with seniors

Undoubtedly one of the most hierarchical of institutions, there are many instances but little talk of the discrimination meted out to those in the lower ranks, particularly the constabulary, by their seniors. In this section, we analyse the responses to questions asked on autonomy of work, unfair attitudes of seniors and a discriminatory attitude towards personnel at the junior levels.

To measure the level of autonomy in work, the respondents were asked whether their tasks are restricted to only those that were asked by their seniors. About three-fourths of the police personnel agreed with the statement that they are permitted to do only those tasks that are asked by their seniors (Table 2.12). As expected, these numbers drop by about seven points for senior State police.

The level of autonomy of work is the least in Telangana, Odisha and Uttarakhand—with roughly 90 percent expressing their agreement with the statement (Table 2.13). On the other hand, police personnel from Jharkhand and Kerala are least likely to agree with the statement, with 44 and 50 percent respectively disagreeing with this statement.

**Table 2.12: Autonomy in tasks**

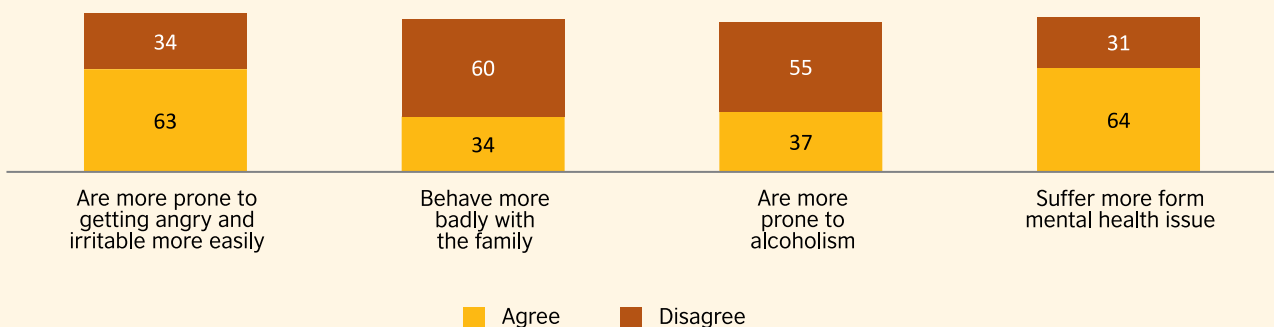
“I am permitted to do only those tasks that are asked by my seniors”		
	Agree	Disagree
Overall	74	23
Men	74	23
Women	72	25
Constabulary	75	22
Senior State police	68	29
Civil Police	76	24
Armed Police	75	25

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

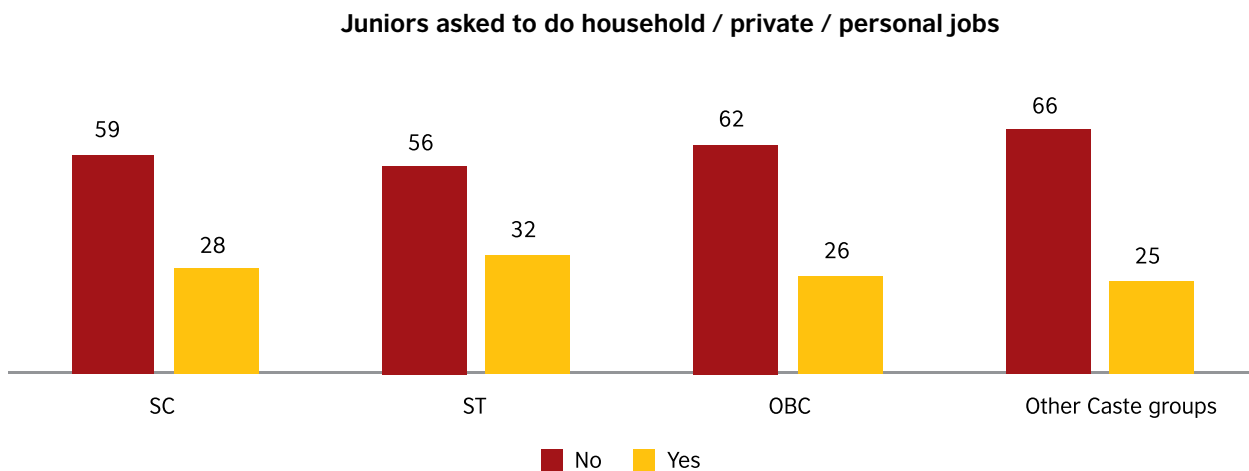
**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement—I am permitted to do only those tasks that are asked by my seniors?

*More than 60 percent of the respondents among the family members agreed with the statement that—as compared to others, police officers are more prone to getting angry and irritable more easily and that police officers suffer more from mental health issues. About one third of the family respondents also agreed with the statement that as compared to others, police officers behave more badly with family, and are more prone to alcoholism.*

### As compared to others, police officers are...



**Figure 2.7: SC, ST police personnel more likely to feel that senior officers ask juniors to do their private-personal/ household jobs**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

**Question asked:** According to you, Do Senior officers ask their juniors to do their household jobs/ private-personal jobs even though they are not meant to do it?

**Table 2.13: Perception of autonomy among personnel across States**

<i>“I am permitted to do only those tasks that are asked by my seniors”</i>		
States	Agree	Disagree
Andhra Pradesh	68	29
Assam	76	22
Bihar	84	15
Chhattisgarh	80	16
Delhi	64	34
Gujarat	75	20
Haryana	75	22
Himachal Pradesh	68	32
Jharkhand	52	44
Karnataka	84	15
Kerala	50	50
Madhya Pradesh	76	24
Maharashtra	72	26
Nagaland	66	32
Odisha	89	11
Punjab	78	21
Rajasthan	76	24
Telangana	92	8
Uttar Pradesh	81	17
Uttarakhand	88	9
West Bengal	53	19

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement—I am permitted to do only those tasks that are asked by my seniors?

It is also common practice for senior police officers to engage their juniors for carrying out their personal tasks, beyond the sphere of work mandated for them (*The Quint*, June 2016). On being asked for their opinion on whether such incidents take place, more than a quarter of police personnel reported that the senior officers ask their juniors to do their “household jobs/private-personal jobs” even though they are not meant to do it (Table 2.14). It is to be noted that the proportion of armed police personnel, who are often deployed on security duties, reporting the prevalence of such incidents is greater than the proportion of civil police by almost ten percent points. The proportion of constabulary reporting the occurrence of this phenomenon is higher than State senior police personnel.

Police personnel from scheduled tribes and scheduled caste backgrounds are marginally more likely to report that senior officers ask their juniors to do their household/private-personal tasks, as compared to other caste groups (Figure 2.7).

Further, police personnel from Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Bihar are most likely to report that seniors ask juniors to do household or private/personal tasks even though they are not meant to do it (Table 2.15). On the other hand, Kerala and Odisha emerge as better performing States, with more than 90 percent of the police personnel denying the occurrence of such incidents.

Similarly, on being asked how frequently the senior officers talk to their juniors in a bad or harsh language, about 38 percent (i.e. every two in five officers) report-

**Table 2.14: A quarter of the police personnel feel that senior officers ask their juniors to do their private-personal/household jobs**

<i>“Senior officers ask their juniors to do their household jobs/private-personal jobs even though they are not meant to do it”</i>		
	No	Yes
Overall	62	27
Men	61	28
Women	66	24
Constabulary	61	28
Senior State police	68	23
Civil Police	64	26
Armed Police	54	30

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

**Question asked:** “According to you, Do Senior officers ask their juniors to do their household jobs/ private-personal jobs even though they are not meant to do it?”

**Table 2.15: Seniors ask juniors to do household tasks: State-wise responses**

<i>“Do Senior officers ask their juniors to do their household jobs/ private-personal jobs even though they are not meant to do it?”</i>		
States	Yes	No
Kerala	4	93
Odisha	4	92
West Bengal	10	47
Telangana	11	83
Gujarat	15	44
Assam	17	75
Punjab	18	71
Karnataka	20	68
Delhi	21	72
Uttarakhand	22	70
Andhra Pradesh	23	50
Himachal Pradesh	28	71
Rajasthan	28	67
Haryana	31	65
Nagaland	31	51
Maharashtra	33	53
Jharkhand	39	55
Uttar Pradesh	44	55
Bihar	45	52
Chhattisgarh	57	36
Madhya Pradesh	63	29

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

**Question asked:** According to you, Do Senior officers ask their juniors to do their household jobs/ private-personal jobs even though they are not meant to do it—Yes or No?

ed such incidents occurring frequently. Predictably, the proportion of constabulary reporting this is about eight percent more than the senior police officers (Table 2.16).

**Table 2.16: Two in five police personnel report the use of harsh/ bad language by senior officers**

	Frequently	Rarely
Overall	38	58
Men	38	58
Women	34	62
Constabulary	39	57
Senior State police	31	65
Civil Police	37	60
Armed Police	38	54

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

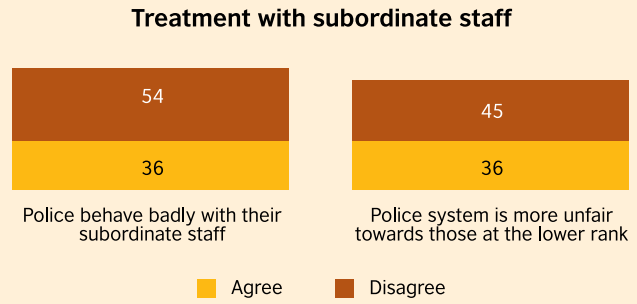
**Question asked:** How often do the seniors talk with their juniors in a bad language—very often, somewhat often, somewhat rare, rare? Answer categories of very often and often have been clubbed as ‘frequently’, while answer categories of ‘somewhat rare’ and ‘rare’ have been clubbed into ‘rarely’

The State-wise trends are similar to the above question, with Kerala and Odisha again emerging as States with least proportion of police personnel responding that seniors talk in bad/ harsh language frequently, while in Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh the highest proportion of personnel reported such incidents occurring frequently (Table 2.17).

However, on being asked to what extent is equal treatment meted out between senior police personnel and junior/subordinate police, every two out of five police personnel reported that there is completely equal treatment (Figure 2.8). A smaller proportion of 15 percent police personnel reported that there is no equal treatment at all, while about 41 percent reported that there is equal treatment to a limited extent. Unsurprisingly, more constabulary reported that equal treatment is not meted out to junior and senior State police personnel.

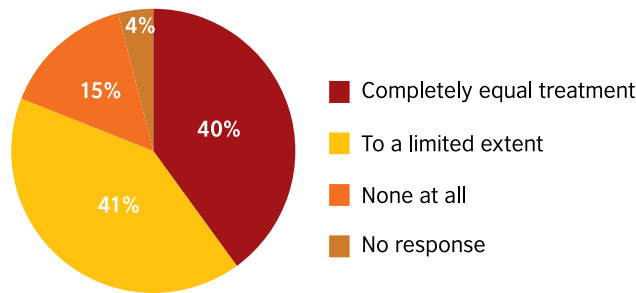
Scheduled tribe and Scheduled caste police personnel are again less likely to respond that there is completely equal treatment between juniors and seniors, as compared to police personnel from other caste groups (Figure 2.9).

About 36 percent of the family members feel that senior police personnel behave badly with their subordinate staff and that police system is more unfair towards those at lower rank.



**Figure 2.8: Two out of five police personnel feel that senior and junior police are given completely equal treatment**

### Equal treatment between senior and junior police personnel

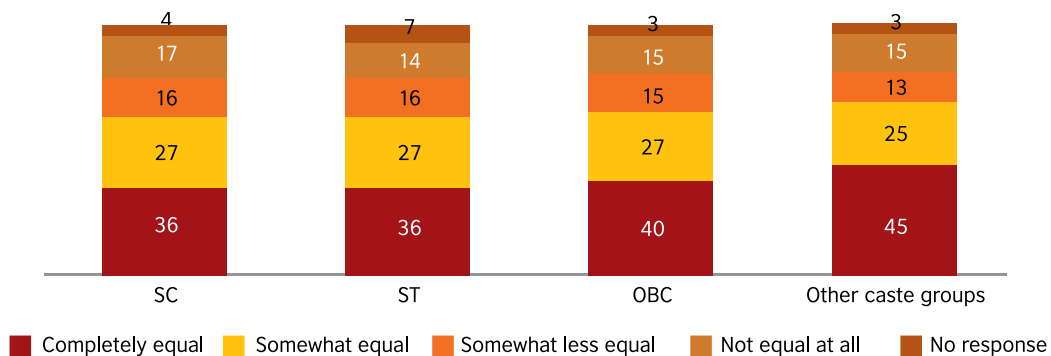


All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

**Question asked:** There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are the Junior police personnel and the senior police personnel given equal treatment—completely, somewhat, rarely or not at all? Answer categories of somewhat and rarely have been clubbed as ‘to a limited extent’.

**Figure 2.9: SC, ST police personnel less likely to feel that seniors and juniors are treated equally**

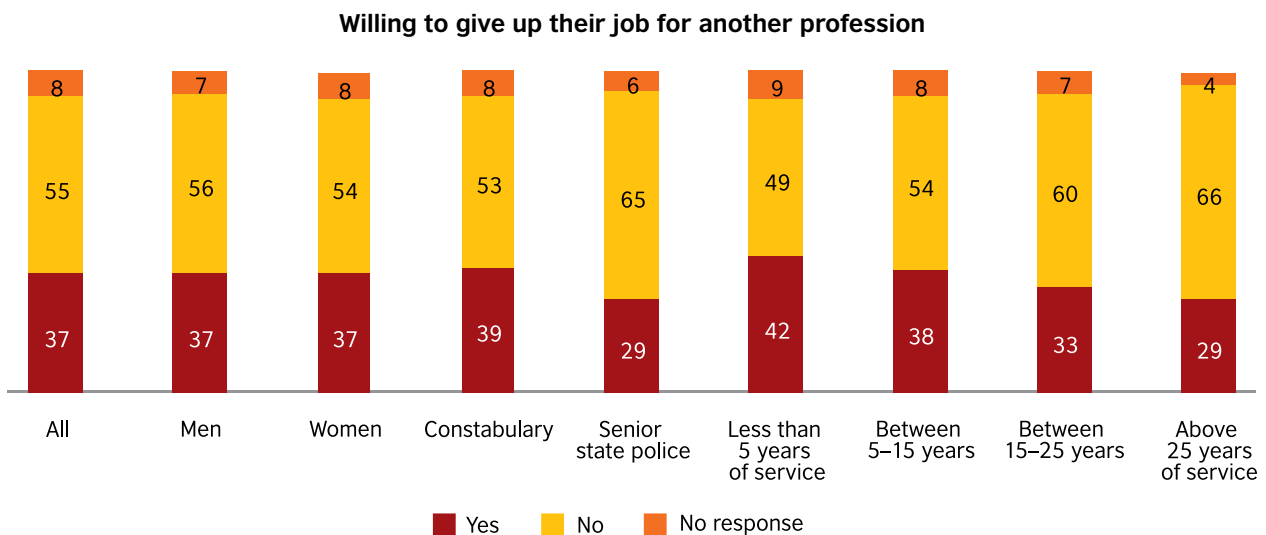
### Equal treatment between juniors and seniors



All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

**Question asked:** There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are the junior police personnel and the senior police personnel given equal treatment—completely, somewhat, rarely or not at all? Answer categories of somewhat and rarely have been clubbed as ‘to a limited extent’.

**Figure: 2.10: Thirty seven percent police personnel willing to give up their job for another profession**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

**Question asked:** Given a chance, will you be willing to give up this profession and go for another job if the salary and perks remain the same—Yes or No?

## 2.8: Give up police profession and go for another job

As evidenced above, a significant proportion of police personnel hold the opinion that the police system is hierarchical, with poor treatment being meted out to those at lower ranks, and the problem is further compounded by unfair service conditions such as regular long hours of work and the absence of weekly rest. Seen in this context, it is not very surprising that on being asked if, on being given a chance to join another profession with the same perks and salaries, they would like to take up another job, a considerable proportion of 37 percent police personnel replied in the affirmative. In other words, more than one-third of the police personnel would be willing to give up their profession if they are given a chance to join another job with the same perks and salaries.

Senior State police, as compared to constabulary, are less likely to want to give up their profession and go for another job (Figure 2.10). As the years of experience in service increase, the inclination to give up the police profession decreases, but this correlation is significant only for constabulary and not senior State police. Put differently, as constables spend more years in service, they are less likely to want to give up their profession.

## 2.9: Summing up

Indians value government jobs greatly, so much so that doctorates are known to apply for the post of peon (*The Economic Times*, August 2018), presumably because of the stability, power and perks that come with a permanent government position, even one that is of a lower rank. Despite this, if more than a third of the police force across the country reports willingness to quit the police profession for another job, it is a cause for major concern.

One need not search too far for the reasons behind such opinions. Keeping aside the many other reasons that may be contributing to such a large-scale discontent, several of the findings of this section on substandard service conditions and the unfair treatment given to junior personnel, who form a majority of the police force, can be seen as sufficient reasons in themselves.

We began this chapter by quoting the text from the Model Police Act—“*The state government shall take effective steps to ensure that the average hours of duty of a police officer do not normally exceed eight hours a day: provided that in exceptional situations, the duty hours of a police officer may extend up to 12 hours or beyond.*” But what we observe is that what ought to be an exception seems to have become the norm.

Uncompensated and overworked police personnel in India report tackling sub-standard service conditions unequivocally. Interestingly, this does not translate into absolute dissatisfaction with their job.

The police work on an average for 14 hours in a day. Except in Nagaland, no State has been able to properly implement eight-hour work shifts for the police personnel. One in two police personnel also reported not getting any weekly off days. A large majority, 80 percent, do not get paid for overtime work, even though nearly one in two personnel report frequently having to work over time.

**Table 2.17: State-wise data on bad language used by seniors**

States	“How often do seniors talk to their juniors in a bad language?”	
	Frequently	Rarely
Odisha	7	89
Kerala	12	87
Assam	20	78
Haryana	24	75
Delhi	25	73
Nagaland	30	67
Rajasthan	36	63
West Bengal	7	63
Punjab	35	62
Telangana	33	62
Andhra Pradesh	39	60
Jharkhand	39	58
Karnataka	41	57
Uttarakhand	43	55
Maharashtra	47	50
Bihar	54	45
Himachal Pradesh	55	45
Uttar Pradesh	56	43
Chhattisgarh	63	34
Gujarat	56	33
Madhya Pradesh	67	30

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest did not answer.

**Question asked:** How often do the seniors talk with their juniors in a bad language—very often, somewhat often, somewhat rare, rare?

Answer categories of ‘very often’ and ‘often’ have been clubbed as ‘frequently’, while answer categories of ‘somewhat rare’ and ‘rare’ have been clubbed into ‘rarely’.

Such unjustifiable service conditions are bound to take a toll on both the efficiency of the police personnel in work, as well as in their personal and physical well-being. Unsurprisingly, therefore, more than three-fourths of the police reported that it is not only difficult for them to do their job well, but that they are also not able to devote sufficient time to family. A striking 80 percent of the police personnel felt the workload is affecting their physical and mental health conditions.

While service rules are poor across ranks for the personnel at different levels, the adversity in the working environment for the junior level personnel is further compounded due to the inherent hierarchical nature of the police system, which takes shape in the form of ill-treatment by seniors.

Three out of four police personnel felt that their work is restricted to only that much work as is allowed by seniors, and thus reported the absence of autonomy in work. Further, 25 percent of the police personnel also reported that the seniors ask juniors to do their household or private/personal tasks that they are not supposed to do. About two-fifth of the police personnel reported that seniors frequently talk to their juniors in a bad (harsh or uncivil) language. States where such occurrences of mistreatment by seniors were notably low are Odisha and Kerala, while Chhattisgarh and MP were among the States in which the highest proportion of such cases was reported. Overall, only two

**Table 2.18: Constabulary police less likely to feel that seniors and juniors are given equal treatment**

	“To what extent are the junior police personnel and senior police personnel given equal treatment?”			
	Completely equal treatment	To a limited extent	No equal treatment at all	No response
Overall	40	41	15	4
Constabulary	39	42	15	4
State senior police	43	36	16	4
Civil police	40	41	16	3
Armed police	40	41	13	6

All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

**Question asked:** There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are the Junior police personnel and the senior police personnel given equal treatment—completely, somewhat, rarely or not at all? Answer categories of somewhat and rarely have been clubbed as ‘to a limited extent’.

fifth of the police personnel reported that there is completely equal treatment between juniors and seniors. The proportion of SC and ST police personnel who report unfair treatment towards those at subordinate ranks is higher, thereby indicating that this problem is further compounded across caste lines.

This chapter confirms our fears that the Indian police force is over-worked, stressed and stretched, aside from being deeply hierarchical in nature. This should be a cause for grave concern, not just keeping in mind the welfare of the police personnel themselves, but for the greater good of the society whom they serve. Numerous international studies have established that sleep deprivation, a common consequence of long duty hours, is comparable to excessive drinking (International Conference on Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining, 2016), adversely impacting their coordination and mental judgement. There is also research that shows positive correlation between stress amongst police personnel and the propensity to resort to violence (National Institute of Justice, 2009).

Thus, an improved working environment for the police personnel is the need of the day not just for the sake of the personnel themselves, but also for ensuring an efficient, people-centric police service. In the next chapter, we turn towards the basic infrastructure, technology and training available to the police personnel to discharge their duties.

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# 3

## Policing Without Resources

*Navi Mumbai, India – July 8, 2019: Waterlogging at Turbhe police station in Navi Mumbai.  
(Credits: Bachchan Kumar, Hindustan Times)*

This chapter looks at the resources available to police personnel for conducting their duties. Responses of personnel pertaining to the availability of basic infrastructure, such as the availability of drinking water, clean toilets, seating area for public, etc. are analysed. Further, we look at whether technological infrastructure such as a functional computer and CCTNS software have been made available to the personnel. This is followed by an analysis of the level of training imparted to the personnel, a prerequisite for the optimal use of newer technologies.

Following are the key findings of the chapter:

- Twelve percent personnel reported that there is no provision for drinking water in their police stations, 18 percent said there are no clean toilets, and 14 percent said there is no provision for seating area for the public
- Forty-six percent personnel have frequently experienced situations where they needed a government vehicle but it was not available. Further, 41 percent personnel have frequently been in situations where they could not reach a crime scene on time because of lack of staff.
- The extent of availability of digital and technological infrastructure is also poor. Eight percent personnel said that functional computers are never available at their police stations, 17 percent said that the CCTNS facility is never available and 42 percent said that forensic technology is never available at the police station
- Thirty-one percent respondents from West Bengal and 28 percent respondents from Assam said that a functional computer was never available at their police station/work place. This is despite the fact that as per official data released by NCRB, Assam scores high on level of compliance to CCTNS infrastructure.
- Almost one in three civil police personnel never received training on forensic technology

## Policing Without Resources

**A**dequate and functional infrastructure is the backbone of an efficient policing system. A fully equipped police station and skilled staff in adequate numbers are a pre-requisite for the police to be able to perform its duty. Drinking water, clean toilets, storage facilities—these are the bare minimum facilities that are indispensable at any public office. Aside from these basic requirements, there is also an urgent need to modernise and digitise our policing. Cybercrime is a real and growing threat, rendering it absolutely necessary for the police to keep itself updated with the latest technology. The Central government’s campaign of ‘Digital India’ would ring hollow if the police are not equipped with computers and necessary software, along with skilled staff who are trained in operating these tools.

This chapter surveys the extent to which the States have been able to meet these infrastructural requirements of policing. In the survey, the police personnel were asked questions regarding the availability and access to basic **physical, technological and human infrastructure**, as well as about the **training** imparted to them on the various aspects of policing. Responses to these questions are analysed and presented here.

One of the primary functions of the police is to uphold and enforce the law impartially, and to protect life, liberty, property, human rights, and dignity of the members of the public, as per the Model Police Act 2006. Other functions such as maintaining public order, registering and investigating crime, collecting intelligence etc. complement this primary function. A necessary prerequisite to fulfil these responsibilities is the access to basic infrastructure, training and technology. Although police is a state subject, the ‘Modernization of Police Force’ (MPF) scheme was initiated by the central government in 1969–70 to aid the States in the construction of training centres, provision of modern weaponry, communication equipment, forensic set-up etc.

The Status of Policing in India Report 2018 (2018, Chapter 7) analysed the evaluation of the MPF scheme in 16 States by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG), which brought to light egregious shortcomings like under-utilisation of funds, shortage of vehicles, buildings and housing, non-functional telecom network, and a serious lack of training of police personnels. An external evaluation of the MPF scheme commissioned by the BPRD (2010) pointed out that the scheme should be continued for at least another 10 years so that the Indian police force is comparable to its counterparts from developed countries by 2020. Among the various other recommendations, it suggested that there should be periodic assessment of the implementation of the scheme. In tune with this recommendation, this chapter reports on the adequacies and the lack through the responses of police personnel themselves. Significantly we assess this in the year 2019, one year before the mandated target of 10 years set by the 2010 study.

Over the last few years, the central government has typically allotted about three percent of the total police budget towards the Modernisation of Police scheme. Yet, as reported by us previously, utilisation of funds under this scheme remains abysmally poor across States (SPIR 2018). To promote increased utilisation, the central government in May 2019 provided financial incentives to the 10 better<sup>1</sup> performing States – Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Punjab, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh.

1 “According to home ministry officials, fulfilling vacant post, use of emerging mobile and IT applications, GIS-based computer-aided dispatch, online complaints system and electronic record, procurement of modern weapons, equipment, vehicles, CCTV surveillance, data centres, command and control centres and welfare measures such as provision of housing and medical facilities for police personnel and rest-room facilities for women personnel in police stations were the criterion to identify ‘better’ performing states.” —*The Hindu*, 6 May 2019

On an average, the State governments allot three per cent of their overall budgets to the police sector. However, a major share is consumed by fixed expenditure like salaries, while a miniscule portion goes for improving capital expenditure on training infrastructure, etc. It is well established globally that a framework of physical, human and technical infrastructure, along with a skilled and motivated manpower, is a prerequisite for effective and humane policing. This chapter deals with these facilities, basic infrastructure, and the levels of technology and training provided, as reported by the police personnel themselves.

### 3.1: Basic Infrastructure at the work-place

The study finds that even the basic facilities of clean toilets and drinking water are lacking in a large number of police units or stations<sup>2</sup>. About 18 percent of the police personnel reported that there are no clean toilets at their workplace/station (Figure 3.1). More than 10 percent of the police personnel reported that there is no facility of drinking water available at their workplace/station. Basic infrastructure for the public is also lacking in a large number of police stations, with about 14 percent of the police personnel reporting that there is no sitting area for public at their workplace and 23 percent saying that there is no provision of food for the accused kept in police custody (Figure 3.2).

As shown in Table 3.1, across all these four parameters on basic infrastructure, Bihar emerges as the most ill-equipped State. While Nagaland performs extremely poorly in providing the facility of drinking water; six States – Assam, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Telangana and Uttarakhand are around or below 70 percent mark on the facility for clean and functional toilets, which is below the overall average of 81 percent. West Bengal, Odisha, Rajasthan, Delhi and Karnataka are States which have relatively better facilities across all four parameters.

### 3.2: Basic infrastructure for performing police functions

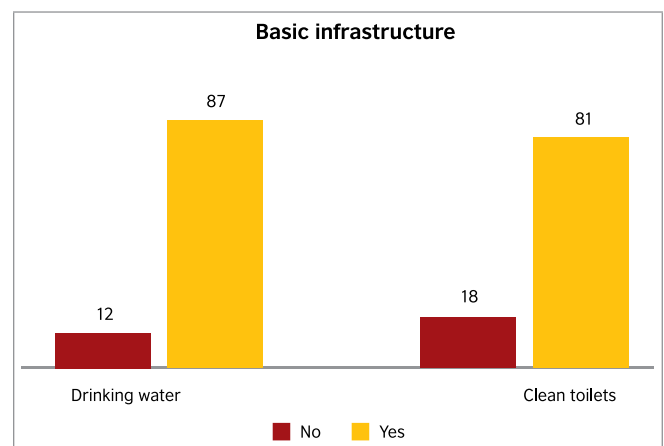
Aside from the basic facilities such as clean toilets and drinking water, necessary for both the police personnel posted at the units as well as the public, the police also requires infrastructure for carrying out the tasks

<sup>2</sup> It is likely that multiple police personnel from a same station/workplace might have been reported. Hence this is not a definitive number of the stations that do not have the facility of separate washrooms or committee against sexual harassment, but merely an indicative number of the police personnel who have reported lack of availability of given facilities at their workplace.

assigned to them. Anecdotes from the police suggest that basic provisions for carrying out police duties are often not available, such as fuel for the vehicle, or funds for cremating unclaimed dead bodies. The survey findings confirm these insufficiencies, with a sizeable proportion of police personnel reporting experiences of not being able to carry out tasks properly due to the absence of facilities such as vehicles, stationery, human resources, etc.

On doing a State-wise analysis, we find that West Bengal, Gujarat and Punjab are the top three performing States, while Odisha, Uttarakhand and Rajasthan are

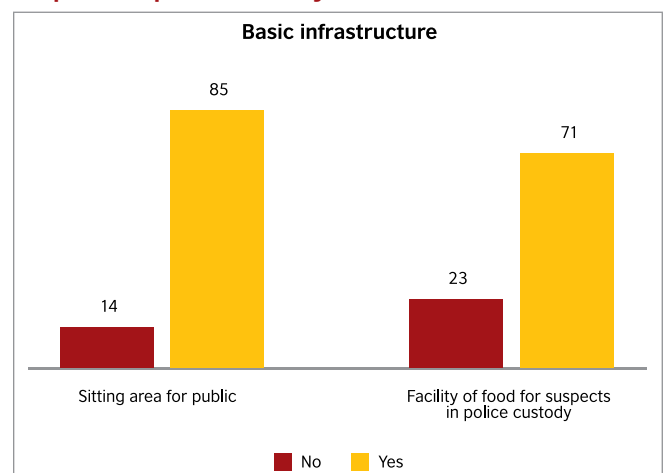
**Figure 3.1: One in ten police stations/units do not have drinking water facilities and one in five have no access to clean toilets**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Are the following facilities available at your workplace/station?

**Figure 3.2: Seating area for public and food for suspects in police custody**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Are the following facilities available at your workplace/station?

**Table 3.1: State-wise access to basic infrastructure in police stations/units**

<i>Percentage of police personnel who reported that the following facilities are available at their police stations/workplace</i>				
States	Drinking water	Clean toilets	Food for suspects in police custody	Sitting area for public
Overall	87	81	71	85
Andhra Pradesh	91	87	70	83
Assam	82	66	41	84
Bihar	67	54	67	57
Chhattisgarh	80	68	40	74
Delhi	95	88	89	96
Gujarat	93	96	77	96
Haryana	93	82	82	91
Himachal Pradesh	81	72	69	67
Jharkhand	88	95	73	83
Karnataka	91	95	86	91
Kerala	84	87	60	95
Madhya Pradesh	96	96	76	82
Maharashtra	88	84	74	88
Nagaland	59	83	37	82
Odisha	95	93	91	91
Punjab	91	71	80	82
Rajasthan	94	92	90	88
Telangana	95	63	72	91
Uttar Pradesh	88	79	63	83
Uttarakhand	84	67	75	82
West Bengal	96	97	87	97

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: Are the following facilities available at your workplace/station?

**Table 3.2: State-wise score on police infrastructure**

States	Mobility Score	Stationary Score	Human resource–related Score 1	Human resource–related Score 2	Final Score
West Bengal	3.44	4.71	6.88	7.51	22.54
Gujarat	8.44	9.01	7.88	4.62	29.95
Punjab	8.25	9.39	6.71	6.67	31.02
Haryana	6.73	14.15	7.8	3.98	32.66
Nagaland	9.74	11.04	7.08	6.11	33.97
Telangana	12.87	4.54	12.01	8.8	38.22
Kerala	11.54	16.07	7.09	3.56	38.26
Andhra Pradesh	10.82	9.3	10.43	8.04	38.59
Delhi	10.25	15.5	10.46	6.86	43.07
Karnataka	10.67	9.46	12.13	12.29	44.55
Maharashtra	10.16	17.94	10.74	6.65	45.49
Madhya Pradesh	11.72	12.77	12.97	10.3	47.76
Jharkhand	13.45	14.67	13.42	11.51	53.05
Bihar	14.78	17.14	11.83	9.77	53.52

Assam	16	16.06	12.87	9.24	54.17
Himachal Pradesh	19.55	19.79	11.95	4.06	55.35
Uttar Pradesh	16.75	20.76	12.63	7.93	58.07
Chhattisgarh	16.06	17.25	15.98	10.67	59.96
Odisha	18.67	20.33	14.68	7.68	61.36
Uttarakhand	18.32	19.75	14.5	10.43	63
Rajasthan	19.88	24.65	21.93	18.48	84.94

Note: The State rankings have been drawn using the battery of below mentioned question.

**Question asked:** Considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience,

How often have you needed a vehicle but the government vehicle/fuel was unavailable - many times, few times, rarely or never?

How often have you needed a vehicle but the government vehicle/fuel was unavailable?

How often have you been unable to reach the crime scene on time because of shortage of staff at the police station?

How often have you been unable to escort an accused to the court because of shortage of staff at the police station many times, few times, rarely or never?

The category of 'no response' was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. 'Many times' answer was weighted as 0.3, 'few times' answer was weighted as 0.2, 'rarely' answer was weighted as 0.1 and 'never' was weighted as 0. A higher summated score--of a maximum score of 30 for an individual infrastructural item and a maximum score of 120 for overall infrastructure indicates a more negative assessment.

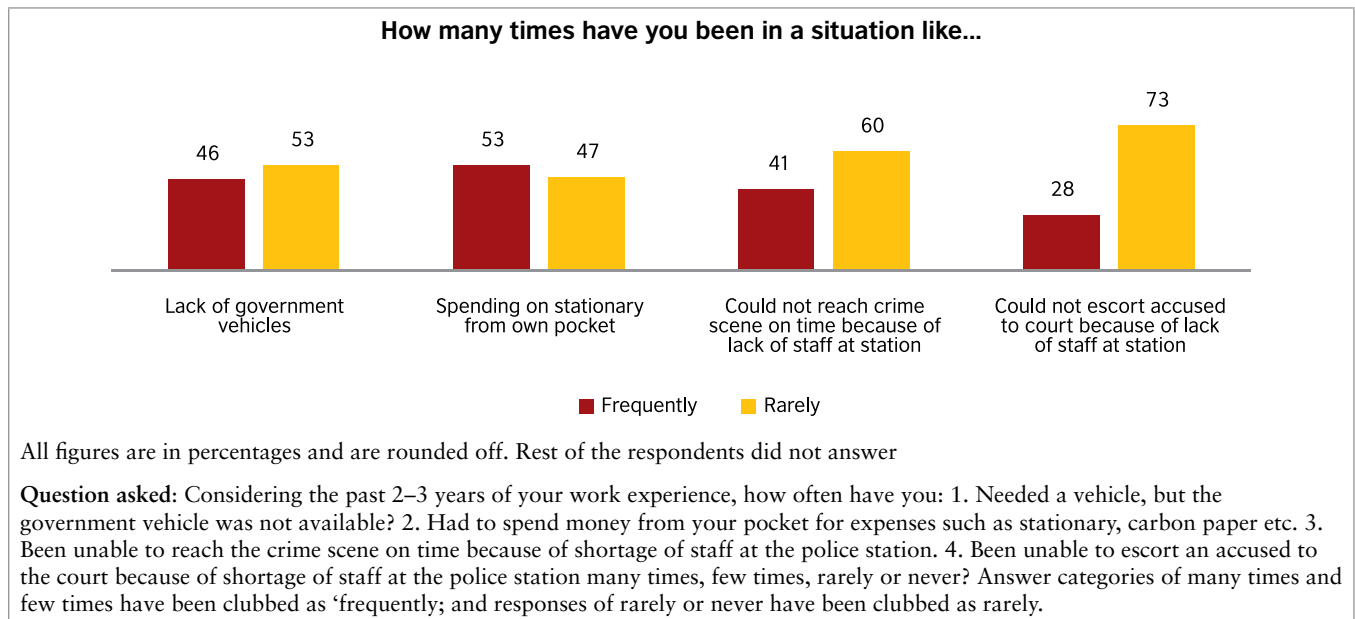
**Table 3.3: Mobility issues for Civil Police**

States	Many times (%)	Few times (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)	Score
Overall	20	26	20	33	—
West Bengal	2	5	13	66	3.44
Haryana	10	13	10	66	6.73
Punjab	8	11	33	43	8.25
Gujarat	9	12	31	44	8.44
Nagaland	10	15	27	37	9.74
Maharashtra	10	24	19	42	10.16
Delhi	13	20	23	40	10.25
Karnataka	11	29	11	49	10.67
Andhra Pradesh	11	28	19	41	10.82
Kerala	14	24	18	38	11.54
Madhya Pradesh	21	17	20	42	11.72
Telangana	16	29.	21	32	12.87
Jharkhand	9	42	22	25	13.45
Bihar	12	41	30	17	14.78
Assam	12	48	27	12	16
Chhattisgarh	25	28	23	20	16.06
Uttar Pradesh	35	19	14	26	16.75
Uttarakhand	35	30	13	19	18.32
Odisha	38	29	16	17	18.67
Himachal Pradesh	47	1	12	20	19.55
Rajasthan	37	37	14	26	19.88

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Note: The State rankings for the question- Considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience, How often have you needed a vehicle but the government vehicle/fuel was unavailable - many times, few times, rarely or never?--are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. The category of 'no response' was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. 'Many times' answer was weighted as 0.3, 'few times' answer was weighted as 0.2, 'rarely' answer was weighted as 0.1 and 'never' was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 30) here indicates a more negative assessment.

**Figure 3.3: Lack of resources**



**Table 3.4: Stationary expenses for civil police**

States	Many times (%)	Few times (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)	Score
Overall	28	25	17	30	—
Telangana	3	10	17	68	4.54
West Bengal	1	5	28	52	4.71
Gujarat	13	13	24	48	9.01
Andhra Pradesh	7	24	25	44	9.3
Punjab	12	12	30	42	9.39
Karnataka	13	19	17	51	9.46
Nagaland	16	17	20	39	11.04
Madhya Pradesh	11	33	28	28	12.77
Haryana	29	18	17	35	14.15
Jharkhand	18	32	27	22	14.67
Delhi	32	18	18	30	15.5
Assam	13	45	28	12	16.06
Kerala	26	29	16	24	16.07
Bihar	31	29	19	20	17.14
Chhattisgarh	38	18	10	27	17.25
Maharashtra	29	37	15	17	17.94
Uttarakhand	42	29	11	17	19.75
Himachal Pradesh	49	22	6	23	19.79
Odisha	49	25	5	20	20.33
Uttar Pradesh	47	24	6	17	20.76
Rajasthan	63	27	5	6	24.65

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Note: The State rankings for the question- Considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience, How often have you spend money from your pocket for expenses such as stationary, carbon paper etc. - many times, few times, rarely or never? — are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. The category of 'no response' was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. 'Many times' answer was weighted as 0.3, 'few times' answer was weighted as 0.2, 'rarely' answer was weighted as 0.1 and 'never' was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 30) here indicates a more negative assessment.

the bottom three performing States on the issues that police personnel suffer due to lack of infrastructure for performing police functions.

The availability of basic resources for performing the policing duties is much worse, with roughly half of the civil police personnel reporting that they have frequently been in situations when they needed a government vehicle, but the vehicle/fuel was not available or in situations when they had to spend on expenses such as stationery, carbon paper, etc. from their own pockets. About four in 10 civil police personnel admitted that they have frequently been in situations when they could not reach a crime scene on time because of lack of staff at the workplace. These figures are alarming, and call into question the capacity of the police force to carry out even the most mundane tasks.

When we look at the availability of government vehicles for the civil police (Table 3.3), about one-fifth of the civil police personnel reported that in the past 2–3 years of their work experience, they have ‘many times’ been in a situation where they needed a vehicle, but the government vehicle (or fuel) was not available.

About 28 percent of the civil police personnel reporting that in the past 2–3 years of their work experience, they had to many times spend on things like the stationery, carbon paper, etc. from their own pocket (Table 3.4). Similarly, about 15 percent of the civil police reported that they have many times been in situations when they could not reach the crime scene on time because of lack of staff at the police station (Table 3.5a).

Ten percent police personnel reported having many times been in a situation where they could not escort

**Table 3.5a: Police unable to reach crime scene on time because of lack of Human Resources**

States	Many times (%)	Few times (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)	Score
Overall	15	26	25	35	—
Punjab	4	8	35	48	6.71
West Bengal	1	14	29	42	6.88
Nagaland	5	15	18	50	7.08
Kerala	6	15	18	53	7.09
Haryana	7	14	27	51	7.8
Gujarat	8	17	18	53	7.88
Andhra Pradesh	5	26	37	31	10.43
Delhi	10	21	28	37	10.46
Maharashtra	13	21	24	39	10.74
Bihar	10	27	33	29	11.83
Himachal Pradesh	15	25	21	36	11.95
Telangana	17	23	20	38	12.01
Karnataka	14	26	28	32	12.13
Uttar Pradesh	19	23	15	36	12.63
Assam	7	38	38	19	12.87
Madhya Pradesh	18	22	30	29	12.97
Jharkhand	11	38	20	27	13.42
Uttarakhand	17	36	19	26	14.5
Odisha	16	40	19	25	14.68
Chhattisgarh	20	35	21	19	15.98
Rajasthan	47	33	12	8	21.93

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Note: The State rankings for the question- Considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience, How often have you been unable to reach the crime scene on time because of shortage of staff at the police station - many times, few times, rarely or never?--are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. ‘Many times’ answer was weighted as 0.3, ‘few times’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘rarely’ answer was weighted as 0.1 and ‘never’ was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 30) here indicates a more negative assessment.

an accused to the court because of lack of staff at the police station (Table 3.5b).

On the issue of basic infrastructure, Bihar and Nagaland perform poorly on all the parameters whereas West Bengal, Rajasthan, and Delhi are the best performing States. When it comes to infrastructure related to policing, Rajasthan is the worst performing State followed by Odisha and Uttarakhand. On the other hand, West Bengal, Gujarat, and Punjab are the top three performing States on policing related infrastructure.

### 3.3: Technology at the work-place/station

In the year 2009, the then government launched a Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS) for “creating a comprehensive and integrated system for enhancing the efficiency and effective-

ness of policing through adopting of principle of e-Governance”.

More recently, in 2015, the government launched the ‘Digital India’ campaign to ensure that all government services are made available electronically by improved online infrastructure including digitised government data and records could be digitised. Despite such ambitious initiatives, digitisation remains a pipe dream, with a considerable proportion of police personnel reporting the absence of basic technological facilities such as computers, CCTNS and forensics technology.

As shown in Table 3.6, only 68 percent of the civil police personnel reported that they always had access to a functional computer at their workplace. Roughly the same proportion reported having access to storage facility for documents at their workplace. A little above half of the civil police personnel reported having access

**Table 3.5b: Police unable to escort accused to court because of lack of Human Resources**

States	Many times (%)	Few times (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)	Score
Overall	10	18	21	52	–
Kerala	1	7	15	67	3.56
Haryana	3	7	17	71	3.98
Himachal Pradesh	3	8	15	72	4.06
Gujarat	3	10	17	67	4.62
Nagaland	4	12	16	52	6.11
Maharashtra	5	16	17	57	6.65
Punjab	5	8	35	48	6.67
Delhi	5	13	25	53	6.86
West Bengal	1	23	17	45	7.51
Odisha	7	23	9	61	7.68
Uttar Pradesh	13	9	14	54	7.93
Andhra Pradesh	3	18	33	44	8.04
Telangana	12	18	15	53	8.8
Assam	5	23	29	41	9.24
Bihar	12	15	29	41	9.77
Madhya Pradesh	9	26	23	40	10.3
Uttarakhand	12	22	15	45	10.43
Chhattisgarh	15	20	14	43	10.67
Jharkhand	10	26	27	32	11.51
Karnataka	13	25	32	29	12.29
Rajasthan	40	28	8	24	18.48

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Note: The State rankings for the question - Considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience, How often have you unable to escort an accused to the court because of shortage of staff at the police station - many times, few times, rarely or never?--are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. ‘Many times’ answer was weighted as 0.3, ‘few times’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘rarely’ answer was weighted as 0.1 and ‘never’ was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 30) here indicates a more negative assessment.

**Table 3.6: Basic technology at the work-place/station**

Facilities available at the station	Always	Sometimes	Never	No response
Functional computer	68	22	8	2
Functional CCTNS software	55	23	17	5
Forensic technology	27	20	42	9
Storage Facility for documents	67	20	11	2

All figures are in percentages. Figures are rounded off and might not add up to 100.

**Question asked:** How many times are the \_\_\_\_\_ facilities provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never?

to the functional CCTNS software at their workplace, however as per the data released by Ministry of Home Affairs (January 2019), about 14,724 police stations out of 15,705 police stations (About 94 percent police stations) in the country are entering all (100%) FIRs on the CCTNS software. Just a little above one-fourth of the civil police<sup>3</sup> personnel in our survey reported having access to forensic technology at their workspace.

Across all the four parameters on basic storage and technology, police report having a better access to a functional computer and storage facility for documents, followed by access to functional CCTNS software. However, the facility of forensic technology at the police station is the poorest, with just about one-fourth (27%) respondents always having access to it (Table 3.6). Conversely, when we look at the complete absence of these facilities, the picture becomes more glaring. As many as 42 percent of the police personnel reported never having the forensic technology facility at the police station. In 8 percent of the cases functional computer was not available, and 11 percent personnel reported that storage facilities for documents were not available.

While these numbers may appear small, on the first glance, it should be taken as a sign of serious infrastructural deficiency considering the importance of these elementary things and facilities in discharging their everyday functions and duties.

The numbers here need to be read with caution and should be taken only as indicative since it is likely that responses of multiple police personnel from the same station/workplace may have been reported (Table 3.6).

<sup>3</sup> Please note that this percentage is out of the total civil police of the total surveyed police, as most of these technological requirements are primarily a necessity for civil police to perform their responsibilities. Civil police constitutes 80 percent of our surveyed sample (N= 9205)

On doing a comparative study of the States for technology available to police at their workplace/station, we find that Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana are the best performing States, while Bihar, West Bengal and Assam are the bottom three performing States on the lack of police infrastructure (Table 3.7).

On the availability of the functional computer at the workplace/station find that Madhya Pradesh, Telangana and Haryana are the top three performing States, whereas Rajasthan, West Bengal and Assam are the bottom three performing States (Table 3.8).

On the availability of the functional CCTNS at workplace, we find that Chhattisgarh, Telangana and Punjab are the top three performing States, while Bihar, West Bengal and Assam are the poor performing States (Table 3.9).

On the availability of forensic technology at the workplace for civil police, we find that Punjab, Odisha and Haryana are the top three performing States, whereas Assam, Bihar and Nagaland are at the bottom of this list (Table 3.10).

Cybercrime is a growing threat, globally and in India, rendering it crucial for the police systems to incorporate mechanisms for countering it. According to a recent study, cybercrime in India has surged by 457 percent over the last five years. Yet, our survey suggests that more than one in five police personnel frequently face the lack of technology or experts to investigate cybercrimes (Table 3.11).

### 3.4: Training Provided to Police Personnel

Training is indisputably one of the most critical components for ensuring an efficient, effective and people-friendly force.

The survey suggests that police are sufficiently trained

**Table 3.7: State-wise score on availability of basic technology at the work-place/station**

States	Computer score	CCTNS score	Forensic score	Overall score
Punjab	18.13	17.36	15.6	51.09
Madhya Pradesh	18.69	16.93	12.06	47.68
Haryana	18.44	15.65	13.41	47.5
Maharashtra	17.19	15.75	10.97	43.91
Kerala	16.55	15.52	11.65	43.72
Delhi	17.63	16.85	9.15	43.63
Odisha	14.06	14.52	14.22	42.8
Chhattisgarh	18.18	17.78	6.28	42.24
Himachal Pradesh	17.97	17.02	4.64	39.63
Telangana	18.49	17.34	3.6	39.43
Uttar Pradesh	16.15	15.53	6.08	37.76
Nagaland	16.5	14.54	4.76	35.8
Andhra Pradesh	14.98	12.93	7.61	35.52
Uttarakhand	14.97	13.76	6.19	34.92
Gujarat	17.22	10.55	6.91	34.68
Karnataka	15.12	10.12	8.98	34.22
Rajasthan	12.74	11.42	9.41	33.57
Jharkhand	14.84	12.42	5.81	33.07
Bihar	14.37	8.57	2.89	25.83
West Bengal	8.83	8.24	5.87	22.94
Assam	11.91	2.68	1.08	15.67

Note: The State rankings have been drawn using the battery of below mentioned question.

**Question asked:**

- How many times are the functional computer facilities provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never?
  - How many times are the storage unit for documents facilities provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or c. never?
  - How many times are the functional CCTNS software facilities provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never?
- Always, sometimes or never?

The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. ‘Always’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘some times’ answer was weighted as 0.1, ‘rarely’ answer was weighted as 0.1 and ‘never’ was weighted as 0. A higher summated score—of a maximum score of 20 for an individual item and a maximum score of 60 for overall infrastructure indicates a more positive assessment.

**Table 3.8: State-wise ranking on availability of functional computer at workplace for civil police**

States	Always (%)	Sometimes (%)	Never (%)	Total Score
Madhya Pradesh	88	11	1	18.69
Telangana	87	10	3	18.49
Haryana	87	10	3	18.44
Himachal Pradesh	84	11	5	17.97
Chhattisgarh	83	14	2	18.18
Punjab	81	13	2	18.13
Delhi	81	11	6	17.63
Gujarat	82	8	10	17.22
Maharashtra	77	17	6	17.19
Kerala	66	24	4	16.55

Nagaland	66	21	6	16.5
Uttar Pradesh	69	22	8	16.15
Karnataka	56	40	4	15.12
Andhra Pradesh	55	38	6	14.98
Uttarakhand	57	34	8	14.97
Jharkhand	56	35	8	14.84
Odisha	64	13	23	14.06
Bihar	56	26	14	14.37
Rajasthan	38	51	11	12.74
Assam	47	25	28	11.91
West Bengal	20	40	31	8.83

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Note:** The State rankings for the question- How many times are the facilities of fully functional computer provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never? are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. ‘Always’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘sometimes’ answer was weighted as 0.1, ‘never’ answer was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 20) here indicates a more positive assessment.

**Table 3.9: State-wise ranking on availability of functional CCTNS at workplace for civil police**

States	Always (%)	Sometimes (%)	Never (%)	Total Score
Chhattisgarh	80	11	5	17.78
Telangana	79	13	7	17.34
Punjab	73	21	2	17.36
Himachal Pradesh	79	9	10	17.02
Madhya Pradesh	74	19	6	16.93
Delhi	73	16	7	16.85
Maharashtra	66	19	12	15.75
Haryana	66	23	10	15.65
Uttar Pradesh	67	19	11	15.53
Kerala	55	28	6	15.52
Nagaland*	44	17	11	14.54
Odisha	67	10	22	14.52
Uttarakhand	50	34	13	13.76
Andhra Pradesh	43	40	14	12.93
Jharkhand	37	45	14	12.42
Rajasthan	32	50	18	11.42
Karnataka	21	58	20	10.12
Gujarat	41	12	36	10.55
Bihar	35	7	48	8.57
West Bengal*	25	17	39	8.24
Assam	6	14	77	2.68

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Note:** The State rankings for the question- How many times are the facilities of fully functional CCTNS provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never?-- are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighing each response option. The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. ‘Always’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘sometimes’ answer was weighted as 0.1, ‘never’ answer was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 20) here indicates a more positive assessment.

\*24 percent of the civil police personnel in West Bengal and 28 percent of the civil police in Nagaland did not respond to this question. Hence, N =189 for Nagaland and N=114 for West Bengal.

**Table 3.10: State-wise ranking on availability of forensic technology at workplace for civil police**

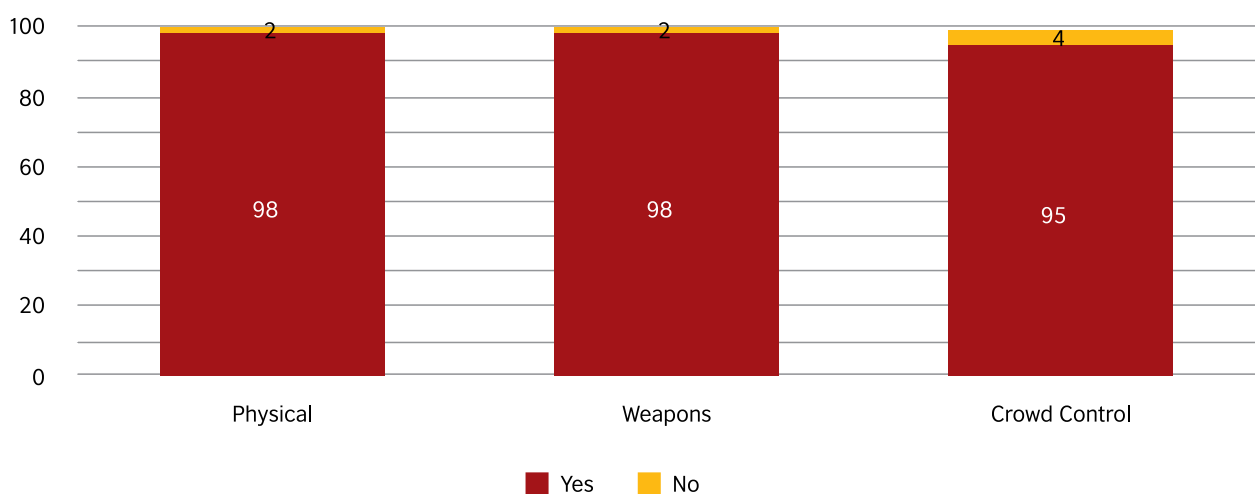
States	Always	Sometimes	Never	Score
Punjab	59	30	6	15.6
Odisha	65	13	22	14.22
Haryana	54	18	22	13.41
Madhya Pradesh	46	24	26	12.06
Kerala	38	17	25	11.65
Maharashtra	38	24	29	10.97
Rajasthan	26	39	32	9.41
Delhi	33	20	41	9.15
Karnataka	17	54	27	8.98
Andhra Pradesh	19	36	42	7.61
Gujarat	26	10	54	6.91
Chhattisgarh	25	9	60	6.28
Uttarakhand	18	16	51	6.19
Uttar Pradesh	22	12	59	6.08
West Bengal	7	36	41	5.87
Jharkhand	13	21	48	5.81
Nagaland*	7	13	36	4.76
Himachal Pradesh	16	14	68	4.64
Telangana	12	9	68	3.6
Bihar	10	4	70	2.89
Assam	1	8	88	1.08

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Note:** The State rankings for the question- How many times are the facilities of fully functional CCTNS provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never? — are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. ‘Always’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘sometimes’ answer was weighted as 0.1, ‘never’ answer was weighted as 0. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 20) here indicates a more positive assessment.

\*45 percent of the civil police in Nagaland did not respond to this question. Hence, N = 145 for Nagaland.

**Figure 3.4: Physical, weaponry and crowd-control training of Civil Police Personnel**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about \_\_\_\_\_ – in the past 2–3 years, before that, at the time of joining or never? Answer categories of the police who reported that they received their last training in the past 2–3 years, before that or at the time of joining have been clubbed together into ‘yes’, and those who reported ‘never’ have been clubbed as ‘no’.

**Table 3.11: Lack of technology/experts to investigate cybercrimes**

States	Many times (%)	Sometimes (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)	Score
Overall	22	22	20	36	—
Haryana	5	6	15	71	4.26
Punjab	3	5	30	51	4.91
Gujarat	7	14	26	48	7.57
Assam	4	24	28	40	8.8
Telangana	16	12	13	50	8.5
Maharashtra	8	20	23	41	8.81
Delhi	16	12	34	26	10.6
West Bengal	5	25	21	31	8.75
Karnataka	14	26	26	34	11.91
Kerala	17	20	10	37	10.07
Odisha	19	26	12	40	11.98
Madhya Pradesh	19	25	23	29	13.12
Himachal Pradesh	32	16	12	35	14.04
Andhra Pradesh	12	42	24	19	14.34
Uttar Pradesh	30	14	12	28	12.85
Jharkhand	22	30	21	21	14.55
Nagaland	29	8	8	25	11.04
Uttarakhand	28	31	12	22	16
Chhattisgarh	40	11	9	22	15.1
Bihar	43	11	26	14	17.51
Rajasthan	47	32	13	9	21.55

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Note:** The State rankings for the question—considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience, How often have you not been able to investigate cybercrime because of lack of technology/experts?—are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. ‘Many times’ answer was weighted as 0.3, ‘sometimes’ answer was weighted as 0.2, ‘rarely’ answer was weighted as 0.1 and ‘never’ was weighted as 0. The category of ‘no response’ was excluded from the ranking analysis and the percentages for other response options were then re-drawn accordingly. A higher summated score (out of a maximum score of 30) here indicates a more negative assessment.

on physical parameters, weaponry and in crowd control. Only two percent of the police personnel reported that they never received any physical training or training on weaponry, while about four percent of the police personnel reported that they never received any training on crowd control (Figure 3.4). These numbers are roughly the same for both civil and armed police. There is also no major difference between the proportion of constabulary force and the State senior police who were trained on these modules.

On an average, more than half of the police personnel in our sample have more than 10 years of experience. Although almost every police personnel reported having been trained in modules of crowd control, physical training or weaponry, more than one in two respondents reported that the last training they received was at

the time of joining the police service (Table 3.12), suggesting that in-service training is taking place rarely.

A different picture, from the one presented on the basis of training received in, emerges when it comes to training on modules of new technology, cybercrime or forensic technology (Figure 3.5). About 85 percent of the civil police reported that they received training on new technology. However, a little less than three-fourth of the civil police reported that they received any training on cybercrime and just about two-third of the civil police personnel reported that received any training on forensic technology. As compared to civil senior State police, a higher proportion of civil constabulary force reported never having been trained on issues related to new technology, forensic technology and cybercrime (Table 3.13). This finding is in line

**Table 3.12: One in two police personnel last received training on weaponry, crowd control and physical fitness at the time of joining**

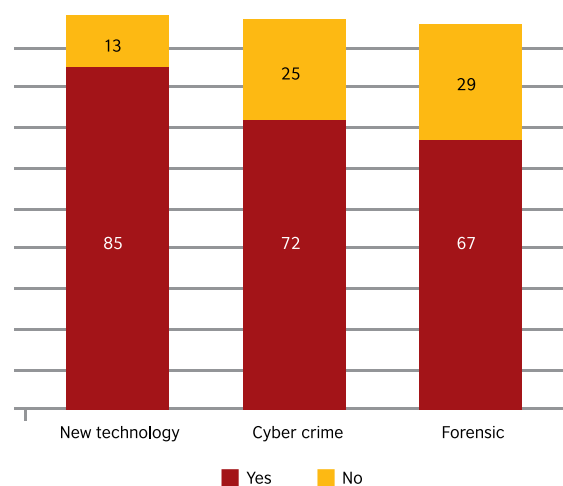
States	Crowd control (%)	Physical (%)	Weapons (%)
Overall (51)	54	54	53
Gujarat (42)	84	73	71
Bihar (47)	79	73	72
Chhattisgarh (32)	76	78	72
Haryana (65)	74	75	79
Madhya Pradesh (43)	73	76	76
Odisha (70)	63	65	65
Punjab (49)	66	81	79
Telangana (53)	59	64	72
Uttar Pradesh (43)	52	46	50
West Bengal (45)	58	64	62
Maharashtra (51)	49	53	51
Kerala (63)	49	36	32
Rajasthan (40)	50	45	47
Uttarakhand (66)	45	49	41
Andhra (35)	34	40	40
Assam (55)	45	35	27
Nagaland (50)	43	39	42
Delhi (68)	39	44	41
Himachal (66)	47	42	31
Jharkhand (48)	40	44	47
Karnataka (47)	20	20	19

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about \_\_\_\_\_—in the past 2–3 years, before that, at the time of joining or never?

The numbers in brackets indicate the percentage of the police personnel in the given State with more than 10 years of experience.

**Figure 3.5: Almost one in three civil police personnel never received training on forensic technology**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about \_\_\_\_\_—in the past 2–3 years, before that, at the time of joining or never?

Answer categories of the police who reported that they received their last training in the past 2–3 years, before that or at the time of joining have been clubbed together into ‘yes’, and those who reported ‘never’ have been clubbed as ‘no’.

**Table 3.13: Senior police officers more likely to be trained on technical issues**

	New Technology	Cyber-crime	Forensic
Constabulary	84	72	66
State senior police	88	75	73

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about \_\_\_\_\_-in the past 2-3 years, before that, at the time of joining or never?

Answer categories of the police who reported that they received their last training in the past 2-3years, before that or at the time of joining have been reported as having received training.

**Table 3.14: Outdated training?**

	New Technology			Cybercrime			Forensic		
	After joining	At time of joining	Never	After joining	At time of joining	Never	After joining	At time of joining	Never
Overall	62	20	14	46	23	26	38	27	30
More than 10 years of experience (50%)	64	16	15	48	20	27	39	23	31

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about \_\_\_\_\_- in the past 2-3 years, before that, at the time of joining or never?

The number in bracket denotes the proportion of police personnel who have more than ten years of experience to the total police personnel in the sample.

**Table 3.15: State-wise training of civil police on new technology**

States	Personnel who received training on		
	New technology	Cyber crime	Forensic
Overall	85	72	67
Andhra	94	84	83
Assam	88	62	46
Bihar	68	50	43
Chhattisgarh	76	62	59
Delhi	91	66	57
Gujarat	60	60	50
Haryana	96	91	92
Himachal Pradesh	87	64	61
Jharkhand	87	83	61
Karnataka	99	98	95
Kerala	86	64	51
Madhya Pradesh	92	88	80
Maharashtra	90	82	64
Nagaland	31	19	19
Odisha	86	64	85
Punjab	98	96	92
Rajasthan	99	97	94
Telangana	71	62	51
Uttar Pradesh	75	56	51
Uttarakhand	78	66	63
West Bengal	62	52	51

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about \_\_\_\_\_-in the past 2-3 years, before that, at the time of joining or never? Answer categories of the police who reported that they received their last training in the past 2-3years, before that or at the time of joining have been reported as having received training.

with the official data (see Chapter 1), which shows clearly that senior officers receive more training when compared to the constabulary ranks.

Half of the police personnel in our sample have been in service for more than 10 years (Table 3.14). If they received their ‘last’ training on forensics or technology or cybercrime at the time of joining, it is quite likely that the discourses and challenges have changed now. In such cases, it is possible that the training they received would not equip them fully to handle the modern and emerging challenges. Among police personnel with more than 10 years of work experience, about 16 percent of the police personnel reported that they received their last training regarding new technology at the time of joining the force. Around one-fourth of the police received their last training on forensic technology at the time of joining and one fifth of these experienced police personnel received their last training on cybercrime at the time of joining.

On doing a State-wise analysis of training on modules of new technology, cybercrime and forensics, we find that Nagaland performs poorly across all three categories, followed closely by Bihar, West Bengal and Gujarat (Table 3.15). On the other hand, States like Karnataka, Rajasthan and Punjab are better performing states on these aspects of policing.

### 3.5: Summing up

The police system, like all others, requires a conducive infrastructure to be able to fulfil its functions. This basic support, it appears, is still lacking for a sizeable

proportion of the police personnel surveyed. Basic resources are still absent in some parts of the country—more than 10 percent of the police personnel reported that they do not have access to drinking water at their workplace/stations. As compared to other States, the availability of basic infrastructure is particularly lacking in Nagaland and Bihar.

In the absence of these resources that are the sine qua non for policing, it is no wonder that States have been slow at catching up with newer challenges, such as providing infrastructure and training on new technologies, crimes and forensics techniques. Just a little more than two-third of the civil police reported that they always have access to a functional computer and just a little more than half of the civil police reported that they have access to CCTNS program. The figures plummeted when it came to the access of forensics technology, with roughly about a quarter of the civil police reporting ‘always’ having access to forensic technology at their workplace. Police personnel are not properly equipped to deal with the new skills for tackling and investigating crimes, with only two-third of the civil police reporting ever receiving any training in forensic technology.

The facts and figures discuss above compel one to re-consider the causes behind the poor performance of the police on various parameters and its lack of efficiency. We, as a country, have a long way to go to achieve the targets of modernisation and digitisation of policing, when the reality suggests that even the most basic facilities are lacking.

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# Reinvestigating Crime Investigation

4

**T**his chapter focuses on the perceptions of personnel about the level of crime in their area or jurisdiction. It further covers the experiences of personnel in the course of investigation and the hurdles faced by them, such as undue external pressure or interference from politicians, media, public, etc., as well as the common consequences of not complying with such pressures.

- According to 36 percent civil police personnel, crime has increased in the last two-three years
- While police personnel who think that crime has increased are most likely to attribute the phenomenon to societal reasons such as unemployment and lack of education, those who think that crime has decreased are most likely to offer improved policing (police becoming more active, stricter, etc.) as a primary reason for crime reduction.
- Twenty-eight percent police personnel believe that pressure from politicians is the biggest hindrance in crime investigation
- One in three personnel have very frequently experienced political pressure in the course of crime investigation. Thirty-eight percent personnel reported always facing pressure from politicians in cases of crime involving influential persons
- Three out of five personnel reported transfer as the most common consequence of not complying with such external pressures.

Photo previous page: *Ghaziabad, India – October 6, 2017: Police officer investigating the scene of a daylight encounter between Uttar Pradesh Police and two robbery accused in Sector 13, Ghaziabad.*  
(Credits: Sakib Ali, Hindustan Times)

# Reinvestigating Crime Investigation

One of the foremost demands of the advocates of police reforms has been “operational autonomy” in police functioning. The Supreme Court recognised that the police are under pressure to serve the interests of the political parties in power. In response, it gave directions for fixed tenures of officers at key operational posts, in its landmark judgment of 2006 in the *Prakash Singh vs Union of India* case. It ruled that the law and order and investigation functions of the police should be separated. The separation of crime investigation duties of the police was also highlighted in the Second Administrative Reforms Commission report. It recommended insulating “crime investigation, ... both from political interference and from the day to day law and order functions that the police are saddled with.” Unfortunately, these directives have not been complied with, and severely diluted by the State governments. So much so that punishment postings and political interference continue to be a common feature of police work. Recently, a majority of the investigating officers of a police station in Himachal Pradesh were transferred after vehicles of local politicians were challaned (fined).

Apart from political interference, crime investigation could also be affected by a range of other factors such as lack of adequate police infrastructure/resources, strength of police, cooperation of witnesses and victims during investigation, etc. For example, the role of witnesses in establishing the tenacity of a case is extremely important, as has been highlighted in the judgment of *Swaran Singh vs State of Punjab*.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the deplorable conditions of Indian witnesses have come under the scanner in an empirical study (G.S. Bajpayi 2009) carried out in the capital cities of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Rajasthan. The inhospitable environment around wit-

1 “A criminal case is built on the edifice of evidence, evidence that is admissible in law. For that, witnesses are required whether it is direct evidence or circumstantial evidence” (2000) 5 S.C.C. 68

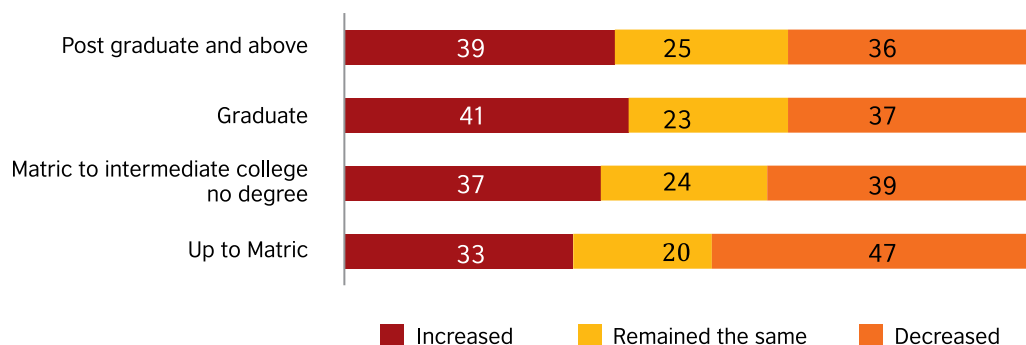
nesses may have a negative impact on their willingness to cooperate in investigations. In this section, we try to uncover other such obstacles reportedly faced by the police personnel during investigation of a crime. We also analyse the level of cooperation they receive from various stakeholders and the pressure mounted on them during crime investigation.

After looking at the work load and the resources available to police in the previous sections, this section attempts to uncover the frailty of the broader eco-system of criminal justice in which the police personnel operate, by examining the police attitudes and the external pressures during a criminal investigation. We start by looking at the crime trends from the perspective of police and move on to unpack their opinion on the measures to prevent the crimes in first place.

For example, police have made concerted efforts to combat crimes against women, including setting up anti-Romeo squads in Uttar Pradesh and *daminipathak/anti-chidimaarpathak* in Maharashtra to control sexual harassment of women in public places. Similarly, while the jury is out on the effectiveness of increased CCTV surveillance on crime prevention, the Delhi Chief Minister has already announced setting up of around 3 lakh cameras in Assembly constituencies, government schools and public areas (Jain, 2019). In a similar vein, a Chennai DCP had stated at a public event his intention ‘to establish CCTV cameras in every house, shop and building,’ in August 2018 (Vasudevan, 2018). In this chapter, we focus on what the police think of the contribution of these measures in crime prevention and reduction.

The overall objective of the chapter is to highlight the key issues plaguing the criminal investigation and to examine the attitude of the police towards curbing crime.

**Figure 4.1: More educated police personnel more likely to perceive crime as increasing over the years**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** In your jurisdiction, do you think the overall crime in your area has increased or decreased in the last 2-3 years—increased a lot, increased somewhat, as it is, decreased a little, or decreased a lot? The answer categories of the increased a lot and increased somewhat have been clubbed into one category called ‘increased’, while the answer categories of decreased somewhat and decreased a lot have been clubbed into one category called ‘decreased’.

**Table 4.1: State-wise responses of civil police on increase or decrease in crime**

States	Proportion of police who believe crime has increased (%)	Proportion of police who believe crime has decreased (%)	Net Increase (proportion of personnel who believe that crime has increased minus proportion of personnel who believe crime has decreased)	Net increase in actual crime rates (total cognizable crimes) from 2014-2016
Overall	36	36	0	-
Telangana	16	73	-57	-25.7
West Bengal*	6	40	-36	-6.1
Andhra Pradesh	28	58	-30	-24.6
Nagaland	19	48	-29	8.4
Uttar Pradesh	20	49	-29	-1014.8
Rajasthan	25	47	-22	-33.9
Bihar	31	48	-17	-9.4
Gujarat*	21	34	-13	4.6
Delhi	30	39	-9	193
Jharkhand	35	44	-9	-15.5
Haryana	39	43	-4	87.6
Madhya Pradesh	37	39	-2	-25.7
Odisha	44	42	2	19.7
Punjab	28	20	8	-28.9
Assam	31	22	9	22.4
Maharashtra	38	22	16	30.4
Uttarakhand	45	18	27	-1577.9
Kerala	56	23	33	252.5
Himachal Pradesh	58	19	39	-2.3
Chhattisgarh	64	21	43	-1032.9
Karnataka	60	16	44	21.4

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer

**Question asked:** In your jurisdiction, do you think the overall crime in your area has increased or decreased in the last 2-3 years—increased a lot, increased somewhat, as it is, decreased a little, or decreased a lot? The answer categories of the increased a lot and increased somewhat have been clubbed into one category called ‘increased’, while the answer categories of decreased somewhat and decreased a lot have been clubbed into one category called ‘decreased’.

\*29 percent of civil police in Gujarat and 42 percent of the civil police in West Bengal did not respond.

1 Crime rate means the number of cases of crime per lakh of population in the State. The net increase has been calculated by subtracting the crime rate of total cognizable crimes of 2014 from the rates of 2016 (2016-2014). Total cognizable crime rates have been taken from Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau (2014 and 2016).

## 4.1: Crime trends

According to 36 percent of the civil police personnel interviewed in our survey, the overall crime in their jurisdiction has increased in the past 2–3 years. A similar proportion of police also reported overall crime decreasing in the past 2–3 years. Roughly, one fifth of the police reported that the crime rates have largely remained the same. There was no significant variation in responses on account of gender, rank distribution, or the number of years in service. However, as the formal education level of the civil police increases, there is a proportional hike in the perception of rise in crime in their jurisdictions (Figure 4.1).

Civil police from Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are most likely to report that crime has decreased in their jurisdiction in the past 2–3 years. On the contrary, civil police from Chhattisgarh and Karnataka are most likely to report that the crime in their jurisdiction in the past 2–3 years has increased.

Among other States, in Nagaland, Haryana, Gujarat and Delhi a larger proportion of police personnel feel that crime in their area has decreased in the last 2-3 years, than those who think that crime in their area has increased. However, crime data from NCRB suggests that the reported crime rates have increased from 2014 to 2016 (the year for which latest data is available). On the contrary, in States like Punjab, Uttara-

khand, Himachal and Chhattisgarh, a larger share of police personnel believe that crime has increased in the last few years, whereas the actual reported crime rates in these States have decreased from 2014. It needs to be noted here that an increase in crime rates does not necessarily indicate an actual increase in crime in that State, but could be reflective of higher reporting due to better access and receptiveness of the police. It further needs to be reiterated that while the respondents are referring to increase or decrease in crime in their jurisdiction only, the NCRB data refers to the crime trends in the entire State.

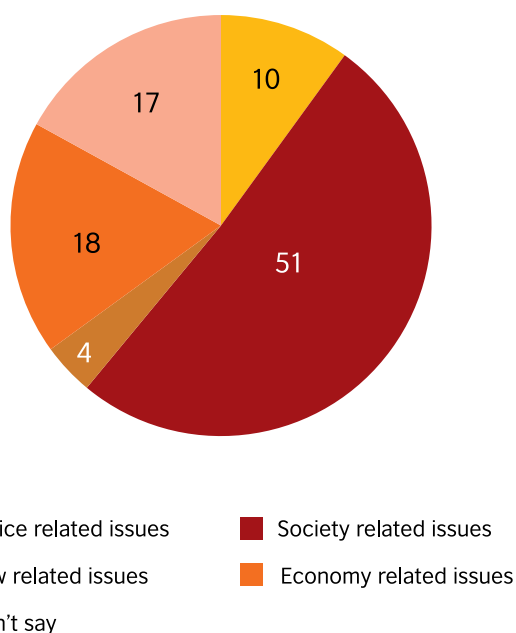
The various reasons given by the police for the rise in crime have been classified into four categories—police, society, law and economy-related issues, to facilitate better interpretation (Table 4.2). It is, however, crucial to note that these are not water-tight categories and there might be overlaps.

Among those civil police personnel who reported that crime in their jurisdiction has increased in the past 2–3 years, every second police personnel reported society-related issues as the most important reason for the surge. Only 10 percent believed that reasons related to policing could be responsible. Roughly one-fifth of the civil police blame economy-related issues for the rise in crime (Figure 4.2).

**Table 4.2: Classification of issues behind rise in crime**

<i>“What is the most important reason behind the rise in crime?”</i>			
Police related issues	Society related issues	Law related issues	Economy related issues
Police is not active	Negligence on part of public	Delay in getting justice	Poverty
Police don’t reach on time	Population/Over crowding	Weak law and order	Unemployment
Lack of staff in police	Increasing number of migrants	Any other law related issues	Inflation
No fear of police among people	Increasing negativity among people		Rising inequality
Large areas under jurisdiction	Lack of education/awareness		Any other economy related issues
Lack of resources	Increasing intolerance		
Any other police related issues	Drug addiction among young boys		
	New technology		
	Political Pressure		
	Corruption		
	People’s demand not being fulfilled		
	Caste based violence		
	Any other society related issues		

**Figure 4.2: Among those who say crime has increased, one in two police personnel believes that crime is rising due to societal problems**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

Question asked: In your opinion what is the most important reason behind this rise in crime? \_\_\_\_\_

However, if we look at the top 10 reasons, as reported by the police personnel, without clubbing them in any category, the highest proportion of the civil police cite unemployment as the main reason behind the rise in crime. Also, 12 percent and 11 percent of the police personnel believe that the lack of education or awareness and drug addiction among young boys respectively are the main reasons for the increase in crime rates.

**Table 4.3: One in four police personnel believes that unemployment and lack of education are the main reasons behind the rise in crime**

S. No.	Top 10 reasons for crime rise	Proportion (%)
1	Unemployment	15
2	Lack of education/awareness	12
3	Drug addiction among young boys	11
4	Population/over-crowding of places	7
5	New technology	7
6	Increasing negativity among young people	5
7	Lack of staff	4
8	Political pressure	3
9	Weak law and order	3
10	Poverty	3

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: In your opinion what is the most important reason behind this rise in crime? \_\_\_\_\_

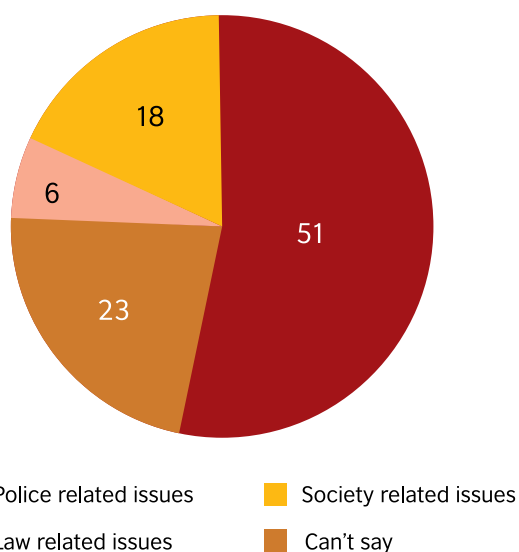
To facilitate better interpretation, various reasons cited by the police for the decline in crime have been clubbed into three categories—police, society, and law-related issues (Table 4.4). There is only one response on the economy-related issues of ‘increase in employment,’ with two percent of the civil police reporting it as the main reason behind decrease in crime. This has hence been subsumed under the category of ‘society-related issues.’

**Table 4.4: Classification of reasons behind decline in crime**

“What is the most important reason behind the decrease in crime?”		
Police related issues	Society related issues	Law related issues
Police is more active	There is increasing education/awareness	Better Law and order
Police is more strict	High class society	Rules and Law are more strict
Police is working more honestly	Increase in literacy	Government is stricter.
There is improved patrolling	Ban on alcohol	
There is improvement in call service of 100	Increase in employment (2 %)	
There is increase in the number of staff	Decrease in political pressure	
There is increase in facilities provided to police	Any other society related issues	
Technology has improved		
There is fear of police among wrongdoers/criminals		
There is increase in CCTV		
Any other police related issues		

Among those civil police personnel who believe that there has been a decrease in crime in their jurisdiction in the past 2–3 years, more than half attribute the decline to police-related issues. Roughly one-fifth believe that society related factors are responsible for the phenomenon. Only six percent reported that the crime has fallen because of law-related issues.

**Figure 4.3: Among those who say crime has decreased, one in two police personnel believe that crime has decreased because of improved policing**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: In your opinion what is the most important reason behind this decrease in crime? \_\_\_\_\_

However, if we look at the top 10 reasons without classifying them in any category, we find that increase in education or awareness are the most cited reasons for decline in crime, with about 18 percent of the civil police reporting it as the main reason. This was followed by the active role of police and improved patrolling system with about 12 percent of the civil police reporting these as the main reasons.

**Table 4.5: Reasons for decrease in crime**

S. No.	Top ten reasons for decrease in crime	
1	Increasing education/awareness	18
2	Police is more active	12
3	Improved patrolling	12
4	Police is stricter	5
5	Police is working more honestly	6
6	Technology has improved	4
7	Better law and order	3
8	Increase in CCTV	3
9	Increase in staff	2
10	Rules and laws are stricter.	2

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

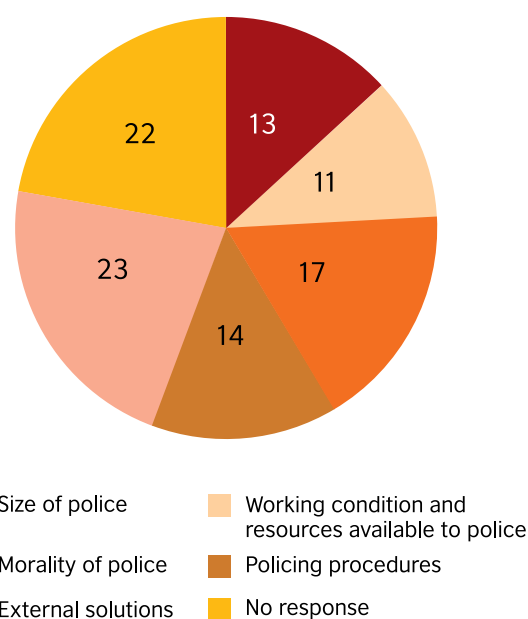
Question asked: In your opinion what is the most important reason behind this rise in crime? \_\_\_\_\_

## 4.2: Curbing crime

When we asked police personnel to rate the importance of some of the mentioned measures (Figure 4.4) to curb crime, about three out of five civil police personnel considered installing CCTV in all areas and increasing manpower as most important. Police personnel also felt that appointing civilians as special police officers is least helpful in curbing crime, compared to other measures.

We asked a similar question (most important step to control crime) without prompting any answer categories. The various reasons given by the police to this question have been clubbed into five categories for better interpretation—steps related to a) size of police b) working conditions and resources available to police c) morality of police d) policing procedures e) external solutions (Table 4.6). About 23 percent of the civil police reported ‘external solutions’ (steps external to the functioning of the police) as most useful in controlling crime. This was followed by steps related to police morality, with about 17 percent subscribing to the opinion (Figure 4.5).

**Figure 4.5: Nearly one in four police personnel believe that measures external to policing are required for curbing crime**

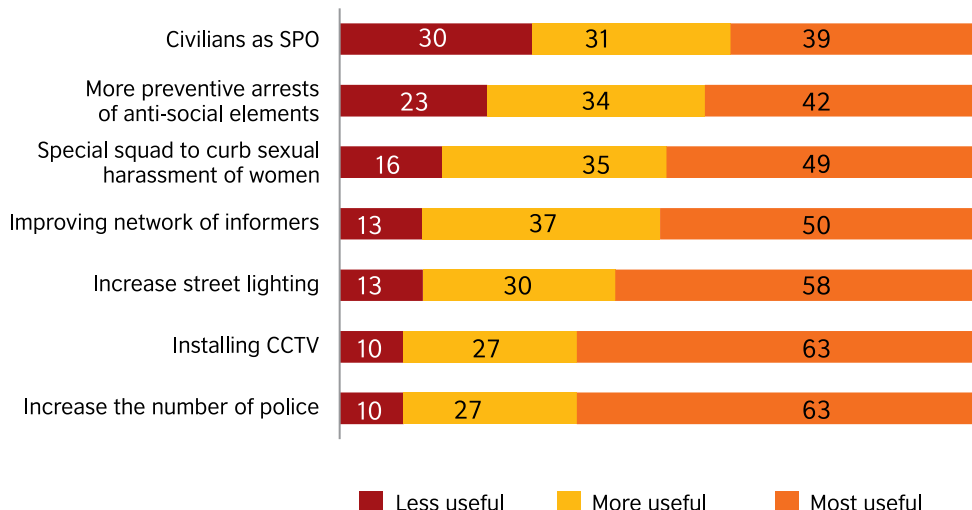


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: In your opinion, what is the most important step that the police should take to control crime? \_\_\_\_\_

‘Spreading education/awareness’ had the highest proportion of responses among civil police personnel, with about 13 percent police reporting it as the most

**Figure 4.4: Two out of three police personnel believe that installing CCTV cameras and increasing police strength are the most important steps for curbing crime**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question:** On a scale of one to ten, please tell me how useful is this for reducing crime in your area?

All those who rated between 01–06 have been clubbed as ‘less useful’, those who have rated between 07–09 have been marked as ‘more useful’ and those who have rated it 10 have been denoted as ‘most useful’.

Please note that these are seven different independently asked questions.

**Table 4.6: Classification of measures to control crime**

Steps related to size of police	Steps related to working conditions and resources available to police	Steps related to attitude	Steps related to policing procedures	External Steps
Increase the number of staff in police	State should give more power to police	Police should work honestly and with dedication	FIR should be registered immediately.	Ban alcohol
Increase the number of police stations	Increase facilities provided to police	Increase trust among people	There should be more patrolling.	Increase employment.
Increasing the number of check posts	There should not be any pressure on police	Police should be more strict.	Investigation should be done properly	Spread education or awareness.
Increase the visibility of police in public	Fixed working time		Spy network should be strong and far reaching.	Laws/rules should be more strict.
	Increase the use of technology/ improved security systems		Appoint special teams	There should not be delay in justice.
	There should be more use of CCTV cameras		Keeping eye on previously convicted	
	Better training of police			
	Improve 100 call service			
	Improve cyber security			

**Question asked:** In your opinion, what is the most important step that the police should take to control crime? \_\_\_\_\_

important step to control crime (Table 4.7). This was followed by a procedural measure, ‘that there should be more patrolling,’ and the issue related to the size of the police, ‘the staff in police should be increased.’ Both these steps were considered useful by about one tenth each of the police personnel surveyed.

**Table 4.7: Thirteen percent police personnel felt that spreading awareness and education are the most useful measures for controlling crime**

<i>“What is the most important step that the police should take to control crime?”</i>	
Spread education/awareness	13
There should be more patrolling	10
Increase the staff in police	10
Police should be more strict	8
Laws/rules should be more strict	8
Police should work honestly and with more dedication	7

All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: In your opinion, what is the most important step that the police should take to control crime? \_\_\_\_\_

### 4.3: Obstacles during crime investigation

Pressure on the police is viewed in a negative light, portrayed as misplaced interference having the potential to derail the course of law. However, instances of dereliction of duty by the police abound, where mounting public pressure have compelled officials to follow due

diligence. In the Kathua rape case of 2018, the role of police officers in subverting the investigation process and destroying evidence has now been established by the Court (Ohri, 2018). Media, judicial and even government pressure, it may be argued, are used to ensure that police perform their law-enforcement duties in a transparent manner.

Conversely, there are examples of political and other forms of pressure exerted on the police to compromise their accountability. In this section, therefore, we do not attempt to unpack the details of pressure faced by the police, and its overall impact on the functioning of the criminal justice system. Rather, we simply report the experiences of police personnel in the investigation of criminal cases.

When we asked civil police personnel an open-ended question about the biggest obstacle they faced during crime investigation, about two-fifth cited different forms of pressure on them as the biggest obstacle. Also, 13 percent blamed issues related to internal working of police for impeding crime investigation. The answers to this question were classified into four categories—obstacles related to internal working of police, related to the pressure on police, related to the legal system, and related to the society at large (Table 4.8 and Figure 4.6). Around 28 percent of the civil police reported pressure from politicians as the biggest hindrance during crime investigation. This is almost

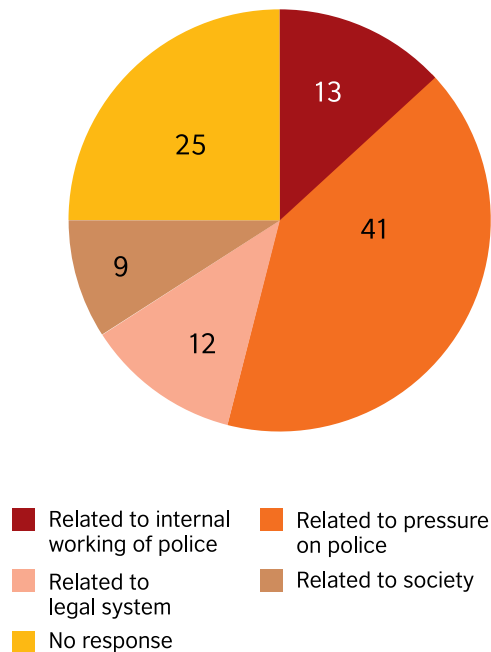
**Table 4.8: Classification of obstacles faced during investigation of crime**

Internal working of police	Pressure on police	Legal system related	Society related
Too much workload	Departmental pressure / pressure from senior officers	Lack of witness / witnesses are scared	High number of fake complaints
Lack of time	Pressure from politicians	Lack of evidence / fake evidence/lack of witnesses	Lack of awareness among people
Police does not have enough resources/lack of training	Pressure from rich and influential people	Long legal process	Corruption
Lack of money for investigation	Pressure from media	Police spend too much time in completing court duty	Non-cooperation of public
Lack of staff in police	Pressure from public	Delays in medical reports	More juveniles are involved in crime
Spy network is weak	Pressure from human rights/ NGO	Lawyers create problems	Communication
Unable to catch hold of culprit			
Investigation not done properly			
Weak law and order			
Not able to reach place of crime			

Question asked: Q19: Of the various things which hinder an investigation, which is the one that hinders it the most?

three times higher than ‘lack of witnesses’, the second most cited hurdle in police investigation (Table 4.9). The other factors that emerged were lack of time, departmental pressure and lack of cooperation from the public.

**Figure 4.6: Two in five police personnel feel that pressures on police (from various sources) are the biggest obstacle in crime investigation**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: Q19: Of the various things which hinder an investigation, which is the one that hinders it the most?

In Table 4.9, we report the top five hindrances reported by the police. We also observe that personnel with more years of experience are less likely to report political pressure (Figure 4.7).

**Table 4.9: Twenty-eight percent police personnel feel that pressure from politicians is the biggest hindrance in crime investigation**

“What hinders an investigation the most?” (Top five reasons)	
Pressure from politicians	28
Lack of witness	9
Departmental pressure	7
Non-cooperation of public	6
Lack of time	5

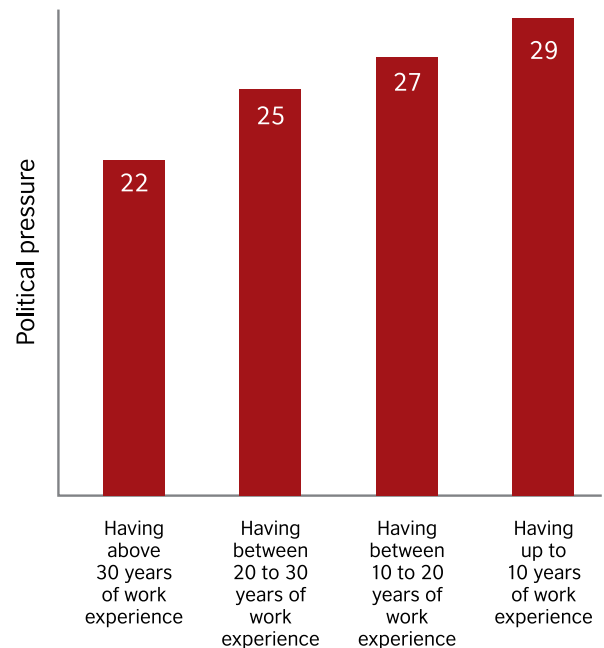
All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: Of the various things which hinder an investigation, which is the one that hinders it the most?

About 29 percent of the civil police personnel with

experience of up to 10 years reported pressure from politicians as the biggest hindrance during crime investigation. This number progressively decreases to 22 percent for those with more than 30 years of service, indicating that as the number of service years increases, the likelihood of considering or citing political pressure as a major investigation hurdle decreases.

**Figure 4.7: Police personnel with more years of experience are less likely to consider political pressure as the main hurdle in crime investigation**



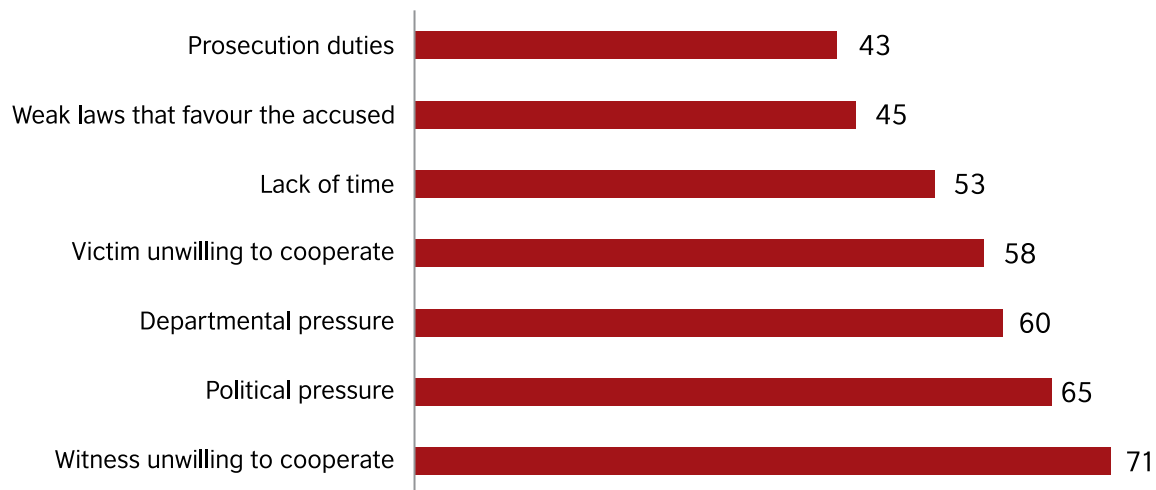
All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

Question asked: Considering the past 2-3 years of your work experience, how often have you encountered the political pressure during investigation of a crime—many times, sometimes, rarely or never?

#### 4.4: Frequency of obstacles during investigation of crime

When asked about the frequency of political pressure impeding their investigation, about one third of the civil police personnel reported that they have faced political pressure ‘many times’ during an investigation in the past 2–3 years. A similar proportion also reported having faced the issue of witnesses unwilling to cooperate during a crime investigation ‘many times’ in the past 2–3 years of their work experience. A slightly lesser proportion of about 28 percent reported having faced departmental pressure many times, while about one-fourth reported having encountered lack of time for investigation very frequently in the last 2–3 years. Only 18 percent reported having faced the issue of victims unwilling to cooperate ‘many times’, while about 16 percent spoke of facing the issue of weak laws that

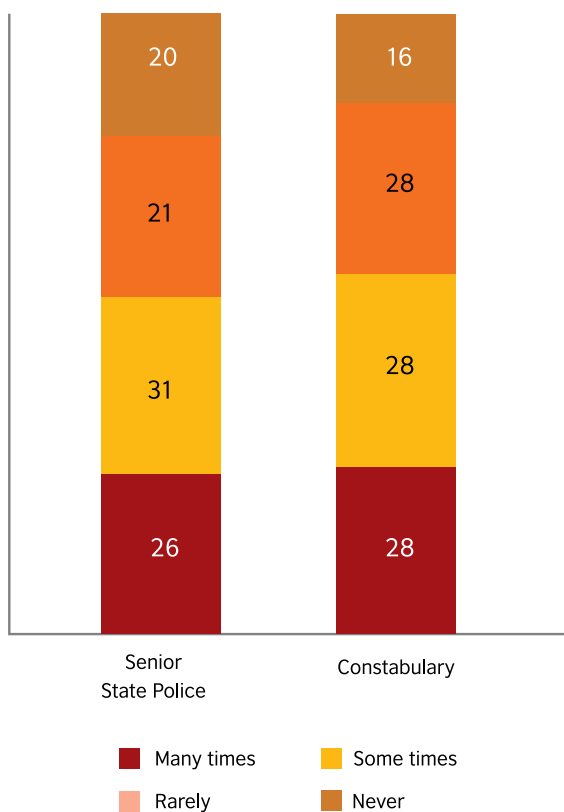
**Figure 4.8: Seven in ten police personnel have frequently experienced lack of cooperation from witnesses as an obstacle during crime investigation**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Considering the past 2-3 years of your work experience, how often have you encountered the \_\_\_\_\_ during investigation of a crime—many times, sometimes, rarely or never?

**Figure 4.9: Constabulary more likely to face departmental pressure during crime investigation**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Considering the past 2-3 years of your work experience, how often have you encountered the departmental pressure during investigation of a crime—many times, sometimes, rarely or never?

favour the accused and that of prosecution duties<sup>2</sup> impeding crime investigation very frequently.

The proportion of constabulary in civil police personnel (28 percent) who reported that they have ‘*many times*’ faced departmental pressure is just marginally higher than senior State police officers (26 percent) (Figure 4.9), who have reported the same issue. About 16 percent of the civil constabulary force reported that they ‘*never*’ faced departmental pressure, as against one fifth of State senior police officers.

Like departmental pressure, the proportion of civil constabulary (35 percent) who reported having ‘*many times*’ faced political pressure is again marginally higher than the proportion of senior State police (30 percent) (Figure 4.10). About 14 percent of the constabulary reported that they have ‘*never*’ faced political pressure, as against 34 percent of senior State police officers.

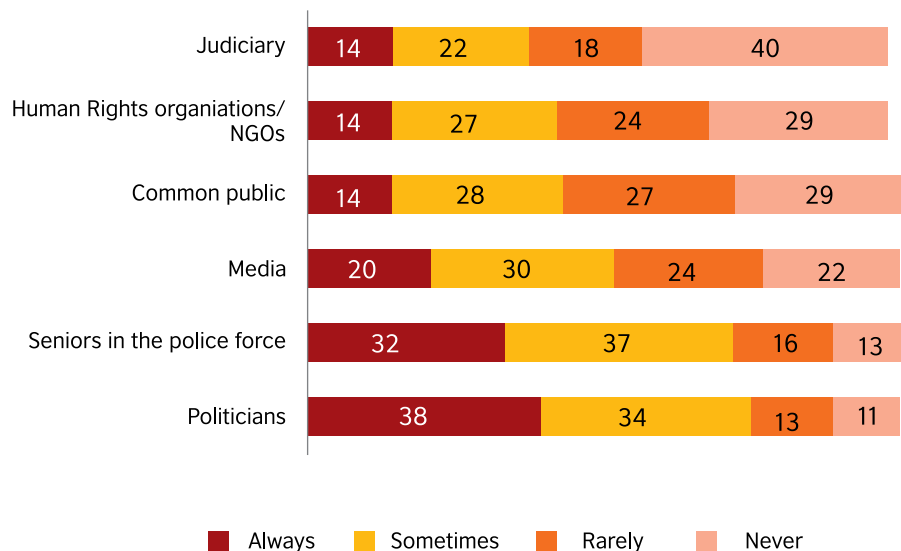
#### 4.5: Pressure in cases involving influential people

In this section, we attempt to understand the pressure<sup>3</sup> on police in cases that involves influential people.

<sup>2</sup> By prosecution duties, we imply all those tasks that the police carry out to assist the prosecutor such as escorting the accused to courts, framing the cases, etc.

<sup>3</sup> While pressure could also be for enabling ‘fair’ investigation, we imply and have used the negative connotation of the term in our study, where pressure impedes the ‘fair’ functioning of the police.

**Figure 4.10: In cases involving influential people, police are more likely to face pressure from politicians as compared to other pressures.**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off and might not add up to 100. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Considering the past 2-3 years of your work experience, how often have you encountered the following pressures during investigation of a crime—many times, sometimes, rarely or never?

About 38 percent of the civil police reported that they always face political pressure in cases involving influential persons. Roughly one third also reported ‘always’ facing pressure from their seniors in the police force. This proportion drops to one fifth of the police ‘always’ facing pressure from media, while about 14 percent reported that they ‘always’ faced pressure from human rights organisations/NGOs, judiciary and the common public in cases involving influential people (Figure 4.10).

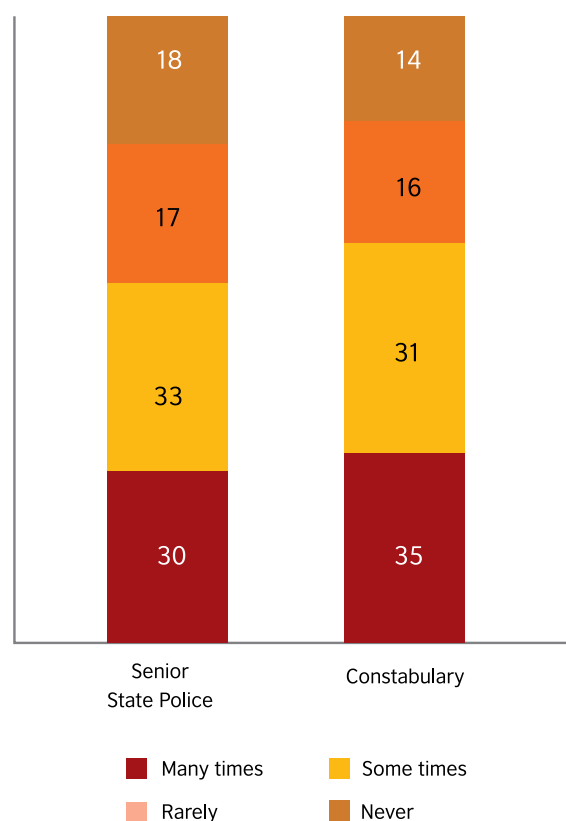
#### 4.6: Consequences of not complying with such pressures

When the police personnel fail to comply with such pressure, the most common consequence is posting or transfer to a different area—with more than three fifth of the civil police reporting the same.

About 12 percent reported the most common consequence to be suspension or dismissal from service, while five percent also reported threat to their personal safety or physical assault (Table 4.10).

About five percent narrated that the most common consequence is harsh public criticism. The consequences of not complying with pressure are similar across different ranks.

**Figure 4.11: Two out of five police personnel reported always facing pressure during investigation of cases involving influential people.**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When dealing with cases involving influential persons, how often does the police feel pressure from the \_\_\_\_\_(politicians/seniors/media/common public/human rights supporters/judiciary)—always, sometimes, rarely or never?

**Table 4.10: Three out of five police personnel reported transfer as the most common consequence of not complying with pressures**

“What is the most common consequences of not complying with such pressures?”	
Transfer/Posting to different area	63
Suspension/Dismissal	12
Threat to personal safety	5
Harsh public criticism	5
Others	3
No response	13

All figures are in percentages. Figures are rounded off and might not add up to 100.

**Question asked:** What is the most common consequence of not complying with such pressures—transfer, suspension, threat to physical safety, harsh public criticism or others?

#### 4.7: Summing up

Crime investigation is one of the most essential functions of the police. Therefore their opinions on the rates of crimes, reasons behind the surge and ebb in criminal incidents as well as their take on measures to control them are of prime importance. At an all-India level, the proportion of police who think the crime has increased in their jurisdiction is equal to the proportion who think that the crime has decreased.

While police personnel who think that crime has increased are most likely to attribute the phenomenon to societal reasons such as unemployment and lack of education, those who think that crime has decreased are most likely to offer improved policing (police becoming more active, stricter, etc.) as a primary reason for crime reduction. Apart from spreading education/awareness, police-system related issues such as increase in strength were most widely cited steps to curb crime. Most civil police personnel feel that installing CCTV cameras in all areas would be highly effective in controlling crime.

Police personnel also reported facing various forms of pressure during crime investigation, particularly political pressure, very frequently. About one third reported having experienced political pressure many times in the past 2–3 years of their work experience. The most common consequence of not complying with pressure is transfer or posting to a different area. Almost 13 years after the Apex Court’s directions to States in the *Prakash Singh* case, specifically to prevent such practices from recurring in the future, political pressure continues to remain one of the biggest hurdles in crime investigation for the police.

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# 5

## Gender and Police

*Navi Mumbai, India – July 8, 2019: Waterlogging at Turbhe police station in Navi Mumbai.  
(Credits: Bachchan Kumar, Hindustan Times)*

In this chapter, policing is seen from the perspective of gender. On the one hand, we look at the experiences of women within the police force, as well as the perceptions of all personnel regarding women in the police. On the other hand, we look at the perceptions of personnel regarding complaints of crimes against women and gender-based violence.

- Women police personnel are more likely to be engaged in in-house tasks, such as maintaining registers, data, etc., while male personnel are more likely to be involved in field-based tasks, such as investigation, patrolling, law and order duties, etc.
- One in five female personnel reported the absence of separate toilets for women at their police station/ workplace
- One in four policewomen said there was no sexual harassment committee in their police station/ jurisdiction
- Over half of the personnel (both men and women) feel that men and women in the police force are not given completely equal treatment. Policewomen at higher ranks are more likely to report discrimination
- States like Bihar, Karnataka and West Bengal have the highest levels of bias against women in the police force, i.e., personnel from these States are most likely to believe that policewomen are less hardworking, less efficient, and should focus on their household duties.
- Nearly one in five police personnel is of the opinion that gender-based violence complaints are false and motivated to a very great extent
- Eight percent personnel are of the opinion that transgenders are very much naturally inclined towards committing crimes

# Gender and Police

Integration of women in police, aside from ensuring fair representation and diversity, is known to have positive impacts on the police structure. Studies have indicated that increasing female representation in the police is directly associated with increased reporting of violent crimes against women and decreased domestic violence (Miller and Segal, 2018). Further, having more female officers can positively impact police-community relationships and the overall performance of the police. A 2007 research paper published in the *Women & Criminal Justice Journal* shows that female officers are less likely to be named in citizen complaints, compared to male officers, female officers are less likely to have allegations of excessive force against them, and just the presence of female officers can reduce the use of force among other officers (Schuck and Rabe-Hemp, 2007).

Yet, the representation of women in the Indian police continues to be poor, at 7.28 percent in 2016. Police forces in India lack gender sensitivity, failing to address the needs of women within the police forces. The lack of women's representation in the police further contributes to reinforcement of gender stereotypes, and intensified biases, against both, women within the police as well as women who have an interface with the police.

In this chapter, we look at policing from the perspective of gender. We study the women personnel's experience with working conditions, infrastructure and task deployment. Further, we analyse the attitudes and opinions of both male and female personnel regarding women in police. We also study police's perceptions of the complaints of crimes against women received by them.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India secures equality to all citizens, with respect to status and opportunity. Articles 14, 15 and 16 of Part III of the In-

dian Constitution give effect to this objective. Clause 3 of Article 15, recognising the structural discrimination denying equal opportunity to women, particularly allows the State to make special provisions for women and children. Being a signatory to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and several other conventions and treaties, India is obligated to ensure equal treatment to women. Police organisations are one of the most visible representatives of the government's civil authority. Hence, they are legally bound to take all the necessary measures to eliminate discrimination towards women, thereby ensuring that the 'principle of equity' is applied in its full spirit.

Women are needed in the police force, not just for reasons of diversity, but also for clear legal requirements. These include escorting female victims/accused, recording statements from women or children who come in contact with the police, and much else. Yet, as per government data, women police constitute merely 7.28 percent of the total force as on January 1, 2017, (see Chapter 1 of the report for an analysis of data on women in police). While the numbers have improved over a decade, going up from 3.89 percent in 2007 to 7.28 percent in 2016, the question is—is this pace good enough? Further, the question that we attempt to address in this chapter is whether we are providing a conducive work environment for women in the police force?

This chapter shines the spotlight on gender issues. It looks at the objective differences in the professional landscape of police personnel of different genders. The first section looks at how the personnel themselves are disadvantaged due to structural biases. The latter section highlights the role of gender biases and their prevalence in police personnel. Our aim, in these sections,

is to highlight the role of the police in practising and perpetuating biases and stereotypes, in a departure from the preceding section.

The section begins by detailing the general working conditions of women police personnel, followed by an analysis of infrastructure-related problems faced by them in the workplace. It further brings to attention the biased attitude of male police personnel towards their female colleagues.

In the following section, we turn to the response and attitude of the police to complaints of gender-based violence. We study the opinions of police personnel towards complaints of domestic violence, dowry, sexual harassment and rape. We also analyse the views they hold on the transgender and *Hijra* community.

### 5.1: Social profile of women in police

In our countrywide sample, 2416 out of the total of 11836 police personnel interviewed, or about 20 per cent of the sample, comprised women. While this sample is disproportionately higher than the actual proportion of women in the police force (7%), it allows for a disaggregated analysis of the responses of female police personnel.

A majority of the women police personnel in the sample were married and less than 40 years of age. Further, four-fifth of them were deployed in civil police, holding constabulary ranks, and about three-fifth have been in the police force for less than 10 years (Table 5.1).

### 5.2: General working conditions

In this sub-section, we study the general working conditions of police personnel, seen through a gender perspective. The section tries to analyse the main tasks performed by both male and female police personnel as well as other working conditions, to assess discrepancies and discrimination, if any. Further, we look at the basic infrastructure of the police station and workplace so as to analyse how gender inclusive they are. This sub-section also examines whether sexual harassment committees have duly been set up at police stations or within the jurisdictions.

Finally, we analyse the responses of women personnel to questions on their willingness to switch to another job if the salary and perks remain the same. This is to ascertain their satisfaction with the job.

**Table 5.1: Profile of women-police personnel surveyed (%)**

Age (years)	
18-30	41
31-40	44
41-50	13
51 and above	2
Caste Groups	
Scheduled Castes	19
Scheduled Tribes	17
Other Backward Classes	33
General	31
Type of police	
Civil police	82
Armed Police	17
Rank-wise	
Constable	70
Head-Constable	14
ASI/Sub-Insp./Insp.	14
Others	2
Years of experience with police	
less than 5 years	26
5 to 10 years	36
10 to 15 years	19
15 to 20 years	10
20 to 25 years	5
above 25 years	3

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

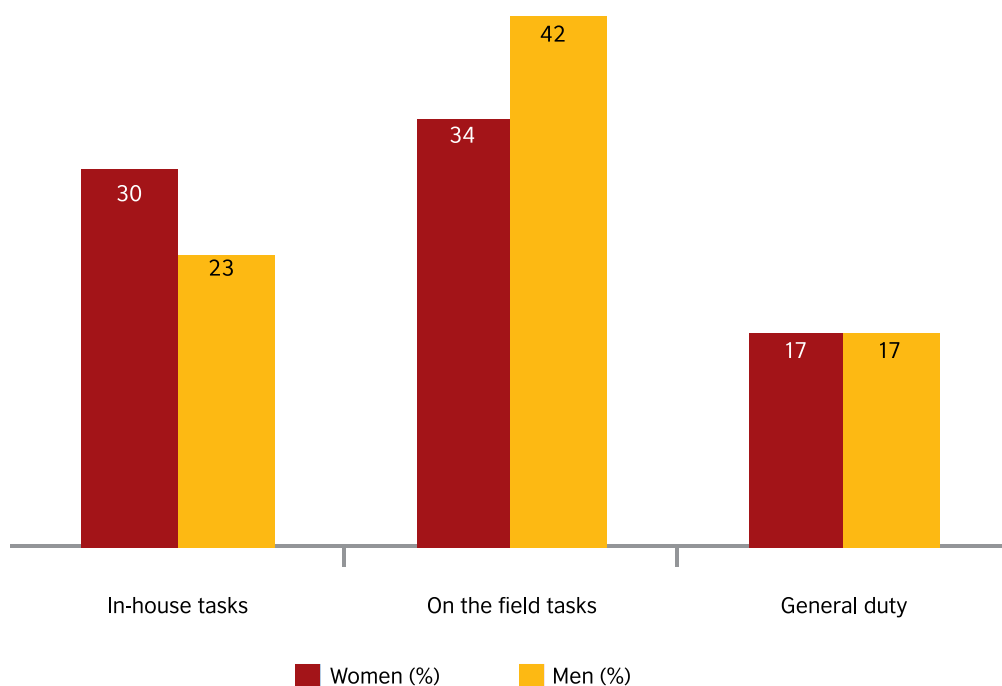
#### i. Tasks performed by men and women police personnel

We find that women police personnel are more likely to report doing tasks that requires working from the police station as opposed to going out in the field. This is in contrast to male personnel who are more likely to be engaged in field tasks (Figure 5.1).

In our survey, more women police personnel reported performing ‘in-house’ tasks, such as maintaining registers/data, dealing with the public and filing FIRs, NCRs and other complaints. Conversely, a higher proportion of male police personnel reported performing ‘on-the-field’ tasks like investigation, patrolling, providing security to VIPs, maintaining law and order, etc. Overall, the proportion of men performing in-

**Figure 5.1: Women police more likely to perform in-house tasks, while male police more likely to undertake on-the-field tasks**

*“What are the main tasks that you perform daily at this post?”*



Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: What are the two main tasks that you perform daily at this post?

Answer categories that required respondents to work from within the premises of police station/work place were qualified as ‘in house tasks’, while categories that required respondents to work on the field were qualified as ‘on the field tasks’.

house tasks was found to be seven percentage points lesser than women, whereas that of men performing on-the-field tasks was eight percentage points higher than women.

A further rank-wise distribution of women police personnel reveals that 31 percent of women at constabulary ranks (Constable and Head-constable) and 27 percent at inspector level ranks (Assistant Sub-Inspector, Sub-Inspector, Inspector and Circle Inspector) are doing only in-house tasks. The gap between the ones engaged in ‘on the field tasks,’ with 46 percent of police-women at inspector level performing ‘on the field tasks’, as against only 32 percent at constabulary ranks. As it appears, the women at senior ranks get to perform more ‘on the field’ tasks, compared to their subordinates. Similarly, on comparing men and women, the picture is more equitable among higher rank police personnel. It is revealed that the gap between police-women and police-men engaged in ‘on the field’ duties reduces from 8 percentage points to 4 percentage points as we move away from constabulary to inspector rank (Table 5.2).

**Table 5.2: Women police personnel at senior ranks more likely to be engaged in on-the-field tasks**

	Women (%)			Men (%)		
	In house tasks	On the field tasks	General duty	In house tasks	On the field tasks	General duty
Constabulary	31	32	17	23	40	17
Inspectors	27	46	15	21	50	15

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Constabulary includes Constable and Head-constable. Inspectors include Assistant Sub-Inspector, Sub-Inspector, Inspector and Circle Inspector. There were not enough cases for ranks higher than the ones mentioned (only 3 police-women as against 27 police-men at the positions of ASP/DSP or other higher ranks).

Maximum percentages of police-women (56%) were found to be performing in-house tasks in the NCT of Delhi, followed by Bihar (49%). The gap between men and women performing in-house tasks was also found to be the highest in these two States—27 percent points in Delhi and 28 percent points in Bihar.

On the contrary, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Nagaland and West Bengal were found to have a negligible gap between the work divisions of men and women in police. Interestingly, Punjab and Nagaland have more women police personnel performing ‘on the field’ tasks, compared to men (Table 5.3).

**Table 5.3: Daily tasks performed (State-wise position) (%)**

States	Women		
	In house tasks	On the field tasks	General duty
Delhi	56 (+27)	30 (-24)	10 (+1)
Bihar	49 (+28)	30 (-19)	13 (-6)
Haryana	43 (+7)	25 (-10)	20 (+2)
Madhya Pradesh	43 (+12)	29 (-9)	16 (-4)
Uttar Pradesh	42 (+15)	21 (-25)	22 (+6)
Karnataka	39 (+10)	24 (-15)	23 (+1)
Andhra Pradesh	38 (+11)	41 (-8)	14 (+2)
Telangana	38 (+15)	36 (-13)	16 (-2)
Punjab	35 (+6)	33 (+9)	16 (-4)
Rajasthan	32 (+11)	46 (-10)	5 (+0)
Assam	29 (+9)	15 (-6)	23 (-1)
Himachal Pradesh	26 (+5)	40 (-7)	23 (+2)
Kerala	26 (+6)	56 (-4)	11 (-1)
Jharkhand	25 (+1)	28 (-5)	16 (-2)
Gujarat	20 (+2)	21 (-3)	9 (-1)
Maharashtra	19 (+0)	41 (-2)	19 (-1)
Chhattisgarh	19 (-3)	24 (-5)	30 (+4)
Nagaland	18 (+0)	41 (+7)	17 (-1)
West Bengal	18 (+2)	24 (-6)	17 (+3)
Uttarakhand	17 (+4)	47 (-6)	18 (+5)
Odisha	15 (+3)	54 (-7)	12 (+0)

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

The difference between responses of women and men are mentioned in the brackets.

## ii. Weekly off-days

Gender inequality in our society imposes a ‘double burden’ on women engaged in paid work. As a result, domestic responsibilities fall disproportionately upon women, regardless of their employment status. In such a scenario, fixed work shifts and weekly rest become even more important for employed women. While data suggests that the police women are more likely to avail these facilities than their male counterparts, the percentages of women who are not getting any weekly rest is still significant, at 48 percent.

Almost half of the women police personnel (48%) reported not getting any weekly off. What’s more, just

about 29 percent of the female personnel reported getting one day holiday in a week (Figure 5.2).

In States like Odisha and Chhattisgarh the situation is much worse, with 95 and 90 percent women police respectively reporting to not getting any weekly holidays. Maharashtra, with no women responding as ‘nil,’ was found to be the best performing State with respect to weekly rests for personnel. This was followed by Karnataka with only seven percent women reporting no weekly offs (Tables 5.4).

**Table 5.4: Weekly off-days (State-wise) (%)**

States	Women			Men		
	Zero	One	Two or More	Zero	One	Two or More
Odisha	95	0	0	93	0	0
Chhattisgarh	90	3	0	93	2	0
Himachal Pradesh	88	1	0	91	3	0
Bihar	75	15	5	74	10	4
Uttarakhand	68	3	0	72	3	0
Gujarat	65	5	4	71	7	2
Andhra Pradesh	52	35	6	56	27	4
Assam	52	8	4	59	8	6
Uttar Pradesh	51	26	1	62	13	0
Jharkhand	48	29	1	45	34	1
Rajasthan	47	11	5	55	15	4
Madhya Pradesh	41	28	0	50	21	1
Punjab	38	58	0	43	50	1
Telangana	38	2	0	31	2	0
Delhi	33	51	0	64	20	0
West Bengal	32	33	10	38	26	18
Nagaland	31	31	4	27	22	11
Haryana	25	44	2	27	53	0
Kerala	22	69	1	29	53	6
Karnataka	7	81	8	23	66	5
Maharashtra	0	86	10	0	79	18

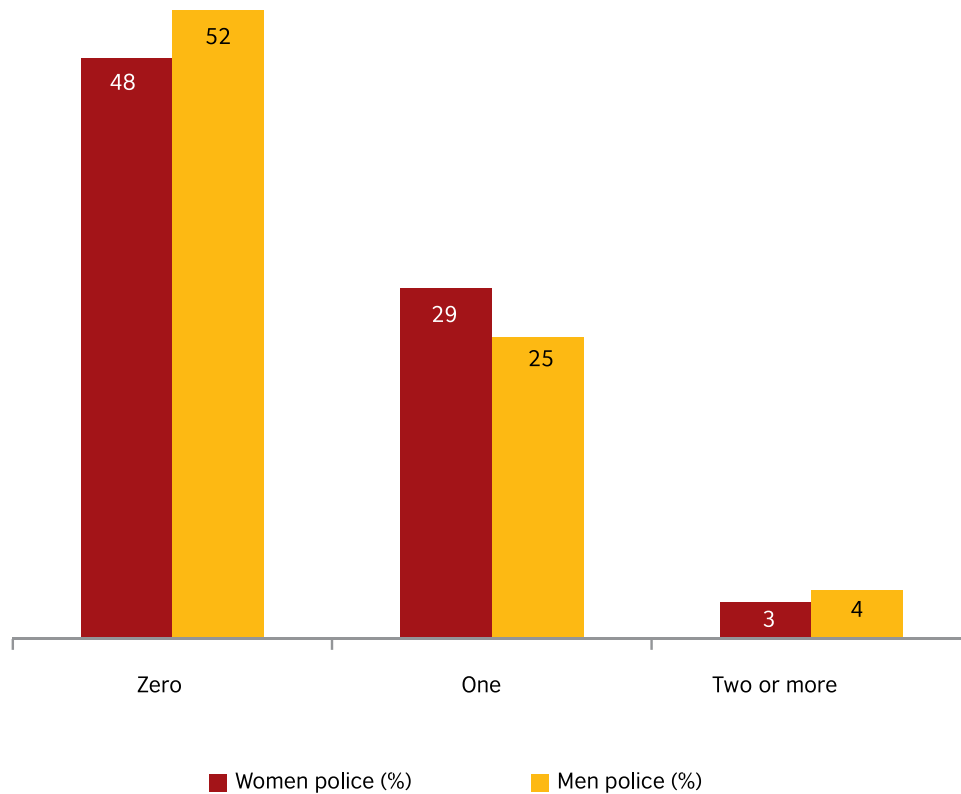
Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## iii. Staying back post duty hours

Two out of every five women police personnel (41%) said they had to stay back ‘many times’ beyond duty hours. Further, one-third of the women reported that they had to stay at the police station ‘sometimes’ after their duty hours (Figure 5.3). With eight of the States surveyed having more than half of the police-women

**Figure 5.2: One in two women police personnel does not get any weekly rest**

*“How many weekly offs do you get?”*

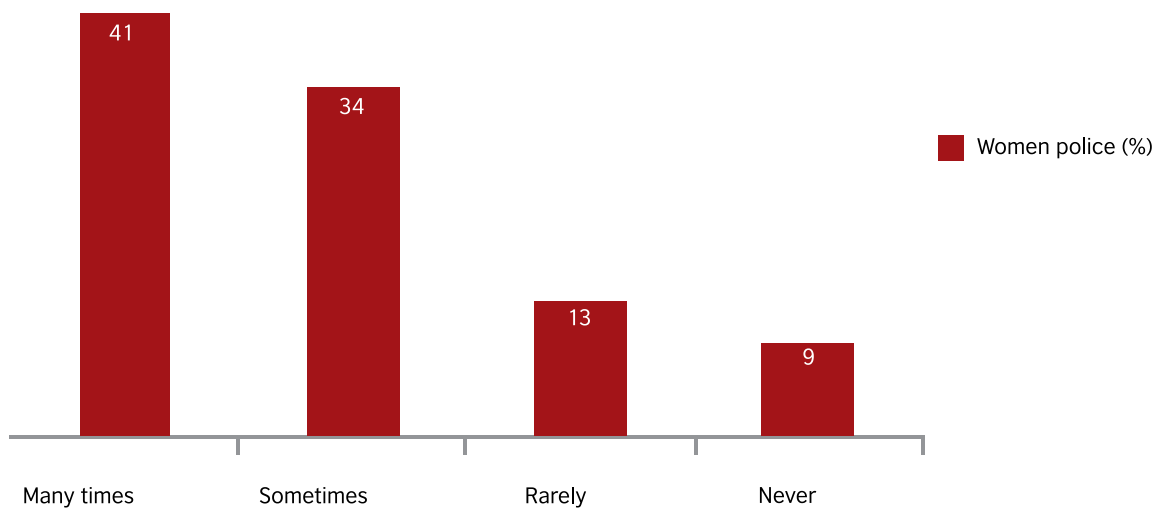


Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: On an average, how many weekly off-days do you actually get? (Number of days)

**Figure 5.3: Two in five women police personnel have to regularly stay back at work after duty hours**

*“How many times in a week are you asked to stay back at the police station even after duty hours?”*



Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: With regards to your duty hours, how many times in a week are you asked to stay back at the police station even after duty hours?

responding as ‘many times’, the picture is gloomy throughout the country.

Increasing workload, emergency duties and lack of staff were the top three reasons reported by police-women for having to stay beyond the duty hours. Twenty-nine percent of women police personnel reported ‘increasing work load’ or ‘too much of work’, as the main reason. Also, 18 percent reported ‘emergency duties’ as the primary reason for working overtime (Figure 5.4).

**Table 5.5: How often do women have to stay back at work after duty hours? (State-wise) (Responses of women police personnel) (%)**

States	Many times	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Odisha	80	8	1	8
Bihar	63	30	4	1
Telangana	63	21	4	6
Kerala	59	34	4	3
Punjab	57	19	17	5
Himachal Pradesh	56	32	10	2
Uttarakhand	54	37	3	0
Assam	50	24	11	12
Gujarat	47	20	24	6
Chhattisgarh	39	42	9	9
Rajasthan	38	46	13	3
Delhi	38	40	13	9
Maharashtra	35	46	13	3
Karnataka	32	42	10	15
Uttar Pradesh	32	39	27	2
Andhra Pradesh	26	48	12	7
Haryana	24	21	36	19
Jharkhand	19	46	19	13
Madhya Pradesh	15	37	17	26
Nagaland	13	39	27	16
West Bengal	6	45	12	27

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

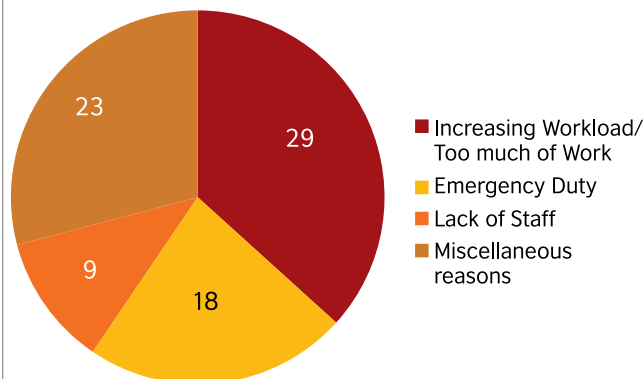
**iv. Separate toilets for men and women**

With the ‘Swachh Bharat’ campaign kick-starting in 2014, access to toilets and complete sanitation coverage became buzzwords in the public health domain. In its wake, the construction of toilets in every household became a high-priority agenda for every State.

As the mission comes to a close five years later, an alarming truth stares us in the face. Even in 2019 more

**Figure 5.4: Increasing workload the primary reason for police women to work overtime**

“What is generally the most important reason for staying back at police station after duty hours?”  
(Responses of women police personnel only)



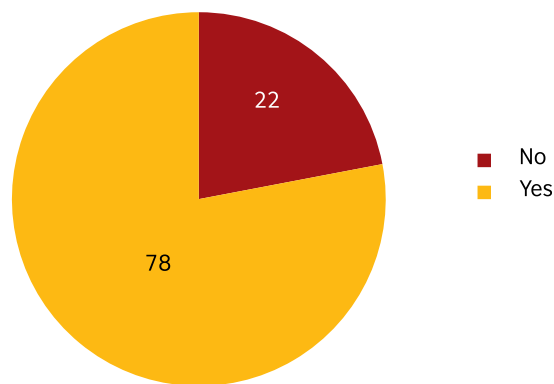
Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

‘Miscellaneous reasons’ comprises Investigation of Cases, Attending Complaints & Registering Cases, Law and order, Office order, Increasing Crime Rate, Improper Duty Timings, Patrolling, VIP duty, Medical Examination of Women, Improper Staff Management. As the figures were less than 4%, all of them have been clubbed into one.

Question asked: What is generally the most important reason for staying back at police station after duty hours? (The question was asked only to those who reported staying back at the police station ‘many times’, ‘sometimes’ or ‘rarely’)

**Figure 5.5: One in every five police women reported the absence of a separate toilet for women at their police station**

“Are separate toilets for women available at your police station/jurisdiction?”  
(Responses of women police personnel only)



Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Are separate toilet for women available at your police station/jurisdiction?

than one in every five women police personnel (22%) reported as not having a separate toilet at the police stations (Figure 5.5).<sup>1</sup>

Bihar and Telangana, where three out of every five police-women (61% and 59% respectively) say they don't have a separate toilet, lead the list. Delhi has the highest availability of separate toilets for women at police stations. Here, 99 percent of the police-women reported as having a separate toilet, closely followed by West Bengal (96%), Jharkhand (95%), Gujarat (94%), Madhya Pradesh (93%) and Haryana (92%) (Table 5.6).

**Table 5.6: Separate toilets for women? (State-wise responses of women police personnel) (%)**

States	No	Yes
Bihar	61	38
Telangana	59	40
Himachal Pradesh	48	51
Uttar Pradesh	41	58
Assam	34	65
Uttarakhand	26	72
Karnataka	23	76
Nagaland	21	76
Andhra Pradesh	19	81
Odisha	19	82
Chhattisgarh	19	81
Punjab	18	80
Rajasthan	16	83
Kerala	13	86
Maharashtra	13	87
Haryana	8	92
Madhya Pradesh	7	93
Gujarat	6	94
Jharkhand	4	95
West Bengal	1	96
Delhi	1	99

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## v. Sexual harassment committees

The Sexual Harassment of women at Workplace Act of 2013 makes it mandatory for all workplaces to constitute a committee which will look into sexual harassment complaints faced by their female employ-

1 It is likely that multiple police personnel from a same station/workplace might have been reported. Hence this is not a definitive number of the stations that do not have the basic facility of a separate toilet for women, but merely an indicative number of the women police personnel who have reported availability or lack of this basic facility at their respective police stations.

ees. Nearly one-fourth (24%) of the police women surveyed reported the absence of such a committee in their workplace or jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> (Table 5.7)

**Table 5.7: One-fourth police women said that there was no sexual harassment committee at their police station/jurisdiction**

<i>“Are committees against sexual harassment available at your police station/jurisdiction?”(responses of women police personnel only)</i>			
States	Yes	No	No Response
Bihar	18	76	6
Telangana	41	47	12
Nagaland	44	28	28
Jharkhand	58	31	11
Chhattisgarh	63	34	3
Assam	64	32	4
Uttarakhand	70	24	6
Himachal Pradesh	71	25	5
Uttar Pradesh	71	22	6
Madhya Pradesh	71	19	10
Punjab	73	23	5
Gujarat	74	23	4
West Bengal	74	9	17
Haryana	75	15	10
Kerala	76	7	17
Maharashtra	77	19	5
Karnataka	78	22	1
Odisha	79	18	2
Rajasthan	79	16	5
Andhra Pradesh	80	17	3
Delhi	83	13	3

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off.

**Question asked:** Are committees against sexual harassment available at your police station/jurisdiction?

The position is dismal throughout the country. In 13 of the surveyed States, less than three-fourth of police-women reported the existence of such a committee. Bihar's situation was the worst, with 76 percent of police-women reporting the absence of such a committee. Delhi, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Odisha are better placed, with 79 percent or more police women from these States responding that the committee exists (Table 5.7).

2 It is likely that multiple police personnel from a same station/workplace might have been reported. Hence this is not a definitive number of the stations that do not have the committee against sexual harassment, but merely an indicative number of the women police personnel who have reported availability or unavailability of committee against sexual harassment at their respective police stations or within the jurisdiction of the police stations.

It's important to note, however, that the proportion of 'no responses' to this question was very high in several States. While in Nagaland, as many as 28 percent of police-women gave no response to the question, the figures were on the higher side in West Bengal and Kerala as well (17% each). This could indicate the lack of awareness about the committee among policewomen.

#### vi. Switch the job?

Nearly two in every five police-women (37%) said that they are willing to quit the police force and go for another job if the salary and perks remain the same, indicating a high level of dissatisfaction with their profession. With 63 percent police-women willing to give up their job for an alternative one, which provides them with the same salary and perks, Uttar Pradesh leads the list. It is closely followed by Uttarakhand (54%) and Himachal Pradesh (52%). The dissatisfaction levels were also very high in Gujarat, Chhattisgarh and Kerala, with almost half of the police-women willing to switch their jobs (Table 5.8).

If we consider the combined figures of all the States, dissatisfaction with a policing job was found to be equal among both men and women. However, on a deeper analysis, more police-women were found to be willing to switch their jobs for another, compared to police-men, in nine of the States surveyed. The gap was found to be maximum in Jharkhand, with 47 percent police-women willing to give up their jobs as against 31 percent police-men. Police-women in Haryana and Punjab were found to be most satisfied with their jobs, with 86 percent and 79 percent respectively answering 'no' to the job-switch question.

Interestingly, few States had a high percentage of police-women who were indecisive when asked this question. It is also important to mention that almost one-third of the police-women in West Bengal could neither say 'yes' nor 'no' on being asked the very same question.

### 5.3: Attitude towards women in police

An enabling environment and non-discriminatory attitudes go a long way in ensuring women's satisfaction with their workplace. The police culture is typically known for its patriarchal dispositions, although massive changes have been initiated in the system to blunt this image. In this sub-section, we study as to what extent both the sexes have been provided equal treatment, and whether police women are discriminated against within the system.

**Table 5.8: Switch the profession? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Yes		No	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Uttar Pradesh	63	56	35	44
Uttarakhand	54	47	27	45
Himachal Pradesh	52	59	48	41
Gujarat	50	43	37	43
Chhattisgarh	49	50	38	46
Kerala	49	48	49	51
Jharkhand	47	31	50	62
Bihar	46	52	54	48
Rajasthan	46	56	49	38
Delhi	40	46	57	50
Telangana	34	32	61	63
Madhya Pradesh	33	36	53	57
Assam	32	26	51	55
Karnataka	31	33	66	62
Andhra Pradesh	31	28	57	56
Odisha	26	17	73	79
Maharashtra	25	25	70	70
West Bengal	15	26	55	43
Punjab	15	17	79	76
Nagaland	14	20	70	70
Haryana	10	28	86	69

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Given a chance will you be willing to give up this profession and go for another job if the salary and perks remain the same?

#### i. Inequalities within the Police force

More than half of the overall police personnel sample admitted that men and women in police are not 'completely' treated equally. On being asked to what extent are women and men police personnel given equal treatment, less than half of the police personnel (44 percent of the police-women and 46 percent of police men) said that they received complete equal treatment. As many as 28 percent respondents were of the opinion that the equal treatment they received was 'rarely' or 'not at all.' The responses of male and female police personnel were similar to this question (Table 5.9).

**Table 5.9: About one in two personnel feels that men and women in police are not given completely equal treatment**

<i>“To what extent are Women police personnel &amp; men police personnel given equal treatment?”</i>		
	Women	Men
Completely	44	45
Somewhat	24	23
Rarely	12	12
Not at all	16	16

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are the Women police person & men police person personnel given equal treatment—completely, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

Police-women posted at higher ranks (Assistant Sub-Inspector, Sub-inspector, Inspector and Circle Inspector) are more likely to feel that male and female police are not treated equally (Table 5.10).

**Table 5.10: Policewomen at higher ranks more likely to report discrimination**

<i>“To what extent are Women police personnel &amp; men police personnel given equal treatment?” (Responses of women police personnel only)</i>		
	Constabulary	Inspectors
Completely	45	41
Somewhat	24	28
Rarely	12	12
Not at all	16	15

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Constabulary includes Constable and Head-constable. Inspectors include Assistant Sub-Inspector, Inspector and Circle Inspector. There were not enough cases for ranks higher than the ones mentioned for women (only 3 police-women as against 27 policemen at the positions of ASP/DSP or other higher ranks).

Our analysis reveals significant variation across States. In Telangana, women police personnel report the highest level of discrimination with 55 percent police-women saying that they are ‘not at all’ treated equally. In other words, two of every three police-women in Telangana strongly feel that there is unequal treatment. Similarly, in Punjab and Haryana, two of every five police-women (40% in Punjab and 38% in Haryana) reported ‘rarely’ or ‘not at all’ equal treatment (Table 5.10).

In some States, male police personnel’s opinions on this question varied significantly from that of females.

A notable difference of 18 percentage points was found in Kerala, with 78 percent of police-men reporting that men and women police personnel are being treated completely equally as against 60 percent of police-women. Other States with notable differences in the responses of men and women in police were Bihar (15%), Chhattisgarh (14%), Jharkhand (12%) and West Bengal (10%).

## ii. Prejudices towards women in police

Policing is traditionally considered a man’s job. Not surprisingly, many hold patriarchal prejudices and consider women to be incapable of handling police duties. Their reasons for putting down women are manifold, including their perceived lack of strength, or incapability of handling high intensity cases. They feel women might be better off at homes than working as police-women. To assess the levels of such deep-seated prejudices against women, we read out three statements to the respondents (both men and women) and asked them if they agree or disagree with them.<sup>3</sup> The first statement was ‘*being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behaviour which women lack.*’ The second statement was ‘*women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases.*’ While third and last statement was ‘*because of inflexible working hours, it is not alright for women to work in the police force as they cannot attend to homely duties.*’ Responses to these questions have been analysed here.

## iii. Composite prejudice index (against women in police)

In order to analyse the overall attitude of police personnel towards the women in police, we created a composite index. It took into account the responses of the police personnel on each of the three above-mentioned statements. On the basis of the intensity of their bias, we grouped the respondents into four categories—‘high bias’, ‘medium bias’, ‘low bias’ and ‘no bias’ (Please see Appendix 4 for details on index calculation methodology).

One in every four male police personnel has a ‘high’ degree of bias against women in police, while a significant proportion of male police personnel were also found to have a ‘medium’ degree of bias (16%). The level of prejudice is relatively lower amongst female police personnel (Table 5.13).

<sup>3</sup> Please note that this is not a comparative question on the prejudices of women in police. The responses on these three statements were recorded separately.

**Table 5.11: Equal treatment to men and women? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Women				Men			
	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Telangana	17	16	10	55	18	18	7	52
Haryana	44	19	7	31	42	19	9	28
Punjab	41	17	11	29	35	21	9	30
Karnataka	24	31	10	21	25	35	13	20
Madhya Pradesh	33	33	13	20	23	38	18	20
Kerala	60	9	11	17	78	5	3	12
Maharashtra	46	17	13	17	38	22	18	19
Assam	58	18	8	15	53	15	13	19
Delhi	53	13	19	14	59	16	6	17
Jharkhand	30	36	20	14	42	31	15	10
Rajasthan	54	16	16	13	58	26	12	5
Gujarat	46	26	6	12	44	26	6	14
Uttar Pradesh	53	21	11	12	58	16	16	10
Odisha	47	15	13	11	50	16	10	13
Andhra Pradesh	44	29	17	10	44	29	16	10
Nagaland	44	21	13	10	41	31	15	6
West Bengal	38	24	20	9	48	25	8	12
Chhattisgarh	43	37	8	9	57	19	16	3
Uttarakhand	37	49	6	6	37	49	9	4
Bihar	17	56	23	5	32	26	26	15
Himachal Pradesh	76	12	7	5	82	7	3	8

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Table 5.12: Responses to the three statements (%)**

	Statement 1: <i>'Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behaviour which women lack'</i>			Statement 2: <i>'Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases'</i>			Statement 3: <i>'Because of inflexible working hours, it is not alright for women to work in the police force as they cannot attend to homely duties'</i>		
	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women
Fully agree	14	15	10	10	11	7	22	23	17
Somewhat agree	27	28	19	22	23	15	29	31	24
Somewhat disagree	19	19	20	25	25	26	19	18	22
Fully disagree	39	36	48	41	39	51	27	24	35

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with these arguments: 1. 'Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behaviour which women lack' 2. 'Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases' 3. 'Because of inflexible working hours, it is not alright for women to work in the police force as they cannot attend to homely duties'

**Table 5.13: One in four male police personnel is highly biased against women in police**

	Overall (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
High bias	23	25	15
Medium	15	16	12
Low	24	24	23
No bias	37	34	49

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

When we compared the responses of male police personnel with those of females, we found a significant difference. Men in police were found to harbour much stronger stereotypes compared to their female counterparts. Male police personnel are more likely to agree with the gender-stereotypical statements (difference of 10 percent points in the high bias category), while police women are much more likely to disagree with such statements (difference of 15 percentage points in the “no bias” category).

States with the highest levels of prejudice among male personnel are Telangana, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab and West Bengal. Among these, Telangana, with four in every five, and Bihar, with three in every four policemen being highly prejudiced, fared the worst. On the other hand, male police personnel from Haryana and Odisha (9 and 10 percent respectively had high bias) emerged as the least biased.

Comparing male and female responses State-wise, the differences in opinion were significant in Bihar, with three-fifth of the men surveyed agreeing with all three statements (high bias) and almost an equal proportion of women disagreeing with all the three (no bias). Karnataka was also notable with more than two-fifth of the police-men agreeing with all three, and more than half of the police-women agreeing with none (Table 5.13).

**Table 5.13: Level of bias towards women in police (State-wise) (%)**

States	Men				Women			
	High bias	Medium	Low	No bias	High bias	Medium	Low	No bias
Bihar	60	13	11	17	18	17	10	54
Karnataka	44	11	16	28	15	16	12	57
West Bengal	39	10	20	25	30	6	26	32
Telangana	38	42	14	3	31	45	22	2
Punjab	33	17	11	37	24	24	14	38
Gujarat	31	13	31	34	12	6	35	45
Maharashtra	30	20	12	37	11	12	22	54
Madhya Pradesh	27	30	30	11	21	14	22	42
Andhra Pradesh	24	22	28	26	22	11	11	56
Uttar Pradesh	24	13	24	39	8	3	23	66
Rajasthan	23	10	8	59	26	12	6	57
Uttarakhand	22	12	16	49	13	9	14	62
Kerala	18	15	44	23	2	5	48	45
Jharkhand	17	19	38	26	13	15	28	43
Nagaland	16	21	32	31	32	6	17	45
Delhi	16	13	24	47	7	17	20	57
Chhattisgarh	15	15	34	31	16	11	34	38
Himachal Pradesh	14	9	47	31	9	4	39	48
Odisha	13	10	31	45	3	6	27	64
Assam	10	11	8	70	5	15	8	71
Haryana	9	5	43	39	7	5	47	42

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## 5.4: Gender sensitisation

At this stage, it becomes important to see whether the police personnel surveyed received any training on gender sensitisation, imperative for addressing pre-existing biases towards both—women within police and women who approach the police. The current section takes a penetrating look into this issue.

On being asked about the last time they received training on gender sensitisation, one in every 10 police personnel reported never getting any such training, whereas, two in every five police personnel received this specialised training only at the time of joining. Only one-third reported being trained on gender within the last two to three years.<sup>4</sup> Further, policewomen were more likely to report receiving gender sensitisation training than policemen (Table 5.14).

**Table 5.14: One in three police personnel was provided gender sensitisation training in the last 2-3 years**

<i>“When was the last time you received training about sensitisation towards women?”</i>			
	Overall	Men	Women
Last 2-3 years	32	32	34
Before that	16	16	16
Time of joining	40	39	41
Never	9	10	6

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** When was the last time you received training about sensitisation towards women?

In absence of any guidelines with regard to frequency of training, we assumed such training should be given to the police personnel at least once in every five years, to make them aware about the latest developments and to test their efficiencies. Thus, we divided the re-

<sup>4</sup> Eight percent of the police personnel interviewed joined the police force during last three years (7% men and 13% women).

spondents into two categories, the ones who have less than five years of experience with the police<sup>5</sup>, and the ones having more than five years of work experience.

Among the male respondents who joined the police force within last five years, 11 percent have received no such training either at the time of joining or afterwards. Among those police-men who have more than five years of experience in the service, one-third received the training during last two-three years and more than one-third (37%) received it only at the time of joining. Nine percent of the police-men with more than five years of experience never got such training. In other words, close to half (46%) of the police-men with more than five years of experience have either received such training at the time of joining, or not received it at all. Also, if you have joined the police force within last five years, likelihood of your receiving training on gender sensitisation at the time of joining seems to have improved compared to the others. (Table 5.15)

Across the States, Nagaland provided the least gender sensitisation training, with almost two in every five male police personnel (37%) never receiving any such training. This is followed by Gujarat with one in every four male police personnel (24%) never being trained on gender sensitisation. Bihar, with 22 percent, and Assam, with 20 percent, were just slightly better. Conversely, Rajasthan was found to have no male police personnel left untrained with respect to gender sensitisation (Table 5.16).

<sup>5</sup> Seventeen percent of the police personnel interviewed joined the police force during last five years (15% men and 26% women).

**Table 5.15: Personnel who were recruited in the last five years more likely to be trained on gender sensitisation**

<i>“When was the last time you received training about sensitisation towards women?”</i>								
Years of experience	Men				Women			
	Last 2-3 years*	Before that	Time of joining	Never	Last 2-3 years**	Before that	Time of joining	Never
less than 5 years	24	11	51	11	27	11	50	8
more than 5 years	33	17	37	9	37	18	38	5

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

\*7% of the police-men interviewed joined the police force during last three years.

\*\*13% of the police-women interviewed joined the police force during last three years.

**Table 5.16: Training on sensitisation towards women (State-wise)(%)**

<i>“When was the last time you received training on sensitisation towards women?”</i>								
States	Men				Women			
	Last 2-3 years	Before that	Time of joining	Never	Last 2-3 years	Before that	Time of joining	Never
Nagaland	16	6	15	37	37	3	18	20
Gujarat	11	7	52	24	7	3	67	20
Bihar	9	9	58	22	15	14	55	13
Assam	27	23	28	20	26	26	31	15
Telangana	28	18	37	16	35	18	43	4
Kerala	46	17	24	12	45	15	34	5
Uttarakhand	49	21	21	7	36	17	38	3
Maharashtra	35	14	41	7	45	10	38	5
Chhattisgarh	19	5	66	7	33	7	51	9
Himachal Pradesh	59	5	30	6	54	5	35	5
Odisha	40	7	44	6	30	5	57	6
Andhra Pradesh	42	25	28	5	56	16	23	6
Jharkhand	41	23	28	5	40	22	34	3
Uttar Pradesh	38	7	49	5	35	10	53	1
Punjab	26	20	49	4	29	19	48	2
Madhya Pradesh	18	27	48	3	15	21	57	3
West Bengal	14	31	41	3	11	35	39	5
Delhi	52	16	30	2	60	9	31	0
Karnataka	48	30	20	2	36	45	18	1
Haryana	23	13	61	2	27	7	66	0
Rajasthan	33	20	47	0	40	14	44	2

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Table 5.17: To what extent ‘domestic violence’, ‘dowry’, ‘sexual harassment’ and ‘rape’ complaints are false and motivated? (%)**

Complaints of...	‘domestic violence’			‘dowry’			‘sexual harassment’			‘rape’		
	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women	Overall	Men	Women
A lot	26	27	24	25	25	23	18	19	17	16	16	15
Somewhat	40	39	43	34	34	36	34	34	35	27	27	29
Very rare	20	20	20	24	24	25	25	25	25	28	28	27
Not at all	10	10	11	12	12	11	18	17	20	24	24	26

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent ‘domestic violence’, ‘dowry’, ‘sexual harassment’ and ‘rape’ complaints false and motivated—A lot, somewhat, very rare or none at all?

## 5.5: Attitudes towards gender-related complaints

In this section, we look at the opinions of police personnel on their experience of gender-based violence (GBV) complaints<sup>6</sup>. We also look at the extent to which the police personnel perceive people from the *Hijra* or transgender community as being naturally prone towards committing crimes.

### i. Opinion on complaints of gender-based violence

Reporting of cases of gender-based violence in India is abysmally low. The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) report of 2015-16 reveals that 99 percent of cases of sexual harassment go unreported (Bhattacharya and Kundu, 2018).

While numerous factors are at play here, including the fear of social stigma (SPIR 2018, chapter 6), disbelief by police personnel is also a major contributing factor. The problem is exacerbated with police unwilling to file complaints or follow due procedures. Recent laws such as the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 2013 and the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act of 2012 make it mandatory for the police to file all cases of sexual abuse, yet cases of non-registration are not uncommon (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

In this context, the opinions of police personnel on whether such cases are false and motivated are pertinent to note. These answers are linked to the response of the police to cases of violence against women. Police personnel were asked questions about whether, in their opinion, the following complaints are false and motivated—complaints of domestic violence, dowry, sexual harassment and rape.<sup>7</sup>

### ii. Composite index for gender based violence complaints

In order to analyse the overall attitude of police personnel towards gender-based violence, we created a composite index, taking into account the responses of police personnel on all four types of complaints. The index was based on the extent to which police personnel regard such complaints as false and motivated. The respondents were grouped into five categories—‘to a very high extent’, ‘to a high extent’, ‘medium extent’, ‘to a low extent’ and ‘not at all’ (Please see Appendix 4 for a detailed index calculation methodology).

<sup>6</sup> Please note that complaints do not necessarily imply FIR.

<sup>7</sup> Please note that this is not a comparative question on the gender based violence complaints. We asked separate questions on these four kinds of complaints.

One in every five police personnel is of the opinion that complaints of gender-based violence are false and motivated to a very high extent (responding ‘many’ for all the four questions), while almost an equal number of police personnel believe the complaints to be false and motivated to a high extent. There was very little variation on the opinions of male and female police personnel on this issue (Table 5.18).

**Table 5.18: Nearly one in five police personnel is of the opinion that gender-based violence complaints are false and motivated to a great extent**

<i>To what extent are the complaints of gender-based violence false and motivated?</i>			
	Overall (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
To a very high extent	18	17	19
High	21	21	21
Medium	20	20	18
Low	22	22	22
Not at all	17	17	19

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Six of the States, namely, Delhi, Punjab, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Assam were found to have about half or more police personnel who believed that complaints related to gender-based violence are false and motivated to ‘a very high’ or to ‘a high’ extent (around 10 percentage points higher than the national average). On the other hand, States like Kerala, Telangana, Nagaland and Odisha had less than 10 percent police personnel with the “to a very high extent” response (Table 5.19).

### iii. Prejudices towards transgender and Hijra community

Transgenders were recently given legal recognition in India in the landmark case of *National Legal Services Authority vs Union of India* (2014). But being accorded legal recognition and being accepted by society for being a sexual minority are two different things. It is extremely important therefore, to evaluate the opinion of police personnel about this community, as the former is an arm of the State. While we may have come a long way on the road to social, economic and educational empowerment of sexual minorities with the appointment of the first transgender police officer in Tamil Nadu in 2017, but there’s still much to be desired.

**Table 5.19: Are gender-based violence complaints false and motivated? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very high	High	Medium	Low	Not at all
Assam	37	11	18	12	18
Karnataka	31	19	22	22	6
Jharkhand	27	17	23	20	12
Rajasthan	26	16	17	10	31
Uttarakhand	25	17	15	32	11
Chhattisgarh	24	21	14	19	17
Punjab	23	28	17	12	15
Haryana	23	24	24	21	5
Madhya Pradesh	22	27	20	20	11
Andhra Pradesh	22	23	26	18	10
Gujarat	20	16	24	22	16
West Bengal	16	13	14	18	29
Maharashtra	14	16	18	26	24
Himachal Pradesh	13	36	20	21	10
Bihar	13	19	27	29	10
Uttar Pradesh	12	26	24	17	18
Delhi	8	47	20	14	7
Odisha	7	14	20	27	30
Nagaland	5	9	8	28	45
Telangana	3	16	26	39	16
Kerala	1	26	21	31	15

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Some of transgender people also identify themselves as *Hijras*.<sup>8</sup> In this section, we attempt to study the level of prejudices, if any, among police personnel, about the transgender people and the people belonging to *Hijra* community.

A little less than one in 10 police personnel feel that *Hijras* and transgender people are naturally prone towards committing crimes very much. More than a quarter (27%) police personnel feel that they are ‘somewhat’ naturally inclined towards committing crimes. A similar proportion of police personnel (25%), however, believe that *Hijras* and transgenders are ‘not at all’ naturally inclined towards committing crimes (Table 5.20).

<sup>8</sup> People who perform a specific social role in their communities, usually making a living as street performers—singing, dancing, and performing blessings for donations. The two terms—‘transgender’ and ‘*Hijras*’ should not be used interchangeably, as only a section of transgender people identify themselves as *Hijras*. Moreover, *Hijras* might also include people from intersex community and others.

**Table 5.20: Less than one in 10 police personnel feel that *Hijras* and transgenders are very much naturally inclined towards committing crimes**

“In your opinion, to what extent are the <i>Hijras/transgender</i> people naturally prone towards committing crimes”			
	Overall (%)	Men police personnel (%)	Women police personnel (%)
Very much	8	8	7
Somewhat	27	27	28
Rarely	32	32	30
Not at all	25	25	25

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: In your opinion, to what extent are the *Hijras/transgender* people naturally prone towards committing crimes—very much, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

**Table 5.21: Are transgenders and *Hijras* naturally prone towards committing crimes? (State-wise responses of both men and women police personnel) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Andhra Pradesh	18	51	24	6
Uttar Pradesh	18	25	17	29
Maharashtra	17	38	26	11
Telangana	17	29	25	29
Kerala	10	23	16	34
Haryana	9	25	47	15
Madhya Pradesh	9	36	40	12
Jharkhand	9	20	46	19
Rajasthan	8	29	30	31
Bihar	6	27	39	26
Chhattisgarh	6	32	30	28
Gujarat	5	35	33	23
West Bengal*	5	24	32	16
Karnataka	4	28	41	25
Delhi	4	24	35	25
Himachal Pradesh	3	16	33	44
Punjab	3	20	22	43
Uttarakhand	3	28	36	19
Odisha	2	22	25	46
Nagaland*	1	8	24	28
Assam	0	28	46	15

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

\*In Nagaland and West Bengal, as a high as 39 percent and 23 percent of the respondents, respectively, gave no response to the question.

On State-wise comparison, we found Andhra Pradesh to have maximum respondents (both male and female) with 18 percent responding as ‘very much’ and 51 percent responding as ‘somewhat’. Uttar Pradesh found have second highest number of respondents reporting as ‘very much’ (18%) followed by Maharashtra and Telanagana (17% each). However, on combining responses under ‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ categories, Maharashtra (17% ‘very much’ and 38% ‘somewhat’) was found to be second after Andhra Pradesh. Odisha, Himachal and Punjab had more than two-fifth reporting as ‘not at all’ to the question (Table 5.21).

## 5.6: Summing up

Indian police, it appears, does not create an enabling environment for its women personnel. Neither is it a gender-friendly space, with respect to women (and transgenders), both within and outside the police force. The first conception is reinforced by the low representation of women in police. Even the work profiles of women who are part of the existing police force reflect poor gender parity. Women police in a majority of States were found engaged in more in-house duties, making them almost invisible in public spaces. A significant percentage of women police do not even have access to separate toilets.

Inequalities are further exacerbated by the attitude of the male police personnel towards their female counterparts, in the context of their performance. Rigid gender roles and traditional attitudes towards women continue to be obstacles in the progress arcs of the fairer sex.

Plugging the gaps in gender parity and equity will ensure better efficiency of the police. A gender-inclusive police force will certainly lead to greater trust build-up between the law-enforcement agency and the public, resulting in a smooth police-public interface. It would go a long way in making the police stations more accessible for women in general. To achieve this target, we need to look both within and outside—amelioration of the status of women within the police force and breaking prejudices against women outside the police force are objectives that must be pursued simultaneously. For the police, it is equally important to start looking beyond the male-female binary and to become more sensitive of the needs of the transgenders in the country.

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# 6

## Police and the Society

*New Delhi, India- April 26, 2006: Students clash with Delhi Police as they stage a protest in the capital.*  
(Credits: Sunil Saxena, Hindustan Times)

Chapter 6 of the report looks at the conditions of marginalised sections—both with the police force, as well as outside, by studying perception of personnel towards communities such as SCs, STs, OBCs, Muslims, migrants, etc. In the first part of the chapter, we report the discrimination faced by the vulnerable groups within the police force, while in the second part we move on to analyse personnel’s perceptions about certain communities, and their inclination to commit crimes. We also report in the chapter the level of sympathy that personnel have towards mob violence.

- Less than half of the police personnel feel that SCs and STs within the police are given completely equal treatment when compared to other caste groups. SC and ST personnel are more likely to believe that discrimination exists
- Almost one in three personnel feel that religious minorities within the police force are not given completely equal treatment. Sikh personnel are most likely to hold this opinion
- Fourteen percent personnel feel that Muslims are ‘very much’ naturally prone to committing crimes, while 36 percent feel that Muslims are ‘somewhat’ naturally prone to committing crimes
- One in five police personnel believes that complaints under the Scheduled Caste / Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act are very much false and motivated. Upper caste personnel more likely to be of this opinion
- Twenty-four percent personnel believe that migrants are very much naturally prone to committing crimes, 36 percent personnel feel that they are ‘somewhat’ naturally prone to committing crimes.
- Two out of five police personnel think that children in conflict with law between the ages of 16 to 18 years old should be treated like adult criminals
- Thirty-five percent personnel feel (to a large extent and somewhat combined) that it is natural for a mob to punish the culprit in case of cow slaughter

# Police and the Society: Attitude Towards Various Sections

As per the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) report (2016) on Prison Statistics in India, two-third of the prison inmates comprise undertrials. As reported in the Status of Policing in India Report 2018, disadvantaged sections such as Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Muslims are disproportionately incarcerated<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, the likelihood of poor people of SC, ST and Muslim backgrounds being awarded capital punishment is also much higher. At the same time, Dalits, tribals, and religious minorities are underrepresented in Indian police forces, and their representation has in fact worsened over the last five years. Data, therefore, suggests inherent institutional biases against certain sections in the society.

In this chapter, we focus on discrimination faced by the personnel based on caste or religious identities. This chapter attempts to locate police personnel amidst the larger social and professional hierarchies. Further, the chapter examines the prevalence of training on human rights and caste sensitisation, and analyses the extent to which it has been imparted to the personnel as an effort to address the existing prejudices.

Moving on from discrimination faced by the vulnerable sections within the police force, we further analyse data on prejudices against certain communities and minorities through a set of opinion-based questions. We conclude by presenting perceptions of police personnel on contentious issues like juvenile delinquency, mob violence, etc.

<sup>1</sup> SPIR 2018, Chapter 1: “In case of SCs, only four States (West Bengal, Uttarakhand, Punjab and Karnataka) out of the selected 22 have SC prisoners in proportion to or less than their population in the State; in case of STs this number is three (Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland), and in case of Muslims, all of the 22 States have a higher proportion of Muslim prisoners than the Muslim population in the State” (page 25).

## 6.1: Inequalities within the Police

In this subsection, we assess the police on whether police personnel belonging to different castes and religious groups are given equal treatment.

### i. Caste-based Prejudices

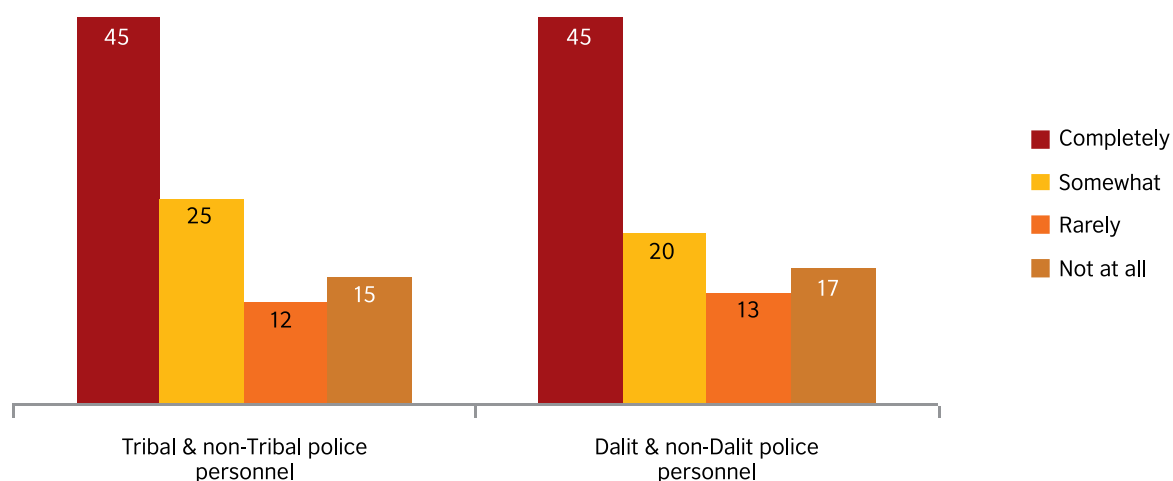
In the survey, all respondents were asked to what extent, according to them, do police personnel belonging to Schedule Castes (SCs) and Schedule Tribes (STs) get equal treatment compared to others. Less than half of the respondents (45%) said that they are treated completely equally. A significant number of police personnel (less than one in every four) also held the opinion that SCs and STs in the police are either treated ‘rarely’ equally or ‘not equally at all’ (Figure 6.1).

With regard to the treatment of tribal and non-tribal police personnel, about two-fifth of the tribal police personnel reported the treatment to be completely equal and one-fourth reported it to be somewhat equal. On comparison, we did not find much of a difference between STs, SCs and OBCs. The only notable difference was among police personnel belonging to upper-castes (general category), with exactly half of them reporting the treatment to be completely equal (8% higher than STs).

A similar pattern was observed when we compared the responses of SC and other police personnel, with 11 percentage points more general category respondents believing the treatment to be completely equal. It is important to highlight that almost one in every three SC police personnel (‘rarely’ and ‘not at all’ combined) was found to believe that there is a bias in how SCs and non-SCs are treated within police force (Table 6.1).

**Figure 6.1: Less than half of the police personnel feel that SCs and STs within the police are given completely equal treatment when compared to other caste groups (%)**

*“To what extent are the tribal & non-tribal and Dalit & non-Dalit police personnel given equal treatment?”*



Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are: a. the tribal police personnel & non tribal police personnel; b. Dalit police personnel & non-Dalit police personnel- given equal treatment - completely, somewhat, rarely less or not at all?

**Table 6.1: SC and ST personnel less likely to feel that they are treated in the same manner as other caste groups**

<i>To what extent are ST and non-ST police personnel treated equally?</i>				
	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Scheduled Caste(SC) respondents	39	26	13	17
Scheduled Tribe(ST) respondents	42	26	13	13
Other Backward Caste(OBC) respondents	44	24	12	16
General respondents	50	20	11	15
<i>To what extent are SC and non-SC police personnel treated equally?</i>				
Scheduled Caste(SC) respondents	40	24	15	17
Scheduled Tribe(ST) respondents	36	19	16	14
Other Backward Caste(OBC) respondents	47	20	13	17
General respondents	51	19	11	16

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

A State-wise comparison revealed more polarised opinions on the question of whether ST and non-ST personnel are treated equally. In Telangana, a State with 9 percent ST population and 8.4 percent ST personnel in the police, 53 percent of the overall respondents said that STs and non-STs were ‘not at all’ given equal treatment. States like Karnataka, Maharashtra, Assam and Kerala also had more than one in five personnel responding that the treatment was not all equal. In Karnataka, just 4 percent respondents said that ‘completely equal’ treatment was given to ST and non-ST personnel. Further, we found seven of the States to have more than one-third reporting the treatment to ST police personnel to be rarely or not at all equal (Table 6.2).

When we looked at the responses of only the tribal police-personnel in each of the States, Telangana (53%) and Maharashtra (55%) were found to have more than half reporting the treatment to be rarely or not at all equal, while Karnataka had more than six out of ten tribal police personnel believing so (Table 6.3).

With respect to SCs, with more than half reporting treatment to be more of unequal (‘rarely’ and ‘not at all’ combined), we again found Telangana to be on the top of the list. Overall, 10 of the States surveyed were found to have about one-third or more than one-third

police personnel reporting treatment to be rarely or not at all equal (Table 6.4).

State-wise disaggregation of only SC respondents provides a clearer picture, with Telangana (54%), Karnataka (54%) and Madhya Pradesh (50%) having more than half of SC police personnel believing the treatment to be unequal ('rarely' and 'not at all' combined). Bihar and Gujarat had two in every five SC police personnel having the same opinion. Conversely, just 12 percent SC respondents from Karnataka felt that they were given 'completely equal treatment', when compared to non-SCs (Table 6.5).

## ii. Prejudices against minorities

On being asked whether the minorities<sup>2</sup> in the police force are given equal treatment compared to the

<sup>2</sup> State-wise religious or linguistic minorities

**Table 6.2: Are ST and non-ST police personnel treated equally? (State-wise) (%)**

<i>To what extent are ST and non-ST police personnel treated equally?</i>				
States	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
<b>Overall</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>
Telangana	37	6	2	53
Karnataka	4	48	23	24
Maharashtra	38	21	15	22
Assam	55	20	4	20
Kerala	78	1	0	20
Delhi	60	14	5	19
Haryana	37	23	16	18
West Bengal	44	23	10	16
Madhya Pradesh	28	37	19	15
Gujarat	46	11	20	13
Bihar	32	29	25	12
Odisha	54	7	15	12
Andhra Pradesh	49	29	13	8
Uttar Pradesh	55	19	10	8
Himachal Pradesh	80	6	3	7
Rajasthan	53	22	19	6
Chhattisgarh	53	33	5	4
Jharkhand	31	56	10	3
Uttarakhand	36	45	14	3

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Punjab excluded because there are no ST personnel. Nagaland excluded because all personnel are ST.

**Table 6.3: Are ST and non-ST police personnel treated equally? (State-wise responses of only STs) (%)**

<i>To what extent are ST and non-ST police personnel treated equally?</i>				
States	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
<b>Overall</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
Telangana	36	7	0	53
Maharashtra	24	18	15	40
Assam	57	17	1	23
Karnataka	6	52	26	17
Gujarat	44	14	11	13
Madhya Pradesh	29	46	13	11
Odisha	58	9	10	9
Jharkhand	30	54	7	9
Andhra Pradesh	61	23	8	8
Rajasthan	52	14	26	8
Chhattisgarh	48	36	6	4

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer. Only States with minimum 50 people from ST caste groups in the sample included; Nagaland excluded because there are only ST personnel.

Sample Size: Telangana (N=58), Maharashtra (N=111), Assam (N=82), Karnataka (N=54), Gujarat (N=105), Madhya Pradesh (N=120), Odisha (N=152), Jharkhand (N=138), Andhra Pradesh (N=74), Rajasthan (N=104), Chhattisgarh (N=228).

majority community, 45 percent of the police personnel reported the treatment to be 'completely' equal. On the other hand, almost one in every seven (16%) reported the treatment to be completely unequal. Compared to other religious minorities, Sikhs were far more likely to perceive the treatment as being unequal (Table 6.6).

With Telangana, Punjab and Karnataka faring the worst, nine of the surveyed States had more than one in every three police personnel reporting unequal treatment towards minorities within the police ('rarely' and 'not at all' combined).

Telangana had more than half of its police personnel reporting treatment to be not equal at all. Conversely, just 4 percent respondents from Karnataka reported 'completely equal' treatment. Himachal Pradesh and Kerala had highest proportion of police personnel, four in every five, reporting treatment to be completely equal (Table 6.7).

**Table 6.4: Are SC and non-SC police personnel treated equally? (State-wise) (%)**

<i>To what extent are SC and non-SC police personnel treated equally?</i>				
States	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
<b>Overall</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>
Telangana	38	5	6	48
Punjab	36	19	7	33
Maharashtra	41	15	15	24
Karnataka	21	28	23	21
Delhi	59	15	4	20
Kerala	78	1	0	19
Madhya Pradesh	25	28	26	19
Assam	55	15	10	18
Haryana	41	22	19	17
West Bengal	46	18	9	17
Bihar	32	28	24	16
Gujarat	46	12	17	14
Odisha	53	15	6	13
Andhra Pradesh	43	25	19	11
Uttar Pradesh	59	22	10	8
Himachal Pradesh	79	8	4	7
Jharkhand	33	36	23	7
Rajasthan	53	28	12	6
Chhattisgarh	52	25	15	4
Uttarakhand	36	45	13	4

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Nagaland excluded because there are no SC personnel.

**Table 6.5: Are SC and non-SC police personnel treated equally? (State-wise Responses of only SCs)(%)**

<i>To what extent are SC and non-SC police personnel treated equally?</i>				
States	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
<b>Overall</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>17</b>
Telangana	36	4	7	47
Assam	30	30	7	30
Punjab	43	22	6	26
Karnataka	12	24	29	25
Odisha	45	14	12	21
West Bengal	50	16	7	21

Delhi	49	19	5	21
Bihar	27	32	22	18
Gujarat	44	5	22	18
Madhya Pradesh	19	31	33	17
Andhra Pradesh	35	27	20	15
Maharashtra	44	20	11	15
Kerala	83	3	0	14
Haryana	44	17	24	13
Uttar Pradesh	53	24	12	9
Jharkhand	23	43	27	6
Himachal Pradesh	66	18	7	6
Rajasthan	32	54	11	4
Chhattisgarh	56	33	6	4
Uttarakhand	27	42	27	0

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Nagaland excluded because there are no SC personnel. Sample size: Andhra Pradesh (N=127), Assam (N=54), Bihar (N=115), Gujarat (N=63), Haryana (N=152), Himachal Pradesh (N=104), Karnataka (N=179), Kerala (N=65), Madhya Pradesh (N=139), Maharashtra (N=114), Odisha (N=104), Punjab (N=188), Rajasthan (N=123), Uttar Pradesh (N=131), West Bengal (N=187), Delhi (N=57), Jharkhand (N=70), Chhattisgarh (N=97), Uttarakhand (N=71), Telangana (N=124).

**Table 6.6: One in three Sikh personnel feels that the treatment towards minorities within the police force is not at all equal**

<i>“To what extent are police personnel belonging to the minority religion and those belonging to other (majority) religions treated equally?”</i>				
	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
<b>Overall</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>
Hindu respondents	45	21	15	16
Muslim respondents	45	19	20	15
Christian respondents	45	21	16	9
Sikh respondents	37	15	12	31

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

In our survey, 83% of respondents were Hindus, 4% Muslims, 7% Christian, 5% Sikhs and 1% were others.

**Question asked:** There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are the minority religion police and other religion Police personnel given equal treatment - completely, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

**Table 6.7: Are minority police personnel treated equally? (State-wise) (%)**

<i>“To what extent are police personnel belonging to the minority religion and those belonging to other (majority) religions treated equally?”</i>				
States	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	45	20	15	16
Telangana	37	5	3	51
Punjab	36	14	11	34
Karnataka	4	36	31	24
Maharashtra	39	16	18	23
Assam	57	14	9	20
Haryana	43	20	16	19
Kerala	78	1	0	19
Madhya Pradesh	17	36	27	19
West Bengal	49	17	10	17
Delhi	63	12	6	17
Gujarat	46	8	20	14
Odisha	46	20	9	14
Bihar	31	30	26	13
Andhra Pradesh	42	30	13	12
Himachal Pradesh	80	7	4	8
Nagaland	41	22	19	8
Rajasthan	50	28	16	6
Chhattisgarh	51	25	15	5
Jharkhand	33	26	37	4
Uttar Pradesh	65	19	13	3
Uttarakhand	34	44	18	3

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## 6.2: Training on human rights, caste sensitisation and crowd control

Training modules are prepared for police personnel with the goal of imparting standard and practical skills, and to sensitise them towards vulnerable communities. Proper training is intended to make trainees aware of the notions of caste, religious and other forms of inherent bias in their behaviour, and actively address in order to counter these prejudices in the course of their duty. On the one hand, it can improve inter-community relations within the police, making it a more equal, non-discriminatory space. On the other, it might prove to be efficient in their interface with various groups in the society by ensuring that the inherent prejudices do not have the effect of subverting

the rule of law. It is in this context that we asked questions pertaining to training on ‘human rights’, ‘caste sensitisation’ and ‘crowd control’.

Most police personnel were found to have received the trainings, however, compared to human rights and caste sensitisation, more police personnel were found to have received their training in crowd control. Furthermore, a majority of the personnel received these trainings only at the time of joining (Figure 6.2).

In absence of any guidelines with regard to frequency of trainings, we assumed such trainings should be given to the police personnel at least once in every five years, to make them aware about the latest developments and to test their efficiencies. Thus, we divided the respondents into two categories, the ones who have less than five years of experience with the police,<sup>3</sup> and the ones having more than five years of work experience.

Among those with more than five years of experience with police, more than half of the police personnel either received their training in human rights at the time of joining or never received it. Another way of looking at it is that in last five years they have not been provided with any training in human rights. The situation is similar with respect to the other two trainings as well- caste sensitisation and crowd control. Also, if you have joined the police force within last five years, likelihood of your receiving these trainings at the time of joining seems to have improved compared to the others (Table 6.8).

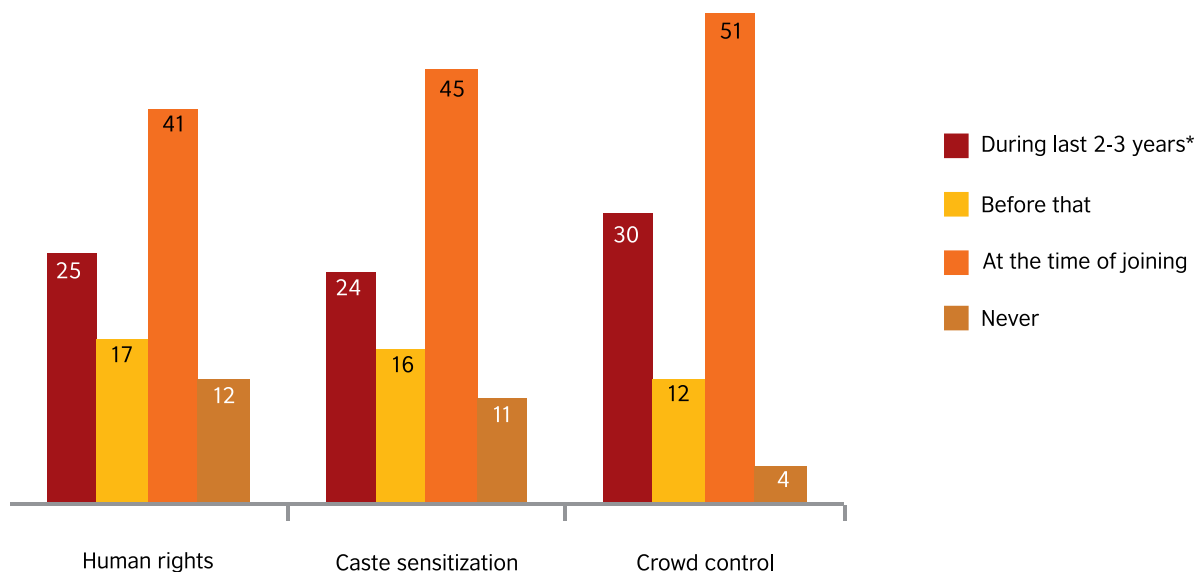
On a state-wise comparison, Bihar was found to have highest proportion of police personnel who have never received training on human rights (about two in every five). Overall, seven of the States surveyed— Bihar, Assam, Gujarat, Nagaland, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh and Telangana—have at least one in every five police personnel who have never received training on human rights (Table 6.9).

With respect to training on caste sensitisation, five of the States—Assam, Kerala, Bihar, Gujarat and Telangana—have about one-fourth police personnel who have never received the training. Assam and Kerala were found to have highest proportion of police personnel to have never received the training (more than one in every four). Across the States, a large proportion of police personnel seem to have received this training only at the time of joining (Table 6.10).

<sup>3</sup> 17% of the police personnel interviewed joined the police force during last five years.

**Figure 6.2: Training in human rights, caste sensitisation and crowd control (%)**

*“When was the last time you received training about human rights, caste sensitisation and crowd control?”*



Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

\*8% of the police personnel interviewed joined the police force during last three years.

Question asked: When was the last time you received training about a. human rights b. caste sensitisation c. crowd control?

**Table 6.8: Training in human rights, caste sensitisation and crowd control (Experience-wise) (%)**

<i>When was the last time you received training about...</i>					
	Years of experience in police	During last 2-3 years	Before that	At the time of joining	Never
Human rights	less than 5 years (17%)	22	12	49	14
	more than 5 years (83%)	27	18	39	13
Caste sensitisation	less than 5 years (17%)	19	12	52	13
	more than 5 years (83%)	25	17	44	11
Crowd control	less than 5 years (17%)	24	10	58	6
	more than 5 years (83%)	31	14	50	4

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

17% of the police personnel interviewed joined the police force during last five years, and 83% joined before that.

Almost all the States performed relatively better when we asked about the training in crowd control. The highest number of police personnel reporting to have never received the training were found to be in Assam (18%). In 17 of the States surveyed, more than 90 per cent of the police personnel reported to have received the training at some point during their services, however majority proportion seem to have received it only at the time of joining and not afterwards (Table 6.11).

Finally, on being asked how important the trainings in human rights, caste sensitisation and crowd control are, between 92 to 95 percent police personnel reported it to be important, with more than four in five of them reporting it to be ‘very important’.

**Table 6.9: Training in human rights (State-wise) (%)**

When was the last time you received training on human right?				
States	Last 2-3 years	Before that	Time of joining	Never
Overall	26	17	41	13
Bihar	8	9	43	38
Assam	23	18	26	31
Gujarat	7	6	56	30
Nagaland	23	13	25	23
Chhattisgarh	12	2	62	20
Uttar Pradesh	32	13	36	19
Telangana	21	14	44	19
Himachal Pradesh	43	7	36	14
Uttarakhand	33	25	27	12
Kerala	36	14	37	11
Andhra Pradesh	30	23	37	8
Maharashtra	35	17	36	8
Odisha	31	4	53	8
West Bengal	14	27	44	6
Madhya Pradesh	15	22	57	5
Punjab	23	25	46	5
Delhi	48	14	32	5
Jharkhand	28	28	35	5
Haryana	24	13	59	3
Karnataka	44	29	25	2
Rajasthan	27	25	47	1

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

### 6.3: Attitude towards different sections and communities

As per some of the recent reports, two-thirds of the prisoners in India are undertrials. Further, as reported in SPIR 2018, India’s undertrial population has a disproportionate number of people from marginalised sections and communities, such as Muslims, *Dalits*, *Adivasis*/tribals, non-literate, poor, etc.<sup>4</sup> Citing a pattern of targeting *Dalits* and *Adivasis*, another report hinted at the continued victimisation of the commu-

4 A per Prison Statistics in India 2016, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home affairs, about 53% of undertrials are from these communities, which make up 39% share of the population of India. 29% of under-trials are not formally literate, while 42% had not completed secondary education. A quarter of all undertrials have been in prison for more than a year.

**Table 6.10: Training on caste sensitisation (State-wise) (%)**

When was the last time you received training on caste sensitisation?				
States	Last 2-3 years	Before that	Time of joining	Never
Overall	24	16	45	11
Assam	18	24	29	27
Kerala	20	19	33	27
Bihar	6	6	62	24
Gujarat	6	6	60	24
Telangana	21	16	40	22
Chhattisgarh	12	5	70	11
Andhra Pradesh	35	22	33	8
Himachal Pradesh	45	8	39	8
Uttarakhand	35	26	30	8
Uttar Pradesh	33	8	51	7
West Bengal	9	23	51	7
Odisha	31	5	58	5
Punjab	24	17	52	5
Jharkhand	29	27	36	5
Delhi	41	16	38	4
Maharashtra	34	13	48	3
Haryana	20	9	68	2
Karnataka	42	32	23	2
Madhya Pradesh	11	24	61	2
Rajasthan	24	26	49	1

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Nagaland excluded because there are only ST personnel.

nities by the police (NDMJ and NCDHR, 2018). It highlights that deeply entrenched prejudices play a dominant role in the exploitation of marginalised communities by the police, and points out that the delayed police investigation is a major reason for the large number of *Dalits* and *Adivasis* in prison.

Given the wide-ranging powers the police in India wield in the course of investigation, we felt it was important to look at the perceptions of police personnel regarding the people belonging to various marginalised communities and sections. Therefore, we asked the police personnel to what extent, according to them, are people from different communities, castes, religions, economic and educational backgrounds naturally prone towards committing crimes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This is not a single comparative question on the prejudices against vulnerable communities. We asked separate questions examining the prejudices of police against different communities.

**Table 6.11: Training in crowd control (State-wise) (%)**

<i>When was the last time you received training about crowd control?</i>				
States	Last 2-3 years	Before that	Time of joining	Never
<b>Overall</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>4</b>
Assam	28	17	36	18
Bihar	10	9	69	11
Telangana	22	15	52	11
Nagaland	28	16	33	10
Odisha	30	4	57	7
Gujarat	8	6	79	6
Karnataka	47	29	19	4
Uttarakhand	46	6	43	4
Andhra Pradesh	46	17	32	3
Kerala	33	17	48	3
Uttar Pradesh	40	6	51	3
Jharkhand	37	20	38	3
Chhattisgarh	15	9	73	3
Himachal Pradesh	46	7	46	2
Maharashtra	39	10	47	2
West Bengal	12	27	53	2
Madhya Pradesh	15	12	72	1
Punjab	21	13	64	1
Delhi	47	14	38	1
Haryana	23	3	74	0
Rajasthan	27	23	49	0

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## i. Caste or religious groups

When we looked at what the police personnel think about various communities, the data indicated a significant bias against Muslims. However, no such prejudices were reported against people from SC or ST communities.

About half of the police personnel reported that Muslims are likely to be naturally prone towards committing violence ('very much' and 'somewhat' combined). We observed similar trend in the reverse direction as well, with less number of police personnel likely to report that Muslims are less likely to be naturally prone at committing violence as compared to people from various caste-groups (Table 6.12).

**Table 6.12: One in two police personnel feels that Muslims are likely to be "naturally prone" towards committing crimes (%)**

<i>"In your opinion, to what extent are people from the following communities naturally prone towards committing crimes..."</i>				
	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Upper-caste Hindus	6	27	32	24
OBCs	5	28	34	23
Dalits	7	28	30	24
Adivasis/tribals	5	26	31	27
Muslims	14	36	25	17

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: In your opinion, to what extent are- a. Upper-caste Hindus b. OBC people c. Dalits d. Tribals e. Muslims-naturally prone towards committing crimes - very much, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

When asked to what extent, according to them, are the members of various caste-groups naturally prone towards committing crimes, there wasn't much variation in the opinions towards various caste groups. About one-third police personnel reported that people from all of these caste-groups were likely to be naturally prone towards committing violence ('very much' and 'somewhat' combined) (Table 6.12). Moreover, police personnel belonging to upper-castes, OBCs, SCs and STs responded quite similarly to this question.

Police personnel in four of the States surveyed, namely, Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, Maharashtra and Bihar, had about two-third or more police personnel who held the opinion that the Muslim community is likely ('very much' and 'somewhat' combined) to be natural-

ly prone towards committing violence. Four out of five police personnel from Uttarakhand had this opinion (Table 6.13).

Police personnel from Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh have the highest proportion of those believing that people from Dalit communities are highly likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes (about one in every five reported ‘very much’). Also, in Maharashtra, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh, more than half of the police personnel believe that they are likely to be naturally prone towards committing violence (combining ‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’) (Table 6.14).

While Rajasthan and Maharashtra had about half of the police personnel reporting that Adivasis are likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes (‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ combined), about two-fifth of the police personnel in Madhya Pradesh, Telangana,

Uttarakhand and Gujarat believe so, all States which fall under the Fifth Schedule,<sup>6</sup> except Uttarakhand (Table 6.15).

As far as attitude towards other caste-groups are concerned, Uttar Pradesh police have more than half of the police personnel (51%) believing upper-caste Hindus to be ‘very much’ or ‘somewhat’ naturally prone towards committing crimes (19% saying ‘very much’ and 32% saying ‘somewhat’). The proportion was relatively higher among OBC police personnel in Uttar

<sup>6</sup> As per the Constitutional provision under Article 244 (1) of the Constitution of India, the ‘Scheduled Areas’ are defined as ‘such areas as the President may by order declare to be Scheduled Areas’ – as per paragraph 6(1) of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The criteria for declaring any area as a “Scheduled Area” under the Fifth Schedule are: Preponderance of tribal population; Compactness and reasonable size of the area; A viable administrative entity such as a district, block or taluk; and Economic backwardness of the area as compared to the neighbouring areas. Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, Declaration of 5th Schedule.

**Table 6.13: Are Muslims naturally prone towards committing crimes? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	14	36	25	17
Karnataka	26	23	39	11
Jharkhand	22	44	18	12
Uttar Pradesh	20	36	21	15
Uttarakhand	19	60	16	1
Rajasthan	18	29	21	32
West Bengal	18	26	13	15
Bihar	16	48	19	15
Haryana	15	37	31	13
Madhya Pradesh	15	43	33	7
Delhi	15	28	23	20
Odisha	14	28	17	36
Chhattisgarh	14	53	19	8
Telangana	13	25	29	30
Maharashtra	12	53	18	6
Gujarat	10	39	32	17
Himachal Pradesh	8	29	34	29
Nagaland	8	29	29	9
Assam	7	43	35	6
Punjab	6	17	21	44
Andhra Pradesh	5	28	47	16
Kerala	4	30	15	16

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Table 6.14: Are Dalits naturally prone towards committing crimes? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	7	28	30	24
Karnataka	22	24	34	19
Uttar Pradesh	19	35	15	22
Odisha	16	18	23	37
Madhya Pradesh	14	32	38	14
Rajasthan	13	28	29	29
Assam	10	34	31	11
Maharashtra	10	50	19	10
Jharkhand	8	28	37	23
Andhra Pradesh	7	24	46	18
Uttarakhand	7	50	28	6
Punjab	6	22	22	38
Telangana	5	30	24	39
Delhi	4	20	32	29
Chhattisgarh	4	31	33	27
Bihar	3	28	41	26
Gujarat	2	31	46	15
Haryana	2	36	41	14
Himachal Pradesh	1	18	36	41
Kerala	1	15	23	32
West Bengal	0	11	22	36

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Nagaland excluded because there are only ST personnel.

Pradesh, with 58 percent believing so (9 percentage points higher than upper-caste police personnel).

Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka have the highest number of police personnel reporting OBCs to be very likely to be naturally prone towards committing violence (15% reporting as ‘very much’). Combining this with ‘somewhat’, almost half of the police personnel in both the States believe that the people from other backward classes are likely to be naturally prone towards committing violence. Surprisingly, in Madhya Pradesh, as many as 22 percent OBC police personnel responded ‘very much’, as against 11 percent upper-caste, 12 percent SC and 14 percent ST police personnel. Similarly, in Karnataka, 25 percent of the upper-caste police personnel responded ‘very much’, as against only 11 percent of the OBC police-personnel.

There is a general perception that certain legal statutes are being misused as tools for blackmail by the vulnerable communities like SCs and STs. Even the Supreme Court, in a much-debated judgment, held that the SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities Act) had become an instrument of “blackmail”. This judgment was later reversed by the government through an amendment in the Act to restore the original provisions. However, such opinions by people in position of power placed within the criminal justice system are bound to have an impact on the manner in which the provisions of such law are implemented. It was in this context that a question was asked to the police personnel regarding their perceptions about whether the complaints under

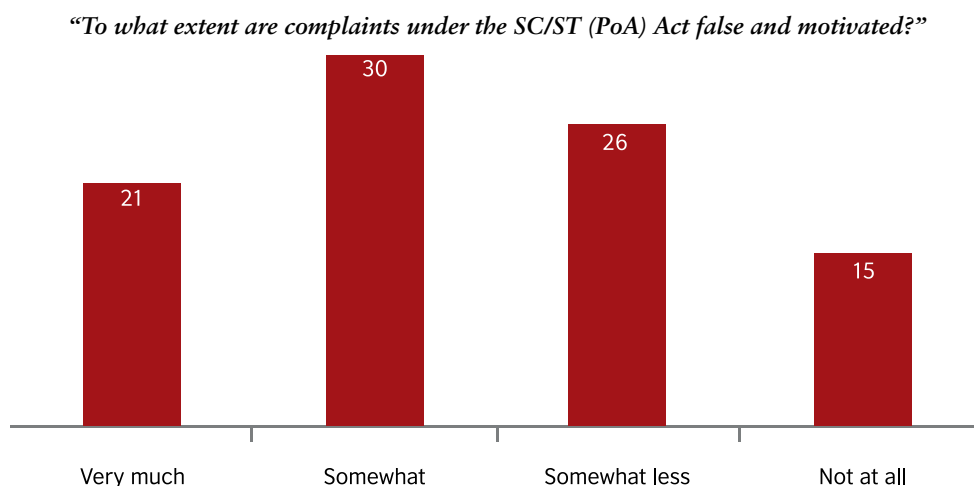
**Table 6.15: Are the STs naturally prone towards committing crimes? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	5	26	31	27
Rajasthan	14	35	27	24
Madhya Pradesh	12	29	39	18
Uttar Pradesh	9	19	14	36
Maharashtra	8	45	24	11
Odisha	8	16	26	45
Telangana	8	34	21	35
Andhra Pradesh	6	25	46	20
Jharkhand	6	20	49	22
Karnataka	5	21	44	28
Uttarakhand	4	38	25	7
Assam	3	33	43	8
Gujarat	3	36	42	15
Bihar	2	29	38	27
Himachal Pradesh	2	13	33	42
Haryana	1	24	37	26
Delhi	1	20	28	36
Kerala	0	9	14	47
West Bengal	0	11	31	33
Chhattisgarh	0	30	28	37

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Nagaland excluded because there are only ST personnel. Punjab excluded because there are no ST personnel.

**Figure 6.3: One in five police personnel believes that complaints under the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act are “very much” false and motivated (%)**



Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent crimes under SC/ST act complaints false and motivated - A lot, somewhat, very rare or none at all?

‘The Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989’ are false and motivated, considering their work experience. Half of the police personnel (‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ combined) believed that complaints under the SC/ST (PoA) Act are false and motivated. When further disaggregated, about one fifth of the police personnel reported that they are to ‘a large extent’ false and motivated, while about one third held the opinion that these complaints are somewhat false and motivated (Figure 6.3).

When disaggregated by caste group of police personnel, we found about three-fifth of the upper-caste police personnel to be more likely to believe that in their experience complaints under the SC/ST (PoA) Act are false and motivated (‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ combined), while SC and ST police personnel believing so were 9 and 20 percentage points lesser, respectively. Also, ST police personnel were far more likely to respond ‘not at all’ to the question than caste-groups, with one in every four in complete disagreement (responding as ‘not at all’). Further, police personnel from OBC are also more likely to have reported that they ‘frequently’ have found the complaints under the SC/ST (PoA) Act to be false and motivated as compared to police personnel from SC or ST categories (Table 6.16).

**Table 6.16: Upper caste police personnel much more likely to believe that complaints under the SC/ST (PoA) Act are false and motivated, than the SC and ST police personnel**

<i>“To what extent are the complaints under the SC/ST (PoA) Act false and motivated?”</i>				
Responses of...	Very much	Some-what	Rarely	Not at all
Scheduled Caste(SC)	18	32	29	15
Scheduled Tribe(ST)	12	27	26	25
Other Backward Caste(OBC)	23	33	27	13
General	26	33	24	13

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

About four in every five police personnel from Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand believe that complaints under the SC/ST (POA) Act are false and motivated(‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ combined), with six other States (Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala) having at least three in every five police personnel believing so. Moreover, among these States, more than one-third reported the complaints to be highly likely to be false and

**Table 6.17: To what extent crimes under the SC/ST (POA) Act complaints false and motivated? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Some-what	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	21	32	26	15
Uttar Pradesh	41	42	9	4
Uttarakhand	37	40	17	4
Bihar	36	26	22	13
Himachal Pradesh	33	39	15	12
Karnataka	30	25	31	13
Chhattisgarh	29	31	25	8
Telangana	29	33	21	15
Andhra Pradesh	27	47	20	4
Gujarat	27	31	19	17
Delhi	26	26	25	17
Kerala	24	42	19	7
Madhya Pradesh	23	27	41	9
Punjab	17	42	23	11
Haryana	16	39	31	7
Rajasthan	13	36	32	16
Jharkhand	12	38	34	15
Maharashtra	9	35	37	16
Odisha	8	19	33	36
Assam	2	34	43	15
Nagaland	2	8	20	44
West Bengal	2	9	31	38

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

motivated in Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Bihar and Himachal Pradesh (Table 6.17).

## ii. Class-based prejudices

Class bias is an unfortunate reality in our country, with the ‘Death Penalty India Report’ of the National Law University, Delhi estimating that 74 percent of prisoners who were sentenced to death were economically vulnerable. In order to measure prejudices on economic lines, apart from asking to what extent according to them are ‘people from poor households’ naturally prone to committing violence, we used the categories of ‘slum-dwellers’, ‘street vendors/hawkers’, and ‘industrialists’ as colloquial proxies for economic classes.<sup>7</sup> About 45 percent police personnel believe that

<sup>7</sup> This is not a single comparative question on the prejudices against vulnerable communities. We asked separate questions examining the prejudices of police against different communities. Further, there is also a possibility of overlapping between the first three categories, namely, ‘people from poor households’, ‘slum-dwellers’, and ‘street vendors/hawkers’.

people from all three above-mentioned categories are more likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes ('very much' and 'somewhat' combined). Police personnel reporting people from poor households to be more likely to be naturally prone at committing violence were 10 percentage points lesser than the other three categories (Table 6.18).

**Table 6.18: A little less than half of the police personnel believe that street vendors, slum dwellers and industrialists are likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes**

"Are these people naturally prone towards committing crimes?"				
	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
People from poor households	7	27	29	29
Street vendors/hawkers	10	35	29	19
Slum-dwellers	13	32	24	21
Industrialists	13	31	26	21

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: In your opinion, to what extent are a. People from poor households. Street vendors/hawkers c. Slum-dwellers d. Industrialists-naturally prone towards committing crimes - very much, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

On State-wise comparison, we found two in every three police personnel from Uttarakhand (66%), and about one in every two from Assam (55%), Maharashtra (55%) and Karnataka (49%) reporting people from poor households to be more likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes. Also, in Karnataka, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, almost one in every five reported people from poor households to be very likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes (18% responding as 'very much' in each of the three States), highest among all the States.

For street vendors or hawkers, Andhra Pradesh police had as high as four in every five police personnel reporting them to be more likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes, with 22 percent responding as 'very much' and 58 percent responding as 'somewhat'. Maharashtra (68%), Madhya Pradesh (64%), and Uttarakhand (63%) also had about two in every three believing so. Among all the States, Maharashtra has maximum number of police personnel responding as 'very much' to the question (26%).

When asked what they think about slum-dwellers, quarter or more police personnel in three of the States reported them to be very likely to be naturally prone

towards committing crimes (Kerala- 30%, Karnataka- 27% and Maharashtra- 27% responding as 'very much'). Further, Maharashtra (69%), Kerala (65%) and Uttarakhand (63%) had about two in every three reporting slum-dwellers to be more likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes ('very much' and 'somewhat' combined).

Moving on to our last category, Chhattisgarh had the highest police personnel believing industrialists to be very likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes (29% responding as 'very much'). Among the police personnel reporting industrialists to be more likely ('very much' and 'somewhat' combined) to be naturally prone towards committing crimes Uttarakhand was at the top (67%), followed by Himachal Pradesh (63%), Chhattisgarh (62%) and Maharashtra (62%).

### iii. Other vulnerable people or communities

In this section, we study police personnel's perceptions of specific vulnerable groups- 'migrants',<sup>8</sup> 'non-literate people', 'Nat/Saperas' (or the nomadic and de-notified tribes), and 'transgender and Hijras'.<sup>9</sup>

The recent government decision to update the National Register of Citizens of India (NRC) in Assam, in an effort to identify illegal immigrants, has been a matter of massive debate across the country. Anti-migrants sentiments, however, are not only restricted to migrants from other countries, but also materialise in the form of violence against migrants from different States within the country. Apart from the migrants, deep-seated prejudices exist against vulnerable communities such as non-literate people, the de-notified tribes and nomadic tribes<sup>10</sup> and transgenders.<sup>11</sup> Police is also often partisan in the harassment of these communities, with numerous complaints of police violence against the DNT and transgenders. In such a context, it becomes pertinent to study the biased opinions of the police against these communities.

8 Migrants from other States

9 Prejudices against Transgenders and people from Hijra community were discussed in detail in the previous section. Further, there is also a possibility of overlapping in all three categories.

10 De-notified tribes were, in pre-Independence India, listed as "criminal tribes" and were treated as such by the British government. While these tribes have since been de-criminalised, prejudices against the community continue, with several allegations of police harassment and unnecessary persecution.

11 Transgender persons were not given any legal recognition until September 2018, when, in the Navtej Singh Johar vs Union of India case, the Supreme Court gave legal recognition to the "third gender". Navtej Singh Johar vs Union of India, Supreme Court of India, Writ Petition (Criminal) No.76/2016. The Court also decriminalised consensual sexual activities between adults of any gender, by reading down Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code.

Amongst these groups, with three in every five police personnel believing so, migrants are far more likely to be perceived as naturally prone towards committing violence as compared to others.<sup>12</sup> We also found that non-literate people are also more likely to face the brunt of the prejudice of being ‘naturally prone towards committing violence’ as compared to the people from nomadic tribes, transgenders and *Hijra* community (Table 6.19).

**Table 6.19: One in four police personnel believe that migrants are very much naturally prone towards committing crimes?**

“Are these people naturally prone towards committing crimes?”				
	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Migrants from other States	24	36	20	14
Non-literate people	13	33	27	19
<i>Nat/Saperas/NTs/DNTs</i>	9	25	27	24
Transgenders and <i>Hijras</i>	8	27	32	25

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** In your opinion, to what extent are a. Migrants from other States b. Non-literate people c. *Nat/saperas/NTs/DNTs* peopled. *Hijras/transgender* people – naturally prone towards committing crimes – very much, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

In four of the States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Uttarakhand, at least four in every five police personnel were found to believe that migrants from other States are likely to be naturally prone towards committing crimes (‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ combined). In four others, namely, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, about three in every four believed so. More than three in every five police personnel in the NCT of Delhi were found to have this opinion about the migrants from the other States (Table 6.20).

**Table 6.20: Are the migrant people naturally prone towards committing crimes? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	24	36	20	14
Chhattisgarh	51	33	8	6
Andhra Pradesh	42	46	6	5
Karnataka	40	33	24	3

<sup>12</sup> Please note that this is not a single comparative question on the prejudices against vulnerable communities. We asked separate questions examining the prejudices of police against different communities.

Madhya Pradesh	40	31	14	11
Himachal Pradesh	38	36	14	10
Maharashtra	38	43	6	5
Uttarakhand	35	46	14	4
Gujarat	34	41	12	4
Telangana	30	37	14	19
Delhi	29	33	22	11
Kerala	19	37	15	16
Rajasthan	15	31	25	28
Odisha	14	23	29	29
Punjab	14	21	16	38
Uttar Pradesh	14	29	20	27
Haryana	12	44	28	11
Nagaland	11	31	30	8
West Bengal	11	26	30	11
Bihar	7	33	37	21
Jharkhand	6	49	29	13
Assam	1	48	35	6

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Significant proportion of police personnel in many of the States also believed lack of literacy to be instrumental in making people ‘naturally prone towards committing crimes’. Karnataka, Odisha and Telangana had more than a quarter police personnel having an opinion that non-literate people are highly prone towards committing crimes (‘very much’ category), highest among all the States. Two in every three police personnel in Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttarakhand reported non-literates to be naturally prone to commit crimes (‘very much’ and ‘somewhat’ combined) (Table 6.21).

**Table 6.21: Are the non-literate people naturally prone towards committing crimes? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	13	33	27	19
Karnataka	31	36	23	8
Odisha	25	25	17	28
Telangana	25	28	19	27
Andhra Pradesh	20	27	41	9
Uttar Pradesh	20	36	14	20
Maharashtra	18	49	13	9
Delhi	18	34	19	16
Assam	15	43	23	6

Haryana	14	26	40	16
Madhya Pradesh	13	33	34	16
Uttarakhand	12	55	26	2
Rajasthan	11	29	27	32
Punjab	8	24	20	37
Chhattisgarh	8	36	30	20
Nagaland	7	41	24	7
Jharkhand	6	29	36	26
Bihar	3	37	37	21
Gujarat	3	40	40	13
Himachal Pradesh	3	30	36	28
Kerala	2	27	18	27
West Bengal	2	17	23	34

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

## 6.4: Attitude towards juveniles

In 2015, the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000, which addressed the needs of children in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection, was replaced by the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015. The new Act, unlike the old one, permits juvenile delinquents between 16 and 18 years of age to be tried as adults in case they have committed heinous offences.<sup>13</sup> It was passed by the Parliament of India amidst protests against such provisions by child rights' fraternities. The Act was also criticised for its violation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which recognises all children less than 18 years of age as equal.

In this backdrop, it is important to capture the police's opinions on this issue. For children between 7-16 years of age, a very high proportion of police personnel (more than four in every five) reported that they should be treated as juvenile delinquents, however, a significant proportion was also found to believe that they should be treated like adult criminals, or like adult criminals in extreme cases (12%). Police was divided almost equally in their opinion of whether children between 16-18 years of age should be treated like juvenile delinquents or like adult criminals. While a little less than half of the police personnel held the opinion that they should be treated like juvenile delinquents and not like adults, 39 percent said that they should be treated like adult criminals. Only one in every ten

<sup>13</sup> Only once the Juvenile Justice Board has conducted a preliminary investigation to determine the severity of the offence, the offender's ability to comprehend consequences, and the circumstances of the offence

police personnel reported along the lines of what the law says, i.e., treatment of children like adults only in extreme cases<sup>14</sup> (Figure 6. 4).

In five of the surveyed States, half or more than half of the police personnel believe that children between 16 and 18 years of age should be treated like adults in all situations. Gujarat and Jharkhand have more than three in every five having this opinion about children in conflict with law. On the contrary, in States like Himachal Pradesh (78%), Rajasthan (72%), Chhattisgarh (62%), Haryana (62%) and Odisha (61%), a large majority of the police believe that children in conflict with law should be treated as juvenile delinquents, and not as adults (Table 6.22).

With respect to children between 7-16 years of age, Telangana (21%), Punjab (18%) and Karnataka (17%) had relatively high proportion of police personnel favouring they should be treated like adult criminals whenever they are in conflict with law. Also, Telangana (20%) and Andhra Pradesh (17%) had a significant proportion of police personnel believing they should be treated like adults in extreme cases.

## 6.5: Attitude towards mob violence

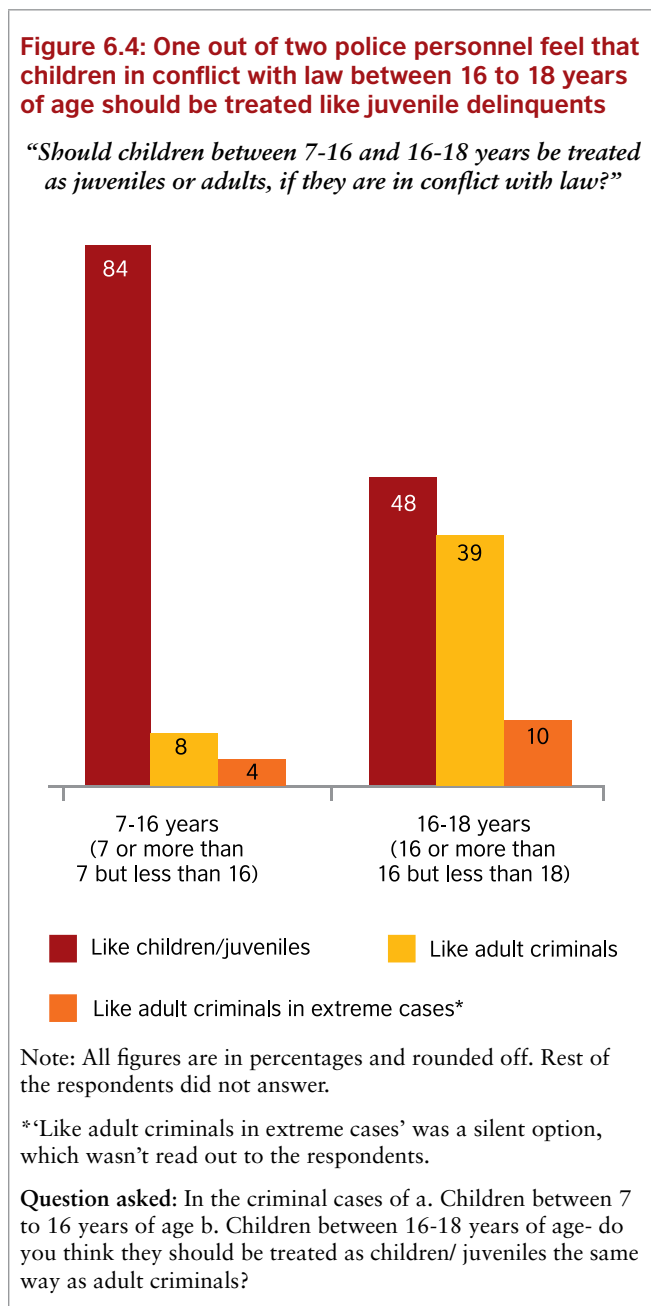
In the recent years, numerous cases of mob violence against individuals (sometimes referred to as 'mob lynching') on suspicions of cow-slaughter, kidnapping, etc. have been reported, and the police is known to have played an enabling role for the people engaging in such forms of violence. This merits the need to understand police personnel's opinions on the public taking matters into their hands over issues that cause moral outrage, such as cow slaughter or rape or kidnapping. On the other hand, a relatively neutral category of crime such as road accidents caused due to the negligence of the driver has been taken for the purpose of comparison.

Here, we attempt to analyse the attitude of the police not towards any particular section of people, but towards the nature of crime and justifiability of a mob in punishing the culprit. We asked the respondents to what extent is it natural for the mob to punish the culprits on their own in these four situations- in a case of cow-slaughter, in a case of kidnapping, in a case of rape and in a case of road accident due to driver's negligence.

<sup>14</sup> 'Like adult criminals in extreme cases' was a silent option, which wasn't read out to the respondents

While more than one in every three police personnel believe it to be natural for a mob to punish the alleged culprit in a case of cow-slaughter ('to a large extent' and 'somewhat' combined), about two in every five believe so in other three cases of crimes. Looking at it the other way, a little less than half believed it to be not natural at all for the mob to punish the culprit in a case of cow-slaughter, while more than half found it to be natural (either 'to a large extent' or 'somewhat' or 'rarely'). In case of other three types of alleged crimes, about 6 to 10 percentage points lesser people were found to believe the mobs' action to be not natural at all (Table 6.23).

We found a notable difference in the opinions on disaggregating the respondents on the basis of their



**Table 6.22: Should children between 16-18 years treated as juveniles or adults? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Like children/ juveniles	Like adult criminals	Like adult criminals in extreme cases
Overall	48	39	10
Gujarat	28	70	1
Jharkhand	33	60	3
Andhra Pradesh	30	55	12
Uttarakhand	40	54	6
Delhi	34	50	16
Uttar Pradesh	43	47	10
Bihar	52	46	2
Madhya Pradesh	53	41	3
Haryana	62	36	0
Karnataka	59	36	3
Nagaland	41	36	16
Odisha	61	35	3
Telangana	35	34	30
Assam	56	31	10
Maharashtra	44	30	22
Punjab	53	29	13
Chhattisgarh	62	29	6
Kerala	58	28	14
Rajasthan	72	28	0
West Bengal	26	24	35
Himachal Pradesh	78	21	1

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

\*'Like adult criminals in extreme cases' was a silent option, which wasn't read out to the respondents.

**Table 6.23: One in four police personnel believes it is natural/justifiable for a mob to punish the culprits on their own in cases of rape and road accident due to driver's negligence**

*“To what extent is it natural for the mob to punish the culprits on their own in the following cases?”*

	To a large extent	Some-what	Rarely	Not at all
In a case of cow-slaughter	15	20	16	46
In a case of kidnapping	17	22	18	38
In a case of rape	22	21	17	36
In a case of road accident due to driver's negligence	20	21	16	40

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** In your opinion, to what extent is it natural for the mob to punish the culprits on their own when there is: A. a case of cow-slaughter B. a case of child kidnapping C. a case of rape D. a case of road accident due to driver's negligence- to a large extent, somewhat, rarely or not at all?

ranks. For all the four cases of mob-violence, the senior officers are less likely to believe the action of mob to be natural compared to their subordinates (constabulary ranks).

While 28 percent of seniors were found to believe the mob violence in case of cow slaughter to be more of natural ('to a large extent' or 'somewhat'), the proportion of subordinates were found to be 8 percentage points higher. In the three other cases of mob violence, this difference was found to be around 10 percentage points. Following a similar trend, among the respondents who were in complete disagreement (responding as 'not at all'), the respondents at the officer level ranks were in higher proportion, 10 percentage points higher, compared to the respondents at constabulary ranks. This finding makes a clear case for proper training in essential aspects of the rule of law at all levels in order to inculcate constitutional values and rational conduct among police personnel.

On delving deeper into State-wise analysis, Madhya Pradesh was found to have two in every five, and Chhattisgarh, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh about one in every four believing it to be very natural for a mob to punish the culprit in case of cow slaughter. Seven of the States had less than one in every three believing it to be not natural at all for the mob to punish the culprit (Table 6.24).

When asked about angry mob punishing the suspected culprits in a case of child kidnapping, while Karnataka (44%) and Telangana (41%) had more than two in every five believing it to be completely natural, Andhra Pradesh (35%) and Chhattisgarh (31%) had around one in every three police personnel believing so. Further, Karnataka (1%), Andhra Pradesh (3%) and Assam (4%) had negligible proportion of police personnel reporting it not natural at all for the mob to take law in their own hands.

In case of an alleged rape culprit being punished by a mob, Karnataka (59%), Andhra Pradesh (42%) and Telangana (42%) again topped the list with maximum police personnel reporting the action of the mob to be very natural. Madhya Pradesh (40%) and Uttarakhand (39%) also had about two-fifth police personnel believing so. Showing similar trend, Karnataka (8%), Andhra Pradesh (5%) and Assam (5%) were again found to have minimum police personnel in complete disagreement (responding as 'not at all').

With regard to incidents of mob violence after cases of road accidents due to suspected negligence of the

**Table 6.24: Natural for the mob to punish the culprit in case of cow-slaughter? (State-wise) (%)**

States	Very much	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Overall	15	20	16	46
Madhya Pradesh	39	24	19	13
Chhattisgarh	27	15	19	36
Gujarat	26	9	4	55
Uttar Pradesh	23	14	8	54
Rajasthan	22	23	27	28
Uttarakhand	21	21	7	50
Andhra Pradesh	20	32	31	14
Karnataka	20	37	32	10
Maharashtra	20	23	8	42
Telangana	18	29	21	30
Delhi	15	23	8	52
Jharkhand	14	52	16	16
Bihar	13	7	13	66
Assam	9	35	44	9
Himachal Pradesh	8	12	8	71
Kerala	6	4	8	76
Haryana	5	21	19	52
Punjab	2	7	6	79
Odisha	1	15	15	64
West Bengal	1	2	7	69
Nagaland	0	4	10	67

Note: All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

driver, Telangana (55%) and Karnataka (58%) again featured on the top of the list with about half of the police personnel believing such action by a mob to be totally natural. Kerala (42%), with about two in every five believing so, was not far behind. Among the police personnel reporting such action to be not natural at all for the mob, Kerala (6%) joined Karnataka (2%), Andhra Pradesh (4%) and Assam (6%) with a negligible proportion of police personnel having a dissenting opinion.

## 6.6: Summing up

Police as an institution has not managed to provide equal space for the diverse groups and communities that make it what it is. As our findings indicate, a majority of the police personnel did not report the treatment to be completely equal across the lines of caste and religion.

The police force, by and large, also appear to be insensitive towards the needs of protection and rehabilitation for children in conflict with law, and instead hold the opinion that they should be treated in the same manner as adult criminals. With reformatory, rehabilitative and restitutive techniques taking a backseat, the police seem to be convinced of deterrent methodologies of punishing those presumed guilty, even if the person accused is a child. Further, a significant proportion of police force has a casual attitude towards incidents of mob violence, believing it to be natural for the mob to take law into their own hands.

While majority of police personnel were found to have received the trainings in human rights, caste sensitisation and crowd control, for a large section of the

police, this training was only imparted at the time of joining. These attitudes and opinions could therefore be a reflection of the lack of proper and frequent trainings. Such training, if provided regularly using proper modules, might help not just in softening their preconceived notions towards vulnerable sections of the society, but in also ensuring that such biases do not interfere with proper functioning of the police.

An institutional bias against the marginalised sections further increases the vulnerability of these groups. A healthier police-public interface can only be achieved when these prejudices are attacked and due process is established. Thus, there is an urgent need for the police to come out of the web of societal prejudices and prove itself efficient in upholding all the rights provided by the Constitution of India.

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7

## People-friendly Police or Police-fearing People?

*Patna, India – March 26, 2015: Police personnel lathicharge protestors during a demonstration against State government. (Credits: Santosh Kumar, Hindustan Times)*

**T**his chapter looks at the opinions of personnel towards crime registration and the process to be followed in case of a complaint. Further, the chapter delves into the opinions of personnel on the hesitation of the public to approach the police. Towards the end of the chapter, we analyse personnel's opinions on police violence.

- Fifty-four percent police personnel are of the opinion that an increase in the number of FIRs registered indicates an increase in crime in the area, as opposed to an increase in registration of complaints by the police. Senior officers are more likely to believe that it indicates an increase in registration of complaints by police
- Three-fifth of the civil police personnel believe that no matter how serious a crime, there should be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR, as opposed to direct registration of FIR
- Three in five personnel believe that the number of crimes reported are lesser than the number of crimes committed in the society
- Two out of five personnel believe that common people are hesitant to approach the police even when there is a need
- Nineteen percent personnel (nearly one out of five) would not advice their daughters to go alone to a police station, outside their jurisdiction, to report a crime
- Thirty seven percent personnel feel that for minor offences, a small punishment should be handed out by the police rather than a legal trial
- One out of five police personnel feel that killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial
- Three out of four personnel feel that it is justified for the police to be violent towards criminals
- Four out of five personnel believe that there is nothing wrong in the police beating up criminals to extract confessions

## People-friendly Police or Police-fearing People?

*“India’s super-structure of economic prosperity is built on a weak base of an ineffective and outdated criminal justice system.”*

—Former DGP and Chairman Indian Police Foundation, Prakash Singh (January 2019)

*“From an early stage, the children should have a feeling that police stations are a place where the atmosphere is positive and comforting. It is like any other place where one could go to get one’s grievances addressed. The policemen sitting there are like friends who are there to help everyone at any point of time<sup>1</sup>”*

— Delhi CP Amulya Patnaik (January 2019)

Making the Indian police force more people-centric has been the stated priority of successive governments. The Ministry of Home Affairs, in its ranking of police stations in 2017, has emphasised on the need for the police station to be an ‘inviting public space’. The high number of non-reporting of crime perhaps reflects how police stations are viewed as spaces that threaten and intimidate common people. According to the Nation Family Health Survey (NFHS)—round 4 (2015–16), about 99 percent of cases of violence against women are not reported. Another study by IDFC Institute (2017), says that people lodged an FIR with the police in only seven percent of the total theft cases. Non-registration of complaints obviously contributes to the negative image of the police. A study by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (2018) reports that unruly behaviour of police deters about three-fourth of the Indian population from reporting complaints. It further states that if we compute non-reporting along with non-registration of crimes, less than 10 percent of crimes in the society are actually getting registered. Delinking the crime statistics from the performance appraisal of po-

lice was suggested as one of the solutions to address this problem.

The Status of Policing in India Report (Common Cause–CSDS 2018) highlighted that every two out of five people in India are afraid of the police. Incidents of police brutality are common across States. From custodial deaths in Kerala to encounter killings in Uttar Pradesh, where the Chief Minister has himself reportedly claimed ‘*Agar apradh karenge, toh thok diye jaayenge*,<sup>2</sup> which is a euphemism for fake police encounters or an endorsement of unjust police violence. No civilised administration in the world can get away with such unfair and unjustifiable policies. Unfortunately, India has not only failed to ratify the United Nation’s convention on human torture<sup>3</sup>, but has also refrained from passing the Prevention of Torture Bill, 2017. Lokaneeta (2018) has pointed out that there is a complete lack of public debate on torture in India, and the problem is further compounded by the ways in which torture is conceptualised and measured in the usual, public and official, discourses. For instance, there have been multiple cases of police brutalities against journalists in India in the past few years which has led to the decline in the country’s ranking in the global press freedom index (Reporters without Border, 2018).

In this chapter we examine the ways in which police perceive the processes related to registration of the FIR. We study the police’s perceptions about whether and why people hesitate to contact them. Further, we review the propensity of police to use and justify violence. Through an analysis of a set of questions about whether they believe that police violence, to the extent of killing ‘criminals’ is justified, we attempt to ascertain the use of violence in everyday policing.

1 Delhi Commissioner during the launch of outdoor play area for children at the Kalkaji police station— part of the Delhi Police’s ‘Police Uncle’ initiative, aimed at highlighting the friendly face of the police on 21 June 2019.

2 Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister during an interview with the INDIA TV news channel in June 2017.

3 India is a signatory to the Convention Against Terrorism, but hasn’t ratified it.

## 7.1: Registration of FIR

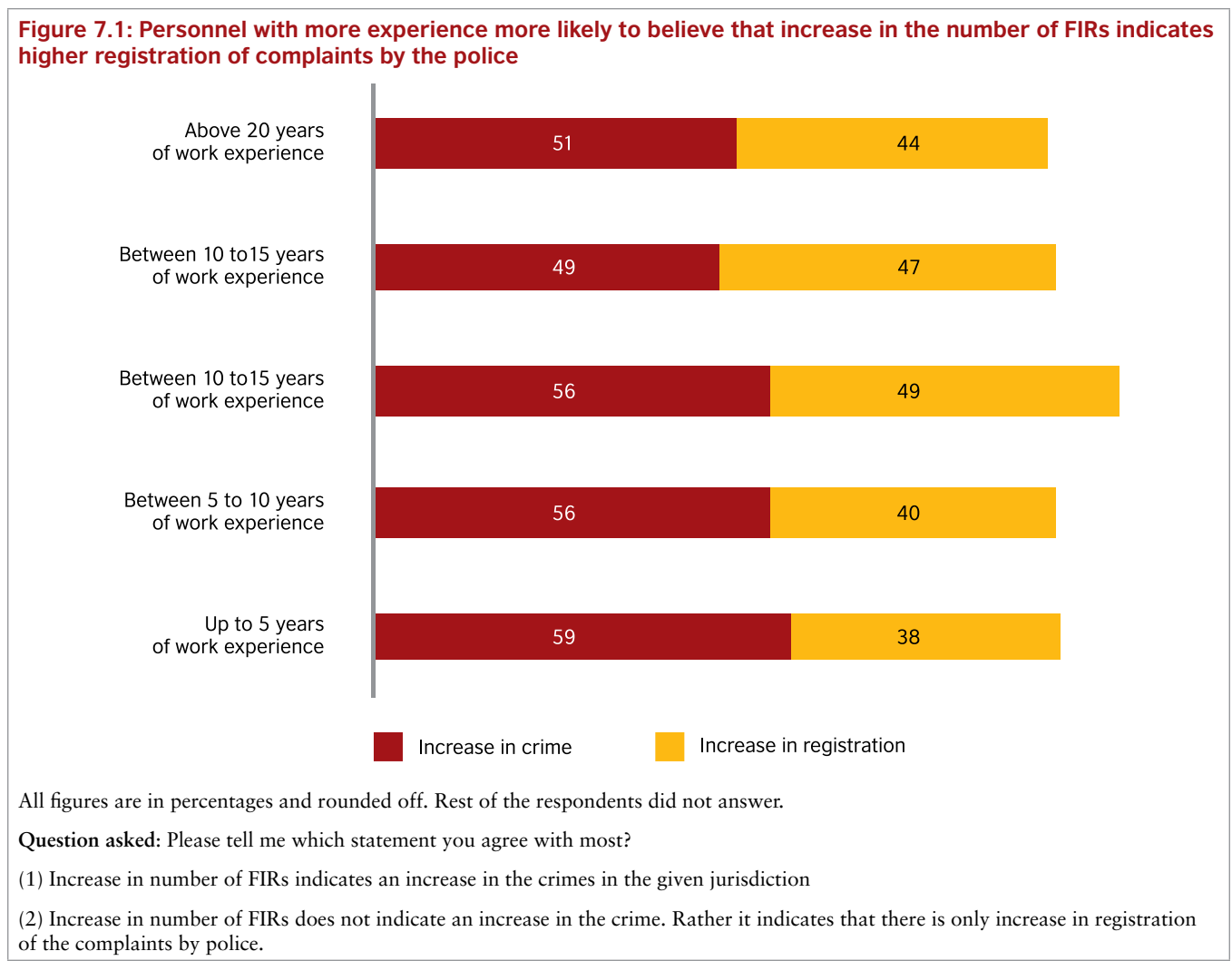
Crime rates are an unreliable indicator of the actual prevalence of crime in a region, considering the high levels of non-reporting of crimes. A 2017 Crime Victimization Survey conducted in major Indian cities indicates that only about seven percent of victims of theft lodged an FIR. SPIR 2018 identifies the causes for under-reporting of crime, particularly for women victims, as the fear of social stigma, harassment and use of abusive language by the police. A common complaint in India is that police refuses to lodge FIRs, presumably because of the mistaken notion that high crime rates would reflect poorly on its performance.

To verify the existence of such perceptions in the police community, our study assessed the endorsement of the following statements by the police personnel: (1) An increase in the number of FIRs indicates an increase in crime in the given jurisdiction; or (2) An increase in the number of FIRs does not indicate an increase in crime, rather, it indicates that there is only increase in registration of complaints by police.

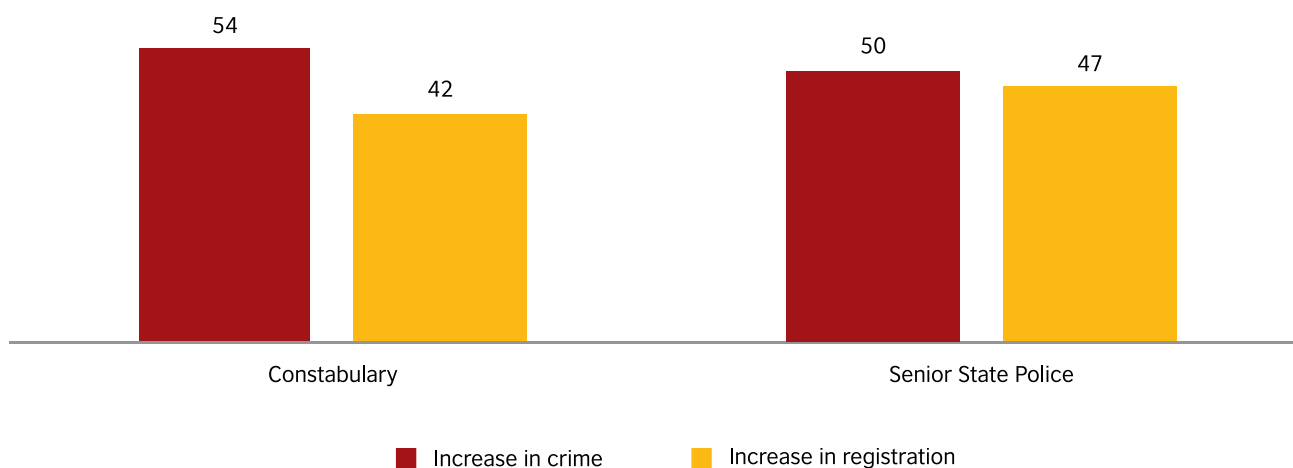
54 percent of the civil police personnel are of the opinion that it indicates a surge in crime in the given jurisdiction. About 43 percent reported that it indicates an increase in ‘registration’ of the complaints by the police. More experienced personnel are also more likely to believe that an increase in FIRs denotes a hike in complaints registration by police (Figure 7.1).

Compared to the constabulary, senior officers are marginally more likely to agree with the statement that an increase in FIRs indicates an increase in registration of complaints by the police (Figure 7.2). On the other hand, civil police personnel with higher education levels are more likely to believe that more FIRs indicate an increase in crime (Figure 7.3).

Police personnel from Kerala, Odisha and Assam are more likely to report that increase in crime indicates increase in complaints registration by police. In the Crime in India Report 2016 of the NCRB, Kerala stands out as the State with the highest rates of total cognisable crimes, although the rate of violent crimes



**Figure 7.2: Senior officers more likely to believe that an increase in FIRs indicates an increase in registration of complaints by the police**

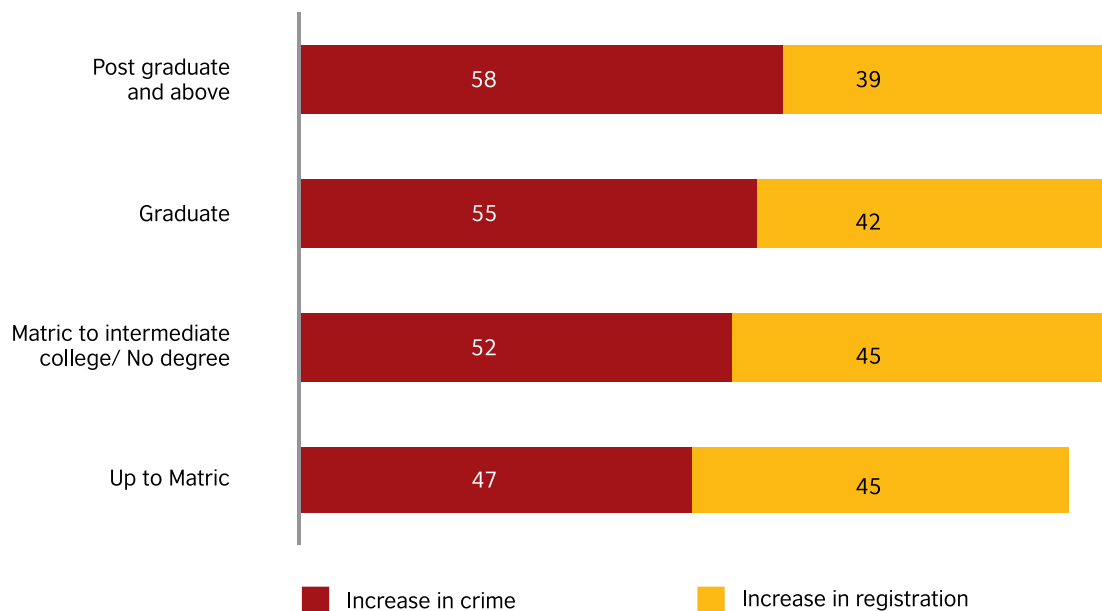


All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) Increase in number of FIRs indicates an increase in the crimes in the given jurisdiction
- (2) Increase in number of FIRs does not indicate an increase in the crime. Rather it indicates that there is only increase in registration of the complaints by police.

**Figure 7.3: More educated personnel more likely to believe that an increase in FIRs indicates an increase in crime in the jurisdiction**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) Increase in number of FIRs indicates an increase in the crimes in the given jurisdiction
- (2) Increase in number of FIRs does not indicate an increase in the crime. Rather it indicates that there is only increase in registration of the complaints by police.

in the State is significantly lower. This may be indicative of higher reporting of crimes in the State and a greater willingness of the police to register FIRs (Disney, 2016).

On the other hand, police personnel from Gujarat, Punjab and Karnataka were more likely to report that an increase in FIRs indicates a deterioration of the law and order situation in the jurisdiction.

## 7.2: Preliminary investigation of serious cases

In the landmark case of *Lalita Kumari vs Government of Uttar Pradesh, 2013* the Supreme Court held that if a victim’s statement discloses information about a cognisable offence<sup>4</sup>, the registration of the FIR is mandatory. Yet, it is common for police personnel to refuse filing FIRs even in serious, cognisable cases. A 2017 Parliamentary panel headed by former Union Minister of Home Affairs, P Chidambaram doubted the government’s claim that about 78 percent police stations in the country are registering 100 percent FIRs (Ahuja, 2017). In the survey, we examined the perception and level of awareness of police personnel about the process that ought to be followed in cases of serious crimes.

When asked to choose between directly registering FIRs or conducting preliminary investigations for serious complaints, about three-fifth of the civil police reported that they agreed more with the statement that— “No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR”. Only 37 percent of the civil police personnel reported that they agreed more with the statement— “For all serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered”. As the years of experience in service increase, there is a marginal fall in the proportion of civil police who say that there should be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR (Figure 7.4).

Compared to the civil constabulary, the senior State police officers are marginally more likely to agree with the statement that there must be preliminary investigation before registering an FIR (Figure 7.5).

Similarly, as the education levels of the civil police personnel increased, the proportion which agreed on having a preliminary investigation before registering FIR also increased (Figure 7.6). The overall pattern that emerges is that better educated, constabulary-

<sup>4</sup> Cognisable offences are those in which a police officer can arrest without warrant (First Schedule, CrPC). It includes serious and violent offences such as rape, murder, kidnapping, etc.

level personnel, and those with less work experience are more likely to report that no matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary enquiry before registering an FIR, as compared to their less educated counterparts.

Highest proportion of police personnel from Kerala, Punjab, Rajasthan and Maharashtra reported that for all serious crimes, FIRs must be directly registered (Table 7.2). On the other hand, highest proportion

**Table 7.1: Police personnel from Kerala most likely to believe that an increase in the number of FIRs is indicative of higher registration of complaints by the police**

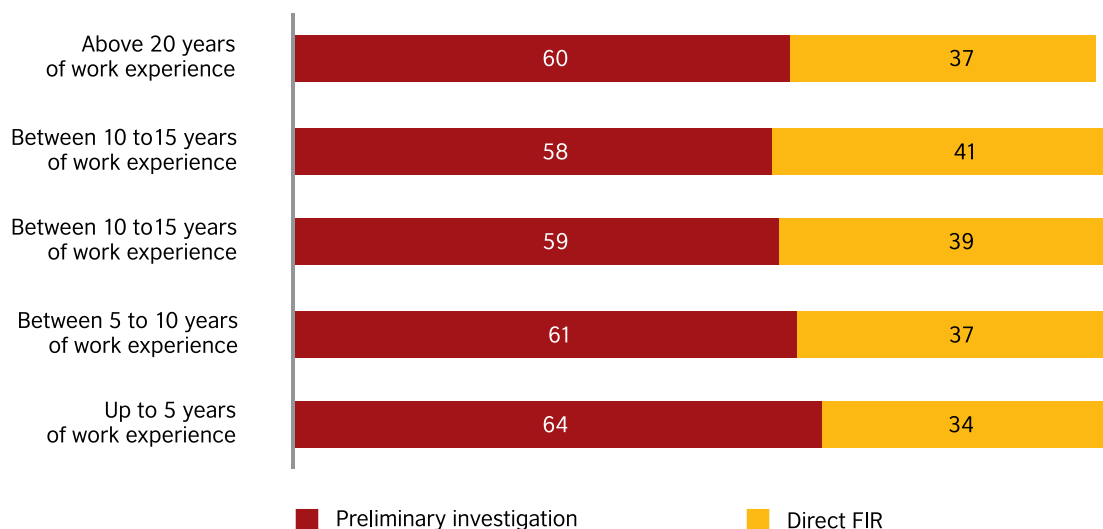
“Which statement do you agree with most?”		
States	Increase in FIRs indicates an increase in crime	Increase in FIRs indicates an increase in registration of complaints by police
Kerala	24	72
Odisha	27	69
Assam	35	62
West Bengal	35	51
Delhi	37	61
Bihar	45	53
Jharkhand	45	53
Nagaland	48	39
Uttar Pradesh	49	49
Andhra Pradesh	50	46
Madhya Pradesh	56	43
Uttarakhand	56	43
Rajasthan	57	43
Haryana	58	41
Himachal Pradesh	65	34
Chhattisgarh	66	31
Maharashtra	67	28
Telangana	68	31
Gujarat	72	18
Punjab	73	15
Karnataka	87	13

All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) Increase in number of FIRs indicates an increase in the crimes in the given jurisdiction
- (2) Increase in number of FIRs does not indicate an increase in the crime. Rather it indicates that there is only increase in registration of the complaints by police

**Figure 7.4: Regardless of the number of years of experience majority of the Police personnel not willing to register FIR directly**

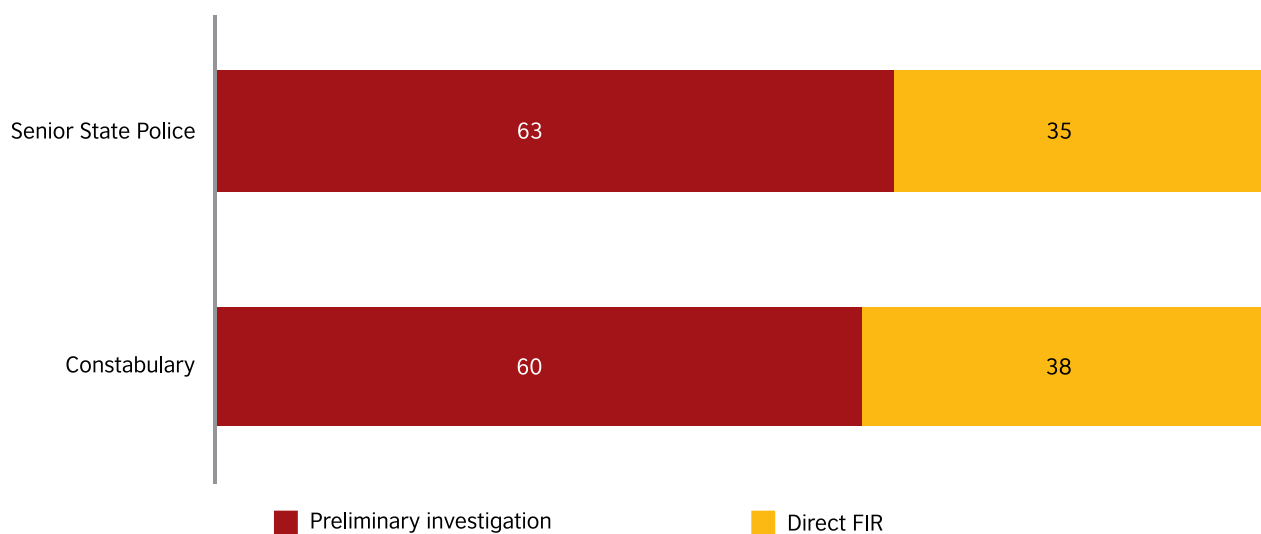


All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR;
- (2): For all the serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered.

**Figure 7.5: Despite seniority no alteration in reluctance for registering FIR**

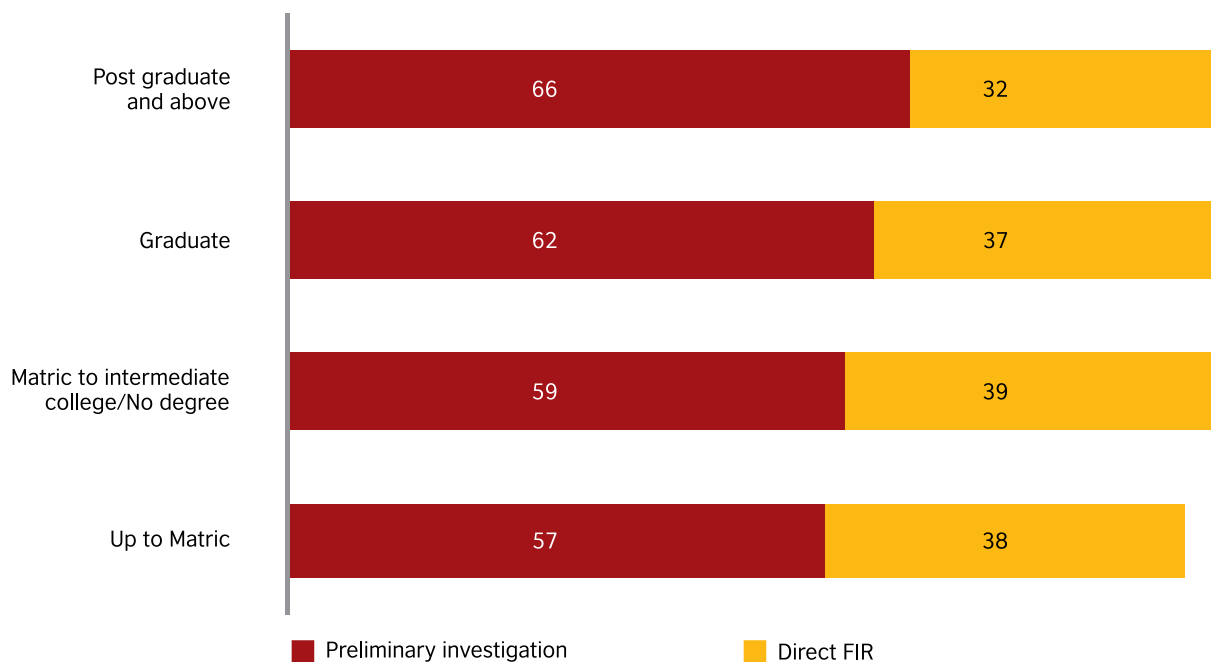


All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR;
- (2): For all the serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered.

**Figure 7.6: Better educated police personnel more likely to believe that no matter how serious a crime, a preliminary enquiry should be conducted before registering an FIR**



All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR;
- (2): For all the serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered.

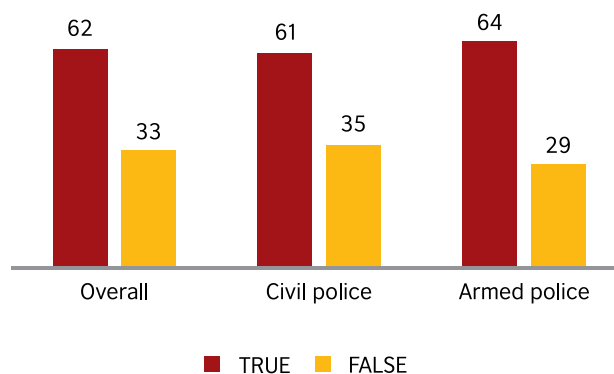
of police personnel from Himachal Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and Haryana are inclined to believe that no matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR.

### 7.3: Police people contact

About 61 percent of the civil police agreed with the statement that ‘the number of crimes reported are lesser than the number of crimes committed in the society’ (Figure 7.7). Bihar is at the extreme end of the spectrum, with more than 90 percent of the civil police personnel reporting that they agree with the statement, while in Telangana nearly 30 percent agreed with it.

When we asked the police their opinion on how hesitant a common person is to contact them even when there is a need, about 40 percent of the civil police personnel reported that the common person is hesitant to varying extent. Nearly 53 percent reported that the common person is barely hesitant to contact the police (Figure 7.8). As the education level of the police increases, the proportion which believes that the common person is hesitant in contacting the police also increases (Figure 7.9). On the other hand, police personnel who have spent more years in service are less

**Figure 7.7: Three out of five police personnel believe that the number of crimes reported are lesser than the number of crimes committed in the society**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: There is a perception among common people that the numbers of crime reported are lesser as compared to the number of crimes committed in reality. To what extent do you think this is true—completely true, somewhat true, somewhat false, completely false?

Answer categories of completely true and somewhat true have been clubbed as ‘true to some extent’, whereas the answer categories of ‘completely false and somewhat false’; have been clubbed as ‘false to some extent’.

**Table 7.2: State-wise opinion on preliminary investigation before FIR**

States	No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR	For all serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered
Kerala	34	66
Punjab	37	53
Maharashtra	40	57
Rajasthan	43	57
Assam	46	51
Nagaland	49	36
Uttarakhand	51	48
Odisha	52	47
West Bengal	64	24
Uttar Pradesh	65	34
Jharkhand	66	33
Andhra Pradesh	67	30
Gujarat	68	29
Karnataka	68	32
Madhya Pradesh	71	28
Delhi	71	28
Telangana	74	24
Bihar	77	22
Himachal Pradesh	80	20
Chhattisgarh	81	17
Haryana	90	10

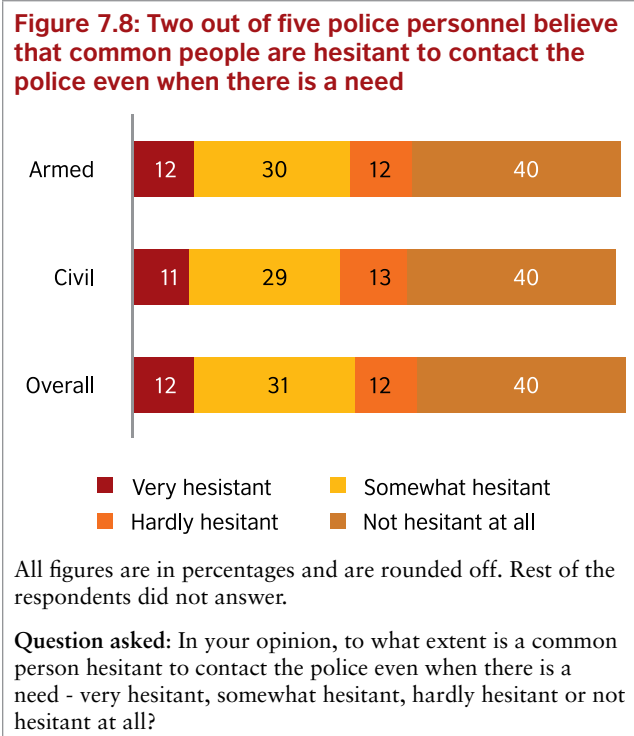
All figures are in percentages and rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Please tell me which statement you agree with most?

- (1) No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering an FIR;
- (2): For all the serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered.

likely to believe that the common person is hesitant in contacting the police (Figure 7.10).

We further sought to understand if police personnel themselves, as citizens, would hesitate in contacting the police in times of need. To measure this indirectly, the personnel were asked if they would be willing to send their own daughter alone to a police station (to report a witnessed crime) in another village/jurisdiction beyond their zone of influence. About one fifth of the police person replied in the negative (Figure 7.11). In contrast, when citizens were asked (in SPIR 2018) if they would allow their son or daughter to visit the



police station alone to file a complaint, 54 percent of the respondents replied in the negative, emphasising that they would not allow.

Police personnel who believe that common persons are very hesitant in approaching the police even when there is need, were themselves less likely to advise their daughters to go to police station alone to report a witnessed crime (Figure 7.12).

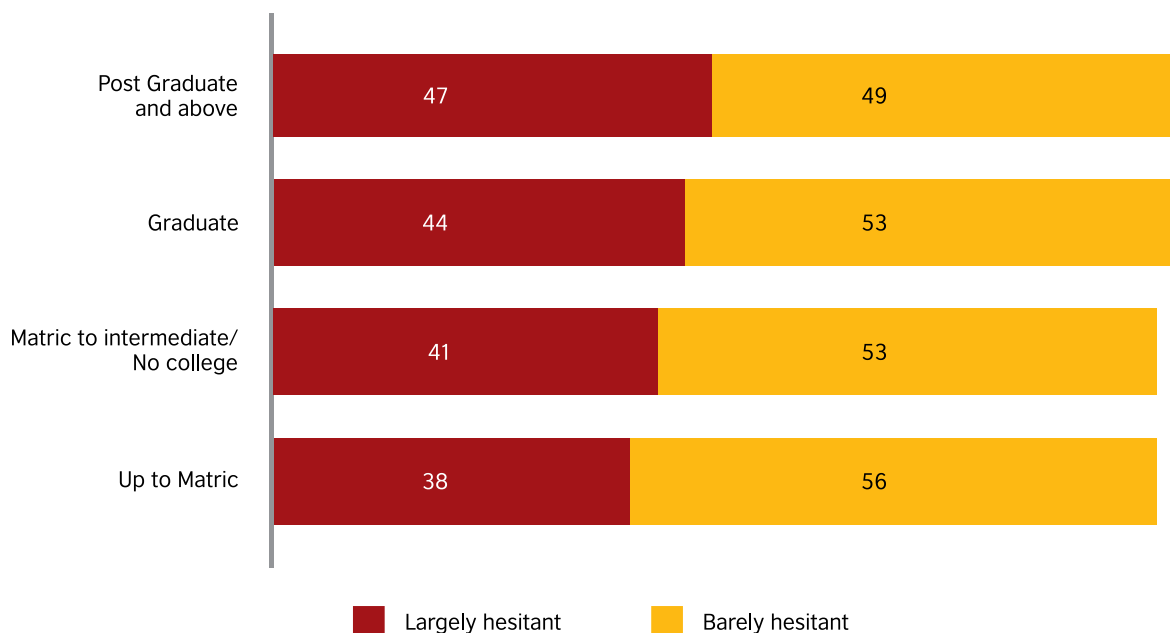
#### 7.4: Caste and police-people contact

As compared to other caste groups, ST civil police personnel are more likely to report that the number of crimes reported are lesser than the number of the crimes committed (Figure 7.13). Similarly, they are also more likely to believe that common people are hesitant to contact the police even if there is a need (Figure 7.14).

Further, ST police personnel are less likely to advise their daughter to go alone to a police station to report a witnessed crime, as compared to police personnel from other caste groups (Figure 7.14). One in four ST personnel said they would not advise their daughter to go to a police station alone, against 18 percent personnel from other caste groups. Personnel from general caste groups, on the other hand, are more likely to advise their daughters to go to the police station alone.

Fear of police can be a major deterrent for a common person to approach the police, even in times of need.

**Figure 7.9: Better educated personnel are more likely to believe that common people are hesitant to contact the police in times of need**

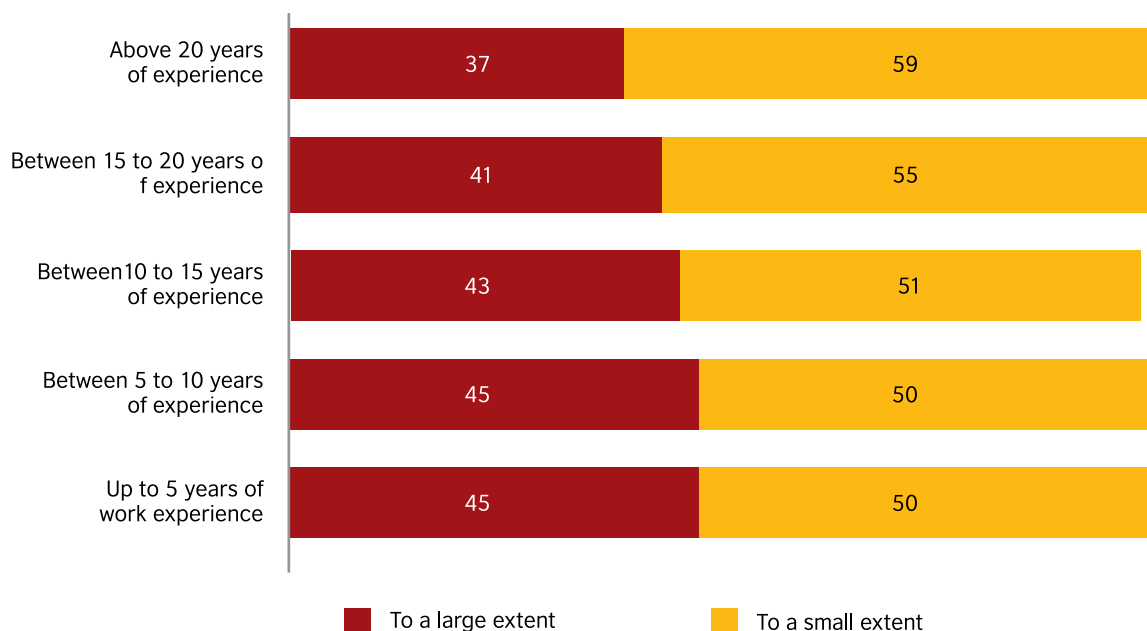


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** In your opinion, to what extent is a common person hesitant to contact the police even when there is a need - very hesitant, somewhat hesitant, hardly hesitant or not hesitant at all?

Answer categories of 'very hesitant' and 'somewhat hesitant' have been clubbed together as 'largely hesitant', and answer categories of 'hardly hesitant' and 'none at all' have been clubbed as 'barely hesitant'.

**Figure 7.10: Personnel with higher experience less likely to believe that common people are hesitant to contact the police even when there is a need**

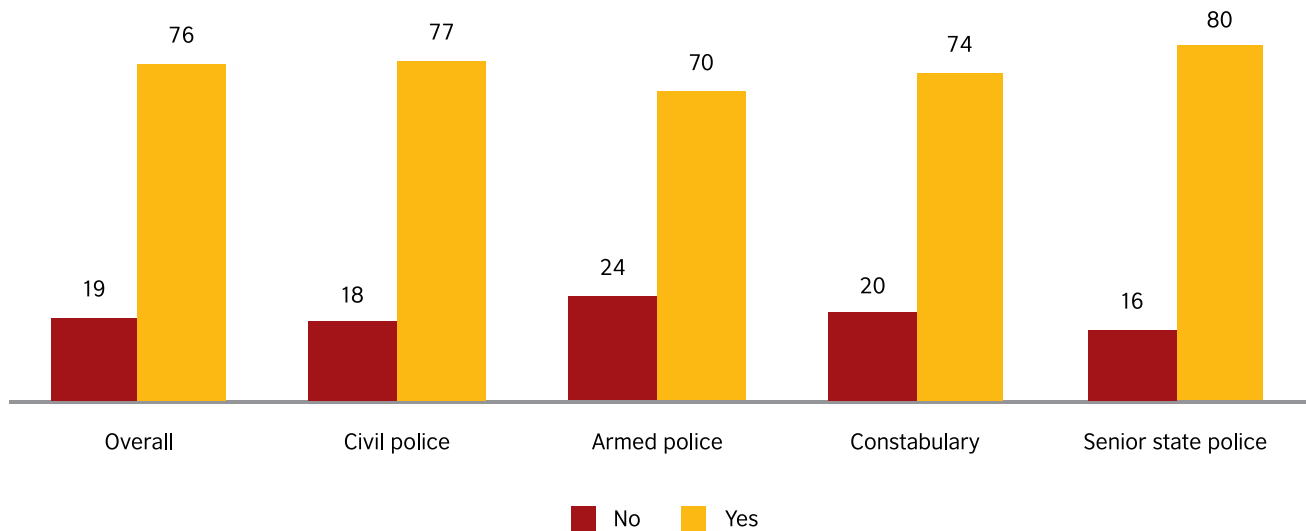


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** In your opinion, to what extent is a common person hesitant to contact the police even when there is a need - very hesitant, somewhat hesitant, hardly hesitant or not hesitant at all?

Answer categories of 'very hesitant' and 'somewhat hesitant' have been clubbed together as 'largely hesitant', and answer categories of 'hardly hesitant' and 'none at all' have been clubbed as 'barely hesitant'.

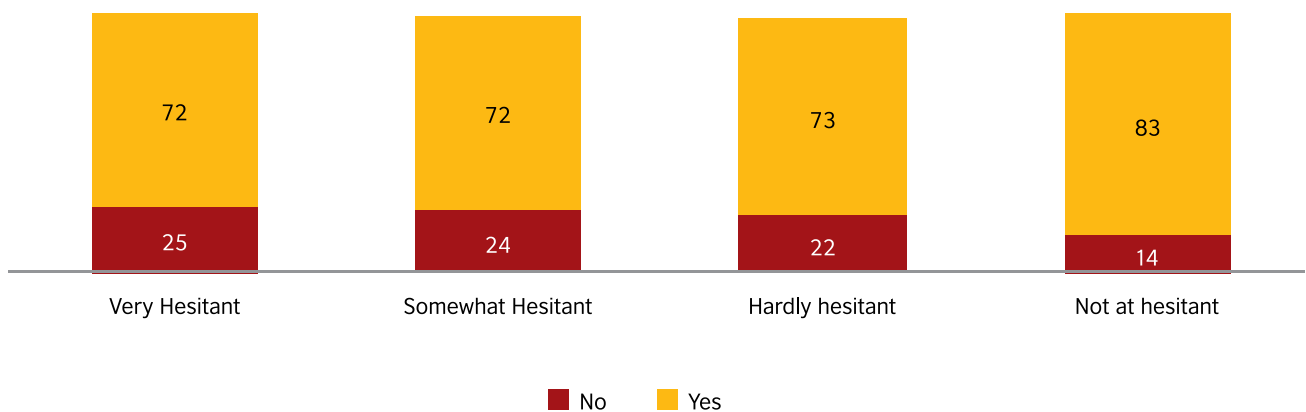
**Figure 7.11 One out of five personnel would not advise their daughter to go to a police station outside their zone of influence to report a crime**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Imagine your daughter is in another city/village, beyond your zone of influence and she witnesses a crime. Would you advise her to go to the police station alone to report the crime—yes or No?

**Figure 7.12: Personnel who believe that common people are very hesitant to approach the police less likely to advise their own daughters to visit a police station alone**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Imagine your daughter is in another city/village, beyond your zone of influence and she witnesses a crime. Would you advise her to go to the police station alone to report the crime—yes or No?

SPIR 2018 found that 14 percent of the citizens are highly fearful of the police, and 30 percent are somewhat fearful of the police. Further, it was found that people fearful of the police are less likely to report willingness to approach the police even if there is a need.

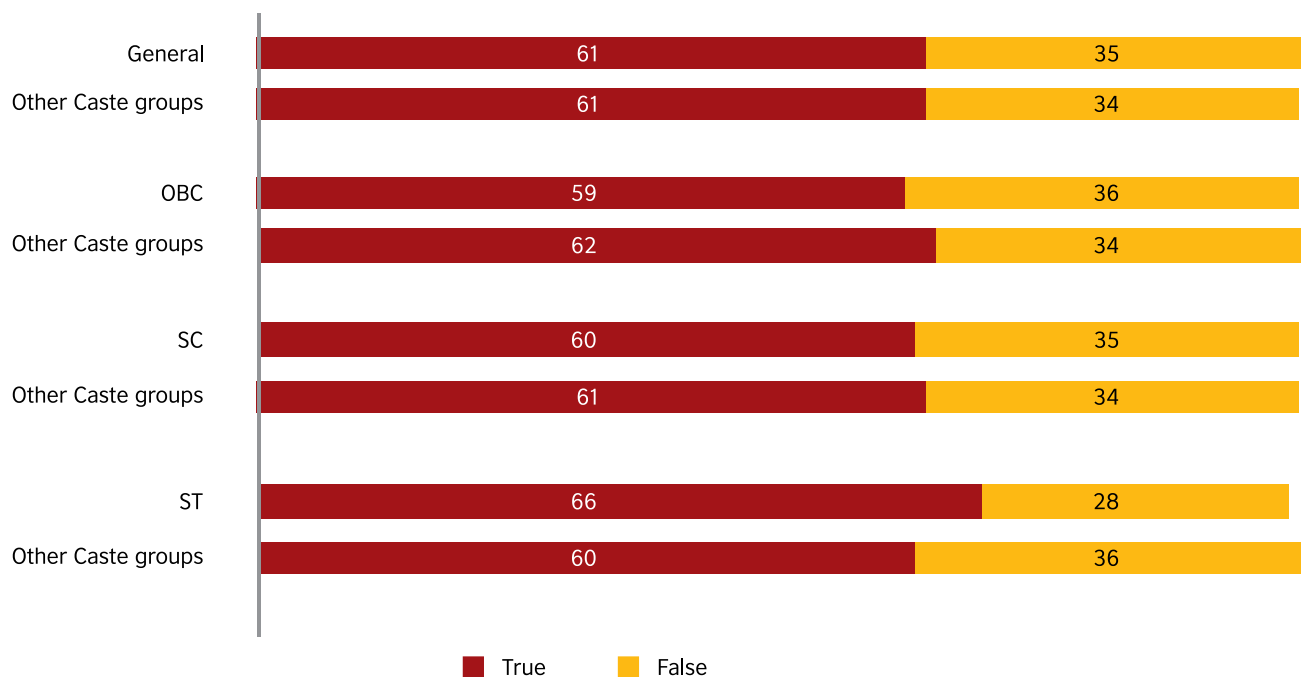
Police personnel seem to recognise that common people nurture an inherent fear of the institution and hence, are reluctant to approach them. There were many who agreed that a common person is hesitant, in varying degrees, to contact the police. Out of this group, about 32 percent, or one in three personnel, reported that the main reason behind this attitude is fear of the police. Also, 13 percent reported lack of educa-

tion as the main reason, and about nine percent said that people are not aware of their rights (Table 7.3).

**Table 7.3: Among personnel who believe that people are hesitant to approach the police, one in three feels that it is due to fear of the police**

Reasons	Proportion (%)
People are afraid of the police	32
People are not educated enough	13
People are not aware of their rights	9
Public has a biased perception of police as corrupt and unhelpful.	8
It is not good for the family name and prestige issues	7

**Figure 7.13: ST police personnel more likely to believe that crimes are under-reported**

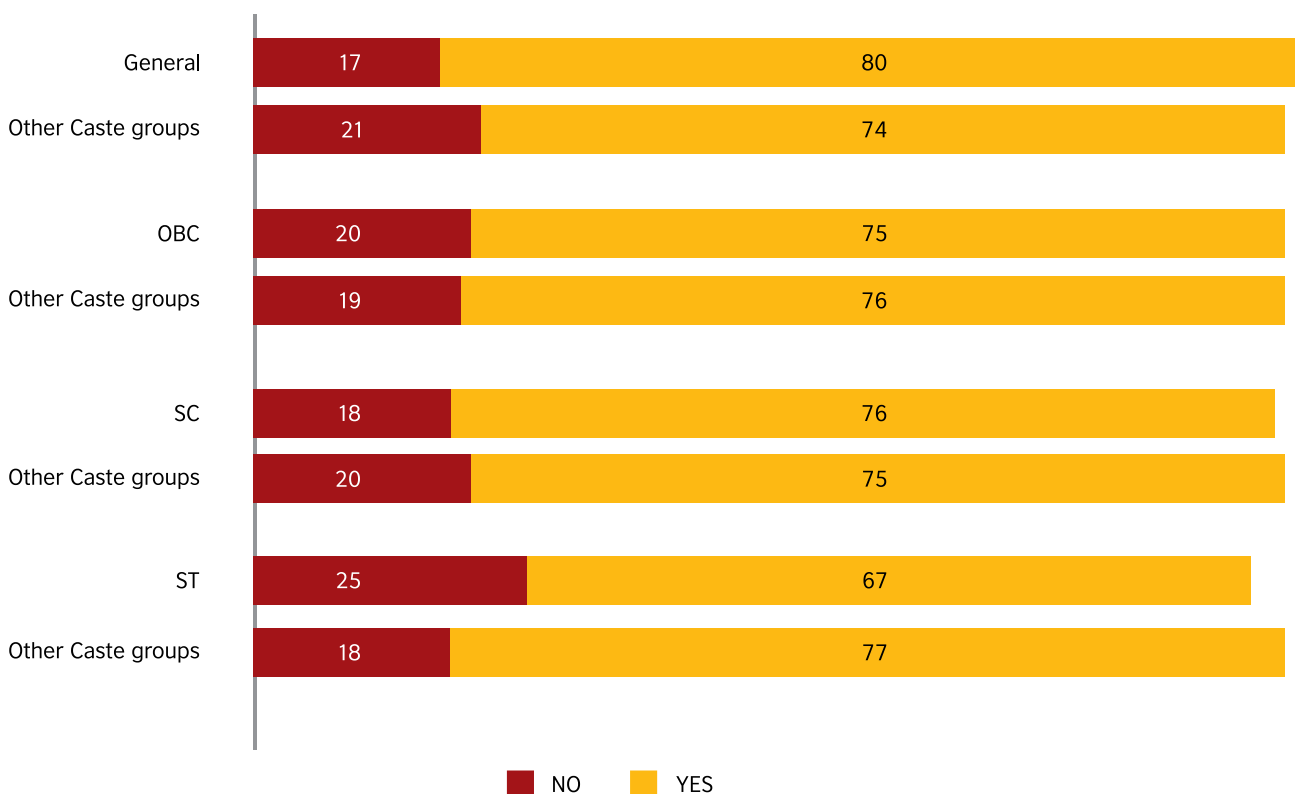


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** There is a perception among common people that the numbers of crime reported are lesser as compared to the number of crimes committed in reality. To what extent do you think this is true—completely true, somewhat true, somewhat false, completely false?

The answer categories of completely true and somewhat true have been clubbed as ‘true to some extent’, whereas the answer categories of ‘completely false and somewhat false’; have been clubbed as ‘false to some extent’.

**Figure 7.14 ST personnel less likely to advise their daughters to visit a police station alone to report a crime**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Imagine your daughter is in another city/village, beyond your zone of influence and she witnesses a crime. Would you advise her to go to the police station alone to report the crime—yes or No?

## 7.5: Police and violence

We asked police personnel four questions to understand their propensity to use or justify violence. Two questions were asked to ascertain the perception of their role as a punisher (for small/minor offences and for extremely dangerous criminals) and other two questions on their inclination towards justifying the use of violence. On creating an index to compare the overall inclination to both punish and to justify violence, we found that police personnel in Chhattisgarh, Nagaland, Karnataka and Bihar had a very high inclination to punish or justify violence. On the other hand, West Bengal, Odisha, Punjab and Kerala had the highest proportion of police personnel with zero inclination to punish or justify violence (Table 7.4).

## 7.6: Willingness to use violence over legal process

Compared to other States, police personnel in Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Nagaland and Karnataka are more likely to report that they would rather use extra-judicial means to resolve matters. They are in favour of punishing the criminals themselves, instead of going through the process of a legal trial. On the other hand, police personnel from Punjab and Odisha are most likely to prefer legal trial over meting out instant justice (Table 7.5).

**Table 7.4: State-wise inclination to use or justify violence**

States	Inclination to use or justify violence				Index
	High	Medium	Low	None	
Overall	35	43	14	8	—
Karnataka	54	42	3	1	25.1
Chhattisgarh	61	32	6	2	25.1
Nagaland	61	30	7	2	25
Bihar	52	39	6	3	24
Gujarat	41	53	6	1	23.4
Haryana	47	37	12	4	22.8
Uttar Pradesh	44	42	10	4	22.7
Telangana	32	59	7	1	22.3
Madhya Pradesh	32	59	7	2	22.1
Jharkhand	42	41	12	5	22
Uttarakhand	32	56	10	1	22
Maharashtra	41	39	12	8	21.2
Andhra Pradesh	32	48	14	7	20.5
Assam	27	55	13	4	20.5
Delhi	27	49	19	5	19.9
Himachal Pradesh	23	45	23	9	18.2
Rajasthan	32	33	13	22	17.5
Kerala	28	24	26	22	15.9
Punjab	19	39	22	20	15.5
West Bengal	15	33	22	25	14
Odisha	9	30	39	22	12.6

All figures are in percentages. Rest did not answer.

Please see Appendix 4 to understand how this variable was created.

**Table 7.5: State-wise inclination to use extra-judicial means by punishing criminals over a legal trial**

States	Police punishing a criminal	Legal Trial
Overall	44	54
Andhra Pradesh	43	57
Assam	35	62
Bihar	60	39
Gujarat	42	58
Haryana	54	46
Himachal Pradesh	36	64
Karnataka	57	42
Kerala	49	51
Madhya Pradesh	36	64
Maharashtra	48	52
Nagaland	78	19
Odisha	21	79
Punjab	28	72
Rajasthan	42	58
Uttar Pradesh	54	46
West Bengal	44	52
Delhi	36	64
Jharkhand	57	43
Chhattisgarh	69	30
Uttarakhand	40	60
Telangana	36	64

All figures are in percentages. Rest did not answer.

**Questions asked:**

**Q1. Which statement do you agree most with?**

(1) For small/minor offenses, a small/minor punishment by the police is better than legal trial; (2) For small/minor offenses also, there should be a complete legal trial. Do you agree or disagree with this?

**Q2. Which statement do you agree most with?**

(1) For the greater good of the society, killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial.(2) No matter how dangerous a criminal, police should try to catch the criminals and give them a legal trial.

Note: Those who agreed with the first statement on either one or both the questions have been clubbed as ‘punisher’. Those who agreed with the second statement on both the questions have been clubbed as ‘legal trial’.

Section 46 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC), 1973, lays down the procedure for arrest by a police officer. It provides a partial sanction for encounters, under extreme circumstances, in cases of persons who have committed an offence punishable with death or imprisonment for life. Clauses 2 and 3 of the Section state:

*(2) If such person forcibly resists the endeavour to arrest him, or attempts to evade the arrest, such police*

*officer or other person may use all means necessary to effect the arrest.*

*(3) Nothing in this section gives a right to cause the death of a person who is not accused of an offence punishable with death or with imprisonment for life.*

While the legal provisions provide protection to officers only in the case when an encounter was committed as an act of self-defence, there has been a rise in the number of cases of “fake” encounters (Dixit, 2019), where encounters are ‘staged’ as an act of self-defence. In the case of *People’s Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) vs State of Maharashtra, 2014*, the Supreme Court issued guidelines, making it mandatory for a magistrate to investigate all encounter cases. However, the phenomenon of police encounters continues, with 49 people being killed in Uttar Pradesh since March 2017, majority of who were Dalits, Muslims or OBCs (Rahid, 2019). In such a scenario, it becomes imperative to find out the attitudes and perceptions of the personnel regarding encounter killings.

About 36 percent of the civil police agreed with the statement that for minor offences, a minor punishment to the accused by the police is better than a legal trial (Figure 7.15). About 78 percent of the police agreed with the statement that a legal trial is better than killing criminals, no matter how dangerous he or she is (Figure 7.16). However, this number should be read with caution as there might be an element of social desirability here. Conversely, nearly one in five (19%) personnel agreed with the statement that killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial.

Both the duration of experience and the educational level of personnel have an effect on the opinion of the personnel towards encounter killings. As the number of years of experience in the police increases, the proportion of personnel who would prefer killing dangerous criminals over legal trial decreases (Figure 7.17).

On the other hand, with the rise in educational levels, the proportion of police personnel who would prefer killing dangerous criminals over legal trial increases (Figure 7.18).

**7.7: Attitude towards police violence**

On being asked whether it is alright for the police to adopt a violent attitude towards criminals, for the greater good of society, about three-fourth replied in the affirmative (Figure 7.19). Similarly, when we examined if the police considered it is justified to beat

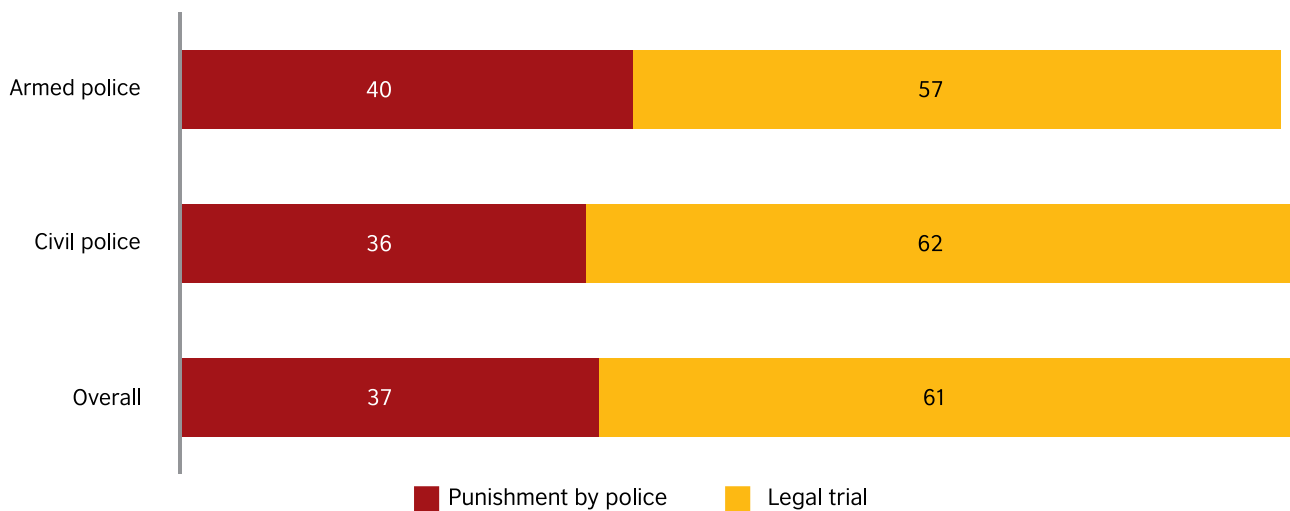
up criminals for extracting confessions while investigating serious cases, more than four-fifth endorsed violence (Figure 7.20). Senior State police officers were only slightly less likely to agree with these statements than the constabulary.

It is crucial to note that the criminals could be either 'convicted' or 'accused'. The question was deliberately phrased in an ambiguous way with the use of word 'criminal' instead of convict/accused. However, in the second statement, 'there is nothing wrong in the police

beating up criminals to extract confessions', while the term used is 'criminal', but by virtue of such a case necessarily being under-trial since the police is seeking a confession, the person facing violence would be an accused, and not a convict.

It is interesting to note that our attempts to assess the co-relations between educational levels and attitudes to violence yielded counter-intuitive results. As the educational level of the police personnel increased, so did their agreement with being violent towards

**Figure 7.15: Thirty seven percent personnel feel that for minor offences, a small punishment should be handed out by the police rather than a legal trial**

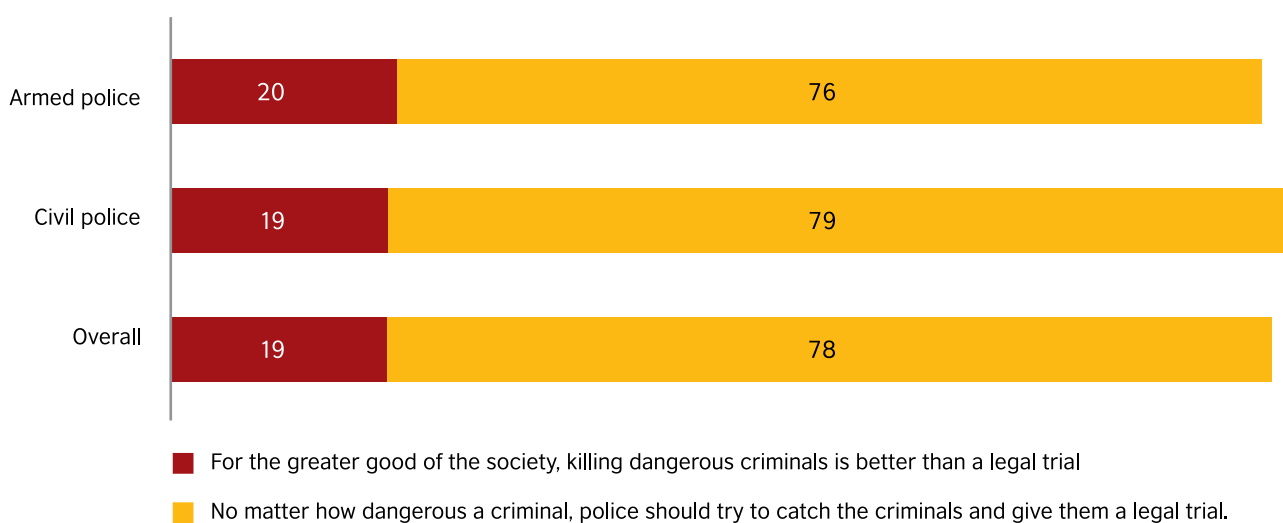


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

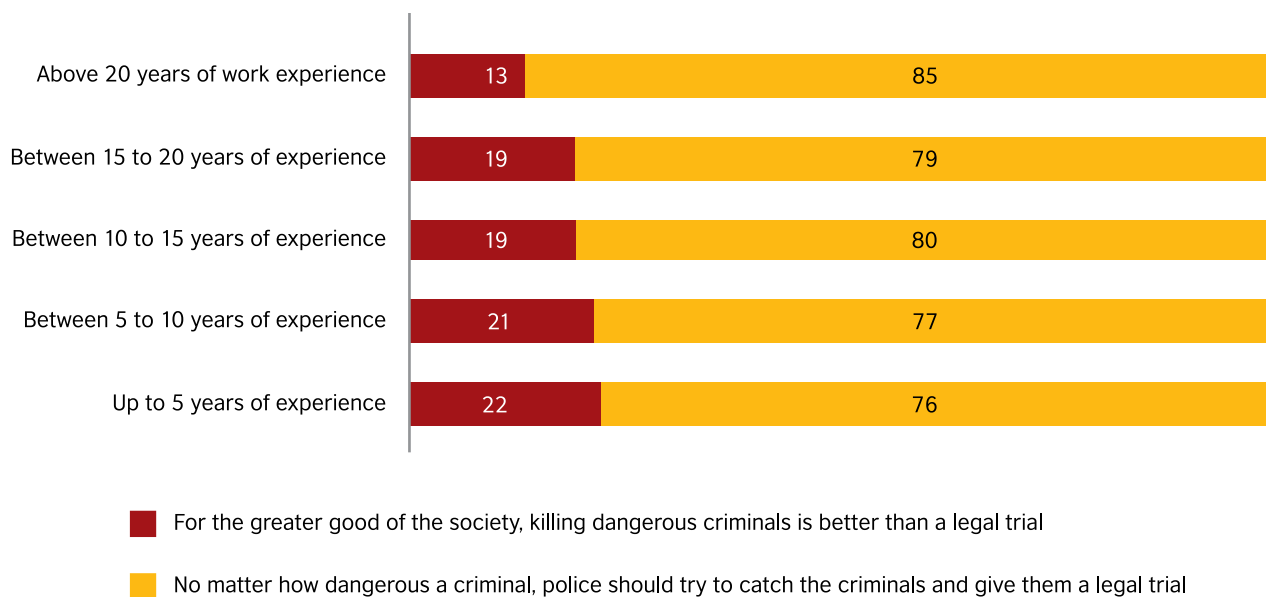
**Question asked:** Which statement do you agree most with?

- (1) For small/minor offenses, a small/minor punishment by the police is better than legal trial;
- (2) For small/minor offenses also, there should be a complete legal trial. Do you agree or disagree with this?

**Figure 7.16: One out of five police personnel feel that killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial**



**Figure 7.17: Personnel with more years of service less likely to believe that killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial**

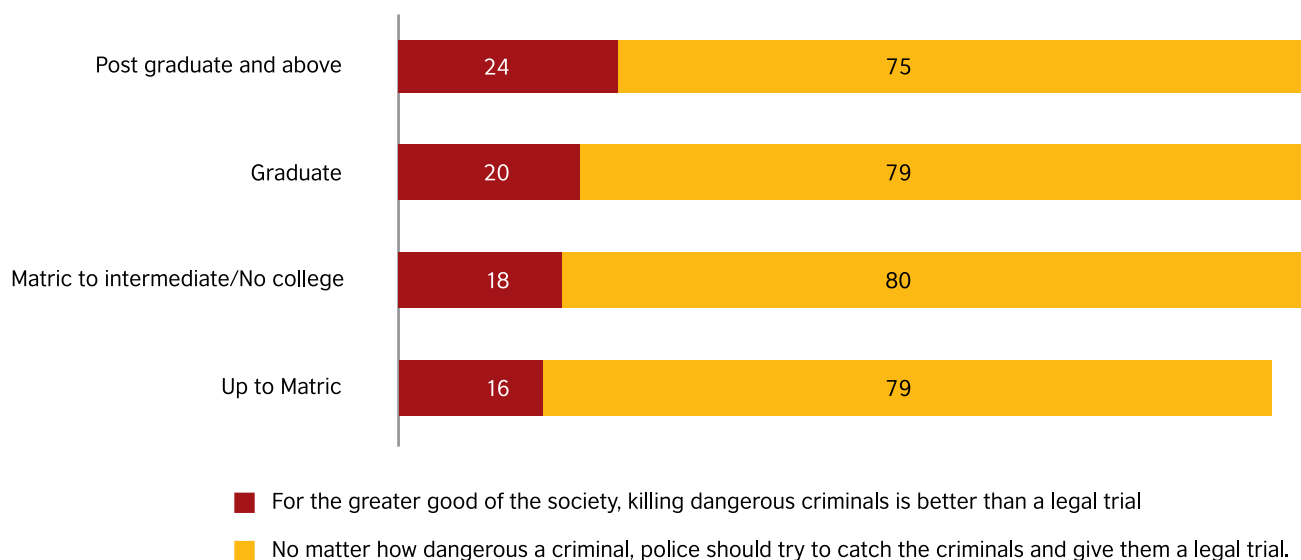


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Which statement do you agree most with?

- (1) For the greater good of the society, killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial.
- (2) No matter how dangerous a criminal, police should try to catch the criminals and give them a legal trial.

**Figure 7.18 Personnel with higher levels of education more likely to agree with the statement that killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial**

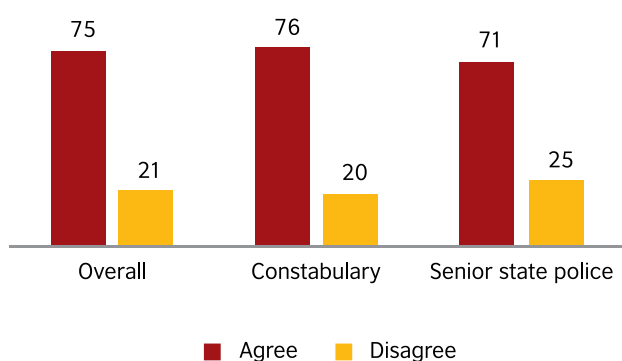


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Which statement do you agree most with?

- (1) For the greater good of the society, killing dangerous criminals is better than a legal trial.
- (2) No matter how dangerous a criminal, police should try to catch the criminals and give them a legal trial.

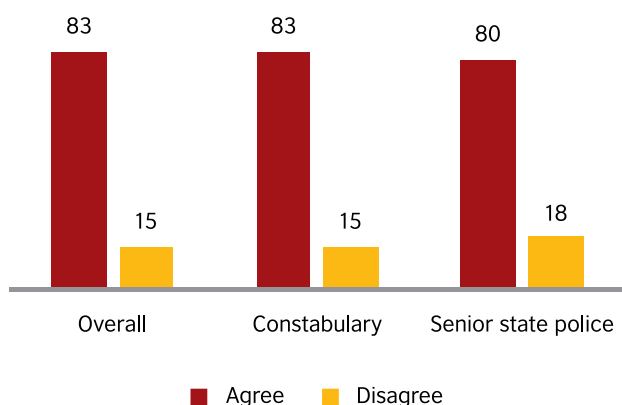
**Figure 7.19 Three out of four personnel feel that it is justified for the police to be violent towards criminals**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement— “For the greater good of the society, it is alright for the police to be violent towards criminals”? Answer categories of ‘completely agree’ and ‘somewhat agree’ have been clubbed together as ‘agree’, and answer categories of ‘somewhat disagree’ and ‘completely disagree’ have been clubbed as ‘disagree’.

**Figure 7.20 Four out of five personnel believe that there is nothing wrong in the police beating up criminals to extract confessions**

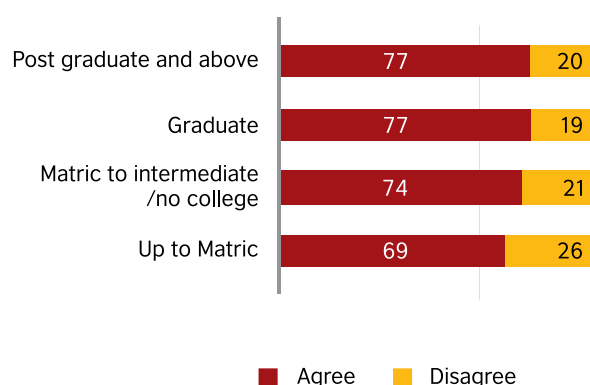


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement— “Sometimes while investigating serious cases, there is nothing wrong in police beating up criminals to extract confessions”? Answer categories of ‘completely agree’ and ‘somewhat agree’ have been clubbed together as ‘agree’, and answer categories of ‘somewhat disagree’ and ‘completely disagree’ have been clubbed as ‘disagree’.

criminals even though the differences were marginal (Figure 7.21). Similarly, police personnel with lower levels of education seem to have a marginally lesser favourable view of beating up criminals to extract confessions (Figure 7.22).

**Figure 7.21 Personnel with higher education more likely to believe that it is alright for the police to be violent towards criminals**

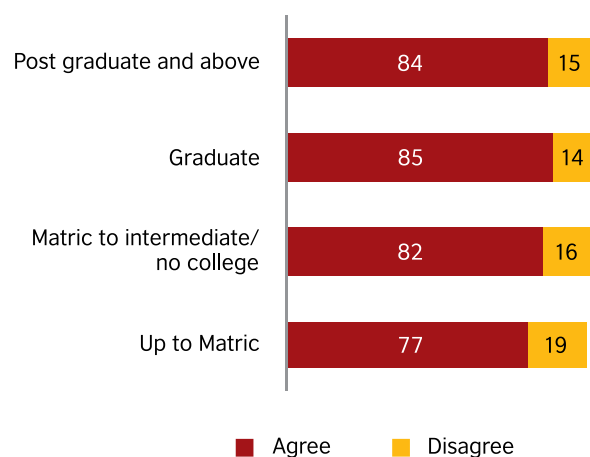


All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? For the greater good of the society, it is alright for the police to be violent towards criminals?

Answer categories of ‘completely agree’ and ‘somewhat agree’ have been clubbed together as ‘agree’, and answer categories of ‘somewhat disagree’ and ‘completely disagree’ have been clubbed as ‘disagree’.

**Figure 7.22: Personnel with higher education more likely to believe that there is nothing wrong in police beating up criminals to extract confessions**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

**Question asked:** Do you agree or disagree with the following statement— “Sometimes while investigating serious cases, there is nothing wrong in police beating up criminals to extract confessions”?

Answer categories of ‘completely agree’ and ‘somewhat agree’ have been clubbed together as ‘agree’, and answer categories of ‘somewhat disagree’ and ‘completely disagree’ have been clubbed as ‘disagree’.

## 7.7: Summing up

It is widely acknowledged that the police, being the most visible face of governance, has to be people-centric. A society cannot afford a violent relationship between the citizens and the police. Contributing significantly to the police's failure in developing a people-friendly image is its inability to perform one of its core functions—register crimes. This reflects in the perception of the police personnel, with more than half of them interpreting an increase in FIRs as a swell in crime numbers of the given jurisdiction, and not as increase in complaints registration. About three fifth of the police agreed that even in serious cases, pre-

liminary investigation is necessary as against directly registering an FIR.

Police personnel are not unaware of the extent of under-reporting of crime in the country. Three out of five police personnel agreed with the perception that the number of crimes reported are far less than the number of crimes actually committed. Two out of five police personnel admitted that the fear of the police is the primary reason behind common person being hesitant in contacting the police. These findings point to an urgent need for reducing the citizens' fear in order to change the image of the police in their minds.

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# 8

## Summing Up

*Chandigarh, India- May 2, 2001: Police personnel injured in the Khanpur village clash near Chandigarh.  
(Credits: Samuel, Hindustan Times)*

## Summing Up

Police Reforms in India have been traditionally seen from two extreme perspectives: either from the standpoint of the oppressed who seek to limit police's monopoly over violence and end misuse of power by the state, or from the perspective of professional autonomy of the police as an institution, particularly from the political class, and their right to decent working conditions. After many reports and recommendations from statutory commissions gathered dust over decades, the cause of police reforms got a stimulus in the year 2006 when the landmark Supreme Court judgement in *Prakash Singh vs Union of India* laid down directives to control political interference in the functioning of the police.

The Status of Policing in India Report, both of the year 2018 and the current edition, go to show that both these perspectives are not as mutually exclusive or independent as they appear to be. In fact, as SPIR 2018 shows, high levels of fear of police among the citizens co-exists with high levels of satisfaction with the police. Similarly, this report shows that even though there is an agreement among the personnel that the fear of police leads to non-reporting of crimes, they simultaneously endorse the use of violent methods which may be the reason for creating fear in the first place. These seeming contradictions are what we attempt to unpack in these reports.

SPIR series is an attempt to induce meaningful changes in the system, by taking into account opinions, experiences and attitudes of all stakeholders, particularly the citizens and the police personnel themselves. However, certain debatable opinions, such as police's inclination to use violence, treat juveniles in conflict with law as adult criminals, or their attitudes towards women within the police force suggest that the opinions of personnel cannot be taken at face value to change the system. Instead, they actually buttress the argument about the lack of awareness and absence of trainings

on human rights, gender sensitisation or legal procedures responsible for the failure in changing mindsets and ensuring adherence to the rule of law.

The experience-based sections of the report, however, present a dismal picture of the conditions of work among the personnel. Long working hours, lack of weekly rest and basic resources as well as external pressure in work are commonly reported by personnel across States, reflecting an urgent need for enhancing resources, both human as well as physical. Evidence from studies worldwide suggest correlations between effect of unjust working conditions and stress, and the increasing tendency to use violence by the police. These are therefore issues that need to be seen together from a larger context of making police in India a more people-oriented institution intended for providing services, and not as a tool for State oppression.

Police personnel in India are denied the right to unionise or call for a strike, yet the conditions are so dismal that there have been frequent strikes by police forces in different States. These incidents have taken place, despite the personnel knowing that they would be charged with treason and other serious offences in case of a strike. In June 2016, personnel from Karnataka threatened to strike in a protest against low pay, no fixed weekly offs and abuse of power by senior officers, among other complaints (*Firstpost*, June 2016). In May 2015, 53,000 Home Guards (an auxiliary unit of the police in the State) from Bihar went on an indefinite strike (*The Economic Times*, May 2015).

The problem is not just restricted to the poor service conditions, but it also extends to deficient work culture within the police forces. There is little recourse for personnel such as police women, those of junior ranks, or those from SC, ST, OBC or the minorities, who face the brunt of discrimination. Both the survey as well the official data analysed in the report suggest

that lesser resources, trainings, infrastructure, etc. are available to the personnel from disadvantaged communities.

These are some of the issues that we touch upon in this report, hoping to provide a context to the debates on police reforms in the country, and to provide statistical evidence for many of the oft-repeated problems plaguing the police structure in India.

### 8.1: Findings from the survey

The police personnel interviewed in the survey complained of high workload they have to routinely face in discharging their responsibilities. Spending excessive time in an environment that is stressful appears to be affecting the mental and physical health of the police personnel, especially of those at the junior levels. And this is compounded by the fact that the resources and training regarding maintenance of law and order, crime control or investigation, are far from adequate. As evident from the findings, their ability to perform their functions is further affected adversely by political pressure—something that the Indian State has been aware of and yet has been unable to contain.

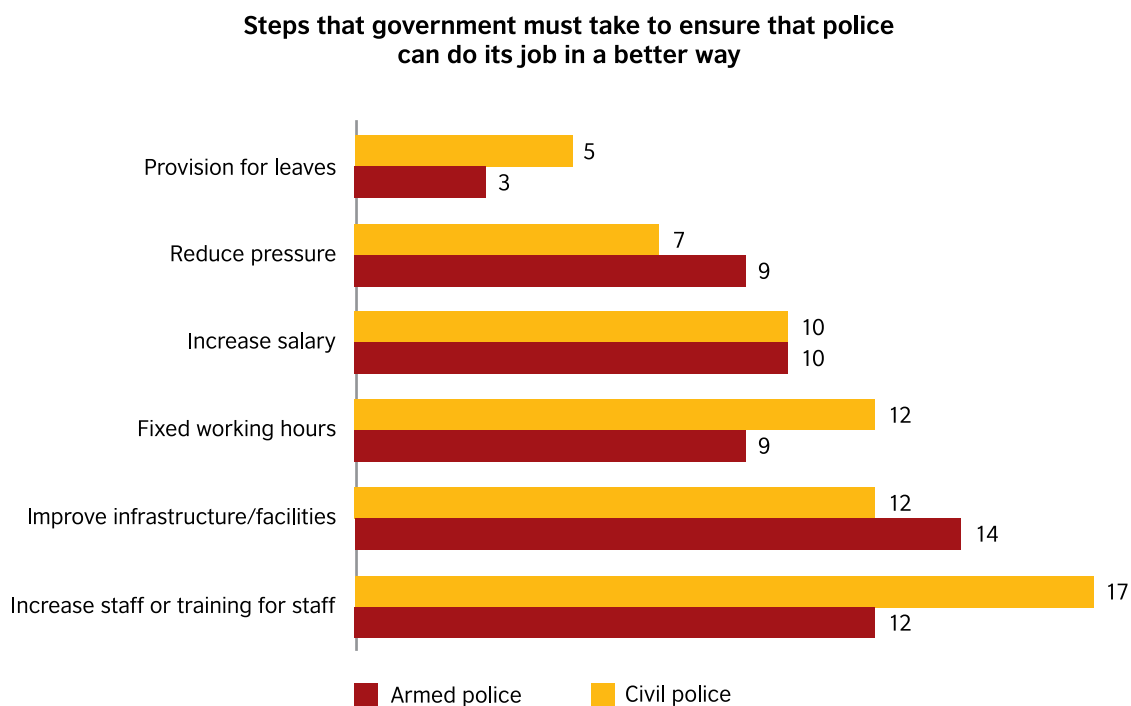
As an arm of the State that has the legal authority to curb the freedom of the citizens, it is crucial for police

to be aware of the probable biases against any gender or societal groups and also of their inclination to use violence. On both these accounts, we found sufficient grounds to further study and mitigate both the biases and the tendency to use or to justify violence. Police themselves are aware of the fear and hesitation of common citizens in contacting them. With multiple government reports and non-government findings highlighting the true extent of non-reporting of crimes, it is vital that the Indian criminal justice system adopts more proactive and systematic steps for evolving people-friendly ways of policing.

Despite a long list of the committees and judgements advocating police reforms, it was found that the level of awareness is dismal about the landmark verdict of *Prakash Singh vs Union of India*, 2006, a vital document giving specific directions for reforms in the policing structure of India. Only about 14 percent of the police reported that they have heard of it.

When the police personnel were asked about the steps that the government should take to enable them to do their job better, the most common response was ‘increasing staff and their training’, followed by ‘increase in facilitates and infrastructure’ provided to police. This was further followed by ‘fixing working hours’

**Figure 8.1: Steps that government must take to enable the police to do its job better**



All figures are in percentages and are rounded off.

**Question asked:** In your opinion, what are the two steps that the government must take to ensure that police can do its job in a better way?

The percentage is based out of the total responses for the question

(Figure 8.1). The call for these steps were echoed across gender, rank or years of experience in police. However, it is noticed that the call for increasing staff and their training is more pronounced for civil police as compared to the armed police.

In the following sections, the summaries of chapter-wise findings of this report are presented.

### 8.1.1 Working conditions

Working in the Indian police is no easy task. Not only do the police work for 14 hours a day on an average, their probability of getting a weekly off is at best around 50 percent. The police personnel in Punjab and Odisha reported working for an average of 17 and 18 hours in a day. Maharashtra is the only State where all the police personnel reported getting at least one day off every week, while more than 90 percent police personnel in Odisha and Chhattisgarh reported getting no weekly off. Added to this, an environment in which junior officers often have to face the brunt of work pressure and do menial domestic duties for the seniors, the stress levels are extremely high.

More than half of the police personnel contacted agreed that there was lack of equal treatment of juniors by senior police personnel. One out of four police personnel also admitted that senior officers ask their juniors to do their personal/ household jobs even though they are not meant to do it, with about two-fifth police also reporting that senior officers use foul language while talking to their subordinates/ juniors. A staggering ratio of three out of four constabulary reported having very little autonomy in their jobs.

Perhaps, as a result of all these conditions, the police reported that their mental and physical health was being affected by their workload. A similarly high proportion reported that they are not able to devote enough time to their families. Even four out of five of the family members of personnel admitted that policing is a stressful job. Thus, it is no surprise that the police personnel feel that their workload adversely affects their ability to do their job well.

### 8.1.2 Resources at disposal

With basic facilities like a toilet or drinking water still not available in one out of every ten police stations, the infrastructure is far from perfect. Bihar comes across as particularly backward in providing basic facilities at police stations. The study confirms that the police personnel have often been in situations where lack of access to vehicles or fuel in emergencies have forced them to spend from their own pockets. Lack of

staff at the police stations is a common impediment for discharging routine duties like escorting criminals to the court or reaching crime spots on time. When it comes to mobility and staffing, Rajasthan, Odisha and Uttarakhand are relatively worse performing States. On the other hand, West Bengal, Gujarat and Punjab perform consistently well in providing adequate infrastructure for policing.

Just above two-thirds of the civil police reported that they always have access to a functional computer, while only over half of the civil police reported that they had access to CCTNS program. The figures plummeted further when it came to access to forensic technology, with roughly only about one in four civil police reporting 'always' having access to forensic technology at their workplace. Of the civil police personnel contacted, only two out of three reported ever receiving any training in forensic technology. Thus, the resources and the training given to police personnel are far from adequate for discharging their responsibilities properly.

### 8.1.3 Crime investigation

The study also found that most police personnel believe unemployment and lack of education are primary factors behind the rise in crime. At the same time, they see doing their routine work well – increased patrolling or a more active role by the police – as the factors which are primarily responsible for decline in crime. Although the police appreciated the utility of CCTVs and increased street lighting in bringing crime under control, the crucial steps that police reported are required to control crime are increasing staff and patrolling.

Political interference emerged as the biggest factor adversely impacting crime investigation, with about every three out of ten police personnel reporting it. This was followed by non-cooperation of witnesses. In fact, in the past 2–3 years of their work experience, two out of three personnel reported frequently facing political pressures, while about seventy percent police personnel reported frequently having faced non-cooperation from witnesses. This pattern is also seen in cases involving influential people, where police reported frequently facing political pressure and departmental pressure during investigation. The most common consequence of not complying with these pressures is transfer or posting to a different area. Thus, the system is further weakened by undue external pressures, besides harsh working conditions and scanty resources.

#### 8.1.4 Police and Gender

The service conditions are equally harsh for women and men in police forces, but women have to fight extra battles in a misogynist environment. The study found that the Indian police system reeks of bias against women working in the police, with about one in four male personnel demonstrating high bias against their female colleagues. This situation was particularly bad in Bihar and Karnataka, with nearly sixty percent of the police personnel reporting high bias. One in two police women reported that completely equal treatment is not meted out to police men and police women. This situation is particularly bad in Telangana, Karnataka and Punjab.

Without getting into the quality of training on gender sensitisation, the numbers of those who never received any training on gender sensitisation altogether indicates a sad state of affairs, with about one out of four police personnel in Nagaland, Gujarat and Bihar having never received any gender sensitisation training. While there is no absolute way of ascertaining the impact of training on the mindsets of police personnel, it can certainly go a long way in ensuring adherence to due processes. About one fifth of the police personnel reported that in their experience, the complaints of gender-based violence are to a very high extent false and motivated. In a country where 99 percent of the complaints of sexual violence are still unreported, this narrative of police personnel raises pertinent questions about the attitude of the law enforcers towards victims of gender-based violence.

#### 8.1.5 Police and the society

On matters of caste-based divisions, the Indian police system comes across as a subset of the larger Indian society. On comparing the treatment meted out to police personnel from SC and ST groups, less than half of the personnel reported that there is completely equal treatment. The extent of unequal treatment is particularly high in Telangana, Karnataka, and Maharashtra for ST caste groups, while the situation is particularly bad in Telangana, Punjab, and Maharashtra for SC caste groups. Roughly half of the police personnel reported that the last time they received any training on caste sensitisation was at the time of joining the police force. Further, as compared to other States, police personnel from Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh seem more prone to a bias against SCs (reporting that Dalits are very much naturally prone to committing crimes), while police personnel from Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh are more likely to have a bias against the STs (reporting that people from ST groups are very much naturally prone to committing crimes). About one out

of every five police person interviewed also reported that in their experience, complaints under the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act are often false and motivated.

The study of society between elections (APU-Lokniti 2018) found that more than one in four respondents from 11 States of India reported that Dalits were not trying hard to alleviate poverty, as against two fifth of the respondents who reported that generations of unfair treatment has made it difficult for Dalits/Adivasis to improve their economic conditions. The attitude of the police towards Dalits or Adivasi communities thus appears to be linked to a larger societal attitude towards people from these communities.

The perception of a community being naturally prone towards committing crimes was the highest for Muslims, with roughly 14 percent of the police personnel holding the opinion that Muslims are very much naturally prone towards committing crimes. To put it in a comparative context, about six percent of the police reported that upper caste Hindus are very much naturally prone towards committing crimes. This situation of perceiving Muslims as being naturally prone towards committing crimes was worse in the Hindi-heartland States of Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand. It was equally bad in Karnataka and Maharashtra. Similarly, police personnel were also more likely to report that migrants from other States are very much naturally prone to committing crimes, with this perception being strongest in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

The APU-Lokniti study (2018) found that while 65 percent of the respondents consider Hindus and Sikhs to be generally peaceful, a similar positive perception is held by only 42 percent of the respondents towards Muslims; a decline of more than 20 percentage points. On the other hand, three percent of the respondents perceive Hindus, Christians and Sikhs to be extremely violent but the number for Muslims is 5 percentage points higher, at eight percent. Here again, the police attitude towards Muslims seems to be aligned with the societal perceptions.

#### 8.1.6 Police–people contact

One of the first steps in the criminal justice system is to file a complaint. It thus becomes imperative to understand the incentives and attitudes of the police personnel towards the process of registering complaints. More than half of the police personnel reported that an increase in FIR indicates a rise in crime in their given jurisdiction, as against this being an indication of

improved reporting and registering of crimes. Kerala and Odisha bucked this trend, with roughly about seventy percent of the police reporting that an increase in FIRs merely indicated increase in registration of complaints by the police.

Similarly, three out of five personnel are of the opinion that no matter how serious a case, there has to be some preliminary investigation by police before registering an FIR. This was despite the fact that a similar proportion (60%) also believed that the crimes reported are less than the number of crimes that are actually committed in the society. Police personnel were also cognisant of the possibility that common people are hesitant in approaching the police even when there is a need — primarily on account of being fearful of the police. In fact, about one in five personnel themselves would not advise their daughters to report a crime at a police station beyond their zone of influence.

Despite reporting fear as the primary cause of a common person's reluctance in approaching the police, the police personnel in Karnataka, Chhattisgarh, Nagaland, and Bihar had a comparatively higher inclination to justify violence which could be the reason for creating such fears. While about two out of five personnel said they would prefer to punish the 'culprits' of small or minor offenses (as against a legal trial), an overwhelming majority of three out of four police personnel found it normal to adopt a violent attitude towards criminals or beating up criminals to extract confessions. Nearly one out of four personnel were of the opinion that killing a dangerous criminal is better than a legal trial. The awareness of fear as the main cause of severe under-reporting of crimes, coupled with a high inclination to use or justify violence underlines an enigma for the Indian criminal justice system.

### 8.1.7 Official story

Data from the reports of the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD) and the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) were analysed for the years 2007 to 2016 to gauge the performances of the States on parameters of adequacy of police structure. It was found that the police forces across the selected States, with the exception of Nagaland, are extremely under-staffed. Overall, the police in the selected States works at just above two-thirds of its sanctioned capacity, with States such as Uttar Pradesh performing much worse, with its actual strength less than half of the State's sanctioned strength.

The ratio of constabulary to officers is also skewed across States, with the number of constabulary far

exceeding four per officer, a benchmark set by the Padmanabhaiah Committee, in all but two of the selected States, Bihar and West Bengal. Further, the vacancies are also higher at the officer-level than at the constabulary-level. Official data points to the lack of both resources and capacity-building measures by the States. Despite the constabulary forming a major share of the police force, trainings are concentrated at the officer-level in all States.

Basic infrastructure, such as communications and transport, are also poorly allocated. The official data on the aspect of digital infrastructure needs further scrutiny, since discrepancies appear on many aspects, such as the lack of computers in a State like Assam which otherwise scores high on the compliance to CCTNS. When further corresponded with survey data, it appears that official data on this aspect provides a much more optimistic picture than the actual ground reality.

Diversity, a central feature of a functional, people-friendly police system, also comes out poorly when studied through the lens of official data. The inability of States to fill in the reserved seats for SCs, STs, OBCs and women is coupled with the disproportionately lower representation of these groups at the officer-level ranks. It needs to be pointed out that the lack of official data on several parameters of diversity, such as data on the number of SCs, STs and OBCs at the IPS level, or data on the proportion of Muslims in the police force, are hindrances in the analysis. There is a need for the governments to curb the tendency to hide all such data about vulnerable and under-represented communities and bring it out in the public domain.

The survey reveals that the police experience undue political pressure, particularly when dealing with cases involving influential persons. The most common consequence of not giving in to such pressure is unscheduled transfers. Backing this data, the official figures provide evidence to suggest that the rates of transfer of personnel at the ranks of SSP and DIG in under two years is high across the States. While the percentage of officers transferred has decreased significantly post the Prakash Singh judgement, it continues to be extremely high in States such as Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. The data also points to a trend of increased rates of transfer around the time of State elections.

## 8.2: Concluding remarks

Law enforcing agencies all over the world face the onerous expectation of being tough and yet people-

friendly. Democracies in particular bring in sharp focus this duality of their role. As representatives and instruments of the coercive arm of the state, they need to wield the stick (and occasionally the gun) but democracies also seek to minimise the actual exercise of coercion. Legitimacy of the police force is in part dependent on their ability to extract obedience and at the same time to only sparingly resort to exercise of force. Often, therefore, the police are at the receiving end of negative public opinion. They would be criticised for not being tough if they fail to ensure order and public security, but if they are seen to be using the force too often, they would be condemned for doing so. No wonder, in the SPIR 2018 we found high levels of fear of the police among the citizens. How do the

police themselves approach these issues? This report attempts to bring out the opinions and views of the police on their own role, their work profile and the conditions in which they perform their duties.

In a nutshell, this report underlines the dismal work conditions in which the police in India operates. It also brings out, at the same time, the social stereotypes that the persons in uniform are unable to shake off. In both respects, thus, the institutional neglect of two key responsibilities — of improving work conditions and of orienting the police to a more sophisticated, democratic and humane work ethic — emerges as the most striking finding of the study.

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Prakash Singh vs Union of India, Writ Petition (civil) no. 310 of 1996

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Technical Details of Study Design and Sample

‘Status of Policing in India Report 2019: A Study of Police adequacy and working conditions’ is based on a sample survey of 11,834 police personnel across 105 locations in 21 states of India. The surveyed states were: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, and Delhi. The survey was conducted by Lokniti-Programme for Comparative Democracy, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), in the months from February to April 2019.

### I. Sampling Method

One of the key objectives of the study was to provide state-wise analysis of performance and perception of policing. Therefore, the sample size for all 21 states was pre-decided based on their size. To ensure inter-state and intra-state comparison, 600 interviews per state were targeted irrespective of the size and population of the state.

#### Stage I: Sampling of Locations

The locations in the state were chosen using purposive heterogeneous sampling method to capture the social diversity, geographical spread and the administration of the police. Five locations were chosen from each state in such a way that two locations would capture the policing of population in rural areas, two locations would capture the policing of population in the urban areas and one would preferably capture the policing of population staying in capital or metropolitan cities. The locations were also chosen keeping in mind the geographical spread of the state (to capture the coastal policing, etc.). The locations with comparatively higher SC and ST population were also given a higher preference.

#### Stage II: Sampling of Police

The second and final stage of sampling was the selection of the respondents. In every location, 120 respondents were to be selected using quota sampling method. Through this procedure it was ensured that in the selected sample, every fifth respondent was a woman and that out of every five respondents interviewed, at least four were at the ranks of constables or head constables. This was done to ensure an adequate quota of constabulary forces and the gender for further disaggregated studies. The interviews of the

police were typically carried out at the police housing quarters or the police stations in the given location.

**Family survey:** The same process was used for sampling of family members of the police personnel. The only difference was that unlike the quota sampling used to identify police personnel in the sampling location in the given state, convenience sampling was used to identify and interview the family members of the police personnel. Also, the place of interview was typically the police housing quarters.

It was not deemed necessary that the family members of the police personnel interviewed had to be necessarily interviewed or the police personnel had to be from those families from which a member was interviewed.

**Table A1: Sampling framework**

States	Proposed Sample	Achieved Sample
Andhra Pradesh	600	583
Assam	600	548
Bihar	600	532
Chhattisgarh	600	409
Gujarat	600	546
Haryana	600	440
Himachal Pradesh	600	598
Jharkhand	600	531
Karnataka	600	594
Kerala	600	606
Madhya Pradesh	600	581
Maharashtra	600	531
Nagaland	600	570
Odisha	600	576
Punjab	600	580
Rajasthan	600	800
Telangana	600	556
Uttarakhand	600	450
Uttar Pradesh	600	542
West Bengal	600	588
Delhi	600	673

### II. Research Instrument

**Preparation of the Questionnaire:** The English questionnaire was designed after a rigorous dialogue in a series of meetings and discussions within the research team comprising of colleagues from Lokniti and Common Cause. The main objective of the survey was to study the working conditions of the police personnel

and the problems they face in discharging their duties. Most questions in the questionnaire were structured, i.e., close-ended. However there were some that were kept open-ended in order to find out the respondent's spontaneous feelings about an issue without giving her/him a pre-decided set of options.

**Pre-testing and Finalizing the Questionnaire:** To check the accuracy and credibility of the questions set in the questionnaire, it was necessary to administer it in the field. A pilot fieldwork was conducted on 15 November 2018 and 5 December 2018 in Model town police colony and Malviya Nagar Police colony. No sampling of any sort was carried out during pre-testing. The pre-testing was conducted by the research team members from Lokniti and Common Cause, who were also involved in the questionnaire designing. After getting inputs from the researchers, the questions were reframed, omitted and added. This process also gave insights to determine the length of questionnaire, writing instructions for field investigators and adding and omitting some new options in answer categories.

**Translation:** It would not be justifiable to use a single language questionnaire in a multi lingual country like India. Therefore, translation was done for each state by the regional team which was familiar with the language of each region before administering the questionnaire in field. The questionnaire was translated in ten (Assamese, Bangla, Hindi, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi and Telugu) languages.

**Training Workshop:** A two-day training workshop was organized in each state before the survey fieldwork

began in order to train the field investigators (FIs) and supervisors who carry out the fieldwork operations. The trainers conducted an intensive and interactive workshop wherein investigators underwent an orientation programme and were trained rigorously on survey method, interviewing techniques and communication with the respondents. A comprehensive and detailed interviewing guide, designed on the basis of the questionnaire and survey methodology, was prepared for the interviewers. For a better understanding of the questionnaire, mock interviews were also conducted by the interviewers.

**Fieldwork:** The fieldwork of the survey took place from the months of February to April 2019. Field investigators, who were mainly students of social sciences belonging to colleges and universities in different parts of the country, were selected to carry out the field work. They conducted face to face interviews with the respondents at the place of work or residence of the respondent using a standardized questionnaire in the language spoken and understood by her/ him. A total of 11834 interviews of the police personnel and a total of 10535 interviews of family members of the police personnel could be completed across the 21 States.

**Data checking and analysis:** All questionnaires were manually screened for consistency and quality check. The questionnaire had codes (of pre-coded questions) that were used for data punching. A team was constituted for checking the codes and making corrections if there were any mistakes. The checking and the subsequent data entry took place at the Lokniti-CSDS office in Delhi. The analyses presented in this report have been done using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

## Appendix 2: Questionnaire

### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLICE OFFICERS

Z1. State: \_\_\_\_\_

Z2. District HQ/City Name \_\_\_\_\_

Z3. Housing Quarters Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Z4. Closest Police Station: \_\_\_\_\_

Z5: Location: 1. Capital City 2. City 3. District Head Quarter

Z6: Date of Interview \_\_\_\_\_

Z7: Name of Investigator: \_\_\_\_\_

My Name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am from Lokniti–CSDS: Centre for the Study of the Developing Societies (Please mention your university’s name here), a research institute based in Delhi. We are doing a survey of police across the country, to gather their perspective towards the police system and criminal justice system. It covers aspects such as conditions of housing quarters, duty hours, work-stress, obstacles in investigation, etc.

We are interviewing thousands of police personnel and their family, across the country. Based on this study, a report on the status of policing in India will be produced.

This survey is an independent study and it is not linked to any political party or government agency. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. The findings of the survey will be used for research work.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and it is entirely up to you answer or not to answer any question that I ask. We hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. It usually takes 30–40 minutes to complete this interview. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in completing this survey.

Z8: May I begin the interview now?

1. Respondent agrees to be interviewed. 2. Respondent does not agree to be interviewed.

### INTERVIEW BEGINS

B1. Presently, what is your rank within the police force?

1. Constable    2. Head constable    3. Assistance sub-inspector    4. Sub-inspector  
5. Inspector    6. Circle Inspector    7. ASP/Dy.SP

B1.a. Are you in civil police or armed police?

1. Civil police    2. Armed Police

B1.b. In this posting, what are the two main tasks that you perform daily?.....

*(Record exactly, consult code book and code later)*

B2. How long have you been in service? \_\_\_\_\_ (Number of years)

B3. Where you are currently posted–Police Station, Police Outpost, Cyber Cell or anywhere else? .....

*(Record exactly, consult code book and code later)*

98. Can’t say    99. Not applicable

B4. How far do you live from the police station/unit/cell/department? (Read out the answer categories)

1. Within 5 kilometers
2. Between 6-10 kilometers
3. Between 11-15 kilometers
4. Between 16-20 kilometers
5. More than 20 kilometers
8. Don't know/can't say

Q1. Some people are unhappy with the government provided police quarters, while some people are happy with it. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the provided staff quarters?

(If satisfied, check 'very' or 'somewhat', If dissatisfied, check 'very' or 'somewhat')

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
8. No response

Q1 a. (If dissatisfied), what is the single most important reason for dissatisfaction with the staff quarters? (Record exactly, consult code book and code later)

98. Can't say/no answer
99. Not applicable

Q2. On a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 is the smallest issue and 10 is the biggest issue, Please rate these problems for your housing quarters: (If no answer, please code 98. can't say/no answer)

1. Water supply issues
2. Garbage Disposal issues
3. Drainage system issues
4. Electricity issues

Any other issue \_\_\_\_\_ (Record exactly, to be post coded)

Q3. After how much time of submitting the official application, was the housing quarter allocated? (number of months)

98. Can't say/No answer

Q4. On an average, how many hours a day do you actually work? (number of hours)

98. Can't say/no answer

Q5. On an average, how many weekly off-days do you actually get? (number of days)

98. Can't say/no answer

Q6. With regards to your duty hours, how many times in a week are you asked to stay back at the police station even after duty hours?

1. Many times
2. Sometimes
3. Rarely
4. Never
5. Can't say/No answer

Q.6 a what is generally the most important reason for staying back at police station after duty hours? (Record exactly, consult code book and code later)

Q7. Do you get paid for the overtime work?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Can't say/Don't know

Q8. Given a chance, at this stage of your career, will you be willing to give up this profession and go for another job if the salary and perks remain the same?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Can't say/Don't know

Q9 a. How many times are the following facilities provided at your police station or jurisdiction—always, sometimes or never?

1. Always
  2. Sometimes
  3. Never
  8. Can't say/no answer
- a. Functional computer
  - b. Storage unit for the documents
  - c. Functional CCTNS software
  - d. Forensic Technology

Q9 b. And are these facilities available at your police station/jurisdiction?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Can't Say/No answer

- a. Functional Toilets
- b. Separate toilet for women
- c. Sitting area for people
- d. Drinking water
- e. Facility for food for prisoners in police custody
- f. Committee against sexual harassment

Q10. In the last 2-3 years, how much has the overall cleanliness in the police station increased? – A lot, somewhat, very little, or as it is?

- 1. A lot
- 2. Somewhat
- 3. Very little
- 4. As it is
- 8. Can't say/No response

Q11. Considering the past 2–3 years of your work experience, How often have you ever been in the following situations?—Many times, few times, rarely or never?

- 1. Many times
- 2. Few times
- 3. Rarely
- 4. Never
- 8. Can't say/Don't know

- a. You needed a vehicle but the government vehicle/fuel was unavailable.
- b. You had to spend money from your pocket for expenses such as stationary, carbon paper etc.
- c. You were unable to reach the crime spot on time because of shortage of staff at the police station.
- d. You were unable to escort an accused to the court because of shortage of staff at the police station.
- e. You could not deal with a cybercrime because of lack of technology/experts.

Q12. When was the last time you received training on the following issues?

- 1. Received in the last 2–3 years.
- 2. Before that.
- 3. at the time of induction in the police force
- 4. Never received
- 8. Can't say/No answer

- a. New technology
- b. To solve cyber crimes
- c. Forensic technology
- d. Human rights
- e. Crowd Control
- f. Caste sensitization
- g. Physical training
- h. Weapons training
- i. New rules/orders
- j. Sensitization towards women

Q13. In your jurisdiction, do you think the overall crime in your area has increased or decreased in the last 2-3 years? (If increased, check 'increased a lot' or 'increased a little'; If decreased, check 'decreased a lot' or 'decreased a little')

- 1. It has increased a lot
- 2. It has increased a little
- 3. It has remained the same
- 4. It has decreased a little
- 5. It has decreased a lot
- 8. Don't know/Can't say

Q13.a. (If crime has increased) In your opinion what is the most important reason behind this rise in crime? (Record exactly, consult code book and code later).....

Q13.b. (If crime has decreased) In your opinion what is the most important reason behind this decline in crime? (Record exactly, consult code book and code later) .....

Q14. Now I will read out some statements. Please tell me which statements you agree with the most

- 1. Increase in number of FIRs indicates an increase in the crimes in the given jurisdiction.
- 2. Increase in number of FIRs indicates that police is doing a better job of recording complaints.
- 1. Agree with first statement
- 2. Agree with second statement
- 8. No answer/can't say

Q15. Now I will read out some statements. Please tell me which statements you agree with the most

- 1. No matter how serious a complaint, there must be a preliminary investigation before registering a FIR.
- 2. For all the serious complaints, FIR must be directly registered without any preliminary investigation.
- 1. Agree with first statement
- 2. Agree with second statement
- 8. No answer/can't say

Q16. Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent are false and motivated cases reported to police when it comes to following complaints—A lot, somewhat, very rare or none at all?

- |                           |             |              |                      |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------|
| 1. A lot                  | 2. Somewhat | 3. Very rare | 4. None at all       |
| 8. Can't say/don't know   |             |              |                      |
| a. Domestic Violence      |             | b. Murder    | c. Theft and Robbery |
| d. Crimes under SC/ST act |             | e. Dowry     | f. Sexual Harassment |
| g. Rape                   |             |              |                      |

Q17. In your opinion, what is the most important step that the police should take to control crime?  
(Record exactly, consult code book and code later)

98. Can't say    99. Not applicable

Q18. On a scale of one to ten, please tell me how useful the following are the following measures for reducing crime in your area—10 being most useful and 1 being not useful at all: (If no answer, please code 98. can't say/no answer)

- Increase street lighting in high crime area
- Increasing the number of police personnel
- Installation of CCTV cameras in all areas
- More preventive arrests of anti-social elements
- Improving the network of informers/mukhbirs
- Form special squads for curbing eve teasing
- Appointing civilians as Special Police Officers

Q19. How often have you encountered the following problems during investigation of a crime—often, sometimes, rarely or never?

- |                                     |                                   |           |          |                |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| 1. Often                            | 2. Sometimes                      | 3. Rarely | 4. Never | 8. No response |
| a. Witnesses unwilling to cooperate | b. Victims unwilling to cooperate |           |          |                |
| c. Lack of time to investigate      | d. Departmental pressure          |           |          |                |
| e. Political pressure               | f. Weak laws that favor accused   |           |          |                |
| g. Prosecution duties               |                                   |           |          |                |

Q20. Of the various things which hinder an investigation, which is the one that hinders it the most?  
(Record exactly, consult code book and code later)

Q21. In your opinion, to what extent is a common person hesitant to contact the police even when there is a need—very hesitant, somewhat hesitant, hardly hesitant or not hesitant at all?

- |                  |                      |                    |                        |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Very hesitant | 2. Somewhat hesitant | 3. Hardly hesitant | 4. Not at all hesitant |
| 8. No response   |                      |                    |                        |

Q21a. (If hesitant) In your opinion, what is the main reason behind this hesitance?  
(Record exactly, consult code book and code later)

98. No response

Q22. Imagine your daughter is in another city/village, beyond your zone of influence and she witnesses a crime. Would you advise her to go to the police station alone to report the crime?

- |        |       |                |
|--------|-------|----------------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No | 8. No response |
|--------|-------|----------------|

Q23. There is a perception among common people that the numbers of crime reported are lesser as compared to the number of crimes committed in reality. To what extent do you think this is true? (If true, check 'completely true' or 'somewhat true'; if false check 'completely false' or 'somewhat false')

- |                    |                     |                |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Completely true | 2. Somewhat true    |                |
| 3. Somewhat false  | 4. Completely false | 8. No response |

Q24. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

(If agree, check 'fully agree' or 'somewhat agree'; if disagree, check 'fully disagree' or 'somewhat disagree')

- |                |                   |                      |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Fully agree | 2. Somewhat agree | 3. Somewhat disagree | 4. Fully disagree |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|

8. Can't say/ don't know

- a. The workload makes it difficult for me to do my job well.
- b. I am not able to devote enough time to my family due to policing duties.
- c. I am permitted to do only those tasks that are asked by my seniors.
- d. My workload is affecting my physical and mental health conditions.
- e. My salary is at par with the kind of work I do.
- f. My work is evaluated in a neutral way.

Q25. How often do the following instances happen in the police-workplaces?

'Senior officers talk with their juniors in a bad language.'

- 1. Very often      2. Somewhat often      3. Somewhat rare      4. Never
- 8. No response

Q26. When dealing with cases involving influential persons, how often does the police feel pressure from the following people? —Always, sometimes, rarely or never?

- 1. Always      2. Sometimes      3. Rarely      4. Never
- 8. Can't Say/Don't know      9. Not applicable
- a. Seniors in the police force      b. Politicians
- c. Public      d. Media
- e. Human rights organization & NGO      f. Judiciary

Q27. What is the most common consequences of not complying with such pressures?

(Record exactly, consult code book and code later)

- 1. Punishment posting/ transfer to another area      2. Suspension/dismissal from service
- 3. Threat to personal safety, physical assault      4. Harsh public criticism
- 5. Any other (record exactly) \_\_\_\_\_

Q28. According to you, do the following instances happen in the police?

'Senior officers ask their juniors to do household jobs/private-personal jobs even though they're not meant to do it'

- 2. Yes      1. No      8. No response

Q29. Now, I will read out two statements. Please tell which one you agree the most with.

- 1. For small/minor offenses, small/minor punishments by the police is better than legal trial.
- 2. For small/minor offenses also, there should be a complete legal trial.
- 1. Agree with first statement      2. Agree with second statement
- 8. No response

Q30. Sometimes there are instances, when the mob tries to punish the culprits. In your opinion, to what extent is it natural for the mob to punish the culprits on the following issues?

- a. When there is a case of cow-slaughter.      b. When there is a case of child kidnapping.
- c. When there is a case of rape.      d. When there is a case of road accident due to driver's negligence
- 1. To a large extent      2. Somewhat      3. Rarely
- 4. Completely unjustified.      8. Can't say/no response

Q. 31 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

For the greater good of the society, It is alright for the police to be violent towards criminals (If agree, check 'fully agree' or 'somewhat agree'; if disagree, check 'fully disagree' or 'somewhat disagree')

- 1. Fully agree      2. Somewhat agree      3. Somewhat disagree      4. Fully disagree
- 8. DK

Q32. In your opinion, to what extent are the following people naturally prone towards committing crimes? —very much, somewhat more, rarely or not at all?

- 1. Very much      2. Somewhat more      3. Rarely      4. Not at all

8. No response/can't say

- |                                |                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Migrant people              | b. Hijras/transgender people   | c. Street vendors/hawkers   |
| d. Muslim people               | e. OBC people                  | f. Upper caste Hindu people |
| g. People from poor households | h. Nat/saperas/NTs/DNTs people |                             |
| i. Tribal people               | j. Dalit people                | k. Illiterate people        |
| l. Industrialists              | m. Slum-dwellers               |                             |

Q33. There are various societal groups in police. According to you, to what extent are the following groups given equal treatment?

1. Completely    2. Somewhat more    3. Rarely    4. None at all

8. No response/can't say

- a. Tribal police person & non tribal police person personnel  
b. Minority religion police & Other religion Police personnel  
c. Women police person & men police person personnel  
d. Dalit police person & non dalit police person personnel  
e. Junior police personnel and the senior police personnel

Q34. Many people argue that working in the police is not appropriate for women. Now I am going to read out some such arguments. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with these arguments ? (If agree, check 'fully agree' or 'somewhat agree'; if disagree, check 'fully disagree' or 'somewhat disagree')

- a. Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack.  
b. Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases  
c. Because of inflexible working hours, it is difficult for women to work in the police force as they cannot attend to homely duties.

Q35. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

(If agree, check 'fully agree' or 'somewhat agree'; if disagree, check 'fully disagree' or 'somewhat disagree')

'Sometimes, while investigating serious cases, there is nothing wrong in the police beating up criminals to extract confessions'

1. Fully agree    2. Somewhat agree    3. Somewhat disagree  
4. Fully disagree    8. Don't know/Can't Say

Q36. In the criminal cases of children of following age groups, do you think they should be treated as children/ juveniles the same way as adult criminals?

1. Like children/juveniles    2. Like adult criminals in extreme cases (Silent option)  
3. Like adult criminals    8. Don't know/Can't say  
a. Children between 16-18 years of age    b. Children between 7 to 16 years of age

Q37. I will read out two statements. Please choose one of the statements that you agree the most with:

1. For the greater good of the society, Killing dangerous criminals is better than the legal trial.  
2. No matter how dangerous a criminal, police should try to catch the criminals and give them a legal trial.  
1. Agree with the first statement    2. Agree with the second statement.    8. Don't know/can't say

Q38. In 2006, the Supreme Court passed a landmark judgment on police reforms in the case of Prakash Singh vs Union of India. Are you aware of this judgment?

2. Yes    1. No    8. Can't say/No response

Q38 a. (If yes) Can you name one of the directives given by the Court in this case? (open-ended)

Q39. According to you, how important is it for the police to receive training on the following issues—very important, somewhat important, less important, and not important at all?

1. Very important    2. Somewhat important    3. Less important

- |                        |                                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 4. Not important       | 8. Don't know/can't say        |
| a. New technology      | b. To solve cyber crimes       |
| c. Forensic technology | d. Human rights                |
| e. Crowd Control       | f. Caste sensitization         |
| g. Physical training   | h. Weapons training            |
| i. New rules/orders    | j. Sensitization towards women |

Q40. If police officers are posted in their home district, would they be more efficient or less efficient?

1. More efficient    2. Less efficient    3. Doesn't make any difference    4. DK

Q41. As compared to other institutions of the government, are the police more corrupt or less corrupt?

1. More corrupt    2. Less corrupt .    3 As corrupt as others.  
4 Not corrupt at all.    8. No response/can't say

Q42. In your opinion, what are the two steps that the government must take to ensure that police can do its job in a better way?

- a \_\_\_\_\_ 98 Can't say  
b \_\_\_\_\_ 98 Can't say

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

B5. What is your age? (in completed years) \_\_\_\_\_

B6. Gender: 1. Male 2. Female 3. Other

B7 Till what level have you studied? \_\_\_\_\_ (*Record exactly and consult codebook*)

B7a: And up to what level have your father and your mother studied?

1. Father: \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Mother: \_\_\_\_\_ 9. No response

B8: What is your Caste/tribe name? \_\_\_\_\_ (*Record exactly and consult codebook*)

B8a: and what is your caste group: \_\_\_\_\_ (*Record exactly and consult codebook*)

B9: What is your religion? \_\_\_\_\_ (*Record exactly and consult codebook*)

B10: Are you married?

1. Married    2. Married, *gauna* not performed  
3. Widowed    4. Divorced  
5. Separated    6. Deserted  
7. Never married    8. No answer

B11: What kind of a mobile phone do you have – is it a normal one or a touch screen smart-phone?

1. Normal phone    2. Smart-phone    3. Don't have a mobile phone    8. No response

B11 a: Is there an internet connection on your mobile?

2. Yes    1. No    9. NA

B12: How many rooms are there in this house? \_\_\_\_\_

B13: How many members are there in family? \_\_\_\_\_ Adults \_\_\_\_\_ Children

B14: On an average, What is the roughly monthly expenditure of the family? (*Record exactly and consult codebook*)

B15: Do you or members of your household have the following items?

2. Yes                      1. No

- |                       |                              |                          |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Car/Jeep/Van       | b. Scooter/Motor Cycle/Moped | c. Air Conditioner       |
| d. Computer/Laptop    | e. Washing Machine           | f. Fridge                |
| g. T.V.               | h. Bank/Post Office account  | i. ATM Debit/Credit Card |
| j. LPG gas connection | k. Toilet in the house       |                          |

B16: What is the total monthly income of the household? \_\_\_\_\_(*Record exactly and consult codebook*)

## SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLICE PERSONNEL'S FAMILY

\*Only to be conducted with adult family members\*

My Name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am from Lokniti–CSDS: Centre for the Study of the Developing Societies (Please mention your university's name here), a research institute based in Delhi. We are doing a survey of police personnel across the country, to gather their perspective towards the police system and criminal justice system. It covers aspects such as conditions of housing quarters, duty hours, work-stress, obstacles in investigation, etc.

We are interviewing thousands of police personnel and their family across the country. Based on this study, a report on the status of policing in India will be produced.

This survey is an independent study and it is not linked to any political party or government agency. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. The findings of the survey will be used for research work.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and it is entirely up to you answer or not to answer any question that I ask. We hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. It usually takes 30–40 minutes to complete this interview. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in completing this survey.

Z9: May I begin the interview now

1. Respondent agrees to be interviewed.    2. Respondent does not agree to be interviewed.

### INTERVIEW BEGINS

1 What is your relation to the respondent/person who works in police? (*Record exactly, consult code book and code later*) ..... 8. No answer/can't say

F2. What is your Age? (*Record exactly, consult code book and code later*)..... 8. No answer/can't say

F3. What is your occupation? (*Record exactly, consult code book and code later*) ..... 98. No answer/can't say

F4. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the provided staff quarters? (If satisfied, check 'very' or 'somewhat', If dissatisfied, check 'whether' or 'somewhat')

- |                      |                       |                          |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Very satisfied    | 2. Somewhat satisfied | 3. Somewhat dissatisfied |
| 4. Very dissatisfied | 8. No response        |                          |

F4 a. (*If dissatisfied*), what is the single most important reason for dissatisfaction with the staff quarters? (*Record exactly, consult code book and code later*) ..... 98. No answer/can't say

F5. It is often said that policing is a very stressful job. Do you agree or disagree with the statement? (If agree, check 'fully agree' or 'somewhat agree'; if disagree, check 'fully disagree' or 'somewhat disagree')

1. Strongly agree                      2. Somewhat agree                      3. Somewhat disagree  
4. Strongly disagree                      8. No answer/Can't Say

F5.a (If agrees) What do you think is the main reason for such a high level of stress? (Record exactly, consult code book and code later) ..... 8. can't say                      9. Not applicable

F6. In your opinion, does your spouse/parent/child (Use the relation depending upon respondent's relationship with the police officer) spend enough time with the family?

1. Sufficient time                      2. Less than sufficient  
3. Far less than sufficient                      8. No response

F7. Please tell me whether you would agree or disagree with the following statements? (If agree, check 'fully agree' or 'somewhat agree'; if disagree, check 'fully disagree' or 'somewhat disagree')

	1. Fully agree	2. Somewhat agree	3. Somewhat disagree	4. Fully disagree	8. Don't know
a. As compared to others, police officers are more prone to getting angry and irritable more easily.					
b. As compared to others, Police officers behave more badly with their subordinate staff.					
c. As compared to others, Police officers behave more badly with their family.					
d. As compared to others, Police officers are more prone to alcoholism.					
e. My spouse/child/sibling/parent (whatever relation with police officer) suffers from issues of mental health					
f. As compared to others, Police system is more unfair towards those at the lower rank					

F8. If given an option, would you like your child to join the police profession in the future?

**Son:** 1. Yes 2. No 8. No response                      **Daughter:** 1. Yes 2. No 8. No response

F9. During the last 1-2 years, has your entire family (entire family means including the police officer):

2. Yes                      1. No                      8. Don't know/Can't say  
a. Been outside on a leisure holiday                      b. Visited relatives out of town/village  
c. Gone for a religious pilgrimage

F10. Is your spouse/parent/child (Use the relation depending upon respondent's relationship with the police officer) at home during the following festivals—Always, sometimes, rarely or never?

	1-Always	2-Sometimes	3-Rarely	4-Never	8-No response
a. Diwali					
b. Holi					
c. Eid					
d. State's important festival					

F11. In your opinion, is crime higher in police locality than in other neighborhoods?

2. Yes, it is higher                      1. No, it is lower  
3. It is about same                      8. Don't Know/ No opinion

F11a. If yes, why? (*Record exactly, consult code book and code later*) .....

98. No answer/Can't Say

99. Not applicable

F12. It is generally believed that problems such as crime, violence etc. are higher in police neighborhoods. You have been living between other police families. In your opinion, are the following problems greater among police families compared to families in which members are working in other jobs?

	1-Much more in police families	2- equal problem (Silent option)	3- lesser in police families	8. No answer/can't say
a. Children of the family involved in criminal activities				
b. Domestic violence				
c. Alcoholism				

F13. Which one among these four sentences truly describes your economic condition? (*Read out statements 1-4*)

1. With our total household income we are able to fulfill all our needs and save some money.
2. With our total household income we are able to fulfill all our needs without any difficulty.
3. With our total household income we are not able to fulfill all our needs and face some difficulty.
4. With our total household income we are not able to fulfill our needs and face a lot of difficulty.
8. No answer/can't say

## Appendix 3: How indices for survey data were calculated and select tables

For the calculation of all thematic Indices (Police strength, Police infrastructure, Budget), Indices have been developed for the five-year average of each variable, and then the individual variable Indices have been averaged to arrive at the final thematic Index. For instance,

Police infrastructure Index = arithmetic mean of availability of either telephone or wireless Index, availability of telephone Index, availability of wireless services Index, and availability of vehicles Index.

The formula used for the calculation of individual variable Indices is:

State Index =  $(x - \text{minimum observed in the last five years}) / (\text{maximum observed in the last five years} - \text{minimum observed in the last five years})$

where 'x' is the actual state figure for the variable

In the below section, the explanation for the calculation of the individual variables is given.

The overall Index State score has been created by averaging the thematic indices of infrastructure, budget and strength.

### i. Strength

**Average of the last Five-year percentages (2012 – 2016) (Table 1.1)**

All the data regarding strength of police personnel has been taken from the 'Data on Police Organizations' reports published by BPRD. For average calculation, data from year 2012 to 2016 has been considered.

Telangana came into existence in 2014. Therefore, data from 2014 to 2016 has been considered for calculation.

**Actual as a percentage of sanctioned strength - Overall (civil + armed)**

Calculation of variable:  $(\text{total actual strength} / \text{total sanctioned strength}) * 100$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2013-2017)

**Actual as a percentage of sanctioned strength – constabulary (head constables and constables)**

Calculation of variable:  $(\text{actual strength of constabulary} / \text{sanctioned strength of constabulary}) * 100$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2013-2017)

**Actual as a percentage of sanctioned strength - officers (ASI and above)**

Calculation of variable:  $(\text{actual strength of officers} / \text{sanctioned strength of officers}) * 100$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2013-2017)

**Number of constables per officers (teeth to tail ratio)**

Calculation of variable:  $\text{actual strength of constabulary} / \text{actual strength of officers}$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2013-2017)

**Rank-wise percentages of actual to sanctioned strength of police forces as of 2016 and the rate of improvement (Table 1.2)**

**Overall rate of improvement**

Calculation of variable: Arithmetic mean of difference between 'actual as a percentage of sanctioned' values in two consecutive years.

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012-2017)

**Rate of improvement in constabulary (Head constable and constable) ranks**

Calculation of variable: Arithmetic mean of difference between 'actual as a percentage of sanctioned constabulary strength' values in two consecutive years.

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012-2017)

**Rate of improvement in Officer (ASI to DGP) ranks**

Calculation of variable: Arithmetic mean of difference between 'actual as a percentage of sanctioned officer strength' values in two consecutive years.

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012-2017)

### ii Training

**Rank-wise percentage of police personnel given in-service training (2012-16 average) (Table 1.3)**

All the training of police personnel related data has been taken from the 'Data on Police Organizations' reports published by BPRD. For average calculation, data from year 2012 to 2016 has been considered.

Telangana came into existence in 2014. Therefore, data from 2014 to 2016 has been considered for calculation.

**Percentage of police personnel given in -service training:**

Calculation of variable: (total number of police personnel given in-service training/total actual strength) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of constables given in-service training:**

Calculation of variable: (Number of constables given in-service training/actual strength of constables) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of ASI/SI given in-service training:**

Calculation of variable: (Number of ASI/SI given in-service training/actual strength of ASI/SI) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of DySPs given in-service training:**

Calculation of variable: (Number of DySPs given in-service training/actual strength of DySPs) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of IPS officers given in-service training:**

Calculation of variable: (Number of IPS officers given in-service training/actual strength of IPS officers) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Expenditure on police training as a percentage of the total police expenditure (Table 1.4)**

All the training expenditure related data has been taken from the 'Data on Police Organizations' reports published by BPRD. For average calculation, data from year 2012 to 2016 has been considered.

Telangana came into existence in 2014. Data for year 2016 is also not available. Therefore, data from the year 2014 and 2015 has been considered for calculation.

**Police training expenditure as a percentage of total police expenditure:**

Calculation of variable: (Total expenditure on police training / total police expenditure in state) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Rate of improvement in police training expenditure**

Calculation of variable: Arithmetic mean of difference between 'police training expenditure as a percentage of total police expenditure' values in two consecutive years.

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012-2017)

**iii. Communication****Percentage of police stations not having wireless or telephone connectivity**

Communication infrastructure related data has been taken from the 'Data on Police Organizations' reports published by BPRD. Purpose of the variables is to understand the availability of basic communication infrastructure in states. For Telephone and wireless data for 2012 was not reported by BPRD. Therefore, for average calculation data from the year 2011 and 2013 to 2016 has been considered.

**Percentage of police stations having either telephone or wireless**

Calculation of variable:  $100 - [(number\ of\ police\ stations\ having\ neither\ telephone\ nor\ wireless / total\ number\ of\ actual\ police\ stations) * 100]$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012, 2014 - 2017)

**Percentage of police stations having wireless**

Calculation of variable:  $100 - [(number\ of\ police\ stations\ not\ having\ wireless / total\ number\ of\ actual\ police\ stations) * 100]$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012, 2014 - 2017)

**Percentage of police station having telephone**

Calculation of variable:  $100 - [(number\ of\ police\ stations\ not\ having\ telephone / total\ number\ of\ actual\ police\ stations) * 100]$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2012, 2014 - 2017)

**Adequacy of CCTNS infrastructure: Compliance score as of December 2018 (Table 1.6)**

NCRB publishes CCTNS compliance score on Pragati Dashboard every month. The final compliance score is based on different variables. From those, variables which were based on the idea of adequacy were considered for calculation.

**Variables used:**

Police station connected, No. of police stations where complete hardware commissioned, No. of police stations where CCTNS software deployed, capacity building, No. of IIF 1 to IIF 6 in CAS, No. of IIF 8 to IIF 11 and other forms in CAS, legacy data migration done, Data synching at SDC, Replicate the data at NDC, Data bank services forms entered in CCTNS, usages search and query of CCTNS, report generated through CCTNS in the police station, no. of police station able to access digital police portal, and fund utilisation.

Calculation of variable: average of scores given for selected variables.

Source: CCTNS Pragati Dashboard, December 2018.

**Number of computers per police station (2012 – 2016 average)**

Calculation of variable: number of computers available/total number of actual police stations

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2013 - 2017)

**Access to Vehicular Facilities**

Mobility related data has been taken from the ‘Data on Police Organizations’ reports published by BPRD. Purpose of the variables is to understand availability of vehicles in states. Data regarding availability of vehicles has not been reported before 2013. Therefore, for average calculation data from 2013 to 2016 (4 years) has been considered.

For average vehicle deficiency calculation, data from year 2012 to 2016 has been considered.

Telangana came into existence in 2014. Therefore, data from 2014 to 2016 has been considered for calculation.

**Percentage of police stations having at least a vehicle**

Calculation of variable:  $100 - [(number\ of\ police\ stations\ not\ having\ single\ vehicle / total\ number\ of\ actual\ police\ stations) * 100]$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2014 - 2017)

**Type-wise vehicle deficiency in Percentage**

To calculate benchmark, norms standardised for different types of vehicles for different police units by BPRD have been used.

Norms:

1. Armed Battalions of states: Heavy vehicles 29, medium vehicles 8, light vehicles 13, motor cycles 5
2. District police line of states: Heavy vehicles 7, medium vehicles 17, light vehicles 14, motor cycles 7
3. Police station: light vehicles 2, motor cycles 3
4. Police-posts: motor cycles 2

Source: BPR&D Concept paper – Modernisation and Up-gradation of Police Infrastructure – a Five Year Projection - 2000

**iv. Diversity**

**Actual percentage of SCs/STs/OBCs in proportion to the reserved percentage of SCs/STs/OBCs, and the actual percentage of women in the state police force (2012-2016) Table 1.8**

Data on SCs, STs, OBCs and women in police has been taken from the ‘Data on Police Organizations’ reports published by BPRD. For average calculation, data from year 2012 to 2016 has been considered.

Telangana came into existence in 2014. Therefore, data from 2014 to 2016 has been considered for calculation.

**Percentage of SCs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for SCs:**

Actual percentage of SCs in state police force as a proportion of the reserved percentage of SCs in the state police force.

Calculation of variable:  $(Percentage\ of\ actual\ SCs\ in\ police\ force / Percentage\ of\ reservation\ of\ SCs\ in\ police\ force) * 100$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017.

**Benchmark calculation:**

Types of vehicles	For armed battalions	For sanctioned civil police strength	For police stations	For police posts	Sub-total	The HQtr. Spl. Unit/branches (15% extra)	Grand total (Benchmark)
Number of units	P	Q	R	S	--	--	--
Heavy duty	$H1=P*29$	$H2=(Q/1000)*9$	0	0	$H=H1+H2$	$A= H*(15/100)$	$H+A$
Medium duty	$M1=P*8$	$M2=(Q/1000)*18$	0	0	$M=M1+M2$	$B= M*(15/100)$	$M+B$
Light duty	$L1=P*13$	$L2=(Q/1000)*14$	$L3=R*2$	0	$L=L1+L2+L3$	$C= L*(15/100)$	$L+C$
Two/three wheelers	$T1=P*5$	$T2=(Q/1000)*7$	$T3=R*3$	$T4=S*2$	$T=T1+T2+T3+T4$	$D= T*(15/100)$	$T+D$

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD (2013 - 2017)

Calculation of variable:  $100 - [(Number\ of\ vehicles\ available / number\ of\ vehicles\ available\ as\ per\ the\ benchmark) * 100]$

**Percentage of STs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for STs:**

Actual percentage of STs in state police force as a proportion of the reserved percentage of STs in the state police force.

Calculation of variable: (Percentage of actual STs in police force/Percentage of reservation of STs in police force) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017.

**Percentage of OBCs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for OBCs:**

Actual percentage of OBCs in state police force as a proportion of the reserved percentage of OBCs in the state police force.

Calculation of variable: (Percentage of actual OBCs in police force/Percentage of reservation of OBCs in police force) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017.

**Percentage of women in police:**

The percentage of women in state police in proportion to the actual number of total police personnel in the state.

Calculation of variable: [Actual number of women in state police/actual number of total police personnel (civil + armed) in the state] \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of officers amongst SCs, STs, OBCs, and women against the overall proportion of officers (ASI to DySP ranks) (2012-2016) Table 1.9**

**Percentage of SC officers (ASI to DySP ranks) amongst SCs police personnel**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of SC officers/actual number of SC police personnel) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of ST officers (ASI to DySP ranks) amongst STs police personnel**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of ST officers/actual number of ST police personnel) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of OBC officers (ASI to DySP ranks) amongst OBC police personnel**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of OBC officers/actual number of OBC police personnel) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of women officers (ASI to DySP ranks) amongst women police personnel**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of women officers/actual number of women police personnel) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**Percentage of officers (ASI to DySP ranks) amongst total number of police force**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of officers/actual number of police personnel) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2013-2017

**v. Case loads**

**Number of upper subordinate officers (ASI to Inspector rank) per the total reported incidents of cognisable crimes in States**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of personnel of ASI to Inspector Rank)/(Total reported incidents of cognisable crimes) \* 100

Source: Data on Police organisations, BPRD, 2017; Crime in India, NCRB, 2016

**Number of upper subordinate female officers (ASI to Inspector rank) per the total reported cases of crimes against women and children**

Calculation of variable: (Total number of women personnel of ASI to Inspector Rank)/(Total reported incidents of crimes against women and children) \* 100

Source: Data on Police organisations, BPRD, 2017; Crime in India, NCRB, 2016

**vi. Police Autonomy**

Total number of Distt. SSPs and DIG (range) transferred in less than 2 years as a percentage of the actual number of AIGP/SSP/SP/DIG

Calculation of the variable: (Total number of Distt. SSPs and DIG range transferred in less than 2 years/Total actual number of AIGP/SSP/SP/DIG)\*100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2008-2017

**vii. Budget**

**Police expenditure as a percentage of police budget (2014-16 average)**

Calculation of variable: (Total police expenditure in state / total budget for state) \* 100

Source: Data on Police Organizations, BPRD, 2014-2017

## Infrastructure:

States	Percentage of police stations having either telephone or wireless (2011, 2013-16)	Percentage of police stations having wireless (2011, 2013-16)	Percentage of police stations having telephones (2011, 2013-16)	Number of computers per police station (2012-16)	Percentage of police stations having vehicles (2013-16)	No. vehicles available as percentage of calculated benchmark (2012-16)
Andhra Pradesh	100.0	100.0	100.0	3.7	89.5	72.6
Assam	100.0	99.9	100.0	0.7	100.0	87.3
Bihar	98.0	97.3	99.2	0.6	100.0	37.5
Chhattisgarh	100.0	100.0	93.1	3.0	68.9	58.1
Gujarat	100.0	100.0	100.0	5.7	100.0	81.5
Haryana	100.0	100.0	100.0	12.6	100.0	70.2
Himachal Pradesh	100.0	100.0	100.0	7.4	99.6	48.3
Jharkhand	99.6	99.1	97.4	3.1	98.9	72.3
Karnataka	100.0	100.0	99.7	7.4	100.0	99.1
Kerala	100.0	100.0	100.0	10.1	100.0	115.1
Madhya Pradesh	100.0	100.0	92.4	7.5	100.0	64.7
Maharashtra	100.0	99.9	99.3	7.3	100.0	77.4
Nagaland	97.2	96.7	100.0	4.7	100.0	71.9
Odisha	99.9	99.2	99.3	6.4	100.0	68.4
Punjab	99.4	97.3	89.8	3.2	89.7	68.3
Rajasthan	100.0	100.0	99.8	6.1	100.0	46.5
Tamil Nadu	100.0	100.0	100.0	4.6	100.0	94.9
Telangana	100.0	100.0	100.0	4.9	95.8	112.5
Uttar Pradesh	100.0	99.3	96.6	5.7	100.0	43.6
Uttarakhand	100.0	100.0	100.0	7.7	100.0	55.2
West Bengal	100.0	100.0	100.0	5.7	100.0	71.5
Delhi UT	100.0	100.0	100.0	16.5	100.0	107.7
<b>TOTAL (21 states + Delhi)</b>	<b>99.6</b>	<b>99.3</b>	<b>97.8</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>97.5</b>	<b>71.8</b>
AP+ Telangana	100.0	100.0	100.0	3.8	89.9	81.6

Diversity data

Diversity data									
	SCs in police (actual as a percentage of sanctioned)	STs in Police (actual as a percentage of sanctioned)	OBCs in police (actual as a percentage of sanctioned)	Women in police (%)	SC officers (ASI to DySP as a % of total SCs in police)	ST officers (ASI to DySP as a % of total STs in police)	OBC officers (ASI to DySP as a % of total OBCs in police)	women officers (ASI to DySP as a % of total women in police)	Overall officers (ASI to DySP as a % of total police)
States	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg	2012-16 avg
Andhra Pradesh	77.0	75.2	123.8	3.74	11.2	11.3	11.5	10.9	13.4
Assam	95.3	93.1	117.1	2.51	13.6	10.5	12.6	17.3	12.4
Bihar	66.8	122.5	70.6	5.22	19.0	22.7	11.3	7.4	17.6
Chhattisgarh	55.0	64.1	67.8	4.62	10.6	7.4	8.7	7.6	8.9
Gujarat	98.5	54.1	51.4	4.36	19.9	20.7	12.9	16.1	16.7
Haryana	57.1	3.6	50.9	7.13	9.8	NA	9.2	11.1	14.5
Himachal Pradesh	98.8	127.1	58.2	11.29	10.7	13.6	6.9	2.6	12
Jharkhand	97.2	81.9	127.6	4.96	12.8	11.2	9.3	6.7	14
Karnataka	83.3	109.2	136.4	5.40	13.0	15.2	11.7	11.5	12.5
Kerala	86.5	57.9	87.5	6.08	14.7	11.3	8.4	3.3	8.9
Madhya Pradesh	65.0	52.1	62.5	4.85	20.1	21.8	9.9	27.7	16.9
Maharashtra	91.6	98.8	132.0	10.82	24.1	21.4	19.2	7.3	17.1
Nagaland	NA	101.7	NA	3.26	NA	3.8	NA	22.4	6.4
Odisha	88.9	92.1	118.5	8.66	14.1	8.8	8.3	13.8	15.6
Punjab	101.8	0.0	136.6	6.44	7.8	NA	9.0	6.7	11.9
Rajasthan	75.4	88.9	55.7	7.77	9.5	7.0	6.0	4.2	8.7
Tamil Nadu	70.4	49.0	66.0	13.62	10.4	10.4	11.0	12.3	9.6
Telangana	79.3	144.6	145.3	2.83	12.9	NA	NA	8.0	13.6
Uttar Pradesh	40.2	38.8	49.3	4.10	8.1	7.8	8.4	6.2	8.1
Uttarakhand	100.8	152.5	105.3	8.08	6.7	6.1	4.8	7.5	7
West Bengal	62.1	67.1	22.6	6.47	18.1	12.7	13.0	8.3	23.8
Delhi UT	90.9	88.7	73.6	8.00	17.8	18.2	4.0	20.0	20.6
AP+Telangana	73.8	91.0	122.3	3.39	13.7	10.0	12.2	10.1	13.3
Selected states average	NA	NA	NA	6.71	11.5	11.6	11.1	10.1	13.4

Police autonomy data

*Total number of Distt. SSPs and DIG (range) transferred in less than 2 years as a percentage of the actual number of AIGP/SSP/SP/DIG*

States	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2012-16 avg	2007-16 avg
Andhra Pradesh	6.9	11.7	7.8	10.9	10.5	7.3	7.3	11.9	2.8	9.2	7.7	8.6
Assam	8	6.1	14.3	34.9	24.1	16.5	7.9	13.4	13.5	13.1	12.9	15.2
Bihar	NR	20	15.9	19.1	20.3	10.3	24.4	33	29.5	13.4	22.1	20.7
Chhattisgarh	13.1	14.5	54.9	49.1	40.4	36	63.5	14.5	16.3	8.8	27.8	31.1
Gujarat	25	23.7	6.5	0	66.7	80.6	33.3	58.8	52.6	12.1	47.5	35.9
Haryana	NR	NA	23.9	19.3	0	58	33.3	700	36.2	73.1	180.1	124.9
Himachal Pradesh	15.6	13.1	17.9	15.6	2.6	16.5	31.3	13.9	10.6	9.5	16.4	14.7
Jharkhand	53.2	22.9	51.9	28.4	21.6	6.8	37.2	40.6	29.2	9.1	24.6	30.1
Karnataka	5.7	6.8	3.7	12.4	3.1	3.5	5.3	7.5	4	8	5.7	6
Kerala	22.6	15.2	27.3	10.8	0	2.4	16.7	17.2	5.4	8	9.9	12.6
Madhya Pradesh	23.8	20.7	44.6	11.5	13	12.4	36.5	20.4	15.4	41.8	25.3	24
Maharashtra	NR	NA	NA	5.8	9.3	15.4	0	11	9.6	1.7	7.5	7.5
Nagaland	8.3	13.3	33.3	14	6.5	5.9	0	0	0	2.2	1.6	8.4
Odisha	16.9	31.7	10.9	10	21.7	11.3	5.2	11.8	5.6	13.4	9.5	13.9
Punjab	16.4	8	12.5	38.7	15.3	17.8	15.1	18.5	13.5	16	16.2	17.2
Rajasthan	0	0	0	0	12.3	21.2	97.7	29.7	29.5	37.4	43.1	22.8
Tamil Nadu	44.2	29.6	17.9	26.3	83.1	24.3	24.1	22	14.5	18.4	20.7	30.4
Telangana	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2.2	11.6	0	4.6	4.6
Uttar Pradesh	194.9	257.9	215.9	100.5	NA	50.8	95.1	82.9	81.1	13.4	64.7	121.4
Uttarakhand	46.2	39.3	8.3	12.5	46.7	32.3	21.6	43.3	34.9	55.8	37.6	34.1
West Bengal	1.6	5.5	10.5	3.3	9.9	3.5	10.5	16.6	18.8	7.6	11.4	8.8
Delhi UT	13.6	9.1	0	0	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.4
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	31.2	27.6	29.5	19.4	15.8	16.6	23	20.9	18.3	11.9	18.1	21.4
AP+ Telangana	6.9	11.7	7.8	10.9	10.5	7.3	7.3	8	6.1	5.1	6.8	8.2
Selected states	36.6	32.1	33.5	23.3	18.3	18.6	26.9	25.2	21	13.2	21	24.9

## Appendix 4: How indices for official data were calculated and select tables

### *Composite prejudice index (against women in police)*

The Index was constructed by taking into account the agreement with three statements asked in the survey.

They are:

**Q33a:** Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack.

**Q33b:** Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases.

**Q33c:** Because of inflexible working hours, it is not alright for women to work in the police force as they cannot attend to homely duties.

In each question, the response options offered to the respondent were ‘completely agreed’, ‘somewhat agreed’, ‘somewhat disagreed’, ‘and completely disagreed’. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

*The following are the steps followed to construct the index:*

**Step 1:** The categories of fully agreed and somewhat agreed were clubbed into one category as ‘agreed’ while the categories of fully disagreed and somewhat disagreed were clubbed into other category as ‘disagreed’.

**Step 2:** The respondents who agreed on all the three statements were clubbed into one category as ‘high bias’. The respondents who agreed on two statements were clubbed into other category as ‘medium bias’. The respondents who agreed on one statement have been clubbed as ‘low bias’. The respondents who did not agree with any of the three statements were clubbed as ‘no bias’.

### *Composite index for gender based violence complaints*

The Index was constructed by taking into account the four questions asked in the survey. They are:

**Q15a:** Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent domestic violence complaints false and motivated?

**Q15e:** Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent dowry complaints false and motivated?

**Q15f:** Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent sexual harassment complaints false and motivated?

**Q15g:** Considering your own work experience in police, to what extent rape complaints false and motivated?

In each question, the response options offered to the respondent were–‘A lot’, ‘somewhat’, ‘very rare’ or ‘none at all’? Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

*The following are the steps followed to construct the index:*

**Step 1:** The categories of ‘a lot’ and ‘somewhat’ were clubbed into one category as ‘many’ while the categories of ‘very rare’ and ‘none at all’ were clubbed into other category as ‘few’.

**Step 2:** The respondents who responded ‘many’ on all the four questions were clubbed into one category as ‘to a very high extent’. The respondents who responded more ‘many’ than ‘few’ in the asked four questions have been clubbed as ‘to a high extent’. The respondents who responded ‘many’ or ‘few’ on just one question and had no opinion on other questions, and the respondents who responded ‘many’ on two questions and responded ‘few’ on two questions have been clubbed into ‘medium extent’. The respondents who responded more ‘few’ than ‘many’ in the asked four questions have been clubbed as ‘to a low extent’. The respondents who disagreed on all the four questions were clubbed into one category as ‘not at all’.

## Appendix 5: Findings from the survey on select questions from Police survey

Age categories	Proportion
18–25	5
26–35	43
36–45	33
46–55	17
Above 55 years	2
Caste Groups	Proportion
SC	19
ST	16
OBC	32
Other Caste groups	32
Religion	Proportion
Hindu	83
Muslims	4
Christians	7
Sikh	5
Buddhists	1
Gender	Proportion
Male	80
Female	20
Type	Proportion
Civil Police	78
Armed Police	21
Rank	Proportion
Constables	60
Head Constables	18
Assistant Sub Inspector	9
Sub Inspector	8
Inspector	2
Circle Inspector	1
Others	2

‘Considering the past 2-3 years of your work experience, how often have you encountered the Political pressure during investigation of a crime - many times, sometimes, rarely or never?’

States	Many times	Some times	Rarely	Never
Andhra Pradesh	22	47	21	10
Assam	7	34	32	19
Bihar	25	30	19	24
Chhattisgarh	64	19	8	5
Gujarat	18	49	15	13
Haryana	44	26	12	15
Himachal Pradesh	46	28	11	13
Jharkhand	24	44	24	7

Karnataka	38	24	16	22
Kerala	29	35	15	10
Madhya Pradesh	44	30	14	10
Maharashtra	30	28	26	14
Nagaland	7	21	25	25
Odisha	14	39	15	30
Punjab	41	41	14	2
Rajasthan	47	31	12	10
Telangana	26	43	16	13
Uttarakhand	63	19	14	3
Uttar Pradesh	62	18	5	9
West Bengal	11	50	12	5
Delhi	20	15	15	47
Overall	34	31	16	15

‘Do you agree or disagree with the following statements—for the greater good of the society, it is alright for the police to be violent towards criminals?’

States	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Completely disagree
Andhra Pradesh	20	59	11	8
Assam	52	32	6	5
Bihar	42	45	5	6
Chhattisgarh	43	42	3	4
Gujarat	60	29	5	4
Haryana	60	21	3	8
Himachal Pradesh	30	34	10	25
Jharkhand	27	44	14	13
Karnataka	44	51	2	0
Kerala	18	37	6	38
Madhya Pradesh	51	39	5	3
Maharashtra	26	56	12	6
Nagaland	31	41	14	9
Odisha	16	19	5	50
Punjab	16	52	11	18
Rajasthan	37	24	9	29
Telangana	74	38	7	13
Uttarakhand	45	35	6	4
Uttar Pradesh	50	31	8	8
West Bengal	10	47	9	12
Delhi	42	35	7	13
Overall	38	38	7	13

‘There are various societal groups in the police. According to you, to what extent are the following groups given equal treatment—completely, somewhat, rarely, or not at all?’

Between junior police personnel and senior police personnel’

States	Completely	Somewhat	Rarely	Not at all
Andhra Pradesh	32	34	24	9
Assam	53	17	11	17
Bihar	27	39	24	9
Chhattisgarh	32	26	20	19
Gujarat	46	24	8	13
Haryana	38	21	12	27
Himachal Pradesh	60	25	6	7
Jharkhand	21	37	29	12
Karnataka	21	40	16	17
Kerala	69	8	7	14
Madhya Pradesh	30	27	21	20
Maharashtra	38	22	17	19
Nagaland	35	32	15	8
Odisha	59	9	7	13
Punjab	34	22	11	29
Rajasthan	47	27	18	8
Telangana	16	21	11	47
Uttarakhand	33	39	24	3
Uttar Pradesh	56	23	14	6
West Bengal	44	31	5	9
Delhi	52	26	8	13
Overall	40	26	15	15

‘Many people argue that working in the police is not appropriate for women. Now I am going to read out some such arguments. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with these arguments?’

Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack.

States	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Completely disagree
Andhra Pradesh	11	37	18	33
Assam	4	20	19	55
Bihar	41	23	27	9
Chhattisgarh	11	21	14	50
Gujarat	8	32	25	31
Haryana	6	7	7	76
Himachal Pradesh	8	10	8	75
Jharkhand	6	46	24	22
Karnataka	15	44	12	28
Kerala	8	15	14	62
Madhya Pradesh	19	34	27	18
Maharashtra	8	30	13	47
Nagaland	8	39	27	24
Odisha	17	37	16	53

Punjab	17	37	16	30
Rajasthan	9	25	9	54
Telangana	57	28	4	8
Uttarakhand	4	28	11	57
Uttar Pradesh	9	21	17	53
West Bengal	17	34	28	15
Delhi	10	17	13	58
Overall	14	27	19	39

‘Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases.’

States	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Completely disagree
Andhra Pradesh	3	33	26	37
Assam	2	13	26	57
Bihar	38	26	24	12
Chhattisgarh	5	14	23	55
Gujarat	7	27	32	30
Haryana	6	7	19	64
Himachal Pradesh	6	12	10	72
Jharkhand	7	19	48	25
Karnataka	13	31	21	30
Kerala	9	14	14	63
Madhya Pradesh	5	33	35	25
Maharashtra	13	28	17	41
Nagaland	5	29	30	34
Odisha	6	10	76	6
Punjab	13	23	28	36
Rajasthan	8	20	11	57
Telangana	24	29	9	33
Uttarakhand	3	24	16	55
Uttar Pradesh	11	21	18	50
West Bengal	17	28	26	22
Delhi	7	15	17	60
Overall	10	22	25	41

‘Because of inflexible working hours, it is not alright for women to work in the police force as they cannot attend to homely duties.’

States	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Completely disagree
Andhra Pradesh	18	33	16	32
Assam	3	16	26	53
Bihar	39	31	20	9
Chhattisgarh	38	20	12	25
Gujarat	21	35	17	18
Haryana	26	29	13	27
Himachal Pradesh	32	29	10	29
Jharkhand	6	35	36	20
Karnataka	16	32	12	38
Kerala	30	36	8	20

Madhya Pradesh	24	41	23	10
Maharashtra	18	33	13	33
Nagaland	7	34	27	28
Odisha	23	18	53	5
Punjab	25	29	20	25
Rajasthan	13	23	16	47
Telangana	30	43	8	12
Uttarakhand	19	19	22	38
Uttar Pradesh	26	23	17	33
West Bengal	29	27	15	18
Delhi	17	26	15	38
Overall	22	29	19	27

‘Now I will read out one statement. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?’

‘Sometimes, while investigating serious cases, there is nothing wrong in the police beating up criminals to extract confessions’

States	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Completely disagree
Andhra Pradesh	26	54	12	5
Assam	44	41	8	4
Bihar	52	41	3	4
Chhattisgarh	65	27	3	3
Gujarat	75	24	1	0
Haryana	66	23	2	7
Himachal Pradesh	53	30	7	9
Jharkhand	30	51	11	6
Karnataka	58	38	1	2
Kerala	19	34	13	32
Madhya Pradesh	59	36	2	1
Maharashtra	32	53	9	6
Nagaland	46	44	4	4
Odisha	25	41	4	21
Punjab	17	40	20	19
Rajasthan	45	23	9	22
Telangana	69	25	1	3
Uttarakhand	67	29	1	1
Uttar Pradesh	66	25	5	4
West Bengal	19	47	6	17
Delhi	53	32	7	7
Overall	47	36	6	8

‘In 2006, the Supreme Court passed a landmark judgment on police reforms in the case of *Prakash Singh vs Union of India*. Are you aware of this judgment?’

States	No	Yes	Can't Say
Andhra Pradesh	48	17	35
Assam	58	8	33
Bihar	95	3	3
Chhattisgarh	89	6	5
Gujarat	66	8	27
Haryana	76	10	14
Himachal Pradesh	90	6	4
Jharkhand	71	19	10
Karnataka	79	20	1
Kerala	73	25	2
Madhya Pradesh	66	18	16
Maharashtra	72	9	19
Nagaland	75	6	19
Odisha	68	12	20
Punjab	86	2	12
Rajasthan	73	9	18
Telangana	80	9	11
Uttarakhand	64	23	12
Uttar Pradesh	60	30	11
West Bengal	47	21	32
Delhi	68	21	11
Overall	72	13	15

‘If police officers are posted in their home district, would they be more efficient or less efficient?’

States	More efficient	Less efficient	Does not make any difference
Andhra Pradesh	26	31	42
Assam	41	22	34
Bihar	50	17	32
Chhattisgarh	63	15	20
Gujarat	54	23	18
Haryana	70	2	28
Himachal Pradesh	77	7	15
Jharkhand	35	20	42
Karnataka	33	55	10
Kerala	92	3	4
Madhya Pradesh	50	19	29
Maharashtra	48	12	36
Nagaland	37	19	35
Odisha	45	36	11
Punjab	61	12	23
Rajasthan	37	18	43
Telangana	40	22	35

Uttarakhand	44	17	36
Uttar Pradesh	56	19	18
West Bengal	57	7	26
Delhi	61	7	26

‘As compared to other institutions of the government, are the police more corrupt or less corrupt?’

States	More corrupt	Less corrupt	As corrupt as others	Not corrupt at all
Andhra Pradesh	5	56	9	19
Assam	11	31	39	13
Bihar	10	55	18	16
Chhattisgarh	6	41	17	24
Gujarat	7	51	20	4
Haryana	3	48	9	34
Himachal Pradesh	3	52	3	42
Jharkhand	15	35	16	29
Karnataka	2	49	20	25
Kerala	3	73	13	10
Madhya Pradesh	7	48	9	23
Maharashtra	3	49	5	25
Nagaland	11	47	28	4
Odisha	4	42	4	37
Punjab	11	28	21	34
Rajasthan	6	20	12	62
Telangana	2	43	14	31
Uttarakhand	5	34	13	43
Uttar Pradesh	9	54	10	25
West Bengal	5	18	12	34
Delhi	4	34	16	42

## Appendix 6: Findings from the survey on select questions from Police Family Survey

Please tell me whether you would agree or disagree with the following statements?

As compared to others, police officers are more prone to getting angry and irritable more easily.

Fully Agree	22
Somewhat Agree	39
Somewhat Disagree	17
Fully Disagree	19

As compared to others, Police officers behave more badly with their subordinate staff.

Fully Agree	12
Somewhat Agree	24
Somewhat Disagree	27
Fully Disagree	28

As compared to others, Police officers behave more badly with their family.

<b>Fully Agree</b>	<b>11</b>
Somewhat Agree	21
Somewhat Disagree	25
Fully Disagree	36

As compared to others, Police officers are more prone to alcoholism.

<b>Fully Agree</b>	<b>12</b>
Somewhat Agree	23
Somewhat Disagree	24
Fully Disagree	32

As compared to others, Police officers suffer more from mental health issue.

<b>Fully Agree</b>	<b>31</b>
Somewhat Agree	32
Somewhat Disagree	16
Fully Disagree	15

As compared to others, Police system is more unfair towards those at the lower rank.

<b>Fully Agree</b>	<b>13</b>
Somewhat Agree	23
Somewhat Disagree	19
Fully Disagree	27

If given an option, would you like your son/Daughter to join the police profession in the future?

	<b>Son</b>	<b>Daughter</b>
No	30	45
Yes	59	43

In your opinion, is crime higher in police locality than in other neighborhoods?

<b>States</b>	<b>No, its less</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Equally</b>
Andhra Pradesh	61	16	12
Assam	38	7	33
Bihar	45	11	41
Chhattisgarh	62	16	16
Gujarat	68	3	4
Haryana	76	5	4
Himachal Pradesh	85	3	8
Jharkhand	61	3	23
Karnataka	67	8	14
Kerala	76	2	17
Madhya Pradesh	61	17	12
Maharashtra	82	5	6
Nagaland	52	4	17
Odisha	49	16	25
Punjab	54	4	22
Rajasthan	74	17	5

Telangana	57	3	14
Uttarakhand	47	13	14
Uttar Pradesh	61	5	19
West Bengal	37	4	22
Delhi	76	2	18
<b>Overall</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>

In your opinion, are the following problems found more among police families compared to non-police families?

	Children involved in criminal activities	Domestic violence	Alcoholism
Much More in police families	7	8	11
Same	29	36	32
Lesser in police	53	45	44

Which one among these four sentences truly describes your economic condition?

1. With our total household income we are able to fulfill all our needs and save some money.
2. With our total household income we are able to fulfill all our needs without any difficulty.
3. With our total household income we are not able to fulfill all our needs and face some difficulty.
4. With our total household income we are not able to fulfill our needs and face a lot of difficulty.

With our household income, we are able to fulfill

States	All our needs and save some money	All our needs without any difficulty	Not able to fulfil all our needs	Not able to fulfil our needs and face a lot of difficulty
Andhra Pradesh	18	34	31	12
Assam	36	34	12	3
Bihar	33	41	20	6
Chhattisgarh	27	32	29	13
Gujarat	23	38	31	8
Haryana	28	42	22	8
Himachal Pradesh	35	36	26	3
Jharkhand	12	35	37	15
Karnataka	21	30	39	10
Kerala	21	40	33	4
Madhya Pradesh	37	41	14	7
Maharashtra	16	17	41	21
Nagaland	19	30	37	10
Odisha	14	42	24	20
Punjab	33	48	15	2
Rajasthan	18	62	17	3
Telangana	29	45	20	5
Uttarakhand	21	21	42	12
Uttar Pradesh	32	33	28	6
West Bengal	22	34	36	2
Delhi	32	43	19	4
<b>Overall</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>8</b>





*New Delhi, India – November 19, 2008:  
86 years old Sharbati Devi being helped by  
a policeman to cast her vote in Sadar Bazar  
Constituency.  
(Credits: Mohd Zakir, Hindustan Times)*

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