Chapter – 7

Summary, Conclusions & Suggestions
Historical references to the origin of modern Police in India indicate that it is a legacy of the British. The police, were, meant to serve the British. But, the problem is, even after decades of Independence, other than a few superficial changes, the basic structure and functioning of Police has not changed to suit the requirements of a democratic Indian society. The hierarchy in the organization is continued. A review of an article in “India Together”- December, 2003- ‘Rescuing the police force’-by Arvind Verma (former IPS Officer) highlights some facts regarding the continuation of British organizational features in Independent India. In the article Verma remarks that ‘autonomy will not improve the IPS, instead, it will simply make a system already tainted by its conduct even less accountable.’ Verma refers to Julio Ribeiro’s, (a former IPS officer) argument that ‘the need of the hour is for civil society to organize and protest against the castration of the police force, particularly of its IPS cadre. Robeiro suggests that ‘the remedy lies in empowering the IPS further.’ But Arvind Verma argues that, what is really needed is to place some of the blame upon the police leadership itself.’

Regarding corruption, Arvind Verma is of the opinion that it existed within the IPS since the beginning and has been increasing steadily. He further comments, that, “IPS officers make money from transfers and postings of subordinate officers, take bribes and give favors. They demand cuts from vendors supplying uniforms, office equipment and vehicles to the department; even extort from the business houses and subvert investigation of cases on pecuniary or political considerations. ‘Hafta’ the weekly extortion collected by police station officials from local businesses is only one part of the corruption in Indian police. Corrupt practices are now part of the Indian police system and are found in every department, in every rank and in every police institution including training colleges. The malaise has spread all over the country and in every aspect of policing.” Verma, points out that, “the existence of
a corrupt, brutal and oppressive police force, alienated from the people points towards failures of police leadership. If torture, extortion and misuse of force are obvious traits of Indian police then supervisory ranks must be held responsible too.” It is a well known fact that the British created the Indian police system - one that created fear in the hearts of the people and total subjugation of the people to the authority. Verma opines that “despite having the opportunity to work under honest political leadership [for a short time], at the time when a new system was being forged, the first generation of IPS officers did nothing to usher reforms and emphasize the due process of law. The IPS simply continued the organizational culture and ethos of policing established by the British in 1861.”

Verma further says that the British IP officers, were not dishonest in their dealings but, they purposely created an aura of grandeur for themselves and functioned no differently from the extortionist subordinates. Further, Verma explains that, ‘ostentatious pageantry and grandeur of the senior officers was a visible form of authority. The morning parade and salute to the commanding officer, the armed sentry at the Superintendent’s gate and armed escort on their tours were symbols that placed the officers on a high pedestal.’ Hence, Verma says that, ‘this style of policing created a cultural setting in which the IP leadership were way above everyone and this distance was deliberately maintained. There was no way in which any citizen could dare to approach the senior officer thereby leaving no avenue of complaint against the corrupt subordinates. These senior officers maintained an image of incorruptibility even though their subordinates took money right outside their gates.’

Verma highlights the fact that in the past, corruption was institutionalized indulged by the senior officers. He explains that the tiger hunts and lavish entertainment were part of the organizational practices in which the officers on tours would combine business with sports and pleasure. Zamindars showered lavish treatments during officers’ tours; this helped them build associations with the rulers, which, in turn helped maintain their hold over their tenant farmers. The fruit, flower and gift baskets that reached SP residences during festivals and other occasions were
blatant bribes.' These practices, according to him, continue even today but in different forms. "In present day India, since tiger hunts have been banned, there are New Year parties, picnics and official 'get-togethers' with family and friends at Dak Bungalows. The entertainment of senior officers by the subordinate staff is even now an established practice in the police departments and beyond a token payment all other expenses are passed down to the station-in-charges." Verma refers to "the practice of glorifying senior officers which still survives. In many provinces like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, IPS officers are still addressed as 'Huzur Bahadur', or 'Kaptan Sahib', titles used during the British period. Throwing light on other practices, Verma explains that personal drivers, body guards, even armed guards for the residence and family are common appendage for senior police officers. Further, constables and even middle level officers do not sit down in front of any IPS officer. It is not uncommon for police station personnel to take care of the comforts of the senior officers. Thus, official vehicles, telephones and staff are used for personal purposes and the subordinate officers escort the children to school or the spouse for shopping and making social visits.' Verma quotes an example- 'In Bihar, a senior officer had almost a 100 police personnel tending his large garden and orchards! The subordinate officers are routinely utilized for making purchases, for making arrangements during private parties and functions, for obtaining special tickets during major sports, for cultural events and even for getting railway or airlines tickets.' Such practices defeat the very purpose of recruiting men in the department.

Verma highlights the inevitable consequences of the corrupt practices as follows:

1) There is a quiet acceptance of the corruption in the subordinate ranks.

2) The IPS officers, who themselves misuse public funds and demand services from the subordinates, are unwilling and unable to provide any control over the mercenary actions of their subordinates. They have little legitimacy and moral strength to take firm action against the extortion indulged by their officers.
3) The booty is shared while a small minority remains passive and indifferent towards these corrupt practices. Verma comments that 'this form of corruption is, definitely not due to the pressures of dishonest politicians. It is the organizational culture and norms that have made corruption and extortion a part of the police system in the country.' In the present study the responses of the elite and the non elite group regarding corrupt practices were based on their personal experiences or they were a witness to them. These responses co-incide with Verma's comments on corruption in police organization.

Verma raises an important question here- 'Will all this change if IPS is given more power and police leadership is placed beyond the purview of political control?' Responding to this question he opines that 'the elitist nature of the police leadership, the lack of any accountability to the people and outdated management practices have all combined to make corruption endemic and even acceptable within the organization. The persistence of open corrupt practices by officers is clearly indicative that the organization itself has become deviant. In a culture where pomp and show of senior officers is maintained through expenses borne by the subordinate officers, it is not surprising that regular extortion in every police station are not inquired nor frowned upon by the senior ranks. It is therefore not surprising that the station house officer's extortion is common public knowledge and the traffic constable dares to collect money from truck drivers in plain view. Corruption within the police department is every citizen's common experience and no rank is without a blemish.' In the present study, it is found that the image of police with the public i.e.the elite group is very low and the opinion about police by the non elite group is highly negative because of the personal experiences of these groups and the corrupt practices mentioned by Verma.

In another article “Myths about police work” (India Together-20/09/2006) Arvind Verma, (keeping in view the role of police in preventing and detecting of crime, maintenance of law and order, performance at police station etc.) says that 'Police officers are uniform in the belief that political interference in their work is unquitous. They also see themselves as crime fighters first and foremost, and hence view all other
work as a distraction. But in fact, says Arvind Verma, there is little truth to either of these beliefs.' He opines that, the police, like many other professionals, maintain certain myths about themselves and their work.

Verma refers to two widely prevalent myths in the Indian police which are as follows:

1) ‘One is about political interference in police work. It is widely believed that politicians interfere constantly and in every aspect of police work. Almost all officers, complain that, they cannot function properly due to direct interference by the politicians. All police personnel, from the lowest constable to the highest ranking Director General of Police, lament the fact that police organisation has been badly affected by politics. They complain that every decision has to be cleared by politicians and that their ability to take decisions independently in accordance with the law has been eroded.’

2) The second widespread myth Verma refers to, is about the objectives of policing. Verma points out that, “all officers believe themselves to be crime fighters and that 'law and order' work hampers crime control functions.

Verma reports about research studies conducted in general, that “suggest very clearly that police officers everywhere think that tasks like dealing with beggars, runaway children, handling petty disputes amongst the citizens, escorting processions, handling crowds in sporting events etc. are all 'useless' chores that take them away from their real work of dealing with crime. Accordingly, they are resentful when citizens and the society expect them to do such work in addition to their other responsibilities.” With reference to his personal experience Verma mentions that “a Deputy Inspector General (DIG) once reprimanded him for 'wasting' time in rescuing bonded labourers instead of focusing on dacoity and robbery.”

It is necessary here, to recall the the results of role ranking done by the policemen in the present study. Verma’s personal experience and generally the suggestions made in research studies (mentioned by Verma) are in line with the responses of the Constables, Head Constables and the Asstt. Sub-Inspectors who are of the view that preventing and detecting crime and maintenance of law and order to be very important. The role of a friend, philosopher and guide, counselor, a social--worker, doctor, and engineer, were regarded as secondary by them. The reasons for such responses, given by policemen are
that they do not have the power to use their discretion when needed and that they are primarily trained to deal with problems of law and order and prevention and detection of crime.

Verma opines that inefficiency in crime investigation is because of the following factors:

a) 'The failure to investigate cases is not because of law and order problems but because the officers are apathetic towards this responsibility. Except in cases that attract media attention and where senior officers take interest most other cases are barely investigated.'

b) 'Furthermore, additional empirical evidence is available in the general diary and personal diaries of the officers. These records will show that a large proportion of the work at police stations concerns service functions demanded by the citizens. Matters such as small disputes amongst neighbours, obstructions left on the roads by telephone, power and other authorities, missing people, stray cattle, encroachments, minor accidents, arrangements for marriages and religious festivals are reported and handled by police regularly. These form around 60-80 percent of the day's work depending upon the area.'

Verma maintains that, "none of this is insignificant since this enables the officers to work with the citizens and gain their support. It is this work that lets the police know about their area and the people - all useful information in solving crimes. Criminal investigation cannot be done without the cooperation of the citizens - they provide intelligence, identify the suspects and come forward as witnesses. If the police were not providing the service functions it will be impossible to get citizen assistance and this will badly affect investigation of crimes. This was well established by the Rand research study in the US which demonstrated very clearly that good investigation is dependent upon police officers working with the people and being involved in their daily problems."

Police Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors in the study, in an informal discussion with the researcher, opined that the small services which the public expects of police should be the starting point for an interaction between the police and the public. This will not only bring them closer to each other but also helps the policemen to get the cooperation of the public to perform the other duties efficiently, especially in prevention and detection of crime and maintenance of law and order.
Verma, points out that, 'the complaint of political interference in police work is an interesting myth.' He further notes that "political interference occurs in three forms: as the public, the general and the special form of interference. The public nature of political interference comes with some politician being asked by a citizen to intervene in a matter where the police department is unable to provide satisfactory public service. The special form is one where the politician intervenes with the police administration and attempts to gain favour for someone known to him or to oblige a person for some future gain. The general form of interference is a case where a politician is not directly interested in the matter but takes it up as a social cause and to assert his power as a community leader. Politicians intervene since police officers do not function professionally and citizens are unable to get relief by going to the police stations."

Verma argues that "the empirical evidence for the above argument comes from the examination of police station records. A simple analysis of general register kept at any police station suggests that in a 24 hour period around 30-50 entries are made indicating the various work done by the police station officers." However, he points out that 'at the most the politicians may take interest in 2-5 cases in the entire district comprising of 15-20 Police Stations. Thus, a large proportion of criminal cases are such where there is no direct interest by any politician. The officers therefore cannot complain of reckless and abundant political interference since a good proportion of their work remains outside the interest of the politician. What may happen is that the officers learn to anticipate the interests of the politicians and deal with every case as if the particular politician is interested. However, this is happening without direct pressure from the politician. If one were to calculate in this manner it is clear that almost 70-80 per cent of the work done at the police stations is free of direct political interest."

According to Verma, 'these issues remain and prevail as a myth and are widely believed both inside and outside the department. The problem is serious, for it is not a case of simple misconception by the officers. The problem is that such myths influence and guide every act and perception of the officers. Police officers believe strongly that they are crime fighters and that all other work is unnecessary and waste of their time. They maintain that politicians are destroying their department and that they are helpless
in this regard. But analysis of work logs doesn't back this up; the police must look inward to their own failures to find their way out of these myths.’

In an article titled ‘Politicization of the Police: Where lies the Blame (Indian Police Journal 2001), Verma argues that "a large proportion of political interference of the police can be traced to the mismanagement, lack of professionalism and improper supervision within the department.” Verma suggests that the challenge before all the concerned citizens is to ensure that every crime of corruption is not diluted at the behest of interested politicians.”

In another article, ‘Reporting the crime,’ (India together, January 2004), Verma looks at the FIR mechanism that forms the basis of criminal investigation. Verma points out that “the flaws in the FIR procedure, leaves the Station House Officers (SHOs) in a dominant position of determining when and which criminal incident to register and which one to ignore. In addition to this certain other organizational practices, lead to corruption and misuse of authority. Consequently, citizens commonly experience considerable problems in registering a case at the police station. Frequently, the SHO has to be bribed or approached through some senior officer to lodge the complaint.” In the present study the opinion of the non-elite group about the performance of police at Police Station is highly negative. In an informal discussion the non-elite group expressed the problems they faced while registering a case or seeking some help from them. The responses of the non-elite group are similar to Verma’s opinion about FIR mechanism.

In the article, “A uniform betrayal” (India Together, June 2004), Arvind Verma answers a question - What turns police personnel into instruments of violence against the underprivileged classes to which they often themselves belong? According to him, “it is well known that a large proportion of police officers, especially subordinate ranks of constables, sub-inspectors and even inspectors come from the lower economic and social classes. Most of them, are witness to, and even victims of socio-economic exploitation. Yet, after joining the service they appear to forget these discriminations and plunder people of their own background. Moreover, by harassing, extorting and exploiting the weaker sections, they often serve the interests of the upper classes to which they themselves never belong.”
Verma highlights two kinds of violations that police personnel engage in. They are:

1) "Corruption against individual citizens as well as institutions; this corruption usually targets the income or livelihood of the victim. Most middle and upper class people have experienced this first-hand. Those driving two-wheelers, cars, trucks and buses face extortion by traffic police in every part of the country. Smaller operators, such as hawkers, street vendors, telewallahs, small time shopkeepers, and even those from well established businesses are familiar with the demands from their local police stations. Either they are forced to pay haftas [weekly payments] or at frequent intervals suffer extortion simply to operate their business. Anyone unfortunate enough to be a victim of crime also knows that his case will not be registered without paying some money to the police station-in-charge." In the present study also the opinion of the non-elite group about the police is highly negative because of the treatment meted out to them at police stations and the corrupt practices of the police mentioned by Verma.

2) "Use of physical force against suspects of crimes, perceived anti-social elements, and those agitating against the establishment. This typically follows a pattern - upper castes and economically well off people are usually not subject to these atrocities. On the other hand, the Dalits, lower castes and poor people have long ago accepted that the police will act against them as henchmen of the upper and land-holding castes. These groups are regularly subject to harsh physical treatment, and even when innocent run the risk of having false cases registered against them. All police custodial deaths are largely those of poor or lower class people."

The reasons for the police misconduct, according to Verma are as follows:

1) Many officers believe legal methods do not work in solving crimes, and adopt illegal means as a valid substitute.

2) The sub-culture of the Indian police was built by the British for the purpose of
establishing their Raj. The police were meant to suppress any dissent against British rule. This situation gave unlimited power to the police officers. As a result, brutal action, misuse of force, and corruption became endemic and rampant in the police department. Even after Independence the system has not been reformed and police culture and organizational practices remain unchanged. In post-independence India, the police are still not accountable to the citizens, according to Verma.

3) The Indian police system is designed for maintaining order and enforcing the law rather than serving the people. In the context of this, any attempt by the lower classes to change their situation is a threat to the existing order. In case when the landless and the poor demand better wages or working conditions for themselves, their actions are considered to create law and order problem. This is because the upper classes and land owners fear loosing control over the cheap labour provided by the lower class if their economic and social condition improves. Hence, they resist fiercely, and often label the agitating groups as 'naxalites'. In this situation, police officers target those seeking to transform the prevailing conditions.

4) The culture and beliefs that makes the police oppressive also comes from training, working conditions, management and leadership practices. Here the role of the training institutes and organizational culture are significant in shaping the perceptions of the young people who come to join the department.

5) The system of administrative oversight is also responsible for police misbehavior. Police officers get away with misuse of power, partisan behavior and corrupt practices because Indian police lacks a proper system of accountability. This is because the police were made accountable to local District Magistrates who represented the British rulers at the district level. But, the problem is that, Independent and democratic India continues the colonial model. The objectives of police in safeguarding people of independent India based on democratic ideals and freedom is defeated because the existing police system does not subscribe to these ideals and was not meant to do so either.

6) Police personnel see themselves as the rulers and guardians of the state, emphasizing order maintenance rather than service to the people. A large number
of police officers are even ignorant about laws against Untouchability, Bonded Labour, Minimum Wages, Money Lending and Exploitation of women and children. There is plenty of social legislation enacted to protect the weaker classes from exploitation. Yet, the police remain indifferent to these. The indifference and ignorance towards government policies that tend to empower the weaker sections leave the police handling only the crimes against property and person where the propertied and upper classes have a greater interest. Verma suggests that in order to make the police more accountable to the people, emphasis on law and order must be replaced with a focus on service to the ideals of democracy.

In another article “A ‘shocking’ development”, (India Together November 2004), Venugopal P. N. reports on the savageness of police actions wherein Kerala police used electrically charged shock batons on a group of student demonstrators. This is a violation of human rights and contrary to one of the important codes of conduct mentioned in Police Manual. Summarizing the present situation, it could be said that efforts are being made to bring about changes in police organization and functioning through Police Reforms.
Conclusions:

In the context of policemen the conclusions are as follows:

> Conclusions of T-Tests to know whether there is significant difference between-designation & length of service-and role satisfaction of policemen, it is proved that there is an overall significant difference between-designation & length of service-and role satisfaction.

> Conclusions of One-way ANOVA tests prove that there is significant difference across the group of policemen-in different ranks & with different lengths of service- and their role satisfaction. In other words lower the ranks and lesser the length of service, lower is the role satisfaction across the group. Higher the ranks and greater the length of service, the higher is the level of satisfaction across the group.

> Conclusions of Correlation tests are that Personal Background, Socio-Economic Status, Language, Job Attitude and Human rights are positively related to the role satisfaction of policemen. Higher the personal background, socio-economic status, job attitude, language, and perception of human rights, higher is the role satisfaction and contrary to this is men with lower position in these aspects have lower satisfaction. It is also found that anxiety and health problems are negatively related to the role satisfaction. In other words lower the problems of anxiety and health higher is the satisfaction and higher the problems of anxiety and health, lower is the satisfaction. No significant relation is indicated between- image, public attitude, social life- and role satisfaction.

> Conclusions of T-Tests results indicate there is significant difference between the independent variables and role satisfaction, i.e. it is found that there is significant difference between the high and low - Personal Background, Socio-Economic Status, Language, Job Attitude, Human rights - and the role satisfaction of policemen. In other words high and low levels
of these independent variables have high and low levels of role satisfaction. No significant difference between high and low levels of the problems of anxiety and health, image, public attitude, social life- and role satisfaction is indicated.

Conclusions of Univariate Analysis of Variance are that there is significant effect of four different interactions between the high and low - personal background & socio-economic status, personal background and job attitude, personal background and language, socio-economic status and job attitude, socio-economic status and language, job attitude and language, language and human rights, language and social life, anxiety-health and image on role satisfaction. Interaction between the other independent variables did not have any significant effect on role satisfaction.

In the role-ranking done by policemen, it is found that formal roles are considered important by lower ranks whereas, PIs & SIs considered the informal roles to be more important.

The order of priority of stress reducers in police is as follows (the first three): (1) adequate housing, transportation and communication, (2) time to spend with family and friends, and (3) opportunity to develop team spirit and good leadership qualities.

In the context of improving the image of police, the policemen’s order of ranking of suggestions given to them are (first three): (1) reducing authority at police station level, (2) change in the attitude of superiors & (3) no interference of political & religious leaders in police work.

To solve many of the problems faced by policemen, the order of ranking of options by policemen are: (1) immediate police rewarding system and publishing through mass media, (2) initiating public dialogues on problems of police administrations and taking suggestion of the public, (3)conducting special police-public interaction programmes in schools & colleges, taking the suggestions of elected representatives of the different areas & (4) involving traditionally influential people of different areas of the city.
The ranking order of the effective measures (first three)- to increase efficiency in policemen & render better services to the public- by the policemen is:

(1) Increasing number of police stations and policemen
(2) Encouraging rational thinking and action, &
(3) Changing the process of selection recruitment and training.
Police & Public

In the context of the image and performance of the police, evaluated by the elite group in the study, the conclusions of the different tests are as follows:

**Elite Group:**

**T-Tests:**
1. There is significant difference between IAS Officers and Doctors regarding the image of police.
2. There is significant difference between IAS Officers and teachers regarding the image of police.
3. There is significant difference between IAS Officers and Public regarding the image of police at the level.
4. There is significant difference between IAS Officers and Student leaders regarding the image of police.

**One-Way ANOVA:**

In this test, it is found that there is no significant difference across the group about the image of police. In other words irrespective of whether they are IAS Officers, doctors, engineers etc. the entire group has a low image of police.

**Correlations:**

The correlation table indicates that there is no significant relation between code (group) & image, response & image, behaviour & image. However, there is a negative relation between bribe & image. This means that lower the bribe, higher is the image and higher the bribe, lower is the image.

**Two-Way ANOVA**

Two-Way ANOVA Tests indicate that none of the interactions between bribe & image, behavior & image, response & image have any significant effect on image of police.
Non-Elite Group:
In the context of the opinion of the non-elite group about the performance of the police, the conclusions of the tests are as follows:

1) **T-Tests** were conducted to know the difference between the groups taken for the study and their opinion about policemen. The conclusion is that there is a significant difference between accused and slum dwellers regarding their opinion of police.

2) **T-Tests** were conducted to know the difference between language and opinion, behavior and opinion, bribe and opinion, performance and opinion, total response and opinion. It is found that there is no significant difference between language, bribe, behavior, total response of police - and opinion of non-elite group about police. However, it is found that there is significant difference between performance of police at police station and opinion of the non-elite group about police. This means that lower the performance of police, lower is the opinion about police and higher the performance higher is the opinion. The conclusions of the statistical tests point out to the areas which need the attention of policy makers, scholars from different disciplines, students interested in research, the general public etc. The answer to a question on the type of policing system the policemen, the elite and non-elite group desire, was on a positive note. In other words, majority of the respondents considered “Community policing” to be important for effective policing.

The next topic deals with a few humble suggestions concerning the police and the public.
SUGGESTIONS:

Following aspects merit review in the police organization and functioning:

1) The pay scales, promotions and status of the constabulary need an upward revision.

2) Selection and recruitment must be done on the basis of the following:
   a) Higher educational background, service aptitude and communication skills.
   b) Psychological and aptitude tests to be conducted to assess candidates genuinely suited for police work.
   c) Preferably candidates who have police background.
   d) Rigorous physical and stress tolerance tests to assess suitability.

3) In general policing can be made effective if the following aspects are given importance:
   a) Role of policeman to be made more specific and explicit.
   b) Policemen in lower ranks to be encouraged to use their initiative and discretion while dealing with the public.
   c) Political and religious leaders to be prevented from interfering in police work.
   d) Housing, transportation and communication need to be provided to the constabulary on priority.
   e) Frequent breaks and holidays to recoup from routine and stress full situations.
f) Increase police public ratio to provide sufficient time for the policemen to relax and provide better policing.

g) All personnel should undergo periodic refresher courses and counseling. They should be sensitized to deal with public, and treat all people irrespective of caste religion and region.

4) In the context of public the following aspects need to be considered:

a) Involving the people i.e. Community policing to be introduced to make the public also responsible for maintaining peace and order in society.

b) Introducing the concept of people friendly police in the minds of children by making use of mass media and conducting interaction programs at schools. The police should be seen as being people friendly, children should be taught to be afraid of crime and not the police.

c) Organise police units in colleges and schools akin to NCC, NSS etc with the aim of familiarizing and introducing students to the functioning of Police. A mini police station could function from the college campus manned by students on the lines of regular police station.