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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. PRELUDE

Serious Sociological works on Police and Policing in India is hard to come by. The Indian Sociological imagination at best is expressed in journalistic domains and is basically limited on either police excesses on powerless sections of the population or on corruption of street constable to higher rank of police personnel. Thus Indian police and policing remain very much an issue for discussion in popular domains but escaping in-depth, rigorous sociological investigations. Hence, this vacuum has created at best a muddled understanding or no understanding at all regarding the notions of police and policing and their intricate interrelations. Police, police science, police administration, police management, police investigation and subjects of similar nature have not caught the attention of scholars and researchers of colleges and universities in India; neither do they offer any level courses in such subjects. Consequently the changes that have been occurring in the notions and practices of police and policing also remain largely unnoticed especially in the context of burgeoning information society and the introduction of New Technologies/ Information and Communication Technologies/ICTs (henceforth ICTs) in daily lives. Ergo, along with police and policing, the impact of New Technology on police and policing in India remain a more or less an uncharted area of prolific research. The primary purpose of this work is to focus on this vital issue from a sociological perspective.

Let me engage on the basic definitional exercise of the terms that are germane to this dissertation. The word policing is etymologically related to ‘politics’, the governance of the city or state, and was used in broad terms to signify social regulation in the widest sense. ‘Policing’ did not come to be associated with the particular activities of a specific institution (the police) until relatively recently in many societies (Rowe 2008: 4). New Technology has been introduced as an aid to policing in almost all advanced countries. The term New Technology usually refers to Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) based upon microelectronics. The introduction of telegraph in the 19th century and the use of two way radios, motor
vehicles and computer assisted dispatching in the 20th century had brought about dramatic changes in police work. The latest round of technological changes in the guise of ICTs is driven by 3 imperatives: (1) to improve efficiency and effectiveness; (2) to satisfy the demands of the external sources for information and (3) to meet the demands of new forms of police management and accountability (Chan 2001:139-59). With the recent Information Technology revolution the police have to deal with a new paradigm. The information technologies have created a new material basis for the performance of activities throughout the social structure. The rapid advancements in ICTs have made the police susceptible to a few more challenges: (1) Rise of technology based criminal activities that have none of the characteristics of traditional crimes; (2) Requirements of new high performance working tools that demand very specialized training for their use; (3) Lack of financial resources to upgrade the systems they do have, and (4) Lack of necessary skills to utilize the high tech tools available to them for implementation. In this regard the present study attempts to fill in this void in sociological research in India and explore the impact of New Technology or ICTs on policing with special reference to the Kolkata Police.

1.2. POLICE AND POLICING: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE IN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES

Police and Policing has been an area of concern more in criminological research than in sociological works. It has also aroused a lot of concern and interest in criminal justice studies. Sociological research on police and policing is a neglected area though it is an issue of much social importance. Available literature concentrates more on police as an institution and policing is considered just as a process operating within it. The universality of policing is a much unearthed fact. Police being a characteristic of modern societies is prioritized but its function is ignored. Maintenance of law and order is not the only function of police, policing is a much broader issue. Policing, contrary to police, is the universal requirement of any society for maintaining social order. It "implies a set of processes with specific social functions" related to the establishment of social order (Reiner 1994:722). “The police is an organized body of civil officers in a city, town or district whose particular duties are the preservation of good order, the prevention and detection of crime , and the
enforcement of the laws” (Rush 1997: 271) Police use of various illegal or questionable enforcement procedures, including the use of excessive physical force in effecting arrests, indiscriminate mob control as well as cases of entrapment and man hunting, encouraged the spread of public notions that the police department is a haven for incompetents and sadists. Such images have contributed to the low esteem in which police officers are held in most society. This section addresses the available relevant literature on police and policing as found in English speaking countries and can be categorized under the following subthemes:

a) Manpower Planning in Police and Policing
b) Police Culture and Police Use of Discretion
c) Corruption in Police and Policing
d) Police public relations and Community Policing

**Manpower Planning in Police and Policing**

Much of relevant literature on police and policing sets into account the institution through which the process of policing operates at the formal level that is the police. The police operate in a dynamic environment characterized by a high degree of technological, cultural, political and environmental change. The rapidly evolving nature of society places great demands on the police to keep pace. It is no longer acceptable for the police to follow methods and procedures that have developed slowly over time and that are based primarily on custom and tradition. The rapid growth of new technologies, the automation of information systems, changing public expectations of the police, and the introduction of entirely new concepts of management have all combined to underscore the need for the orderly management of change in police organization (Hale 1994:338). Police job is a highly professional job today. Each area in police work – from mob operation to anti terrorism – is a highly specialized area calling for skill and professionalism. The system of recruiting police personnel requires serious innovations and scientific thinking (Bravy 2002:113-22). Recruit training or **pre-service**, is the most intensive type of training found in most police agencies today, to regulate the content and scope of entry into police service. **Field training** or on the job training, is actually an extension of recruit training and equally as important, in some cases it is viewed as the breaking process in which the new officer is shown the ropes and is introduced into the real world of policing. **In-service training** is often interpreted to include all training conducted upon completion of the officer’s recruit training. It is defined as training conducted by the
individual police officer on a regular basis and includes roll-call training, firearms training, special training programs and the like. As the police agency develops, it requires a greater degree of specialisation. Individuals are assigned many specialized duties like fingerprinting, recordkeeping, photography and they should be given adequate training in their new duties and responsibilities. Again it is most desirable to provide newly appointed supervisors with advanced training in a variety of subjects that will enable them to perform their new duties more effectively. Lastly the complex skills required of police managers today make it essential that they receive both preparatory and continuing training if they are to keep abreast of the new developments in management theories and modern administrative practices. Training of management personnel should highlight the underlying philosophies of the police service as well as the social and humanistic aspects of managing organized activities. Training provided at this level is more theory and concept oriented than that provided to lower-echelon officers; the ‘why’ of policing is stressed than the ‘how to’ (Hale 1994: 351-56).

**Police Culture and Police Use of Discretion**

Policing ensures specific patterns of behavior and attributes of those involved setting a culture of its own. According to Morgan, organizational culture refers to “shared meanings, shared understanding, and shared sense making. In talking about culture we are really talking about a process of reality construction that allows people to see particular events, actions, objects, utterances, or situations in distinctive ways” (1986:128). Early police research has shown concern for police culture in the writings of for instance Wilson (1968), Skolnick (1966), Manning (1977) and Reiner (1985). Police culture is defined as an occupational culture because it provides a shared and transmitted lifestyle consisting of material and non-material elements (Stevens 2003:98). Police culture is often characterized as being suspicious, authoritarian, isolationist and conservative (Carter and Radelet 1999:181). Maintenance of these negative values and attitudes which are attributes of the police culture divide officers from the people they serve and create an ‘us against the world’ mentality (Garcia 2005: 65-80). The police officers often believe that no one else understands their problems and that their job is made more difficult by an apathetic, uncaring, unsupportive, antagonistic and sometimes hostile public. Police officers have a tendency to withdraw behind what Goldstein has referred to as the ‘blue curtain’ in order to shield themselves from public criticism (Goldstein 1977:165-66). Thus, the
officers band together in a police subculture, characterized by cynicism, clannishness, secrecy, and insulation from others in society - the so called blue curtain which isolates officers from the rest of the society. Police officers tend to socialize together and believe that their occupation cuts them from relationships with civilians. Police officers perceive their working environments to be laden with danger or the risk of danger, and they preoccupied with the danger and violence that surrounds them, always anticipating both (Paoline 2003: 199-214). However police culture is not negative in itself because it encourages group loyalty which is necessary for officers working under frequently dangerous, unpredictable and alienating condition (Sato 2003 : 289-303 ).

Six core beliefs are viewed as being at the heart of the police culture: (1) Police are the real crime fighters; (2) No one else understands the real nature of police work; (3) Loyalty to colleagues counts above everything else; (4) The war against crime cannot be won without bending the rules. Courts have awarded criminal defendants too many civil rights; (5) People are quick to criticize police unless they need police help themselves and (6) Patrol work is the pits. Detective work is glamorous and exciting (Sparrow 1990:51). This police culture influences the police to use discretion in policing. The majority of police officers use a high degree of personal discretion in carrying out daily tasks, sometimes referred to as low visibility decision making. This suggests that unlike members of almost every other criminal justice agency, the police are neither regulated in their daily procedures by administrative scrutiny nor subject to judicial review (except when their behavior clearly violates an offender’s constitutional rights). As a result the exercise of discretion of police may sometimes deteriorate into discrimination, violence and other abusive practices (Seron; Pereira & Kovath 2004: 665-710). A number of factors influence police discretion:

(1) Legal Factors –The likelihood of a police officer taking legal action may depend on how the individual officer views offence severity. Police may view some offenders as being undesirable or a nuisance rather than a danger. Rather than formally arrest these troublemakers like homeless people or alcoholics they may use informal measures to deal with the problem (King & Dunn 2004:339-58).

(2) Victim Factors- Police is often reluctant to respond to certain cases because they are a constant source of frustration and futility. Police sometimes intentionally delay responding to domestic disputes, hoping that by the time
they get there the problem will be settled. They use their discretion to separate what they consider nuisance cases from those serious enough to demand police action (Kane 1999: 65-99).

(3) Environmental Factors- Police officers may work or dwell within community culture that either tolerates eccentricities and personal freedom or expects extremely conservative, professional or no-nonsense behavior on the part of its civil servants. Communities that are proactive and contain progressive governmental institutions also may influence the direction of police officers discretion. Police who are assigned to communities that provide training in domestic violence prevention and maintain local shelters are more likely to take actions against cases involving spousal abuse. In an environment that has a proliferation of social agencies- detoxification units, drug control centers, and child care services the police officer uses his discretion in deciding whether to make an arrest or not due to availability of alternatives (Jones & Belknap 1999: 249-73).

(4) Departmental Factors- The policies, practices and customs of the local police department are another influence on discretion. These conditions vary from department to department and strongly depend on the judgments of the chief and others in the organizational hierarchy (McClusky, Varano, Huebner & Bynum, 2004: 437-61).

(5) Supervisory Factors- Along with departmental policy, a patrol officer’s supervisor can influence discretion. Supervisory style may also have an influence on how police use discretion. Patrol officers whose supervisors like to participate in high levels of activity in the field spend more time in self initiated and community policing activities than they do in administrative activities. In contrast, officers with supervisors whose style involves spending time mentoring and coaching subordinates are more likely to devote significantly more attention to engaging in administrative tasks (Engel 2002:51-64).

(6) Peer Factors- Police discretion is also subject to peer pressure. They turn to their peers for both on the job advice and off the job companionship, essentially forming a subculture to provide a source of status, prestige and reward (Siegal and Senna 2008:239).
Situational Factors- The officer’s immediate interaction with a criminal act, offender, citizen, or victim will weigh heavily on the use of discretionary powers. The manner in which a crime or situation is encountered influences police discretion. The officer who acts alone is also affected by personal matters- physical condition, mental state, police style, and whether she has other duties to perform. Other factors that might influence police are the use of a weapon, seriousness of injury, the presence of alcohol or drugs and prejudices against a particular community (Ibid:239-40).

Corruption in Police and Policing

Another issue that forms a very popular mean of addressing police and policing is police corruption. Julian Roebuck and Thomas Barker have provided a typology of eight forms of police corruption, indicating the different patterns it assumes. They list corruption of authority, kickbacks, opportunist theft, and shakedowns among these forms. Additionally, corruption involves protection of illegal activities, ‘the fix’ in direct criminal activities, and internal payoffs (Roebuck & Barker 1974: 423-37).

Sherman has outlined a typology of corrupt police departments which endeavors to deal with the individual and organizational dimensions of corruption. One type of corrupt department involves ‘rotten apples’ and ‘rotten pockets’, in which only a few, isolated police officers or small groups of officers accept bribes within departments that are for the most parts honest ones. Pockets of corruption are sometimes found in these departments, located in such places as vice bureaus where bribes are most likely to be offered to officers and where police are under pressure by various community groups to overlook certain forms of vice, particularly prostitution. A second type of corrupt department is one involved in pervasive but unorganized corruption. In these police agencies large numbers of officers take bribes but they are not joined together to form networks of corruption. The third form of police corruption is pervasive organized corruption. In this case corruption is organized in a hierarchical authoritarian fashion. The corruption extends beyond the police department to the high (local) criminal justice and political officials and revolves around the vice operations of a local crime syndicate (Sherman 1974:6-12).

Again Johnstone divided police corruption into four major categories: a) Internal corruption- this corruption takes place among police officers themselves, involving both the bending of departmental rules and the outright performance of illegal acts. b) Selective enforcement or non enforcement- this form occurs when police officers
abuse or exploit their discretion. If an officer frees a drug dealer in return for valuable information, that is considered a legitimate use of discretion, if the officer does so for money, that is an abuse of police power. c) Active criminality: this is participation by police in serious criminal behavior. Police may use their positions of trust and power to commit the very crimes they are entrusted with controlling. d) Bribery and extortion: this includes practices in which law enforcement rules are exploited specifically to raise money. Bribery is initiated by the citizen; extortion is initiated by the officer (Johnstone 1982:52).

However, it will not be wide of the mark to state that much of literature on police corruption in English-speaking countries fails to address how policing is affected by corruption or why corruption encroaches on policing activities. They just tend to present a typology of different kinds of police corruption and not its possible implications on society or on police work.

**Police-Public Relations and Community Policing**

Much of literature in English-speaking countries in recent times, have been devoted to the study of police public relations. The authoritative nature of police culture has resulted in distancing the police from the people and thus affecting policing. In trying to follow the traditional methods of controlling crime and maintaining discipline the policeman has become increasingly unpopular and anti-people. The image of the police has been tarnished by its failure to come to the aid of the common man. A complete revolution is needed in policing practices to restore peoples’ faith in police. Hence, social scientists are drawing their attention to the concept of community policing to improve police public relations. Interest in public view of the police began in 1960s in the US as a result of urban riots. The civil rights movements and anti war protests, highlighted the strained relationship that existed between the police and the public in many communities (Reisig and Parks 2004:139-67; Schafer 2003:440-68). Community Policing actually evolved out of two early experimental foot patrol programs in Newark, New Jersey, and Flint, Michigan. Foot patrol officers were used as a strategy to involve officers directly in community problem solving with the officers trained to do far more than to act as a viable deterrent to crime (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990:7). The fundamental philosophy underlying these new ‘community policing’ programs is that the police not only need public support in order to accomplish their goal, but that they have an obligation to involve the community in the process of deciding what they do and how
they do it. The new professionalism implies that police serve, learn from and are accountable to the community. Behind the new professionalism is a governing notion that the police and the public are co-producers on crime prevention (Skolnick and Bayley 1985:212-13). Rosenbaum acknowledged that problem solving by the police require a “high level of community engagement to identify problems, to develop an understanding of the particular circumstances that give rise to them, to craft enduring preventive remedies and evaluate the effectiveness of the remedies” (Rosenbaum 1994: 3-21).

At the heart of any community oriented policing program is the idea of identifying and utilizing a variety of resources to deal with and solve targeted problems. Typically these include the resources of the police departments, as well as other city departments and agencies, community organizations, neighborhood groups, civic clubs, fraternal organizations, educational institutions and others. Too often, police officials are inclined to look no further than their own organizations when seeking resources to deal with new or unique problems. To police practitioners, community policing can yield a number of benefits, including a) a sense of pride in their work b) a realization that patrol work can be more interesting than they thought, c) a growth in their sense of efficiency, d) a realization that citizens may welcome the opportunity to work with the police (Wycoff 1988:111).

However Community Policing cannot be easily implemented. There are several obstacles in the movement from traditional to community policing. Gaines, Worrall, Southerland and Angell urge that absence of police planning for community policing, resistance to change, officers difficulties in accepting community policing, requirement of infrastructure and difficulties in getting the community involved are some of the impediments in the realization of Community Policing (Gaines et al 2003.: 88-90). Again Carter outlines that some police officers have sincerely adopted the concept of community policing and have taken risks to explore new areas in police service delivery. Though the number of such officers has increased over the years it is still not the norm. Then there are others who have tried community policing because it is the trend. Such officers lack commitment to immerse the organization in the philosophy. The result is organizational conflict, inconsistent goals and mixed signals to personnel regarding the mission of the organization (Carter 1999:107-108).

Some have suggested that a possible negative effect of community-oriented policing is that the police run the risk of dividing the community between those who
are willing to work with the police and those who are not. The police may thus find themselves caught between various community factions, causing greater alienation and anti police sentiment (Mastrofski 1988:57). Thus any endeavor to execute community policing should engross local community representatives in the planning stages so that the police later cannot be accused of implementing the program to favor or appease one particular section of society to the disadvantage of another.

1.3. POLICE AND POLICING: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE IN INDIA

The paucity of relevant sociological research on police and policing in India brings to light the fact that police is analyzed more at the administrative level as it is an arm of the state. Policing as such is studied not discretely but is taken as a function of the police. The complete absence of research on policing in India situates the conceptualization of the term into a problematic state. The evolution of police during the British rule is an area of interest taking into consideration the historical perspective. But its sociological implications are a neglected area. The Indian Police Act of 1861 was primarily a mechanism to subjugate the people, and the traditional cooperation of the community was lost sight of in the concerns for maintaining law and order. The imperative need was to develop a sense of fear of authority in the entire population and it was achieved through this system of ruler’s police. The police were to be shaped as an instrument of the British rule, where men were disciplined and armed and without hesitation would follow British officer’s orders. Police including the special armed police units faced a terribly challenging situation as the Indian National Congress, the party fighting for freedom of India, united the masses in a do or die situation to fight the British imperialism. British rule did come to an end in 1947 but not before the country was partitioned into India and Pakistan. The transfer of population led to the killings of more than five million people from either side. Communal violence and unprecedented civil unrest before and after India’s independence compelled the national and provincial governments to shelve indefinitely any possibility of a radical overhaul of the police organization they had inherited from the British. Protests, demonstrations, riots, revolts and daring acts of terrorism have threatened the fragile state. Despite the recommendations of the Government of India (1979-83), no government has found reasons to dismantle the armed police to build a civilian, and localized system of police in the country. Delay
in initiating police reforms is peculiar to Indian work culture and the unexplained motives of the ruling elite. Ill-equipped and ill trained force has no clear strategic goals and roles. The public regards the old police force as an instrument of an alien power. Keen upon suppression of civil liberties, long centuries of subjugation and suppression had left irreparable scars on the minds of the people and completely corroded the feelings of the masses. There is a growing conflict between the police and the citizens as they cater to the beckoning of the control elite rather than important charter of a professional and ideal police force. Again the police is severely infected by the virus of social stratification, politicization, criminalization, a loss of value orientation, distorted performance evaluation and accountability (Das and Verma 2003:138-40; Arnold 1992; Maheswari 2001; Miranda 1962: 90). The foremost contributory causes for the unpopularity of the police are the following: First in the post independence period the police had to resort to the use force against their own people due to several local agitations of groups with their own set of demands. Second, performances of the police in the handling of crime have been poor and there is a lack of usage of scientific methods in investigation. Third, the spate of social laws and new forms crimes were earlier non-existent (Miranda 1962: 93).

The police in India is still regulated by the police act of 1861. It is still carrying the legacy of the colonial rule in its structure, duties, work culture and expectations. The basic function of law maintenance has been marred by political and bureaucratic controls. Failure of basic institutions, increase in population, lack of social control, lack of development, lack of improper and inadequate diffusion of welfare activities have created an environment where political parties use the police to control the underprivileged and to suppress their protests when they want to air their grievances. There are several difficulties in the delivery of quality services offered by the police namely: improper utilization of data, doing the job manually, limited staff, under-rating of jobs. Moreover the Indian Police has to perform a wide array of tasks ranging from traffic management to maintaining decorum during festivities to several authentication services (passport verification) etc. (Maheswari 2001: 22-3; Gupta 2002:16-7). Hence the use of modern gadgets especially computers is a must. According to Verma “there is not a single police station that is completely computerized and even today almost all data management in the police organizations is manual. It has to be realized that automated records and advanced communications
are not a luxury but a necessity for the police. Policing in the country cannot improve unless modern technology is introduced in the organizations” (2003:41).

In January 2000, the Central Government of India put together a committee to look at police reform, commonly known as the Padmanabhaiah Committee on Police reforms. Among other suggestions put forward by the Committee, its main thrust was the need to replace the Police Act of 1861. In 2005, the Central Government of India set up another committee, chaired by Soli Sorabjee, known as the Police Act Drafting Committee. The Model Police Act was submitted to the union government in October, 2006. The terms of reference required the new Act to include measures to change the police attitude (including a working methodology to involve the community in policing) and embody to reflect the community’s expectations of modern police service. When drafting the law, the Committee was also required to consider forensic methods of policing and address issues of human rights, concern for women, and people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (CHRI, 2007. Police Reform : Debates in India:25-41).

Research on police training and recruitment has been carried out mainly as a response to the recommendations of the National Police Commission. Police officers have probably been the targets of negative responses from citizens from nearly the beginnings of organized law enforcement. Recruitment of police officers in India takes place at two basic levels – (a) Constables, sub-inspectors, and assistant superintendents of police; (b) Indian Police Service. The Selection Board of the former consists of a Chairman (DIG) and (s)he is assisted by one Superintendent of Police from one of the districts and another Superintendent of Police who is in charge of an armed force battalion. The Central Committee on police training has recommended that psychological tests should be conducted to assess the psychological attributes of candidates appearing for selection. However no such tests are available now. Although the National Police Commission has recommended that the chairman of the selection board should be assisted by: (1) the inspector general of police or his representative, (2) senior police officer in charge of training/head of the state police training college, (3) a sociologist or an academician, and (4) a personnel management expert or a behavioral scientist, it has failed to provide adequate clarity and purposiveness. The candidates recruited in the Indian Police Service has to qualify in the preliminary, main and finally, the personality test designed to ascertain

In India we follow the cognitive approach to police training where learning takes place primarily through exposure to logically presented information in the form of lectures. This may not be the most effective instruction method due to the very nature of police work. Many situations that the police are involved in require various approaches to solve a problem. The problem with the cognitive instruction technique is that it fails to ensure an eclectic approach (Karan 2002: 262-72; Malavia 2002:29-33). Works on Police Training have brought to light the drawback in the training procedures. In addition to this the administration and the governments do not attend to recommendations of the National Police Commission. Too much stress on lectures and an extensive and academic syllabus with less emphasis on practical matters makes the training procedures inadequate. The lower level officers and constables who are in direct touch with the people are even paid less attention during the training period (Report of the Second Police Commission, West Bengal Part I, Govt. of West Bengal, (Sept. 1998):133-40; Sen 2000: 103-13). Incompetent, unwilling trainers fail to motivate the recruits to fulfill their responsibilities. Again, the University Grants Commission has suggested that police training should be continuous process for all officers in all designations throughout their career. Officers should be encouraged rather than obliged to undergo these training courses for better career prospects. This will result in greater physical fitness and agility of the police force (Baxi 1994: 49-73).

To Singh Sengupta, police culture is grounded. The two sets of organizational and organismic culture interact, and over a period of time, establish roles, norms and values pertaining to work. Society has evolved with the passage of time and its major weapon for combating crimes is the police. Like other organizations the police too grant certain power and authority to its employees in order to achieve the organizational goals. However in the police there are very few centers of power and authority. The police officers in his organizational framework develop certain distinctive cognitive tendencies and a style that “It is the dynamics of occupational culture of police through early socialization which develops the demeanor of suspicion, danger, and isolation in the working personalities” (Singh Sengupta 1995:3-4). As a result, the image of the police in India is not a positive one. The police are unpopular for being intimidating and boorish. Close links with political
parties, business communities, mafia, and other anti-social elements deter police to have a pro-people image. Police intervention to maintain public order is viewed by ordinary, powerless people as an aid to maintain status quo against their interest. In brief, most people generally believe that the police are, to begin with corrupt, incompetent, brutal, opportunist and serve only those who have money and/or power. They create fear and terror and indulge in petrifying the innocent and vulnerable people. The fact that police training miserably fails in building an efficient, honest, and dedicated to the interest of ordinary people instead of powerful and rich is alarming (Shahi, 2000:27-49) (Also see Parmer, 1992 & Sen, 2000 for details). However, there is a dearth in works on the dimensions, impact and nature of police culture in India. Police is viewed as authoritative, cynic and repressive but the implications and remedies of such an occupational culture remain neglected.

The common perception is that police corruption is far greater than in any other branch of administration. Although the police force is afflicted with corruption it is no more or less than other public services. The fact that the police is assigned the task of providing the citizen with safety and security irrespective of their social position, any such violation is brought into the limelight. In our society, corruption has become a way of life and no such stigma is attached to illegally acquired wealth. Bribes are demanded for: registering cases, arrest or non-arrest of accused and release or non-release on bail, fabricating false evidence, extortion of periodic payments as “hafta”, collusion with hoarders and smugglers and tipping them off with advance information of raids and dropping actions against violations of traffic rules and regulations (Misra, 1986:39-48; Nath, 1999:62-89). (Also see Dhillon, 1998 for details)

In India proper police community relationship has not been developed because of the heterogeneous nature of the Indian society. Caste, communal and religious discords act as a barrier in developing a common awareness of the common interests of the community. Again the old Police Act 1861 which created the colonial police still holds its reign. The outmoded and archaic rules rooted in the distrust of the citizen and the police has been a major obstacle in the creation of citizens police (Sen 1993: 28.) In India, literature on the police community relations in the pre independence era is sparse. In the post independence era writings on police public relations have been born out of an acceptance of a poor police image. The National Police Commission (1970) expressed deep anguish over the poor state of police public
relations. In 1980 the NPC gave a call to the police authorities to improve the quality of beat patrolling and traffic duties to improve police public relations. The community policing programmes initiated in India in the recent past has it’s chief focus on crime prevention. Such programmes have been initiated by the Delhi Police (Special Police Officers, 1985; Neighbourhood Watch, 1989; Dost Police Station and Senior Citizen Scheme, 1995); Maharashtra Police (Mohalla Committees in Bhiwandi, 1990); Tamil Nadu Police (Friends of Police, 1993) and Karnataka Police (Citizen’s Committee, 1994). Community policing in order to be successful requires a professional body relying on science and technology to carry out its tasks. In India the police forces are still struggling to prove their credentials of professionalism and so community policing is nothing but a mere slogan (Raghavan 1999:161-68). (Also see Dikshit, 2000, Chakraborty, 2003 for details). Community policing in India operates at the level of some programmes and not as a philosophy to be internalized by police officers. The colonial stigma and the political biasness of the police officers remains a dominating factor in distancing the police from the public. The community policing programmes operates in a fragmented way and not as a principle of policing.

1.4. POLICE, POLICING AND NEW TECHNOLOGY: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE IN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRIES

Manuel Castells defines technology as “the use of scientific knowledge to specify ways of doing things in a reproducible manner” (Castells 2000:28). By New Technologies/ICTs, Castells include “the converging set of technologies in micro-electronics, computing (machines and software), telecommunications /broadcasting and opto-electronics” (Ibid.: 29). To this he also includes genetic engineering and its expanding set of developments and applications. The information technology revolution is as fundamentally significant as the 18th century industrial revolution which induced a momentous transformation of economy, society and culture. The distinguishing feature of the current technological revolution is “not the centrality of knowledge and information, but the application of such knowledge and information to knowledge generation and information processing / communication devices, in a cumulative feedback loop between innovation and the uses of innovation” (Ibid.:31). Since 1970s the emergence of New Technologies is causing revolutionary
transformations in all societies whether developing or developed. “ICTS are social in that they define how people do things, such as how they get information, work, communicate, and are educated” (Dutton 1999:4).

The rise of information / knowledge society is premised mainly on the application of New Technology. The Information Age is changing how we work, how we learn, how we spend our free time and how we interact with one another. The old barriers of distance and time are being broken down. ICTs are driving down costs, improving efficiency and creating a climate of innovation, with competitiveness moving from the national to the global level. These new information handling technologies have provided the capability to not only change our lifestyles but also to change our mode of operations leading to the formation of a new social structure – knowledge society, and those who will have the knowledge will become the knowledge class (Heldman 1993: 251-65; Hiltz, S. 1978: 50-75). Information Technologies can be used to plan, coordinate, and execute operations. Using the Internet for communication can increase speed of mobilization and allow more dialogue between members. This enhances the organizations flexibility since tactics can be adjusted more frequently. Individuals with a common agenda and goals can form subgroups, meet at a target location, conduct terrorist operations, and then readily terminate their relationships and re-disperse (Zanini & Edwards 2001:36).

However the success of a technology depends on the fulfillment of certain objectives like proper training, backing by experts, in depth knowledge of the use of the apparatus and monetary aid for the purchase and maintenance of the tools. The police might find it difficult to accept this shift in paradigm as cyberspace is beyond the concept of physical property. Hence police occupational culture needs to be deinstitutionalized. Specialized units like cyber army are being established to counter e crimes and provide cyber security. The development of new technology invites the establishment of new institutions to supervise policing, and value driven design may enable new legal procedures that are better equipped to hold policing accountable. The new policing aims to prevent and preempt crime rather than to prosecute it. By predicting when, how, and by whom a crime will be committed, it aims to enable efficient intervention. Law enforcement has recognized in virtual space a toolkit of restraints on criminal behavior. These restraints include law, technological features, network typology, and the social construction of particular uses of computers. Again, the line between private and public law enforcement is blurring as private parties
monitor the public flow of information and secure essential information junctions. The third parties including conduits, service providers, information gatekeepers, traffic routers, tool suppliers, and payment systems play on the digital crime scene and heavily regulate them (Kozlovski 2007: 108-114).

Neyroud and Beckley develops three possible futures of policing: (a) the enabling police force which plays a new role by collaborating, regulating and managing other forms of policing, refusing to accept that public policing has an exclusive monopoly on policing; (b) the crime fighters are a police force which has heavily invested in high technology surveillance, tracking, tagging and intelligence systems where performance is geared to detection and disruption of crime; (c) the social engineers are police officers aiming to create stable communities on the style of community policing investing in technologies to identify problems and provide information to arrive at solutions through multi-agency approaches (Neyroud et al. 2003:30-1).

However ICTs have the potential to create a two-tier society of information haves and information have-nots where only a part of the population have access to the ICTs and can use it. As the population of this virtual community expands the incidents of cyber crimes rise considerably (Marstrand 1984: 9-12; Moore 1995:1-9). To quote Castells: “Crime is as old as humankind. But global crime, the networking of powerful criminal organizations, and their associates, in shared activities throughout the planet, is a new phenomena that profoundly affects international and national economies, politics, security and ultimately societies at large” (Castells 1999:166).

Like any other technology ICTs too have their possible misuses. The wildfire spread of cybernetics, in the form of satellites, videocassettes, narrow casting, niche identification, cluster targeting, extra intelligent networks, simulation have become the facets of this civilization. Along with its overwhelming advantages it has entailed a major area of challenge for the law enforcement agencies in the 21st century- cyber crime variously known as computer crimes, e-crimes etc. “Cyber crimes- harmful acts committed from against a computer network – differ from most terrestrial crimes in four ways. They are easy to learn how to commit; they require less resources relative to the potential damage caused; they can be committed in a jurisdiction without being physically present in it and they are often not clearly illegal” (Grabosky, 1998). (Also
see Wall, 1997; 2001 for details) However the police alone cannot maintain their domain or jurisdiction over cyberspace nor can they fully exercise cybercrime patrolling. The success of fighting cybercrimes depends on the support that it gets from the legal systems and the cooperation of community and the users of new technologies in cyberspace.

1.5. POLICE AND POLICING AND NEW TECHNOLOGY: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE IN INDIA

The available literature on policing essentially seeks to assess the drawbacks of policing from recruitment to training and to its functioning and operation. Although they have brought to light the dismal record of the police force and policing in India, none of them have sought to analyze how far ICTs are utilized to make police more efficient and people-friendly. In this era of terrorism and rising e-crimes, this neglect of the role of ICTs on police and policing is surely an indicator of an absence of well thought out policies on the part of the state apparatus. There is also a scholarly apathy to understand and analyze the role of police and the process of policing in the rapidly emerging knowledge society of India. In this regard the absence of relevant literature on the impact of ICTs in police and policing in India has made the researcher rely on secondary sources that is websites to avail necessary information.

Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India while addressing the Chief Ministers at the Conference on Internal Security on February 1st, 2011 stressed on the efficient functioning of the police stations through three pronged action on community policing, police reforms and informed use of technology. He expressed his desire to set Delhi Police as a model for other state police forces to emulate. To make this a reality, user friendly police portals user-friendly police portals will enable people to report and also to organise against crime in web-based forums. They will offer people access to information they want and need and encourage them to get involved. The fact is friendly community portal can give people tools to counter isolation. Isolation abets and instigates particular crimes – Domestic Violence, Hate Crime and Bullying and also makes the police force grapple for clues inheinous crimes like rape. Various State Governments in India have realized the urgency and the need to involve the policy agencies and the local communities in one single communication mode to deal with social crimes and anti-social elements. Almost all
State police departments have their own police websites providing online facilitation mechanisms to deal with law and order issues. States from Assam to Kerala have introduced such ICT measures though with differential impact and effectiveness. Such interventions indeed reflects on the modernization trend in our police systems wherein use of ICT tools for community policing is being projected with the ultimate objective of ensuring peace, security and orderly social environment at the community level for overall holistic community development.

Delhi Police took a lead in ushering technology-driven policing when HCL Infosystems installed GPS/GIS applications to track mobility of their vans in February 2009. The applications have facilitated routing of emergency – traffic congestion, medical assistance, fire and crime-in-progress etc – calls directly to vehicle network. Last year, the police relied on extensive use of technologies (Tetras, Intra Protocol (IP) cameras etc) to ensure a terrorist-incident-free Commonwealth Games in the national capital. One each of such cameras – not visible to the naked eye - was installed at Delhi Police. The Delhi Police have already put in place finger printing and palm printing in all their police stations. The police also have in their possession bulletproof jackets, bulletproof vehicles, light armoured troop carriers and upgraded their weaponry. The police also hope to soon get access to a minefield of data collected by Delhi government under its 3D GIS project. On police reforms, Delhi Police are again in the lead. The MHA (the controlling authority for the police) is all set to place in the Parliament a Model Police Act, which, once passed by the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha and ratified by President Pratibha Devisingh Patil, will govern policing in the national capital. Delhi Police Commissioner is appointed for a fixed term and heads Police Establishment Board (PEB), which is supposed to give fair autonomy to the police on transfers, postings, promotions and other service-related matters of police officers of the ranks of Assistant Commissioner of Police and Inspector. The police took another revolutionary step – albeit under pressure from Delhi High Court – from February 2011 when the police stations in the national capital started uploading all their First Information Reports (FIRs) on www.delhipolice.nic.in, the official website of the Delhi Police. In case the FIR deals with sensitive issues like terrorism, national security, rape, molestation and kidnapping for ransom etc and police do not want to make it public, Deputy Commissioner of Police (DCP) of the concerned area will have to inform the area.
magistrate. The High Court had said that fair impartial investigation is the fundamental right of an accused and he or she need not come to the court for this and it is duty of the police to provide it. The Delhi Traffic Police not only have a page on Facebook but also penalize violators of traffic rules on the basis of videos and photographs posted by members. The police SMS tens of thousands of customers everyday about traffic jams and diversions.

Some states like Rajasthan has introduced an innovative project called ‘Aarakshi’ that aims to improve the efficiency of police procedures. Each complainant is given a token number at the time of registration of his/her complaint which can be used for future referencing. Citizens can then access the police stations through the Internet and ascertain the status of the complaint. The supervising officers can also monitor the progress in investigation. This brings a great deal of accountability in the investigation. The Thiruvananthapuram City Police has developed a system to receive certain types of complaints electronically through its website. Citizens can register any type of complaint such as traffic problems, communal disturbances, eve-teasing, pick-pocketing, illicit distillation of liquor.

Andhra Pradesh has a state-wise computerised network of police stations – ‘eCOPS’ (e-computerised Operations for Police services). Thus a case is registered in the computer of the nearest police station, a print out of the FIR is given to the complainant. Once registered, the status of the FIR can be viewed by the complainant from anywhere by accessing ecops. The Andhra Pradesh Information Technology Policy 2010-2015 visions to provide all services to the doorstep of the people. It aims to initiate e-governance in a full-fledged way and that includes police too. eCOPS is conceptualized by Andhra Pradesh Police to computerise the total policing by utilizing State of Art technology which is catapulting the AP Police into speedy processing, increased efficiency, transparent policing and better interaction with the Citizen. The State is also taking a lead in computerizing the records of the Department at all levels from Police Station to Police Headquarters. In the field of Police administration, critical areas have been identified leading to the development of e-Computerised Operations for Police Services (eCOPS) Application Software.

The introduction of ICTs has generally facilitated services in public administration, urban and rural administration, and urban and rural development
transport sectors and has benefited the quality of life for citizens especially in medicine and health, education, environment, and agriculture (Bhaskara Rao 1998:171-215). However, effective law enforcement to combat cyber crime is affected by the transnational nature of cyberspace. Outdated laws and regulations and weak enforcement agencies caused the rise in the rate of cyber crimes (Thomas 2002: 999). The challenges that law enforcement agencies face today to battle with cyber crime can be divided into three categories- First, technical challenges hinder law enforcements’ ability to find and prosecute criminals operating online. Second, laws defining computer offences and the legal tools needed to investigate criminals using the internet, often lag behind technological and social changes. Finally, operational challenges are required to ensure that a network of well trained, well equipped investigators and prosecutors work together even across national boundaries.

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Police is no longer considered in sociological imagination and in relevant literature as a penal or law and order institution only. It now is part of a social institution which is obligated to do good for the people for a better life. Hence the impact of ICTs in ensuring public safety is a serious issue which requires a lot of research and analysis. ICTs will bring enhanced freedom, revitalized politics, satisfying community and personal fulfilment (Winner 1997: 990-91). ICTs in law enforcement can improve efficacy and aptitude, gratify the demands of external agencies for information and meet the requirements of police supervision and accountability. Although such studies contribute to an enormous amount of literature in the developed countries, there is a dearth of relevant literature on police research in India which focuses on the percolation and implementation of new technologies in police work. Against this backdrop it is necessary to explore whether the application of ICTs has any impact on policing in India with special reference to Kolkata Police.

Lately ICTs have been introduced in the Kolkata police as an aid to police work and in response to the rising rate in cybercrimes. West Bengal was among the first few states in India to formulate the Information Technology Policy. Although there exists a dearth in policy making in relation to the installation and operation of ICTs in the police force, computers and mobile phones have become a part of the activities of the Kolkata Police. In comparison to the technology available to the police force in
developed countries, the Kolkata Police is far behind. However, it is worthwhile to undertake a concrete study of how these available new technologies are affecting criminal activities, police and policing in Kolkata - the capital of the state of West Bengal. It will be highly rewarding to enquire how Kolkata Police is gaining efficiency in tackling both practical and technical problems, while making a transition from a low technology police force to a high technology police force. The improved services to the public, enhanced response to crimes, improved resource management and better strategic planning are sure indicators that the Kolkata Police organization is gaining in efficiency in its operation.

Structural changes that emanating due to globalization demands for researches on policing. There has been a rise in the number of crime in both developed and developing countries including India. Millions of CCTV cameras, the growth in police and community warden, school security, private security systems and prisoners, the proposed ID cards and the growth of community safety initiatives and Anti Social Behavior Order suggest that a ‘culture of control’ has been created in Britain (Garland 2002; Waiton 2009:360). Technological erudition of criminal groups (eg. terrorists, anti-socials and hackers) has inured the police to use ICTs for public security. In this regard there is a strong need to study the transformations especially infrastructural and functional alterations that have taken place with the introduction of new technologies in police work by the city police of Kolkata as a result of globalization and its corresponding information revolution.

As already stated, ICTs can act as a very handy tool to include the people in policing activities. This can also affect serious crime rates. Community Policing initiatives guarantee police accountability, collaboration, decentralization, problem solving and reduction of fear of crime among the marginalized communities. However confidence in the police is influenced by neighborhood conditions also. Although it is reciprocal, people hold police responsible for local crime, turmoil and terror. In this regard it is not wide off the mark to state that the community policing initiatives can be successful only through enhanced usage of new technologies. The Kolkata Police has also initiated community policing programmes, some of which can be accessed online too. The time is ripe for the Kolkata Police to make use of ICTs to shed its inhibitions and colonial stigma and thereby reach out to the people. It is thus long overdue to explore the role of ICTs in ensuring safer, crime free localities through greater public involvement in the city of Kolkata.
1.6. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Against the background of what has been stated above, the present dissertation has the objective of studying the interrelationship between the New Technologies on the one hand and the Kolkata Police on the other. More specifically, this dissertation attempts to seek answers to the following research objectives:

(i) To what extent is the increasing implementation of the ICTs in the Kolkata Police transforming the ways it traditionally used to perform its routine tasks or operational policing, viz. general duties, traffic, criminal investigation, etc?

(ii) To explore the impact of New Technologies on police hierarchy and, hence, on police practices especially at supervisory and managerial levels? To evaluate the technical and practical barriers to the usage and implementation of the ICTs?

(iii) To assess the awareness level of the police in relation to New Technologies and new methods of policing?

(iv) To explore the perception of the police on whether community policing can be introduced with the introduction of the ICTs?

1.8. METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The objective of the present research can be best achieved by utilizing multi method approach which accepts the fact that no method measures perfectly and to exploit the fact that multiple measurements offers the chance to assess each methods validity in the light of other methods. To apply the multi-method analysis at any stage, it is usually to analyze a social phenomenon’s structure, setting, and constituent social processes far more fully than when only a single method is used. The combination of multiple methods, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth and depth to any investigation (Brewer and Hunter 2006: 5-35). Multi method has been used in all stages of research that is not only in collection of data but also in the interpretation and analysis of relevant data.

The Method

The study is exploratory in nature as the aim is to look for patterns, ideas rather than testing or confirming a hypothesis. The primary sources of data are original works of research or raw data without analysis, interpretation or pronouncement Apart
from primary data, exploratory research also relies on secondary research such as reviewing available literature and/or data, or qualitative approaches such as informal discussions with experts, consumers, employees, management or competitors and more formal approaches through in-depth interviews, focus graphs, projective methods, case studies or pilot studies. Secondary data may be classified in terms of its sources – either internal or external. Internal or in-house data are secondary information acquired within the organization where and for whom research is being carried out. External secondary data is obtained from outside sources. The present study is based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through face to face interview of the respondents. Interview schedule have been used to collect relevant information during in-depth interview of the respondents. The questions were all open ended to ensure that the officers could express themselves freely without any preconceived answers. Observation of the behavior and non verbal attributes of the respondents also yielded valuable information. Each of the interviews took about three hours and in some cases it was continued on a second day. In the present study, secondary data was collected through a review of relevant documents and archival resources. The Kolkata Police website along with several reports published by the Kolkata Police like Annual Reports on Traffic also yielded necessary information. Other Internet sources also provided relevant information about the problem.

However, the findings are not typically generalizable to the population at large. In other words, the results can neither be generalized nor are representative of the whole population being studied.

**Sample**

In exploratory research, the topic/issue is new and the problem has not been clearly defined and data collection methods and selection of data are difficult. Exploratory research is flexible and can address questions of all types (Shields & Hassan 2006: 313-34). Therefore non probability sampling has been used to collect data. Non-probability sampling may be used effectively in studies that seek to explore ideas that are still underdeveloped (Baker 1999: 138). A sample that does not use the rules of probability is known as a non probability sample. The best option among non probability sampling was purposive sample to fulfill the purpose of the study. “A purposive sample is a form of sample in which the subjects selected seem to meet the study’s needs” (Ibid:138). In selecting the respondents the main concern
was that the respondents should have access to new technologies. A sample of 51 officers were interviewed, all of whom had access to new technologies. The officers interviewed were both IPS and non-IPS officers. Even though the non-IPS officers had less access to technologies they were studied because they had new technologies at their disposal especially in police stations or when they were in-charge of some special cells or departments. Snowballing was also used to get access to other officers of the same rank. A snowball sample is built from the subjects suggested by previous sampling (Ibid.141). IPS officers especially Additional Commissioners of Police referred names of other departments and police personnel who would meet the needs of the study.

However, 12 local police stations were sampled out of a total of 48 under the Kolkata police jurisdiction hence it was representative of the total population. The police stations were categorized in a way to represent the five divisions of the Kolkata Police, namely, North and North Division, Central Division, Eastern Suburban Division, Port Division, South and South Division with a minimum of two from each of the divisions. Purposive sampling was used in this regard whereby from each of the divisions the police stations were selected. From the South Division, Park Street, Gariahat and Maiden were sampled. New Market, Hare Street and Burrabazaar from the Central Division, Amherst Street and Cossipore from North and North Division; Watgunje and Garden Reach from Port Division and Ultadanga and Tangra from the Eastern Suburban Division were selected. Each of the police stations were selected for their uniqueness in terms of the locality as well as the people or nature of the area. For example: Park Street has a unique modern and metropolitan culture and is a posh area while Maidan has the sports area under its jurisdiction. Again, Watgunge and Garden Reach have a maximum of lower income groups especially form minority communities as the populace. Being in the port area crime rate especially economic crimes, are more frequent. Amherst Street has many educational institutions under its supervision while Cossipore is more of old culture. Burrabazaar, Gariahat and New Market house the economic hub of the city with business centres, markets and offices all around. These twelve police stations portray the multicultural and economic life of the city of Kolkata.

**The Field of the Study**

The area under the Kolkata Police jurisdiction comprises the field of the study. The Kolkata Police operates from its headquarters at Lalbazaar in the city of Kolkata.
The Kolkata Police has strength of about 26,000 personnel and covers a territorial jurisdiction of about 89.55 sq.km. and 34.55 sq.km. water. In addition there are specialized units like the Detective Department, Head Quarter Force, Special Branch, Enforcement Branch, Traffic Police, Reserve Force, Wireless Branch, Security Control, Armed Police, North and South Suburban Division, South and South Suburban Division, East and East Suburban Division, Central Division and Port Division which support the local police stations in their endeavors to fight crime (See www.kolkatapolice.org/Departments.asp visited on 20.6.10). It operates through 48 Police Stations which are under five divisions namely: 1. **North and north Suburban Division**: Shyampukur, Jorabagan, Port, Burtolla, Amherst Street, Cossipore, Chitpore, Tala, Sinthi; 2. **Central Division**: Burrabazaar, Posta, Jorasanko, Hare Street, Boubazaar, Girish Park, Muchipara, Taltalla, New Market; 3. **Eastern Suburban Division**: Manicktalla, Ultadanga, Beliaghata, Phoolbagan, Narkeldanga, Entally, Tangra, Beniapukur, Topsia; 4. **South and South Suburban Division**: Park Street, Shakespeare Sarani, Hastings, Maidan, Ballygunje, Gariahat, Bhowanipur, Kalighat, Tollygunje, Lake, Charu Market, Alipore, New Alipore, Karaya, Chetla; 5. **Port Division**: North South Port, West Port, Garden reach, Watgunje, Taratolla, Ekalpapur (See www.kolkatapolice.org/LocalPoliceStations.asp visited on 20.6.10). It has separate premises for the offices of Special Branch, Security Council Organization, Mounted Police, River police, Armed Battalion and so on. The Headquarters primarily house the office of the Commissioner, Additional Commissioners, Joint Commissioners, Detective Department, Traffic Department and the Deputy Commissioner Head Quarters. The local police stations comprise an Officer-in-Charge and an additional Officer-in-Charge, both of whom belong to the rank of Inspectors with a host of sub Inspectors and other lower rank personnel.

**Unit of Analysis**

The Kolkata Police personnel comprise the units of analysis. A total of fifty one, six of whom were women police personnel, have been interviewed. Sixteen IPS officers, from the rank of Deputy Commissioner of Police to Additional Commissioner of Police were interviewed to get access to relevant information. Thirty five non-IPS officers out of whom five were female were also interviewed face to face. Their designation ranged from Deputy Commissioner of Police to sub Inspectors in-charge of Special Cells. This was essential to draw a comparison of the views of the officers on the basis of the rank structure.
Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Multimethod has also been used in the interpretation and analysis of data. Both qualitative and quantitative measures have been used to interpret the data. Brief narratives of police officers have been used to address different issues in their words. Observation of non verbal attributes like gestures have also been used during interpretation of data. In this study quantitative data has been represented through contingency tables, both univariate as well as bivariate. A contingency table shows the cross tabulation or joint distribution of two variables. The independent variable is predictor variable while the dependent variable is being predicted (Elifson 1998: 152-160). In the contingency tables, rank has been the independent variable which determines different attributes of the police personnel. In most of the tables the percentaging is done at the column, down on the independent variable to determine the effect of the independent variable on the different dependent variables. In some of the contingency tables percentaging is done across that is in row to determine the importance of the dependent variable on the independent one.