

A RESEARCH STUDY ON "CREATING A FUNCTIONAL POSITIVE POLICE-POLITICIAN INTERFACE FOR PUBLIC ORDER MAINTENANCE"



Research
Report

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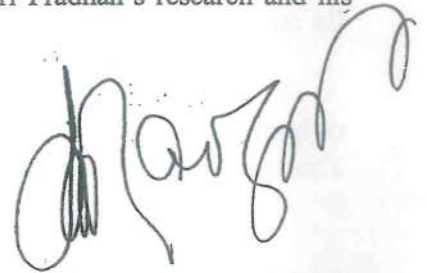
FOREWORD

I am glad that Shri Pradhan has completed this project after lot of painstaking research. He has managed to collect responses from a wide representation of police officers, citizens and of course politicians. He has done a commendable job of interviewing some of the important political figures of this country as well as many middle level and ground level politicians. Such a cross sectional representation is bound to bring out a clear view of the opinions of politicians as one category of respondents. Similarly the sample of police officers is also quite large and has been selected carefully to represent both the leadership as well as the subordinate level. Shri Pradhan has also been careful to select samples from a wide cross section of citizens representing all possible social formations.

Shri Pradhan brought out a clear relief why politicians and police officers have to co-exist in the context of a constructive interface for the good of this country. The National Police Commission has very aptly remarked that the politicians and the police officers have either confronted each other or colluded to the detriment of the public good. It is very heartening to know that even the citizens in this survey have arrived at the same conclusion. The citizens are of the overwhelming opinion that police leadership and politicians must realize their roles as public servants and hence must interface in a functionally positive manner for the effective maintenance of law and order.

A set of very good recommendations including suggestions for further research are the highlight of this study. The graphical representation of the responses of police and politicians as well as the citizens is remarkable in its clarity of message. This study is bound to establish unequivocally the need for police and politicians to rethink their mutual role perceptions. The controversies and debates that are generated in the media as well as the public over the mismanagement of law and order puts the blame for such incidents at the doors of both the politicians and police administrators. It is time that both the police leadership and the politicians recognize that both are the servants of law and that both must share the responsibility of ensuring that law is implemented and executed in its true spirit and substance.

While addressing a gathering of legal luminaries the late Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru had opened his speech with these words – *"I bow to the majesty of law."* This statement embodies the mantra on which police politicians interface should be based on. Shri Pradhan's research and his conclusions bear this out in ample measure.



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I profusely thank the Director General, Bureau of Police Research and Development, MHA, New Delhi for assigning this Research Project to the National Police Academy and providing the financial assistance.

Special thanks to Dr. A.K. Saxena for his constant encouragement and guidance. His valuable suggestions and his help in drafting the manuscript helped greatly in systematizing my thoughts. Sincere thanks to all the senior police officers and the probationers for their help in collecting the data.

I sincerely thank Shri Prakash Walke, P. Pradeep who helped me for utilizing the library resources. I also thank Shri Manas Aditya and Shri Bhanu Prakash for their help in analyzing the data and all the typing work.

This work would not have been completed without the love and consideration showed by Vismita, my wife and my two daughters Kriti and Aditi. Without being sure of what I was upto on my computer, they suffered my habit of keeping irregular hours, gamely. I cannot thank them enough.

My parents and sisters reposed a lot of confidence in me, as always. My father, Shri C.M. Pradhan also gave me guidance, advice and help in conducting the surveys and analyzing the data. He has always been a pillar of strength to me. My in-laws gave me all the constant encouragement and support.

A special word for Shri Niranjana Sahoo, my Research Assistant, who worked hard to help me gather data. Being a Ph.D Scholar he had the eye for detail and a good researcher's attitude. I wish him the very best in his life and career ahead.

Last but not least, I thank the police officers, politicians and also the citizens who gave their free and frank response on different questionnaires. It was not always easy to get interviews with politicians and senior officers leading to much delay in some cases. However, in the end it was all a very satisfying experience.

Saty Narayan Pradhan
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Chapter I

Police - Politician Interface in India: The Historical Background and Legacy

1.1 *Introduction*

As long as democracy is the political benchmark of a civilised society, politics and politicians will be an integral part of that society. Similarly, as long as there is society, there are bound to be cases of social deviance, warranting the presence of a system of policing. Once it is established that politics and policing in any society, specially a democratic society like India, necessarily impinge on and affect one another, it follows logically that there is a need for serious deliberation on the apparent failure on the part of the police and the politicians in understanding and appreciation of each other's roles as *agents of public service*. Police as an organisation will always be a part and parcel of a law enforcement system that seeks to curb deviance and to maintain public order. Maintenance of public peace and order is nothing but the maintenance of an 'even tempo of community life' as defined by the Honourable Supreme Court of India.

In a democracy, police and the politician can be said to be a part of the same macro structure. If this is an undeniable fact of democratic life, and if both the police and the politicians are apparently dedicated to the cause of public welfare inside a democratic ambience, then why and how is it that the interface between the police and the politician has always had negative connotations viz., collusive, confrontationist, anti-people etc.?

Because official government is the nucleus of both politics and political activities in our society, it follows that the police-the component of government that wields legitimate force-and how they are managed, are influenced by and through various political processes. "Policing is inevitably political?" say Carter and Radelet. Partisan politics plays a key role in police corruption, police inefficiency, and the use of police as pawns to supplant community interests for those of politicians. The political reins on police departments prevent them from effectively performing the critical functions that

the citizenry expects of them. The issue acquires a new dimension in the area of public order maintenance, as the heart of public order policing is control of crowds. Crowds usually gather with issues and demands that may concern a collective interest. This is fertile ground for the politician. He or she would in such circumstances be more disposed towards playing up the issue than see the fall out of the situation as a public disorder. Thus, riots have been known and documented, to have been openly instigated by politicians. However, the more mundane examples of even seasoned politicians deliberately holding meetings and demonstrations on busy roads and paralysing essential services, serves to put the matter in perspective.

The Police Reforms Commission set up by Government of India concluded that *politics, in its pernicious connotation, should be absent from policing*. Research since the Commission found that numerous citizens believed that police, in many cases, were nothing more than adjuncts to political machines, and that police reform should not only aim at improving policing qualitatively, but also should start by attacking the very processes that characterised these political machines. Citizens are also of the opinion that minor and major law and order situations are actually engineered often by politicians without thought to public welfare and that the police does precious little about it. The raging question seems to be that if both the police and the politicians are public servants working declaredly for the greater good of the public how long will they keep working at cross-purposes? Or can there be feasible areas of agreement, a code of interaction, so to say, that is transparent and self evident to the ultimate consumer i.e., the public?

The National Police Commission analysed this relationship and came to the conclusion that *what should have been a symbiotic relationship between the politicians on the one hand and the policeman as a civil servant on the other has made way for vested interests on either side*. The National Police Commission observes "*what started as a normal interaction between the politicians and the services for the avowed objective of better administration with better awareness of public feelings and expectations, soon degenerated into different forms of intercession, intervention and interference with mala fide objectives unconnected with public interest.*"

In India the traditional interface between the political leadership and the police has been characterized by a colonial disposition. The very first Police Commission in 1860 talked about "organized police" (that can) ... be politically useful". Consequently what we had as a legacy was "*ruler appointed police*" devoted to the support of the ruling government and all its actions. This was against the ideal of a "people's police". Even after independence such an ideal was far from reality. The very fact that in 1977, i.e., 30 years after independence it was felt proper to appoint a National Police Commission (NPC) to recast and restructure an apparently obsolete police system which had not been able to win the affections of the Indian citizenry and was still steeped in the legacy of a colonial police force is ample testimony of the fact that the police force of modern India was unable to act as a self driven entity dedicated to the well being of the people. The single important factor that emerged was the constant possibility of undue political interference that was playing havoc with the command and control structure and consequently the discipline and morale of the police force.

It has been 25 years since the Police Commission submitted its recommendations. Since then, lot of ideas has been in circulation in favour of the implementation of the recommendations of the NPC. Indeed, a writ petition is still pending with the Honorable Supreme Court of India regarding the implementation. In the interregnum there has been such significant developments as a D.O. letter issued by an Union Home Minister addressed to the Chief Ministers, Lt. Governors and Administrators of Union Territories requesting for the prompt implementation of the NPC recommendations. Similarly, the Vohra Committee Report, which looked into the reported nexus between politicians, criminals and bureaucrats also cast broad hints with respect to the unholy alliance of police leadership and politicians. Despite all this as on date there seems to be hardly any sincere effort from the side of the policy makers to look into the issue of a functionally positive police-politician interface.

The gulf separating the politician and the police from the general public is not a new development. In ancient India, Kautilya's Arthashastra talked about police officials

as *agents* of the ruler. In the medieval period also, the primary role of the police was to support the ruler under all circumstances. In effect, this translated into an almost total lack of commitment towards public welfare. When the British colonized India, they did not really invest in bringing in any qualitative change to this model of '*ruler supportive police*' force. It may be argued that by promulgating the Indian Police act in 1861 and by enacting the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code as well as the Indian Evidence Act, the British may have given a semblance of objectivity to the police procedures. However, procedures do not by themselves ensure accountability. *The legacy of total accountability to the ruler and almost no accountability to the public seemed to continue well into the life of modern India.* On the contrary, it is very interesting to note that the colonizing power, i.e. the British Government itself has reorganized its police and reformed the Acts governing its own police, several times over in this intervening period (the latest being the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001)

Between 1947 and the present, the alarming aspect of police work has been the steep decline of credibility of police in the minds of the public. The efficiency of the police as an organization, the integrity of the policemen and their impartiality has come under a cloud. To add to this the policemen now are a maligned lot for their pronounced bias in favour of the ruling party. This was pointed out very clearly in Shri Dharam Veera's report. In April 1997 the Nehru Centre, Mumbai organized a seminar on **National Police Commission: Its Relevance Today**. From the published transcript one finds that most of the speakers have dwelt with at length on the thorough politicization of the police force as one of the prime causes behind the ineffectivity and bad image of the police. In the background paper certain valuable insights have been brought out in relief. The following is a self-contained extract that throws light on the police-politician interface as it exists today:

The Police Commission of 1860 had observed that, "Organised Police, as proposed by them, will be politically useful." Thus, a "ruler appointed Police" and not a "people's Police" was set up in India.

On August 15, 1947 the concept of a "ruler appointed Police" ought to have been changed to "people's Police." Unfortunately that did not happen immediately thereafter.

The National Police Commission, 1977 (NPC for short) through its recommendations took a major step to recast the obsolete Police system. The recommendations are not surmises or conjectures but are scientific findings after extensive research at the cutting edge levels by noted experts in various disciplines. It contained a number of extremely pertinent and pragmatic suggestions to improve the quality of policing.

The crux of efficient policing is effective and amiable street presence of a well-qualified, trained and motivated constable. Appalled by the State of neglect and conditions of service, the NPC focused its priority attention on the constabulary – 85% constituent of the Police force which interacts with citizens – and lamented that they are not even treated as skilled workers.

Professor David H. Bayley, in the late sixties, had observed:

"In India today a dual system of criminal justice has grown up – the one of law, the other of politics. With respect at least to the police, decisions made by the police officials about the application of law are frequently subject to partisan review or direction by elected representatives. This autonomy of police officials in specific and routine applications of law has been severely curtailed. This is not only true of law and order situations. People accused of crimes have grown into the habit of appealing to political figures for remission from the sanctions of law. Police Officers throughout India have grown accustomed to calculating the likely political effect of any enforcement action they contemplate. Fearing for their careers and especially their postings, they have become anxious and cynical.. But everywhere officers expect to be held personally accountable by politicians even more than by superior officers for enforcement actions taken in the course of duty".

He has further observed:

"Altogether, then, the rule of law in modern India, the frame upon which justice hangs, has been undermined by the rule of politics. Supervision in the name of democracy has eroded the foundations upon which impartiality depends in a criminal justice system.

Predictably, some of the basic recommendations have not been implemented. The insulation of the police from the ruling political power was not acceptable. The key appointments, made on merit, by a high powered State Security Commission, too did not find favour.

The Police Organisation is subject to the superintendence of the State Government. It is explicitly mentioned therein that "the investigative tasks of the police are beyond any kind of intervention by the executive or non executive." Therefore, so far as the police activities pertaining to investigation of offences are concerned, they have professional independence whereby they are to be entirely governed by the provisions of law. No authority except the supervisory ranks of the police themselves are authorized to issue an executive order to the police official to investigate or not to investigate a criminal offence, arrest or not to arrest an alleged offender or decide a case under investigation in a particular way. Any executive instructions issued in this regard would be contrary to the law. With regard to preventive tasks and service oriented functions, it said that "in the performance of preventive tasks and service-oriented functions, the police should be subject to overall guidance from the Government which should lay down broad policies for adoption in different situations from time to time. There should, however, be no instructions in regard to actual operations in the field. The discretion of the police officer to deal with the situation within the four corners of the overall guidance and broad policies should be unfettered."

As regards insulation of investigations wing of the police from extraneous pressures, attention is invited to the position as prevailing in the UK, English common law has developed a doctrine which is generally referred to as 'constabulary independence.'

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Lord Denning in the R.V. Metropolitan Police Commission Vs P. Blackburn – 1968 & QB 136 has observed:

" Like every constable in the land... is not a servant of anyone, save of the law itself. No Minister of the crown can tell him that he must, or must not, keep observation of this place or that, or that he must, or must not, prosecute this man or that one. Nor can any police authority tell him so. The responsibility for law enforcement lies on him. He is answerable to the law alone".

Again, the Royal Commission of Criminal Procedures under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Philips, in its report on the "Investigation and Prosecutions of Criminal Offence in England and Wales: the law and procedure" (1981) stated –

"This operational independence of Chief Officers from Central Government and local police authorities was preserved by the Police Act, 1964. The Secretary of State and his advisers, in particular, H. M. Inspectorate of Constabulary, and the local authority elected members and Magistrates represented on the police authorities exercise responsibilities for the maintenance of efficient police force and influence the general manner in which they operate. But their role stops short of any responsibility for enforcing the law or individual cases".

It is ironical that whereas the Supreme Court of India took cognizance of some of the recommendations of the NPC – as for instance in procedure relating to arrest – but the executive wing of the State is yet to adopt the same in its working manuals that are mandatory for the policemen to follow.

Extracted from: Monograph on "Seminar on National Police Commission: Its Relevance Today, April 1997, The Nehru Centre, Mumbai.

From the above extract it is amply evident that at no point of time either in letter or in spirit was the police expected by the policy makers to be an autonomous entity. To quote Prof. David H. Bayley in the book "Police and Political Development in India", "altogether rule of law in modern India, the frame upon which justice hangs, has been undermined by the rule of politics. Supervision in the name of democracy has eroded the foundations upon which impartiality depends in the criminal justice system."

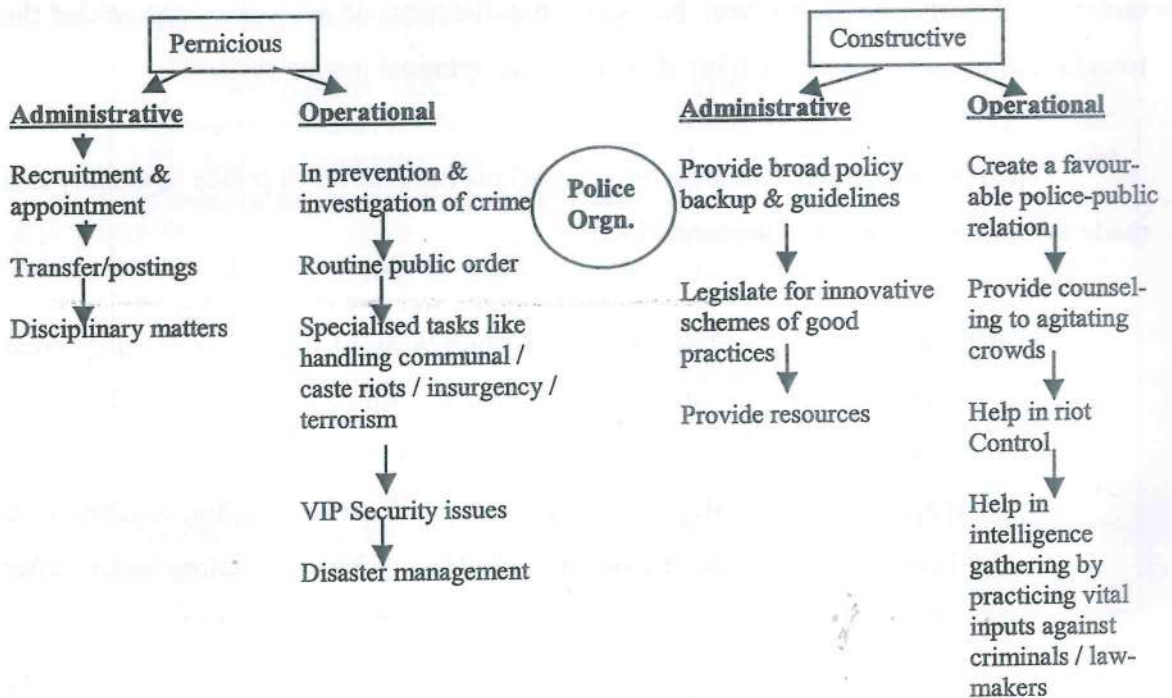
The National Police Commission realized the importance of police autonomy and made the following basic recommendations:

- (a) It is necessary to insulate the investigation wing of the police from external pressures to ensure its freedom in the operational areas of police investigations.
- (b) To remove the proverbial Damocles' Sword of transfer dangling constantly on the head of the chief of the police and assuring him a statutory tenure after proper and careful selection.

- (c) Constitution of State Security Commission to help the State Government to effectively discharge its superintending responsibility under the framework of law.

The nature of the influence of politicians or politics on the Indian policing cannot be enumerated in discreet categories. *Political influence is wielded in almost all the aspects of police functioning.* Examples of political interference in investigation process including registering of cases, arrest of accused etc.; in routine administrative and disciplinary matters like transfer postings, rewards and punishments and departmental proceedings; maintenance of public order functions including crowd control, riot control, anti-insurgency and anti-terrorist operations etc. – all these are common occurrences in the interface between politicians and police officers. This interface can also be seen in the positive sense whereby politicians as policy makers help in providing necessary resources to the police; draft and notify general policy guidelines regarding crime control; help in mobilizing public opinion for certain administrative measures; help the police in handling public order situations by interfacing with the public at their own level. All these aspects can be diagrammatically represented in the following manner:

POLITICAL INFLUENCE



Stalwarts of the Indian Police Service as well as officers who have done extensive research on the various aspects of policing in India have consistently observed that policing have nothing to do with politics at least as far as its legally prescribed duties are concerned. Shri S.K. Ghosh, a reknowned police officer and one of the most prolific writers in the Indian Police Service has written the following scathing critic of the role the modern day policemen is expected to perform in today's political milieu:

“What have the police to do with politics? The answer is “Nothing whatsoever.” The three sacred books of the Police are the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code and Police Act. Besides these books, there are various other statutes which stipulate the powers and duties of the police. The laws in the country give ample powers to every police functionary to deal with lawlessness and crime with an iron hand but this hand does not move until it gets orders. There are hundreds of examples to show that the laws have become irrelevant since the police have to act on political guidance. The classic example in the anti-Sikh riots in the country's capital in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination in October 1984. In almost all communal riots the police remain inactive because our rulers sought political advantage out of these riots. Even a super-efficient police force cannot deliver the goods; the inaction is attributable to politics.

Unfortunately, in our democracy, the police instead of remaining a neutral force have been used by political parties as their extended party cadres. With the jam packing of political cadres into the police force the elections are now being fought jointly by politicians, gangsters and police.” Shri S.K. Ghosh, “Keeping The Peace for Whom The Bell Tolls, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1989.

The above analysis underlines the very important need for the police officer to conduct himself in an exemplary way. One of the earliest advocacies of a police officer's code of conduct is the code of conduct that was enunciated by whom is credited with the creation of modern police that is the erstwhile prime minister of England Mr. Robert Peel. He laid down certain guidelines for the conduct of police officer.

Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to the repression of crime and disorder by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions, behavior, and the ability of the police to secure and maintain public respect.
3. The police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain public respect.
4. The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity for the use of physical force and compulsion in achieving police objectives.
5. The police seek and preserve public favor, not by catering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to the law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws; by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the society without regard to their race or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humor; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
6. The police should use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient to achieve police objectives; and police should use only the minimum degree of physical force that is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

7. The police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public; are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties that are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of the community welfare.

8. The police should always direct their actions toward their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary by avenging individuals or the state, or authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.

9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

(Lee, History of Police in England, Chap.12)

Shri S.K. Ghosh has lamented that the principles as enunciated above seem to have become obsolete items in the context of the current level of politicization in Indian Police. In a scathing attack which seems to be blaming both the police and the politicians Shri Ghosh believes that the politics of choice transfers and postings seems to have become a handy weapon for the politicians to make police officers do their bidding. Shri Ghosh writes "in a search for 'convenient' policemen merry-go-round transfers and postings take place where there is a change of government or even in the change of chief ministers under the same party government. In the beginning officers holding key posts such as the Chief Secretary and Inspector General of Police (today Director General of Police) had to go on principle; the principle being that since they served the previous government loyally they could not be trusted to be loyal to the new government. Now even a constable is identified for a change."

1.2 Literature Survey

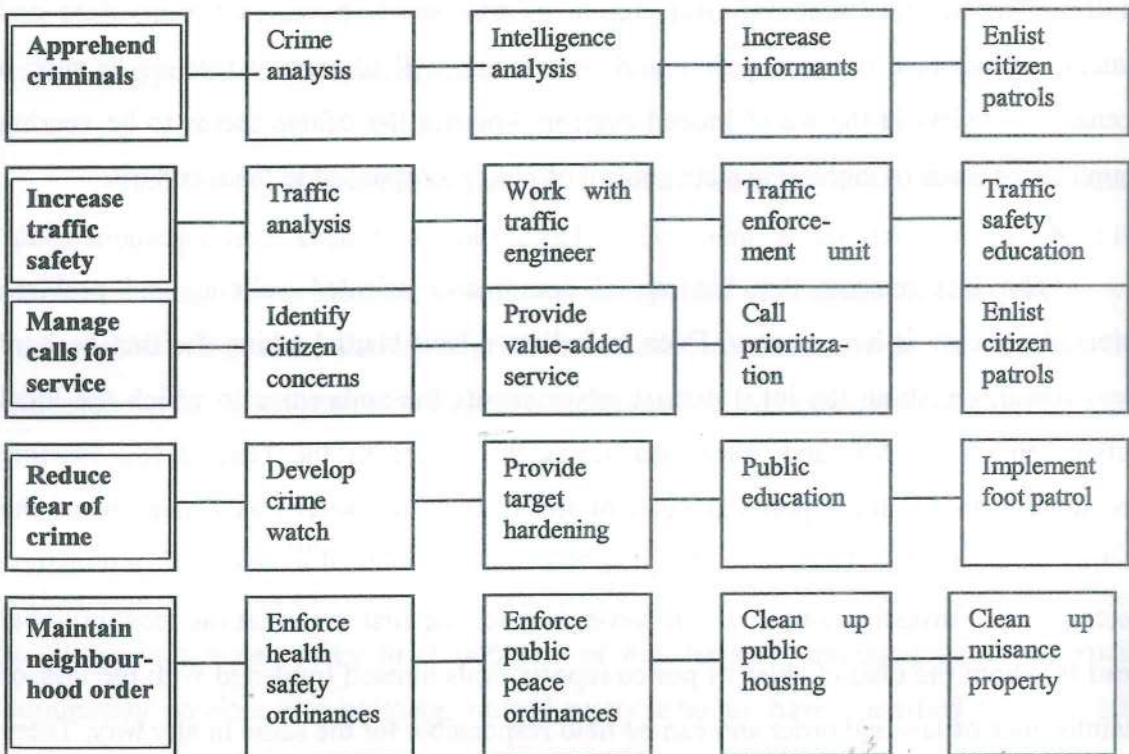
Sl. No.	Author		
1.	S.M. Diaz, 1993	Cause of decline in professionalism	Political influence and influence of social power and money power
2.	Ghosh, 1991	Reason for decline in number of professional and good officers	Putting homage to power hungry politicians for their future prospects
3.	N.R.Madhav Menon, 1991	Steps to improve professionalism and efficiency through providing autonomy in decision making and operational system	Political parties and politicians should adopt through persuasion or by statutory direction of certain code of conduct when they deal with policemen. Any politician who violates such a code of conduct may be proceeded against as per law
4.	Justice O. Chinnappa Reddy, 1993	Efforts to increase sense of involvement and commitment in police officers towards professional objectives	By making politico-bureaucratic nexus and by controlling politicians and political interference in police work
5.	David Bailey, 1994	On maintaining balance between the need to ensure the efficiency and impartiality of the police organizations and ensure responsibility and accountability to elected representatives	The political control of police in a democracy becomes the ultimate because police organizations are ultimately responsible to the parliament and state assemblies through the Home Minister who is responsible for law and order. "political control in police working in India" – Kerala Police Reorganizing Committee.
6.	David L. Carter & Louis A. Radelet	Policing and political development	<p>Policing and other criminal justice processes in a democratic society are public, political functions. These processes span the three divisions of government. Legislative bodies create law. The executive branch, with the police as its major instrumentality, is responsible for the enforcement of law. The judiciary, including the prosecutorial function, interprets the law, passes judgment on violators, and sentences those convicted or correctional treatment of some kind.</p> <p>All this is subject to civilian oversight, with the community ultimately responsible for all the processes dealing with crime and criminals. Thus, what happens is public, and inevitably political. It has to do with the use of authority and power.</p> <p>What the police are, what they do, and what is expected of them, how well or how poorly they fulfill these expectations, what can be done to improve police services – these are, in considerable measure, political questions. They are also in some sense sociological, social psychological, and</p>

			<p>economic questions, depending on the eye of the beholder. Historically, however, policing has tended to be viewed primarily as a political institution, inextricably tied to the function of governing through the executive responsibility for enforcement of laws enacted by legislatures and interpreted by courts. Given this orientation, it is surprising that police and community relations programs have devoted so little specific attention to the political aspects of police work.</p> <p>So policing is inevitably political. To call for "taking the police out of politics" is absurd. But "politics" has a taint to it, in public opinion. It has come to be regarded as "dirty," "contaminated," "corrupt," "unethical," "dishonest." When the Wickersham Commission in 1931 proposed taking the police out of politics, it meant politics in this jaded meaning. The commission recommended "professionalizing" the police, as an antidote for the despicable "disease" of politics. Forthwith, discussions of professional policing have made it appear that professionalization and depoliticalization to hand in hand. There is some nonsense in this, and i.e., has caused widespread public confusion.</p>
7.	Wilson	Police and the political environment, 1968	<p>Police work is carried out under the influence of a political culture, though not necessarily in day to day political direction.they respect to police work – or at least its functions – the prevailing political culture creates a zone within which the police are free to act as they see fit.</p> <p>"The most important way in which political culture affects police behaviour is through the choice of police administrator and the moulding of the expectations that govern the rule."</p>
8.	Elmer H. Johnson, 1969	Police and the Community	<p>As a public administrator the police executive must be skilful in maintaining relationships within the community power structure whereby the resource needs of the agency are made known to the decision makers, resource allocation obtained, and police problems communicated in a high conducive to obtaining community support. In terms of this response version of political skill, a limitation of law enforcement to "real" crime will have little effect but reducing the difficulties encountered by the executive.</p>

9.	Alfred R. Stone, Stewart M. De-Luca, 1994	Police and Government	<p>Removing the police from the political system is impossible. What is possible and necessary is to ensure that the political system does not influence the police in ways that are contrary to the interests of the public. No sensible person wants to go back to the mind of political dimension of the police that exist a 100 years ago and that still lingers in a few places to this day.</p> <p>A police administrator's first duty is loyalty towards to the public and not to the politicians. The administration must gain and keep the confidence of the public. Politicians, no matter what their ideology, are less likely to attack an agency that enjoys a general and deserved reputation for efficiency, effectiveness and fairness.</p>
10.	Atlantic Journal, 1969		<p>There has....been a traditional political resistance to educating the police. The root of this resistance lies deeply embedded in what seems to me to be a prevailing, but rarely stated, political attitude that if the police are encouraged to become professional, and thus are made more effective, they will become a much less controllable arm of the executive branch of government and hence less amenable to the interests of political influence that almost always lead to partial rather than impartial enforcement of the law.</p>
11.	John E. Angell	Toward an Alternative to the Classical Police Organisational Arrangements: A Democratic Model	<p>Classical theory also supports police reformers who insist that police departments be isolated from politics. As police departments become more refined and move nearer their goal, they move further away from another basic goal of democracy – guaranteeing every citizen access to and influence with governmental agencies. Under a highly developed police bureaucracy, nearly all citizens view their police department as essentially beyond their understanding and control. Where the police department is a highly developed, traditional bureaucracy, its structure and its philosophical underpinnings will eventually cause the organization to become socially irrelevant and ineffective. This situation, in turn, will have to profoundly damaging effect upon police and community relations.</p>
12.	David L. Carter & Louis A. Radelet, 1999	Crime and police	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The tendency is to react emotionally rather than act rationally toward a new issue or controversy 2. Superficial suppositions about ideas, programs, and initiatives will have a greater influence than

			<p>in-depth substantive knowledge.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. When it takes too long to explain an idea and if it requires thought to understand it, then the battle for acceptance will be difficult. 4. A conceptual initiative needs to hook or gimmick that can be easily identified with in order to get a political foothold. 5. Timing is everything, to gain maximum political support a new initiative must be proposed at the time it appears to respond to a current, emotional, high-profile public need. 6. The probability for greater political support will increase if credit is given where it is not due. 7. If some measures of activity or success cannot be visibly shown in the short term, political support for the initiative will be limited. 8. There is a direct relationship between fickleness of the public and political maneuvering; as the public changes its mind, political support for an initiative will change at lightning speed.
13.	David L. Carter & Louis A. Radelet, 1999	Broadening of police mandate may lead to political conflict	See table below **

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1.3 Police Accountability

Accountability of the police other institutions conforms to the notion of a system of checks and balances. There are, however, some questions about the actual means by which this accountability does occur and the degree to which it exists. It has been suggested that the degree of control over the police by political authority varies with the level of government at which the police functions take place. In a democracy like India, the local self-government has yet to establish itself as a highly functional unit of administration. In the US for example, although cities and counties are legally creatures of the states under state constitutions, the states have traditionally divested themselves of much of their control over these jurisdictions and have allowed local governments to operate with considerable independence. Thus we have examples of cities being headed by a mayor who is the appointing authority of the police chiefs and senior police officers. Now it is important to realize that the mayor is a political entity and that this interface between the police and politician is one of constructive coexistence. Now the question is in India, where the Panchayati Raj Act in its true spirit envisages a very close and functional interface between police and politicians, will ultimately lead us to such a scenario as exists in the west? Indeed even in America the debate seems to be veering round to the issue of increasing state control of police as opposed to local control.

The fact remains that the era of community oriented policing and problem oriented policing is here to stay. Even in India we have started taking the first hesitant steps towards making the local district governments the authorities to which the local police reports. In MP and Karnataka states the police in the District has become accountable to the local political head of the district that serves as Chairman of the district authority. This has invariably given rise to lot of political interference in transfers, postings, case investigations et al. However it is for the first time that the local political head to whom the district chief of police reports finds himself burdened with the task of maintenance of law and order and can be held responsible for the same in any way. There seems little doubt that worldwide in all democracies this is the precursor to bringing in the community as stakeholders in policing themselves. The progression looks like this:

State control of policing



*Local government control or municipalisation of policing
(Community empowered political interface)*



Community Involvement in Policing

“The movement toward community policing places a renewed emphasis on police accountability. Under community policing, outside review and citizen involvement in the day-to-day operations of the police department are highlighted. The police are accountable to the community they serve. To this end, several types of review or oversight vehicles have been implemented in cities across the nation. These include citizen complaint desks, neighbourhood substations staffed by volunteers, police-community relations committees, and outside review commissions. The transition to more citizen and community involvement has not been an easy one, often fraught with conflicting political agendas and open confrontation.

From the outset most Americans had a firm belief that local officials organized along municipal lines should control the police. For them, a national police, such as the Italian *carabinieri*, was inconceivable, and a state police, such as the German *polizei*, was undesirable. However, the history of state and local relations in the area of law enforcement has often been a rocky and tumultuous one.” (Herman Goldstein, *Policing a Free Society* p.136)

There is little doubt now that with increased flow of information and an increased articulation of the right to know all that affects their well-being communities are wanting to, in various ways, privy to if not part of the decision making process in crucial community services like policing. Indeed many scholars have classified the post 80's

period as the community-policing era in policing. The resultant making out of the timeline on various policing eras so far is insightful as it is informative.

COMPARISON OF POLICING MODELS

	Pre 80's	Post 80's	
Methods & Philosophies	Traditional	Problem-oriented	Community-oriented
Command structure	Bureaucratic	Formal, but less rigid	Localized
Discipline	Punitive	Punitive and corrective	Punitive and corrective
Decision making	Top down	Top-bottom interactive	Bottom-up
Agency emphasis	Law enforcement	Social problems	Community interaction
Tactics	Purely reactive	Proactive and reactive	Proactive and reactive
Training	Emphasis on criminal law, self-defence, and weapons	Traditional emphasis with focus on social problem identification and communication skills	Heavy emphasis on communication skills and human diversity. Less concerned with traditional training focus
Staffing	Military model; physical attributes over intellectual skills	More emphasis on education and training skills	High emphasis on education and training. Least emphasis on physical skills
Evaluation	Quantitative: heavy emphasis on productivity (focus on process)	Mixed: quantitative and qualitative. Focus on both process and outcomes	Quantitative: Emphasis on results. Less focus on process
Rulification	Heavy emphasis: vast array of intricate rules, policies, and procedures	Policies are more general. Retains substantial body of rules and procedures	Broad policy guidelines. Least restrictive rules and procedures
Media relations	Confrontational: heavy emphasis	Consultative: works with media	Open: views media as part of

	on secrecy and control of information	to identify problems and solutions	community team
Politics	Non-political: isolated from governmental	Apolitical: works closely with government leaders to identify problems and solutions	Political at grassroots level. Involves all members of democracy with community leaders at all levels

(Modern Police Management, Richard N.Holden, 1994)

The above table is not representative of the developments in police accountability structures in India yet. However the fact remains that the track towards the future is clear for the Indian police too. It is towards greater municipalisation in structure and greater community involvement in its day-to-day function. It is logical then that there will have to be a greater integration of local political leaders in their capacity as community leaders in the oversight of police work. On the other hand a body of persons who may not be political workers will also represent the local citizens but professionals like doctors, teachers, blue-collar workers, managers etc. When is this going to happen? That may be a difficult one to predict but the first steps in this direction may have been taken with the increasing role of panchayat raj and other local government institutions in police related decisions.

Chapter – II

Research Design of the Study

The Bureau of Police Research & Development commissioned this study titled “CREATING A FUNCTIONAL POSITIVE POLICE-POLITICIAN INTERFACE FOR PUBLIC ORDER MAINTENANCE – A RESEARCH STUDY.” The relationship between the police leadership and the politicians has always been seen as a dysfunctional interaction. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the interface between politicians and police has traditionally been perceived by the public as one of confrontation or collusion. In both the cases it has been seen to be detrimental to the welfare of the public. It is pertinent to mention here that politicians in power and those who are elected are also said to be public servants just as police officers are.

2.2 Statement of subject

The project worded as

***“CREATING A FUNCTIONAL POSITIVE POLICE-POLITICIAN
INTERFACE FOR PUBLIC ORDER MAINTENANCE – A RESEARCH
STUDY”***

2.3 Objectives of study

The study aims to achieve the following:

1. To ascertain the role perception of police and politicians about themselves and each other.
2. To define a proactive and functional positive interface of police and politicians.
3. To analyse the interface as it has developed historically till the present times.
4. To identify areas where proactive and functional positive interface can take place.

5. To prescribe practicable role reorientation required by police or politicians while interacting with each other.
6. To attempt an outline for a code of conduct for police and politicians in the interest of better policing.

2.4 Sample

Category-wise sample is as follows:

Police	-	200 respondents
Politicians	-	100 respondents
Citizens	-	300 respondents (Citizens from all socio-economic strata, NGOs, Professors, Journalists etc.)

2.5 Techniques of data gathering

1. Review and analysis of literature – Newspapers, reports books, articles, Internet etc.
2. Opinionaire
3. Questionnaires
4. Personal interviews

2.6 Attitudes of police towards politicians and politicians towards police

The main purpose of construction of this questionnaire was to assess the attitudes of police towards politicians.

SELECTING THE LIKERT METHOD

The investigator selected the Likert method to construct the attitude of police towards politicians due to undermentioned reasons:

- It has been claimed by Likert (1932) that the method of summated ratings in his survey of the attitudes of employed and unemployed men was adopted because of its relative simplicity. Rundquist and Slettor (1936) used this

method in developing the attitude scales contained in the Minnesota Survey of Opinions and they also expressed their belief that the method was less laborious than that developed by Thurstone.

- It is less time consuming also. Edwards and Kenny (1946) in their competitive study of the method of equal appearing intervals and the method of summated ratings, estimated that the time required to construct equal appearing interval scale was approximately twice that required by the method of summated ratings.
- Scales constructed by the Likert method yield higher reliability co-efficients with fewer items than scales constructed by the Thurstone method. This was the finding arrived at by Hall (1934) in his survey of the attitudes of employed and unemployed men.

The attitude statements were worded in accordance with the following suggestions made by Edwards and Kilpatrick (1946), Wang (1932), Thurstone and Chave (1929), Likert (1932).

1. Avoid statements that refer to the past rather than to the present.
2. Avoid statements that are factual or capable of being interpreted as factual.
3. Avoid statements that are irrelevant to the psychological.
4. Avoid statements that may be interpreted in more than one way.
5. Avoid statements that are likely to be endorsed by almost everyone or by almost no one.
6. Select statements that are believed to cover the entire range of the effective scale of interest.
7. Keep the language of statements simple, clear and direct.
8. Statements should be short, rarely exceeding 20 words.
9. Each statement should contain only one complete thought.

10. Statements containing universals such as "all, always, more and never" often introduce ambiguity and should be avoided.
11. Words such as "only, just, merely and others" of a similar nature should be used with in writing statements.
12. Whenever possible, statements should be in the form of simple sentence rather in the form of compound or complex sentences.
13. Avoid the use of words that may not be understood by those who are to be given the completed scale.
14. Avoid the use of double negatives.

An initial pool of 29 statements for police and 33 statements for politicians were prepared. The respondents were requested to rate each statement in five categories as mentioned below:

- SA - Strongly agree
- A - Agree
- N - Neutral
- D - Disagree
- SD - Strongly disagree

After collecting their opinions on every statement Content Validity Ratios (C.V.Rs) were collected by using the following formula (Lawshe, 1975)

$$CVR = \frac{ne - N/2}{N/2}$$

Where, ne=number of panelists indicating an item essential N=Number of panelists.

Considering statements, whose CVRs were more than or equal to 0.62, were selected because CVR (0.62) or more is significant at .05 level of significance for N=10.

In this way the content validity of statements was ascertained quantitatively by utilizing Lawshe's suggestions.

Following scoring procedure was adopted:

Strongly agree	=	5
Agree	=	4
Neutral	=	3
Disagree	=	2
Strongly disagree	=	1

For the items of negative polarity, the scoring system was reversed. For, finally selecting the items undermentioned procedure suggested by Edwards (1957) was adopted:

Step 1

The investigator considered the frequency distribution of scores based upon the responses to all statements. The 25 percent of the subjects (NH = 40) with the highest total scores and also 25 percent of the subjects (NL=40) with the lowest total scores were selected. These were termed as high and low groups.

Step 2

In evaluating the responses of the high and the low groups on each statement to values were computed.

The *t* values for 60 statements are given in the following Table.

Statement No.	X_E	X_L	t-value
1	3.775	3.3	2.617
2	3.50	2.825	3.147
3	3.5	2.8	2.97
4	3.775	3.05	3.354
5	3.525	2.35	4.081
6	3.15	1.8	4.58
7	3.575	2.45	3.96

8	3.65	3.325	1.558
9	3.50	2.425	3.87
10	3.72	2.735	3.97
11	3.775	3.3	2.617
12	3.50	2.825	3.147
13	3.5	2.8	2.97
14	3.775	3.05	3.354
15	3.525	2.35	4.081
16	3.15	1.8	4.58
17	3.575	2.45	3.96
18	3.65	3.325	1.558
19	3.50	2.425	3.87
20	3.72	2.735	3.97
21	3.775	3.3	2.617
22	3.50	2.825	3.147
23	3.5	2.8	2.97
24	3.775	3.05	3.354
25	3.525	2.35	4.081
26	3.15	1.8	4.58
27	3.575	2.45	3.96
28	3.65	3.325	1.558
29	3.50	2.425	3.87
30	3.72	2.735	3.97
31	3.775	3.3	2.617
32	3.50	2.825	3.147
33	3.5	2.8	2.97
34	3.775	3.05	3.354
35	3.525	2.35	4.081
36	3.15	1.8	4.58
37	3.575	2.45	3.96
38	3.65	3.325	1.558
39	3.50	2.425	3.87
40	3.72	2.735	3.97
41	3.775	3.3	2.617
42	3.50	2.825	3.147
43	3.5	2.8	2.97
44	3.775	3.05	3.354
45	3.525	2.35	4.081
46	3.15	1.8	4.58
47	3.575	2.45	3.96
48	3.65	3.325	1.558
49	3.50	2.425	3.87
50	3.72	2.735	3.97
51	3.775	3.3	2.617
52	3.50	2.825	3.147
53	3.5	2.8	2.97
54	3.775	3.05	3.354
55	3.525	2.35	4.081
56	3.15	1.8	4.58
57	3.575	2.45	3.96
58	3.65	3.325	1.558
59	3.50	2.425	3.87
60	3.72	2.735	3.97

The reliability of attitude of police towards police scale scores as calculated by split-half method was found to be 0.692.

The reliability of attitude of politicians towards police scale scores as calculated by split-half method was found to be 0.743.

Questionnaires and interviews on opinions of police officers towards politicians:

2.7 *Opinionaire of police officers:*

1. How do you react to the suggestion that in order improve the image of the police; it should be totally insulated from politicians? Whatever your answer you may kindly substantiate briefly.
2. There cannot be any proactive interface between police and politicians for the good of the society. They either confront each other or collude with each other to the detriment of social good. Your comments.
3. Politicisation of police cannot be avoided in a democracy. Comments.
4. Politicians are partly but in a significant way responsible for the bad image of the police.
5. If there were no political interference in investigation, police can become a very efficient organization.
6. Politicians need to be educated about the constraints of working under the law by none other than the police leadership. If yes how? If no, who should do it?
7. Politicians indulge in seeking unfair favours from the police leadership. Your views?

8. The growing politician of the subordinate ranks in the police is an indication of the abdication of professional leadership in police. Comments?

9. There is a need for greater police-politician interaction on a day-to-day basis to improve police functioning. Comments

10. Politicians and police can co-exist and collaborate, but perhaps their needs to be a code of conduct to ensure the fruitful and socially desirable collaboration. If yes, what would be the main/salient points of the code of conduct?

2.8 *Interviews of police officers:*

1) It is generally observed that political control over police is the root cause behind the failure of police in maintaining law & order in the society. Through several ostensible methods such as transfer, promotions, the politicians exert a lot of unseen pressure on police leadership wherein at least some of them fall prey to temporary and so called "career-needs". The resultant increase in politicization of the police force has led to a tarnished image of police leadership. At the same time it has affected the overall efficiency of the force. Your reaction.

1 It is found that when a few dynamic police leader try to inject new ideas and innovations into policing and try to break out of the systemic inertia and rigidity there are two forces which try to impede their work:

(a) The rigidity within the police

(b) Political interference

Which does more damage? Are both equally responsible for keeping the police system away from real change? Your reactions?

3. Police organization and police officers are derivatives of the society, as it exists from time to time. No police organization can be divorced from the realities of the social

system. The prevailing values in the society will be reflected in the police system and the attitudes of the police officers. The process of socialization and acculturation is bound to affect the mindsets of the police leadership. The negative aspects of civil society that reflect morbid loyalties like caste, community, language, religion, regionalism, etc. is bound to reflect in the thinking of police leadership and may affect professional decisions. What is the way out ?

2 The Indian police has been strapped with a colonial disposition and still behaves like a colonial force. It is still not considered as a citizen's force. This is something to do with the mistrust or breach of trust between the civil society and the police. It has been more so during the last 50 years of independence. Perhaps one of the major reasons for this is policing has not been seen as a development, the police could have integrated with the civil society through community service and various developmental activities. This could pose a threat to the political establishment since they operate through unlawful means. Political establishment has a vested interest in keeping police alienated from the civil society. *Your comments.*

- (a) Do you support the police participation in development works for the benefits of community and positive image of the police?
- (b) The more the police interact with public through various community development programmes, the less will be its neutrality. Won't this affect/harm the law and order situation in a community?

3 The National police Commission recommendations were put up as early as 1977. It has some basic prescriptions like fixity of tenure for officers, the state security council, non-interference of politicians in day-to-day policing etc. these have not been implemented. Is it because of the disinterestedness of the police leadership or is it because of deliberate political neglect.

- (a) Don't you think the responsibility of police leadership to explore every possibility to generate pressure on political leadership to initiate the reform measures for making police run efficiently without any political interference?

6. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. *Give your opinion on the above.*

(a) There is no dearth of laws in our constitution yet most of these laws are misused by the vested groups, they could be police or politicians we would add another law to the list of thousand dead laws. The vital question is whether it can be implemented? Is it a plausible answer to all the ills in police-politicians relationship? How to make the proposed code of conduct work? Suggestions.

7. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as the citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. Give your opinions on the above.

In case you approve the code of conduct:

(a) What are the various premises/provisions according to your judgment be there in the proposal code of conduct?

(b) How to make the proposed code of conduct work? Suggestions if any.

2.9 Interview of politicians

1. Police organization and police officers are derivatives of the civil society as it exists from time to time. No police organization can be divorced from the realities of the social system. The prevailing values in the society will be reflected in the police system and the attitudes of the police officers. The process of socialization and acculturation is bound to affect the mindsets of the police leadership. The negative aspects of civil society that reflect morbid loyalties like caste, community, language, religion, regionalism etc. is bound to reflect in the thinking of police leadership and may affect their professional decisions. Besides the politicians who happen to be people's representatives and the custodians of civil society have their share of responsibility. In fact, the political class is majorly responsible in politicizing the police force for its narrow political ends and this has demoralizing effect on police behaviour and as a consequence has affected the overall law and order situation in the society. How would you react?

2. It is found that when a few dynamic police leaders try to inject new ideas and innovations into policing and try to break out of the systemic inertia and rigidity there are two forces which try to impede their work:

(a) There seems to be a police subculture of highlighting bad examples and not encouraging good precedents. The leadership at the highest level is sometimes averse to change and departures from the beaten path. Initiatives in new directions of policing have been rarely taken at the highest level of leadership. How do you react ?

(b) Political interference: Politicians control the police organization by several procedural methods such as transfer, promotion, plum postings, recommendations for medals/honours etc. This political discretion of politicians keep the police leadership constantly on their toes and dependant. Surely , this affects their performance and neutrality. Should politicians forfeit these rights so that police function independently ?

3. The Indian police has been strapped with a colonial disposition and still behaves like a colonial force. It is still not considered as a citizen's force. This is something to do with the mistrust or breach of trust between the civil society and the police organization.

It has been more so during the last 50 years of independence. Perhaps one of the major reasons for this is policing has not been seen as a developmental input. Even today policing is placed under non-plan budget. But for the political establishment, the police organization could have integrated with the civil society through community service and various developmental activities. This could pose a threat to the political establishment since they operate through unlawful means. Political establishment has a vested interest in keeping police alienated from the civil society. Your comments.

a) Police participation in works of development for the benefit of the community can give a positive image to the police organization. However, it may affect its neutrality as well as law and order situation may be not attended to in a wholesome manner. Your comments.

4. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as the citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. Give your opinions on the above.

4 What are various premises/provisions of the proposed code of conduct according to your judgment? Please write down if any

(b) Any suggestion` How to make this code of conduct work

2.10 Procedural steps

Step by step procedure adopted for the completion of the study is as follows:

1. Survey of relevant literature including printed matter.
2. Construction of questionnaire, attitude scale and interview schedule on the basis of opinionaire
3. Selection of sample
4. Collection of data from questionnaires, interview schedule and attitude scale
5. Tabulation of data
6. Analysis and interpretation of data
7. Preparation of report

2.11 Delimitation of the study

The study concentrated on the analysis of interactions between police and politicians by eliciting views of police officers and politicians regarding their mutual role perception vis-à-vis the requirements of a democratic society.

With this in view the study was primarily diagnostic in nature without attempting to have an unwieldy sample. Accordingly, the views and feedback of politicians and police personnel were garnered from all levels identified representative samples. Because of perceptual nature of the issue and the very broad scope of the subject no particular tests were developed to measure the degree of success or failure in the police politician interface. It was hypothesized that the functionality of an interface between police and the politicians is best exemplified by the general public order situation in any place.

In the questionnaire or opinionaire formed it was decided to conduct face to face interviews which were recorded. They were also generally unwilling to subject themselves to an attitude scale survey.

2.12 Definition of important terms-

1. Interface
2. Functional
3. Positive
4. Police leaders
5. Proactive policing
6. Professionalism
7. Problem oriented policing
8. Community policing
9. Code of conduct

2.13 Statistical applications

The following statistical term was applied for analyzing the data for arriving conclusions.

1. Content analysis of qualitative data
2. X^2 tests for comparison

Chapter III

POLICE OFFICERS AND POLITICIANS: MUTUAL ROLE PERCEPTIONS OF RESPONSES

3.1 Response Profiles on the Interface (selected representative samples)

Opinions of police officers

1. How do you react to the suggestion that in order improve the image of the police; it should be totally insulated from politicians? Whatever your answer you may kindly substantiate briefly.
 1. It is impossible but yes, *transfers, postings* should be absolutely an internal matter of the police. Policing should be done in a neutral way, especially in election etc.
 2. As far the image of the police is concerned, we in the police are more responsible than the politicians. So, the insulation from politicians cannot solve the problem. To improve the image of the police, we will have to do lots of efforts within the police dept. itself. For example- pro poor response, quick response, proper regard to human rights etc.
 3. I don't agree at all with this suggestion. *Politicians being the people's representative should have a role to play but of course in a constructive manner. After all we are a democracy.*
 4. Yes. The police should be insulated from politicians for better functioning specially in the present content. Today, there is talk of police-politician-criminal & nexus everywhere. Politicians interfere in police work and are able to twist the arms of police by having influence and control over postings, transfers, promotions etc. *Police would work better and in a neutral manner if insulated from politicians.*
 5. Insulation of police from politicians is a major requirement in present context for effective policing. There is a police-politician-criminal nexus helping in perpetuation of

organized crimes. Politicians are able to twist the arms of police and interfere more in police work because some policemen seek short-term gains. *It is therefore important to break this nexus, which can be done by total insulation from politicians in police matters.* A neutral agency would definitely give better results.

6. *The police has to function in the socio-political setup. Hence it is impossible to insulate the police from politicians.*

7. *In a democracy police-public interface is necessary. Politicians are representations of public. So total insulation is not possible.*

8. No. Merely by insulating police from politicians the image of police will not improve. *Though the police work is interrupted by politicians in many ways, it is the police itself which is responsible for its downsized image. A good officer always gains respect from all including politicians.*

9. *In a democratic country total insulation of police from politician is neither at all possible nor is it desirable.* Because as Lord Acton's saying goes. 'All power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. Police may become tyrannically corrupt machinery. Therefore check and balances by people representatives are not uncalled for. But at the same time they shouldn't be given power of transfer and posting and sacking. This much insulation is a must.

10. Yes. I do agree with the suggestion because it is an "Indian truth" (not universal). But on the other hand it is sometimes seen that due to the political interference some cases are well handled and well taken care of. In police everybody is not a genuine, professional police officer. *There are the corrupt and dishonest police officers. These officers may have to be handled well by the genuine & honest politicians.*

11. *It is impractical to suggest that police should function in total isolation from the politicians.* However operational and administrative control mechanisms have to change and be such that politicians cannot abuse/misuse unlawful ends and narrow selfish

interests. The police working should be transparent and above board in the larger interests of society and at the same time insulated from the capacious dictates of politician.

12. In a democracy it is not possible for police to totally insulate politicians; if politicians are fair, impartial and just then their voice must be heard by the police. If they are biased by the political eye and unfair and partial in their approach to such strategy police image may be improved.

13. I don't agree. *Many times politicians give good information and also can help resolve the disputes, disperse crowds etc. Many times people approach politicians as the politicians have continuous and regular rapport with local people.* In 1999 parliament assembly bye-polls we have arrested one sitting MLA who was contesting as independent. That time about 500 people gathered and without using force with one word of the politician they all dispersed.

14. Yes, it should become an independent agency. They should not interfere in day-to-day administration.

15. The image of police doesn't have anything to do with insulating or otherwise with politicians because, police officers can be influenced by a politician only to the extent they want. As long as his own interests are involved, a policeman would entertain politician in his undue demands. Also what a police officer wants to avoid is posting at a bad place not having sufficient infrastructure. In order to avoid bad posting (undesirable posting) he cooperates politicians.

16. *Yes, it should be totally insulated from politician. It is possible only when police to be under judiciary.* Crime investigation/detection/Enquirer except escort etc., it should be totally separate from political executives and to be accountable for judiciary or non-political judiciary board for all purposes.

17. In order to improve the image of the police, it should not be totally insulated from politicians because it will not be in the interest of public and *it is not always the case that*

all politicians are bad for police and politician may be determinant for handling law & order and managing the tricky moments.

18. To improve the image of the police, politicians should not be kept completely aside but at least they should not put pressure wrongly. We have felt mostly that when they come in the contact they put pressure. *If we do not accede to undue requests they complain to the higher officials.*

19. Police officer should look at the work impartially for the good of the people. If there is political pressure, the officers should not be greedy about his post. He should not look towards transfer to a good place but concentrate on his work. *Whatever is correct should be done. No work should be done under politician's pressure.*

20. To improve the image of the police, it should be kept away from the politician? This is not completely true. It should be right to say that the politician should come to the police as a public representative. *They should have no pride and should not pressure the police but should work together for the good of the people.* Some politicians try to show the police down to build their image. So it is my suggestion that the police should be seen as public servant and politicians people-oriented.

Generally all the respondents agree that police cannot be insulated from politics totally. It is contended by most respondents that politicians are the representatives of the people and will always need to interact with the police leaders. Some respondents go to the extent of underlining that it is necessary for the politicians and police leaders to interact. However it has been made clear that the politicians should not interfere in day to day administration and matters of investigation and organizational discipline.

2 There cannot be any proactive interface between police and politicians for the good of the society. They either confront each other or collude with each other to the detriment of social good. Your comments.

1. I do not subscribe to this view. Certainly, there can be proactive interface between police and politicians for the good of the society, provided both follow the strict code of conduct and do act in the favour of people only. Problem arises whenever vested interest comes into picture. *Ultimately, both are legally bound to do good for the society and this can be done through proactive interface only.*

2. *It all depends on the personalities.* But by and large politicians and police collude with each other to the detriment of society. Cooperation is only rare.

3. There can be proactive interface between police & politicians. If the police officer is honest, efficient, there is always possibility of confrontation. However, if he is polite, cordial & not arrogant there is always possibility that he will have good relations with politicians for good things. *After all it depends on skill of the officer.*

4. The interface between police & politicians can be better one and proactive in real sense. It would not be correct to say that the politicians always have something wrong in their mind. *They are representatives of people and as such they are forced to act in favour of public at times. There are some good human beings in few politicians. There are a lot of instances where politicians have helped the police in solving crime or controlling L&O. The country is able to withstand the centrifugal forces of disintegration because there are some good persons on either side.*

5. There can be a proactive interface between police and politicians. At many occasions politicians have helped police in L&O situations. Proactive interface can be there if both the police officers and politician have intentions to work for public without any self interest. *However, such politicians & police officers are now a rare breed and hence the difficulty.* But still the country is able to face some big challenges because there are at least some persons both in police & politics who are made up of better stuff.

6. This is not true. The conflict is often about the goals. The politician's goals are basically in the interest of his political ambitions. Police goals are based upon the

prevailing conditions like priority for maintenance of L&O, policy of govt. in power etc. *However a symbiosis of these goals can be arrived at if both the police officers & politicians desire. This state is not difficult to arrive as there is no goal conflict.*

7. No. Usually politicians don't see police as their enemies and vice versa. Because there will be times where they desperately need each other's help. *Unless the politicians and police function together for public then nobody will succeed.* Now a days it was realised by both and they are trying to be as harmonious as possible.

8. *Not agreed. This does not happen always. Due to political pressure/political backing/political interference a dishonest/weak police officer may do such a thing, which is harmful for the society and may be protected by the politicians, evading any kind of punishment. But the same police officer may be punished for his wrong deeds due to the interference of the politicians when there is a change in the political situation. Sometimes, the senior police officers become frustrated when they feel that their juniors who have political connections do not follow their orders. On the other hand some honest police officers need to have a political connection (though unwillingly) to get rid of the biases of their senior police officer. Because without this he will be nowhere as long as this biased senior is in power.*

9. This may be the prevailing scene. But I am an optimist, and feel *we should strive to change the criminal justice system as well as law & order control mechanism for better and more efficient policing standards and effective security of the citizens of India.*

10. I do not agree. There is a need to react with politicians in proactive manner. He is the elected representative of the people. *As a peoples representative, he has the right to represent grievances of the people in his constituency. Police officers should listen to the grievance and initiate action as per law. All lawful requests of the politicians should be entertained and attended on top priorities.*

11. Police duty is that only to keep the society clean from criminal/anti-social elements.

12. Mostly police and politicians either collude or confront each other adversely affecting the good of the society. However, a proactive interface between them can always be there, *but this can happen only when a political will is created and police at senior level takes due initiative. In fact police should always try to educate the politicians about execution of law/security and its social requirement; limitation of police to help politicians in execution of law especially in investigation and deletion of cases should be clearly made.*

13. Police is bound by law and has to function as per rule of law. *But the politicians see everything from the angle of their benefit and whatever they do, it is for his good with future expectations.*

14. This is a sweeping generalisation of the politicians. *It is possible for professional & ethical police officers to have proactive interface with reasonable politicians for the good of the society. They should have respect for each to build up a collaborative environment.*

15. As indicated above, there can be positive interface between police and politicians. It all depends on motives of the politicians and situation developed at that point of crime.

16. This is not true. There can be proactive interface between police and politicians. Policemen can collaborate with politicians on positive issues but put their foot down on negative issues.

17. Politicians and professional police officers have different paths. Both of them have to serve the people in their way. Police officer can confront a politician if the politician interferes in his functioning and demands undue favours to the detriment of society. In that, politician will succeed in developing a professional police officer. If another police officer suits the conveniences of politician, they will definitely collude with each other again to the detriment of social good.

18. Police and politician should work together for the social good. *The main basis can be social welfare, not each other's welfare.*

19. Social benefit is the first work of police for this they have to take help of the politicians also which may be useful for social progress. *Many politicians raise their voice against police and may be right in doing so. We may introspect on this.*

20. At present politicians have their own axe to grind and try to get their own caste, community man posted. If it is not possible and some impartial and honest officer is posted, the politicians try to tarnish the image of such officers and get them transferred. *Under these circumstances the process of transfer should be transparent and there should be no interference of the politicians in this regard.*

The respondents broadly agree that there can be a proactive interface between police and politicians and that this can help in tackling law and order situations. However, it has been pointed out that in such an interaction the police officer should be professional and within the ambit of law and the politician should respect professionalism and be unbiased.

QNo.3: - Politicisation of police cannot be avoided in a democracy. Comments.

1. *Above mentioned statement is partially correct. In a democratic society, politicisation of police can be minimized to a great extent. This can be done through adopting various means of insulation. The police department can be placed under a neutral autonomous body responsible to the legislature only. The autonomous body may consist various experts & people of varied fields. Recruitment, promotion, posting, enquiry of complaints etc can be transferred to the body, so that ruling party can't interface in police matters, if sometime there should be strict vigilance & accountability on the police.*

2. *Certainly we cannot avoid politicisation but we should avoid mollified interference.*

3. Yes, in a democracy like India.

4. Practically police cannot be expected to be totally aloof from being influenced by the socio-politico-economic factors at play in a dynamic and vibrant democracy. *But that is no excuse for not setting out standards, parameters and regulations, which should be enforced strictly, to ensure controllable interaction between police and politicians, conducive to the overall welfare of society and public interest.*

5. Absolutely wrong. A complete insulation is there.

6. It is not true. In a democracy the administration including the police have to work with the politicians. Politician as representatives of the public are an essential ingredient of the administrative set up. But it is not impossible to keep the police away from politicization. *There has to be a will & right thinking with minds of the higher ups i.e. the politicians & the senior officers to achieve this object.*

7. No. *Politicisation of police can be avoided in a democracy but that "Will" is necessary from all, senior officers of the police organization.* On very small problems and some requests police officers contact politicians to help solve the problem.

8. *Even though it should not be, it is true that politicization of police is unavoidable, in a democratic system. In police hierarchy, there are limited sensitive and important posts. When competition is heavy, everybody wants to have a good posting; this is being achieved only by approaching the politicians, since the power of transfer and postings lies with high command of the ruling party or with some other senior ministers. Politicisation of police can definitely be avoided, if the entire personnel of police force take an oath to serve anywhere, wherever posted.*

9. Yes. Police service is serving people. In this background one can't expect a totally neutral service. Every human being has some personal preference, so it is with the

policemen. Moreover, police have been given voting rights also; hence politicization is bound to trickle down. But police leadership can control this aspect.

10. In a democracy, police can't function in total insulation from politics and politicians, but that does not mean that police should be politicized as generally, happens in U.P. and Haryana. Police must have its own identity without giving in to any political group or party.

11. I agree in the present context in India. The situation may change in democracy, as it becomes older.

12. Politicisation of police will not be possible if an honest, straightforward police officer is doing his duty. He cannot be dragged to any political party even if he is assured of good postings. Whatever the postings given to him, he will be self-satisfied. But if police officer becomes selfish and power - mongering he will always be at the doorstep of politicians and also become a slave of politicians.

13. I agree with the statement. It is impossible to clearly demarcate for oneself public and private domains of activity. A personal favour taken from a politician by policemen (it is the circumstances under which a policeman in his personal capacity approaches a politician) is in all likelihood reciprocated by an official favour. The politician cannot be blamed for asking something in return of a favour done.

14. In a democracy politicization of police can be stopped but for this police needs patience, boldness and sacrifice.

15. This is true because a policeman and a politician both are the social beings who are joined together in one way or the other. A good posting is a human weakness. So to reach and grab better post than his colleague, a policeman desires the proximity with a politician. So, that could meet his objective. It is wrong. It can be stopped. Only the political interference in police work should be stopped.

16. Can be stopped because police is a separate organization, it has its own administrative set up. It is responsible to the state. *If transfer and promotions are beyond the control of politicians, police will be more impartial.* The state government should only ask the highest officer of the police. They should not ask the lower level officer.

17. I am completely in agreement with the statement because the politicians have direct contact with people and today's public considers that man only his leader who helps them in any way. The politician feels that policeman should work according to his wishes. *The police are a medium for the politician for their gains. So they will never try for a situation where there is minimum politicization of police force.* Hence, politicization of police cannot be stopped.

18. *The politicization can be stopped only when police force is kept as independent as judiciary.*

19. Politicization of police is perhaps necessary in democracy. If the appointment is based on merit then the lower levels should be given regular promotion on time. Transfer should not be done on political basis. Then politicization of police can be avoided in a democracy.

20. *Politicization of police can definitely be avoided in a democracy, but then again there should be political will to do the same. Politician themselves would be less burdened if police is freed from politics.* Freeing the police from politics and political interference would provide the politicians ample qualitative time to engage in activities more fruitful for the public, which will, in turn, strengthen their political base.

There seems to be general agreement that politicization of police has already happened. On the question of whether it is unavoidable from the diverse responses, some say it cannot be avoided. Other respondents are of the opinion that the police officers are honest and straightforward without anxiety for so called good postings politicization can be avoided.

4. **Politicians are partly but in a significant way responsible for the bad image of the police.**

1. *The politicians tend to blame the police for all their follies. They would just create a law and order situation, then standby and sabotage all efforts of police. To top it all they would then blame police for everything. And yes, this is just one of the examples. There are many such cases.*

2. *As politicians stand in the forefront of the masses, they are the chief messengers of the image of the police. Either good or bad - image of the police remains with the police. Politicians cash in on a bad image and help spread this very image across the masses. I do not think they are doing anything wrong.*

3. *Police leadership has failed to provide good leadership at top level. At the same time some politicians have taken advantage of their position and authority to influence the working of police. Thus, the image of police has suffered at the hands of politicians.*

4. *Yes, politicians are partly responsible for the bad image of the police. They do create law and order problem for their personal or political gain and hold police responsible for everything. They also support Gunda or anti-social elements and pressurise police not to take actions against them which also responsible for the bad image of the police.*

5. *No I do not agree. Police in most of the cases themselves go to politicians for postings or some other help. If they work sincerely and decide not to go to politicians they can improve without help of politicians.*

6. *Not really! It's like finding a scapegoat in politicians. Police succumbs to the pressure. Problem is with the police leadership.*

7. I do not agree. *We have inherited bad image from Pre-independence days. No serious thought is given to improve the Police-Public Relation. There is a need for recruiting well educated and persons from diligent and good background.*
8. In a significant way responsible for the bad image of the police.
9. Blatant interference in police administration by politicians is the root-cause of its inefficiency, deterioration and loss of image. *In our subsisting political system a definite nexus between the police and the politician has grown, depriving the police force the initiative and independence to take action fearlessly against those who break the law. Persons with political clout cannot be arrested, nor men with affluence and influence. The situation has come down to such a pass that no upright and honest police officers can serve the people and safeguard the public interest.*
10. Not necessarily. Yes, some politicians and ministers act irresponsibly for their selfish interest, but that does not represent the political party or institution. These are accidental and cannot be isolated. *However, police should do their duty and function & I feel the politicians will appreciate.*
11. Absolutely correct. *The politicians are only in favour of illegal things for monetary purposes and make out police to be the corrupt. Either they pay money by exploring the weakness or they threaten.*
12. *Police-Politician interaction should be formalized as a regular event with fixed time gaps. Complaints against politicians raised by public before police also require to be addressed. Request of politicians should be listen to by police and lawful requests should be honoured immediately.*
13. Politicians are very much involved in the bad politics. Just to help the party workers and also to get various kinds of advantages they bring pressure on police and intervene in the work of police. Police has also got the personal benefits and gains.

Secondly, *police is also interested to get good postings. As a result of that they follow what politicians say.*

14. Though the contribution is less yet the politicians are able to influence the society and tarnish the image of the police and slowly they develop a kind of disdain for the police, which takes shape of a negative image.

15. This is true. In the *police force itself there are a few policeman who are responsible for bad conduct and tarnish the image of the force. But if they are suspended the politicians interfere and the result has to be borne by the disciplining official.*

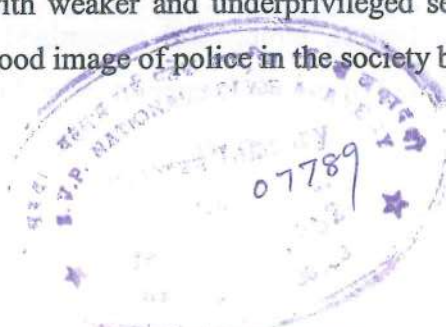
16. A fish can spoil the whole pond. In the same way our police family may have a for personnel who spoil the good name and fame of the police by colluding with the politicians. The media also plays role in shouting all this and people get a very bad name.

17. India is a democratic country and *politicians have also a right to express their views from the open platform. This contributes to tarnish the image of the police before the public. Police cannot come out openly.*

18. The *politicians blow every incident out of proportion* and show them in bad light for example if there is an accident they collect the crowd before the police station and create a scene.

19. The interference has resulted in brokerage kind of system. Because of this the image of the police is tarnished. Common people do not believe in police. Because of politician interference, work is being done through the politicians. *We can say that today politician is largely responsible in tarnishing the image of the police.*

20. Politicians are partly responsible for bad image of police but police itself is responsible for bad image. Police should also behave in a brotherly and friendly way in the society specially with weaker and underprivileged sections. Politicians should also help in encouraging a good image of police in the society by appreciating good officers.



There seems to be a 50-50 response on either side of the spectrum. Some police leaders feel that politicians are partly but significantly responsible for the bad image of the police while the others opine that in a democracy one cannot stop the politicians from doing certain things but either it is for the police leadership to maintain its professionalism, its contented that the leadership has failed in doing so resulting in the bad image of the police.

5. If there were no political interference in investigation, police can become a very efficient organization.

1. Not necessarily. *Police without political interference can become a very efficient organisation only when it consists of morally, upright and efficient officers & men.*

2. It is correct that *many a times political interference plays an important role in defeating the very purpose of police investigation and justice is not ensured.*

3. As we are witnessing these days, many of the accused persons in major cases seem to have succeeded in delaying the judicial probe in the alleged scams they are involved in. So is the case with thousands of other cases pending for trial in the court. *Though everything cannot be set right by stopping political interference in investigation, it will certainly give a boost to the quality & efficiency of police work if atleast investigation is insulated from political interference.*

4. Blaming of others for ones fault can never improve things. *Politicians interfere, only because they feel that they can get away with it.*

5. Not always. If the I/O is honest, strong and determined and ready to face all eventualities for his good work and of course is supported by the other officers also, the political interference cannot hamper in the investigation. *It depends upon the person (i.e. the police officer) how he takes the political interference.*

6. Yes. But normally not much interference in investigation of particular cases except in some cases only.
7. I do agree. At the same time no hint or room for doubt should be indicated to the politician to encourage him to get involved in such matters.
8. It is absolutely a fact. If there is no political interference police can contribute their might to the fullest extent and do wonders in the investigation and thereby they can build the police as an efficient and strong organization. *Even in a sensitive cases of murder & dacoity politicians interfere and command the police to release the real accused, saying that he is party man and party image will go if he is remanded. Such interference in investigation should not be allowed.*
9. Not agreed. In fact, *it is for the police not to tolerate/accept unwanted interference.*
10. *Some amount of interference, on the contrary, is necessary as political input is also an important input in many cases. Otherwise police will become an uncontrollable Frankenstein.*
11. There are several reasons for the inefficiency of police in investigation. *Politics interference is only one aspect.* Hence we cannot expect police to become very efficient overnight once political interference is removed.
12. This is not correct. If there is no political interference, interference may come from some other quarters like the mafia, smugglers and other bad elements in the society. What is required is the will to resist the pressures, not excuses!
13. Political interference in investigation, is not solely responsible for inefficiency of police organisation. There are so many factors like inefficiency of policemen, not working hard for securing evidence, ineffective leadership and guidance in the police organization and nexus of few policemen with some bad elements of society. That's why

we can't say so. But there will be a considerable increase in efficiency of a police organisation if political interference in investigation is avoided.

14. Police force is always efficient and nice. But as and when the political bosses pressurize them, they have some thinking to do. But a good and true police officer would always do the right and the legally acceptable thing. But politicians may extract mileage from any criminal incident like one extracts blood from the body. *We have to think ten times but always try to remain efficient and professional by focused because we are the sentinels of the society.*

15. To say this is very right. If there is no interference at the time of investigation by the police, the police will be successful to a great extent in its work.

16. It is very right.

17. As soon as a case is registered at a police station one officer starts investigation. Some times before he is able to complete it some one comes and dictates and tries to use all means to derail the investigation. *Today every criminal has a political connection. This is very difficult situation and we cannot expect politicians become good in one day and stop interfering in our work.*

18. If there is no political interference during investigation police will work according to public good and according to law and justice. *This is the duty of an officer to see that the politician should not interfere at all.*

19. This is true. *If the politicians help in investigation and do not interfere, police can become very powerful. Politicians do right things wrong and wrong things right. That is why there should be no interference in investigation. The investigator should be free to do work according to rules*

20. There should not be any interference in investigation because sometimes even the very hardcore criminals also take benefit of it. *If there is no political interference investigation can become a very good institution.*

By and large the opinions are against any kind of interference in investigation. Most police officers feel that political interference during investigation is bad and counter productive for the criminal justice system. However, some officers are of the opinion that "interference to an extent is required to see the other dimension of the case. It may not have been brought to light by the IO."

6. **Politicians need to be educated about the constraints of working under the law by none other than the police leadership. If yes how? If no, who should do it?**

1. This is correct. Politicians need to be educated about the constraints of working under the law by the police leadership. *It is the responsibility of the leadership in any organisation to educate and to stop the undue interference from the other quarters if required.* This can be done through proper inter-actions likes, police-public meetings, seminars, open-house debate as well as making the system transparent. *Transparency will necessarily, satisfy most of the grievances.*

2. *Generally politicians aware of the constraints. But they pressurise to get undue advantage of their position.*

3. *Many politicians fail to understand the circumstances under which the police has to work. Some of under which police has to work. Some of them would be able to appreciate these constraints if they are educated about it.* In present times it is the prime need of the hour. Some methods are:- Give a free and frank opinion on police subject and at correct time. *Put good logic behind your reasoning to educate the politicians.*

4. No. Politicians also know about the constraints of police & its working conditions under the law. *The problem is they don't bother about it.*

5. I don't agree. *Police has no business to teach politicians.* Politicians are educated and aware lot. Instead parliamentary and democratic institutions like "sansad" legislature, leaders of party should teach them. Politicians cannot be taught by police without getting their bruised.
6. Yes. *The Election Commission should lay down that only graduates can stand for elections of councilor, MLA & MPs so that they are automatically better educated when they come to power.*
7. Yes, by constant interaction and at the time when they make undue-request. *The reasons along with the legal position for not acceding to their demands can be explained.*
8. Fifty years have passed since we gained independence from British Rule. Are the politicians fools or ignoramuses? *Why should police fritter away their time & energy on educating persons, who are not reluctant to learn but pretend to be ignorant and want to remain so, as it suits their nefarious designs and activities. This job should be of the Parliament/State Legislatures.*
9. They are educated only about their own interest. No police leadership can teach them anything. The things police has to educate about are against their popular sub-culture vested interest. No politicians would like to loose an election try observing the law & carrying brief on behalf of the police to his constituency.
10. The police should give politicians, specially the MPs/MLAs, training and they should be made to understand their limitations as well as their duties. They should not think themselves as the rulers of the public.
11. If all *police officers decide not to succumb to pressures* (which is almost impossible) *message will be conveyed to the politicians. That is the best way to educate.*
12. Dilemma of our society is that everybody is supposed to know law. It is a truth that nobody understands the constraints of working under law until he himself

experiences. It is true with politicians. They interpret law as per their convenience. In the schools some chapters can be included giving the highlights of law of land in the social science paper.

13. I disagree with the basic statement that they need to be educated because I feel, they know it. However when police officers go unpunished by courts or the department for politically motivated illegal acts of the subordinates, the politician get the feeling that there are no constraints. *Hence the best way to achieve this object is making those constraints very visible.* This way the police officers will learn to say 'No' more frequently and politicians will learn not to force the issue unnecessarily.

14. Difficult to implement. *No, only the respective party bosses can educate them. Of course, sometimes the media can also educate them.*

15. Everybody should be involved. No separate agency is required to educate politician. The fact is they are part of the system and members of the society.

16. It requires constitutional assurance and they should be also subject to law and made more accountable. *Education is a must for them and idea is not bad that politicians be trained by police officers.*

17. Political masters are very well aware of law, police and administration. In spite of it, their main objective is to capture power, and to amass wealth. They use police as their tools. Police also become subservient, when things are easily done through politician or their *grievances* are not redressed by their officers.

18. *Politicians need to be educated about the constraints of working under the law by the police leadership to some extent through gossips, use of media and personal interactions.* But is not always possible that politicians need to the ground realities. Hence, there should be *some code of conduct or politician* having some legal base to have reasonable interference during police investigation. *Clearcut guidelines giving strict instructions by law making authorities can be published to check undue interference.*

19. *Inform the politicians also about the stress and compulsions, according to the law. If police leadership can help in this it will be better.*

20. *If any politicians complain wrongly about a police officer, no punishment should be given and the senior officer should tell the politician why his complain cannot be entertained.*

On this issue there is broad agreement that politicians should be educated about the constraints of working under the law. It is also agreed in general that it is the task of the police leadership to inform the politicians regarding police work within the ambit of law. However, it is felt that the best education may yet be the conduct and action of the police officer in professionally obtaining law under all circumstances.

7. **Politicians indulge in seeking unfair favours from the police leadership. Your views?**

1. *Above mentioned statement is partially correct. They do indulge in seeking unfair favours from the police. But they also seek some favours in the interest of the people. As the politicians represent the people, they know better about the facts of the case, so, sometimes they genuinely favour the right side and help the police in solving the case. So, we should have open mind regarding this.*

2. *Yes, they generally indulge in seeking unfair favours from the police leadership. But sometimes they come for genuine reasons also.*

3. *Yes. Generally some of their demands do involve either leniency or twisting of laws. But such demands are placed only to weak officers.*

4. *They do, but only when they know that they will be gratified. If the senior police officers make an early impression that they are straight forward and would not oblige unfair favours, politicians seldom try to seek them.*

5. *If there is a defect in the police leadership itself the politician will continue indulging & getting unfair favours. Because politicians are vulnerable to the bad things for their own interest but the police leadership should have the power of resistance.*

6. *Yes. As long as unscrupulous policemen who kow-tow to the wishes of petty as well as powerful politicians continue to remain in the system, politicians will always exploit them for their own/unfair ends. The system needs a total overhaul and no piecemeal solution will work in present circumstances.*

7. *I agree with this assertion to a great extent. Politicians approach this problem from different angle. For a politician, things done in a routine manner does not impress his followers or workers. Therefore, what matters for them is to get undue favours, which in the usual course would not be valuable, to them. Getting undue favours bring name & fame to the politicians which increase his influence in the area & hence they try seeking undue favours.*

8. *Politicians can seek unfair favours from those police leaderships who abdicate their boulder responsibilities in exchange of some fringe benefits from the politicians. For their selfish interest of retaining top positions, many a police chief, stoop low, where straight forwardness and uprightness would have protected the public interest. However, there are many instances of upright police chief being removed unceremoniously from the top post for not toeing the politician's line.*

9. *Only if the officer has the honour not to succumb to such demands are such demands not made. Otherwise if the officer is corrupt, then he may be blackmailed to give unfair favour.*

10. Yes, they indulge always. *If police leadership is stubborn, they will see that the leadership is changed immediately.*
11. Yes, I agree. Not only they seek unfair favours but also they get them from career seeking police officers.
12. This is true. If police work impartially how would they enjoy. *But police indulge in seeking unfair favours and politicians take undue advantages.*
13. *Other than a few police men everyman wants a better place and transfer. Some get it on their own good name and work but most get it due to political patronage.* That is why they listen more to the politicians and less to their officers. The politicians also take advantage of it fully and continue taking work from police.
14. This statement is true. If police and the politicians both, do not have their own motives, this can be avoided.
15. This statement is true. However, a professional policeman can never be influenced unduly.
16. It is not completely true to say because it does not happen every time. *If a politician is good he will not try to tarnish the image of the police.* He will listen to everyone and do what is right.
17. *This is possible when the police leadership do not work according to the rules and regulation.*
18. As all the police personnel say, I agree.
19. It is right, police is for people's safety and law and order protection. Police work properly if police and politicians earn each other's goodwill. However the police also try to appease the politician.

20. Politicians require the help of the police, they cannot enjoy without the police protection. *But the politicians generally provoke the general public.*

There seems to be almost total agreement on the issue that the politicians indulge in seeking unfair favours from police leadership. It has been also stressed that this is to a good extent because of the liability of the police leadership and also because of its own vested interests.

8. The growing politician of the subordinate ranks in the police is an indication of the abdication of professional leadership in police. Comments?

1. Yes, it is true to the some extent. But, *there are so many reasons for politicisation of the subordinate ranks.* Criminalisation of politics and politicisation of criminals, indiscipline among the force and cropping up of variety of public representatives at various levels etc are the prominent reasons.

2. In states like Orissa, there is a union for the subordinate ranks. These union leaders are the biggest politicians. Apart from this the *entire force has political affiliations and they show it openly, even through their actions.* In such cases there is not much police leadership could do. Of course they should lead the men with example and in majority of the cases they would follow.

3. *Why to blame only subordinates, superiors are not above board.* In fact, superiors have a large stake in the form of postings and other benefits superiors take more advantage in companion to subordinates.

4. Yes. It will definitely demoralise the police force & leadership. The politicisation of subordinate ranks makes them oblige to the politicians' demand. In due course, when he becomes leader, he will always succumb to the political pressure.

5. Yes. This happens due to dilution of sense of responsibility among leaders. *The authorities should stand with the subordinates.*

6. Yes. *Police leadership is unable to protect the subordinates from the undue harassment of the politicians if subordinates are not acceding to unjust demands of the politicians.*

7. Yes. *The malaise has spread down the hierarchy. There is total apathy on part of all. Police need visionaries as leaders, but sadly the higher ranks are myopic and bereft of dynamism & will power. They crave mostly for power, self and publicity. Sad really sad. They want lucrative and secure postings and crave for rehabilitation after retirement from the wily and foxy politician at the helm of affairs, who exploit their propensities/weaknesses, like that of a common prostitute.*

8. Yes. *If the subordinates were handled with professionalism in terms of postings, promotions & other aspects of the service, then it would be very rare that the subordinates would approach the politicians. The fact that even the senior leadership is quite often seen to be approaching the political leaders for favours, is a signal to the subordinate to give more value to the politician than his own boss.*

9. *It is very shameful condition that a SHO cannot be transferred from a particular police station for his illegal action or incompetency but he can get a senior officer transferred immediately. In general the police are afraid to take a correct step as required by law.*

10. Due to politicization of the subordinate ranks, the officers at the higher level are finding it difficult to enforce discipline, by awarding stringent punishment, and posting them to non sensitive places. The senior police officers become handicapped, due to the interference of politicians. The subordinate police ranks think, that many of the higher officers are having link with top most politicians and yielding for each & every thing and doing all favours to stick on their important postings. *When the higher officers are having link with politicians, they think it is not a fault, to have links with the local politicians at*

their level. Hence the entire police force from constable to DGP should avoid any non-professional dealings with the politicians, not only the subordinates.

11. *Abdication of professional leadership in police has certainly had to politicization of subordinate ranks in the police. Of late, dishonest officers keep direct link with local political bosses and share booties from dishonest earnings.*

12. *Yes, to the extent that professional leadership in police has suffered because the leadership has also become political and politically sensitive. Otherwise, I feel, there is no other fault of police leadership.*

13. *Leadership itself is politicized. Hence they can't provide true leadership. Hence subordinate ranks feel safer to play to the tunes of politician and serve their personal ends.*

14. *A sincere and professional policemen should be protected by the police leadership from unscrupulous politicians. If the police leadership does not do, then the sincere policemen will become demoralised. Due to political victimization and also due to the neglect of police leaders then automatically, seek a way out of some difficult situation. When something gets done through politicians, they put more faith on politicians than the police leadership.*

15. *The growing politicisation of the subordinate ranks in the police is certainly an indication of the abdication of professional leadership in police. It can be pointed out that few senior officers initially favour such transfers, postings to malign or pressurise some officers and then it becomes routine for the subordinate ranks to use political pressure. Hence, to curb such growing politicisations, senior officers should not tolerate and permit such nonsense in any case, to make it a lesson to others. The blame certainly lies with senior officers.*

16. *The statements hits the nail on the head. If the leadership stands united and sets standards for its own functioning and guidance and resolves not to cross the demarcated*

boundaries of self conduct, no institution in this country can point a finger towards the police. No subordinate would even dare to look to a politician, leave alone approach him, if the top leadership itself is above board and follows whenever a subordinate officer brings in political pressure.

17. *The police leadership cannot be compared with political leadership. Police leadership should be of ideal nature. There should not be a hidden plan. If politicisation of police subordinates takes place, the unfair pressure on police leaders and police machinery comes. That's why politicisation of the subordinate ranks in the police definitely affects the professional leadership in police.*

18. *Today even senior officers have no morals. That are why there is a gap between subordinates and senior officers. They ask so many things in the name of discipline. This is intolerable when the head of the family does not bother about members of the force. I say and admit that police is as disciplined force but they are also human being. We have to work 24 hours. There is no time for rest officers ask us to give to work but do not give facilities. They enjoy political benefits and we follow and suffer.*

19. *This is true, subordinate posts are totally under political control and the efficiency of police is affected. Many personnel try to gain petty benefits and are ready to do any thing. They just want a good posting and speedy promotion. They get it from political bosses and in turn do what the politicians want. This is the reason or bad name for the police.*

20. *This is all because of higher officers. They do not listen to the problems of their subordinates. They go to the politicians to get their problems solved. The politicians misuse this situation.*

There is almost total agreement on this issue. The leadership seems to be uniformly blamed for this. It has also been pointed out that police leadership has easily succumbed to politicians while on the other it has abdicated its basic responsibility of providing proactive leadership to the subordinates including a lack of concern for their personal and professional needs.

9. There is a need for greater police-politician interaction on a day-to-day basis to improve police functioning. Comments

1. I do not agree to the view that to improve police functioning police-politicians interaction on a day-to-day basis is required. Rather police-public (more) interactions are required, because most of the time police deals with people on an individual basis. Again, most of the time, politicians do take interest in the influential party. Poor and down-trodden people, most of the time do not have access to the politicians. *So, I believe to improve police functioning greater police-public interaction is required which will lead ultimately to better police-politician interface.*

2. Police taking help of politician is the best thing. *Politicians can reach the masses and can convey the message or highlight good police work.* Also they can get information about anti-social elements etc. This would definitely help police functioning as the public would come forward to help police.

3. *There is no need to have day-to-day interaction between police & politician. What we need to have is a clear understanding of our rules and interact with politicians within the ambit of law.*

4. A good personal relationship with public representatives helps police functioning in many ways. In law and order situations and in arresting the accused police-politician interaction can help in early resolution of disposal of cases. *For this police officers should be invited in Zila Parishad, Panchayat Samithi and Gram Panchayat meetings so that they can dispose of public complaints at the spot. This will be a constructive interface.*

5. Politicians have power that can be used as well as misused. If used properly it can improve police functioning. *But it is neither possible nor required to have a day to day interaction with politicians at the lower level.* Only the top rags of police leadership can have a day to day interaction as they are responsible for planning the things for future.

6. Politician have a lot of power with them which is often misused in transfers giving plum postings at a cost or in underserved, promotion of police officers. If power is properly used in the context of a better police-politician interface it will be a great boon to society and many ills of the society can be removed within a short time. But I think there is no need to have a day to day interaction at lower level.

7. Politicians have the support of masses and they can also reach to the roots of the problem of masses which police can't do easily. *Even the good work of police can easily be highlighted by politicians to the masses which definitely improve the police functioning on day to day basis.*

8. It is need of the hour. The ultimate goal of police/politicians is the welfare of the public. There are many avenues where their co-operation & co-ordination is required. Merely by having egos and suffering from complexes of inferiority/superiority it is the people suffers.

9. Need is there, but it can be done only by shedding egos by the two leaderships. *Police leadership must differentiate between bootlicking and being open and positive towards politicians.*

10. Yes, but the politicians may be made to understand the difficulties and legal problems for not accepting to their unjust demands.

11. I do not agree with the view. *There is sufficient interaction between the politicians and the police.* There is need to insulate the police from political interference.

12. I agree. For healthy and constructive work, interactions are necessary. *Senior officers should talk to all politicians at all levels and find out how subordinates are treating general public.*

13. The views of the politicians/political leaders should always be solicited & taken care of by the law-enforcing agency. *But it is not always necessary to do so. Police functioning can best be improved when the police force does the assigned task in a professional & impartial manner i.e. enemy of the criminals & friends of the good people.*

14. There is no need of such interaction and it will not be viable.

15. Yes, it is highly necessary. *But in the burden work and pressure of law and order situation it is not possible to have interaction on a day-to-day basis. But, at least monthly once there must be a interaction between police & politicians which will go a long way to improve police functioning and the politicians also will understand the difficulties of police and command to co-operate with them in maintaining law and order.*

16. Ours a democracy. In democracy it is not possible for the important organization like police to act in isolation. The public, through their elected representatives is supreme in democracy and is the one master. So, it is the need of the hour to start live interaction with politicians on a day-to-day basis police leadership should facilitate this improvement. This will also develop better understanding between the two.

17. Not necessary to have day-to-day police-politician interaction. However politicians and police should keep in touch with each other as many local problems are not brought before SP etc. who come to the district for a year or two.

18. No. I think it is a myth that a politician projects the problems of the people in his interaction. Within the available constraints, a police officer knows enough problems of people, which he has the time & resources to solve. Once in a while, a politician may

highlight a particular problem which may have escaped the notice of a superior officer like corruption by a subordinates. Hence day to day is neither necessary nor desirable.

19. Like mentioned earlier the goal of both police as well as politicians is the same. The politicians being an elected representative cannot be wished away. *Whereas on the one hand politicians with their multifarious contacts help in day-to-day policing on the other they are the ones who can strongly put up demands of police welfare at the proper forums.*

20. *Police-politician interaction has to be need-based and continual. It need not necessarily be on day-to-day basis.*

There is a qualified agreement on this issue. It has been generally accepted that there should be some interaction between the police leaders and politicians but not one that is necessarily on a day to day basis. But the overwhelming felt need seems to be to develop a formal and practical system of interaction as part of professional interaction with politicians.

10. **Politicians and police can co-exist and collaborate, but perhaps are needs to be a code of conduct to ensure the fruitful and socially desirable collaboration. If yes, what would be the main/salient points of the code of conduct?**

1. Politicians and police can co-exist and collaborate in order to ensure genuine public service, because ultimate goal of both these institutions are to do public services. *Salient points of the code of conduct:- Politicians should do their business and do not interfere unnecessarily. Police act in transparent manner so that undue pressure from the politicians can be avoided. Both gave due regard to their concern and limitations.*

2. *There should be a committee formed in which both politicians and police be members. As any action against MLA/MP by police invites punishment, the same should be applicable to politicians, too. A certificate by police on character should be mandatory for contesting in elections.*

3. Yes, they can co-exist. But no *code of conduct is needed*, only good values needed.

4. Yes. Some points which should form a part of the code of conduct is:- *It should be sacrosanct for all . All would follow it religiously. Politicians to help police in maintaining L&O and provide police with useful information as they do have good sources of intelligence. No interference in posting, transfers, promotion.*

5. *Code of conduct:- Police leaders should not go to politicians for better postings etc. Collaboration should be to solve only grave problems.*

6. I agree with the view. There has to be a system to ensure that undue demands are not put on the police and if *politicians are making genuine demands, it should be in black and white through proper channel.*

7. Yes. Politicians can bring the views of the affected (or) complaints pertaining to police. *But they should not interfere with investigation. Politicians should help police in collection of intelligence and L&O problems. Police must also give due respect to politicians and also be ready to discuss with them regarding the problems.*

8. Yes. The main code of conduct would be: - That the politicians, before taking interest in anything concerning administration of law & order *should discuss the same with the police leadership. The politicians/political leaders should take up the cause of the people when there are alleged atrocities. Similarly, the police officers should treat the politicians as part of the system as public representatives & should not scornfully regard them. There is no harm in listening to them.*

9. Code of conduct is failing to achieve its goal except in respect of government servants. To politicians is shall be a newspaper to be read and thrown. Many may not read at all. *What is required is to standardize educational qualification and character and antecedents in respect of politicians.* There should be a minimum educational

qualification to contest election. Persons having criminal back ground or nexus with criminal gangs should be banned from contesting election.

10. *The politicians should be made to accept the dividing line between policymaking function and routine administrative function; they should not impinge upon the administrative function of the bureaucrat & police. Police leadership should rise above personal gain like cushy posting, premature lifts, foreign tours, extension after retirement etc. and take upon themselves to educate the politicians about the adverse affect of their interference.*

11. *A straightforward margin has been drawn where legal and disciplinary issue is involved. A firm stand needs to be taken regarding this margin and both parties should respect it.*

12. *The code of conduct will not be important unless there is social consensus from police & politicians. If there has to be a code of conduct, police or politicians should not look for immediate gains but should have long-term perspective. Police should be able to draw a clear line of interaction and they should know their limitation, framework. Politicians should not put illegal demands with pure political motives.*

13. *The code of conduct could include:- No interaction between politicians and police at private functions or places. Interaction could take place at official function, office etc. Inauguration stone laying etc. of new building, programmes etc. to be done by politicians should be cleared from headquarters.*

14. *Politicians must not affect the postings of police officers in his areas. We have code of conduct for police. Election commission has a code of conduct for politicians. Whenever election are held. Both policemen and politicians, by and large, pay lip service to these codes. Any fruitful and socially desirable collaboration between these two can come about through attitudinal change alone.*

15. This is possible only if an impartial leader should be in power he can advise all his party men to desist from all criminal activities. He should also be ready to support police action even if his party men indulge and are arrested. Such a situation only will pave the path towards evolving a code of conduct and desirable collaboration.
16. The politician and police both can help each other by keeping there.
17. The mutual assistance between the politician and the police is quite impossible. The police will not remain impartial this happens.
18. Yes. Helping each other to arrest the criminal is the common point.
19. The code of conduct should be implemented from the very beginning. The points to be taken are as follow:- *Poor people should always be helped.* We should serve the people by all means. We should forget our petty selfish motive. We should change our way of life. *The politicians should also try to change themselves.*
20. For a fruitful collaboration between the police and politician the code of conduct would be as under – *good of the larger section of society, common resistance to social evils, No harboring of criminals, criminals to be banned from politics, policemen with criminal nexus to be dealt with firmly., joint drive against organized crime by way of formulation of new laws, joint projection of right views in the public by mutual discussions, statement on sensitive matters to press to be by mutual consent.*

Most respondents agree to the need for a declared code of conduct. However, some have indicated that without the right intention and attitudes yet another code of conduct may fail. However, some of the salient features of the code of conduct have been highlighted as follows:

- (a) No interference in routine administration functions and investigation from politicians.***
- (b) Police officers should interact with politicians only in official capacity.***
- (c) Politicians should not give statements to the press making personal remarks against police officers.***
- (d) Police leaders must give respect to the politicians without necessarily doing their bidding.***
- (e) Politicians should not interfere in transfers promotions and postings for which there should be a transparent system.***

3.2 Interviews of politicians

1. Police organization and police officers are derivatives of the civil society as it exists from time to time. No police organization can be divorced from the realities of the social system. The prevailing values in the society will be reflected in the police system and the attitudes of the police officers. The process of socialization and acculturation is bound to affect the mindsets of the police leadership. The negative aspects of civil society that reflect morbid loyalties like caste, community, language, religion, regionalism etc. is bound to reflect in the thinking of police leadership and may affect their professional decisions. Besides the politicians who happen to be people's representatives and the custodians of civil society have their share of responsibility. In fact, the political class is majorly responsible in politicizing the police force for its narrow political ends and this has demoralizing effect on police behaviour and as a consequence has affected the overall law and order situation in the society. How would you react?

1. Society cannot be blamed for so many ills that we see today. It is the moral corruption among the people who were in the helm of affairs who must be blamed. The leaders have failed to motivate the people and to become good examples. The police cannot be a isolated case. *Irrespective of all the lacuna, the police must rise to the occasions and protect the law of land with all determination and impartiality. Of course, the common man must be blamed for all their indifference and silence against all these maladies.*

2. *The training and sensitization among the police ranks and file must be taken on a war footing. Their attitude must be fine tuned to the present needs. The police must be made to think that should rise above all these social maladies and act as a force to guard the society.*

3. *Whatever may be the societal trends, if someone wants to remain honest and upright can remain so. It all depend upon the officer who is at the helm of affairs. Since*

policing is a totally different job, *the people who join the service must be specially trained and have right aptitude towards the service.*

4. *One cannot separate police and politicians totally. At some level they need to interact and help each other for the good of society.*

5. Since the society is different and filled with so much of ills, we need to change the pattern of examination AND training for the people who are going to serve the society as policemen. Secondly, they shouldn't be victims to these social evils. One has to prove himself as a good example of a police leader and in police it should be the number one priority.

6. *Police is drawn from the same society and no doubt carry the same maladies of the society. Thus, police has become corrupt, biased and incompetent. The lower ranking officials are easily bribed and pressurized by the politicians for their narrow interests. This kind of trend probably invites interference for the political establishment. Besides, the politicians have their own compulsions interfere in police work. This could be sometimes with the intention of protecting their followers.*

7. *Police being a part of civil society, cannot remain unaffected from all kind of societal ills. Besides, the policemen at lower levels receive very low payments and their job stability is uncertain. Once these are taken care of the policemen should not have anything to blame if they fail to perform.*

8. *Police has failed to respond to the call of people. They have build up an image since last so many years. The image that police is an agent of ruling party is being reinforced by their activities of suppressing opposition and acting in haste. Despite all the ills in the society, there are many officers who have done extraordinary services to the nation. The police force must rise above all these sectarian ideas and act right.*

9. *Definitely the society is fast deteriorating to become the den of criminals and rootless people. This could be due to wrong people entering into politics. Same thing*

must be said about the police. They are not properly trained, they lack right attitude. The state of affairs at the movement is pathetic and morbid loyalty on the basis of caste, community are widely prevalent. The caste card must be positively played for the issues of social justice. Unless the problems of poverty, illiteracy and communalism are addressed, this tendency will continue.

10. It is a fact that people who join police service are drawn from the same society wherein we see corruption, communalism, and many other evils in common. Even it is true the moral standards are declining and we are becoming more violent. Yet, the police being an agency of high repute must perform its duties with honesty, integrity and proficiency. They have to rise above petty issues since their job demands this ability.

The respondents agree that the ills of the civil society are bound to affect the police system. They also agree that the politicians have by their actions and pressures affect the working of the police establishment and its leadership. However, the respondents have made it clear in general that the policemen themselves have failed in their basic duties and are responsible for their own image blaming society and politicians will not help. It has been emphasized that a police officer with proper training and right attitude can still rise above all these influences and make a mark in society.

2. It is found that when a few dynamic police leaders try to inject new ideas and innovations into policing and try to break out of the systemic inertia and rigidity there are two forces which try to impede their work:

b. There seems to be a police subculture of highlighting bad examples and not encouraging good precedents. The leadership at the highest level is sometimes averse to change and departures from the beaten path. Initiatives in new directions of policing have been rarely taken at the highest level of leadership. How do you react?

1. *The police leadership has become a stooge in the hands of politicians. Most of the police officers aspire to lead the organization without possessing any merit and competence. There starts the whole process of becoming a weapon in others hands.*
2. *The police leaders must allow the lower level officials to have more autonomy. Their role should be more of supervising the junior officials. They must initiate changes and be the guiding light.*
3. *The major problem of demoralization in the police leadership is the control of police by the district administrator who happens to be a I.A.S. Thus, the police administration must be made independent of district collector. Secondly, politicians misuse the police force with the knowledge of senior officers who play a significant role in forcing the junior officers to accept the powers of political loss.*
4. *The number of competent officers is on decline. Of late it is more so than before. There is moral degeneration in the police organization. The senior leaders in the police have failed to provide a kind of confidence that the junior officers need.*
5. *There is no mobility in the hierarchy. One Sub-Inspector requires 13 years to become Inspector. There should be an open case of promotion for the lower ranking officers to the top position. Even there are many senior officers who have amassed lots of wealth have never brought to book.*
6. *The number of officers having professional integrity and sound track records is on decline. The senior officers are encouraging the subordinates to indulge in corruption and crimes. It is the senior officers who must initiate changes in the organization. We cannot expect politicians to propagate reforms in police as vigorously as the police leadership can. As a result of that, most of the subordinates use their political connection to make their career advancement them by being a part of the senior officer's good book.*
7. *If the police officers are upright, honest, they will not bother about any kind of transfer. If anybody objects to transfer, probably that policeman has some interest of*

making money. They probably lack service motto. No senior officers can stop them in doing good work. Further, *the rigidity in the police organization must go. This rigidity is a reflection of colonial legacy and they behave like colonial rulers. The kind of environment they create even a common man fear to go to police station. Even, the khaki dress which is colonial culture must be changed.*

8. *There is a need for revolutionary changes in the police structure. The senior police officers do not fight for their department with the concerned minister. Often they snub their junior officers and expect them to follow whatever they feel is right. Besides, there is a need to encourage junior level officers by providing good emoluments and rewards.*

9. *There are brilliant police officers, average and mediocre officers and there are corrupt police officers in the system. The system has everything in it. A politician doesn't interfere at least as far as reforms are concerned. The mentality of the top leadership must change.*

10. *If the top leadership cannot distinguish between right and wrong, and fail to understand against political interference, then they do not deserve to be there in the police department. Dynamic police officers can change the rigidity by becoming examples for their subordinates. Finally, the senior officers should not be allowed to write confidential reports of their juniors because this goes against the independent functioning of a junior.*

The respondent politicians seem to be in total agreement that the police leadership specially at the top most level seems to have become handmaiden of the political system. It has been stressed that whether the top leadership cannot handle political interference it may be presumptuous to think that officers down the line can do it.

c. **Political interference:** Politicians control the police organization by several procedural methods such as transfer, promotion, plum postings, recommendations for medals/honours etc. This political discretion of politicians keep the police leadership constantly on their toes and dependant. Surely, this affects their

performance and neutrality. Should politicians forfeit these rights so that police function independently?

1. *There is a moral corruption among the politicians. Those politicians who lack any moral integrity indulge in politicizing the police force for their narrow interests.*

2. *It's true that politicians play a major role in politicizing the police force. There is a need to minimize if not nullifying political interference.*

3. *Politicians transfer certain officials keeping their interests in mind. Yet, there are many officers who withstand any kind of political pressure. Secondly, political interference can be minimized by electing educated and sensible politicians. But it requires tremendous willpower and character. Moreover, the politicians are forced/pressurized by their constituents to intervene in the police work for petty reasons and politicians fear to say no to such favors as other politicians may core over them.*

4. *Every ruling party wants the police to be the weapons against opposition. Even the common man knows that. If there are upright and competent officers, they can withstand any pressure.*

5. *Political control over police work should be eased. They must be provided with functional autonomy. There have been no single case proved against politicians due to their control over police investigation.*

6. *Political interference comes when a police officer is not straight or dishonest. Those officers who want good posting and ready to serve anywhere, political interference will not do much damage. Thus, political interference doesn't happen just because the politicians have an interest. The policemen are equally responsible. Transfer, promotion and all others come through senior officers and if they resist the interference of politicians, the police force will became different.*

7. *The police must set its house in order. If the police force becomes impartial, honest and efficient, no politician will dare to intervene in their work. Because they are bound to become unpopular before the public. Thus, the change must begin with the police leadership.*

8. *The politicians should stop victimizing any upright police officers. They must not be disturbed by the politicians at any cost. Secondly, the police officers who perform their duties impartially must be given more powers and stability to carry on good work. However, in cases where a police officer found indulging in mischief should be taken care of by politicians.*

9. This happens very often. Police cannot avoid the political interference since the politicians create every possible hindrance to make the police officers fall into their trap. Thus, the police take out the pressure on citizens. Criminalization of police has brought many evils. However, the police can fight them back. But they seem to have an interest in this kind of political interference.

10. Not only, political interference result in demoralization and politicization of police, but also the police officers become less human. When an honest officer is transferred for no reasons, he takes frustration in violence or firing. Thus, as far as transfer, promotion are concerned, there should be highest police body to decide upon based on merit.

The politician respondents seem to be in total agreement of the statement that the political interference and control of political interference has had a deleterious effect on police performance and neutrality. Some respondents have pointed out that to avoid this a neutral body should be in place. However it has been indicated that police also must set its house in order and be impartial, honest and efficient.

3. The Indian police has been strapped with a colonial disposition and still behaves like a colonial force. It is still not considered as a citizen's force. This is something to do with the mistrust or breach of trust between the civil society and the police organization. It has been more so during the last 50 years of independence. Perhaps one of the major reasons for this is policing has not been seen as a developmental input. Even today policing is placed under non-plan budget. But for the political establishment, the police organization could have integrated with the civil society through community service and various developmental activities. This could pose a threat to the political establishment since they operate through unlawful means. Political establishment has a vested interest in keeping police alienated from the civil society. Your comments!

1. *Both police and politicians suffer from colonial hangover.* Police must be provided with proper education and all sorts of training to build up a positive image.

2. *Unless the police force wins back the trust and confidence of the citizens, all these reforms will be meaningless.* To get them, they must function with co partiality and efficiency. Their work should speak for them.

3. The police has not been accepted as a force which does perform certain crucial positive role in the society. *The society is yet to accept police as it accept other officials. The lower level officials need quality training at different levels.* The lower officials must be assured of job stability and good remuneration. *Once the police starts working for the benefits of civil society, the negative image will change.*

4. Yes, the police is yet to get out of the colonial hangover. *The police has failed to create a sense of security among the common man that they are here to serve their interests.* Even in the 21st century they are following same police manuals without much change. There should be quality training and proper system of remuneration and job condition. The police force can be transformed into a positive force.

5. *It's true that people are scared of seeing a policeman. This aura of fear must be changed.* This could be done to the lack of positive attitude among the policemen. Their treatment of common man is pretty bad. Besides, the top leadership of police organization are responsible in keeping the constabulary in a low image trap.
6. *Police must blame itself. They have failed to win the hearts of the people because of their attitudes which is anti-people.* If they behave like human beings then the society will pay them back. *They do not see themselves as a part of the civil society.* They always go for aggressive methods to control the situations. The police at the lower levels who deal with the field level situations must be trained properly and be made a part of the society.
7. This is something to do with the attitude of the people who manage the job.
8. We have made the police look like culprits, thieves, and act as a barbarian force. We pay them less, we train them not. *They must engage public relation agencies and try to improve their image. They should keep better terms with the junior officers.* Moreover, the police must follow strict discipline. The police as well as politicians suffer from colonial hangover, yet one has to be savvy. If the police improves its work and image, then public will trust them.
9. *The change must come through training and building up a different attitude.* The policemen need to be sensitized about the present realities. They must be made to feel that they are a vital part of the society and their job needs to be appreciated by the general public.
10. *Police must behave as a kind of agency meant for people. They must be straight, honest and impartial.* To win the hearts of people they have to take care of problems of the people of the concerned area. They must interact with people more frequently and like human beings. Try to be good, trustworthy and develop good rapport with them.

Respondents have generally endorsed the view that the police has yet to get over its colonial hangover. There is also general agreement that such a colonial disposition has also encouraged both politicians and the police. However, respondents have been quick to point out that there is nothing to stop. Police themselves have to break out all this colonial hangover at least in their public interactions and attitudes.

a) **Police participation in works of development for the benefit of the community can give a positive image to the police organization. However, it may affect its neutrality as well as law and order situation may be not attended to in a wholesome manner. Your comments.**

1. *Police is not a kind of voluntary organization. It should not compromise its job of keeping law and order. Instead, the police must change that khaki culture. They must be more amiable and human to the common man.*
2. *Police and public must interact frequently. The fear of police in the public mind must go. There should be various programmes like Jana morcha in Orissa which can remove the fear of police among the public mind.*
3. *There is a necessity for having citizen's committee to monitor the police-politicians functioning. The body should be provided with certain powers to check any kind of misuse of powers by police and politicians. There should be proper coordination between police and the citizens. The police should not conduct welfare activities at rotary club or like. Rather, they should involve the general public which touches them the most.*
4. *Let them do their traditional job of keeping law and order, everything else will be fine. They can utilize their services during the times of natural calamities.*

5. Yes. They should coordinate several welfare activities with citizens *during the time of natural crises.*
6. Not necessary. *The police is already over burdened with the work. They must change their image by behaving in a more civilized way. The filthy language culture must go. They should behave with common man as their friends.* In other words, if they do their job properly, they will gain back the confidence of people.
7. *If the police can protect the life and property of citizens, all other things like people's faith and trust will be back.*
8. *The police need not stretch so much.* Already their work has multiplied over the years.
9. Definitely this would help in building a bridge between police and public. Police does great *service during many natural calamities through their organization.* May be same organization can extend its scope to do community service.
10. Yes. *But not at the cost of their basic job of maintaining law and order.* They can involve their work with same dose of welfare activities.

There is qualified response that police as an agency should also take part in developmental works to give itself a positive image in the public. Nevertheless it should not be at the cost of abdicating its basic responsibility in maintenance of law and order. In other words it is suggested that to the extent that development work helps in preserving peace promoting order police must take part in it.

4. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides

cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as the citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. Give your opinions on the above.

(c) What are various premises/provisions of the proposed code of conduct according to your judgment? Please write down if any

1. Yes, whoever may be in power shouldn't intervene in the police work. Total functional autonomy is necessary to investigate crime and bring back confidence of people.
2. People must be made conscious about their legal rights through the involvement of NGOs. Unless you empower the people by means of liberal education, the necessary check on police-politicians nexus will not work.
3. Code of conduct will become meaningless since most of the politicians lack confidence and faith in their abilities. They cannot say no to any kind of unreasonable favours from their voters.
4. They must strictly adhere to the code of conduct. Anybody found violating the laws should be punished.
5. Code of conduct is a welcome suggestion, but the question is who obeys them. Unless, we develop a culture of respecting the Laws, any addition to the existing laws will be meaningless exercise. If both police and politicians stick to their roles, the problem is solved. If good people join politics, then whole problem of interference will end.

6. There is no need to have any kind of code of conduct. There are already thousands of laws. *Political interference is linked to the misuse of police powers. If the police force is not in a position to resist political interference, then no one can help them.*

7. There should be *separate code of conduct both for police as well as politicians.* They must be strictly adhered to.

8. Not necessary. All these laws are in existence. We need to implement the existing laws. Human behaviour is same everywhere. *We made prohibition laws to control human instinct or behaviour. Yet it failed. Thus, more than the laws, we need to educate the citizens and the law enforcement agencies.*

9. There is *already a code of conduct for both – that they should act honestly, impartially keeping constitution in mind.* They need to be enforced.

10. Code of conduct is unnecessary. If they do their work properly and honor the existing laws, everything else will be alright. Rather code of conduct will create more hurdles and roadblocks in police works. *They have to work as a team and with positive frame of mind.*

Majority of the respondents feel that there is no need for a code of conduct. Some have pertinently pointed out that such codes are already in existence and hence are redundant. The police and the politicians should be professional in their approach and not interfere in the day to day administration and investigation work etc

(b) Any suggestion` How to make this code of conduct work

1. The police *must be made totally independent of political control. Political control over police work must be minimized. As in case of Japan, the opposition party manages the police.* So it is very much possible to bring functional independence in for

the police force. However, the police is doing the biggest crime by not enforcing so many FIR's lodged.

For the welfare of the people, the politicians must be given same powers to control the police. Because, in several cases, the police acts with high handedness and deliberately fix one party against another.

2. *If people are made conscious of their rights and privileges, they will act as the best watchdog in the society. Police can educate the public.*

3. **Political control :** Since the independence the police and politicians relationship is an constant change. Now it has came to a point of nexus for their private ends. Politicians have been found misusing the police in every occasion. However, the police are not all saints. They have their own weaknesses and loopholes. *Each must share equal blame.*

4. There should be an all party committee to take care of any officers who carry out sectarian jobs. Police should be more open and transparent in doing the job.

5. *Politicians are the representatives of people. They will intervene in police works under different circumstances. If the policeman is honest, straight, then a politician will fear. If the inquiry is objective and impartial, the politicians will have no scope to interfere. If the politicians put pressure, they must resist. The maximum can be transfer and if a policeman has service motto he will be prepared to go anywhere and still serve the people.*

6. One cannot move to the court of law to enforce a code of conduct. A code of conduct should exist only for creating a sense of right among the officials and politicians. Even *citizens committee would help the cause provided it is constituted of all sections of people.*

7. It's amazing that people expect police and politicians to become icons. It's impossible. *We are part of the society, which is corrupt, biased, and degenerating fast. The common man however, expected leadership from the top leaders. It can be police or politicians. We have to change the system through examples, by setting new standards. There is a need for a comprehensive change through education, better training and implementation.*

8. It's not true that police are meant for law and order only. They are there to take part in multiple activities including the welfare of the people. Politician is a policy maker. Not only he formulates policies, he tries to implement them for the good of the society. *However, there are bad politicians who use the police for their narrow ends. For that the police is equally responsible since they willingly came under the political umbrella for their career advancement and power.*

9. It is a fact that politicians and police have lost their respect in the public mind. Politicians are flouting the rule of law regularly at the expense of society. *Since last 15 years, criminal elements have entered into politics and the number of politicians become the masters of police, the police do not know whom to protect.* Besides, the police image is anti-people and they strive to continue with that image. The common man fears the police as he does not know that kind of reception he will get from them. Again, the crime investigation is biased and intended to protect somebody or other. *All these weakness of police are well understood by the politicians and they willing misuse police for their narrow interests. Thus, the nexus between the two leads to deterioration of law and order and finally people losing their faith in both.*

Most politicians do not agree to the need of a code of conduct. Those respondents who agree about a code of conduct have not been able to suggest the basic elements of this code of conduct. However, it has been suggested that both the police and the politicians must know their limits and accept each other as responsible elements in a civil society. They must interact with each other with a sense of achieving common goal and not for personal gains.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDE SURVEY

Attitudes are the frameworks of the mind. Through these frameworks one tends to delimit the world that one perceives outside. In the sense attitudes are defined attributes. They can and indeed sometimes ascribe qualities to the perceived entity. Whether those perceived qualities, good or bad are actually incidental to the entity is not consequential to attitudes. In an interface between police and politician which are in a sense very old professions, attitudes do matter. The policeman's attitude towards the politician or vice-versa is not based on the historical background of their interaction and also their respective experience about each other. After independence India inherited a police system that had been bestowed its basic values by the British Raj itself. Among those "wisdoms" was one predominant though often undeclared belief in being the active agents of the government of the day. J.C. Curry in his book History of Indian Police calls them "a weapon made ready at hand."

The assumption that the police organization was ultimately answerable to the government of the day which could be interpreted as party in power, is an assumption that has not really gone away in both popular perception as well as in the perception of the political establishment. In a democratic setup such views and attitudes are not easy to rule out given the fact that the Indian police as an organization has never been able to transcend the attitude of preserving the status quo. Add to this the colonial hangover of the police and in India today its distance from the citizenry combined with distrust and it becomes itself a matter of great concern for police.

The following tables based on the responses of politicians as well as police officers towards each other give a direct insight to the attitudinal frames through which each perceives other. The questions that were put to the respondents were in the nature of statements which were selected after a method of cross checking for reliability and due validation. These statements were finalized from a bank of most repeated standard attitudinal statements by each agency against the other.

4.1 Attitude of police towards politicians

Sl.	Statements	Response					Descriptive statistics		Comments
		Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Mode	Chi square	
1	The politicians act against the police	11 7.3%	48 32%	37 24.7%	47 31.3%	7 4.7%	4	51.7 (S)	Agreement
2	The police can be effective in the absence of undue political pressure	75 50%	59 39.3%	6 4%	10 6.7%	-	5	96.45 (S)	Strong agreement
3	Politicians interfere in police work unnecessarily	30 20%	77 51.3%	22 14.7%	17 11.3%	4 2.7%	4	103.93 (S)	Agreement
4	Politicians and policemen cannot work together for serving the people	5 3.3%	16 10.7%	13 8.7%	81 54%	35 23.3%	2	124.53 (S)	Disagreement
5	Protests against police are always engineered by politicians	11 7.3%	32 21.3%	29 19.3%	65 43.4%	13 8.7%	2	62.667 (S)	Disagreement
6	While police work for public interest, politicians work for their own interest	10 6.7%	50 33.3%	22 14.7%	45 30.0%	23 15.3%	4	37.933 (S)	Agreement
7	Politicians and policemen cannot be friendly	4 2.7%	18 12%	15 10%	90 60%	23 15.3%	2	156.467 (S)	Disagreement
8	Politicians refuse to listen to genuine police leaders	3 2%	40 26.7%	17 11.3%	82 54.7%	8 5.3%	2	139.533 (S)	Disagreement
9	Transfer of police officers is a political weapon	13 8.7%	13 8.7%	2 1.3%	56 37.3%	66 44%	1	111.133 (S)	Strong disagreement
10	Politicians are the root cause for the bad image of the police	8 5.3%	39 26%	30 20%	54 36%	19 12.7%	2	42.067 (S)	Disagreement
11	A professional police officer should keep himself away from the politicians	10 6.7%	54 36%	16 10.7%	44 29.3%	26 17.3%	4	46.133 (S)	Agreement
12	Politicians make requests for undue/illegal favours	30 20%	85 56.7%	14 9.3%	20 13.3%	1 0.7%	4	140.733 (S)	Agreement
13	Showing courtesy to politicians is a sign of weakness	2 1.3%	15 10.0%	12 8.0%	79 52.7%	42 28%	2	129.267 (S)	Disagreement
14	Since politicians do not listen to police officers, there is no need	4 2.7%	10 6.7%	18 12%	88 58.6%	30 20%	2	152.800 (S)	Disagreement

	to listen to the politicians								
15	Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians	16 10.7%	63 42%	32 21.3%	37 24.7%	2 1.3%	4	70.733 (S)	Agreement
16	Police should involve politicians in negotiating a law and order situation	23 15.3%	68 45.4%	24 16%	17 11.3%	18 12%	4	61.400 (S)	Agreement
17	The police officers should have the same attitude towards politicians of the ruling party as towards politicians of the opposition	64 42.6%	69 46%	7 4.7%	7 4.7%	3 2%	4	148.800 (S)	Agreement
18	Police officers should attempt to arrest political leaders first when he has a serious public order situation on his hands	16 10.7%	40 26.6%	31 20.7%	54 36%	9 6%	4	43.800 (S)	Disagreement
19	If a crowd is led by a politician, the police should not attempt to reason with the crowd but should concentrate on negotiating with the politicians first	15 10%	31 20.7%	19 12.7%	76 50.6%	9 6%	4	96.800 (S)	Disagreement
20	Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers implicated through an enquiry	10 6.7%	38 25.3%	45 30%	46 30.7%	11 7.3%	2	43.533 (S)	Disagreement
21	If an accused is a politician you cannot treat him in the same way as any other accused	10 6.7%	49 32.7%	20 13.3%	49 32.7%	22 14.6%	2	42.867 (S)	Disagreement
22	Politicians do not accept 'no' to an answer to their requests to police officers	6 4%	45 30%	23 15.3%	72 48%	4 2.7%	2	109.667 (S)	Disagreement
23	If you say 'no' to a politician for an undue request, you should not explain the reasons because he will not understand	9 6%	23 15.3%	11 7.3%	82 54.7%	25 16.7%	2	119.333 (S)	Disagreement
24	Choice postings can be got only with the help of politicians	20 13.3%	47 31.3%	19 12.7%	42 28%	22 14.7%	4	23.933 (S)	Disagreement

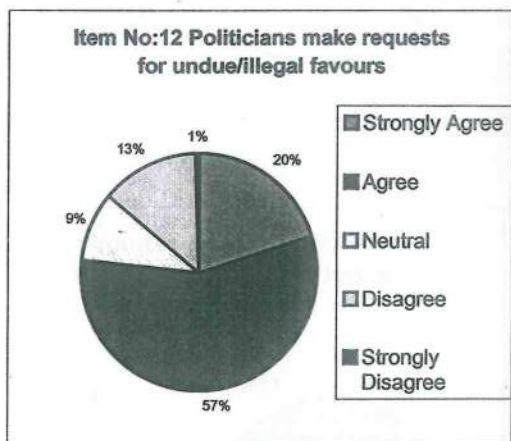
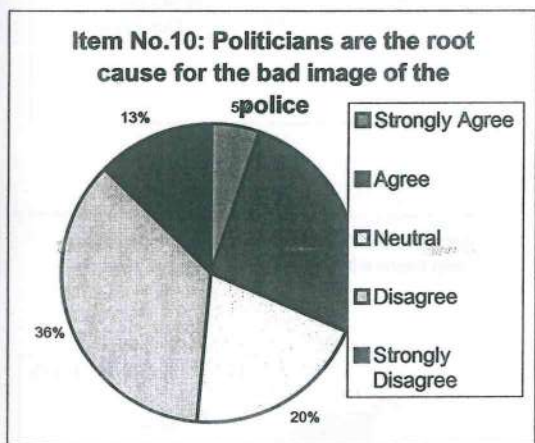
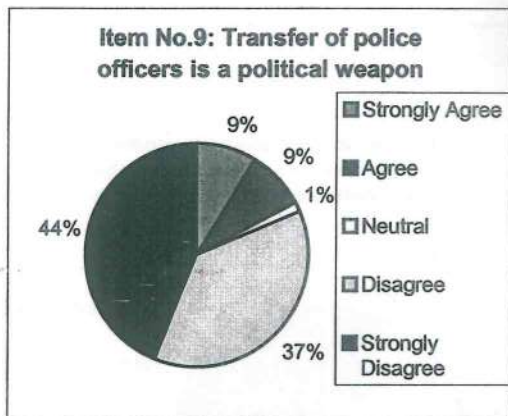
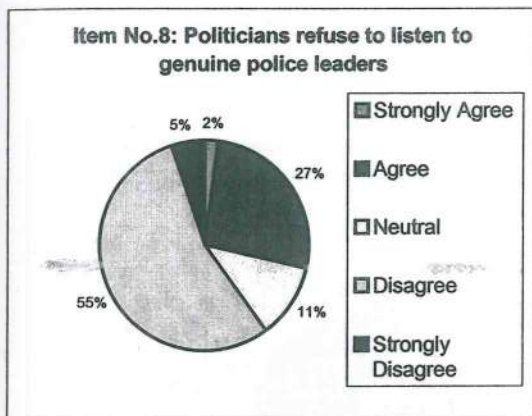
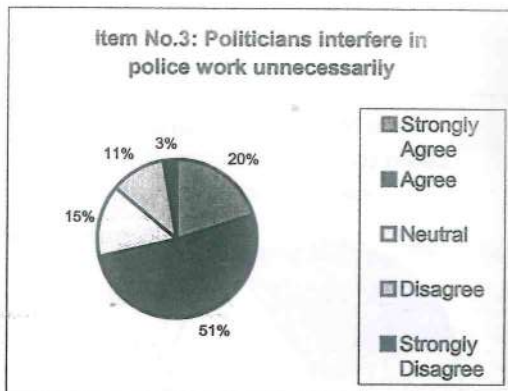
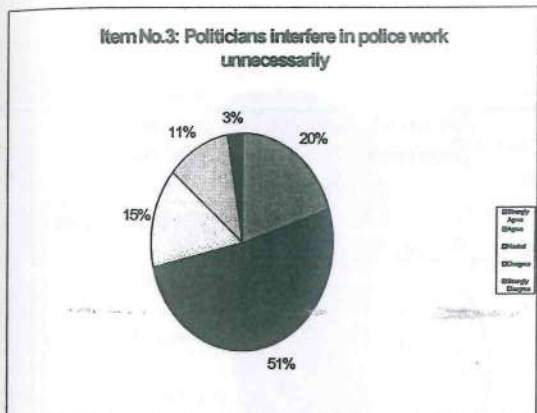
25	The effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals with politicians	31 20.7%	69 46%	18 12%	26 17.3%	6 4%	4	75.267 (S)	Agreement
26	Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders/officers for serving the poor	3 2%	52 34.7%	41 27.3%	48 32%	6 4%	4	74.467 (S)	Agreement
27	Politicians, approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people	1 0.7%	41 27.3%	47 31.3%	55 36.7%	6 4%	2	81.733 (S)	Disagreement
28	As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers	28 18.7%	110 73.3%	5 3.3%	6 4%	1 0.7%	4	281.533 (S)	Agreement
29	Politicians are well-behaved with professional and straight forward police officers.	32 21.4%	72 48%	23 15.3%	15 10%	8 5.3%	4	84.200 (S)	Agreement

The reliability of the attitude scale was found to be very high

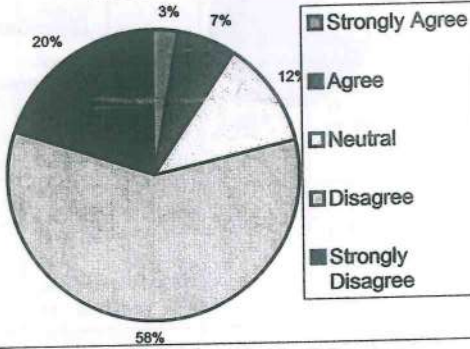
Guttman Split-half reliability coefficient = 0.7004

Equal-length Spearman-Brown = 0.7007

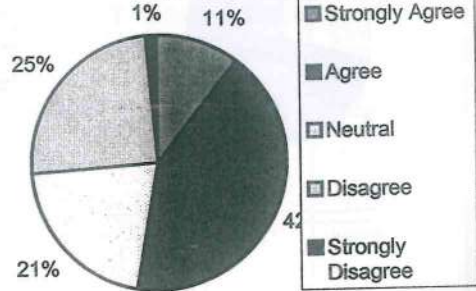
4.1.1 OTHER ROLE PERCEPTION



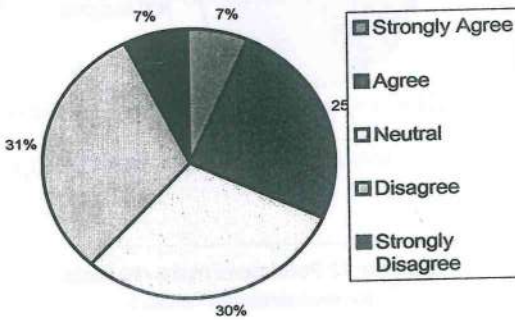
Item No.14: Politicians do not listen to police officers, there is no need to listen to them



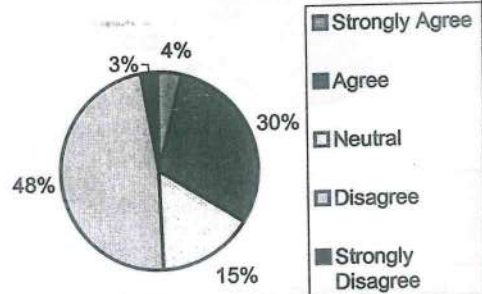
Item No.15: Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians



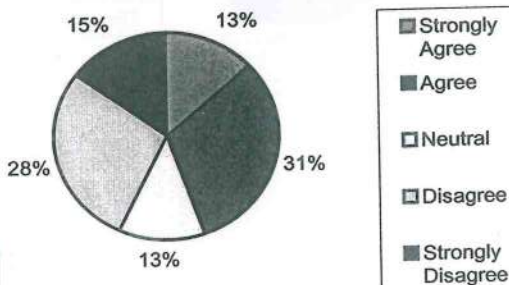
Item No.20: Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers implicated through an enquiry



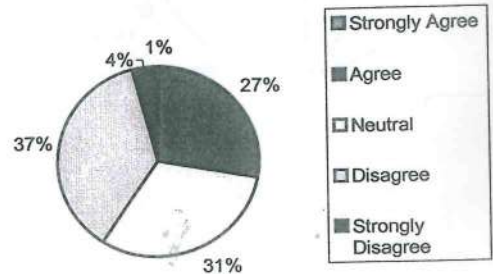
Item No.22: Politicians do not accept 'no' to an answer to their requests to police officers



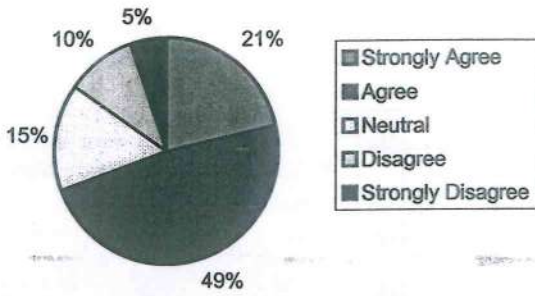
Item No.24: Choice postings can be got only with the help of politicians



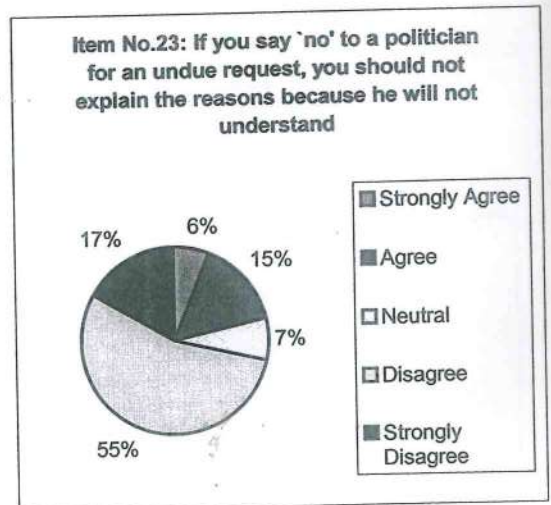
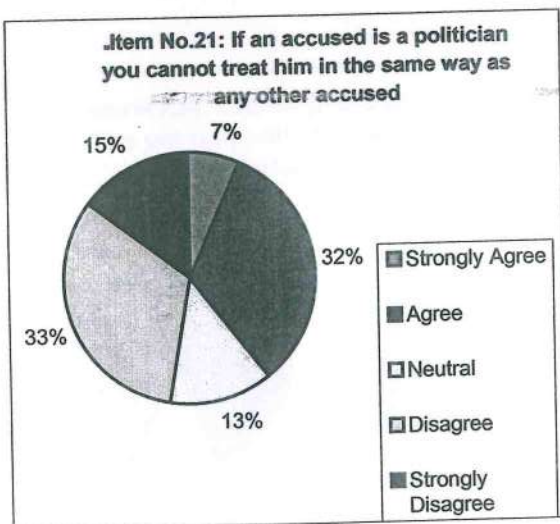
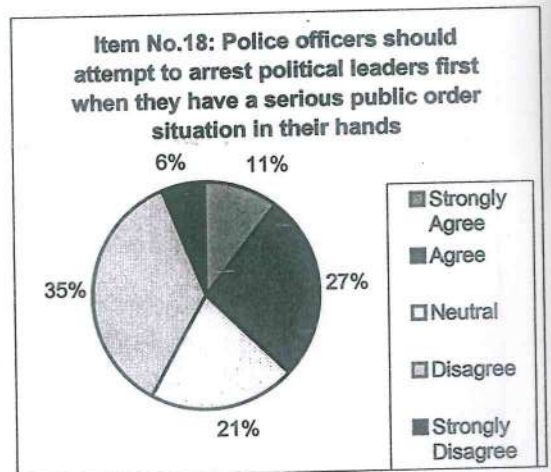
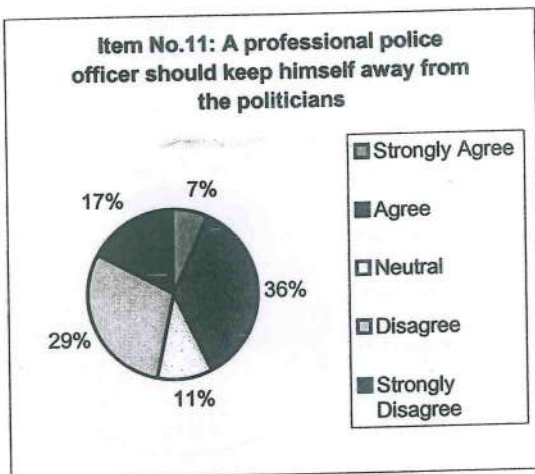
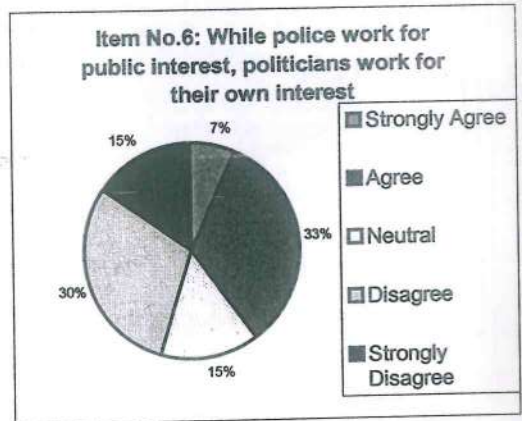
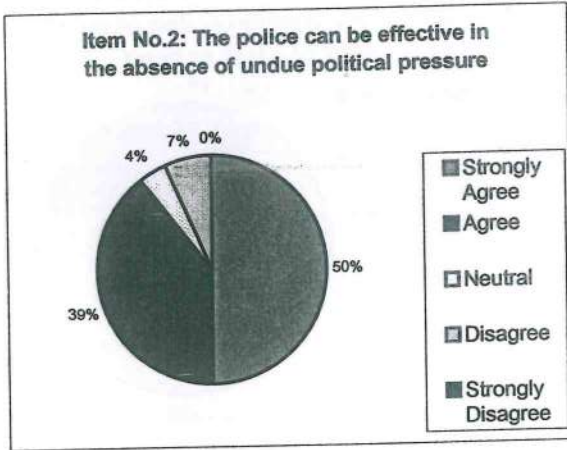
Item No.27: Politicians, approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people



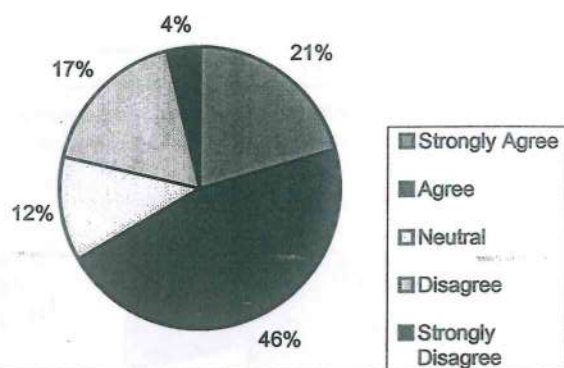
Item No.29: Politicians are well-behaved with professional and straight forward police officers



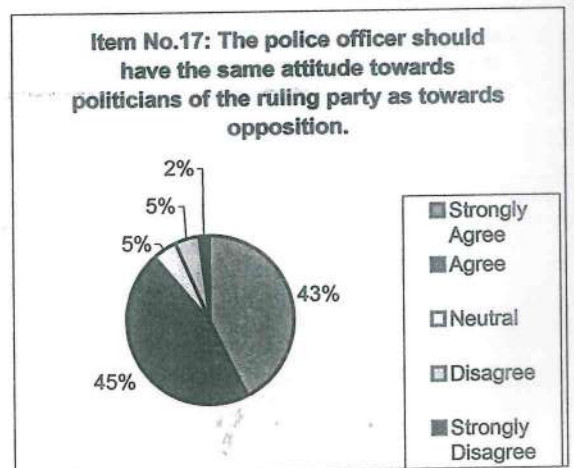
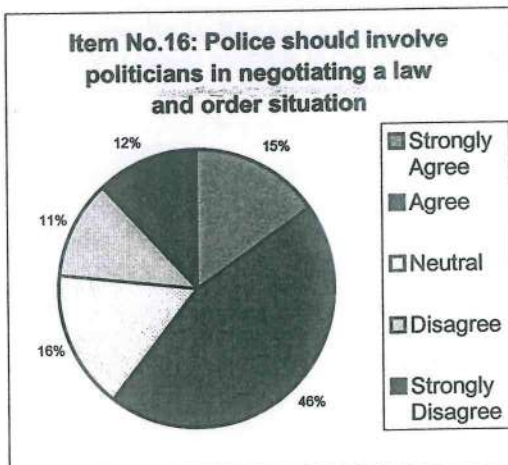
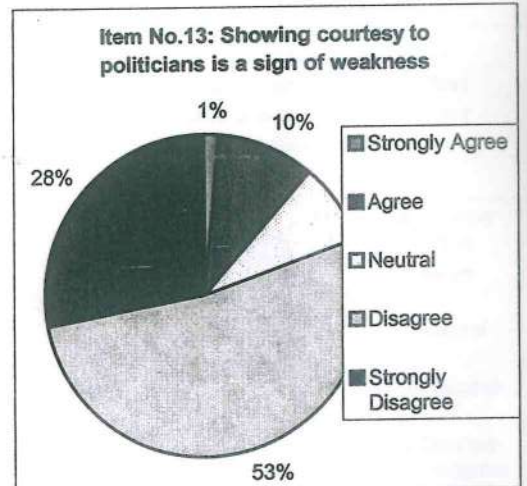
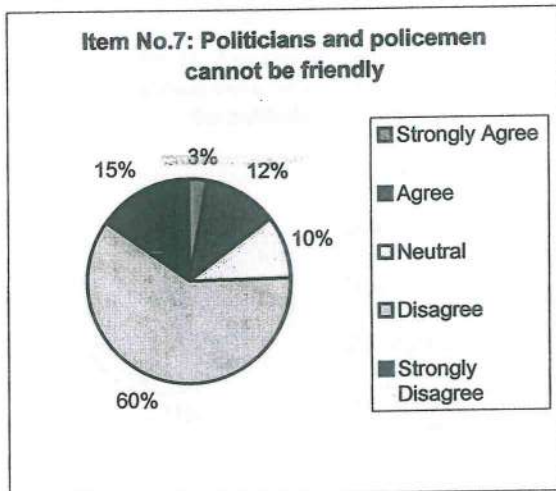
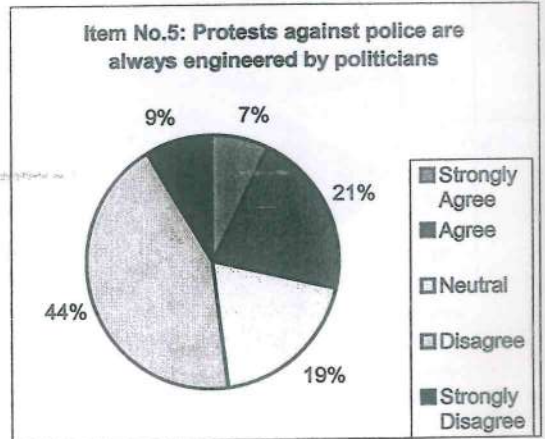
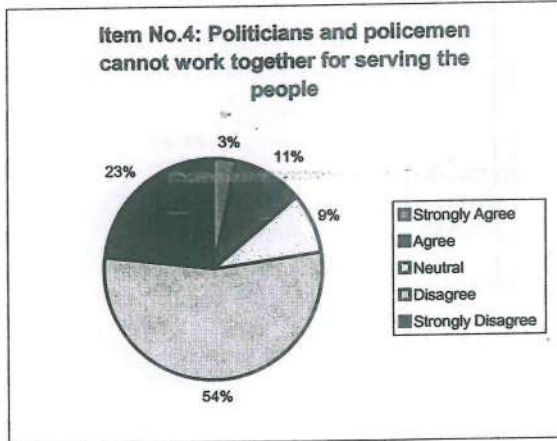
4.1.2 SELF ROLE PERCEPTION



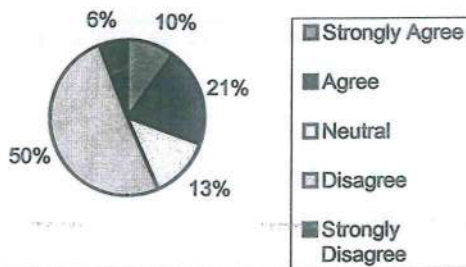
Item No.25: The effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals with politicians



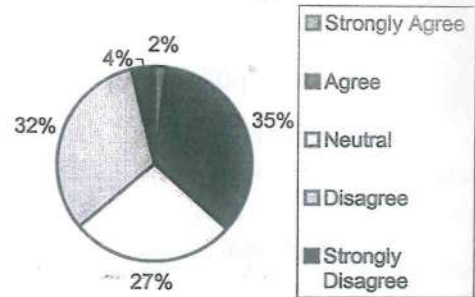
4.1.3 MUTUAL ROLE PERCEPTION



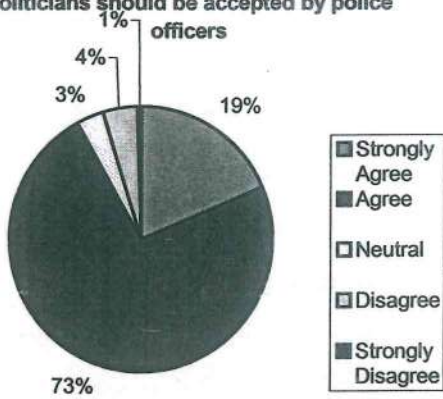
If a crowd is led by politician, the police should not attempt to reason with the crowd but should concentrate on negotiating with the politician first



Item No.26: Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders/officers for serving the poor



Item No.28: As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers



4.1.4 Items of strong agreement

1. The police can be effective in the absence of undue political pressure (Statement No.2)

Comments:

This is the only statement in the list of statements, which evoked an overwhelming agreement to the tune of 50% of the respondents. It implies that most police officers are of the opinion that

- (i) Undue political pressure exists in police work
- (ii) It affects effectiveness of police officers
- (iii) That there can be such a thing as political pressure that is 'due' or in other words reasonably justified
- (iv) It is only if the undue or illegal or non-professional demands on the police are removed that police can become very effective.

From the above it can be inferred that police officers by and large accept that there will be some political interface and influences on police work in a democracy. However there seems to be an opinion that there is a reasonable limit up to which it can be accepted as the byproduct of policing a democracy. Beyond such a limit any effort on the part of politicians to influence the decisions in police work can be considered *dysfunctional* for the simple reason that they do not achieve the twin aims of preserving the functional autonomy of the police and serving the larger interests of the public. The implication here may briefly be paraphrased as this – **while the police cannot become apolitical it should not become politicized.**

4.1.5 Items of agreement

1. The politicians act against the police (Statement No.1)

2. Politicians interfere in police work unnecessarily (Statement No.3)
3. While police work for public interest, politicians work for their own interest (Statement No.6)
4. A professional police officer should keep himself away from the politicians (Statement No.11)
5. Politicians make requests for undue/illegal favours (Statement No.12)
6. Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians (Statement No.15)
7. Police should involve politicians in negotiating a law and order situation (Statement No.16)
8. Police officers should have the same attitude towards politicians of the ruling party as towards politicians of the opposition (Statement No.17)
9. The effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals with politicians (Statement No.25)
10. Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders / officers for serving the poor (Statement No.26)
11. As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers (Statement No.28)
12. Politicians are well-behaved with professional and straight forward police officers (Statement No.29)

Comments:

The over all impression given by the statements of agreement above is as below:

- (i) A police officer in a democracy ought to accept the role of politicians as representatives of the people.
- (ii) It is entirely possible to behave and act impartially as a police officer without being affected by attitudes or behaviour of politicians
- (iii) A professional police officer may continue to do his legally prescribed job without himself trying to court any political favours or friendship.
- (iv) When interacting with politicians there is no reason why the police officer cannot be well behaved, polite and firm at the same time.
- (v) Such a professional and composed approach towards politicians is often in police parlance referred to as tact.
- (vi) Police officers generally believe that politicians do interfere in police work unnecessarily and that they often expect undue or illegal favours. This may be the main cause for a bad and dysfunctional interface between police and politicians.
- (vii) While police officers do believe that many serious public order situations instigated by politicians there is general agreement that politicians can be often involved in solving a public order situation.

4.1.6 Items of neutrality

NIL

Comments

The total absence of any neutral responses to any of the statements indicates that police-politician interface is an issue which evokes either positive or negative reactions. A police officer can be non-political in his approach but he cannot afford to apolitical.

4.1.7 Items of disagreement

1. Politicians and policemen cannot work together for serving the people (Statement No.4)
2. Protests against police are always engineered by politicians (Statement No.5)
3. Politicians and policemen cannot be friendly (Statement No.7)
4. Politicians refuse to listen to genuine police leaders (Statement No.8)
5. Politicians are the root cause for the bad image of the police (Statement No.10)
6. Showing courtesy to politicians is a sign of weakness (Statement No.13)
7. Since politicians do not listen to police officers, there is no need to listen to the politicians (Statement No.14)
8. Police officers should attempt to arrest political leaders first when he has a serious public order situation on his hands (Statement No.18)
9. If a crowd is led by a politician, the police should not attempt to reason with the crowd but should concentrate on negotiating with the politicians first (Statement No.19)
10. Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers implicated through an enquiry (Statement No.20)

11. If an accused is a politician you cannot treat him in the same way as any other accused (Statement No.21)
12. Politicians do not accept 'no' to an answer to their requests to police officers (Statement No.22)
13. If you say 'no' to a politician for an undue request, you should not explain the reasons because he will not understand (Statement No.23)
14. Choice postings can be got only with the help of politicians (Statement No.24)
15. Politicians approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people (Statement No.27)

Comments

The above 15 statements are an interesting reflection of the average police officer's impressions and experiences with respect to politicians in this country. The tenor of the responses indicate the following:

- (i) Police leadership and politicians do have a common ground and objective – i.e., to serve the community. Ideally they must devise a system where they can work together within the ambit of law and police professionalism.
- (ii) Professionalism in a police leader and his interface with politicians are not mutually exclusive. A police officer can sustain his professionalism and at the same time interact with the politicians and political system within the framework of the law of the land.
- (iii) The interfacing with the politicians does not amount to accepting all their legal and illegal demands.
- (iv) Saying 'yes' to a legitimate demand made by a politician on behalf of the public is not lack of professionalism.

- (v) Saying 'no' to a politician when asked to take an unprofessional decision is not tantamount to a dysfunctional interface.
- (vi) Democracy provides ample scope to develop a transparent system of police politician interface.
- (vii) Regrettably, today not much thought has been given to developing such a system. It is high time the politicians themselves legislate for the functional autonomy of the police organization and the police accept the role of the politician in articulating the interests of the general public.
- (viii) In public order situations it is necessary to show an impartial and professional approach without giving undue importance to the politician who might be instigating the crowd. Whatever is expedient under the circumstances must be resorted to without fear or favour.
- (ix) Defining a choice posting should not be the prerogative of any organizational or political system. A professional police officer does not make distinctions between the choice and a non-choice posting.
- (x) A police officer should be a good listener and not pre-judge persons by slotting them into good or bad categories on the basis of their calling. For example, it is fashionable among some police officers to deliberately distrust all politicians and fail to listen to even their genuine demands. This is a sign of immaturity and is an undue reaction in a democracy.

4.1.8 Items of strong disagreement

1. Transfer of police officers is a political weapon (Statement No.9)

Comments

Contrary to what is generally discussed in the public and even among police officers there seems to be a strong disagreement on the subject of treating transfer of police officers as a political weapon. The disagreement seems to be to the use of the phrase 'political weapon' as most respondents feel that it should ascribed the apparent potency of a 'weapon.' The hint seems to be that while a weapon can hurt badly in this

case the mere transfer of a police officer from one place to another cannot and should not hurt.

4.1.9 Mutual role perception: Analyzing the attitudes of police officers towards politicians

As has already been explained earlier one of the key criteria for understanding attitudes is to look into the role perceptions of institutional actors i.e., in this case the role perception of police officers and politicians of their own work per se as well as their role perception of each other is of great material relevance. It is with this aim in mind that a broad based sample survey was conducted taking into account police functionaries of all levels with a greater bias towards the leadership level starting from Supdt. Of Police upwards. In the sample of 200 police officers nearly 90% responses are from the leadership level (SP and above). A 10% sample was taken from the subordinate ranks to compare in contrast the self-role definition of the general police leadership at the operational level. This was also carried out as a consistency test from an external variable.

The responses were tabulated as above and as can be seen the mean, mode, standard deviation and chi square values were worked out.

The above data were also transferred into pie chart representations to bring out the implication of the data in clear relief.

4.1.10 Analysis of Role Perceptions in Police Officers

From the above representations of the collected data it is clearly revealed that the police officers do accept the interface with politicians as part and parcel of the policing function. Majority even feels that this in itself no way affects professionalism in police officers. The following points have clearly emerged:

1. Police officers by and acknowledge that interface with the politicians is part and parcel of policing in a democratic set-up.
2. Most officers feel that it does not in any way compromises professional approach to policing.
3. They feel that politicians and police need not necessarily be at cross-purposes. Indeed there seems to be a feeling that they can and must work together for the common goal of social service.
4. The majority of police officers feel that good behaviour with political representatives is in no way a disadvantage for good policing
5. There is, however, a groundswell of opinion regarding some objectionable trends in politicians' approach to police matters
6. Majority of officers feel that politicians are prone to unnecessary interference, instigation of serious law and order situations and are given to asking for undue favours.
7. Officers also feel that the politicians do take no for an answer and do not meddle unduly with a straightforward and professional police officer.
8. On certain standard charges against politicians – they use transfer as a political weapon and may have to be approached for so called choice postings, they are only self serving, they need to be arrested first when they are part of a serious law and order problem, they need to be arrested or negotiated with first in a law and order situation, that they have to be treated differently if they are in the ruling party- the responses seem to divided almost equally into those to accept such postulates as true and those who do not.
9. Interestingly the component of neutral respondents is very high to the issue of transfer being a political weapon.
10. There is widespread consensus on the following

- ✓ Politicians and politics are acceptable in a democracy but not undue political pressure
- ✓ In the absence of undue political pressure police can be more efficient
- ✓ Law and order situations do often have a political component
- ✓ Politicians have to be tackled while tackling a law and order situation

11. There is also agreement across the board that in order to be efficient police officers have to be tactful in dealing with politicians.

4.2 Attitude of politicians towards police

Sl. No.	ATTITUDES	Response					Descriptive statistics		Comments
		Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Neutral (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Mode	X ²	
1	Police is deliberately anti people	1 2%	12 24%	7 14%	20 40%	10 20%	2	19.4 (S)	Disagreement
2	Police is full of corrupt officers	4 8%	20 40%	2 4%	24 48%	-	2	29.68 (S)	Disagreement
3	Police hesitate to listen to the requests from politicians even if they are genuine	1 2%	15 30%	8 16%	23 46%	3 6%	2	32.8 (S)	Disagreement
4	Police officers are discourteous toward politicians	1 2%	18 36%	2 4%	20 40%	9 18%	2	31 (S)	Disagreement
5	Police officers are not good/patient listeners	3 6%	28 56%	1 2%	17 34%	1 2%	4	58.4 (S)	Agreement
6	Police officers are biased on the basis of caste and community	1 2%	10 20%	7 14%	22 44%	10 20%	2	23.4 (S)	Disagreement
7	Police always use disproportionate force to control law and order situations	5 10%	14 28%	7 14%	18 36%	6 12%	2	13 (S)	Disagreement
8	Police firings are indiscriminate and unwarranted	8 16%	8 16%	6 12%	25 50%	3 6%	2	29.8 (S)	Disagreement
9	Police is responsible for its bad image	5 10%	35 70%	3 6%	7 14%	-	4	54.6 (S)	Agreement
10	Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings	4 8%	33 66%	2 4%	7 14%	4 8%	4	67.4 (S)	Agreement
11	Police officers are not accessible to public that is why politicians have to intervene	23 46%	18 36%	3 6%	4 8%	2 4%	5	38.2 (S)	Strong agreement
12	In trying to control law and order situations police arrests innocent persons	5 10%	36 72%	1 2%	8 16%	-	4	60.8 (S)	Agreement
13	Police do not pay attention to underprivileged and destitutes	4 8%	13 26%	4 8%	21 42%	8 16%	2	20.6 (S)	Disagreement
14	We may think of a police less about society	1 2%	-	7 14%	7 14%	35 70%	1	55.92 (S)	Strong disagreement
15	Police is biased against the minorities	-	15 30%	1 2%	17 34%	17 34%	1	14.32 (S)	Strong disagreement
16	Police has a nexus with criminals and sometimes protects them to the detriment of public	7 14%	39 78%	-	4 8%	-	4	45.16 (S)	Agreement

17	interest Police is an agent of the ruling party and harasses opposition politicians	18 36%	25 50%	3 6%	4 8%	-	4	27.92 (S)	Agreement
18	There is no area in which police and the politicians can work together in the public interest	4 8%	2 4%	1 2%	13 26%	30 60%	1	59 (S)	Strong disagreement
19	A junior officer can be influenced by pressuring his senior	1 2%	27 54%	4 8%	12 24%	6 12%	4	42.6 (S)	Agreement
20	If the policeman uses force against the crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen	-	10 20%	7 21%	12 24%	21 42%	1	8.72 (S)	Strong disagreement
21	Police officers do not take suggestions from a well-behaved politicians	1 2%	20 40%	2 4%	21 42%	6 12%	2	38.2 (S)	Disagreement
22	Policemen have no right to complain of lack of resources	1 2%	6 12%	-	32 64%	11 22%	2	44.5 (S)	Disagreement
23	The policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit	1 2%	10 20%	6 12%	20 40%	13 26%	2	20.6 (S)	Disagreement
24	It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him	3 6%	22 44%	4 8%	17 34%	4 8%	4	31.4 (S)	Agreement
25	Law and order situations deteriorate because the policemen do not do their duties properly	1 2%	23 46%	10 20%	14 28%	2 4%	4	33 (S)	Agreement
26	Police are responsible for the strained relationship with politicians	2 4%	25 50%	5 10%	14 28%	4 8%	4	36.6 (S)	Agreement
27	Police are hypocrites (talk something on face, do something else)	13 26%	19 38%	5 10%	13 26%	-	4	7.9 (S)	Agreement
28	Police have negative image of politicians	2 4%	24 48%	7 14%	16 32%	1 2%	4	38.6 (S)	Agreement
29	Police should periodically interact with politician	25 50%	22 44%	3 6%	-	-	4	17.08 (S)	Agreement
30	For small favours policemen pamper the politicians	2 4%	37 74%	4 8%	7 14%	-	4	65.040 (S)	Agreement
31	Policemen harm people after being misguided by the politicians	5 10%	30 60%	6 12%	8 16%	1 2%	4	52.600 (S)	Agreement
32	For personal gains policemen do not hesitate to harm	-	23 46%	5 10%	18 36%	4 8%	4	21.520 (S)	Agreement

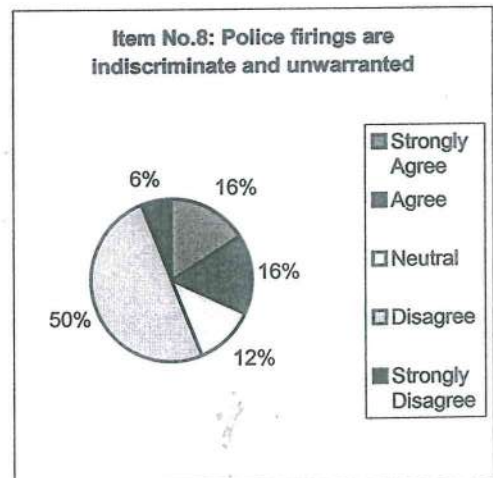
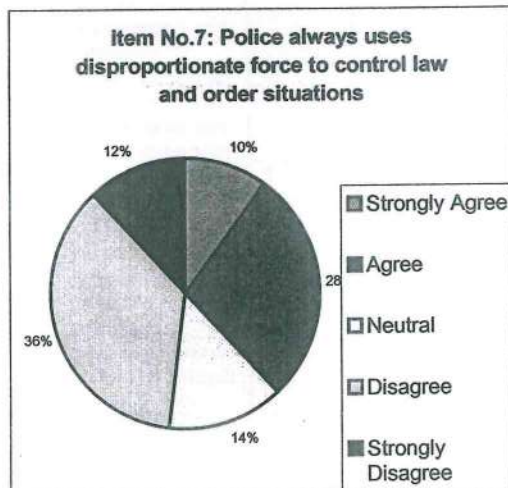
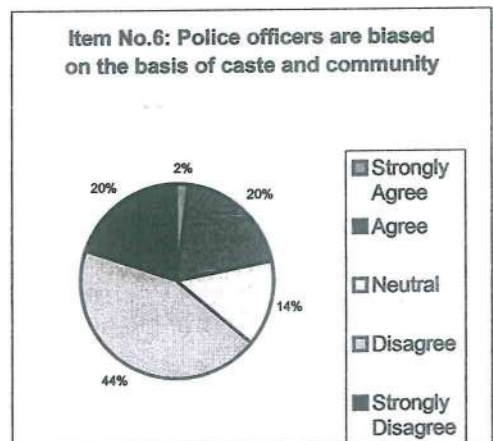
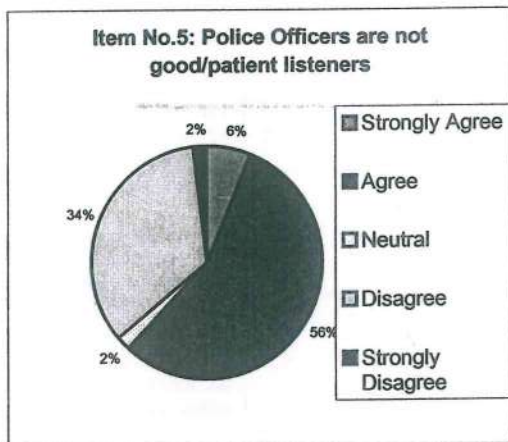
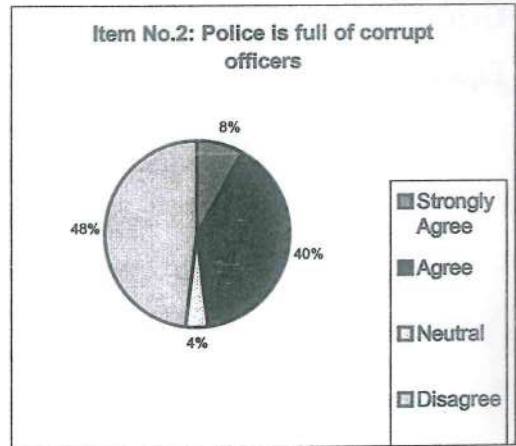
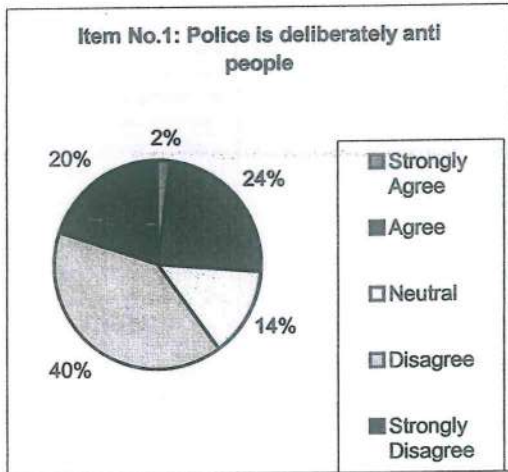
	their fellow policemen								
33	Police collude with the politicians to the detriment of the society	4 8%	28 56%	5 10%	10 20%	3 6%	4	43.40 (S)	Agreement

The reliability of the attitude scale was found to be very high

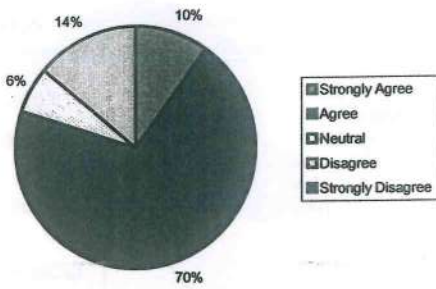
Guttman Split-half reliability coefficient = 0.4450

Equal-length Spearman-Brown = 0.6159

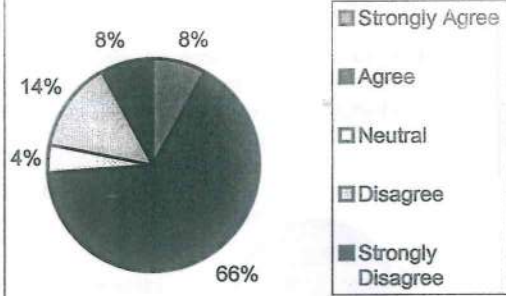
4.2.1 OTHER ROLE PERCEPTION



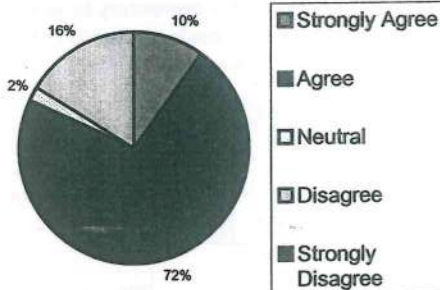
Item No.9: Police is responsible for its bad image



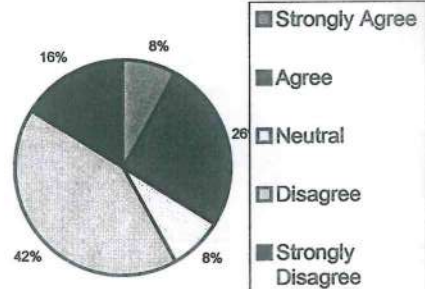
Item No.10: Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings



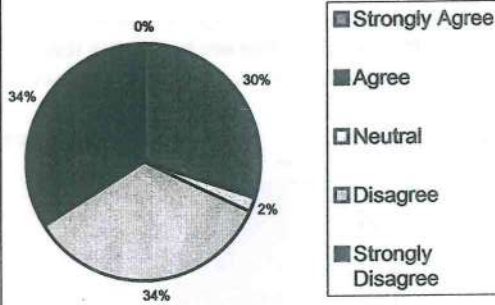
Item No.12: In trying to control law and order situations police arrests innocent persons



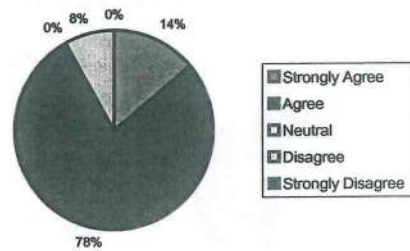
Item No.13: Police do not pay attention to underprivileged and destitutes



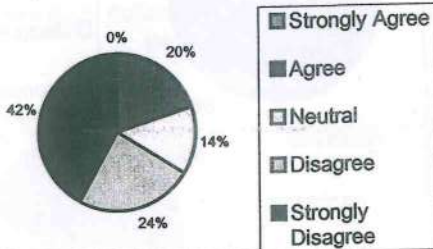
Item No.15: Police is biased against the minorities



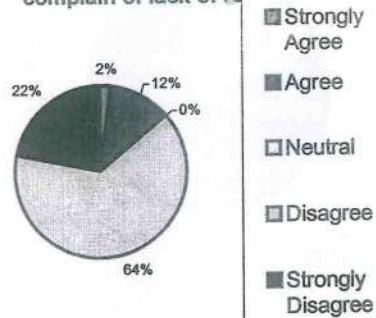
Item No.16: Police has a nexus with criminals and sometimes protects them to the detriment of public interest



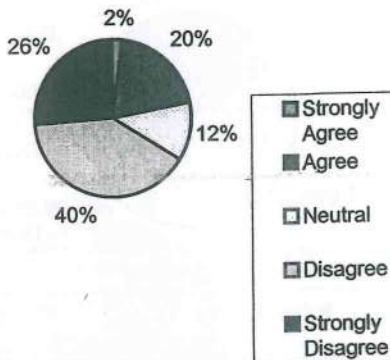
Item No.20: If the policeman uses force against the crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen



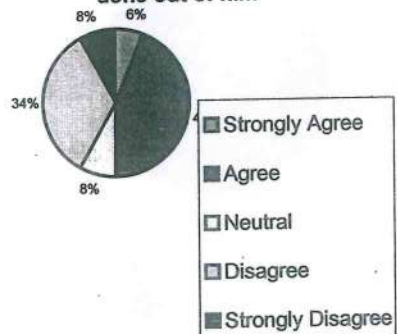
Item No.22: Policemen have no right to complain of lack of resources



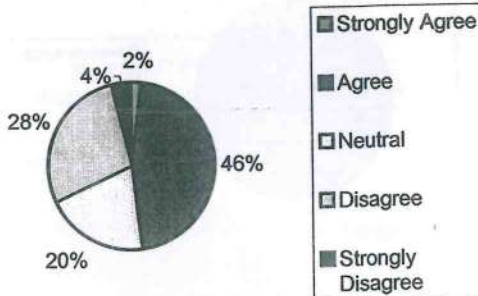
Item No.23: The policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit



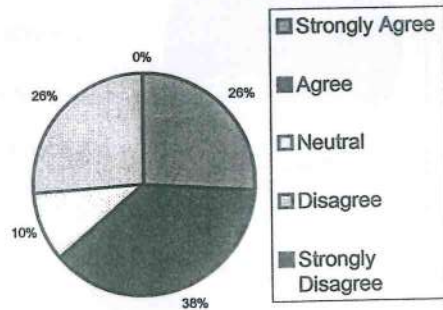
Item No.24 It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him



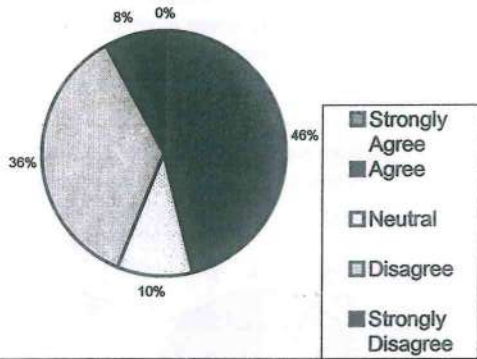
Item No.25: Law and order situations deteriorate because the policemen do not do their duties properly



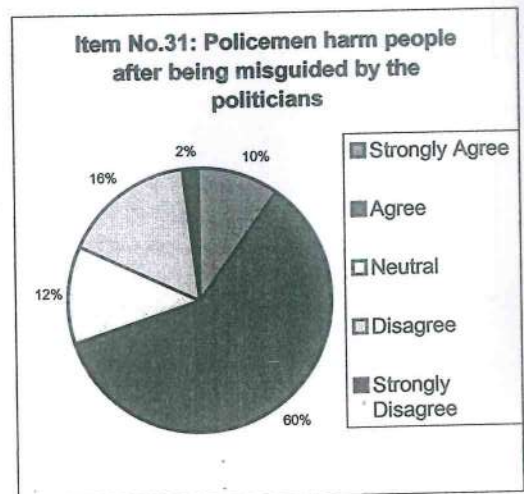
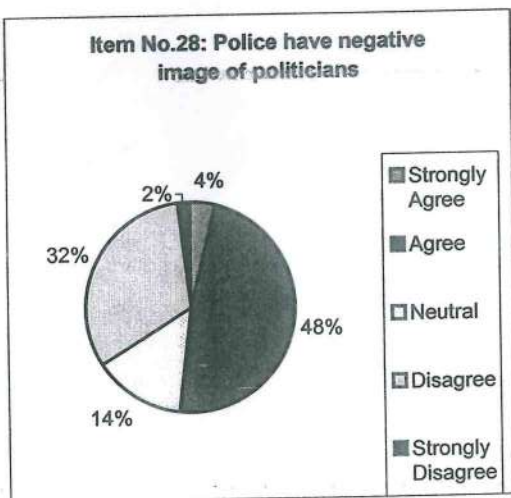
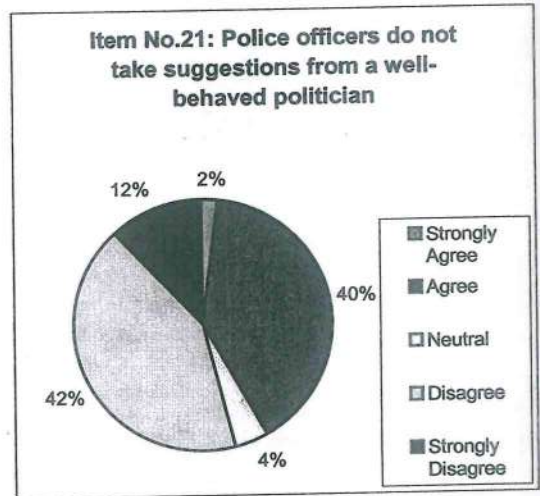
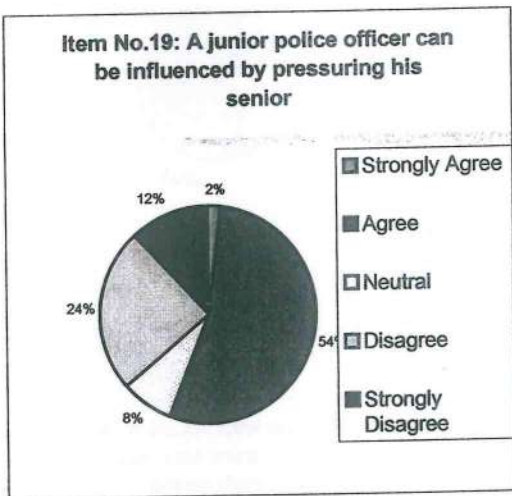
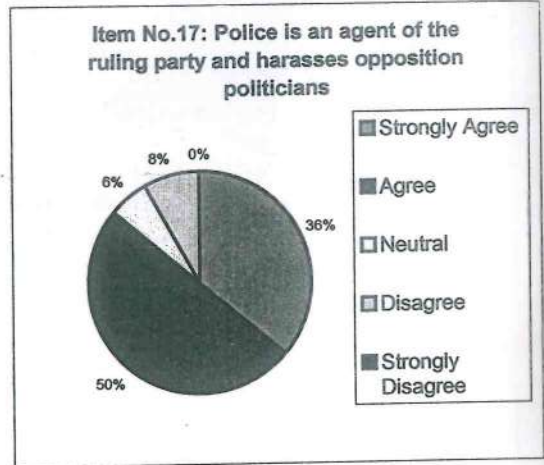
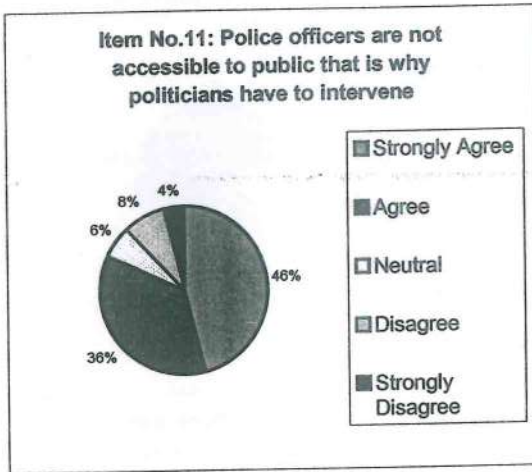
Item No.27: Police are hypocrites (talk something on face, do something else)



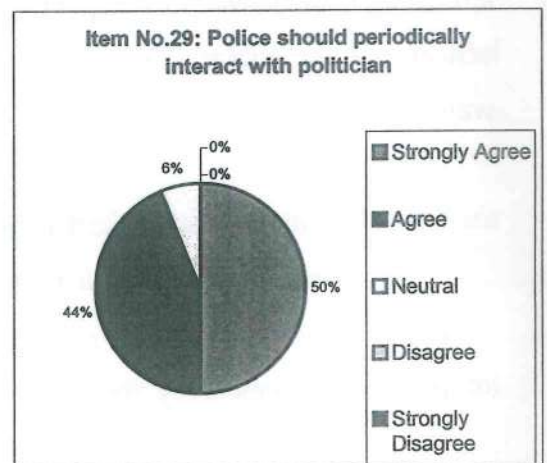
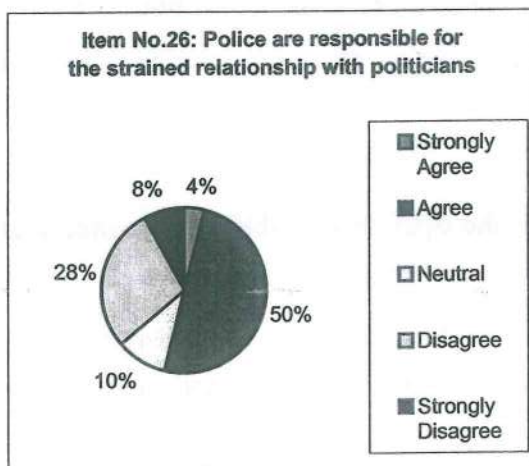
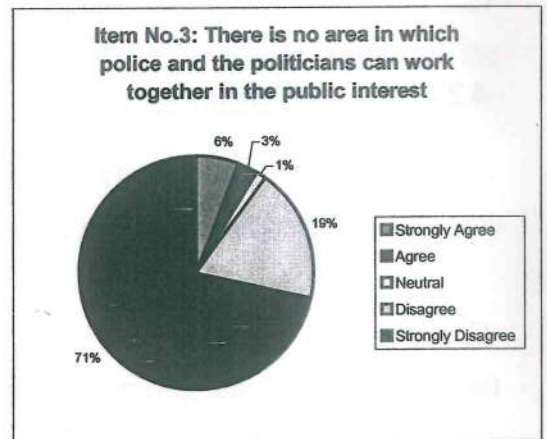
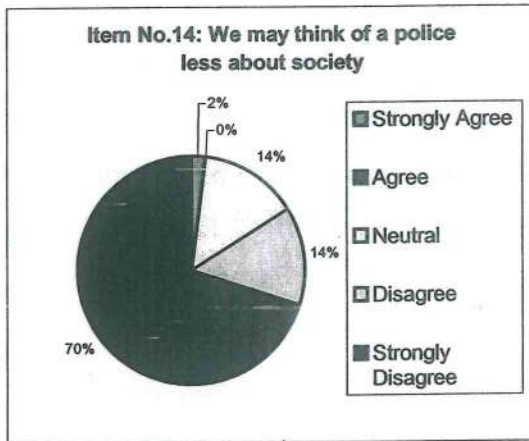
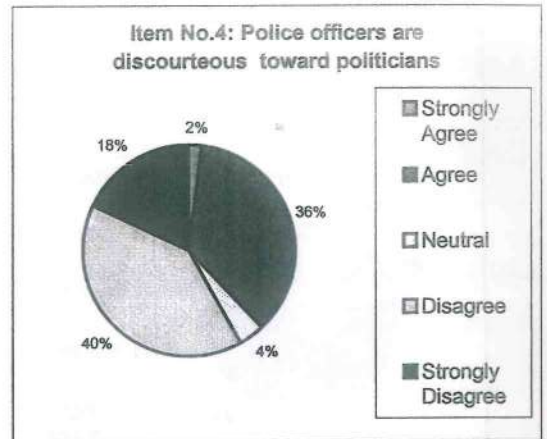
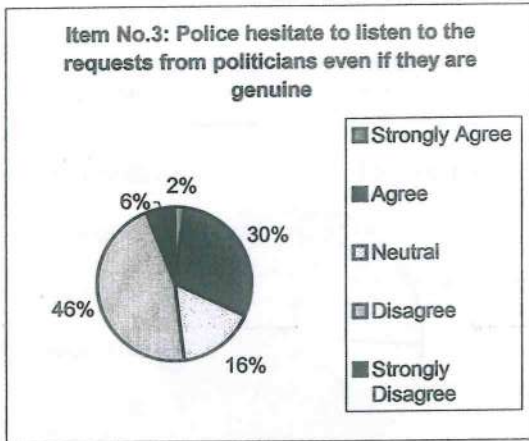
**Item No.32: For personal gains
policemen do not hesitate to harm
their fellow policemen**

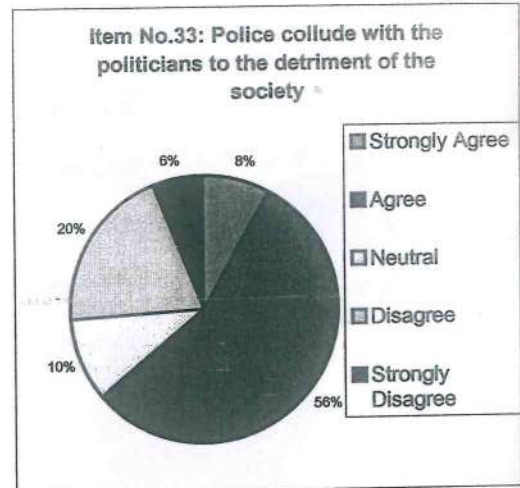
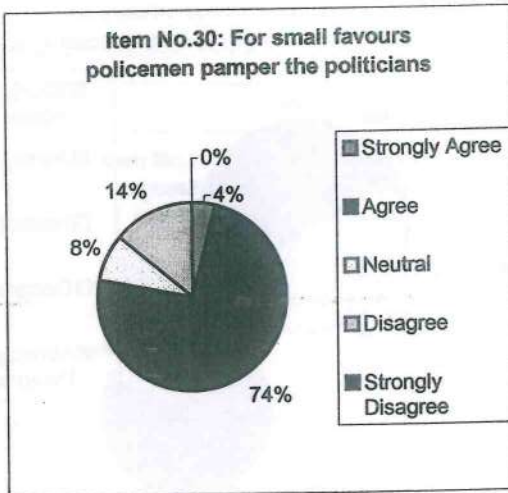


4.2.2 SELF ROLE PERCEPTION



4.2.3 MUTUAL ROLE PERCEPTION





4.2.4 Items of strong agreement

1. Police officers are not accessible to public that is why politicians have to intervene (Statement No.11)

Comments:

It is very revealing to see that the politician respondents have only one area of strong agreement and that happens to be the apparent lack of accessibility of police officers for the public. The grave import of this may be summed up in the following way:

- (i) Politicians are almost unanimous in the opinion that the police officers are generally inaccessible to the public.
- (ii) This inaccessibility creates a hiatus where the politician has to move in.
- (iii) In a democracy, the interests of the public and the various pressure groups that comprise it have to be vented in some way or the other.
- (iv) The inaccessibility of the police leaders gives the public all the reasons to turn to the politicians as a representative or a mediator for their grievances.
- (v) *If the police officers become more and more accessible to the public the politicians' need to intervene in police work may not arise or it may be minimized.*

4.2.5 Items of agreement

1. Police officers are not good / patient listeners (Statement No.5)
2. Police is responsible for its bad image (Statement No.9)
3. Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings (Statement No.10)
4. In trying to control law and order situations police arrests innocent persons (Statement No.12)
5. Police has a nexus with criminals and sometimes protects them to the detriment of public interest (Statement No.16)
6. Police is an agent of the ruling party and harasses opposition politicians (Statement No.17)
7. A junior officer can be influenced by pressurizing his senior (Statement No.19)
8. It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him (Statement No.24)
9. Law and order situations deteriorate because the policemen do not do their duties properly (Statement No.25)
10. Police are responsible for the strained relationship with politicians (Statement No.26)

11. Police are hypocrites (talk something on face do something else) (Statement No.27)
12. Police have negative image of politicians (Statement No.28)
13. Police should periodically interact with politicians (Statement No.29)
14. For small favours policemen pamper the politicians (Statement No.30)
15. Policemen harm people after being misguided by the politicians (Statement No.31)
16. For personal gains policemen do not hesitate to harm their fellow policemen (Statement No.32)
17. Police collude with the politicians to the detriment of the society (Statement No.33)

Comments:

The above 17 statements are broadly agreed upon by all political respondents. It is very interesting to note that the politicians by and large agree that as of now police has only colluded with them to the detriment of the society (statement 17 above). However, the respondents lay the major blame for the bad and unprofessional interface between the police and the politicians at the door of the police leaders themselves. The following inferences are insightful of the views of politicians about the police leadership:

- (i) The police officers are not accessible to public and where they are accessible they prove to be poor listeners. They seem to be busier with the urgent than the important.
- (ii) Police officers are often unfriendly and arrogant in their public dealings.

- (iii) The police are not unified in their approach to interfacing with the politicians. Many of them try to establish non-professional relations with the politicians with a view to making professional gains. Many police officers approach politicians for professional favours like help in transfer, postings and promotions.
- (iv) Many police leaders nurture negative feelings towards all politicians without any distinction and try to be evasive and hypocritical in their responses to the demands of politicians even when made with a genuine intention of representing a public grievance.
- (v) Several police officers become direct agents of the ruling party and unashamedly implement or act upon even illegal requests made by ruling party representatives. In the process they become highly biased against all politicians in the opposition and may end up becoming an instrument of harassment of the opposition by the ruling party.
- (vi) Police officers themselves may develop a nexus with criminal elements including those who are in politics. This leads to a very bad image for the police themselves.
- (vii) The police cannot blame any other agency for their own bad image, for they have been contributors to that image because of their non-professionalism and the presentation of a divided front.
- (viii) Politicians and police must have an interface on a regular but systemic basis within the framework of law.

4.2.6 Items of neutrality

NIL

4.2.7 Items of disagreement

1. Police is deliberately anti people (Statement No.1)

2. Police is full of corrupt officers (Statement No.2)
3. Police hesitate to listen to the requests from politicians even if they are genuine (Statement No.3)
4. Police officers are discourteous toward politicians (Statement No.4)
5. Police officers are biased on the basis of caste and community (Statement No.6)
6. Police always use disproportionate force to control law and order situations (Statement No.6)
7. Police firings are indiscriminate and unwarranted (Statement No.8)
8. Police do not pay attention to underprivileged and destitutes (Statement No.13)
9. Police officers do not take suggestions from a well-behaved politicians (Statement No.21)
10. Policemen have no right to complain of lack of resources (Statement No.22)
11. Policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit (Statement No.23)

Comments:

Politician respondents have generally displayed a remarkable sense of balanced appraisal, which is reflected on the issues that they have shown disagreement. These responses lead us to the following conclusions:

- (i) The politician respondents are averse to holding any extreme view on police.
- (ii) There is a general agreement that the police is doing an important job in society and that it is not a repository of all that is bad – bad practices or bad officers.
- (iii) The police do operate under constraints of resource and manpower training needs.
- (iv) Police leaders do show a degree of courtesy and take suggestions from politicians if offered with good intentions.
- (v) Police leaders cannot be universally branded as corrupt and inefficient. There are many good officers in the police who are wedded to professionalism and public service.
- (vi) Police use force in public order situations including resorting to firing only under extreme compulsions. Not all of these reactions unwarranted or indiscriminate.
- (vii) Police are not anti-people nor are they habitually inefficient. There are obviously systemic problems that need to be resolved.
- (viii) Police at leadership level is not deliberately partial and cannot be branded as casteist or anti-minority.
- (ix) Police leaders in India have tried to be generally impartial and fair to all sections of the community.

4.2.8 Items of strong disagreement

1. We may think of police less society (Statement No.14)
2. Police is biased against the minorities. (Statement No.15)
3. There is no area in which police and the politicians can work together in the public interest (Statement No.18)

4. If the policeman uses force against the crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen (Statement No.20)

Comments:

The respondents who are all politicians have obviously sought to emphasise that they believe strongly in the relevance of police in a democratic society. The insistence is clearly on not replacing police but reforming it towards a more people-friendly image. On the issues of public order the respondents are of the strong view that policemen may have to use force against unlawful assemblies and mobs and that they have the authority to do so without being questioned or even retaliated with violence on the side of the crowd. The average politician respondent seems to be of the conviction that while a police less society is an improbability it is absolutely necessary that a system be developed to streamline the police-politician interface with the singular objective of making it functional and positive towards the end of safety and security of the community.

CHAPTER V

THE IMPACT OF THE INTERFACE ON CITIZEN'S LIVES:
AN ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

5.1 CITIZENS RESPONSES ON ATTITUDES OF POLITICIANS TOWARDS
POLICE

Sl. No	ATTITUDES	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean	Mode	SD	X ²	Comment
1	Police is deliberately anti people	3 3 %	25 25%	17 17%	43 43%	12 12%	3.360	4	1.07	45.8	
2	Police is full of corrupt officers	6 6%	33 33%	-	61 61%	-	3.16	4	1.07	45.3	
3	Police officers do not hesitate to comply the orders from politicians even if they are not genuine.	3 3%	31 31%	17 17%	45 45%	4 4%	3.16	4	1.01	65	
4	Police officers are extra courteous/servile towards politicians	3 3%	49 49%	-	34 34%	14 14%	3.07	2	1.23 3	50.4	
5	Police officers are not good/patient listeners	6 6%	70 70%	-	22 22%	2 2%	2.440	2	.967 3	116	
6	Police officers are not biased on the basis of caste and community	3 3%	26 26%	16 16%	41 41%	14 14%	3.37	4	1.10 7	40.9	
7	Police always use disproportionate force to control law and order situations	15 15%	32 32%	11 11%	34 34%	8 8%	2.880	4	1.25 7	29.5	
8	Police firings are indiscriminate and unwarranted	24 24%	20 20%	8 8%	42 42%	6 6%	2.8600	4	1.34 8	42	
9	Police is responsible for its bad image	9 9%	75 75%	5 5%	11 11%	-	2.18	2	.743 7	134	
10	Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings	8 8%	72 72%	-	12 12%	8 8%	2.40	2	1.12	118. 2	
11	Police officers are not accessible to public that is why politicians have to intervene	54 54%	32 32%	3 3%	5 5%	6 6%	1.77	1	1.12	100	
12	In trying to control law and order situations	18 18%	58 58%	2 2%	22 22%	-	2.28	2	1.00	67.0	

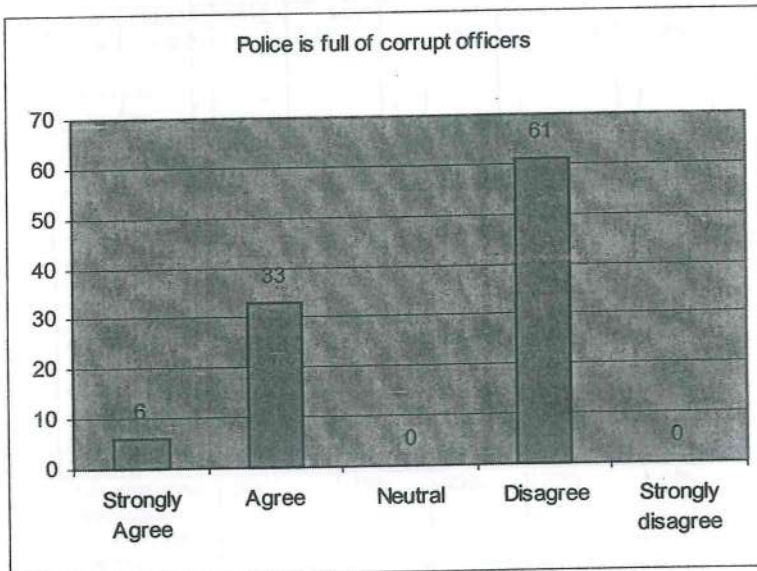
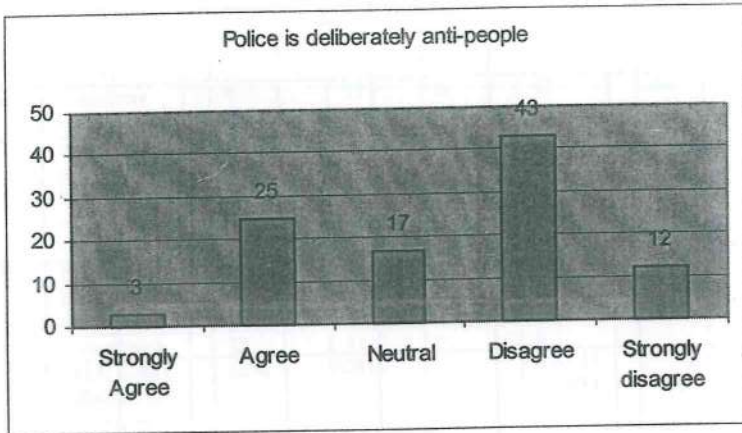
	police arrests innocent persons										
13	Police pay attention to underprivileged and destitutes	6 6%	33 33%	6 6%	41 41%	14 14%	3.24	4	1.22	51.9	
14	We may think of a police less about society	3 3%	3 3%	9 9%	19 19%	66 66%	4.42	5	.986	140	
15	Police is not biased against the minorities	-	34 34%	3 3%	41 41%	22 22%	3.51	4	1.17	33.2	
16	Police has a nexus with criminals and sometimes protects them to the detriment of public interest	23 23%	71 71%	-	6 6%	-	1.89	2	.680 1	68.1 8	
17	Police is an agent of the ruling party and harasses opposition politicians	40 40%	39 39%	9 9%	6 6%	6 6%	1.99	1	1.13	63.7	
18	There is no area in which police and the politicians can work together in the public interest	3 3%	12 12%	-	25 25%	60 60%	4.27	5	1.13	75.1 20	
19	A junior officer can be influenced by pressuring his senior	3 3%	55 55%	6 6%	25 25%	11 11%	2.86	2	1.16	90.8	
20	If the policeman uses force against the crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen	3 3%	14 14%	25 25%	25 25%	33 33%	3.71	5	1.15	27.2	
21	Police officers may never accept suggestions from a well-behaved politician	6 6%	36 36%	4 4%	37 37%	17 17%	3.23	4	1.27	50.3	
22	Police have no right to complain of lack of resources.	6 6%	9 9%	2 2%	58 58%	25 25%	3.87	4	1.07 9	105	
23	The policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit	9 9%	39 39%	10 10%	36 36%	6 6%	2.91	2	1.16	51.7	
24	It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him	3 3%	43 43%	24 24%	27 27%	3 3%	2.84	2	.961 1	58.6	

25	In Law and Order situations policemen usually do not do their duty properly	3 3%	57 57%	7 7%	27 27%	6 6%	2.76	2	1.07	103.6	
26	Police are also responsible for the strained relationship with politicians	22 22%	37 37%	9 9%	29 29%	3 3%	2.54	2	1.04	39.2	
27	Police are hypocritical (talk of pious motive but do something else)	12 12%	42 42%	15 15%	31 31%	-	2.65	2	1.04	23.76	
28	Police is bound to have a negative image of politicians	54 54%	43 43%	3 3%	-	-	1.49	1	.5595	43.2	
29	Police should periodically interact with politicians	3 3%	78 78%	6 6%	13 13%	-	2.29	2	.728	151.920	
30	Policemen seek favours from the politicians.	9 9%	66 66%	12 12%	13 13%	-	2.29	2	.8077	90	
31	Policemen help people only after pressure from the politicians	-	39 39%	12 12%	35 35%	14 13%	3.24	2	1.120	23.44	
32	For personal gains policemen do not hesitate to harm their fellow policemen.	8 8%	59 59%	11 11%	16 16%	6 6%	2.53	2	1.048	97.9	
33	Police collaborates with the politicians for the benefit of the society at large.	-	14 14%	6 6%	80 80%	-	3.660	4	.7138	98.9	

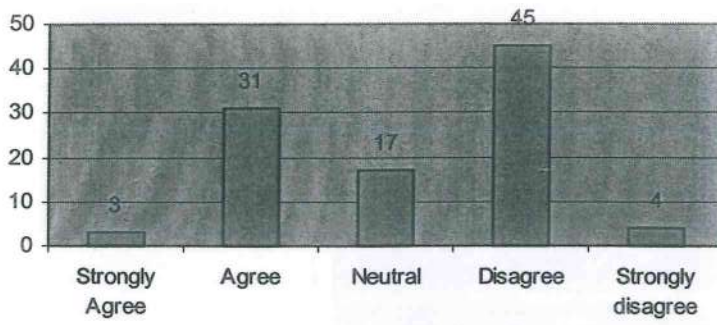
The reliability of the attitude scale was found to be very high

Guttman Split-half reliability coefficient = 0.6532

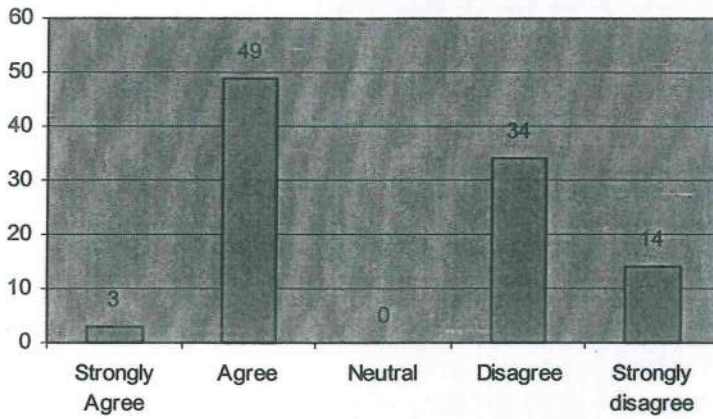
Equal-length Spearman-Brown = 0.6685



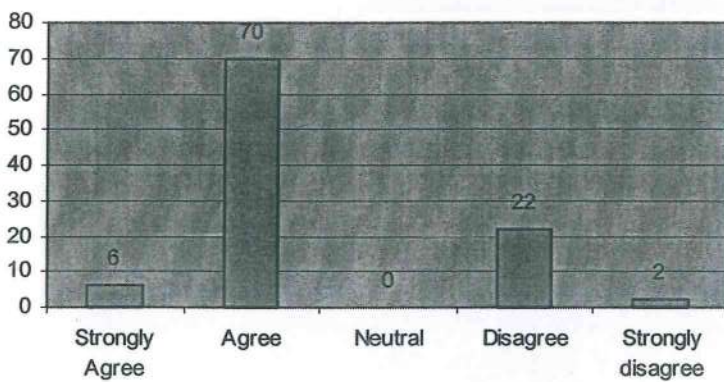
Police officers do not hesitate to comply orders from politicians even if they are not genuine



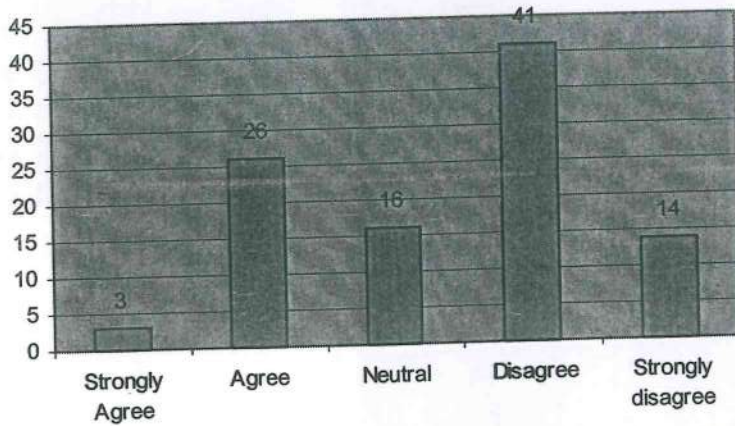
Police officers are extra courteous/servile towards politicians



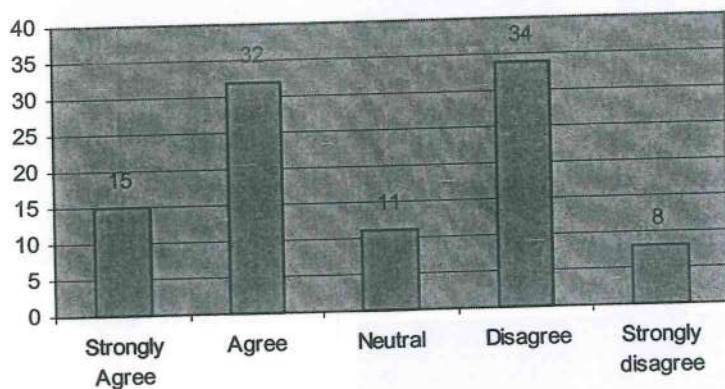
Police officers are not good/patient listeners



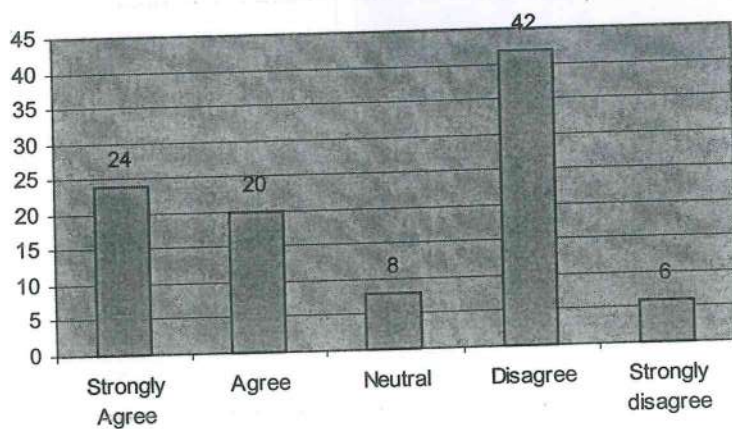
Police officers are not biased on the basis of caste and community



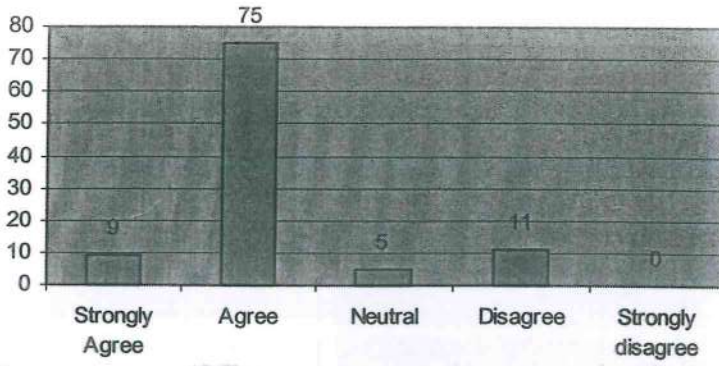
Police always use disproportionate force to control L&O situations



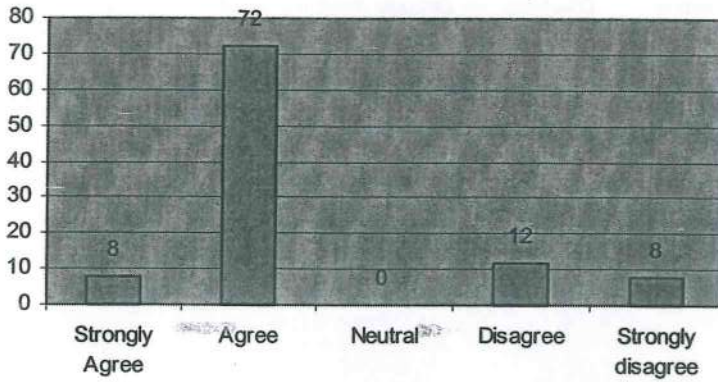
Police firings are indiscriminate and unwarranted



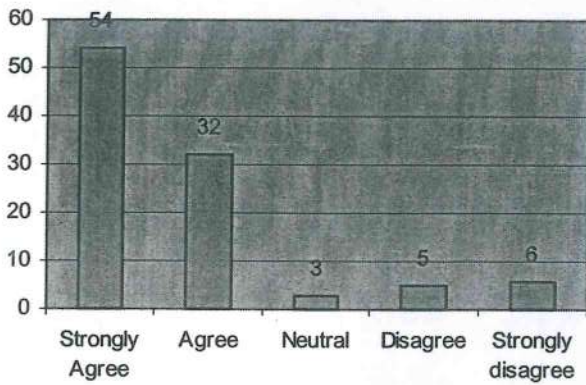
Police is responsible for its bad image



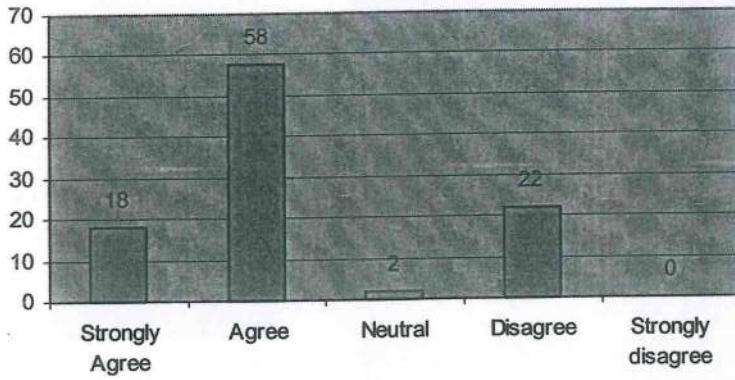
Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings



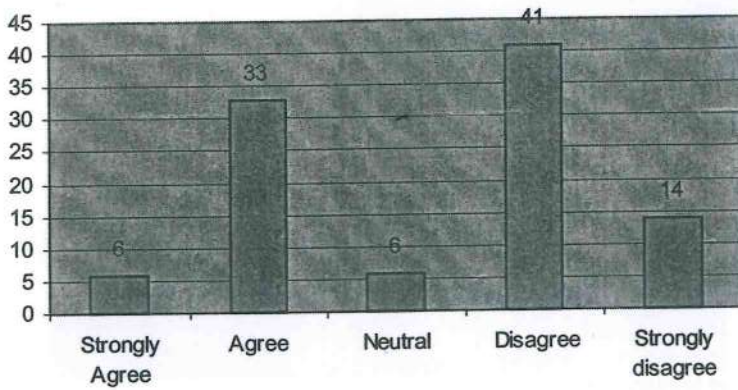
Police officers are not accessible to public that is why politicians have to intervene



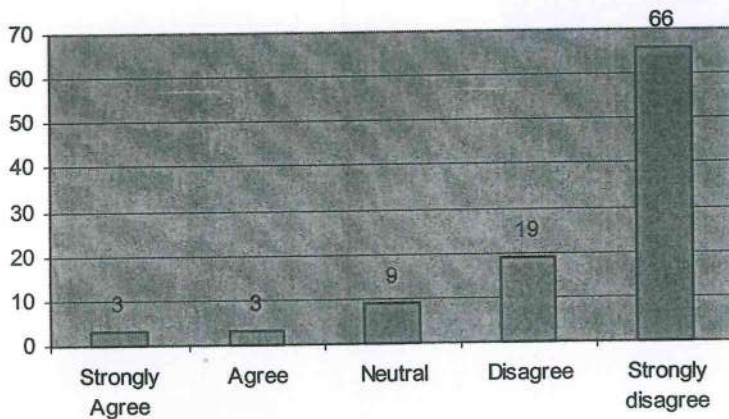
In trying to control law and order situations police arrest innocent persons



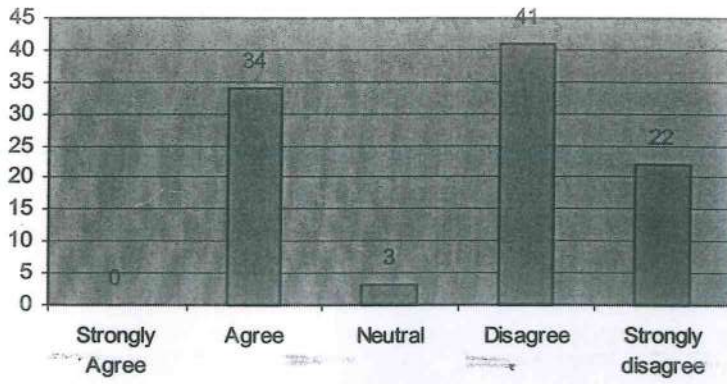
Police pay attention to underprivileged and destitutes



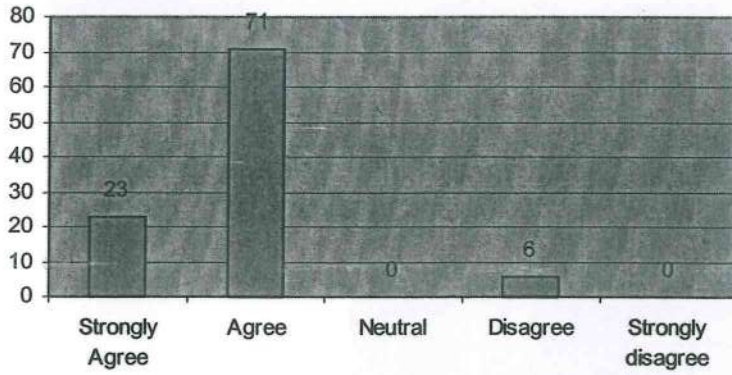
We may think of a police less society



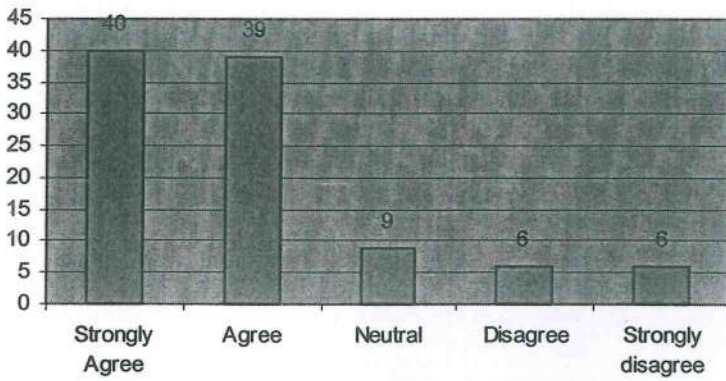
Police is not biased against the minorities



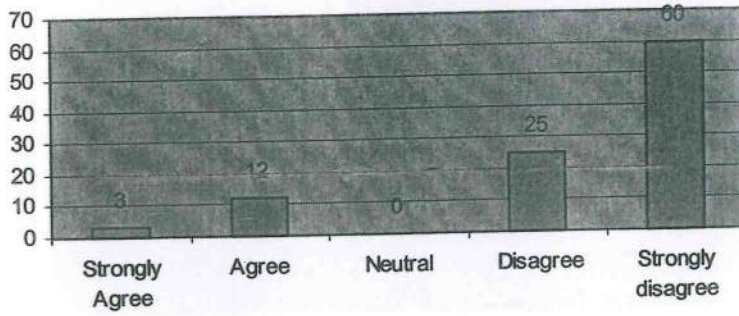
Police has nexus with criminals and sometimes protects them to the detriment of public interest



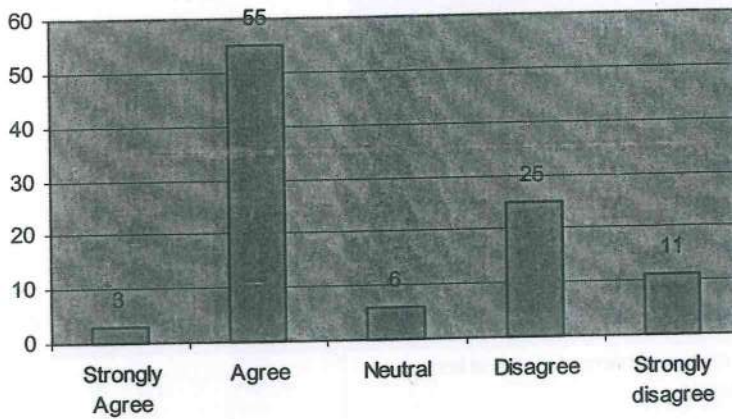
Police is an agent of the ruling party and harrasses opposition politicians



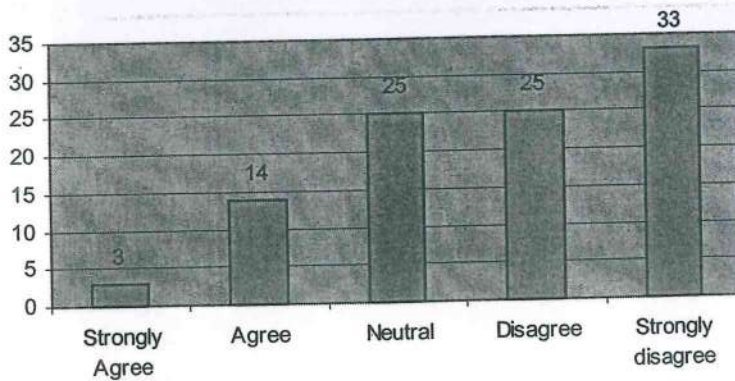
There is no area in which police and politicians can work together in the public interest



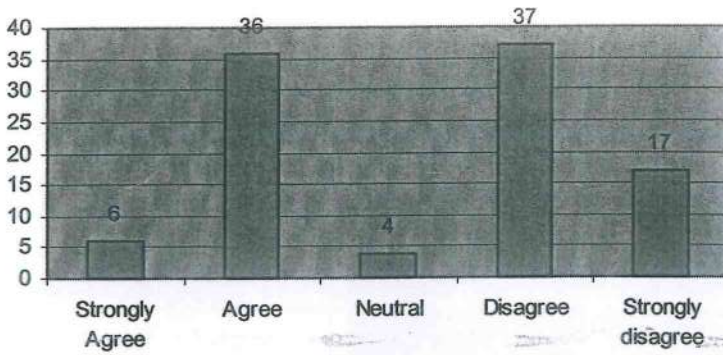
A junior officer can be influenced by pressuring his senior



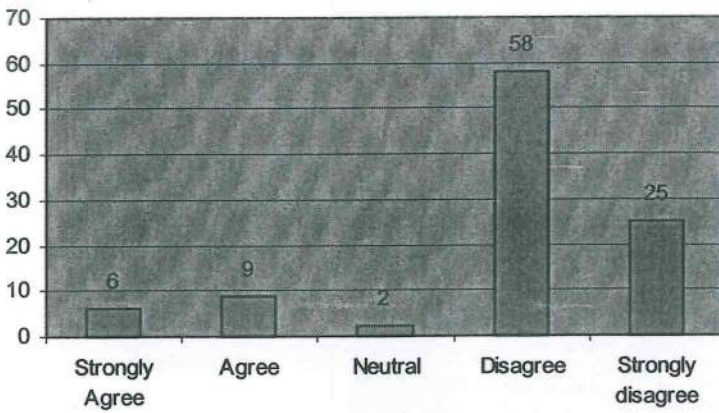
If the police use force against crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen



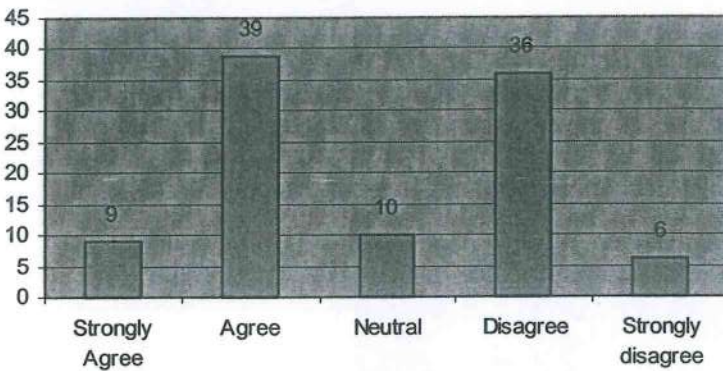
Police officers may never accept suggestions from a well-behaved politician



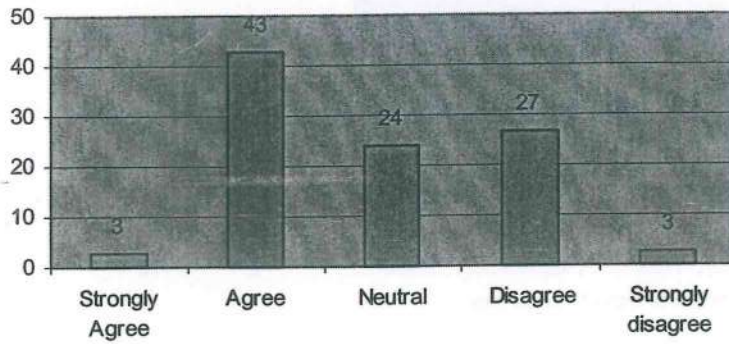
Police have no right to complain of lack of resources



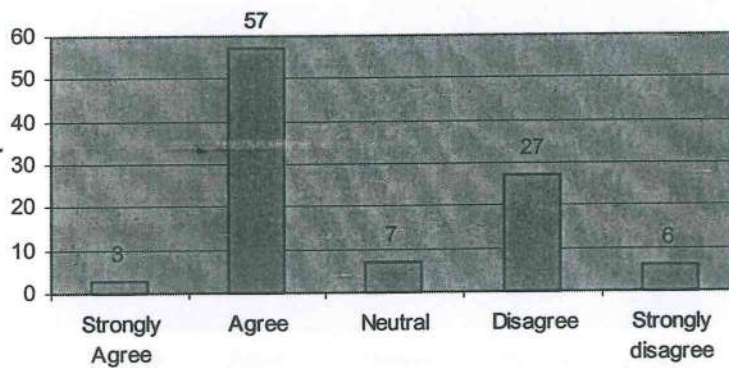
Policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit



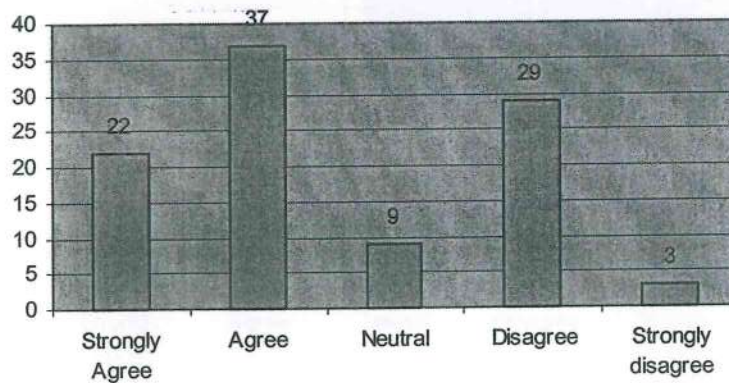
It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him



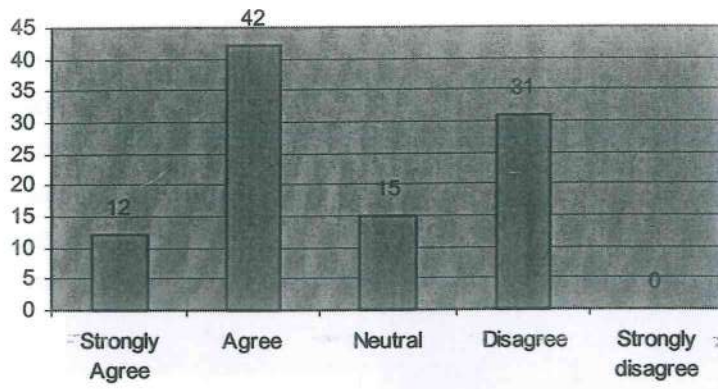
In L&O situations policemen usually do not do their duty properly



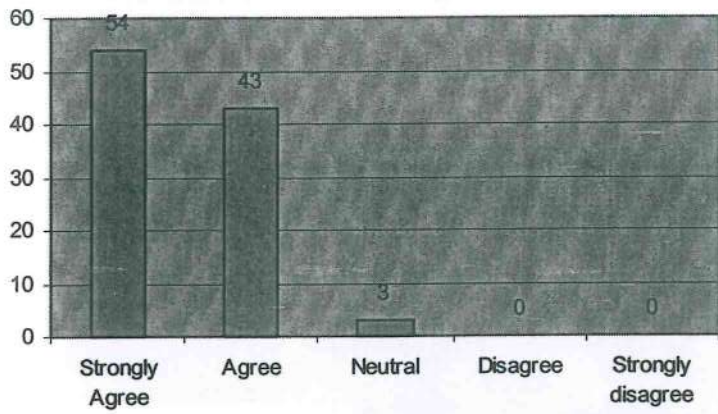
Police are also responsible for strained relationship with politicians



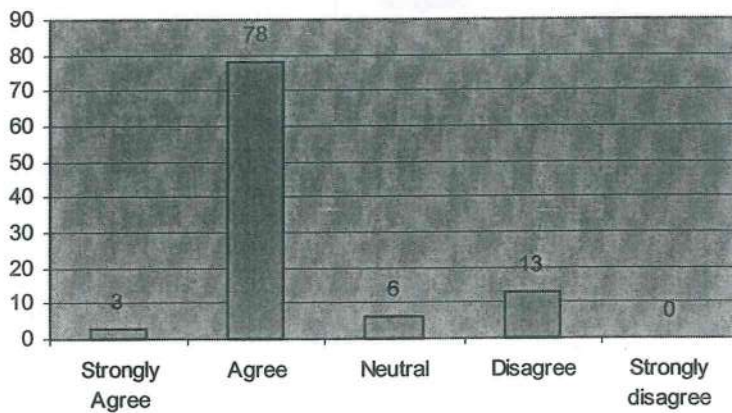
Police are hypocritical (talk of pious motive but do something else)



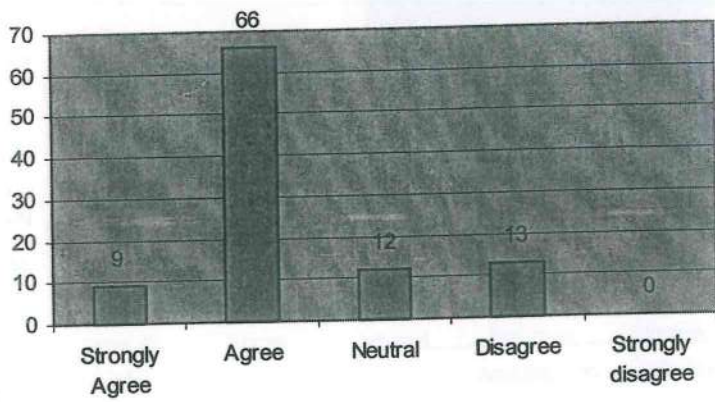
Police is bound to have a negative image of politicians



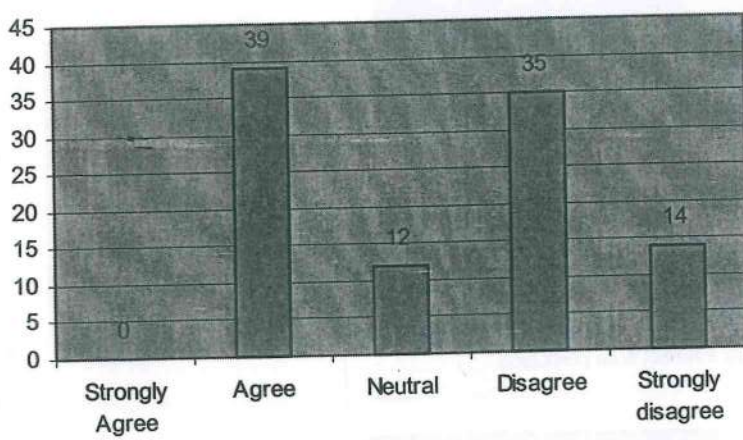
Police should periodically interact with politicians



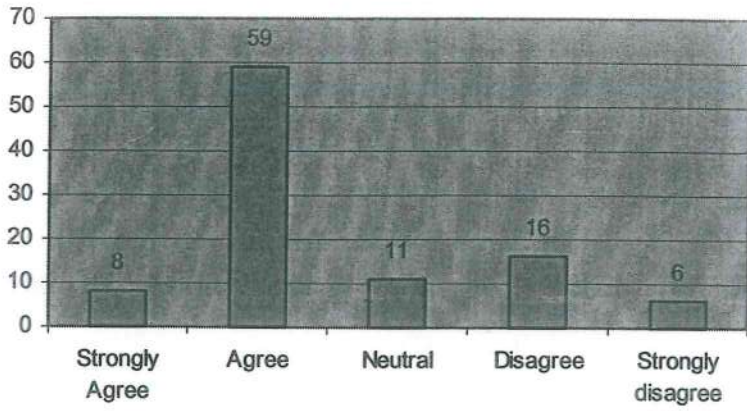
Policemen seek favours from the politicians



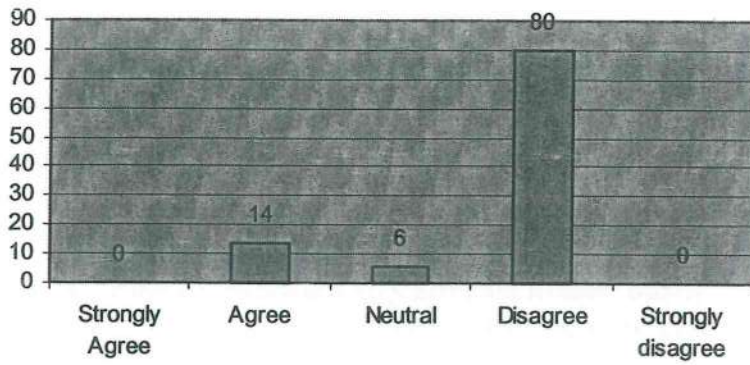
Policemen help people only after pressure from politicians



For personal gains policemen do not hesitate to harm their fellow policemen



Police collaborates with the politicians for the benefit of the society at large



5.1.1 Items of strong agreement:

1. Police officers are not accessible to public that is why politicians have to intervene (Statement No.11)
2. Police is an agent of the ruling party and harasses opposition politicians (Statement No.17)
3. Police is bound to have a negative image of politicians (Statement No.28)

Comments:

The strong agreement reflected on the above three statements are symptomatic of the image of the politicians and the police as well as the public's idea about the interface between the police and the politicians.

- It is very interesting to know that the public is by and large in agreement with the politicians when underscoring the lack of accessibility of police officers. In a sense the public is reluctantly legitimizing the mediating role of the politician between the police and the public. Indeed the public may perhaps be implying that due to lack of day-to-day accessibility of police officers people are forced to request politicians to put forth their grievances etc. in front of the police officer. The serious implication in such a view point is that the politicians seem to have easy access to police officers.
- The second statement about police being an agent of the ruling party and an instrument of harassment for the opposition party is also a statement where the public's view point is in consonance with that of the politicians. It is a pointer to the dominant culture of compliance in the police hierarchy wherein the police leadership in general complies with the dictates of the ruling party. The question here is not whether police

leadership in a particular instance is subservient to the ruling party or not. The point that actually merits consideration is that the public at any rate views the police in any set up as an agent of the ruling party.

- The third statement reflects the public's perceptiveness about the police-politician interface. In this interface the public in general seems to have a slightly greater sympathy for the police. In viewing the police as an agency which is under the strong influence of politicians, the public seems to be endorsing the negative image that the politicians generally have among the police officers.

5.1.2 Items of agreement:

1. Police officers are extra courteous / servile towards politicians (Statement No.4)
2. Police officers are not good / patient listeners (Statement No.5)
3. Police is responsible for its bad image (Statement No.9)
4. Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings (Statement No.10)
5. In trying to control law and order situations police arrests innocent persons (Statement No.12)
6. Police has a nexus with criminals and sometimes protects them to the detriment of public interest (Statement No.16)
7. A junior officer can be influenced by pressurizing his senior (Statement No.19)
8. Policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit (Statement No.23)

9. It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him (Statement No.24)
10. In law and order situations policemen usually do not do their duty properly (Statement No.25)
11. Police are also responsible for the strained relationship with politicians (Statement No.26)
12. Police are hypocritical (talk of pious motives but do something else) (Statement No.27)
13. Police should periodically interact with politicians (Statement No.29)
14. Policemen seek favours from the politicians (Statement No.30)
15. Policemen help people only after pressure from the politicians (Statement No.31)
16. For personal gains policemen do not hesitate to harm their fellow policemen (Statement No.32)

Comments:

The above 16 statements about which the public has shown ready agreement are reflective of the poor image that the public have about police. Generally the average citizen seems to find a plethora of bad qualities in the police officers – which are bad both professionally and on a personal or moral level holding the police responsible for its own bad image that the public seems to have detected the following flaws in the profile of the policemen:

1. Personality flaws –

- Not taking a stand against pressure (servility)
- Hypocrisy
- Back-biting within the organization
- Arrogance
- Impatience
- Bad listening abilities

2. Professional flaws –

- Corruption
- Inefficiency
- Dereliction of duty
- Police criminal nexus
- Succumbing to pressure from politicians
- Harassment of innocent persons
- Seeking favour for professional gains

3. Flaws in the police-politician interface –

- Interface only when there is vested interests involved
- Interface not structured or on a professional level so that it can serve the interests of the public,

5.1.3 **Items of neutrality**

NIL

Comments:

Like the politicians and the police officers, the public also finds that the statements about the police-politician interface are ones that in some way or other concern the impact areas in their daily lives. Accordingly the public has had ample reason to react on all these attitudinal statements.

5.1.4 Items of disagreement:

1. Police is deliberately anti people (Statement No.1)
2. Police is full of corrupt officers (Statement No.2)
3. Police officers do not hesitate to comply the orders from politicians even if they are not genuine (Statement No.3)
4. Police officers are not biased on the basis of caste and community (Statement No.6)
5. Police always use disproportionate force to control law and order situations (Statement No.7)
6. Police firings are indiscriminate and unwarranted (Statement No.8)
7. Police pay attention to underprivileged (Statement No.13)
8. Police is not biased against the minorities (Statement No.15)
9. Police officers may never accept suggestions from a well-behaved politician (Statement No.21)

10. Police have no right to complain of lack of resources (Statement No.22)

11. Police collaborates with the politicians for the benefit of the society at large (Statement No.33)

Comments:

It is very interesting to note that the above relevant statements have been reacted upon quite differently by the public as against the police officers and the politicians. Some of the critical implications of the above items of disagreement are:

- The public is not inclined to dismiss the police officers and the police organization as totally irredeemable. By disagreeing to the statements that police is deliberately anti-people and that police is full of corrupt officers the public seems to be acknowledging the fact that police organization still has professional, sincere and honest officers. At the same time it is also willing to give the benefit of the doubt to the police by not ascribing any constant malafide intentions against the public. The implication seems to be that if more and more officers can stand their ground and be professional and efficient the politicians may not be able to influence them in a way that affects society negatively.
- The public, however, is not willing to gloss over what it feels is an apparent bias in the police organization against

(a) The weaker sections

(b) The minorities

The public is clear in its verdict that the police is prone to show bias on the basis of caste and community. This intrinsic weakness in the police's professional value orientation perhaps makes them a natural ally of politicians who would like to exploit the divisive tendencies in the society.

- On the issue of public order maintenance the public itself seems to be of the opinion that the use of force in crowd control and other public order situations may sometimes be warranted and the police need not be blamed for using force under certain unavoidable circumstances. The public also takes cognizance of the fact that not all instances of police use of force especially cases of police firing can be categorized as indiscriminate use of force. This seems to be a surprisingly mature and analytical inference from the public and may indeed surprise a few police officers, politicians and sundry purveyors of public opinion. It is also heartening to note that the public is unanimous in acknowledging that the police has every right to complain about lack of resources in its effort to maintain public peace and order with greater efficacy.
- In the context of police-politician interface, the citizens have homed in on certain vital points. They feel that police officer and politicians should collaborate only with the interest of the public in mind which at this point is not being done. There seems to be an expectation of professionalism both from the police officer and the politician as *public servants*. The public also desires to see a constructive role played by professional police officers in tandem with well meaning politicians. There is obviously an assumption that such officers and politicians do exist in our socio-political context and they merit all the support of the public.

5.1.5 Items of strong disagreement

1. We may think of a police less about society (Statement No.14)
2. There is no area in which police and the politicians can work together in the public interest (Statement No.18)

3. If the policeman uses force against the crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen (Statement No.20)

Comments:

The statements outlined above are clear testimony of an unequivocal sentiment in the public about the abiding necessity of police as part and parcel of any society.

- Given the implied assumption that the society also will have its quota of politicians the conclusion seems to be that the police and the politicians must work together in the interest of the public.
- This is amply emphasized by the strong agreement shown by the citizens on the statement No.18 – *There is no area in which police and the politicians can work together in the public interest.*
- In the realm of the public order maintenance and crowd control, the citizens have expressed strong reservations about use of violence by the crowds against policemen.
- Indeed the citizen seem to be in agreement that use of force under certain circumstances is a prerogative of the police officer as a law enforcing agent.
- On the other hand the citizens do not have an automatic right to use violence whenever police officers are constrained to use force to bring a certain situation under control.

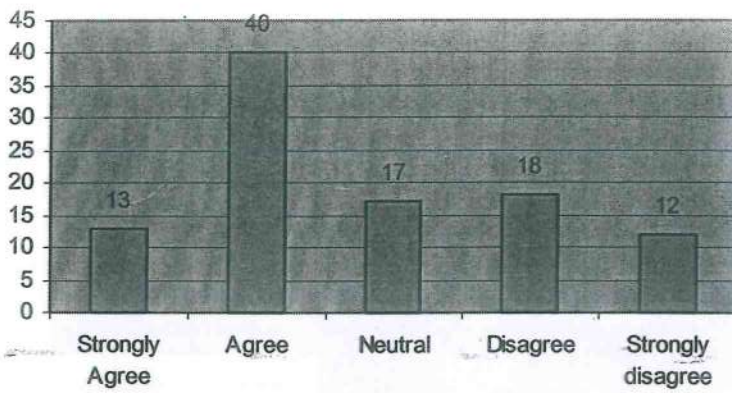
5.2 CITIZENS RESPONSES ON ATTITUDE OF POLICE OFFICERS TOWARDS POLITICIAN

Sl.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean	Mode	SD	X ²	Comments
1	The politicians always act against the police	13 13 %	40 40%	17 17%	18 18%	12 12%	2.76	2	1.24	26.3	
2	The police can be effective in the absence of undue political pressure	62 62%	26 26%	4 4%	5 5%	3 3%	1.16	1	.993	128	
3	Politicians interfere in police work unnecessarily	29 29%	45 45%	7 7%	10 10%	9 9%	2.25	2	1.23	54	
4	Politicians and policemen cannot work together for serving the people	9 9%	14 14%	9 9%	43 43%	25 25%	3.61	4	1.25	41	
5	Protests against police are always engineered by politicians	9 9%	32 32%	14 14%	25 25%	20 20%	3.15	2	1.31	16	
6	While police work for public interest, politicians work for their own interest	22 22%	36 36%	8 8%	20 20%	14 14%	2.68	2	1.38	22	
7	Politicians and policemen cannot be friendly	-	34 34%	9 9%	31 31%	26 26%	3.49	2	1.21	14	
8	Politicians refuse to listen to genuine demands of the police	11 11%	34 34%	10 10%	36 36%	9 9%	2.98	4	1.00	37	
9	Transfer of police officers is a political weapon	41 41%	38 38%	8 8%	13 13%	-	1.93	1	1.00	34	
10	Politicians are the root cause for the bad image of the police	8 8%	27 27%	14 14%	37 37%	14 14%	3.22	4	1.21	27	
11	A professional police officer should keep himself away from the politicians	26 26%	37 37%	37 37%	16 16%	11 11%	2.49	2	1.32	26	
12	Politicians make requests for undue/illegal favours	14 14%	53 53%	10 10%	17 17%	6 6%	2.48	4	1.17	71	
13	Showing courtesy to politicians is a	15 15%	13 13%	6 6%	47 47%	19 19%	3.42	4	1.34	50	

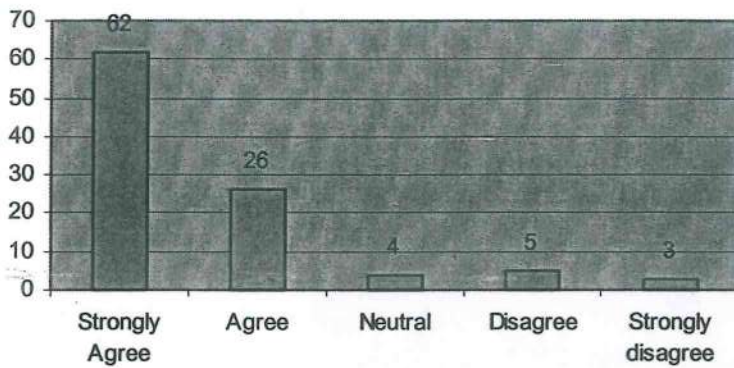
	sign of weakness										
14	Police officers should never listen to the politicians	2 2%	16 16%	7 7%	41 41%	34 34%	3.89	4	1.10	57	
15	Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians	12 12%	43 43%	8 8%	23 23%	14 14%	2.84	2	1.30	39	
16	Police should not involve politicians in negotiating a law and order situation	23 23%	52 52%	10 10%	10 10%	5 5%	2.22	2	1.06	72	
17	The police officers should have the same attitude towards politicians of the ruling party as towards politicians of the opposition	48 48%	41 41%	6 6%	5 5%	-	1.68	1	.802 5	61	
18	Police officers should attempt to arrest political leaders first when they are faced with a serious public order situation	16 16%	28 28%	17 17%	36 36%	3 3%	2.82	4	1.17	31	
19	If a crowd is led by a politician, the police should reason and not start negotiating with the politicians first	18 18%	56 56%	9 9	15 15	2 2%	2.27	2	.993	88	
20	Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers implicated through an enquiry	11 11%	37 37%	11 11%	22 22%	19 19%	3.01	2	1.34	22	
21	If an accused is a politician police should treat him in the same way as any other accused	6 6%	44 44%	13 13%	32 32%	5 5%	2.86	2	1.25	59	
22	Politicians do not accept 'no' to an answer to their requests to police officers	8 8%	35 35%	18 18%	22 22%	17 17%	3.05	2	1.25	19.3	
23	If a police officer says 'no' to a politician on an undue request from him, the officer should not explain the	8 8%	14 14%	11 11%	42 42%	25 25%	3.62	4	1.22	38	

	reasons because he will not understand										
24	Choice postings can be got only with the help of politicians	19 19%	25 25%	11 11%	35 35%	10 10%	2.92	4	1.23	21	
25	The effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals with politicians	39 39%	42 42%	5 5%	8 8%	6 6%	2	2	1.14	70	
26	Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders/officers for serving the poor	15 15%	33 33%	9 9%	41 41%	2 2%	2.82	4	1.18	54	
27	Politicians, approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people	6 6%	30 30%	19 19%	40 40%	5 5%	3.08	4	1.07	46	
28	As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers	25 25%	54 54%	13 13%	2 2%	6 6%	2.10	2	1.0	87	
29	Politicians are well behaved with professional and straight forward police officers.	21 21%	43 43%	11 11%	22 22%	3 3%	2.43	2	1.1	45	

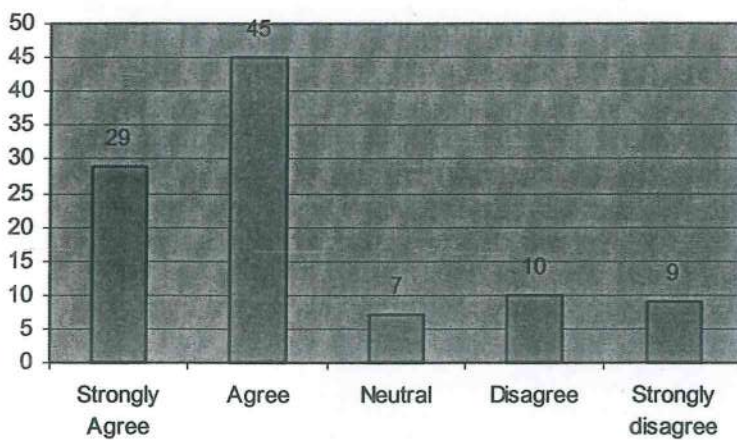
Politicians always act against the police



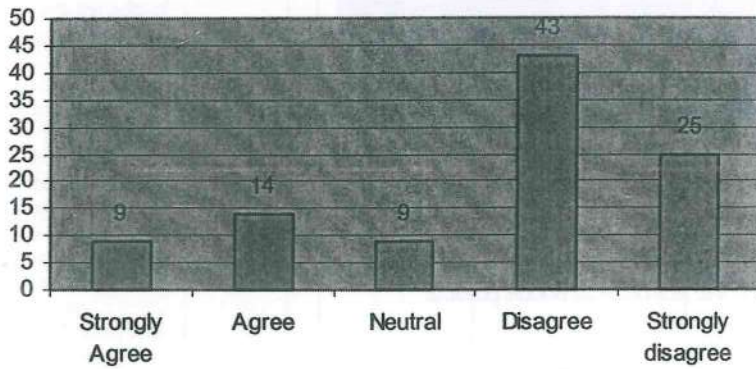
Police can be effective in the absence of undue political pressure



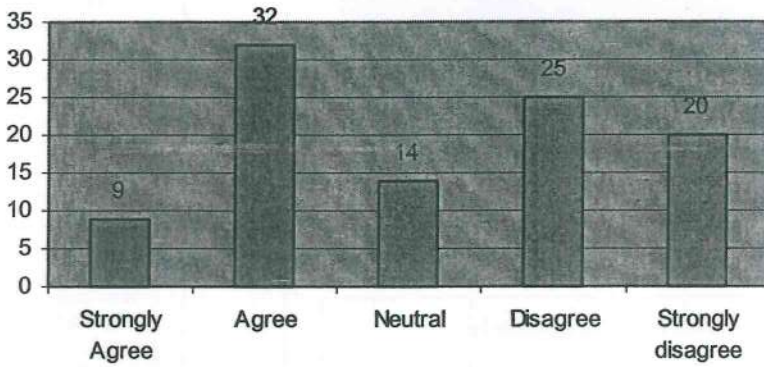
Politicians interfere in police work unnecessarily



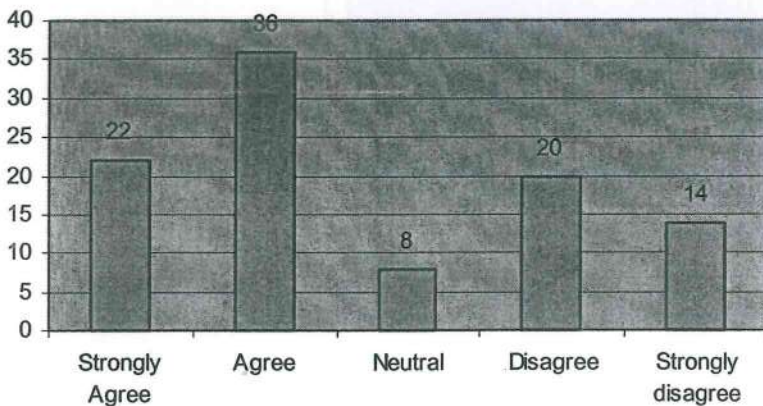
Politicians and policemen cannot work together for serving the people



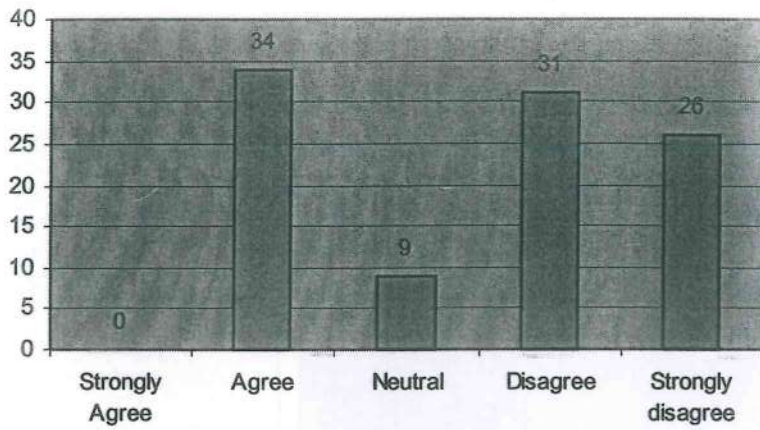
Protests against police are always engineered by politicians



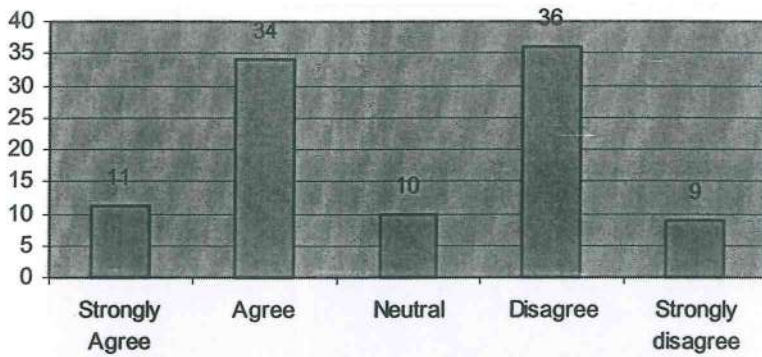
While police work for public interest, politicians work for their own interest



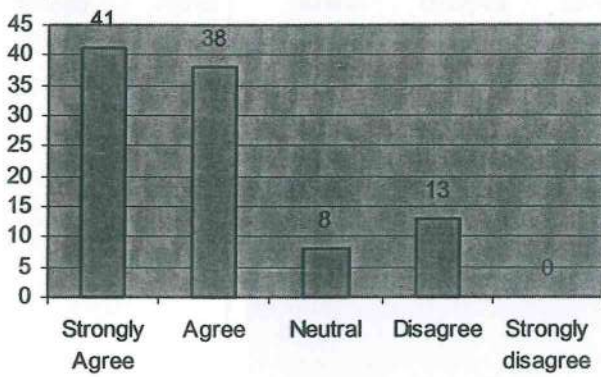
Politicians and policemen cannot be friendly



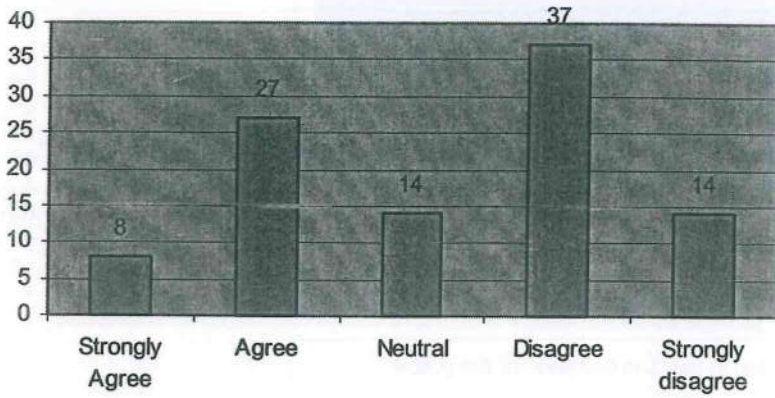
Politicians refuse to listen to genuine demands of the police



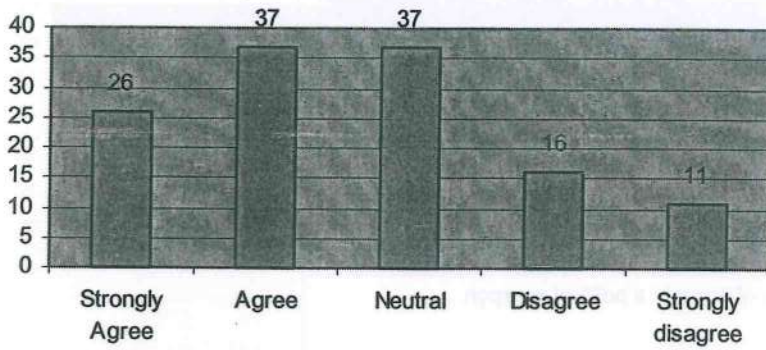
Transfer of police officers is a political weapon



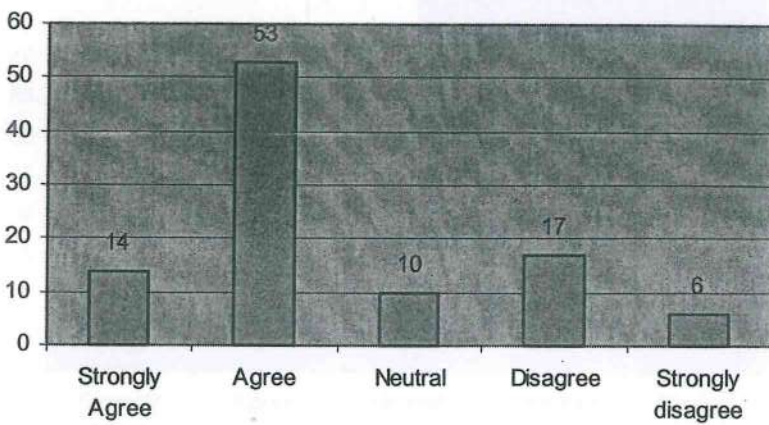
Politicians are the root cause for the bad image of the police



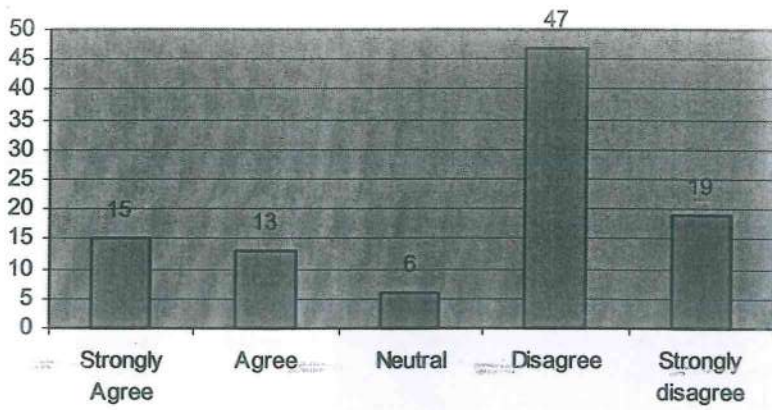
A professional police officer should keep himself away from the politicians



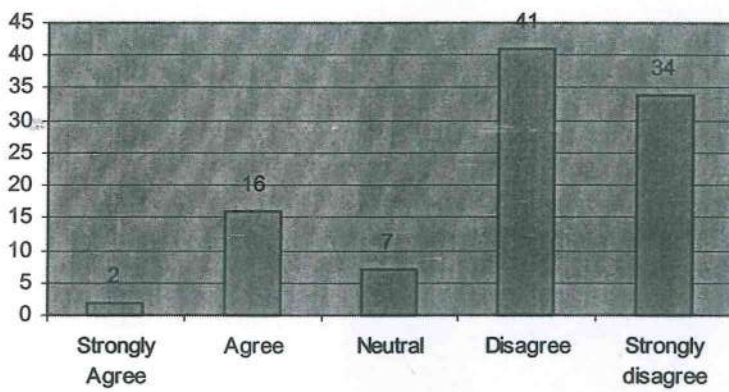
Politicians make requests for undue/illegal favours



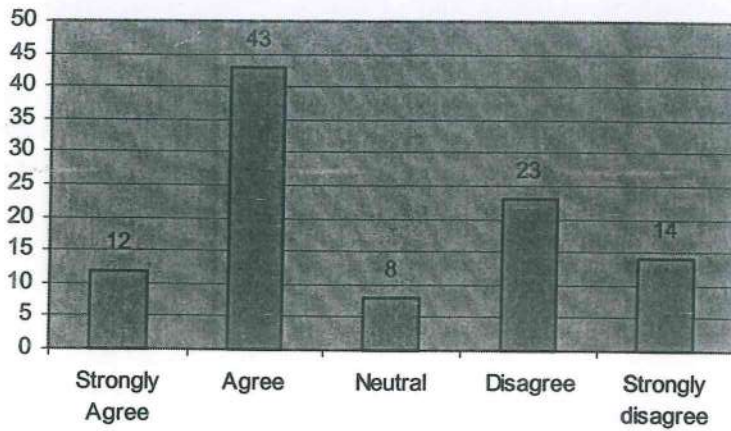
Show ing courtesy to politicians is a sign of weakness



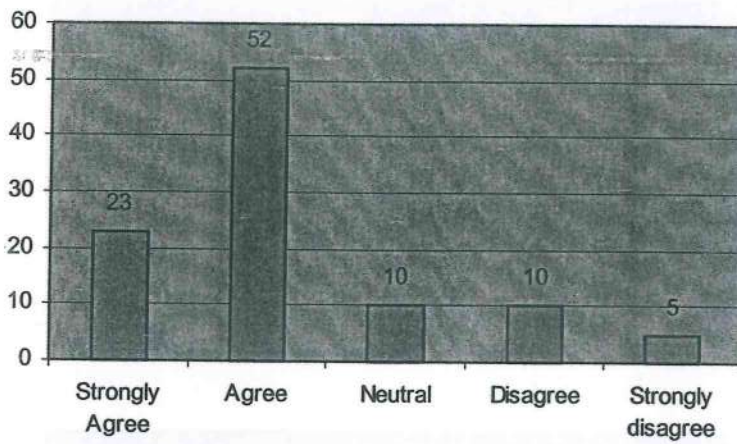
Police officers should never listen to the politicians



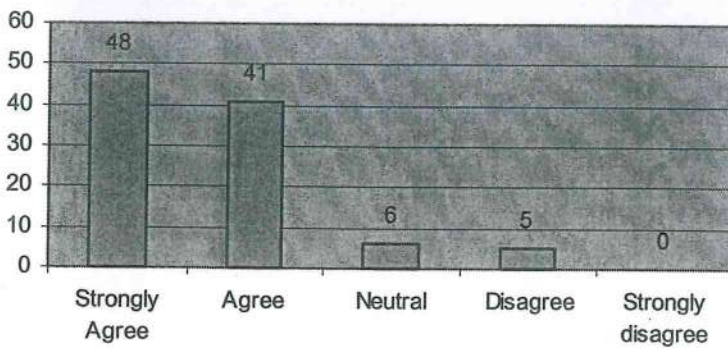
Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians



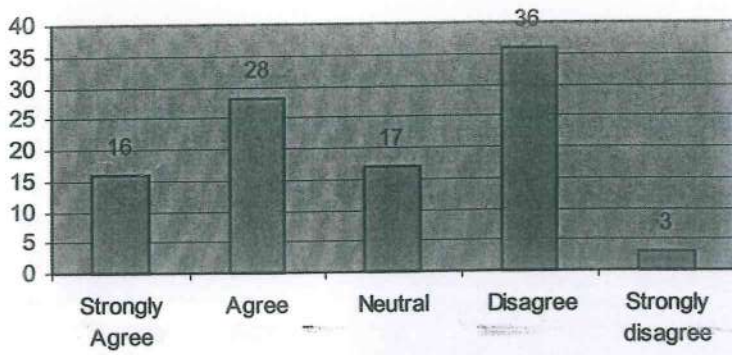
Police should not involve politicians in negotiating a law and order situation



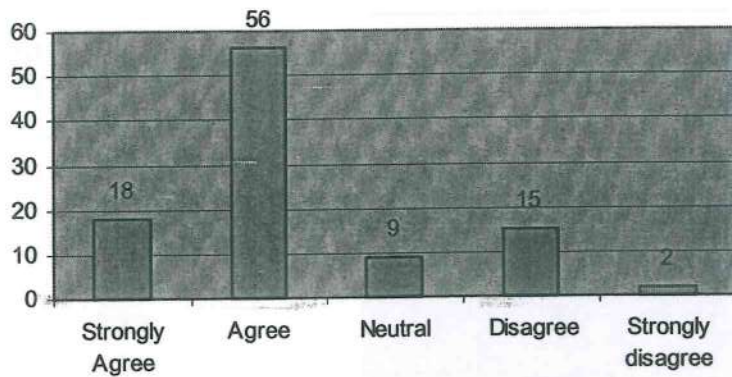
Police officers should have the same attitude towards politicians of the ruling party as towards politicians of the opposition



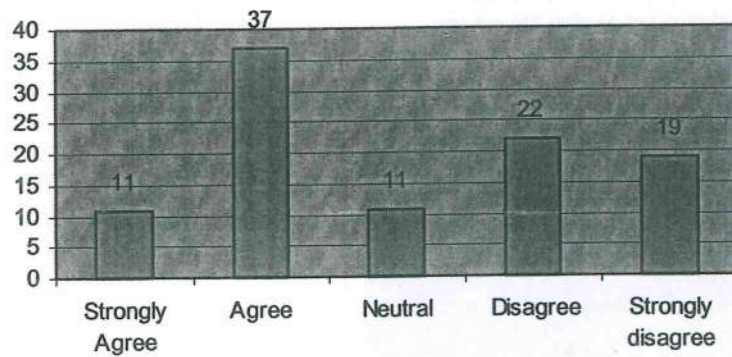
Police officers should attempt to arrest political leaders first when they are faced with a public order situation



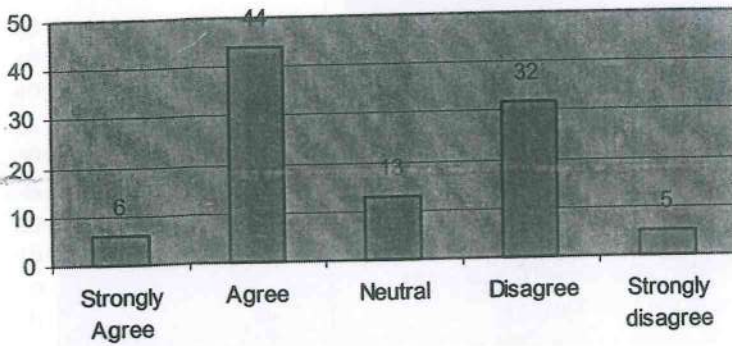
If a crowd is led by a politician, the police should reason and not start negotiating with the politicians first



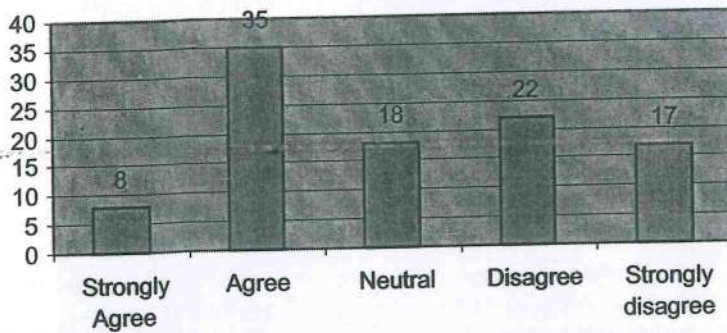
Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers implicated through an enquiry



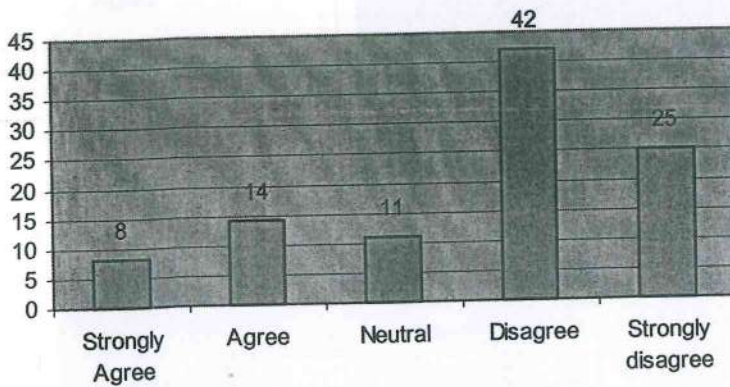
If an accused is a politician police should treat him in the same way as any other accused



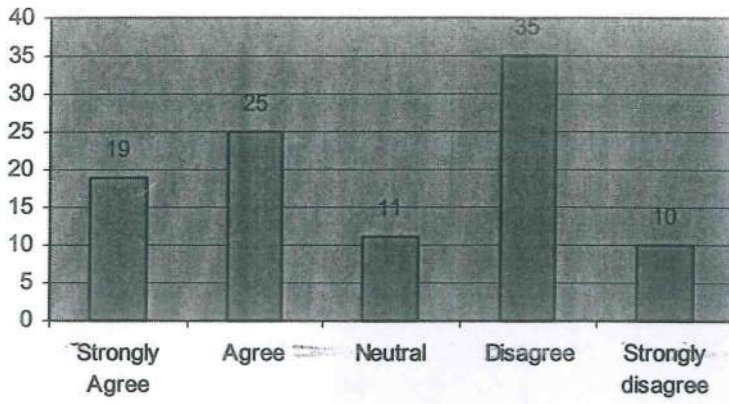
Politicians do not accept 'no' to an answer to their requests to police officers



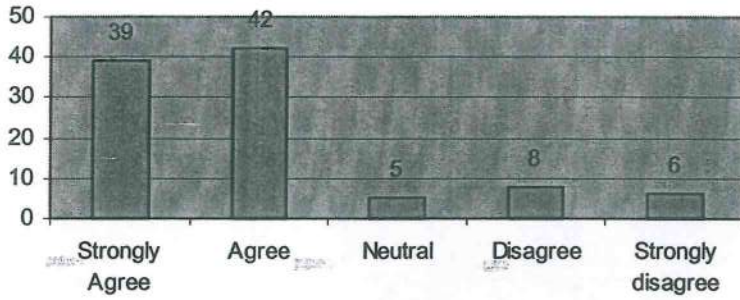
If a police officer says 'no' to a politician on an undue request from him, the officer should not explain the reasons because he will not understand



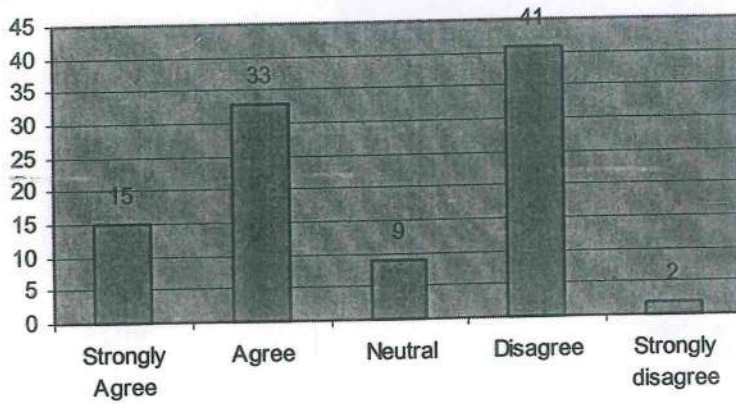
Choice postings can be got only w ith the help of politicians



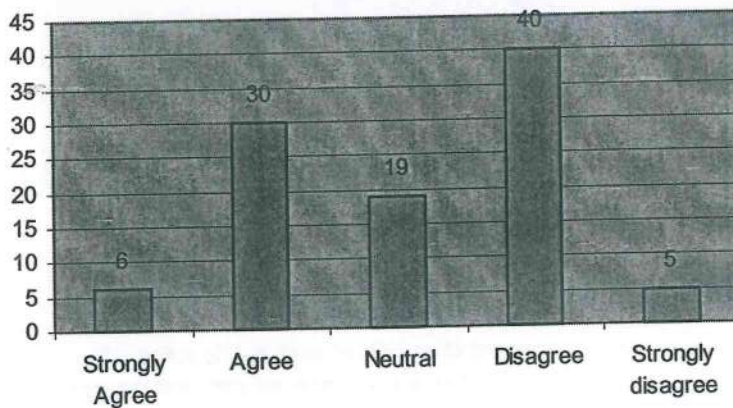
Effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals w ith politicians



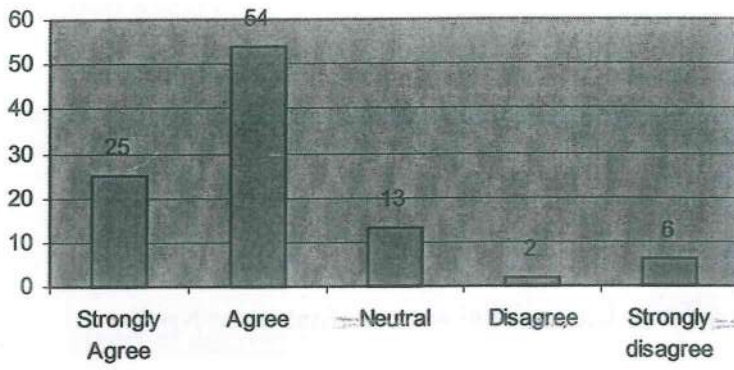
Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders/officers for serving the poor



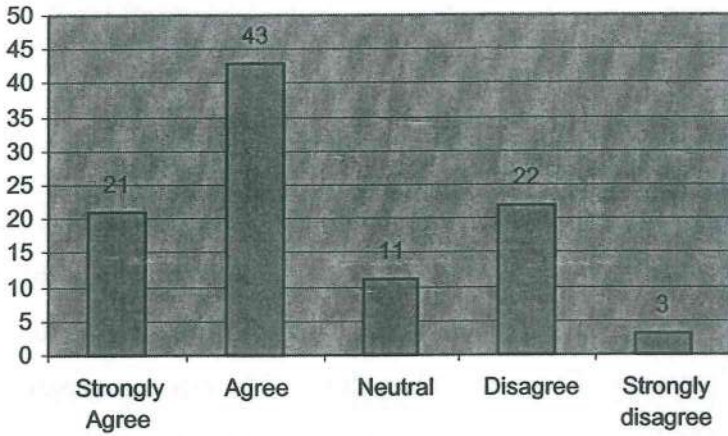
Politicians, approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people



As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers



Politicians are well behaved with professional and straight police officers



5.2.1 Items of strong agreement

1. The police can be effective in the absence of undue political pressure (Statement No.2)
2. Transfer of police officers is a political weapon (Statement No.9)
3. The police officers should have the same attitude towards politicians of the ruling party as towards politicians of the opposition (Statement No.17)

Comments:

- The strong agreement shown over the above three statements by the citizens are a revelation. On the first statement there seems to be sync in the thoughts of the police officers and the citizens. The citizens clearly feel that there is undue political pressure in police work. This implies two things. The citizens apparently feel that political influence in terms of policy formulation, resource mobilization etc. may be difficult to rule out. However, the objection is to political pressure that is undue, illegal or unwarranted which translates as asking or forcing the police officers to do things or act in a way that is illegal or unprofessional.
- On the issue of transfer of police officers, there seems to be diametrically different point of view (from the police officers) of the citizens. They concur with the statement strongly and do feel that transfer is very much a political weapon. On the other hand it is very interesting to note that most police officers are unwilling to accept this as a fact or are inclined to dismiss the qualification of the power of transferring as a weapon. Be that as it may the fact remains that in the popular consciousness transfer of police officers seems to be a power that is wielded by the politicians. The public feels that such a weapon can affect both the professional and personal life of an officer. What is more it has an impact on the citizens of the area whom the officer had been serving.

- The citizens seems to have shown a great degree of maturity on reacting on the statement No.17 on the interface between police and the politicians. They have overwhelmingly stressed the attitude of impartiality or in other words a totally non-partisan stand on the part of a police professional. This is an indication of the expectations of the citizens from the police officers in their interface with the politicians. Obviously, the citizens have put the burden of being impartial at the door of the police officer and not the politicians.

5.2.2 Items of agreement

1. The politicians always act against the police (Statement No.1)
2. Politicians interfere in police work unnecessarily (Statement No.3)
3. Protests against police are always engineered by politicians (Statement No.5)
4. While police work for public interest, politicians work for their own interest (Statement No.6)
5. Politicians and policemen cannot be friendly (Statement No.7)
6. Politicians make requests for undue / illegal favours (Statement No.12)
7. Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians (Statement No.15)
8. Police should not involve politicians in negotiating a law and order situation (Statement No.16)
9. Police officers should attempt to arrest political leaders first when they are faced with a serious public order situation (Statement No.18)

10. If a crowd is led by a politician, the police should reason and not start negotiating with the politicians first (Statement No.19)
11. Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers implicated through an enquiry (Statement No.20)
12. If an accused is a politician, police should treat him in the same way as any other accused (Statement No.21)
13. Politicians do not accept 'no' for an answer to their requests to police officers (Statement No.22)
14. The effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals with politicians (Statement No.25)
15. As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers (Statement No.28)
16. Politicians are well behaved with professional and straight forward police officers (Statement No.29)

Comments:

The sixteen statements above present a broad spectrum on agreed views on part of the citizens. The agreements reveal the following broad perspectives:

- The citizens feel that the police leader can be effective only if he is professional and straight forward, tactful, impartial in his dealings with the politicians. It is significant to note that the citizens have expected the police officers to acknowledge the importance of the politician as a representative of the people. Yet the citizens gone on to reiterate that it is in the background of this

acknowledgement of the role of the politician that the police officer can still be professional and non-partisan.

- Secondly, the citizens have generally derided the fact that politicians tend to interfere unnecessarily in professional police work. They also are over-conscious of their political interests and vote banks and may in the process fail to serve the general interest of the public. The citizens also have pointed out that many politicians do not accept 'no' for an answer to their requests or instructions to police officers. It has to be acknowledged that there seems to be a grey area and one politician's purview may differ from another. But the fact is that the citizens are of the opinion that the politicians in general do not give mature consideration to the fact that the police officer is a public servant not a political servant.
- In the area of public order maintenance the citizens are in apparent agreement that politicians do instigate serious law and order problems for their short term gains. However the citizens have clearly indicated that in serious public order situations the police should not make the mistake of negotiating with the politicians while the situation may be getting out of hand. Indeed the citizens feel that it may be better to take legal action against the politicians first whenever they are indulging in instigation of disorder.
- In handling law and order scenario the citizens also have made it clear that the police officers should be demonstrably impartial in their dealing with the politicians and should treat politicians of both the ruling and opposition in the same manner.

5.2.3 Items of neutrality

1. A professional police officer should keep away from the politicians
(Statement No.11)

Comments:

The general neutrality of the citizens is a pointer to the following:

The citizens are generally uncomfortable with the present quality of interface between police officers and politicians. The general trend of collision or collusion seems to be carrying on in the present and looks to be the foreseeable trend of the future. In the bargain the average citizen is not sure how this scenario can be improved upon. Under the circumstances the conventional view that a professional police officer should have nothing to do with the politicians seems to be a tempting inference. On the other hand the citizen is aware is that no public servant can claim to be totally unaware and untouched by any kind of political interface.

5.2.4 Items of disagreement

1. Politicians and policemen cannot work together for serving the people (Statement No.4)
2. Politicians refuse to listen to genuine demands of the police (Statement No.8)
3. Politicians are the root cause for the bad image of the police (Statement No.10)
4. Showing courtesy to politicians is a sign of weakness (Statement No.13)
5. Police officers should never listen to the politicians (Statement No.14)
6. If a police officer says 'no' to a politician on an undue request from him, the officer should not explain the reasons because he will not understand (Statement No.23)
7. Choice postings can be got only with the help of politicians (Statement No.24)

8. Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders / officers for serving the poor (Statement No.26)
9. Politicians approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people (Statement No.27)

Comments:

The nine statements above, put forth the following issues:

1. The citizens are well aware of the democratic nature of our polity wherein the politicians as people's representatives are very much a crucial part of the system. Accordingly, the citizens are of the opinion that police officers and politicians must work together in a constructive fashion for the betterment of societal interests. This is akin to the National Police Commission's observation that police and the politicians should work together towards "the avowed objective of better administration with better awareness of public feelings and expectations."
2. The citizens feel that the police officers must not only interface in a professional manner with the political set up but also that they can do so without compromising the professional standards.
3. The citizens go on to underscore that it is up to the professional police officer to judge the merit or demerit in the request or input of a politician with regard to any police related matter. However the assumption that any request from a politician can be undue does not justify the some what fashionable attitude of some police officers of dismissing all suggestions from politicians and denigrating them.
4. The citizens seem to have a better opinion about the police vis-à-vis the politicians. They have generally opined that most politicians do seem to have an inclination to use the police for their petty political gains. Hence under the present circumstances the citizens feel that while the politicians and police can theoretically work in tandem for the society's good the

situation as it obtains now does not yet seem to offer much hope in that direction.

5.2.5 Items of strong disagreement

There are no areas of strong disagreement.

5.3 Analysis of Citizens perceptions of the Police-Politician Interface

From the above graphics the following inferences are easy to discern:

1. The citizens whose welfare and service is the apparent reason for the police and the politicians' existence seem to have a different view of the police and politicians' roles- at their own levels and as interfacing entities in a democracy.
2. The citizens seem to have a better opinion about the police vis-à-vis the politicians.
3. However, the citizens feel that the police is riven with ills like corruption,

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

6.1 THE ROLE OF POLICE LEADERSHIP: PROVIDING THE RIGHT PERSPECTIVE

The history of Indian Police from ancient times reveals a curious pattern in regarding the qualities that were assumed to be incident to the personality of a police leader. It would be pertinent to qualify here that even in the middle ages especially in the Moghul period it was the Kotwal who was the chief police functionary over large geographical spreads. Indeed such was the magnitude of these areas that some of them would have been bigger than the districts of modern India. It is interesting then to see how the venerated Kotwal as a police leader was sized up in the literature of those times. In the Ain-i-Akbari, the Kotwal's leadership qualities have been outlined in great detail in the following manner:

“The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Through his watchfulness and night patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligence subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the other should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny, He should establish a separate *Serai* (or inn) and cause unknown arrivals to alight therein, and by the aid of divers detectives take account of them. He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration.”

6.2 POLICE LEADERSHIP AND THE POLITICAL PROTEST

Leadership is a critical component of policing. In India given the traditional organizational dynamics of police as a department the criticality of the role of police leader cannot be over-emphasised. If we zero in on the district as the principal unit of police administration then it is easy to see the highly centralized pattern of decision-making and operational leadership. The SP in a district not only takes up basic leadership issues of planning, administration, organizing and operational control but also becomes a critical factor in defining the level of efficiency and moral as well as effectiveness of the entire police force in the district. At such a level he is indeed more like a benevolent dictator. Absence of any real effort towards decentralized and allowance of discretionary authority to the subordinates at the street level has meant that police service continues to be leader oriented and not system oriented.

An interesting parallel is visible even in Indian politics. There are no systems followed in the Indian political scenario that are leadership and non-specific. Political parties are more often than known by the personality of their leaders than their ideology. Indeed it can be safely said that personalities and parties win the elections. Even if these to be treated as too sweeping a statement it would still be acceptable as general truth.

In effect it can be said that both in the police as well as in the political system in India individuals as persons or rather personalities make the difference. Indeed they seem to be on a higher pedestal and perhaps a little more important than the system itself. In such a context the interface between politicians and the police becomes a critical factor determining the efficiency of the police organization in itself sworn machine of delivering safety and security and order to the citizenry. The alarming issue is that the citizens seem to have a measure of the quality or lack of quality of delivery of service from both the police and the politicians as public servants. The attitudinal response that have been gleaned from the citizens point to three broad points of view that the citizens have consistently stuck to:

1. They are generally dissatisfied that the delivery of service by both the police and the politicians has another as public servants.

2. They seem to be of the opinion that the interaction between police leaders and the politicians as it obtains today is largely dysfunctional to the well being of society and that attitudes of each towards them must change if they are to do some good to the society.
3. Interesting aspect of the responses is that majority of the citizens are of the firm belief that the police and the politicians must have a regular interface based on a declared and transparent system. There is a general management in the citizenry that while politicians must supervise and monitor on behalf of the public, it is the policeman who should be allowed a free hand in execution.

The above conclusions confront the police leader with a well-defined problematique:

How to manage the future of policing in a democracy where the citizens are seeking greater involvement in policing decisions, the politicians are seeking to exploit the increasingly articulated desire for good policing among the citizens for both good and bad ends, and where there is an internally dynamic motion within the police organization to become less militaristic, less hierarchical and more citizen friendly?

How does a police leader approach such a problem? Indian police is at a juncture where we are still struggling to get out of the morass of feudalistic and militaristic paradigms towards a more democratic and open organization. A good police manager may need to think laterally in terms of a quantum jump in order to face the problem outlined above fair and square. What are the qualities of a good police leader who can solve problems creatively? Kenneth J. Peak, Ronald W. Glensor outline the characteristics of a good problem oriented supervisor as the following:

1. Allowing subordinates freedom to experiment with new approaches.
2. Insisting on good, accurate analyses of problems.
3. Granting flexibility in work schedules when requests are proper.
4. Allowing subordinates to make most contacts directly and paving the way when they are having trouble getting cooperation.
5. Protecting subordinates from pressures within the department to revert to traditional methods.
6. Running interference for subordinates to secure resources, protect from criticism, and so on.
7. Knowing what problems subordinates are working on and whether the problems are real.
8. Knowing subordinates' beats and important citizens in (them), and expecting subordinates to know (them) even better.
9. Coaching subordinates through the process, giving advice, helping them manage their time.
10. Monitoring subordinates' progress and, as necessary, prodding them along or slowing them down.
11. Supporting subordinates even if their strategies fail, as long as something useful is learned in the process and the process was well thought through.
12. Managing problem solving efforts over a long period of time; not allowing efforts to die just because they get sidetracked by competing demands for time and attention.
13. Giving credit to subordinates and letting others know about their good work.
14. Allowing subordinates to talk with visitors or at conferences about their work.
15. Identifying new resources and contacts for subordinates and making them check them out.
16. Stressing cooperation, coordination, and communication within the unit and outside it.
17. Coordinating efforts across shifts, beats, and outside units and agencies.
18. Realising that this style of policing cannot simply be ordered; officers and detectives must come to believe in it.

(Community Policing & Problem Solving: Strategies and Practices, Kenneth J. Peak, Ronald W. Glensor, Prentice Hall)

It is very important for all police managers to realize that in today's world knowledge is the prime capital. In a knowledge based society all leaders including the police leader must realize that the axioms of action have changed dramatically. In his book 'Empires of the Mind' Denis Waitley beautifully and succinctly illustrates what should be expected and prepared for by today's leader:

Yesterday natural resources defined power. Today knowledge is power

Yesterday hierarchy was the model. Today synergy is the mandate

Yesterday leaders commanded and controlled. Today leaders empower and coach

Yesterday shareholders came first. Today customers come first.

Yesterday employees took orders. Today teams make decisions.

Yesterday seniority signified status. Today creativity drives status.

Yesterday production determined availability. Today quality determines demand.

Yesterday value was extra. Today value is everything.

Yesterday everyone was a competitor. Today everyone is a customer.

Yesterday profits were earned through expediency. Today profits are earned with integrity.

(Empires of the Mind, Denis Waitley, Nicholas Brealey Publishing, London)

Today it may be irrelevant to talk about mere reforms in policing. What is required in fact is transformation and restructuring. However the dominant culture in the police leadership and management is one of resistance to any change not to speak of transformation. "We need to remember that the cornerstone of contemporary policing remains that the police exist, in their own view, as impartial and professional crime fighters." According to Malcolm Sparrow, Mark Moore, and David Kennedy some of the attitudinal obstacles in the police subculture against any change are the following:

1. We are the only real crime fighters.

2. No one else understands the real nature of police work. That is, no one outside the police service – academics, politicians, and lawyers in particular – can comprehend what we have to do.
3. Loyalty to colleagues counts above everything else. We have to stick together. Everyone else – including the public, politicians, and especially senior officers – seems to be out to make our job difficult.
4. It is impossible to win the war against crime without bending the rules. We are hopelessly shackled by unrealistic constraints foisted on us by civil liberties groups, thanks to the fecklessness of politicians.
5. Members of the public are basically unsupportive and unreasonably demanding. They all seem to think they know our job better than we do. They only want us when they need something done.
6. Patrol work is the pits. The detective branch and other specialties are relatively glorious, because they tackle serious crime. Patrol work is only for those who aren't smart enough to get out of it.

(Community Policing & Problem Solving: Strategies and Practices, Kenneth J. Peak, Ronald W. Glensor, Prentice Hall)

For the above the required leadership style would mean

1. Empowering the employees with skills and abilities as against controlling and telling them what to do;
2. Treating citizens as customers;
3. Solving community problems on a ongoing basis instead of reacting to incidents;
4. Encouraging innovation and creativity as part of the discretion of a subordinate;
5. Avoiding as far as possible change by coercion.

While discussing the subject of police leadership in their interaction with politicians, Shri V.K. Saraf, a renowned IPS officer from Maharashtra cadre has written the following lines of advise for the young police officer which puts the matter in clear perspective:

*If the people regard you as a professionally competent and fair officer, who is deeply interested in doing justice they will respect you and stand by you. It is this public approval that will also stand you in good stead in coping with the politicians. While your stance towards the politicians should be of friendly cooperation because they do come to you with problems of the people, it should be quite obvious to them from your demeanour that any unreasonable request or demand that is against law or fair play shall not be met. Any attempts made by the politicians to influence your decisions and actions in respect of your men should be firmly resisted. Of course you will have to first ensure that your subordinates have the full liberty of approaching you with their requests. In a worst case scenario, you should be prepared for a transfer. **It is the fear of transfer, which, in any case, inevitably takes place periodically, that impels many officers to bow to the unreasonable demands of the politicians.** Once you are mentally prepared to suffer this small inconvenience, the fear disappears. **The other circumstance that gives a very potent leverage to the politicians is your taking personal obligations.** Once you fall prey to the temptation of requesting a politician for a personal favour, however small, he will take full advantage of it to get innumerable things done through you. If you are impervious to the fear of transfer and firm upon not approaching a politician for a favour, you would be on a pretty strong wicket. The chances are that he will develop a healthy respect for you though he may not be very happy with you.*

(How to Become a Good Leader by V.K. Saraf)

6.3 POLICE-POLITICIAN INTERFACE IN A DEMOCRACY: SEARCHING FOR A BOTTOM LINE

The respondents in the survey, irrespective of their identities as police officers, politicians or citizens from various walks of life and various strata were generally vocal about the usefulness or irrelevance of a code of conduct for police and politicians specifically in their interface with each other. Most respondents agree to the need for a declared code of conduct. However, some have indicated that without the right intention and attitudes yet another code of conduct may fail. However, some of the salient features of the code of conduct have been highlighted as follows:

- (a) No interference in routine administration functions and investigation from politicians.
- (b) Police officers should interact with politicians only in official capacity.
- (c) Politicians should not give statements to the press making personal remarks against police officers.
- (d) Police leaders must give respect to the politicians without necessarily doing their bidding.
- (e) Politicians should not interfere in transfers promotions and postings for which there should be a transparent system.

Can the above be achieved? In a democracy there seems to be an unflinching and consistent relationship between quality of law enforcement and the dominant political culture. The relationship is, however qualified by the degree of citizen involvement in day-to-day policing. Thus, there emerges in this research a triangular construct of the police, the politicians and the citizens. It appears that in India for reasons that are historical and cultural/attitudinal proactive citizen involvement in policing has been largely confined to rhetoric or the fond musings of police leaders and politicians. In reality, the politician continues to be the primary interface between the police service delivery system and the citizens. He also, therefore wields considerable clout and can impact decision-making of the leadership level of police organization. The plethora of roles the politician plays on behalf of the citizen has been outlined in Chapter-II. Whether in an executive role vis-à-vis the department (for eg. As Home Minister or any other departmental minister), or simply as a mediator on behalf of a complainant, the one to one interface between the police leader and the politician is often in exclusion of the citizen himself. In a country like India where the majority of the populace is still waging a battle with poverty, mal nutrition and illiteracy, this exclusionary interface has only further alienated the average policeman from the average citizen. It is not as if politicians do not have such roles in the more developed and evolved democracies. In India, however the level of conscious knowledge and involvement of the citizen in day-to-day policing decisions is minimal if not non-existent. Therein lies the problem. This scenario allows for an almost direct interface between the politician and the police officer even while deciding issues that directly pertain to citizen's welfare or security. The traditional

assumption that citizens can exert their rights as consumers of police service only through the elected politicians or such other political representatives continues to be a truism in modern India. Thus we are faced with a situation where accountability of police to the society and its citizens is actually *de facto* accountability to the political leaders in that society.

The conclusion above may sound alarming but it may not be wise to see too much into it. To put the obverse argument just as a contrarian point of view, one has to concede that the political representatives are after all representatives of the citizens in the community. It is very much their job to put forth the demand and general feedback up to the police, much like a conduit to the general feelings of the community towards the police. In a democracy it would be prudent to assume that the citizens review of police work would at an operational level lie in the hands of political representatives. It is another matter that democratization the world over has not always translated into decentralization of the administrative machinery. Thus on the one hand in a democracy like the United States the police function is totally decentralized. Indeed out of the approximately 40,000 police departments in the country almost all are functioning under the aegis of local or municipal governments. "At the municipal level a police chief who is by legislation required to function under the direction of an elected mayor and who is appointed by the mayor, is obviously considered responsible to the mayor for all aspects of police operations. The mayor, in turn, is considered by the electorate to have the ultimate responsibility for the police. Theoretically, then, citizens who want to influence police operations should be able to do so, in a general way, through their vote for mayor and subsequently by directing their complaints and suggestions about the police to the mayor." (Herman Goldstein, *Policing a Free society* p.132).

In India the situation is not comparable to what obtains above. Putting police into the local self-government or municipalisation of policing is a process that has been projected only on paper. The ground reality is that the function of policing continues to be directed from a centralized political disposition. In India police continues to be a state (provincial) subject and there are only some specialized agencies with the federal government. In the state the police hierarchy is generally centralized and placed under

the overall supervision of a political entity, which can often be the Chief Minister of the state or the Home Minister. Policy decisions regarding police work are often taken at this level. The chief of the state police looks after the day-to-day operational functioning of the police with the help of his team of officers. However, the head quarter orientation of the officers who are at the district level is something that has not been tided over as yet. All superintendents of the police who head the districts are acutely aware of the invisible but omnipresent leash with which the headquarter monitors their work. This orientation has not helped the localization of police work or the realization of the concept of Problem Oriented Policing (POP), which has achieved considerable recognition in the western society. Perhaps, this rigidity has something to do with the equally centralized political machinery in the states where state level party hierarchies cast their shadow on the working of the so-called party in power. At the risk of sounding crass one may say that political parties and their members often mark out police officers in the states as either for or against the party.

It has been conclusively brought in the citizen survey that there is a societal awareness of the prevailing features of police-politician interface. It appears that despite this the society and its citizens have not really been able to do much about the scenario except perceiving it as an unholy alliance. Such is the acceptance of this point of view across all strata of society that wherever police officers are found to be "confronting" political figures, there is a degree of drama and hyperbole attached to such confrontations. The representation of the police politician relationship in the cinema and other media has only worsened the average citizens' point of view. In the Indian context the dysfunctional nature of municipal or local control over policing has led to the politicization of the police force in a manner that has harmed the department. At the same time, it has encouraged unscrupulous practices among police personnel vis-à-vis politicians and vice versa. This is not to say that such practices are uncommon in countries where there is municipal control of police work. As Goldstein has observed, even in the so-called municipal accountability structure "lines of accountability to the citizenry and the formal channels for influencing police operations are rarely so open or (so) clearly defined. And herein lies one of the major paradoxes in policing in this country. We have insisted on maintaining the police as a responsibility of local

government in order to assure accountability and an opportunity for local influence over so potentially powerful a government activity. Yet at the same time we have constructed various devices, which, in attempting to protect the police from pernicious influences at the local level, effectively shield the police from the communities they serve. The net result of the conflicting aims is that considerable ambiguity exists as to who in fact is responsible for the many decisions that are made in the running of a police agency, and there is a great deal of uncertainty over how the public is supposed to control police operations." However the fact that there are some pernicious political influences even in the municipalized police setups should not blind us to the extreme negative public image that the police has in our country. In the preceding chapters we found that the areas of pernicious political influence on the Indian police especially at the leadership level were in the domain of

Transfers and postings

- (b) Investigation of cases
- (c) Recruitment and appointment
- (d) Public order maintenance

Of the above areas, it is in the area of public order maintenance that the politicians seem to have acquired a degree of 'notoriety' in the minds of the police leadership. It is in this context that this research has focused to an extent on degree of political influence on public order functions ranging from day-to-day crowd management to special bandobust problems like bandhs, dharnas, gheraos and other myriad ways of demonstrations including rasta roko, rail roko, chakka jam et al. Another area of concern among the many public order scenarios is the politicians' role in riots and other serious law and order conflagrations. India since independence has been witnessed to many violent communal riot situations. As in the case of the most recent conflagration in Gujarat, it is the police, which have faced ignominy in almost every such situation. It is however interesting to see that on many occasions a substantial part of the blame for the apparent non-performance or under performance of the police is apportioned to the political leadership. A deeper analysis of this will reveal a paradoxical situation where it would seem that the political leadership must be held responsible for the acts of the

police, which is structurally functioning under its directions. Yet, there is a concern in the citizenry about the degree of political influence on police working. It is here that the politicians have voiced their concern. In the several interviews that have been conducted this researcher has found a common theme of concern or anxiety on part of the politician. They have opined that in democracy politicians, as elected representatives are accountable to the people. Public order situations are often people centered and affect the community life. Situations like riots and disasters affect the general public and also impact upon their welfare and sense of security. The political leadership cannot be oblivious of these fallouts. As a counter to this many at the police leadership level are of the opinion that such situations are often the creations of political leaders themselves. Many a times, it is alleged by police officers, that a public order situation affecting the community life could have been controlled quite well but for the undue intervention of political figures.

One issue that has become very often contentious in politician police interface is the use of force by police in public order situations. It is interesting that most political pronouncements on police action arise out of the scenarios where police has used force on a scale that has affected the life and perhaps even property of citizens. This also is not an isolated trend in India but seems to be a feature in all democracies. The handling of serious crowd situations and riots has constantly resulted in political over activity on both the Government and the opposition sides. The most comprehensive policy pronouncements on police working have emerged from these situations.

The oft-quoted Scarman Report was a result of the handling of the Brixton Riots by the police. These disorders took place in Brixton between 10th and 12th April where hundreds of young people attacked property and the police. "The cause of these disorders centred around people protesting about oppressive policing and in particular the alleged harassment of people, especially young black people, by the police. In short, these incidents were anti-police and voiced a lack of trust in the law and order authorities. After days of unrest, these serious incidents led to the Government ordering an urgent enquiry and appointing Lord Scarman to conduct a comprehensive investigation into the events.

The resulting investigation – the Scarman Report – included several recommendations about reforming the law, community relations and policing practices to help tackle the central problems, which caused the civil disorders. As part of these

recommendations, Lord Scarman advocated a system for members of the public from local communities to inspect the way in which the police detained people in their custody. Custody Visiting is the system that was developed to meet this recommendation.”(Website of Nottinghamshire police (<http://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/>)).

Today the Scarman reports are considered a benchmark in riot policing and are also deemed a politically correct standpoint from which law and order situations must be tackled. In India too numerous Commissions of enquiry established under the Commissions of Enquiry Act, 1952 have become reference points for use of force dictums for police. The lesson in all this is the same. Policing practices are not only liable to be reviewed judicially (*justiciability*) but are also subject to political review. This cannot always be treated as mere politicization of police work. Indeed the community may have the political representatives as the only mechanism of oversight on the police work. It is another matter that today in India the politicians seems to be as removed from the citizenry as the police. Till the citizens themselves have a reasonably direct role in affecting decision making in policing matters perhaps the political representative is their only recourse. The police leader must accept this fact. Yet his own departmental ethos and the leadership values expected of him do not dictate in any way that he become a stooge of the politicians. Indeed, he has the authority and the requisite legal power to act fearlessly and without accepting any interference in matters on which there is a clear cut law or rules of procedure. Most of the respondents in this research have agreed on the point that the police leadership in India today is still autonomous to a great degree to function in affair and impartial way. Where things appear to be overpoliticised, often it is because of personal predilections on part of individual police leaders.

6.4 The Future of the Police Politician Interface: From an Interface of Political Domination towards Political Sensitivity

From the detailed analysis of the survey data some very interesting parameters have come to light in the interface between police and politicians. Three categories of attitudinal stands can be isolated under the from the available data:

1. Self role perception of the police / politician
2. Other role perception of the police / politician

3. Mutual role perception where each agency expresses its views on the nature of quality of their interaction and interface in different situations.

The analysis of the above reveal the following:

1. Politicians have a poor opinion about the police.
2. The major issue on which most politicians seem to agree upon is that police officers behave arrogantly with the public.
3. The other important point most politicians have made is that police officers are not good listeners.
4. Interestingly in their self-role perception they have indicated by and large that since police is inaccessible to public politicians have to intervene.
5. They are of the opinion that policemen pamper politicians to obtain small favours
6. They have a broad agreement on the issue that police and politicians often collude with each other to the detriment of society and that they are by and large the agent of the ruling party.
7. The majority also seems to think that police harass innocents under influence of politicians.
8. There is a feeling that in law and order situations innocents are arrested and tortured without reason.
9. The majority agrees that there should be regular and if necessary regulated interface between police and politicians after acknowledging that police do have a negative image about politicians.
10. The politicians feel that police is responsible for its own image and cannot blame politicians for the same.
11. Response ambiguity was seen in the following areas:
 - ✓ Whether police leadership is by and large corrupt
 - ✓ Whether good behaviour with police leaders is effective
 - ✓ Whether police officers are discourteous towards politicians
12. The politicians do feel that:
 - ✓ Police have a right to complain of lack of resources
 - ✓ Police and politicians must work together for the good of society

✓ It is not possible to imagine a police less society.

There seems to be an historical logic to the above opinions that are held by politicians vis-à-vis the police. Hitherto, policing in developing democracies like India was seen in people's eyes as an activity that was by and large directed by government. They were seen, not without reason as 'defenders of the establishment' (book title of Book by K.S.Dhillon). The Police Act of 1861 is still the governing statute for the Indian Police which was enacted in the context of protecting the colonial empire. The seminal acts on crime and criminal investigation and evidence gathering procedures are also more than hundred years old. It is often considered fashionably wise to point out that all these acts have stood the test of time. While it cannot be denied that these codes were drafted with great care and farsightedness one must not forget that they were acts designed to protect the queen's peace at all costs. The socio-political context of any law does have a direct bearing on its shaping and evolution. While a standard code of law may be relatively futuristic as far as procedures go it cannot escape the requirements of the powers that be to influence the substantive nature of this law. Such a law has a direct bearing on the beliefs, values, attitudes and modes of behaviour of the executing agency. No wonder that the National Police Commission of 1977 presented among other things a draft of the new Indian Police Act to replace the old act. They still lie unimplemented like all other recommendations of the NPC. In the meanwhile our erstwhile colonizers the British government has reorganized its police "several times to update its character and functioning to fit the changing patterns of crime and the expectations and perceptions of its people." The Indian police is still struggling with the bureaucracy and the political masters to find some kind of functional autonomy. However, one trait that seems to have characterized the Indian police and to a great extent has blocked out any socio-political interest in reforming and restructuring it is "...its total lack of and interest in community support which is the basic ingredient of all police working in democratic societies. If the Indian Police has to improve its efficiency and effectiveness, if it has to radically alter its image and role of a pro-establishment and ruler-friendly organization, it has to acquire a totally apolitical personality as an agency in the service of the mass of the people rather than the privileged few. Police can empower themselves to ward off malignant and

predatory external pressures and influences only by seeking and earning public respect, support and sympathy. Otherwise, they would forever be at the mercy of a scheming, but basically inept, political class and by increasingly becoming irrelevant, inefficient, oppressive and unpopular, would ultimately be cast aside.” What can the Indian Police leaders do to break away from this dysfunctional image and to establish a bond of trust with the public?

The answer to the poser above, may actually emanate from the fact that *individual officers with initiative are today trying to transcend the burden of negative image by reaching out directly to the public through various programmes and strategies revolving around concept of community policing. In the year 2002, two IPS officers from the Tamilnadu Cadre have won the Community Policing Award from the IACP. Similarly the Common Wealth and the British government has also realized the highly effective projects towards good policing that have been undertaken in the state of Tamilnadu. These successes are ample proof that there is a wider opportunity to be exploited even with the present political context.* The Indian police, in the words of David Bayley must be faulted “*not for acting outside the prescriptions of democratic rule but for failing to fulfill the creative potentialities of civil servants in a democratic political system.*” The police leaders have to come out of a mindset of passivity in their public relations. At the same time they have to be eternally bounded to the *ideal of political neutrality instead of trying to be insulated from politics totally. In this twin endeavour it has often been found that when an officer establishes a reasonably good rapport with the general public one of the reasons of such an achievement is his apparent political neutrality and commitment to rule of law without fear or favour. What is more interesting is that such a public support only reinforces his stature as a leader for not only his subordinates but for the public. It is within such a construct of his positive functional interface with the public that his own political neutrality becomes strength. Where a police leader combines efficiency and effectiveness in maintenance of law and order with public support and political neutrality he can be said to be serving his larger professional role. It has been found that the political establishment is increasingly accepting such officers as police leaders who deserve functional autonomy to pursue their organizational agenda.*

Individual initiatives and consequent political and public recognition however cannot serve as a model for the police set up of the future. The following inferences can be gleaned from the responses across the board from citizens, police officers and the politicians:

1. The predominant management style in the present police set up has to change from a highly feudalistic approach towards a more democratic approach in organizational decision-making.
2. Complete divorce between police and politician is impossible. There should however be broad guidelines to separate proper political influence from improper political influence.
3. Despite laying down any code of conduct or body of principles to define the interface between police and politicians, it will continue to be a perpetual management issue for the police leadership because it will involve the balancing of accountability and efficiency, public interest and government interest, transparency and secretiveness in decision making.
4. Wherever politicians interface with police regarding proclaimed public interests it shall be incumbent upon the police leader to see it in the perspective of a democracy where the greater public good is a common goal for all actors in the democracy including bureaucrats and politicians. However, in defining that public good he will need to be open and positive as also unbiased in assessing the demand. In other words it is to be prima facie assumed in a democracy that a genuine public demand may be routed through the politician and that this will continue to be the case in the foreseeable future.
5. With more and more decentralization of powers, politicians will play a greater not lesser role in day-to-day policing. So the future may in fact entail greater degree of interaction and joint responsibilities towards public and also may bring in situations where a majority of police related decisions are taken by a body consisting of citizen leaders and / or politicians and police officers.
6. Such a situation is already existent and functional in the European countries as well as the United States. The local administration units like counties and cities

have their own administrative setup headed by a elected political executive body which exercises the power of appointment of police chiefs.

7. In the years to come similar picture is bound to emerge in India where the district administration will be supervised by a minister incharge (i.e., a politician) who will be the chairman of the highest authoritative body in the district. Naturally, such a body will take many decisions with respect to the police functioning and establishment matters. Of course, it will be done in consultation with the police chief. This only serves to underscore the point that the future indicates a greater interface and partnership between the police and the politicians at least from a structural point of view. Whether this will lead to greater interference in police work is an issue that only time and organizational change in police can resolve.
8. The hypothesis that this researcher would like to present is that the police manager need not be overly concerned about the increasing role of politicians in day-to-day policing. He should see it as an increasing consciousness in the public or he may in fact work towards increasing the consciousness of the public regarding policing issues. A more conscious public would galvanise the politicians to put up the public demands proactively in front of the police leadership. At the same time a proactive police manager will build bridges with the same public and involve them in day-to-day policing activities, which in turn will engender a lasting partnership between the police and the public. The results would be a safer community and improved law and order scenario. The politician will find fewer excuses to complain and it will be a win-win situation for all parties concerned.

* * *

Is the above construct too idealistic to be seen as a viable future for policing? At this moment perhaps yes. But policing in a democracy has no other direction to go to. Policing will continue forever to be the most visible arm of the government. "If government is regulation then police personify the government. But, then, if government can affect its own environment, the police can do so too, simply because the police are the most ubiquitous, visible, and important of governmental agencies for the average citizen." In a modern society where pressure groups are vying for place under the

developmental umbrella, mediation is a constant requirement. It has been found that in India an average citizen is wary of directly contacting police at any level. There is an abiding suspicion about the impartiality of the police especially against individuals who do not qualify as high status or politically powerful. In such a situation to have a politician as a mediator seems to be an efficient way out for each citizen. In the words of W.H. Morris Jones mediation by politicians in official matters on behalf of individual citizens seems to be a "striking general feature of Indian political life" (*Government and Politics of India, London; Hutchinson University Library, 1964. P.63*). However, the nature of this mediation as well as that of the mediator is changing with time. Efforts by the police to bridge the image gap that exists between them and the public, is bound to bring about a great change in the accessibility of the police for the common man. In fact the move now should be to access the public proactively instead of talking about improving general accessibility. The abiding motto should be to reach out first with a spirit of prevention of disorder and crime in the community. The shift of emphasis from detection of crimes to prevention is bound to bring the police nearer to the public for the simple reason that true prevention is not possible without active and constant involvement of the public in their own safety and security.

6.5 SUGGESTED AREAS FOR RESEARCH: THE AGENDA FOR FUTURE

The police-politician interface in India has not yet been subjected to sustained attention of researchers and scholars of police studies. However there is little doubt that it requires and deserves greater attention because it is the nature of this interface and its evolution that will directly impact the

- (a) Functioning of the police in the present and the foreseeable future
- (b) The quality of its service delivery to its customers – citizens
- (c) The effectiveness and the efficiency of the organization as a first responder in the criminal justice system
- (d) The image of the police as service providers

- (e) The changing expectations of public from the police – the paradigm shift from formal and standard policing practices to problem oriented and community oriented policing practices.
- (f) The increasing role of non-state / private security
- (g) The future directions in the restructuring of police

On the basis of the above constructs this researcher believe that the agenda for future research on this subject must center around the following questions:

2. **Basic premise:** Can policing in a democracy like India continue within the present formal structure or it is now imperative that it be made functionally autonomous from the political executive. If yes, then to what extent? If no, then what are the alternative structures proposed?
3. **The issue of democracy and role of politicians:** Both police and politics in India today operate on a very centralized format. Concentration of powers at the headquarter is the feature of both the entities. The introduction of Panchayati Raj is yet to prove a successful experiment in real decentralization. But it is to be expected that decentralization is an irreversible process and even if at a nascent stage, it is bound to spread with a greater intensity in this country. This will only mean greater and more intensive role of politicians, especially local level politicians, in day-to-day administrative decisions. The police organization at the local level will also be impacted. In view of this, there should be topical research on how to sustain the discipline, morale and autonomy of the local / district police in the face of such developments.
4. **Police leadership at district level:** This is related to the problematique mentioned above. However, this can be an area of research on its own because increasingly the district level police leadership, especially the Superintendents of Police and Sub Divisional Police Officers / Assistant Superintendents of Police / Circle Officers will need to interface with the politician not only as a public representative but as an executive in the local administrative set up. The sub areas of research within this subject can be as follow:

- (a) Legal issues in policing within the panchayati raj structure
- (b) Community policing and panchayati raj
- (c) Proactive measures to achieve community participation in policing at local levels
- (d) The relevance of problem oriented policing in a decentralized administrative structure
- (e) The impact on discipline and morale in the police department in the context of decentralized administration with political executives.
- (f) Mechanisms of interface of district police leadership with local politicians – formalizing a code of conduct and a system

5. **Impact on community and public:** The interface between the police and the politician seems to have constantly impacted the public and its welfare. Researchers may look into the following aspects:

- (a) The change in image of the police from independence till the present owing to its interface with the politicians.
- (b) Describing the areas of functional autonomy that the public expects the police department to demonstrate.
- (c) Enquiring about the areas in which politicians can constructively work with the police to ensure safety and security for the public.
- (d) Policy decision areas in which politicians as lawmakers can legislate to empower a police public partnership in crime prevention and maintenance of public order.

6. **Citizen review of police work and the role of politicians:** In India the policing of the police is virtually the apparent control of the political executive over the police department. There is not yet any formal structure of citizen oversight over the working of the police organization. As described in the earlier chapters the community's overview and monitoring of the police work in India is actually a myth. It is more correctly the control of the political executive and review by it that passes off as accountability to public. In short, political accountability masquerades

as public accountability. In such a context can a formal citizen review based on a declared citizens charter at each district level be laid down as a policy decision to be replicated across the country?

7. **Politics and the broadening of the police mandate:** The functions of the police now range from fighting day-to-day crime and ensuring public order to countering terrorism, insurgency, white-collar crime and cyber crime. The list of tasks that have to be handled by the police seems to be getting longer and longer. While it puts severe strain on the material and human resources of the police it also gives the police a greater range of authority to impact the life of an ordinary citizen. The issue of human rights, privacy rights and all other fundamental rights coming to sharper picture and it may transpire that a broader mandate for the police may be seen as steps in the direction of setting up a police state. Obviously many policy matters will come up in this context and may require thorough deliberation and research.



ANNEXURES

Annexure - 1

Interviews of police officers:

1. It is generally observed that political control over police is the root cause behind the failure of police in maintaining law & order in the society. Through several ostensible methods such as transfer, promotions, the politicians exert a lot of unseen pressure on police leadership wherein at least some of them fall prey to temporary and so called "career-needs". The resultant increase in politicization of the police force has led to a tarnished image of police leadership. At the same time it has affected the overall efficiency of the force. Your reaction.

It is found that when a few dynamic police leader try to inject new ideas and innovations into policing and try to break out of the systemic inertia and rigidity there are two forces which try to impede their work:

- (a) The rigidity within the police
- (b) Political interference

Which does more damage? Are both equally responsible for keeping the police system away from real change? Your reactions?

2. Police organization and police officers are derivatives of the society, as it exists from time to time. No police organization can be divorced from the realities of the social system. The prevailing values in the society will be reflected in the police system and the attitudes of the police officers. The process of socialization and acculturation is bound to affect the mindsets of the police leadership. The negative aspects of civil society that reflect morbid loyalties like caste, community, language, religion, regionalism, etc. is

bound to reflect in the thinking of police leadership and may affect professional decisions. What is the way out ?

3. The Indian police has been strapped with a colonial disposition and still behaves like a colonial force. It is still not considered as a citizen's force. This is something to do with the mistrust or breach of trust between the civil society and the police. It has been more so during the last 50 years of independence. Perhaps one of the major reasons for this is policing has not been seen as a development, the police could have integrated with the civil society through community service and various developmental activities. This could pose a threat to the political establishment since they operate through unlawful means. Political establishment has a vested interest in keeping police alienated from the civil society. *Your comments.*

- (a) Do you support the police participation in development works for the benefits of community and positive image of the police?
- (b) The more the police interact with public through various community development programmes, the less will be its neutrality. Won't this affect/harm the law and order situation in a community?

4. The National police Commission recommendations were put up as early as 1977. It has some basic prescriptions like fixity of tenure for officers, the state security council, non-interference of politicians in day-to-day policing etc. these have not been implemented. Is it because of the disinterestedness of the police leadership or is it because of deliberate political neglect.

Don't you think the responsibility of police leadership to explore every possibility to generate pressure on political leadership to initiate the reform measures for making police run efficiently without any political interference?

5. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. *Give your opinion on the above.*

(a) There is no dearth of laws in our constitution yet most of these laws are misused by the vested groups, they could be police or politicians we would add another law to the list of thousand dead laws. The vital question is whether it can be implemented? Is it a plausible answer to all the ills in police-politicians relationship? How to make the proposed code of conduct work? Suggestions.

6. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as the citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. Give your opinions on the above.

In case you approve the code of conduct;

(a) What are the various premises/provisions according to your judgment be there in the proposal code of conduct?

(b) How to make the proposed code of conduct work? Suggestions if any.

Annexure - 2

Interview of politicians

1. Police organization and police officers are derivatives of the civil society as it exists from time to time. No police organization can be divorced from the realities of the social system. The prevailing values in the society will be reflected in the police system and the attitudes of the police officers. The process of socialization and acculturation is bound to affect the mindsets of the police leadership. The negative aspects of civil society that reflect morbid loyalties like caste, community, language, religion, regionalism etc. is bound to reflect in the thinking of police leadership and may affect their professional decisions. Besides the politicians who happen to be people's representatives and the custodians of civil society have their share of responsibility. In fact, the political class is majorly responsible in politicizing the police force for its narrow political ends and this has demoralizing effect on police behaviour and as a consequence has affected the overall law and order situation in the society. How would you react?

2. It is found that when a few dynamic police leaders try to inject new ideas and innovations into policing and try to break out of the systemic inertia and rigidity there are two forces which try to impede their work:

(a) There seems to be a police subculture of highlighting bad examples and not encouraging good precedents. The leadership at the highest level is sometimes averse to change and departures from the beaten path. Initiatives in new directions of policing have been rarely taken at the highest level of leadership. How do you react ?

(b) Political interference: Politicians control the police organization by several procedural methods such as transfer, promotion, plum postings, recommendations for medals/honours etc. This political discretion of politicians keep the police leadership constantly on their toes and dependant. Surely, this affects their performance and neutrality. Should politicians forfeit these rights so that police function independently ?

3. The Indian police has been strapped with a colonial disposition and still behaves like a colonial force. It is still not considered as a citizen's force. This is something to do with the mistrust or breach of trust between the civil society and the police organization. It has been more so during the last 50 years of independence. Perhaps one of the major reasons for this is policing has not been seen as a developmental input. Even today policing is placed under non-plan budget. But for the political establishment, the police organization could have integrated with the civil society through community service and various developmental activities. This could pose a threat to the political establishment since they operate through unlawful means. Political establishment has a vested interest in keeping police alienated from the civil society. Your comments.

a) Police participation in works of development for the benefit of the community can give a positive image to the police organization. However, it may affect its neutrality as well as law and order situation may be not attended to in a wholesome manner. Your comments.

4. In a democracy the police leaders and the politicians have to interact with each other sometimes on a day-to-day basis to take important and not so important professional decisions. However, the citizens, politicians and the police leaders themselves feel that sometimes in the course of these interactions the respective sides cross their limits. In view of the above, do you feel that there should be a code of conduct prescribed for both the police leaders and the politicians and should this code of conduct be public document? As far as the citizens and police interference is concerned, this can be taken care by also publicizing citizen's charter. Give your opinions on the above.

5. What are various premises/provisions of the proposed code of conduct according to your judgment? Please write down if any

Any suggestion' How to make this code of conduct work

Annexure – 3

Opinionaire of police officers:

1. How do you react to the suggestion that in order improve the image of the police; it should be totally insulated from politicians? Whatever your answer you may kindly substantiate briefly.
2. There cannot be any proactive interface between police and politicians for the good of the society. They either confront each other or collude with each other to the detriment of social good. Your comments.
3. Politicisation of police cannot be avoided in a democracy. Comments.
4. Politicians are partly but in a significant way responsible for the bad image of the police.
5. If there were no political interference in investigation, police can become a very efficient organization.
6. Politicians need to be educated about the constraints of working under the law by none other than the police leadership. If yes how? If no, who should do it?
7. Politicians indulge in seeking unfair favours from the police leadership. Your views?
8. The growing politician of the subordinate ranks in the police is an indication of the abdication of professional leadership in police. Comments?
9. There is a need for greater police-politician interaction on a day-to-day basis to improve police functioning. Comments

10. Politicians and police can co-exist and collaborate, but perhaps their needs to be a code of conduct to ensure the fruitful and socially desirable collaboration. If yes, what would be the main/salient points of the code of conduct?

	friendly.	SA	A	N	D	SD
8.	Politicians refuse to listen to genuine requests from police officers.	SA	A	N	D	SD
9.	Transfer of police officers is a political weapon.	SA	A	N	D	SD
10.	Politicians are the root cause for the bad image of the police.	SA	A	N	D	SD
11.	A professional police officer should keep himself away from the politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
12.	Politicians make requests for undue/illegal favours.	SA	A	N	D	SD
13.	Showing courtesy to politicians is a sign of weakness.	SA	A	N	D	SD
14.	Since politicians do not listen to police officers, there is no need to listen to the politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
15.	Serious law and order problems are instigated by the politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
16.	Police should involve politicians in negotiating a law and order situation.	SA	A	N	D	SD
17.	The police officers should have the same attitude towards politicians of the ruling party as towards politicians of the opposition.	SA	A	N	D	SD
18.	Police officers should attempt to arrest political leaders first when he has a serious public order situation on his hands.	SA	A	N	D	SD
19.	If a crowd is led by a politician, the police should not attempt to reason with the crowd but should concentrate on negotiating with the politician first.	SA	A	N	D	SD
20.	Politicians instigate use of force by police so that later on they can get the police officers					

	implicated through an enquiry.	SA	A	N	D	SD
21.	If an accused is a politician you cannot treat him in the same way as any other accused.	SA	A	N	D	SD
22.	Politicians do not accept 'no' for an answer to policemen's requests.	SA	A	N	D	SD
23.	If you say 'no' to a politician for an undue request, you should not explain the reasons because he will not understand.	SA	A	N	D	SD
24.	Choice postings can be got only with the help of politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
25.	The effectiveness of a police leader depends on how tactfully he deals with politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
26.	Politicians are willing to cooperate with police leaders/officers for serving the poor.	SA	A	N	D	SD
27.	Politicians, approach police to help them with an aim to serve the people.	SA	A	N	D	SD
28.	As representative of people, politicians should be accepted by police officers.	SA	A	N	D	SD
29.	Politicians are well-behaved with professional and straight forward police officers.	SA	A	N	D	SD

Name and signature (optional)

ATTITUDE OF POLITICIANS TOWARDS POLICE SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS:

The following statements are concerned with Police-Politicians Interface.

Read each Statement carefully and then mark your answer on the answer sheet provided. Work rapidly. Record your first impression – the feeling that comes to your mind as you read the item.

Draw a circle around SA if you strongly agree with the item.

Draw a circle around A if you are in partial agreement.

Draw a circle around N if you are neutral.

Draw a circle around D if you partially disagree.

Draw a circle around SD if you strongly disagree.

	Statements	Scale				
		<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	
1.	Police is deliberately anti people.	SA	A	N	D	SD
2.	Police is full of corrupt officers	SA	A	N	D	SD
3.	Police hesitate to listen to the requests from politicians if they are genuine	SA	A	N	D	SD
4.	Police officers are discourteous toward politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
5.	Police officers are not good/patient listeners.	SA	A	N	D	SD
6.	Police officers are biased on the basis of caste and community.	SA	A	N	D	SD
7.	Police always use disproportionate force to control law order situations.	SA	A	N	D	SD

8.	Police firings are indiscriminate & unwarranted.	SA	A	N	D	SD
9.	Police is responsible for its bad image.	SA	A	N	D	SD
10.	Police officers are very arrogant in their public dealings.	SA	A	N	D	SD
11.	Police officers are not accessible to public that is why politicians have to intervene.	SA	A	N	D	SD
12.	In trying to control law & order situations police arrests innocent persons.	SA	A	N	D	SD
13.	Police pay due attention to underprivileged and destitutes.	SA	A	N	D	SD
14.	We may think of a police less society.	SA	A	N	D	SD
15.	Police is biased against the minorities.	SA	A	N	D	SD
16.	Police has a nexus with criminals & sometimes protects them to the detriment of public interest.	SA	A	N	D	SD
17.	Police is an agent of the ruling party & harasses opposition politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
18.	There is no area in which police & the politicians can work together in the public interest.	SA	A	N	D	SD
19.	A junior police officer can be influenced by pressurising his senior.	SA	A	N	D	SD
20.	If the policemen use force against the crowd, the crowd is justified in indulging in violence against the policemen.	SA	A	N	D	SD
21.	Police officers do not take suggestions from a well-behaved politician.	SA	A	N	D	SD
22.	Policemen have no right to complain of lack of resources.	SA	A	N	D	SD
23.	The policemen are just prone to be inefficient by habit.	SA	A	N	D	SD

24.	It is necessary to bribe the policemen in cash or kind to get work done out of him.	SA	A	N	D	SD
25.	Law & order situations deteriorate because the policemen do not do their duties properly	SA	A	N	D	SD
26.	Policemen are responsible for the strained relationship with politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
27.	Police are hypocrites (talk something on face, do something else).	SA	A	N	D	SD
28.	Police have negative image of politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
29.	Police should periodically interact with politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
30.	For small favours policemen pamper the politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
31.	Policemen harm people after being misguided by the politicians.	SA	A	N	D	SD
32.	For personal gains policemen do not hesitate to harm their fellow policemen.	SA	A	N	D	SD
33.	Police collude with the politicians to the detriment of the society	SA	A	N	D	SD

Name and signature (optional)

SAMPLE PROFILE OF FILLED UP INTERVIEWS

9

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : Ch. Vidyatagar Rao
2. Age : 54
3. Birth place Vemulawada (a) District: Kannur
(b) City : Kannur
4. Religion : Hindu
5. Caste : Velama
6. Educational qualifications : B.K.L.B.
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : Bharatya Janata Party
8. Current position/rank : Union minister of Home
9. Experience : No. of years served
10. Permanent address : 11, Akbar Road, New Delhi
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician : Imprisoned during Emergency in 1975

Tel : 011-3011236
Fax : 011-3018896
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : Renuka Choudhury
2. Age : 46
3. Birth place : (a) District: Vishakhapatna
(b) City :
4. Religion : Hindu
5. Caste : N/A.
6. Educational qualifications : M.A. Dih. Mktg. Advcr
of P.R.
7. Name of the party
(if applicable) : Cong. I
8. Current position/rank : M.P (L.S.)
9. Experience : No. of years served 20 yrs.
10. Permanent address : Rd. 12, Banjara Hill,
Hyd. 500054.
11. Any critical incident with
Police/politician : several.

Tel : 3394724
Fax :
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : Motilal Vora
2. Age : 80
3. Birth place : (a) District: Bhopal
(b) City :
4. Religion : Hindu
5. Caste (optional) : X
6. Educational qualifications : M.A.
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : Congress (I)
8. Current position/rank : General Secretary, A.I.C.C.
M.P., Lok Sabha
9. Experience : No. of years served 60 yrs.
10. Permanent address : 12 Lodhi Estate, New Delhi
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician :

Tel : 3090196
Fax :
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : Narendra Modi
2. Age : 50
3. Birth place : (a) District: North Gujrat.
(b) City :
4. Religion : Hindu
5. Caste (optional) :
6. Educational qualifications : M.A. Pol. science
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : B.J.P
8. Current position/rank : General Secretary
9. Experience : No. of years served 30 yrs.
10. Permanent address : 11, Ashoka Road, N.D.
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician :

Tel : 3382234/5 3782082
Fax :
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : S. Vaipne Reddy
2. Age : 59 16th Jan, 1942
3. Birth place : (a) District: Melkotebagar
(b) City :
4. Religion : Hindu
5. Caste :
6. Educational qualifications : M.A in Eng. Journalism.
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : Cong (I)
8. Current position/rank : M.P.
9. Experience : No. of years served 35 years / 31 yrs
10. Permanent address :
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician :

Tel :
Fax :
E-mail :



PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name Mr Ranendra Pratap Swain.
2. Age 48
3. Birth place Cuttack : (a) District: Cuttack
(b) City : - do -
4. Religion Hinduism.
5. Caste Chasa-Khandayat.
6. Educational qualifications : M A LL B.
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : BJD (ORISSA)
8. Current position/rank : Minister of state (independent)
Sports, Youth Services & General Education
9. Experience : No. of years served 20 years.
10. Permanent address : Chandini Chowk, Cuttack
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician : -

Tel : 530738
Fax : 400250.
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : *Abhay*
2. Age : *74*
3. Birth place : *Blana* (a) District: *Rhusda*
Sark (b) City :
4. Religion : *Hindu*
5. Caste : *X*
6. Educational qualifications : *BA (Hrs)*
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : *X*
8. Current position/rank : *X*
9. Experience : *I have been in politics since 1948*
No. of years served
10. Permanent address :
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician :

Tel : *3389447*
Fax :
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : Dr. (Mrs) Kamala Das
2. Age : 55 yrs
3. Birth place : Barabatia (a) District: Balasore
(b) City : Balasore
4. Religion : Hinduism
5. Caste : General
6. Educational qualifications : M.B.B.S., M.S (Utkal), F.C.G.P
(Delhi)
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : B.J.D
8. Current position/rank : Cabinet Minister, Health & FW,
Women & Child Dev.
9. Experience : No. of years served 10 yrs. Orissa
10. Permanent address : A/1 - Sankhari P.S. - Bhogara
P.O.
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician : No

Tel : 407354(O), 502916(R)
Fax :
E-mail : 514212(R)

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : SHINDE SUSHILKUMAR.
2. Age : 59 years
3. Birth place : (a) District: SOLAPUR. MAHARASHTRA
(b) City : SOLAPUR
4. Religion : Hindu.
5. Caste (optional) : Scheduled Caste (Jatav).
6. Educational qualifications : B.A. (Hons) LL.B.:
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : Congress (I)
8. Current position/rank : Member of Parliament.
Gen. Secy. A.C.C.; Working Committee Member.
9. Experience : - No. of years served
17½ Minister in Maharashtra
10. Permanent address : 19, Ashok Nagar, Vijapur Rd. Solapur
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician : -

Tel : 011-4645033-4651322.
Fax :
E-mail :

PERSONAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name : ATUL KUMAR ANJAN
2. Age : 46
3. Birth place : (a) District: PATNA
(b) City :
4. Religion : HINDU
5. Caste (optional) : RAJPUT
6. Educational qualifications : M.P.A., DUCA, DPA, LLB, LLM
7. Name of the party (if applicable) : COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
8. Current position/rank : NATIONAL SECRETARY - CPI
NATIONAL GENERAL SECRETARY - ALL INDIA
KISAN SABHA (AIKS)
9. Experience : No. of years served 33 YEARS
10. Permanent address : A 265, PANDARA ROAD, NEW DELHI-3
11. Any critical incident with Police/politician : SEVERAL EXPERIENCES - CARRIER
IN MY POLITICAL-SOCIAL CARRIER
ARRESTED 81 TIMES, IN JAIL - 5 1/2 YEARS
SO FULL OF EXPERIENCE - INCIDENTS
- BIGGEST HORRIFYING EXPERIENCE DURING
THE DAYS WHEN I WAS LEADING
THE STRUGGLES OF U.P. POLICEMEN
14 1973 (FAMOUS P.A.C. REVOLT) ARRESTED
AND BOOKED IN 43 D.R. -> REMAIN
UNDER TRIAL FOR 14 MONTHS.
Tel :
Fax :
E-mail :
TEL - 011 - 3235546 (OF)
011 - 3387138 (RES)
FAX - 011 - 3235543

***TRANSCRIPTS OF RECORDED INTERVIEWS WITH POLITICIANS
(VERBATIM – UNEDITED)***

Pushpendra Greval

Q. Idea about police reforms

- It is a welcome thing. But frankly it has limits. Limits are determined by the very nature of the institution of the police and gap between police.
- Not talking about individuals but as an institution it is a part of the state machinery and our experience that the police is normally apart from law and order operations used against all those who in any way however small present any challenge protest against the social and political order so given that I don't know how far reform is really a viable thing.
- Reforms always possible nevertheless even in the worse situations.
- When reforms are talked about, first and foremost police must be sensitive to people's needs and their day to day problems. Our general impression gained by our work is that you go to any area it is unfortunate that the police man is a person who is treated with the fear and linked with fear. The people will never show that because the first factor fear being over-riding. They will be in trouble.
- But our experience is that from individual life whether it is small shopkeeper whether it is somebody who is selling fruits on the tracks for livelihood whether it is anybody going around in the town in his own way trying to earn a livelihood the experiences is very bad.
- The major problems are two. One is the very nature of the approach with the police act. It is as if they are rurals and the people in general and the rural values and the voice is nothing. They can do nothing. So from that comes deep sense of arrogance. So from the constable upwards there is a deep sense of arrogance ofcourse refinement increases as you go upwards. But the essence remains the same and given all this people's experience vis-à-vis the police is very bad. I am talking in general first. In general there is one more category.

- Especially police had a very bad experience with women in this city atleast in my 20-25 of work experience I am talking. Whenever there is a problem relating to eve-teasing whenever there is a case of sexual harassment, whenever there are more serious cases, for example wife beating, for example attempts to murder for dowry etc. the gut reaction of most policemen at the thana level and even officers higher-up is more in favour of men than in favour of the victim and unfortunately there is a total lack of sensitivity even in the case of children small girls who are sexually assaulted. We know of n-number of cases where the police instead of assigning women constables. It is not a matter of assigning women constables only. Assigning them in a manner where they can empathise with the victim, be sympathetic and at the same time try to elicit information. So experience is what? A child 10 years, 12 years, 14 years passes through such a trauma and after that he is taken to thana and he is terrorized by the police over there. So these are very facets of our experience which are very unfortunate. So that's how life is in the capital. One can imagine what it is outside then.
- From the general let me come to the particular. As far as the working class is concerned, the police is very clear and our experience in the trade unions shows that they are totally hostile. The police in so many areas act as weapons for strike breaking, union breaking and the over all attitude towards the workers is one of hostility. In these areas that hostility is teased by regionalism and caste as well for example most of the workers in this area belong to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and a large section of police work force belong to neighbouring states. There is a tremendous contempt even based on region. We will find abusing them "saale Bihari aagay" things like that. So these are people who are upholders of the law as per their rules and constitution etc. They are not supposed to discriminate on the basis of all these things.
- So this apart from the hatred I would say or the anti-worker role which they play we have tremendous experience in that, beatings, putting people in jail, harassment all kinds of things. It is a well known thing. Wherever there is a strike in any area in any particular factory. The police makes it good. One of the association of the particular owner will feed them well, give them the appropriate

money which they think justifiable for them and then they go to action. They won't see what is right and wrong. This is important. These workers are beaten black and blue. This is our experience in the working class area.

- And as a political party, we also have this experience that on many occasions the way we are treated and the way ruling class parties for example the Congress and the BJP attitude there is a wide gulf between that. With us on many occasions first instance will be to come down heavily on us. With the other parties it is a more friendly affair. With us there is a lot of hostility. So politically, in terms of class the police is definitely hostile towards us. That has been our over all experience and how class really plays a role. Our experience tells us what the role of the police is in terms been the part of the state machinery. I am not saying there is no scope for reform.
- But when we talk of reform first of all let the police hierarchy and the government should come out with what they need by reform. I mean to react to that. So when we talk of reforms, we can have a PR campaign.
- Let it show in practice that it means some business. Let it go down to the officers, monitor things and then show to the people that it is possible that some change can be there. Then it is meaning to talk of reforms.
- I don't have any prescription. Let the police and government first come on to the blue print what they want to do.
- They have to recognize some things like what the current behaviour and role of police is. Without recognizing that if the attempt is to cover that then talk of things then no meaningful reforms even within the limitation of the system can be carried out.

Q. Police and politician (ruling party as such) over the years develop a nexus like police use politicians and politicians use police for their works. This had serious implications in the law and order situations.

- Ruling class politicians definitely has nexus with the police and that is natural.
- Some reforms and changes are possible given political will.

Sushil Kumar Shinde

Q. Over the years there is general trend that police and politicians are working with some nexus. That nexus is mostly negative. It has a very demoralizing affect on part of the police organization and politicians are also blamed. How do u actually bring an end to this nexus?

- Police should behave independently and politicians should not interfere in the day-to-day working of the police.
- Police is a body who takes care of every individual, particularly for law and order. The image of the police is going down day by day which is not advisable because the police should be useful to the society. Police must be a friend of the society but the time has come for introspection for politicians also
- Law makers should not disturb the working of the police. Then only they will have independence.
- The politicians and the police have to do introspection.
- Police should become friend to the common man.
- There should be fear of the police before the criminal. Criminals do not have fear because of the interference of the politicians.
- Many top officers are also succumbing to the orders of the politicians. This is also not a good measure. It depends on the top police officer how he handles the situation.
- I have seen immediate transfers are being done. Nobody is looking after whether there will be injustice to that particular officer. So that is also is very wrong. The system will have to be followed. True picture of the officer should be revealed. Those officers who are not loyal to the department should be punished. Those who are loyal, honest and sincere they suffer much because of their non-influence of the politicians. Those who have political influence their work is done. So the top people should decide who have to work at the level of executive and non-

executive in particular time so that there should not be any injustice. And if really somebody is wrong they should be punished.

Q. Can you trust top level of officials / politicians for this state of affairs that we are talking about.

- It is both ways. Both politicians and police must have cordial relation. If there is no good relation between DG and CM that is also not good for the whole state. The Police particularly should not follow any 'ism' or 'party.'
- Police should be straight forward at any point of time. If a police officer shows favouritism at a particular time the officer comes in difficulty.

Q. The general complaint from the police organization is that when they try to do things right the face the problem of transfer, even senior officers.

- The top police officer must give protection to the officers who are transferred. I don't think the politicians have that much courage.
- Politicians also act with vengeance or supporting to some parties. Police officers should be independent.

Q. How do you to change the image of the police that continues to be negative.

- When the police is posted in a particular area or district. They should know the caste of that area, the population the locations, the topography and the dominance of a particular community (minority and majority) if they study properly I don't think there will be any problem. What is lacking many times the top officers will not go to remote places, they don't inspect police stations or small chowkies. If they stay for some time in remote villages they will know the difficulties of the constables also and then the hatred will not come about the top officers.
- In the present time the police job is not only law and order situations and how the law and order situations are maintained. There are other background subjects.

- A police officer should expect / assess what is going to be in the near future.
- Some times the officers also become victims of political influence and they become habitual in getting postings to a particular place. They should avoid all this.
- Internally one has to see a man through out life if he has side-tracked. He will not give results. Such type of things should see and top officers should taken initiative in this.
- They should have regular meeting with general public.
- Police should also meet the student community regularly because the crime has been increasing at that level.
- The job of the police is very difficult. Its not only limited to law and order situation. Modern police is a frame, philosopher and guide for those who are in needy.

Q. There should be a code of conduct for the politicians so that they will not misuse their authority.

- I am of the opinion that the politicians should not bring influence on police. If there is real injustice on somebody they should do justice for that person.

Anadi Sahoo

Q. Over the year it has been keenly observed police and politicians they have been interacting in a different way. Instead of having positive relationship it has turned to become a kind of nexus which has been affecting the law and order and to the society in different ways. This nexus is working at cross proposes for which public is facing threat. What is your reaction of police is being controlled by politicians? How do u react to this?

- Police-politician, politician-criminal and criminal-policeman. It is very dangerous nexus which is existing for the last 15 years. After the 60s this has become more

prominent. A politician in order to thrive in the present context, must take the help of muscle-men and muscle-men try with the support of policemen. This is like a triangular sort of activity that is going on now. To break this triangle it requires lot of political will and the political will is lacking.

- In the present procedures that are being adopted would require two things. One is the help of muscle-men and the other is money. Without these two types of activities can win an election. 95% of the elected representatives must depend on money and muscle power. Because of this policemen find that if they can switch on with the politicians they can get promotion. They can get good postings. There are two types of postings in police. One is dry posting another is wet posting. Everybody would like to go to wet posting, completely irrigated, soft, cool and for going to the wet postings, they go to politicians.
- And to get the nexus, first of all what I feel is that the recruitment policy of policemen has to change. There should be a weeding process and lateral induction.

Q. How much you blame the police officials for this demoralization.

- After 1980-82 the recruitment of policemen has not been proper. The attitudinal progress of the requirements or the psychological preparedness of a policemen is different merely by appearing in written test and becoming an Indian Police Service officer I think is not proper. Most important is the psychological aptitude.
- An Indian Police Service officer gets promotion as IG after serving for 20 years. Where as in IAS persons who are 6-7 years junior work as commissioners. And a Chief Secretary may be 4-5 years junior to the DG. The DGs have to sever under them. That creates problem. That's why many young people are not interested to go to Indian Police Service. That's why some sort of reforms should come up in the police recruitment policy

Q. Since the colonial days, police carry the negative image, that police is a force of repression and oppression and still the common citizen have fear to approach the

policemen and that khaki dress also fears the public. This is hampering police image. How do you change that to positive way?

- Nobody can change it. Absolute power corrupts.
- In police if a person is arrested, he will pay Rs.5000/- and go. After going out he will everybody that he has paid Rs.5000/- to the police officer. Whereas in revenue organization, a tehsildar has given a piece of land. He has taken Rs.10000/- for this. The man who has taken the land, he has taken it for perpetuating his children, grand children etc. He does not go out and say he has paid Rs.10000/- to get this land. These are the things which matter most.
- Police man by nature becomes a sadist by training, by coming in contact with different people. My suggestion is every five years you send him out especially senior officers for training courses, other areas where they can learn things.

Q. How do you react to this idea of police participating in the community welfare activities?

- During calamities they should come up helping the people. People will remember the police forever.

Q. How about having code of conduct for politicians to see that malafide political interference is changed.

- We are the guardians. In the world over politicians are the guardians.

Vijay Rama Rao

Q. Police reforms in policing.

- Police reforms should be taken in generic form.

- The reason for resistance inbuilt fear of public exposure at various levels of police leadership.
- As regards the apprehension of facing the wrath of fear of political leaders is also one of the reasons particularly if the actions of the officers concerned affect adversely the political interests of certain politicians.
- The internal departmental personnel matters should be the concern of the head of the department with the government or the political leader or political executive.
- The political executive has the responsibility to the elected legislature. Politicians should have nothing to do with transfers and postings of anybody. But any officers should have a tenure of atleast 3 years.
- Any reform which not aim at professional autonomy, rule of law and grievance redressal it will not succeed.
- Judiciary cannot do this.

Q. Code of conduct for politicians

- A vigorous code of conduct and vigorously enforced.

Q. Another suggestion that police should participate in development activities with the common man that will change the image and have healthy relationship with the police

- I agree with this. But not at the cost of their professional duties. They should identify with community development. During spare time they must associate with the people and be involved.

Q. What about the dos and donts for the politicians?

- We have a very vigorous code of conduct including to the extent of avoiding ostentation, avoiding dinner while on official duty. To be simple in the living habits. Declaration of assets. Assets declared are made public. They are

submitted to the Speaker of the House. Control of politicians on the conduct with the public.

- The code of conduct for the politicians mainly should be on corruption. Once that is vigorously taken care of, rest of things fall in place.

Q. You have been in both areas (police and politics). Do you think there should be more structured interaction between the police and the politicians?

- Politicians go to policeman only when there is a public grievance.
- Neighbourhood community policing is a structured thing which will reduce the need for interference of politicians

Jaipal Reddy

Q. Over the years it is found that political control over police is increasing day by day and has affected the police in many ways. While police claim that the interference of politicians will affect the criminal investigation and law and order situation, politicians blame the police saying they are misusing their authority for their own interests. Ultimately the civil society is badly affected. What do you comment on this?

- The ultimate authority lies with the Chief Minister. MLAs of the ruling party organize transfers of the police officers. They have unhealthy clout with the police.
- Police are also enjoying it in their own way. They get the choice postings. Its not a case of collision it is a collusion. It is a case of mutual convenience.
- The percentage of scrupulous senior officers is coming down oflate.
- Lot of senior officers are more than willing to play according to whims and fancies of the politicians. This is leading to demoralization of honest police officers which is going up because many police officers are willing to accommodate. Therefore the more senior officers are given unimportant positions.

Oscar Fernandez

Q. What is your reaction to this present scenario of police-politician relationship?

- When a new recruit comes, he comes with full commitment and with a clear mind to do justice but as time passes people develop contact that develops into further relationship. Contact is must. Relationship is not required.
- There is no bar for knowing one another. The relationship should not go beyond a point where ones decisions are influenced.
- The politicians are not somebody other than a part of the system. They are people in the real terms.
- It is really true which is condemnable that on account of politician and the legislators that justice is not meted out to the people.
- Training should be given to the young officers to say 'no' to the politicians politely. Because the duty is important than the influence.

Q. Police has certain negative image in the public mind. What is your say in this?

- Every police station should have a PRO. Then people will go to that PRO without fear.
- A mild natured person should be appointed as PRO.
- Any political influence that overrides the authority of a superior officer whether it is a constable or head constable, the constable should listen to head constable if he is the supervisory authority. This if it dilutes I think the whole thing cannot be put back on the rails.
- At no point of time a transfer of a police officer shall be at the instance of a legislator. It shall not. If tomorrow some thing wrong happens the blame will be not only on the police but also on the legislator.

Q. NPC report was prepared. It was never passed in the parliament and was accepted.

- Police need to be equipped properly. Police needs to be given a feeling that he does not need money.

Q. There was some suggestion of code of conduct for politicians to use police force in a positive way.

- If the police decide consciously that it will be the Home Minister and the Chief Minister and nobody should have anything to do with the police, to some extent it can have an effect. Home Minister should work as a Home Minister and not as a politician.

Annexure - 7

Some Extracts from the Important Interviewees (Recorded Interviews)

Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan, IAS, Founder Loksatta

1. In modern world police plays a vital role in democratic society.
2. There are two main functions of policing a) Law and Order and b) Urban management.
3. Without police arms justice system has no legs.
4. It relates with large Bureaucracy Vs. Political class.
5. Special problems in policing are immoral political system and doctoral process.
6. Without police force government cannot survive for a moment.
7. There is a special pressure for police.
8. The police is bearing the burden of unjust system.
9. Good policing is like a cultural, confidence and public credibility.
10. Leadership is necessary but satisfactory now.
11. Police must become a civil arm.

Shri Balakondaiah, BJP Leader, Andhra Pradesh

1. Due to lack of time Prevention of crime, Law and order, Detection of crime is becoming very difficulty for police.
2. Senior officers are more to be blamed .
3. Politicians has no chance in police transfer.
4. Code of conduct is ok, but who is implementing?
5. Politics is necessary and is it the representative of people grievances.
6. Politics should be enriched by intelligential by bureaucratic.
7. Reforms should start from individual.
8. If a true police officer investigates he can draw the truth from 100 depth.
9. Politician wants to pleased by doing wrong things.
10. Good police officers gets transfer.

Shri Pushpendra , General Secretary , CPM, Delhi

1. Police Reforms have limits
2. Police is the part of precious state machinery
3. Police must be more sensitive to people's needs and day to day problem.
4. Police is hatred everywhere, people fear them.
5. Nature of approach of police is a like a ruler (specially constabulary rank)
6. In attempt to murder, wife beating cases male culprits gets upper hand.
7. Police should be very clear with working.
8. Police are by standard.
9. Let the police hierarchy and government should explain it what hierarchy is.
10. Ruling political party have nexus with police.

Sushil kumar Shinde, General Secretary, AICC (now Chief Minister of Maharashtra)

1. Politicians should not interfere with police
2. Police is a body which take care of Law and Order.
3. Image of the police is going day to day.
4. Law makers shouldnot disturb police.
5. Police should be a top person (fear of police should be in the mind of criminals)
6. Police officers who are not loyal to be punished.
7. Police and politicians should have a good relationship.
8. Police should be straight forward.
9. Police should be independent.
10. Police officers should be very alert.

Sridhar , MLA, Cong I

1. Police to be guide, help to people, multipurpose not only to look after Law and Order.
2. Police sometimes take due advantages.

3. Police and politicians should try to understand each other.
4. Police should act like a civilized force.
5. Police should not take Law into their hands but enforce it.
6. Police should use rubber bullets etc in controlling the mobs.
7. Police should have a objectivity otherwise if he is not fit for a job.
8. Politicians should not interfere in major policing job
9. Caste should become a amour not mask.

Assadin Owasi , MLA , Charminar MIM

1. Police and Politicians lost respect in general people eyes and mind.
2. Common man fears police, but criminals have no fear because they can bribe the police.
3. Police and politicians are both responsible for Law and Order deterioration.
4. If we have corrupt politicians, we can change but if criminals become politicians, can general public welfare will not become a problem.
5. Change should be brought from Top.
6. Police become pawn in the hands of politicians.
7. In some States they have become killing machines.
8. Honest police officers get transferred and not given full powers.
9. Because of money , majority of police officers like to be posted at certain posts.
10. Lastly, an Independent body should be there to provide promotions to the good and honest police officers.

Shri Mohsina Kidwai,

1. Police and Politicians should be separated.
2. Political pressure can be reduced in police work.
3. Police should change its pattern of work.
4. Police should be supported by judiciary.

5. Lower rank should be given so much power to direct report to higher police officers.
6. Police does not have good relationship with public.
7. Politicians should try to make good relationship between police and public.
8. Media should be supported by good leaders.
9. It can help in welfare of society.

Shri Aurobindo , Reporter, Navbharat Times

1. In democracy police and politicians have nexus.
2. Politicians have nexus with criminals and police to keep them in power.
3. Politicians is more powerful in transfers or changes of police personnels.
4. Politicians are more responsible for downfall of their image.
5. Police image is same as British period.
6. Police socialization is only about 1% successfully.
7. Police should be given power, autonomy and some limitations.
8. In social welfare activities police should take part from heart.
9. Code of conduct will not be more effective unless it is enforced by court.
10. Good citizen cooperation to be given to police.

Dr. Parakala Prabhakar , Vice President, BJP, Andhra Pradesh

1. Police have caste loyalties, communal loyalties and ideological loyalties since comes from civil society.
2. Police are not impartial in dealing with general public.
3. It attracts political inference.
4. IPS officers National Police Commission are not the actual field people.
5. Police officers cannot be pressurized by political and anybody.
6. Rigidity in the organization affects more.
7. Police officers doesn't like to change.
8. Public likes other colour than Khakhi.

9. General Public takes helps of politicians.
10. Police for specially at the lower level looks at the citizen from extracting money from them.

Sudhakar Reddy, General Secretary, CPI

1. Police department should be under the control of the State.
2. They should not be any sort of independence from the executive like judiciary.
3. Crimilisation of politicization is responsible fork misuse of police force.
4. Every politician is corrupt is not true.
5. Policy decision should be with consensus with political parties.
6. Interference of political party in policing is necessary to reduce the police brutality etc.
7. Advisory committee must be there.
8. People, politicians, police interaction is a must but not day to day affairs.
9. Policing needs to be changed.
10. All departments are getting corrupted.

Basavaraj Rayareddi JD , Secretary General

1. Police politicians good relationship is required.
2. Politicians are interfering with police which in turn hamper the police work. It should be stop.
3. Senior police officers level feels that police doesn't have human approach, misuse of power, psychological barrier.
4. Fear from public towards police should go away with time.
5. Police should change their attitudes.
6. Government should think about 8 hours duties and increment in pay scales for lower ranks. Necessary mental pressure and body not overstraining the lower ranks.
7. Police should be recruited according to population wise.

8. Proper education regarding civic sense, training one year for lower ranks is a must.
9. Police station should conduct a seminar with general public to bring awareness of police work.
10. Police stations in rural and urban should also involve in social services.

Annexure - 8

PROFORMA OF PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEE POLITICIANS

1. Name :
 2. Age :
 3. Birth place : (a) District:
(b) City :
 4. Religion :
 5. Caste (optional) :
 6. Educational qualifications :
 7. Name of the party (if applicable) :
 8. Current position/rank :
 9. Experience : No. of years served
 10. Permanent address :
 11. Any critical incident with Police/politician :
- Tel :
Fax :
E-mail :

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CREATING A FUNCTIONAL POSITIVE POLICE-FOLKMAN INTERFERENCE PUBLIC ORDER MAINTENANCE



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