Status of Policing in India Report 2018

A Study of Performance and Perceptions

[COMMON CAUSE]
A ROMANCE WITH PUBLIC CAUSES SINCE 1980

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Cover Photo:

In the wake of school students dying in road accident, policemen help school children cross the road. (Credits: Praful Gangurde, Hindustan Times, 19 January 2010, Mumbai)

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List of Abbreviations

AAP:	Annual Action Plan
AIDS:	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ACCIL:	Assam Cyber Crime Investigation Laboratory
AFSPA:	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act
AP:	Andhra Pradesh
ASI:	Assistant Sub-Inspector
BPRD:	Bureau of Police Research & Development
CAC:	Crimes against children
CAG:	Comptroller and Auditor General of India
CAW:	Crimes against women
CII:	Crime in India
CASCs:	Crimes against Scheduled Castes
CASTs:	Crimes against Scheduled Tribes
CAG:	Comptroller & Auditor General of India
CCTV:	Close Circuit Television
CID:	Criminal Investigation Department
CCTNS:	Crime and Criminal Tracking Networks and Systems
CTS:	Constable Training School
CFSL:	Central Forensic Science Laboratories
CLAA:	Criminal Law Amendment Act
CPO:	Central Police Organisations
CrPC:	Criminal Procedure Code
CTS:	Constable Training School
DFSS:	Directorate of Forensic Sciences Services
DGP:	Director General of Police
DMFU:	District Mobile Forensic Unit
DPO:	Data on Police Organisations
DySP:	Deputy Superintendent of Police
FSL:	Forensic Science Laboratory

GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GoI:	Government of India
GPI:	Global Peace Index
GSPHCL:	Gujarat State Police Housing Corporation Limited
HC:	Head Constable
HP:	Himachal Pradesh
IGP:	Inspector General of Police
IPS:	Indian Police Service
IPC:	Indian Penal Code
INSAS:	Indian Small Arms System
ITPA:	Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act
JJA:	Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act
LoP:	Leader of Opposition
MFSU:	Mobile Forensic Science Unit
MHA:	Ministry of Home Affairs
MO:	Medical Officer
MoS:	Minister of State
MP:	Madhya Pradesh
MPF:	Modernisation of Police Force
MPM:	Modern Prison Manual
MPV:	Medium Police Vehicles
NCRB:	National Crime Records Bureau
NFHS:	National Family Health Survey
NPC:	National Police Commission
NSC:	National Security Commission
OBCs:	Other Backward Castes
PAC:	Provincial Armed Constabulary
PCA:	Police Complaints Authority
PCR Act:	Protection of Civil Rights Act
PCMA:	Prohibition of Child Marriage Act
PEB:	Police Establishment Board
PoC Act:	Prevention of Corruption Act

POCSO:	Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act	SLEC:	State Level Empowered Committee
PTC:	Police Training College	SP:	Superintendent of Police
PS:	Police Stations	SSC:	State Security Commission
PSI:	Prison Statistics India	STs:	Scheduled Tribes
PWDVA:	Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act	SVSPA:	Swami Vivekananda State Police Academy
RFSL:	Regional Forensic Science Laboratories	TN:	Tamil Nadu
SC:	Supreme Court	TB:	Tuberculosis
SCs:	Scheduled Castes	UNODC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes
SC/ST PoA Act:	Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act	UP:	Uttar Pradesh
SI:	Sub-Inspector	UT:	Union Territory
SFSL:	State Forensic Science Laboratory	UTPs:	Undertrial Prisoners
SHO:	Station House Officer	UTRC:	Under-Trial Review Committees
SLL:	Special and Local Laws	WB:	West Bengal
SLR:	Self Loading Rifles	WP(C):	Writ Petition (Civil)

Surveyed States

Acknowlegement

INTRODUCTION

Policemen retaliated with batons after a protest by lawyers turned violent.
(Credits: Prabhakar Sharma, Hindustan Times, 7 March 2013, Jaipur

Status of Policing in India Report: The Context

It is a matter of pride for Common Cause to launch the first *Status of Policing in India Report 2018: A Study of Performance and Perceptions.* True to its mission statement, 'A Romance with Public Causes', Common Cause works on the rule of law, probity in public life and accountability in governance since its inception in 1980. Working for people-centric policing has always been an integral part of this mission.

The report is a collaboration between Common Cause and Lokniti Programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), a research institution which works in partnership with a wide network of researchers and academic institutions all over India. The report draws on earlier efforts by civil society, academia, think tanks and research institutions. The work has been supported by grants from Tata Trusts and Lal Family Foundation.

For Common Cause and its patrons, the report is not a one-off project, but a long-term commitment. We see it as a firm step towards generating time-series data on the performance of the police and the levels of citizens' trust and satisfaction in their day to day working. We hope that the data presented here will illuminate the nature of the relationship between the police and the communities they are meant to serve. We believe that a long-term study will help, apart from common citizens, all those policemen, scholars and activists who work on the ground to humanise the law enforcing machinery and build trust by promoting people-centric policing and community participation.

For the common person, the police are the most visible face of the state. A sovereign government is called a 'failed state' if it is unable to control law-and-order, but when it uses repression as the instrument of control, it is condemned as a 'police state.' There is a 'legitimacy deficit' in both situations. Good governance demands a balance between fair and effective enactment of the rule of law. A society cannot become just or democratic if the police are not responsive to the needs of the community, particularly its weaker and vulnerable sections. So, the obligation of the police is not only to control crime but to do so in an unbiased way while treating people with dignity and respect.

Law and order is a state subject under the Constitution of India. It is a pity that while the Constitution empowers the states to enact their own laws, most of them still retain the essential characteristics of the colonial Indian Police Act, 1861, which was framed to subjugate the 'native'

Indians. Police establishments across India continue to function largely in the same casual and repressive fashion as the colonial masters had envisioned. They follow a rigid, unilinear hierarchy, with all the trappings of pomp and power, often behaving as the private armies of the new masters. This is hardly suited to the changing needs of the world's largest democracy.

We have to accept that India's performance in this area has been dismal and is worsening on many parameters. The Rule of Law Index under the World Justice Project ranks India at the 62nd position out of 113 countries. In terms of criminal justice, it stands at the 66th position, but in the civil justice component it slides to the 97th position. In the Corruption Index 2017 of the Transparency International, India is ranked at the 81st position out of 180 countries. The 2017 progress report on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has found that globally, the proportion of people held in detention without being sentenced for a crime has remained almost unchanged — from 32 percent of total prisoners in 2003-2005 to 31 percent in 2013-2015. The percentage of undertrials in India is more than double the global standards, at 67.2 percent in 2015.

Changing roles and outlooks

Every country has its unique set of threats and opportunities, even though there is always scope for learning from others. It is important to note that the traditional policing has undergone a sea change in the more successful democracies of the world. Feedback mechanisms like citizen's satisfaction surveys have resulted in better understanding of crimes and higher levels of community policing. This transformation has also been shaped by the legitimate demands of the citizens and their participation in governance. In India, we could have also done that, in our own unique way, by taking full advantage of the landmark 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments which have empowered the elected Village Panchayats and Urban Local Bodies to take decisions at the grassroots levels. A systemic cooperation between the panchayats or urban wards and the police stations – which happen to be the citizens' first point of contact with law – will provide much-needed monitoring by the community. An important part of law enforcement is to identify gross misconduct and to take action against erring officials which can only be done with inbuilt mechanisms and the involvement of the community.

The New York-based Vera Institute of Justice, which has been working on fair policing since 1961, sees community policing as democracy in action. It requires active participation of local governments, civic and business leaders, public and private agencies, residents, religious organisations such as temples, churches, mosques, and educational institutions, among others. The institute advocates the use of citizen surveys to make sense of what is and what ought to be. One of the most fundamental issues for the police is to be able to protect citizens without giving up its own accountability. After all, the police cannot expect people to be law-abiding when they themselves disobey law. It is a rational expectation, therefore, that citizens' compliance of law will increase if the policing apparatus is seen as fair, law-abiding and even-handed.

The citizens' satisfaction surveys are also in the nature of citizens' feedbacks on routine policing matters and have been carried out in the US, UK, New Zealand, Canada and Australia, among many other countries. They capture citizens' perception of police performance and competence; citizens' perception of their attitudes and behaviour; community concerns over safety and security and their recommendations for service improvement. It is a fairly common practice for the European Union (EU) to commission surveys which compare public trust in the police and the justice system across member countries in order to observe cross-national variations. Their studies have found that rather than from mechanisms of deterrence, compliance with law comes more easily from legitimacy of the authority and public's trust and confidence in the system (Hough, 2012). Many such surveys are increasingly being done online. However, in India online surveys are problematic for many reasons, particularly because they run the risk of excluding disadvantaged groups who happen to be on the wrong side of both, law enforcement and the digital divide.

In today's data-driven world, it is tough to bring about an organisational transformation or to achieve a perceptible improvement in the behaviour of the police, or in their service delivery mechanisms, without identifying the existing need gaps. This report seeks to do precisely that by presenting a combination of fact-based markers of the capacities and competence of the forces, derived from the official data, followed by a comprehensive survey of peoples' perception of the police on the ground. The objective of this report is to provide accurate diagnostics for better understanding and meaningful reforms. The surveys have been conducted face to face by surveyors especially trained in handling the questionnaire prepared after field-based pilots and several brainstorming exercises involving experts, academics and serving and retired police officers. The data for the objective analysis has been accessed from the police establishments like the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD) and other institutions like the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India.

Harmony, peace and public order

It is obvious that multi-dimensional efforts are required to promote peaceful societies and provide access to justice for all as stated in SDG 16 of the United Nations. After all, the purpose of law is to create social harmony and cohesion in society rather than to mechanically apply the rules. And that is why the police have to be reoriented to keeping peace and maintaining public order against trying circumstances, rather than just fighting crime. A beginning has to be made by first grasping the issues of an antiquated policing system, and its old-fashioned interface with public, before trying to reform it. From that perspective also, we believe that this report would be a valuable tool for the citizens to monitor the impact of policing on the ground. A comparison between the states is also vital to be able to examine what works and what is counter-productive from the point of view of governance and public policies. The states can always take proactive steps to change the status quo; they can even repeal archaic laws and enact progressive ones, given the political will or public pressure. And that is why the individual state has been treated as the unit of performance in the report.

The analysis of performance and perception about policing in 22 states in this report is arranged primarily in terms of best or worst-performing states. The information is also given according to age, gender, caste, community, urban/ rural or economic/ educational status, among other parameters. The performance indicators have been developed on the basis of official statistics for five years until 2016. Forty-two variables have been categorised into six main themes (i.e. crime rate, disposal of cases by police and courts, diversity in the police force, police infrastructure, prison data and disposal of cases of crimes against SCs/STs/ women and children.) The survey provides snapshots of police-citizen relations, levels of fairness and responsiveness of the criminal justice system to distress and crime, and the levels of accessibility and impartiality with respect to the society's vulnerable sections. The report also puts together critical deficiencies flagged by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) in its audit reports of 11 states spread over a decade.

For those who would like to locate the performance of a particular state or study the specific details of sub-themes, the study contains detailed annexures.

These are tabular representations of select objective data, state-wise compliances to Supreme Court guidelines and technical details of survey indices. For reasons of logistics and resources, we were not able to include seven smaller states which constitute around one per cent of the country's population. The North-East of India is represented by Assam and Nagaland while the latter happens to be one of best performing states on many parameters. Except Jammu and Kashmir, all the other states to be excluded have a population between 6 lakhs and 36 lakhs (Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Sikkim and Tripura). J&K has not been included because routine policing operations in the state have been limited by the ongoing conflict and the presence of the Army and paramilitary forces in large areas of the state. Each chapter has its own methodology while more specific details like the questionnaire and the coding sheet have been given in the end.

Legitimacy despite cynicism

Contradictory as it may sound, the average Indian reports abuse of authority and corruption in the police in the same breath as an overall satisfaction with their day-to-day functioning. This is broadly consistent with a global trend about peoples' perception of their police. This is so, perhaps, because while being estranged with law for whatever reason, an individual can also simultaneously believe in the legitimate authority of law. This, however, does not diminish the individual's fear from the police. The survey tries to resolve this enigma by analysing the citizens' fear of the police according to the state they live in or the caste, community or religious groups they belong to. A significant part of the survey has also been devoted to examining difference between the rich and the poor as well as between rural and urban folks. On many parameters, the results of the study may not be shocking or dramatic but they provide definite clues to the attitudes and perceptions of the multiple publics vis-à-vis the police as well as one another.

The difference in trust and satisfaction levels becomes starker, for instance, when one talks to the society's disadvantaged sections who are more likely to be victims of exclusion and procedural injustice. It is important, therefore, to examine the issues of public cooperation and compliance with law as well as those of police excesses and atrocities from the point of view of the poor and the vulnerable

sections. And that is why this study attempts to tap into the nuances of the public perception based on the experiences of all citizens, irrespective of caste, class and gender, though more particularly of traditionally disadvantaged sections.

The questions and indicators in the study have been kept simple and comparable while the methodology is transparent yet nuanced and rigorous. For policy makers, media persons, scholars and activists, the data presented here will hopefully provide important insights into policing in India. It will also answer some old questions, raise some new ones, and work as a building block for more research. The indicators tell lay readers something concrete about problem areas in the rule of law in India and the direction in which we are headed. The study offers a good opportunity to the leaders of states which perform poorly, or where the peoples' trust in law enforcement is really low, or where the fear of the police is unusually high, to use the data to introspect or to take lessons from their better performing neighbours. We hope that those in power will use the empirical evidence to take decisive steps to improve things in their jurisdictions or areas of influence and those in the opposition would demand meaningful reforms. Common Cause and CSDS will be happy to receive any feedback on the report.

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CHAPTER 1:

LET THE NUMBERS SPEAK: POLICE PERFORMANCE REVIEW

Police attempting to control protesters following the murder of a child in a school in Gurgaon
(Credits: Parveen Kumar, Hindustan Times, 10 September 2017, Gurgaon)

Let The Numbers Speak: Police Performance Review

The report that you are reading through the following pages contrasts the findings of a nationwide survey of 22 states with the insights derived from objective data accessed and collated from the police establishments. The idea is to work towards restoring the citizens' trust and confidence in the police force by studying the gaps in the levels of their performances and the peoples' expectations from them.

It is tough to achieve an appreciable improvement in the existing practices of policing without understanding where we are going right or wrong. This report analyses official law enforcement data in order to offer some evidence about efficiencies on the ground. Once we are able to rate state-wise performances, it is easier to measure them against peoples' perceptions and expectations presented in the next few chapters.

This chapter has been divided into two sections. In the first section, we are discussing the broad framework of the study regarding different states' compliance to the Supreme Court directives of 2006 followed by an analysis of objective data collected from official sources and arranged and presented thematically in six groups. The Supreme Court directives in the *Prakash Singh* case, in which Common Cause was a co-petitioner, are central to the issue of police reforms in India and a study of the compliance with the directives has been presented.

The following section, however, based on the rating of the states in the form of indices, goes much beyond that. For the analysis of the objective data, we have come up with an easy-to-understand Index to measure the performance of Indian states across selected parameters. Our endeavour is to let the reader measure the results of the state-wise analysis of the official data against the findings of the survey which will follow in the next few chapters.

1.1 A momentous non-compliance

India has a long history of making big promises on police reforms without effective delivery. *Common Cause Journal* (July-September, 2015) lists all important committees and commissions formed since the colonial period (Ayaz, 2015). However, India's watershed moment came on September 22, 2006, in *Prakash Singh vs Union of India*, when after over a decade of hearing the petition, and after the failure of states to implement recommendations of a number of expert panels, the Supreme Court delivered a momentous judgement that contained specific guidelines for the implementation of police reforms. Its implementation in the past 12 years is a story of a monumental non-compliance.

Prakash Singh vs Union of India, 2006 was a landmark judgement that sought to make it incumbent upon the government to make much-needed changes in policy which were long overdue. The judgement was a huge victory for many and the specific nature of the directions given by the Court made it seem that there was little or no scope for non-compliance. A progress report on the action taken by the police, or the lack of it, is given in Appendix 7. The seven directives mandate the union and state governments to set up the following institutions or take specific actions:

1. State Security Commissions (SSC) with the Leader of Opposition, judges and independent members to ensure that the state police is able to function independent of unwarranted government control, influence or pressure.

2. The Director General of Police (DGP) to be selected from amongst the three senior-most officers and to have a minimum tenure of 2 years.

3. Minimum tenure of I.G. of Police and other officers on operational duties should also have a prescribed minimum tenure of two years.

4. Separate wing for investigation of cases

5. Police Establishment Board (PEB) for all transfers, postings, promotions and service matters of officers up to the Dy Superintendent of Police rank, and to hear their appeals.

6. Police Complaints Authority: Both at the state and district levels to hear complaints against police officers up to the rank of Dy Superintendent of Police.

7. National Security Commission (NSC) for selection and placement of Chiefs of the Central Police Organisations (CPOs) and to review the effectiveness of the police forces.

These directives are a culmination of the main recommendations of the different committees on police reforms. As pointed out by Joshi (2013), some critics have called these "National Police Commission model of reforms" i.e., with focus only around the reduction of political influence on policing, instead of addressing structural problems. However, there is no denying the fact that these

directives could be the first set of building blocks for more reforms in future.

1.1.1 The role of the states

Under the Constitution, the law and order, including the police, is a state subject. The states are empowered to enact their own laws but most of them still retain features of the Indian Police Act, 1861, which is not just archaic but also colonial. Seventy years after independence, the police establishments in India continue to function in the same repressive way -- with a rigid hierarchy of control and an unilinear command system -- and largely without transparency and accountability required under norms of democratic governance.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that almost all states of India are guilty of the contempt of court for not implementing the Apex Court's directives fully and unequivocally. Their failure is at both levels -- in absolute non-compliance with the directives, as well as in inserting dubious provisos in legislation which run counter to the spirit of the judgement. Mr. Prakash Singh, the main petitioner in the 2006 case, has filed a contempt petition in the Supreme Court for effective implementation of the directives. This petition is still being heard and the case is nowhere near resolution, 11 years after it was first filed.

The state governments are seriously deficient in compliance to the directives and are, in effect, in flagrant violation of the Supreme Court's order. Appendix 7 gives a quick comparison among the 13 states which have passed state Police Acts after the judgment. For instance, while all of these 13 states have a provision for a State Security Commission (SSC), its membership seems seriously compromised i.e., five states do not have provisions for the Leader of Opposition to be a member, and four states do not provide for non-political or independent member. Worse still, specific provisions to make the recommendations of the SSC binding on the government exist only in two states, Kerala and Himachal Pradesh.

The other two bodies directed to be formed by the court – Police Establishment Board (PEB) and the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) — have similarly been weakened through legislative loopholes. Kerala and Haryana Police Acts have altogether done away with the core function of deciding transfers and postings of officers, while Bihar Police Act does not have a provision for such a board, all in violation of the court's order. The recommendations of the PEB have been made binding only in Karnataka, Kerala and Uttarakhand. Similarly, in the case of Police Complaints Authority (PCA), specific legal provisions making its recommendations binding exist in only two states- Himachal Pradesh and Kerala, and in Maharashtra, a provision has been made wherein the recommendation may be rejected in exceptional cases by the state government for reasons given in writing. These, and many other examples, show that the Supreme Court directives are being observed in breach rather than in compliance.

Overall, Himachal Pradesh is found to be the most compliant with the Supreme Court directives, with Uttarakhand close behind. Kerala too has shown relatively better compliance with the SC directives and has made progress on the issue of police autonomy. The Union Government too was to form a National Security Commission along the lines of the SSC. This, however, was formed in 2017 more than 10 years after the SC judgement, according to a January 2018 statement given by Minister of State for Home Affairs, Hansraj Gangaram Ahir in Parliament.

1.1.2 Beyond SC directives

One crucial problem with the police structure which has not found a sufficient safeguard in the court directives is that of discrimination against the subordinate rank officers and undue abuse of authority by the senior rank officers. This hierarchy is so deeply ingrained within the police structure that the Police Act of 1861 continues to use the terminology "inferior officers" under Section 7 of the Act[1]. Cases of harassment by senior police officers meted out to those in the subordinate ranks are common news. In 2015 alone, a total of 167 police personnel committed suicide in India.

Besides cases of harassment by seniors, dissatisfaction with job and lack of professional growth continue to ail the Indian Police. According to a study conducted by BPRD in 1990, only 22 percent police constabulary could get promotion, and the remaining 78 percent were stagnating at the same rank in which they joined the force (Joshi et al., 1990). Such, and related issues that have an effect on the overall police functioning and efficiency, are some issues that have not been adequately addressed.

Another crucial omission is Section 197 of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), 1973, which makes provisions for a prior sanction by the government for the prosecution of judges and public servants.[2] Section 19 of the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988, also makes it mandatory to have a previous sanction by the government for court to take cognizance of an offence under the Act. Thus, police officers in effect have been protected through legal measures from prosecution without government sanction.

While the PCA has been set up as an institution to deal with grievances and complaints against police officers, but in cases where the recommendations of the PCA are not binding, (which is the case with 10

out of the 13 states studied above), these forums will be rendered futile since further appeals in the courts will be complicated. According to media reports (M. Raghava, 2012), sanctions for prosecution of police officers have not been provided by state governments in a majority of cases, such as in the case of Karnataka where the government refused to give sanction for prosecuting seven officials against whom the Lokayukta had conducted raids and found assets disproportionate to their known sources of income. In the *Subramaniam Swamy* case, the court gave guidelines to Parliament to introduce a time limit of three months in Section 19 of the Prevention of Corruption Act within which the decision regarding a sanction should be taken, failing which the permission will be deemed to have been granted. However, the legal position in this matter is not settled, and Section 19 continues to apply in cases of corruption against police officers.

1.2 Where do we stand? A state-wise analysis of objective data

Data on state-wise police performance using objective parameters was aggregated from publicly available, official statistics from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) and Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD). The three main reports relied on for gathering the datasets are Crime in India (NCRB), Data on Police Organizations (BPRD) and Prison Statistics India (NCRB).

This section looks at the performance of the police in states because law and order comes under the state list and it is at the state level at which crucial decisions about policing are taken. The large base of data sets was reduced to a total of 42 variables collected over a span of five years from (2012 to 2016) for the purpose of developing comparable and measurable state-wise parameters on the performance of the police. The figures have been averaged for five years so that the effect of state-specific turbulences in a single year due to unrelated factors may be minimized. All figures given below are averages of five years, unless otherwise mentioned. These variables were categorised and divided into six different themes, which are as follows:

1. Crime rates

2. Disposal of cases by police and courts

3. Police diversity

4. Police Infrastructure

5. Prison data

6. Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children

For each of the variable under the above themes, an Index was created for the five-year period between 2012 to 2016, for each specific year, as well as for the average of the five years. The formula used for creating the Index was:

State Index =

$$\frac{(x - \text{minimum observed in the last five years})}{(\text{maximum observed in the last five years} - \text{minimum observed in the last five years})}$$

where 'x' is the actual state figure for the variable

The indices for the different variables were averaged out to arrive at a thematic Index. Thus, the final thematic Index is an average of the individual variable indices under it. A detailed list of the state-wise figures on all variables is given in Appendix 6.

The need to create these indices arose from the fact that the data, in some cases, were not in comparable formats and could not be fused together without bringing in uniformity in the computation of the values. Additionally, the indices, calculated using the maximum and minimum values observed across all states in the previous five years, enables a relative ranking for each variable. While it would be presumptive to accord direct correlational associations between any of these variables at this level, a comparative ranking can go a long way in enhancing institutional performance by encouraging good practices and state-driven inputs in the police machinery.

During the initial analysis, the objective was to develop a cumulative ranking of the different indicators for an overall police performance evaluation. However, this process was amended in the later stages seeing as how the nature of the thematic groups were entirely different, as were the institutions from which this data was emanating: police, prisons, court and the State.

Another major consideration behind the decision to abstain from a cumulative ranking was that increasing crime rates in a society is not necessarily an outcome of poor policing. It could very well, in fact, be the other way around – increasing crime rates may be indicative of improving registration of cases by the police – in itself a positive indicator of police performance. Yet, as is seen in the survey findings in the subsequent chapters, decreasing crime rates in a locality have a positive impact on people's levels of satisfaction with the police. Being a crucial determinant for policing, it is not feasible to leave out crime rates altogether when studying the police structure of a country. In order to balance out these seeming contradictions, the different thematic heads have all been addressed separately in this analysis.

Coming back to poor registration of cases by the police and to the issue stemming from that -- how reliable are the figures projected by the police and the State? Even with all the shortcomings and

doubts raised about the data, these are the only comprehensive and verifiable data sets that have State accountability. Doubts raised regarding the accuracy of this data, although not completely unfounded[3], need to be set aside for any analysis aimed at policy recommendation and advocacy.

In the following sub-sections, each of the above indices will be discussed separately. The indices have been computed such that it provides a range between 0 and 1 for each indicator, with 0 depicting the poorest performance and 1 being the benchmark for best performance. Higher figure for each Index is indicative of better performance[4]. This data only pertains to those collected from official sources and is independent of the survey results and findings.

1.2.1 Crime rate Index[5]

The variables used for calculating the crime rate Index are[6]:

1. Rate of total cognizable crimes under Indian Penal Code (IPC) and the Special and Local Laws (SLL)

2. Rate of violent crimes[7]

3. Rate of total cognizable crimes against women[8]

4. Rate of total cognizable crimes against Scheduled Castes[9]

5. Rate of total cognizable crimes against Scheduled Tribes[10]

6. Rate of total cognizable crimes against children[11]

Crime, from a criminological perspective, lends itself to various causes, ranging from societal turbulence to failure of the law and order machinery. Modern theories of crime can be traced back to atavistic school of thought propounded by Lombroso (1876) which puts the burden of deviancy on inherent individual traits. On the other hand, sociological theories such as the social disorganisation theory or the strain theory place the onus on the breakdown of social norms in a society or disproportionate opportunities available to different communities. Therefore, trying to understand crime from a

Table 1.1: Crime rate Index

State rank	States ranked from least crime rates to most crime rates	Crime Rate Index
1.	Punjab	0.91
2.	Himachal Pradesh	0.88
3.	Jharkhand	0.84
4.	Tamil Nadu	0.84
5.	Uttarakhand	0.83
6.	West Bengal	0.83
7.	Gujarat	0.81
8.	Maharashtra	0.81
9.	Uttar Pradesh	0.79
10.	Bihar	0.78
11.	Karnataka	0.78
12.	Haryana	0.77
13.	All India	0.77
14.	Andhra Pradesh	0.74
15.	Assam	0.74
16.	Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	0.74
17.	Odisha	0.72
18.	Chhattisgarh	0.71
19.	Telangana[12]	0.71
20.	Madhya Pradesh	0.69
21.	Rajasthan	0.63
22.	Kerala	0.52
23.	Delhi UT	0.51

Note: Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing
(Nagaland excluded because data not available/not computable)

sociological or legal perspective brings out various conflicting dilemmas, and to put the responsibility of crime squarely on the police as an institution would be undue.

Another difficulty with making crime rate a marker of police performance is the common practice of non-registration of crime (Rao & Tiwari, 2016), stemming from the requirement of police to project a better law and order situation in the state. In a study done by UP Police Commission in 1970-71, it was unanimously admitted by the officers that concealment and minimization was commonly done by them. It has been noted, contrastingly, that increase in crime rates in some cases may be a result of improving registration of crimes in that state (Chandra, 2016). In order to get a better picture of the crime rate in a state, rather than looking at the rate of overall crimes (rate of total cognizable crimes in official terms), a look at the rate of violent crime in the state would be more effectual. This is based on the premise that violent crimes, which include offenses such as murder, rape, robbery and kidnapping, are a lot more difficult to suppress in documentation.

Therefore, crimes such as murders are more reliable markers of the law and order situation prevailing in a region. For instance, according to the annual crime data released by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), while India has crime rates lower than developed countries such as Sweden and Netherlands, the rate of murder in India, at 3.28 per lakh of population, is much higher than these countries which have rates ranging between 0.71 in Sweden and 1.06 in Australia.

Looking at figure 1.1 gives an idea of the fact that the rate of violent crimes is disproportionately higher than the rate of total cognizable crimes across most states, particularly in states such as Delhi, Assam and Bihar. Whereas in contrast, states such as Kerala have much higher rates of total cognizable crimes than violent crimes. This difference may be attributable to differences in reporting and registration of crimes in different states, which are reflective of the accessibility and responsiveness of the police in those states.

The cumulative crime rate Index reveals Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Jharkhand to be the states recording least rates of crime, while Delhi, Kerala and Rajasthan have the highest. Delhi also has the highest rates of crimes against women and children. At the all India level, while the rate of total cognizable crime has more or less remained constant, with a slight decrease in the year 2016, but the rate of crimes against women, children, SCs and STs have been increasing. The rate of crimes against children has had an almost three times

increase, from 8.9 to 24, between 2012 and 2016. The introduction of new laws such as Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO), 2012 may have created an enabling structure for increase in registration of these crimes.

1.2.2 Disposal of cases by police and courts Index

The variables used for the calculation of disposal of cases by police and courts Index are:

1. Chargesheeting rate of IPC and SLL cases by the police[13]
2. Disposal percentage of IPC and SLL cases by the police
3. Conviction rate of IPC and SLL cases by the courts[14]
4. Disposal percentage of IPC and SLL cases by the courts

The disposal Index is an indicator of the prompt action taken by the police and by the courts on the reported cases of crimes. India is notorious for a huge backlog of cases in courts and severe delays in justice. In the landmark judgement of *Hussainara Khatoon vs Home Secretary, State of Bihar* the Supreme Court held speedy trial to be a part of Article 21 of the Constitution which guarantees the citizens' right to life and liberty. However, speedy trial is not the only marker for proper disposal of cases, and there is a need to ensure that cases are being registered by the police and that justice is being delivered. In order to get a more wholesome idea of this, the disposal percentage of cases with police and courts, along with the chargesheeting rate by police and conviction rate by court have been taken here for the calculation of this Index (see table 1.2). Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, and Uttar Pradesh figure at the top of this Index while Assam, Delhi and West Bengal figure at the bottom.

A disaggregated look at the individual variables used in this Index reveals that the chargesheeting rate and disposal percentage of cases by police is much higher than the conviction rates and the disposal percentage of cases by courts. As is evident from Figure 1.2, the disposal of cases by police is uniformly better than the disposal of cases by the courts, indicating that the police are in general more prompt and efficient in dealing with cases as compared to the courts.

However, one of the variables used for the disposal Index of courts needs to be analysed more carefully: the conviction rate. There is nothing particularly unusual about conviction rate, but as will be seen in the following sections, the same becomes lamentable in cases of crimes against vulnerable communities. However, it would be a mistake to put the onus of poor conviction rates on the courts alone. Police in

Figure 1.1: Rate of total cognizable crime and rate of violent crime indices

State	Rate of total cognizable crime index	Rate of Violent crime index
Andhra Pradesh	0.1	0.1
Assam	0.1	0.7
Bihar	0.1	0.4
Chhattisgarh	0.5	0.3
Gujarat	0.3	0.1
Haryana	0.2	0.5
Himachal Pradesh	0.1	0.2
Jharkhand	0	0.3
Karnataka	0.1	0.4
Kerala	0.9	0.5
Madhya Pradesh	0.2	0.3
Maharashtra	0.1	0.4
Nagaland	0	0.1
Odisha	0.1	0.4
Punjab	0.1	0.2
Rajasthan	0.2	0.2
Tamil Nadu	0.4	0.2
Telangana	0.1	0.2
Uttar Pradesh	0.4	0.2
Uttarakhand	0.6	0.2
West Bengal	0.1	0.4
Delhi UT	0.3	1
AP+ Telangana	0.1	0.1
All India	0.2	0.3

■ Rate of total cognizable crime index   ■ Rate of Violent crime index

Note: Index interpretation: 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing

Figure 1.2: Disposal of cases by police and court Indices

State	Disposal of cases by courts Index	Disposal of cases by police Index
Bihar	0.12	0.75
Chhattisgarh	0.74	0.97
Gujarat	0.33	0.93
Haryana	0.42	0.73
Himachal Pradesh	0.22	0.84
Jharkhand	0.27	0.63
Karnataka	0.37	0.76
Kerala	0.62	0.96
Madhya Pradesh	0.52	0.94
Maharashtra	0.18	0.71
Nagaland	0.64	0.7
Odisha	0.11	0.79
Punjab	0.42	0.68
Rajasthan	0.48	0.86
Tamil Nadu	0.73	0.81
Telangana	0.35	0.77
Uttar Pradesh	0.71	0.94
Uttarakhand	0.86	0.93
West Bengal	0.1	0.75
Delhi	0.33	0.44
AP+Telangana	0.41	0.79
All India	0.52	0.85

■ Disposal of cases by courts Index   ■ Disposal of cases by police Index

Note: Index interpretation: 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing. Police disposal Index is cumulative score of chargesheeting rate and percentage of cases investigated by the police. Court disposal index is a cumulative score of conviction rate and percentage of cases tried by the court

Table 1.2: Disposal of cases by police and courts Index

State rank	States arranged from the best performing to worst performing	Disposal Index
1.	Uttarakhand	0.90
2.	Chhattisgarh	0.85
3.	Uttar Pradesh	0.83
4.	Kerala	0.79
5.	Tamil Nadu	0.77
6.	Madhya Pradesh	0.73
7.	All India	0.69
8.	Nagaland	0.67
9.	Rajasthan	0.67
10.	Gujarat	0.63
11.	Andhra Pradesh	0.61
12.	Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	0.60
13.	Haryana	0.58
14.	Karnataka	0.56
15.	Telangana	0.56
16.	Punjab	0.55
17.	Himachal Pradesh	0.53
18.	Jharkhand	0.45
19.	Maharashtra	0.45
20.	Odisha	0.45
21.	Bihar	0.43
22.	West Bengal	0.43
23.	Delhi	0.39
24.	Assam	0.29

Note: Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing

India has three primary responsibilities- to uphold and enforce law and order, to investigate offences and to assist in the prosecution of offenders[15]. The quality of investigation and prosecution have a huge impact on the conviction rates of cases. Considering the poor state of the forensics departments in India such as vacancies of almost 80 percent in the labs of Bihar (more details given in Chapter 7 on CAG audit of police) and the lack of sanctioned staff for investigation, the poor conviction rates are a matter of concern comes as no surprise.

However, a caveat needs to be highlighted here. For the purpose of this study, the data for IPC and SLL crimes has been merged for all variables so as to get an overall picture of the police performance. When looking at the combined rate for both these kinds of offences, the conviction rate ranges between a decent 65 and 80 percent in the last five years. But when looking at only the IPC crimes, under which a majority of the crimes fall, the conviction rate at the all India level has not crossed even the 50 percent mark in the last five years, with 46.8 being reported in 2016, less than half the rate of 99 percent in Japan and in China.

1.2.3 Police diversity Index

The variables used for police diversity Index are:

1. Percentage of SCs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for SCs[16]

2. Percentage of STs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for STs

3. Percentage of OBCs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for OBCs

4. Percentage of Muslims in police in proportion to the Muslim population in the state[17]

5. Percentage of women in police

Reservations or positive discrimination by the State is an essential tool for a democracy to ensure proportionate representation of minorities and vulnerable groups in different sections of society. When it comes to the police, this requirement becomes doubly essential, as it has become evident

Table 1.3: Police diversity Index

State rank	States arranged from best performing to worst performing	Police diversity Index
1.	Odisha	0.39
2.	Maharashtra	0.37
3.	Himachal Pradesh	0.36
4.	Tamil Nadu	0.36
5.	Andhra Pradesh	0.33
6.	Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	0.32
7.	Karnataka	0.30
8.	Uttarakhand	0.29
9.	Jharkhand	0.26
10.	Punjab	0.26
11.	Delhi	0.25
12.	Kerala	0.24
13.	Madhya Pradesh	0.22
14.	Rajasthan	0.22
15.	Bihar	0.21
16.	Chhattisgarh	0.21
17.	Gujarat	0.20
18.	Assam	0.19
19.	Haryana	0.19
20.	West Bengal	0.19
21.	Uttar Pradesh	0.15

Note: Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing
(Nagaland, Telangana and All India excluded because data not available/not computable)

in the last few years that there is a disproportionate incarceration of minorities and other vulnerable communities (more in the section on prisons below). Legal provisions for the reservation of SCs, STs and OBCs are in place, yet there has been a failure to meet even the basic reservation quota for these communities in the police.

To understand this Index in the context of reservations, we have calculated the actual percentage strength of SCs, STs and OBCs in the police force in proportion to the sanctioned percentage for these groups in the state. In other words, the final figure shows the percentage of reservation that has been met by the state for these groups. And although the all-India figures are not available because of different reservation quotas in different states, but a bare look at the state-wise figures leaves a lot to be desired.

When looking at the five year average, only two out of the 22 selected states for this study have been able to meet the reserved quota for SCs (Punjab and Uttarakhand); six states have been able to fulfil the reserved quota for STs (Bihar, HP, Karnataka, Nagaland, Telangana, Uttarakhand); and a slightly higher number of nine states have been able to achieve the reservation benchmark for OBCs (Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, Telangana and Uttarakhand).

While this number might seem high at first glance, but it needs to be understood in the context of the fact that not even half the number of selected states (22) have been able to meet the reservation criteria for OBCs, and much lesser for STs and SCs. Popular myths pertaining to reservations "eating up" on the general seats are largely unfounded, particularly since reservations criteria are set mostly in proportion to the percentage of the community in question in that state. Even as of 2016, UP Police has met less than 40 percent of the reserved quota for OBCs, and the percentage of reserved seats filled has indeed fallen drastically in UP from 61 percent in 2013 to 39.6 percent in 2016. Similarly, in Tamil Nadu, as in many other states, the percentage share of seats reserved for SCs filled has fallen from 91.1 percent in 2012 to 63 percent in 2016. There is reason to believe, therefore, that things are in fact deteriorating instead of improving when it comes to representation of SCs, STs and OBCs in the police force.

Contrastingly, the representation of women in police has been going up over the years almost uniformly across all states and at the all-India level.

While this in itself may be good news, but there's not much to celebrate in the fact that even despite an upward graph, the all-India percentage of women in police rests at a shameful 7.3 percent as of 2016. The state with the highest representation (amongst the selected states), Tamil Nadu, goes up to 12.9 percent- just slightly more than 1/3rd of the already modest benchmark of 33 percent reservation. Of the 22 selected states, 17 have provisions for reservation for women in the police force-ranging between 20 percent in Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka to 38 percent in Bihar. Besides this, several laws, particularly with respect to women and children, have legal provisions that make the presence of a female police officer mandatory.

One section that does not have legal provisions guarding its representation is that of Muslims[18] who happen to be present in almost all states of India and continue to have disproportionately low representation in the police force. This is worrying notably in the backdrop of disproportionately high Muslim representation in the prisons. Muslim representation in police, calculated in proportion to their population in the states and at the all-India level, is constantly less than half of the size of their population in India. An even more distressing fact is that the data on Muslim representation in police-provided under Crime in India, NCRB until 2013-has since been discontinued. The absence of information on this crucial aspect of diversity further clouds the possibilities of improvement in this aspect of policing.

1.2.4 Police infrastructure Index

The variables used for calculating the police infrastructure Index are:

1. Percentage utilisation of grants for police modernisation

2. Strength of actual police per lakh of population as a percentage of sanctioned police per lakh of population

3. Strength of actual police stations as a percentage of sanctioned police stations

4. Police expenditure as a percentage of state budget

Table 1.4: Police infrastructure Index

State rank	States arranged from best performing to worst performing	Police infrastructure Index
1.	Delhi	0.48
2.	Nagaland	0.42
3.	Rajasthan	0.41
4.	Punjab	0.38
5.	Tamil Nadu	0.38
6.	Himachal Pradesh	0.36
7.	Haryana	0.35
8.	Jharkhand	0.34
9.	Kerala	0.33
10.	Maharashtra	0.33
11.	Uttarakhand	0.33
12.	Assam	0.32
13.	Chhattisgarh	0.31
14.	All-India	0.31
15.	Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	0.31
16.	Madhya Pradesh	0.30
17.	Odisha	0.30
18.	Telangana	0.30
19.	Bihar	0.29
20.	Karnataka	0.27
21.	West Bengal	0.27
22.	Gujarat	0.25
23.	Uttar Pradesh	0.24
24.	Andhra Pradesh	0.19

Note: Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing

5. Training expenditure as a percentage of total police expenditure

6. Police personnel given in-service training as a percentage of total police strength

Any progress in different dimensions of policing is necessarily based upon the presumption of the existence of a basic enabling structure which is in place and is functional. However, there are apparent gaps within this infrastructure itself, as is evident from the above Index. One of the most obvious failure of the State is in its inability to minimise vacancies in the police force. Averaged out for 2012-16, a gap of 24 percent is seen in the strength of actual police proportionate to the sanctioned police strength per lakh of population. While the gap between actual and sanctioned number of police stations is minimal, but when the BPRD standards for police stations are applied, the states fall short of as much as 44 percent as reported in UP by the CAG Performance Audit of the police there.

According to Global Peace Index 2017, India lost close to $742 billion on violence in 2016, or 8.6 percent of the GDP. In comparison, the State budgeted only 3.56 percent for the police in the same year, thus reflecting a skewed cost-benefit ratio.

Another issue is that of under-utilisation of funds, which continues to be a chronic problem in many government institutions. Of the amount allocated for police modernisation, as an average of five years, 13 of the 22 selected states, i.e., more than half the number, have not been able to spend even 50 percent of the amount. The utilisation percentage is as low as 0 percent in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Bihar in the year 2015. CAG reports across states tell a similar story of lapsing of funds under the police modernisation scheme due to under-utilisation by states.

Training is an indispensable component in the task of ensuring a modern, upskilled and sensitive police force. But a mere 6.5 percent of the total police force has received training in the last five years. While states such as HP have progressed in this respect, with 23 percent of the police force being imparted training in the year 2016, but the overall situation has ample room for improvement. Percentage of police personnel provided training depends largely on the percentage funds allocated for training, but that is a poor 1.38 percent at the all India level for the last five years. Many states have allocated less than 1 percentage of the total police expenditure for training.

1.2.5 Prison data Index[19]

The variables used for the calculation of prison data Index are[20]:

1. Percentage non-utilisation of prison budget

2. Percentage of SC prisoners in proportion to SC population in the state

3. Percentage of ST prisoners in proportion to ST population in the state

4. Percentage of Muslim prisoners in proportion to Muslim population in the state

5. Number of undertrial prisoners as a percentage of the total strength of prisoners

Several studies in different states have been conducted on the disproportionate representation of minorities and vulnerable communities in the prisons. This has been found to be so particularly in the case of Muslims. When coupled with poor conviction rates and incidents of false implication, as recognised by courts, this points to a deeper problem of biases within the structure leading to hyper-incarceration of a particular section of the society. As we will see later in the survey findings, there is also a significant public agreement to the statement that often Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims are falsely implicated.

For the analysis of this Index, the percentage of SC, ST and Muslim prisoners has been taken in proportion to their respective populations in the state as a five-year average, and it was found that in case of SCs, only four states (West Bengal, Uttarakhand, Punjab and Karnataka) out of the selected 22 have SC prisoners in proportion to or less than their population in the State; in case of STs this number is three (Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland), and in case of Muslims, all of the 22 states have a higher proportion of Muslim prisoners than the Muslim population in the State, as evident in Figure 1.3. The differences are as glaring as more than 7 times the Muslim population in Nagaland in 2014, almost 6 times the population of STs in Uttar Pradesh in 2015 and more than double the percentage of SC population in three states in 2015 (Kerala, Gujarat and Assam). At the all-India level as well, this ratio continues to be skewed adversely against SCs, STs and Muslims through all five years.

A major consequence of the failure of quality and timely disposal of cases by the court is the overcrowding of jails due to excessive number of undertrials not commensurate with the available capacity of the prisons. Overcrowding in prison is to the extent of more than twice the available capacity, as in the case of Delhi and Chhattisgarh in 2015. Undertrials in the whole country form the major chunk of the prison inmate population, with their percentage ranging between 50.6 percent in Himachal Pradesh and 84.4 percent in Bihar (2011-15 average). In an adversarial justice system such as the one India has wherein the accused is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty, to have the accused

Table 1.5: Prison data Index

State rank	States arranged from best to worst performing[21]	Prison data Index
1.	Himachal Pradesh	0.82
2.	Madhya Pradesh	0.81
3.	Kerala	0.78
4.	Chhattisgarh	0.77
5.	Karnataka	0.77
6.	Andhra Pradesh	0.76
7.	Gujarat	0.76
8.	Rajasthan	0.76
9.	West Bengal	0.76
10.	All India	0.76
11.	Assam	0.74
12.	Jharkhand	0.74
13.	Maharashtra	0.74
14.	Odisha	0.73
15.	Uttarakhand	0.73
16.	Tamil Nadu	0.71
17.	Bihar	0.68
18.	Uttar Pradesh	0.68

Note: Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing
(Nagaland, Telangana, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi excluded because data not available/not computable)

form the major share of prison population appears unreasonable.

Unlike as in the police infrastructure, however, the utilisation of prison budget is up to the mark and is less than 80 percent in only two states, Assam and Jharkhand, as an average of five years. The all-India average for five years of prison budgets is 89 percent. With the introduction of educational facilities to prisoners, vocational training imparted to prisoners, introduction of the concept of open jails, etc. the prison infrastructure is adopting progressive measures.

1.2.6 Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children Index

The variables used for the calculation of disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children indices are:

1. Chargesheeting rate of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children[22]

2. Disposal percentage by police of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children[23]

3. Conviction rate of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children

4. Disposal percentage by court of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children

While the overall disposal indicators discussed above may in themselves be a cause for worry, the disposal indices for the cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children are almost everywhere much below the overall disposal Index. This difference is shown clearly in figure 1.4. When looking at the disposal of cases against SC Index, it is only in the state of Bihar and Maharashtra that the disposal indices for crimes against SCs are not below those for all crimes. In disposal of cases of crimes against STs, only Bihar, Maharashtra and Odisha have indices equal to or higher than the disposal Index of overall crimes. Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Nagaland and Odisha are the five states that have higher or same disposal indices of cases of crimes against children than the overall crime disposal Index.

The disposal Index of cases of crimes against women is not being compared with other disposal indices because the data on the variables of disposal percentage of cases of crimes against women by police and by courts is not available for the years 2012-15, and only the 2016 data has been used for this variable. However, the apparent gaps are in the rates of conviction. While the all-India conviction rate for total IPC and SLL crimes is 75 percent, that for cases of crimes against women is only 21.1 percent, less than one-third of the former. This difference is further compounded with the presumption that a significant number of cases of

Figure 1.3 : Percentage of Muslim prisoners vis-a-vis percentage Muslim population in the states

State	Percentage of Muslim prisoners (2011-15 average)	Percentage Muslim population in the state (Census 2011)
Andhra Pradesh	12.3	9.6
Assam	34.4	34.2
Bihar	17.1	16.9
Chhattisgarh	5.0	2.0
Gujarat	23.0	9.7
Haryana	9.2	7.0
Himachal Pradesh	4.4	2.2
Jharkhand	20.5	14.5
Karnataka	16.4	12.9
Kerala	26.9	26.6
Madhya Pradesh	11.7	6.6
Maharashtra	30.3	11.5
Nagaland	12.4	2.5
Odisha	5.6	2.2
Punjab	3.9	1.9
Rajasthan	17.5	9.1
Tamil Nadu	15.6	5.9
Uttar Pradesh	25.1	19.3
Uttaranchal	29.5	14.0
West Bengal	46.0	27.0
Delhi	21.6	12.9
AP+Telangana	15.3	9.6
Total (All India)	19.8	14.2

■ Percentage of Muslim prisoners (2011-15 average) ■ Percentage Muslim population in the state (Census 2011)

Notes: Figures are in percentages

Table 1.6: Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children Index

S.no.	States	Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs	Disposal of cases of crimes against STs	Disposal of cases of crimes against women	Disposal of cases of crimes against children
1.	Andhra Pradesh	0.43	0.45	0.64	0.48
2.	Assam	NA	NA	0.44	0.35
3.	Bihar	0.45	0.48	0.66	0.45
4.	Chhattisgarh	0.61	0.61	0.81	0.58
5.	Gujarat	0.50	0.49	0.74	0.46
6.	Haryana	0.57	NA	0.75	0.54
7.	Himachal Pradesh	0.49	NA	0.72	0.50
8.	Jharkhand	0.38	0.43	0.59	0.53
9.	Karnataka	0.46	0.46	0.61	0.45
10.	Kerala	0.38	0.42	0.68	0.47
11.	Madhya Pradesh	0.61	0.61	0.82	0.57
12.	Maharashtra	0.45	0.46	0.63	0.40
13.	Nagaland	NA	NA	0.80	0.71
14.	Odisha	0.42	0.45	0.66	0.45
15.	Punjab	0.46	NA	0.56	0.50
16.	Rajasthan	0.56	0.51	0.86	0.55
17.	Tamil Nadu	0.46	0.46	0.57	0.51
18.	Telangana	0.43	0.38	0.62	0.45
19.	Uttar Pradesh	0.59	0.62	0.77	0.57
20.	Uttarakhand	0.57	0.47	0.74	0.57
21.	West Bengal	0.39	0.38	0.67	0.36
22.	Delhi	0.35	NA	0.50	0.36
23.	Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	0.42	0.45	NA	NA
24.	All-India	0.49	0.50	0.66	0.48

Note: Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing

crimes against women continue to go unreported in the country, a presumption which is further strengthened by comparing the NCRB data with that of the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) as demonstrated by Gupta (2014).

Similarly, as in the case of women, the all India conviction rate for cases of crimes against SCs is 24.5 percent, that for STs is 19.9 percent and for children is 31.9 percent. Differences in all other variables are also apparent throughout the five years. However, an improvement that needs to be noted is that the disposal Index of cases of crimes against women, although quite poor, has improved over the years from 0.56 in 2012 to 0.63 in 2016. One of the contributing factors towards this upward thrust may be the introduction of new legislation on prohibition of crimes against women, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 2013.

1.3 Concluding objective data analysis

The whole point of doing a state-wise comparison is to be able to pick out the best and worst performing states. Overall, HP has performed consistently well on multiple parameters, while Chhattisgarh, UP and MP have good track records in the category of disposal of cases. On the other hand, UP is performing poorly in all other aspects of policing, while Delhi, West Bengal and Assam are performing poorly on several parameters.

It also needs to be admitted here that many progressive policing practices and policies have not been given a due mention. However, the criminal justice system, when seen as a public good from the Rawlsian perspective of distributive justice, fails to prove itself an egalitarian institution, and functions detrimentally against the least advantaged

Figure 1.4: Disposal Indices

Andhra Pradesh
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.43
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.45
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.48
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.61

Bihar
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.45
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.48
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.45
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.43

Chhattisgarh
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.61
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.61
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.58
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.85

Gujarat
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.5
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.49
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.46
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.63

Jharkhand
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.38
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.43
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.53
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.45

Karnataka
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.46
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.46
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.45
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.56

Kerala
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.38
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.42
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.47
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.79

Madhya Pradesh
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.61
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.61
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.57
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.73

Maharashtra
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.45
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.46
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.4
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.45

Odisha
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.42
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.45
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.45
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.45

Rajasthan
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.56
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.51
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.55
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.67

Tamil Nadu
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.46
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.46
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.51
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.77

Telangana
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.43
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.38
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.45
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.56

Uttar Pradesh
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.59
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.62
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.57
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.83

Uttarakhand
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.57
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.47
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.57
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.9

West Bengal
- Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs: 0.39
- Disposal of cases of crimes against STs: 0.38
- Disposal of cases of crimes against children: 0.36
- Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index: 0.43

Legend:
- ■ Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs
- ■ Disposal of cases of crimes against STs
- ■ Disposal of cases of crimes against children
- ■ Disposal of Cases by Police and Courts Index

Note: Disposal of cases of crimes against women left out of the graph because data on disposal percentages of police and courts no available for the years 2012-15. States for which data on any one of the indices is not available have been left out as well. Index interpretation- 0 indicates worst performing and 1 indicates best performing

Table 1.7: Comparison of state performance

Index	Three best performing states	Three worst performing states
Crime Index	Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand	Delhi, Kerala, Rajasthan
Disposal of cases by police and courts Index	Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh	Assam, Delhi, West Bengal
Police diversity Index	Odisha, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh	Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Haryana
Police infrastructure Index	Delhi, Nagaland, Rajasthan	Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat
Prison data Index	Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala	Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu
Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs Index	Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh	Delhi, Kerala, Jharkhand
Disposal of cases of crimes against STs Index	Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh	West Bengal, Telangana, Kerala
Disposal of cases of crimes against women Index	Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh	Assam, Delhi, Punjab
Disposal of cases of crimes against children Index	Nagaland, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh	Assam, Delhi, West Bengal

communities such as SCs, STs and minorities. This is evident from the fact that the parameters on which the failures of the criminal justice system appear the most egregious are those relating to the diversity within the police force, disproportionate representation of minorities in the prisons and disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children. This signals the need for urgent systemic reform targeted at the society's most vulnerable sections.

1.4 Limitations of the study

One of the major limitations of the study is its inability to tap into an important component on policing, that of excesses and human rights violations by the police. While an attempt has been made in the survey to get citizens' perceptions on and their experience of police excesses and atrocities, but empirical data from official sources on this issue are so scanty that they could not be interpreted in a meaningful manner. Perhaps the issue lends itself to a separate study rather than as part of a large-scale survey. The study also leaves out many crucial areas like the functioning of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) in Jammu and Kashmir and North-Eastern states, and the presence of para-military forces in states like Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand which are under the influence of left-wing extremism.

When specifically looking at the objective data analysis, a major problem was the discrepancies in official data sets. Even the NCRB and the BPRD data were not corresponding. In some instances, the methods of data calculation were changed midway. Data on indicators such as on custodial violence, was not available in a state-wise format for several years, because of which it had to be left out. Some variables were dropped because of inconsistencies, particularly in prison data. Also, data on some of the variables has either been discontinued, such as the data on Muslims in police forces, or is not available for some specific years, such as the data on strength or percentage of SCs, STs and OBCs in police force for the year 2015.

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(Endnotes)

1. Section 7, The Police Act, 1861: "Appointment, dismissal, etc. of inferior officers".

2. This was the point of contention in the case of Dr. Subramaniam Swamy vs Dr. Manmohan Singh and Anr., 2012

3. In the course of data collection, it was discovered that the figures projected by NCRB and BPRD on the same variable were often inconsistent. For instance, while NCRB reports the total police strength in India to be 1731537 for the year 2013, whereas the BPRD figure for the same year is 1722786.

4. In case of the variables that had a negative direction, i.e., the higher figures were reflecting depreciating performance, such as the variables under crime Index and prison Index, the indices were subtracted by 1 so as to reverse the direction of these figures for the purpose of uniformity.

5. For calculation of the crime rate Index, the average of the variables has been subtracted by 1 so that a higher Index indicates better state performance

6. The NCRB methodology for calculation of rate of total cognizable crimes against women, children, SCs and STs changed in 2012. Therefore, for the Index calculation of these four variables, data only from 2012-2016 has been used, instead of using maximum and minimum values from the previous five years.

7. Crimes included under the category of "violent crimes" according to NCRB: murder, attempt to commit murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, attempt to commit culpable homicide, dowry deaths, kidnapping & abduction, dacoity, making preparation & assembly for committing dacoity, robbery, riots, arson, rape and attempt to commit rape.

8. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against women" according to NCRB (2014): rape, attempt to commit rape, kidnapping and abduction of women, dowry deaths, assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty, insult to the modest of women, cruelty by husband or his relatives, importation of girl from foreign country, abetment of suicide of women, The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986, the Commission of Sati Prevention Act 1987, the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 and the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956 (women related crimes only)

9. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against SCs" according to NCRB (2015): Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, atrocities committed against persons belonging to SCs by non-SCs, i.e., where SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act has been applied along with various sections of IPC, crimes committed against SCs where SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act has not been applied and only IPC sections have been involved, the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prevention) Act 1923, other SLL crimes, assault on SC woman with intent to outrage her modesty and insult to modesty of SC women.

10. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against STs" according to NCRB (2015): Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, atrocities committed against persons belonging to STs by non-STs, i.e., where SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act has been applied along with various sections of IPC, crimes committed against STs where SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act has not been applied and only IPC sections have been involved, the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prevention) Act 1923, other SLL crimes, assault on ST woman with intent to outrage her modesty and insult to modesty of ST women.

11. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against children" according to NCRB (2014): murder, attempt to commit murder, infanticide, rape, unnatural offence, assault on women (girl child) with intent to outrage her modesty, insult to the modesty of women (girl child), kidnapping and abduction, foeticide, abetment of suicide of child, exposure and abandonment, procuration of minor girls, importation of girls from foreign countries (under 18 years of age), buying of minors for prostitution, selling of minor for prostitution, Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006, Transplantation of Human organs Act 1994 (for persons below 18 years of age), Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986, Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956, Juvenile Justice (care and Protection of Children) Act

2000 and Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act 2012.

12 Data for Telangana, across all variables, has been taken only for the years 2014-2016, and a five-year average is not available. Therefore, the data for Andhra Pradesh and Telangana has been combined.

13 Chargesheeting rate is the number of IPC and SLL cases in which chargesheets were filed by the police as a percentage of the total number of cases disposed by the police

14 Conviction rate is the number of IPC+SLL cases convicted by court as a percentage of the total number of IPC+SLL cases tried by the court in the year

15 For a more detailed understanding of the role, functions and duties of the police in India see: http://www.bprd.nic.in WriteReadData/userfiles/file/6798203243-Volume%202. pdf (accessed 9 January 2018)

16 Data on percentage of SCs, STs and OBCs in police force not available for the year 2015.

17 Data on Muslims in police force taken from Crime in India, NCRB. It was discontinued after 2013. No data on this variable available in the BPRD report.

18 Some Muslim communities come under the category of OBCs as scheduled by the government.

19 For calculation of the prison data Index, the average of the variables has been subtracted by 1 so that a higher Index indicates better state performance

20 Percentage of OBC prisoners in proportion to OBC population in the state left out as a variable because data on OBC population in states not available in Census 2011. All other population data taken from Census 2011.

21 Data for Haryana, Nagaland, Punjab, Telangana and Delhi not available/ not computable

22 Data on chargesheeting rate and conviction rate for cases of crimes against SCs and STs not available for the years 2014 and 2015.

23 Data on disposal percentage of cases by police and courts not available for the years 2014 and 2015 for cases of crimes against SCs, STs and children. Data on disposal percentage of cases of crimes against women by police and courts not available for the years 2010-2015, therefore, only the data for 2016 considered for Index calculation.

CHAPTER 2:
EXPERIENCE WITH THE POLICE

Women protesting at Ashoka Road, New Delhi, against rising prices of essential commodities and calling for better security of women (Credits: Sonu Mehta, Hindustan Times, 13 July 2013, New Delhi)

Experience with the Police

2.1 Introduction

Mechanisms of social control such as police are a universal feature of all human societies. They are the most visible representation of state and regime power. In democratic societies, the system of social control cannot completely neglect popular demands and theoretically and ideally, all police activities should reflect commitment to the rule of law. While India is known as the world's largest practising democracy, what is less understood is how it has dealt with policing such a large, complex and turbulent society. The Indian Police Service's success in combating and handling terrorism has been well acknowledged (Raghavan, 2003). However, alongside charges of corruption, arbitrary and discriminate action towards vulnerable groups has been levelled and its religious neutrality has been questioned. As an organ of the state, it has been subjected to public scrutiny because of its inability to deliver services and failure to develop a functional relationship with citizens.

The most important assessment of police work and performance is done by the people whom it seeks to manage and control and who are also the clients of their services. Assessment of police performance is done by the public at two levels— assessment of individual level experience involving contact between police and individual and general assessment of police performance by both their overall experience in society, perception and opinions on policing and through contact if any with the police. This chapter

illustrates the key findings of the Common Cause-CSDS survey on some of these issues, with its main focus on people's actual reported experience with the police, while the remaining sections intend to gauge people's perception. The first section will focus on the experiences of those respondents who contacted the police or vice versa in the last 4-5 years. The second section will examine respondents' experiences and perception of incidence of crime in their locality, their satisfaction with the police and with registration of crime. The third section will elaborate on people's views on policing services such as helpline numbers for women, children etc.

2.2. Contact with the police

The most striking aspect of this survey is that a very small percentage of respondents reported any contact with the police. Out of 15,562 respondents who were interviewed, only one in seven (14%) said they had interacted with the police in the last 4-5 years (Figure 2.1). This includes direct contact of respondents and/or that of their family members. Over eight out of ten respondents did not have any contact with the police in the last 4-5 years.

Analysing by demographic variables such as gender reveals that men were more likely to have contacted the police than women. While only 11 percent of women respondents said they had contacted the police, among men the figure of police contact was six points higher at 17 percent (Figure 2.2). Studies have documented that the lack of gender friendly

Figure 2.1: Over four in five respondents did not have any contact the police in recent past

- Respondents who had no police contact in the last 4-5 years
- Respondents who had police contact in the last 4-5 years
- No response
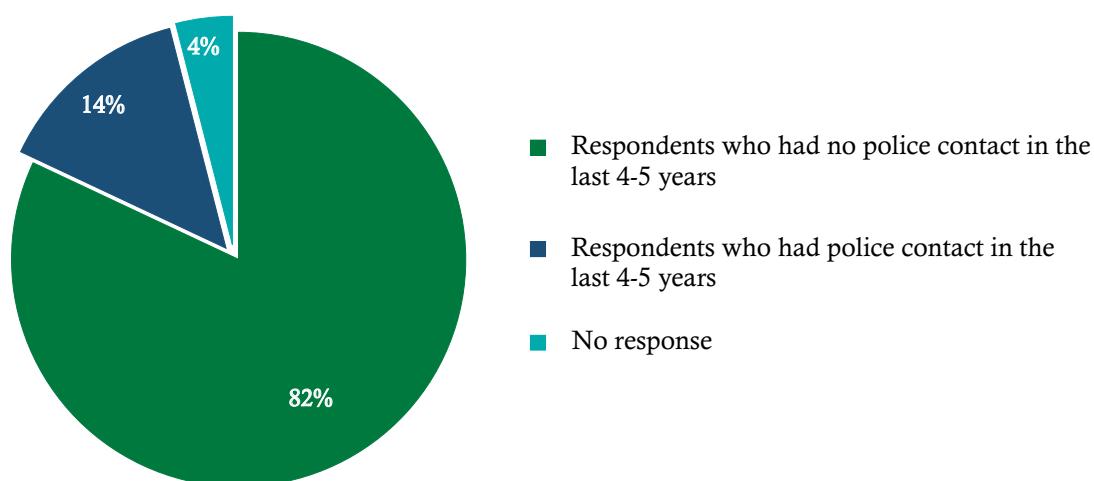
Note: Question asked: From time to time, for different purposes, people have some kind of contact with the police. In the last 4-5 years, have you or your family member had any kind of contact with the police?

Figure 2.2: Men are more likely to have contacted the police
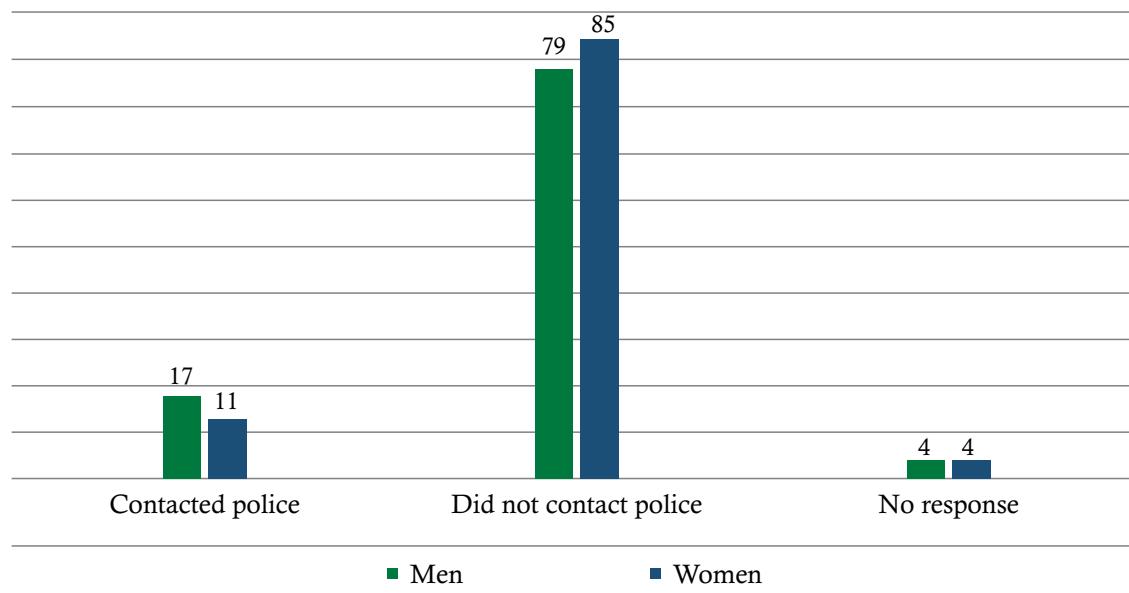
Note: Figures are percentages.

atmosphere in police stations and the misbehaviour and extortionist nature of police personnel in India inhibits women from visiting the police station alone (Sharma, 2005).

Qualitative evidence indicates that police brutality towards rickshaw pullers, beggars and working class labourers is commonplace in India (Verma, 2005). This in turn is likely to reduce poor people's interaction with the police and their subsequent trust levels. The same is also corroborated by the survey. Socio-economic class has an evident bearing on police contact- those who are rich and well to do were twice more likely to have sought police's

help or come in contact with the police than those who are poor (Figure 2.3). As far as educational levels are concerned, those who are more educated, college educated or above, were nearly twice more likely to have contacted the police than non-literates (Figure 2.4). In terms of communities, it is Muslims who reported the highest contact with the police at 17 percent. The same does not hold true for other marginalized communities such Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; in fact they were least likely of all communities to have contacted the police (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.3: The well-to-do reported greatest police contact
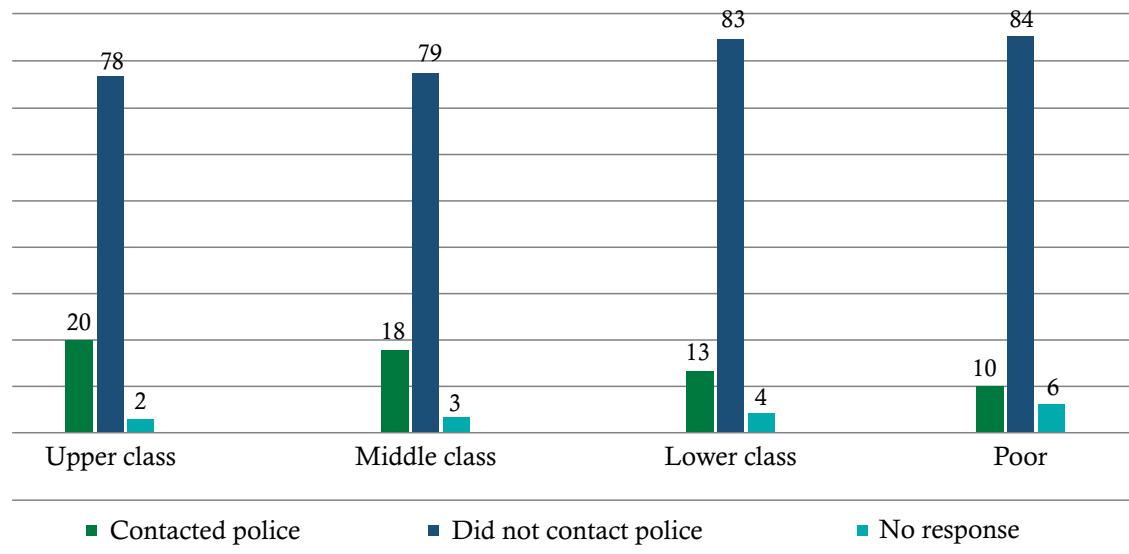
Note: Figures are percentages

Figure 2.4: Those who are most educated report highest police contact

College and above: Contacted police 18, Did not contact police 79, No response 3
Up to matric: Contacted police 15, Did not contact police 81, No response 4
Up to Primary: Contacted police 12, Did not contact police 83, No response 5
Non-Literate: Contacted police 10, Did not contact police 84, No response 6

■ Contacted police   ■ Did not contact police   ■ No response
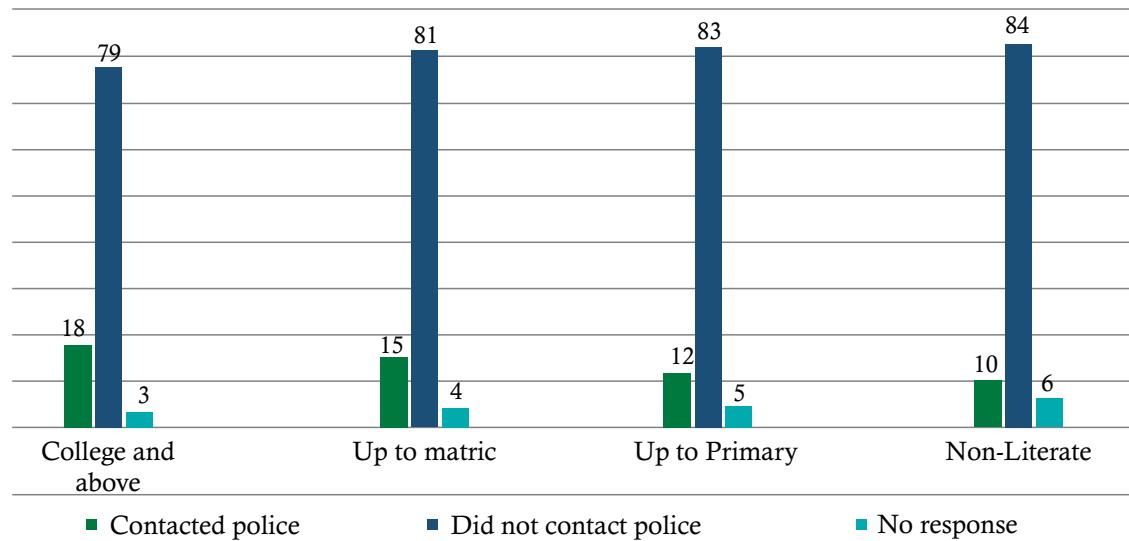
Note: Figures are percentages

Figure 2.5: Muslims reported highest police contact

Upper castes: Contacted police 13, Did not contact police 82, No response 5
Other Backward Classes: Contacted police 15, Did not contact police 81, No response 4
Scheduled Castes: Contacted police 12, Did not contact police 84, No response 4
Scheduled Tribes: Contacted police 12, Did not contact police 84, No response 4
Muslims: Contacted police 17, Did not contact police 79, No response 4

■ Contacted police   ■ Did not contact police   ■ No response

Note: Figures are percentages

Furthermore, among all those who reported contact with the police, 67 percent approached the police themselves and 17 percent were contacted by the police. About 11 percent said the contact was mutual (Figure 2.6). Hindu Upper Castes were least likely to have been contacted by the police (13 percent). Scheduled Tribes and Muslims on the other hand were most likely to have been contacted by it (23 percent and 21 percent respectively; Table 2.1).In terms of class hierarchy, the likelihood of the police contacting a person is nearly twice as high amongst the poor compared to the upper class (21 percent as opposed to 12 percent; see Figure 2.7). These findings reflect two possibilities: firstly,

Muslims, Scheduled Tribes and those who are poor are less likely to contact the police on their own and secondly that they are more likely to be contacted by the police. This aspect of disproportionate minority contact might have possible links with the over representation of these minorities in different stages of the criminal justice system (see Appendix for Government of India data on overrepresentation of minorities in prisons).

The most commonly cited reason for police contact pertains to complaints of property related crime (15%) and physical assault (14%; Figure 2.8). Nearly one in ten persons contacted the police to resolve a

Figure 2.6: Mode of police contact

- Complainant contacted the police
- Police contacted the complainant
- Police and complainant contacted each other (multiple cases of contact)
- No response
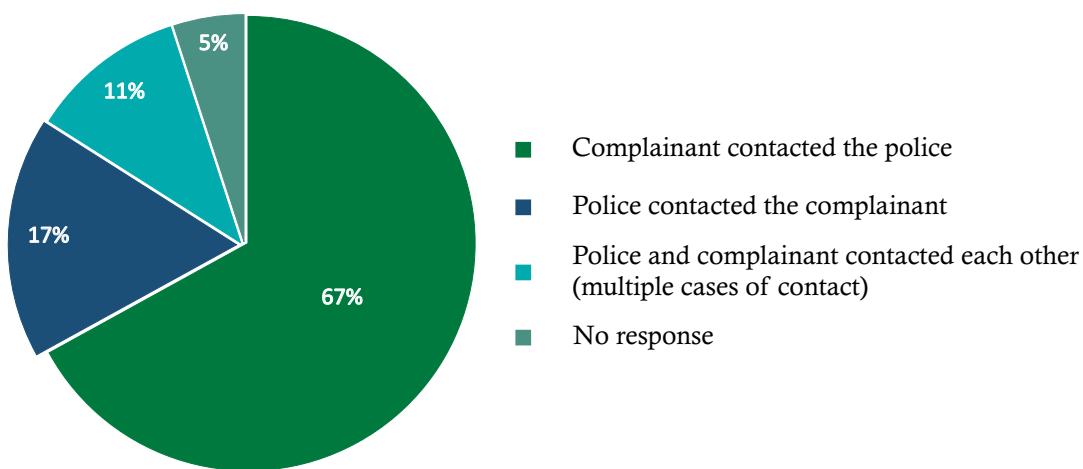
Note: Question asked: Did you or someone from your family contact the police or the police contacted you?

Figure 2.7: The poorest are nearly twice as likely to have been contacted by the police as the rich

- Complainant contacted police
- Police contacted complainant
- Both
- No response
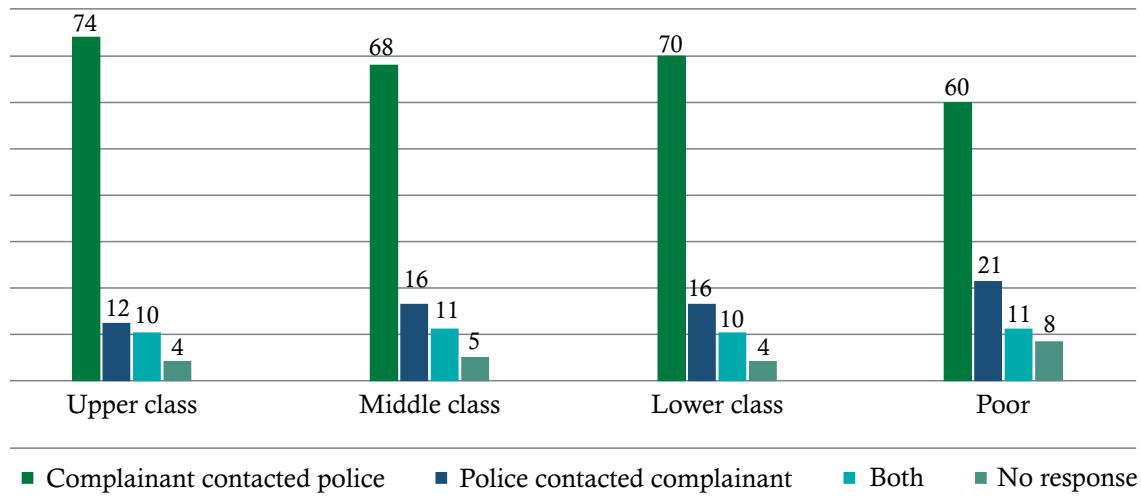
Note: Figures are percentages.

Table 2.1: Mode of police contact by caste

	Complainant contacted police	Police contacted complainant	Police and complainant contacted each other (multiple cases of contact)	No response
Upper castes	73	13	9	5
OBCs	69	17	10	4
Scheduled Castes	68	16	10	6
Scheduled Tribes	61	23	9	7
Muslims	60	21	15	4

Note: Figures are percentages. Sample size for Christians and Sikhs was low and hence the figures haven't been reported.

family dispute, about 9 percent contacted because of loss of important documents and 8 percent stated domestic violence as the reason for police contact.

Disaggregating by class we see that the upwardly mobile, well-to-do respondents were twice more likely to have contacted the police for loss of goods, documents etc. than the poor. Complaints of domestic violence and family dispute were most likely to be reported by poor.

A large proportion of persons continue to visit the police station for their work: among those who reached out to the police, only 14 percent contacted the police over phone as opposed to 69 percent who visited the police station (Figure 2.9). Men and women did not vary in their type of police contact. Another important finding of the survey is that not a single respondent's initial contact with the police was over the internet.

Thirty eight percent or nearly four in ten respondents were accompanied by a family member to the police station, 16 percent sought an influential person's help and 20 percent of the respondents visited the police station alone (Figure 2.10). Women were more likely to be accompanied by a family member

Figure 2.8: Reasons for police contact

- Property related crime
- Physical assault
- Family dispute
- Loss of essential goods and documents
- Domestic violence
- Authorization, verification of documents
- Petty disputes (water, car parking etc.)
- Accompanied a friend/relative to the police station
- Caste or religion related dispute
- Sexual assault
- Other reasons
- No response
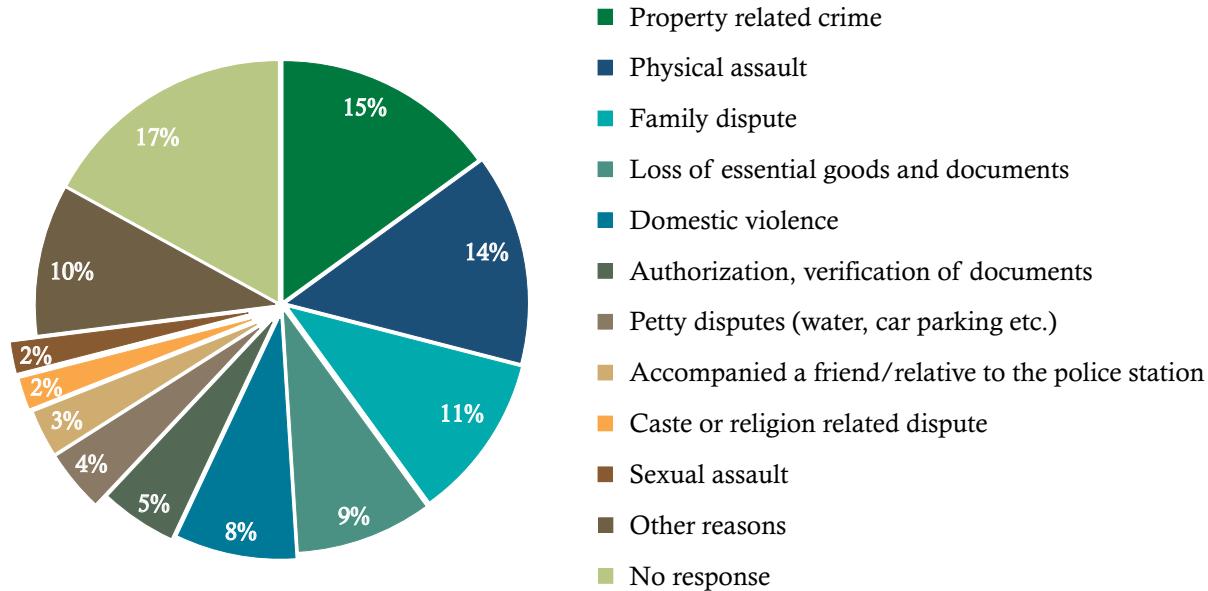
Note: Question asked: What was the reason for contacting the police?

Figure 2.9: A large plurality of people continue to visit the police station for their work

- Visited the police station
- Over the phone
- Police visited home/ workplace
- Via internet/ online
- Other
- No response
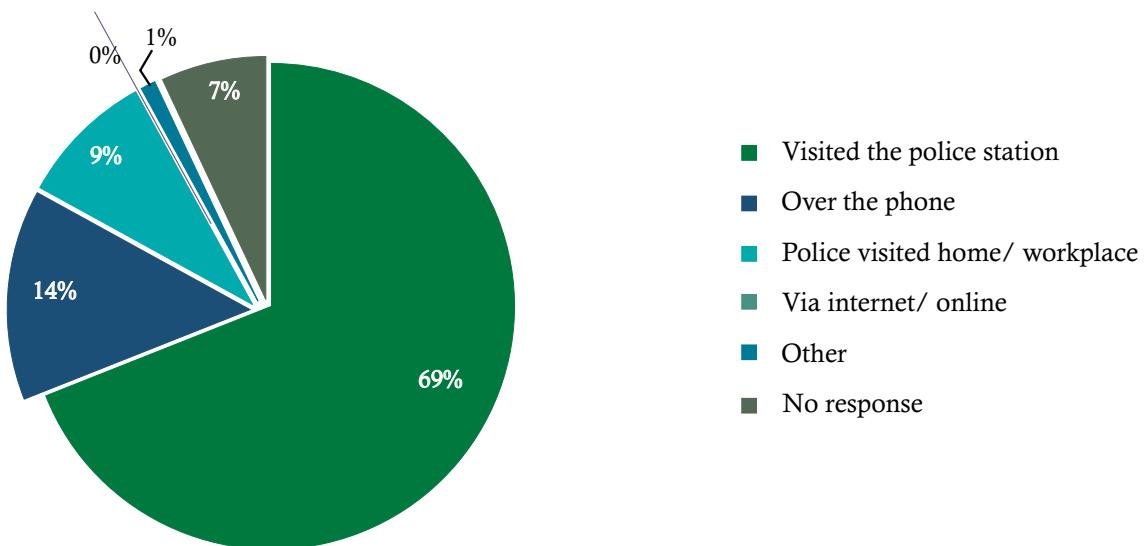
Note:Question asked: How did you first contact the police - over the phone, visited the police station, over internet, police visited home/ workplace?

- Family member
- Went alone
- Neighbour/friend
- Influential person
- Any other person
- No response
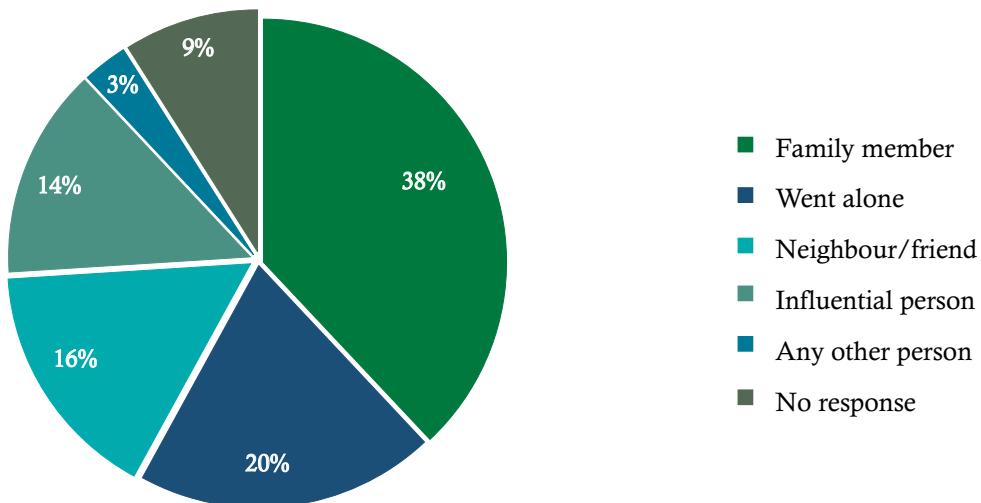
Note: Question asked: Who assisted you in contacting the police or visiting the police station - family member, influential person, neighbour/ friend, any other person or you went alone?

(45%) and less likely to visit the police station alone (14%). This is likely to be due to the deeply patriarchal attitudes of police personnel, absence of policewomen in every police station and its overall hostile environment. Furthermore, 34 percent of the male respondents stated that they were accompanied by a family member and they were also more likely than women to visit the station alone (23%).

2.2.1. Registration of complaints

In India, while the registration of complaints is mandated under law, many complaints are not registered. Preventing, refusing and delaying the process of First Information Report (FIR hereafter) and complaint registration impede access to justice

at the very beginning. Not only is reporting and recording of crime arbitrary, often complainants are asked to resolve the dispute by arriving at a compromise or given the false impression that the crime has been registered. In many cases, victims do not report the crime to the police due to fear of secondary victimisation, long drawn and embarrassing trial proceedings and uncertainty of the perpetrator getting punished. These challenges thereby result in mistrust of police. Findings from our survey suggest that among those who had any kind of contact with the police in the last 4-5 years, three-fifth respondents were able to successfully register their FIR/ complaint[1] and about 24 percent were unable to do so. Those in rural areas were relatively

Figure 2.11: Registration of complaints/ FIR has a direct impact on people's satisfaction levels
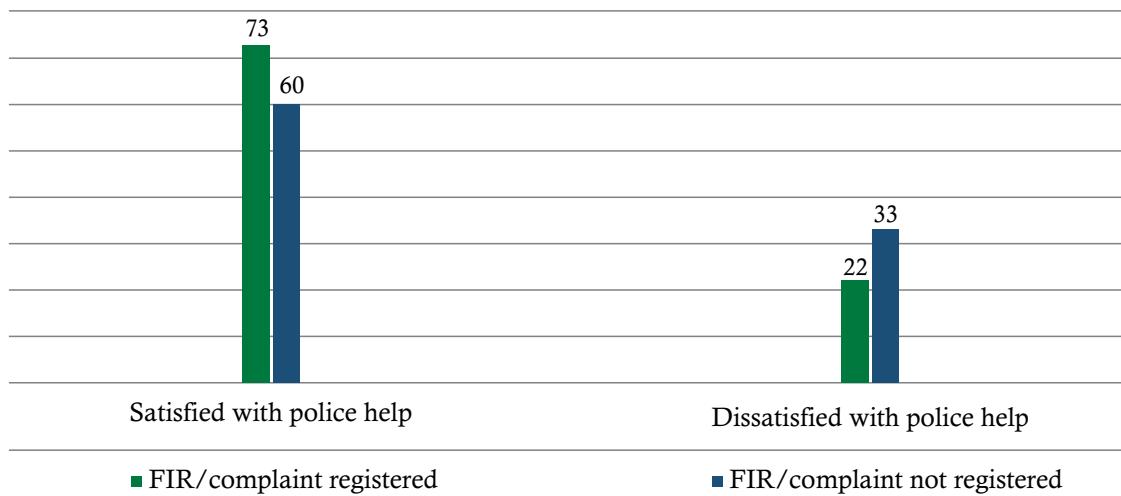
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

more likely to report success in filing complaint/ FIR. Furthermore, registration of FIR/complaint corresponds with higher satisfaction levels with the police. A little less than three fourths (73%) of those who managed to get their FIR/ complaint registered were satisfied with the help they received (Figure 2.11). Among those whose complaint or FIR was not registered, satisfaction with police help was 13 points less at 60 percent. That said, it is significant to note that even a majority of them were satisfied with the help they received from the police. In other words, respondents with negative police contact (for example: non-registration of complaint/FIR) did not develop too high a negative attitude towards police as one would have expected. Only one-third of them did, three-fifths did not.

Furthermore, the survey suggests that one-fifth respondents (19%) whose complaint or FIR was not registered were asked to resolve the matter or arrive at a compromise (Figure 2.12). This was the most commonly cited reason for non-registration of complaint/ FIR. Nearly one in ten (9%) said the

non-registration was because they were asked to pay a bribe by the police. A disproportionately high number of 1 in two respondents (51%) did not reveal the reason for non-registration of complaint/ FIR.

There is a difference of ten percentage points in the complaints/FIR that were read out (52%) and those that were written (42%). However, when looked at in terms of locality a divergent trend emerges. The FIR/complaint was far more likely to be read out in rural areas than urban areas (57% as opposed to 40%; see Table 2.2). On the other hand, urban areas accounted for a greater percentage of complaints that were formally written and recorded (52%). Analysing by gender of respondents shows that complaints/ FIR were more likely to have been read out to women (55%) than men (50%). Men were more likely to have received written complaints/ FIR (44%) than women (38%).

Nearly six in ten of those whose complaint/FIR was registered, received a copy of their complaint whereas three in ten did not (Figure 2.13). Men and

Figure 2.12: Reasons for non-registration of FIR

- Crime doesn't require FIR
- Asked for a bribe
- Asked to resolve the matter/ compromise
- Miscellaneous reasons
- No response
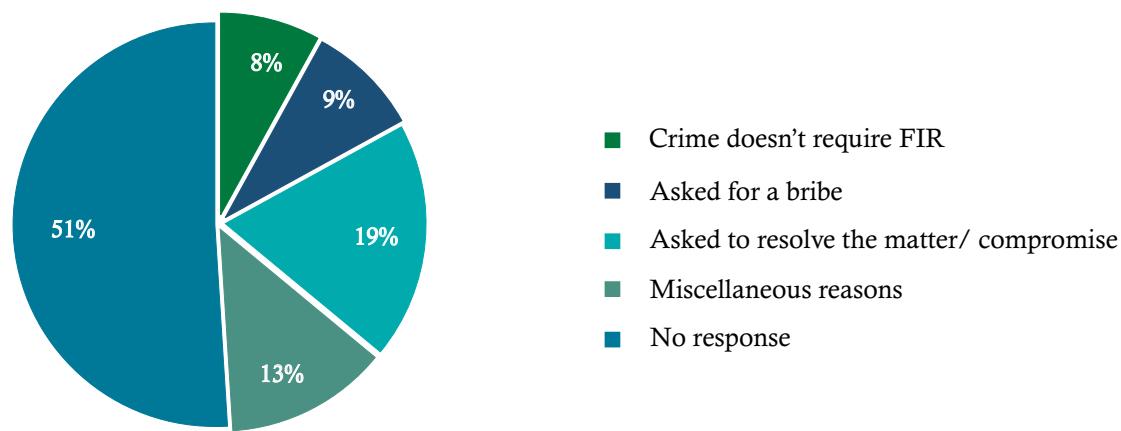
Note: Only among those who reported non-registration of FIR; n= 518
Question asked: Why did the police not file your complaint/ FIR?

Table 2.2: Form of FIR registration by locality and gender

	Oral / Read out	Written	Email/ via internet	Other	No response
Overall	52	42	1	1	4
Rural	57	37	2	1	3
Urban	40	52	1	2	5
Men	50	44	1	1	4
Women	55	38	1	1	5

Note: Figures are percentages.
Question asked: (If FIR was filed) How was the FIR registered – was it read out, written or via mail?

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[1] In the survey, the terms complaint and FIR were used interchangeably because many respondents would not be familiar with the difference. However, the authors of this report recognise the distinction between the two.

Figure 2.13: Copy of FIR/ Complaint

- Those who received their FIR/ Complaint
- Those who did not receive a copy of their FIR/Complaint
- No response
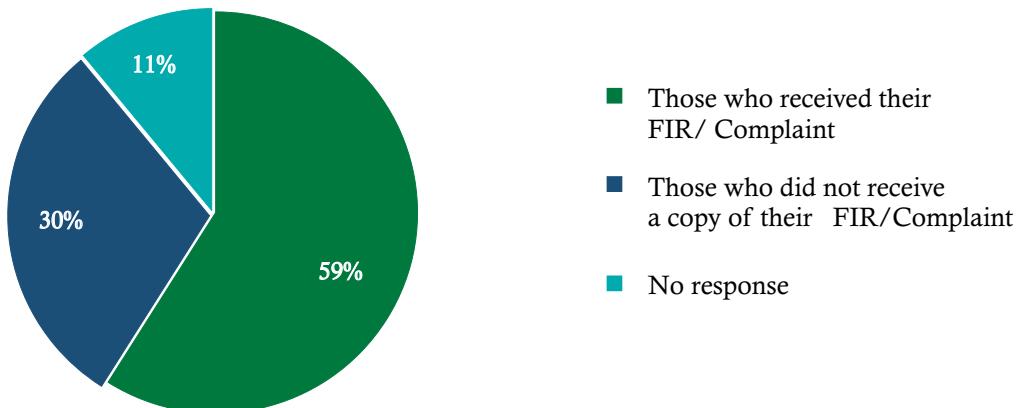
Note: Question asked: (If FIR was filed) Did you get a copy of the complaint/ FIR?

those in urban areas (Table 2.13) were more likely to receive a copy of their complaint/FIR.

Corruption is a powerful obstacle to economic development and a dangerous phenomenon that impedes the growth of public institutions. This danger is hugely amplified when it is the police, an institution that exists to protect the public and is the enforcer of rule law, themselves who are corrupt. Evidence from an international report suggests that citizens rated the police as the most corrupt

institution in numerous countries across the world and those in India considered it as the second most corrupt institution (Transparency International, 2012). According to findings from our survey, over one-third respondents who had contacted the police admitted that they paid bribe whereas a much larger cohort of 1 in two respondents did not (Figure 2.14). While men and women were nearly equally likely to be affected (or lack thereof) by corruption in the police, across class categories, the poor were most likely to be compelled to pay bribe.

Table 2.3: Receipt of complaint/ FIR across localities and gender

	Those who received their FIR/ complaint	Those who did not receive their FIR/ complaint
Rural	55	35
Urban	66	19
Men	61	30
Women	55	31

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Figure 2.14: How many paid bribe

- Those who paid bribe
- Those who did not pay bribe
- No response
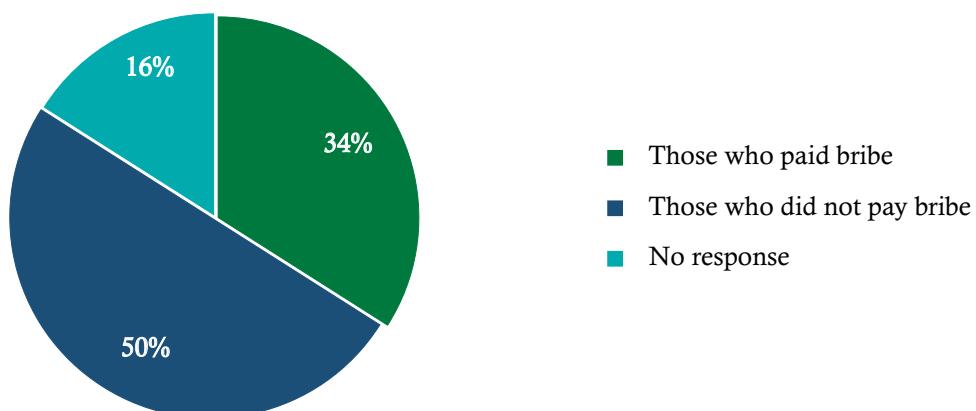
Note: Question asked: (If during the last 4-5 years whenever you contacted a police officer or visited the police station) did you have to pay bribe to get your work done?

Table 2.4: Poor, Muslims and OBCs are most likely to have paid bribe on contacting the police

	Those who paid bribe	Those who did not pay bribe
Upper caste	34	51
OBC	37	47
Scheduled Castes	34	50
Scheduled Tribes	22	55
Muslims	38	48

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Similarly, Muslims, OBCs, socio- economically poor respondents were also most likely to have paid money to the police (Table 2.4).

2.2.2. Satisfaction with police help

The police in India, based on people's experiences and their portrayal in media etc., have a reputation for being non-responsive, unapproachable, corrupt and biased. Such popular perception severely affects people's satisfaction with the rule of law and results in a trust deficit. Victim satisfaction with the police is an important measure of police performance. To gauge this, respondents who reported contact with the police in the last 4-5 years were asked whether they were satisfied with the help provided by the police. Less than a quarter (24%) stated that they were very satisfied, a relatively bigger proportion of 41 percent were somewhat satisfied, nearly 1 in ten (9%) were somewhat dissatisfied and 14 percent were fully dissatisfied (Figure 2.15). Men and women did not vary significantly in their satisfaction levels. By locality, rural respondents were a little more likely to be satisfied (Figure 2.16).

Table 2.5 shows a ranking of surveyed states based on the respondents' level of satisfaction with the police help that was provided. After assigning individual weights to each answer category and

Figure 2.15: A large proportion of persons were moderately satisfied with police's help
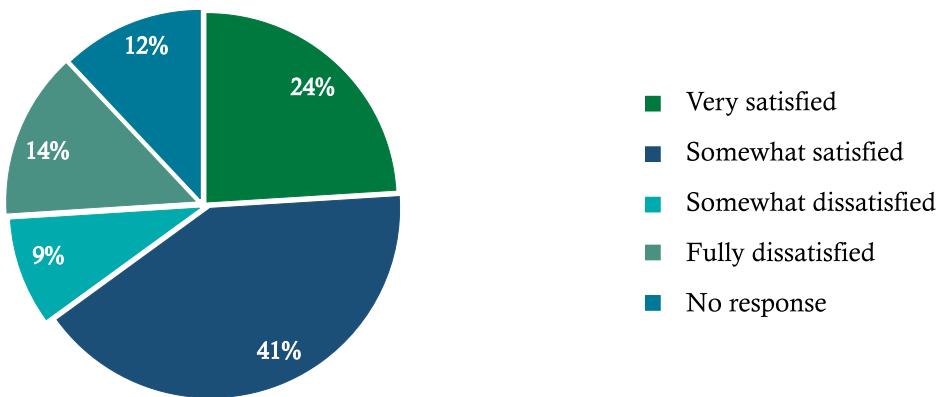
Note: Question asked: How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the help provided by the police?

Figure 2.16: Satisfaction with police help across localities
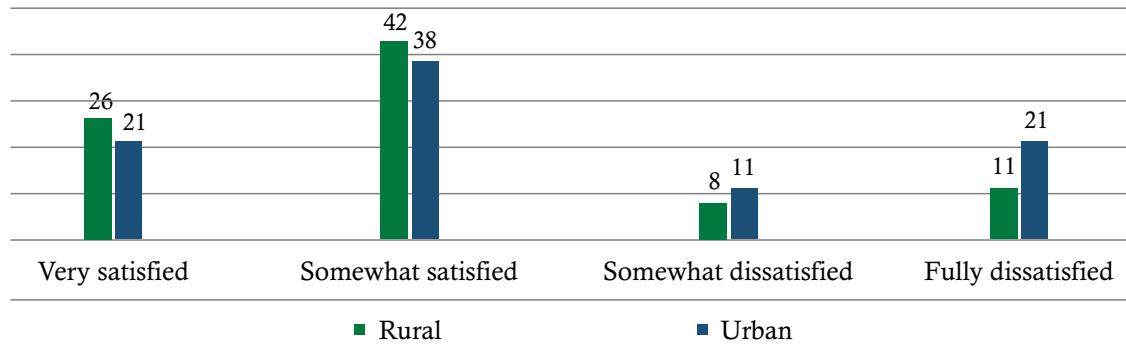
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question

Table 2.5: State-wise ranking of responses about satisfaction with police help after having contacted it

Rank	State	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Fully dissatisfied	Score	N
1	Jharkhand	32.4	59.0	2.9	1.9	11.7	104
2	Kerala	50.8	21.4	7.9	13.5	8.8	126
3	Uttarakhand	20.0	61.8	3.6	7.3	8.4	55
4	Telangana	30.9	43.2	8.6	11.1	7.4	81
5	Gujarat	30.0	45.0	5.0	15.0	7.0	60
6	Rajasthan	11.8	60.3	2.9	5.9	6.9	68
7	Odisha	22.1	49.4	11.7	9.1	6.4	78
8	Maharashtra	23.1	38.1	7.5	12.9	5.1	146
9	Madhya Pradesh	19.8	48.9	13.0	13.7	4.8	131
10	Tamil Nadu	9.9	59.3	7.7	13.2	4.5	91
11	Bihar	15.0	48.4	11.0	17.6	3.2	273
12	West Bengal	13.0	42.0	15.9	13.0	2.6	69
13	Uttar Pradesh	9.4	40.6	15.2	12.3	2.0	139
14	Karnataka	19.8	31.9	8.4	24.9	1.3	273
15	Delhi	14.8	32.1	12.3	34.6	-2.0	81

Note: The state rankings for Satisfaction with Police Help are based on summated scores that were arrived after weighing each Index category. The category of *satisfaction* includes very satisfied and somewhat satisfied and *dissatisfaction* includes very dissatisfied and somewhat dissatisfied. The 'very satisfied' category was weighed as 0.2, the 'somewhat satisfied' category was weighed as 0.1, the 'somewhat dissatisfied' category was weighed as -0.1, the 'fully dissatisfied' category was weighed as -0.2. A higher summated score here indicates positive assessment, i.e. greater satisfaction. States where contact with the police was low and hence sample size was low (<50) have been excluded from the analysis.
States where contact was low have not been reported.

arriving at a summated score, maximum satisfaction with police help was found to be in Jharkhand while the lowest satisfaction was in Delhi followed by Karnataka. Kerala, Uttarakhand and Telangana also ranked high in terms of satisfaction. States where the contact with the police low and hence sample size was low have been excluded from the rankings.

Among those who interacted with the police in the recent past, the reasons for dissatisfaction are not very clear due to the high proportion of respondents who did not provide reason(s) for their dissatisfaction (Figure 2.17). One-fifth respondents stated that they were dissatisfied because the police refused to help. About 12 percent reported that the police was

Figure 2.17: Reasons for dissatisfaction

- Police refused to help
- Police asked for bribe
- Abusive behaviour of police
- Police refused to file complaint/ FIR*
- Was made to wait for very long*
- Took long to file the charge sheet*
- The concerned official was not available*
- There was too much paperwork involved*
- Others
- No response
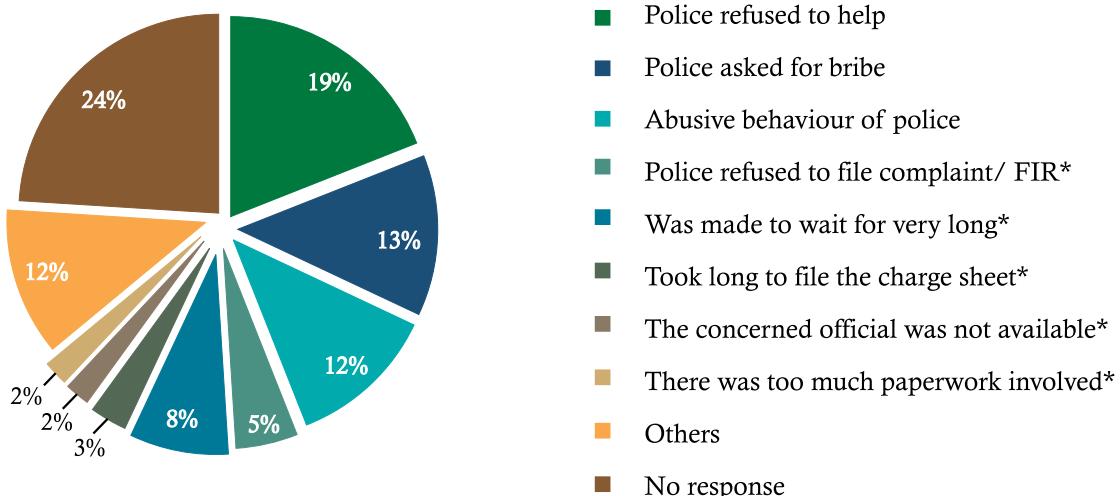
Note: Sample size:- 492. Answer choices with * have a sample size of less than 50 cases, therefore read them with caution.
Question asked: (If dissatisfied with help provided by the police) What was the main reason for your dissatisfaction?

abusive in behaviour and 13 percent complained of corruption (bribe).

2.2.3 Future police contact

A large plurality of respondents displayed favourable inclination regarding future police contact - 72 percent admitted that they would be open to seeking police's help when required. Among those who were not fully certain and as confident, 14 percent stated that they would probably visit the police station and 4 percent said they would have to do so due to lack of other options. The implication of police perception on this likelihood of contact in the future is an important finding that grants us a window into how people perceive the police.

Men and women, different castes and religious communities across rural and urban areas did not vary significantly in their response on future police contact. Satisfaction could be seen to have an evident bearing on future police contact- those who were dissatisfied with police performance in their locality were more likely to avoid contacting the police than those who are satisfied. Similarly, prior positive police contact was associated with greater optimism and openness towards future police contact- those who were satisfied with the help they received at the police station were much more likely to seek their help in the future than those who were dissatisfied with police help. However, it is worth noting that despite negative police contact, nearly three in five

Figure 2.18: Almost three-fourth respondents said that they will contact the police if the need arises[1]
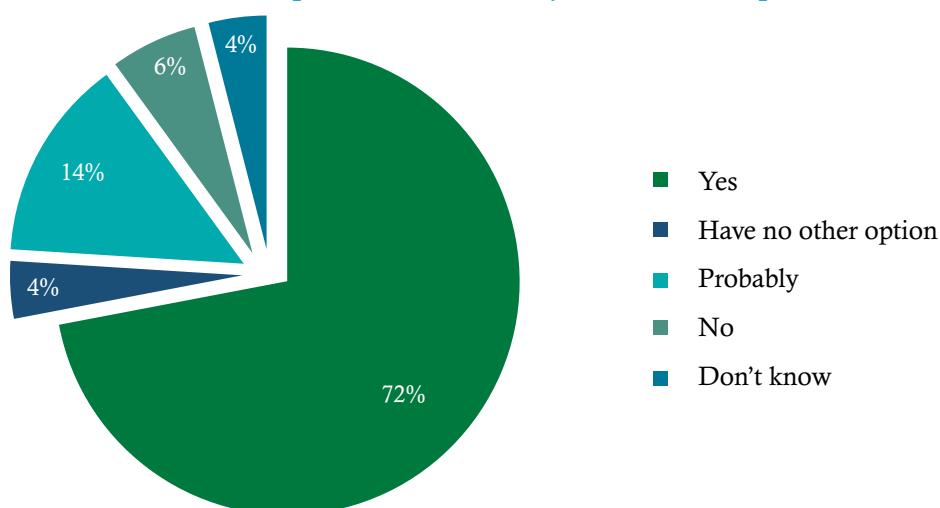
- Yes
- Have no other option
- Probably
- No
- Don't know

Note: Question asked: In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police?

Figure 2.19: Satisfaction with the police likely to encourage police contact if needed

- Seek police's help
- Reluctant to seek police's help
- Not seek police's help
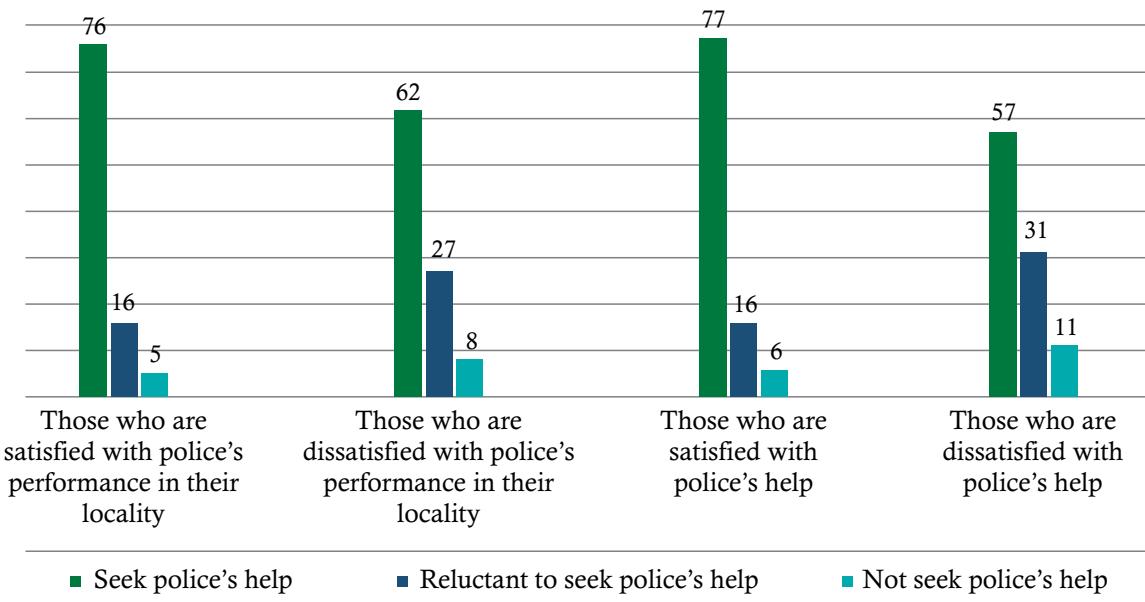
Note: Figures are percentages. The rest of the respondents did not respond.

persons are nonetheless willing to contact the police again in the future.

2.3. Incidence of crime

Perception of incidence of crime is different from crime statistics because it is the subjective opinion of individuals, their fear and interpretation of events on the ground. Overall, nearly one third (32%) of those who were surveyed expressed that crime does not occur in their locality whereas about 3 in ten (29%) perceived the occurrence of crime as 'sometimes' and 9 percent said that crime occurs 'very often'

Figure 2.20: Incidence of crime by locality
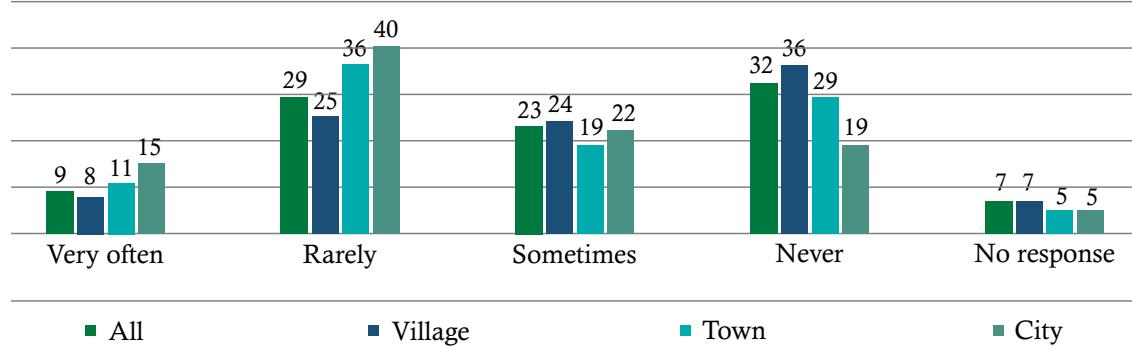
Note: Figures are percentages.
Question asked: How often do incidents such as burglary, murder, physical assault, chain snatching occur in your locality?

Table 2.6: State-wise ranking of responses on incidence of crime

Rank	States	Very often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Score
1	Kerala	3.6	14.5	26.1	52.9	11.0
2	Assam	0.4	19.1	39.7	38.6	9.7
3	Odisha	4.3	23.2	12.7	55.8	9.3
4	West Bengal	3.1	19.1	35.1	38.5	8.7
5	Nagaland	2.2	16.6	36.8	33.7	8.3
6	Uttarakhand	5.9	23.0	16.7	49.2	8.0
7	Andhra Pradesh	10.2	12.3	34.8	36.4	7.5
8	Himachal Pradesh	4.8	28.3	16.6	47.6	7.4
9	Telangana	9.0	16.5	15.4	42.6	6.6
10	Gujarat	6.5	26.5	21.9	39.8	6.2
11	Chhattisgarh	1.3	27.3	16.4	37.2	6.1
12	Tamil Nadu	9.0	26.9	30.7	31.8	4.9
13	Punjab	5.5	31.7	32.1	22.3	3.4
14	Bihar	5.4	31.9	39.6	18.0	3.3
15	Maharashtra	6.8	39.1	22.7	27.9	2.6
16	Haryana	23.6	27.6	7.3	39.3	1.1
17	Madhya Pradesh	9.1	47.7	19.6	14.7	-1.7
18	Karnataka	18.0	42.9	14.9	20.7	-2.3
19	Rajasthan	15.7	35.9	14.8	12.7	-2.7
20	Uttar Pradesh	18.4	48.0	11.7	16.2	-4.1
21	Delhi	27.1	37.1	16.7	14.5	-4.6
22	Jharkhand	13.2	59.0	20.2	5.6	-5.4

Note: The state rankings for Incidence of crime are based on summated scores that were arrived after weighing each Index category. The category of *Crime Occurs* includes incidence of crime as very often and sometimes and the category of *Crime doesn't Occur* includes incidence of crime as rarely and never. The 'very often' category was weighed as -0.2, the 'sometimes' category was weighed as -0.1, the 'rarely' category was weighed as 0.1, the 'never' category was weighed as 0.2. A higher summated score here indicates positive assessment, i.e. less incidence of crime.

(Figure 2.20). Respondents in cities were nearly twice more likely to report occurrence of crime in their neighbourhood/ area as 'very often' compared to those residing in villages.

Based on the state-wise responses to the question on frequency of crime in one's locality, a unique score for each state was derived (See Table 2.6). This score indicates the overall degree of incidence of crime in a single figure. Arranging the states in descending order of their scores—highest score first, representing least amount of incidence of crime, we arrived at the following distribution, which displays the relative position of each state regarding this question. We see that Kerala fares best among all the states, meaning that the occurrence of murder, physical assault, burglary and related crimes as perceived by the people is lowest there, while Jharkhand comes last, signalling that incidence of crime as perceived by the people is greatest there. Starting from Madhya Pradesh and up till Jharkhand, the incidence of crime is greater whereas in all the states above Madhya Pradesh, occurrence of crime is less.

An important aspect of understanding citizens' sense of security entails understanding their perception of crime and security in their locality. Fewer people expressed that crime had increased (17%) in their locality compared to 37 percent of those who considered a reduction in the incidence of crime (Figure 2.21). A little over one-third (34%) stated that there was no change in the occurrence of crime. As the locality increases in size and urbanity,

Figure 2.21: Over one-third believe that crime in their locality has reduced

- Crime had increased in my locality
- Crime had decreased in my locality
- Crime level has remained the same in my locality
- No response
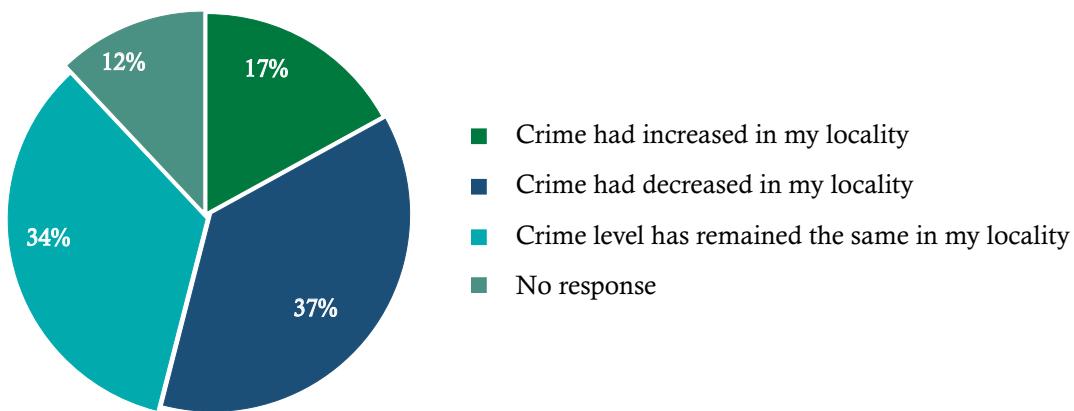
Note: Question asked: In the last 2-3 years, has crime in your locality increased, decreased or remained the same?

Figure 2.22: Change in the incidence of crime across localities
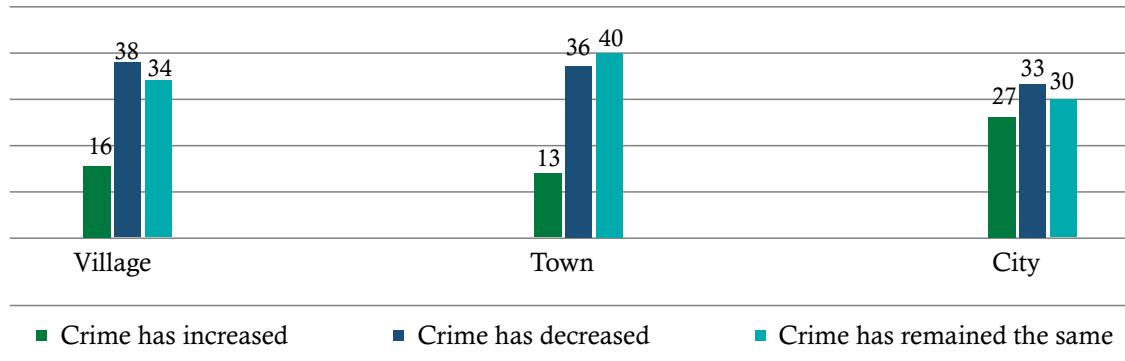
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not answer

the perception of increase in crime also grows i.e. respondents in cities were most likely to report an increase in crime in their locality than those in towns (Figure 2.22).

The opinion on police's investigation of crime such as murder, assault, robbery was very mixed. On one hand, citizens felt that their investigation is satisfactory and proper (37%). On the other hand, about 29 percent expressed that the investigation is not up to the mark and often faulty in nature, nearly 7 percent reported that police harasses people during investigation and 8 percent believed that police does not carry out the needful inspection (Figure 2.23). Satisfaction with police's investigation is likely to be highest in towns, among upper castes and those who belong to upper class. Furthermore, experience of harassment by police during investigation is most likely to be reported by Hindu Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Muslims and those residing in small cities.

Disaggregating the state responses (Table 2.7) reveals that states with a higher net score (this was calculated by subtracting total dissatisfaction from total satisfaction) indicate positive assessment that is greater satisfaction with investigation of crime. In contrast, states with a lower net score demonstrate dissatisfaction with police's investigation of crime. We see that Himachal Pradesh fares best among all the states, meaning that satisfaction with police's investigation of crime is greatest here, while Bihar comes last, signalling that people's satisfaction with

investigation of crime is lowest here. Other states where satisfaction was extremely low are Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Delhi, Telangana etc.

People's overall satisfaction with the police is shaped by their experience and perception. Positive perceptions promote engagement, compliance and trust in the police whereas negative perceptions erode legitimacy and result in reduced contact with the police. The survey sought to assess this and it was found that citizens' satisfaction levels with the police's performance and work in their area are not concentrated in the extreme categories of fully satisfied and fully dissatisfied. Rather, their satisfaction levels are moderate in nature- a little over a quarter were fully satisfied, while a large proportion (52%) were somewhat satisfied. Only 5 percent said that they were fully dissatisfied with police performance in their locality (Figure 2.24).

Respondents were asked if they witnessed a police officer violating the law and nearly one in five persons responded with an assertion, while 67 percent did not report so (Figure 2.25). Men, urban dwellers (Figure 2.26) and those who had to pay bribe to get their work done were more likely to have witnessed this.

Among 21 percent who saw a police officer violating the law, only 13 percent filed a complaint and 81 percent did not. Respondents in rural areas, women and OBCs and those who had contacted the police in the recent past and had to pay bribe were more likely to have filed a complaint against a police officer.

Figure 2.23: Opinion on police's investigation by locality

- Investigation is proper and satisfactory
- Temporary investigation
- Police harasses people during investigation
- Does not carry out the needful investigation
- No response
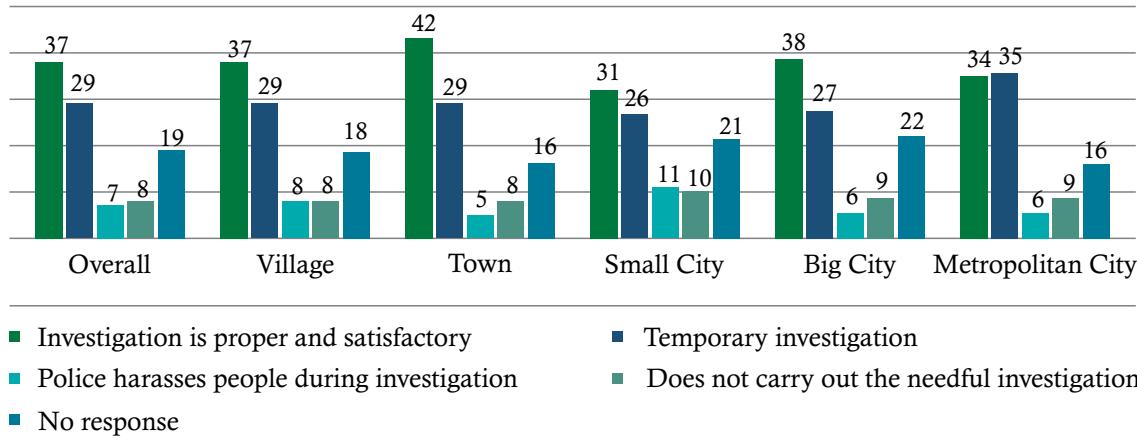
Note: Figures are percentages.
Question asked: In your opinion, is the police's investigation of such incidents (of crime) proper and satisfactory or is it temporary investigation?

Table 2.7: State-wise perception on police's investigation of crime

	Those who are satisfied with police's investigation of crime	Those who are dissatisfied with police's investigation of crime	Net satisfaction
Andhra Pradesh	49	40	9
Assam	42	39	3
Bihar	16	80	-64
Gujarat	56	27	29
Haryana	59	38	21
Himachal Pradesh	73	22	51
Karnataka	17	58	-41
Kerala	42	22	20
Madhya Pradesh	26	56	-30
Maharashtra	41	46	-5
Nagaland	22	35	-13
Odisha	49	32	17
Punjab	46	25	21
Rajasthan	30	39	-9
Tamil Nadu	30	52	-22
Uttar Pradesh	32	61	-29
West Bengal	30	43	-13
Delhi	28	58	-30
Jharkhand	27	70	-43
Chhattisgarh	58	24	34
Uttarakhand	55	32	23
Telangana	20	53	-33
Overall	37	45	-8

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. Net satisfaction here means total satisfied *minus* total dissatisfied.

Figure 2.24: Respondents' overall satisfaction with police

- Fully satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Fully dissatisfied
- No response
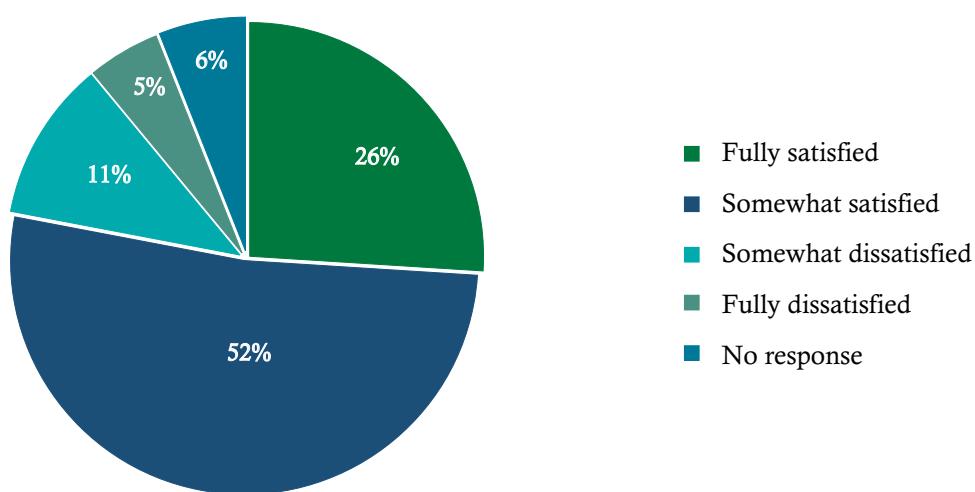
Note: Question asked: How satisfied are you with the performance of police and their work in your locality?

2.4. Perception of safety

Public safety is a key component of a community's life. Feelings of safety do not always echo reality, and the fear of crime can be influenced by neighbours, friends, and media portrayal of crimes in the neighbourhood. Alongside, the presence of police constables in individuals' locality can significantly enhance people's perception of safety during different points of the day. It can also positively shape people's view that police handle their problems well when there are fewer crimes reported in their neighbourhood. Assuming a positive association between greater police presence (which is likely to deter criminal activity) and people's perceived sense of safety, respondents were asked whether or not they feel safe in their village or neighbourhood at night, during the day and early morning. Nearly an equal proportion of one-third persons (31%) stated feeling

unsafe in the morning and during the day (Table 2.8). In contrast, a high percentage of respondents (44%) indicated that they do not feel safe at night. To get a more comprehensive sense of perception of safety at different intervals of the day, an Index was computed. This revealed that 34 per cent expressed feeling highly safe in their village/ neighbourhood and 28 per cent stated feeling highly unsafe. While an equal proportion of men and women feel unsafe at night, a greater proportion (51%) of respondents in urban areas stated feeling unsafe at night than their rural counterparts (40%). Similar differences across rural (28%) and urban areas (34%) could be seen in the perceived level of safety during the day.

People's perception of safety has a direct bearing on their satisfaction with police—those who feel highly safe are also most likely to be satisfied with police's work in their locality (Figure 2.27). The feeling of safety seems to have a direct relationship with

Figure 2.25: Over one-fifth respondents have witnessed a police officer violating the law

- 21% — Those who saw a police officer violating the law
- 67% — Those who did not see a police officer violating the law
- 12% — No response
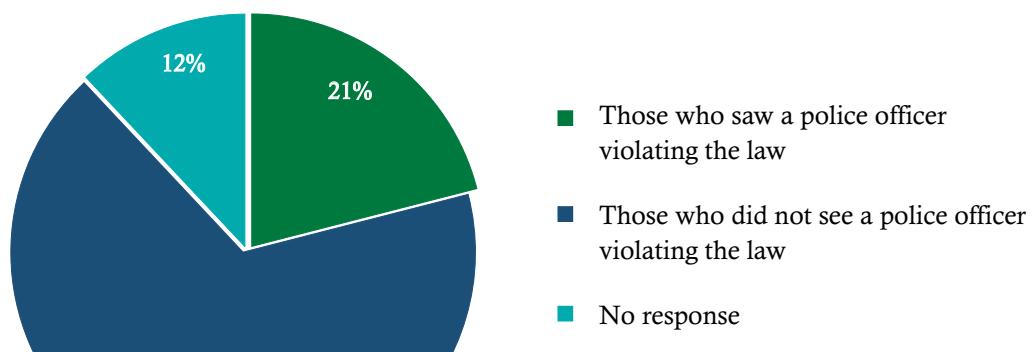
Note: Question asked: Have you ever seen a police officer violating the law?

Figure 2.26: Urban dwellers are more likely to have witnessed a police officer violating the law

	Those who saw a police officer violating the law	Those who did not see a police officer violating the law
Rural	17	69
Urban	27	63
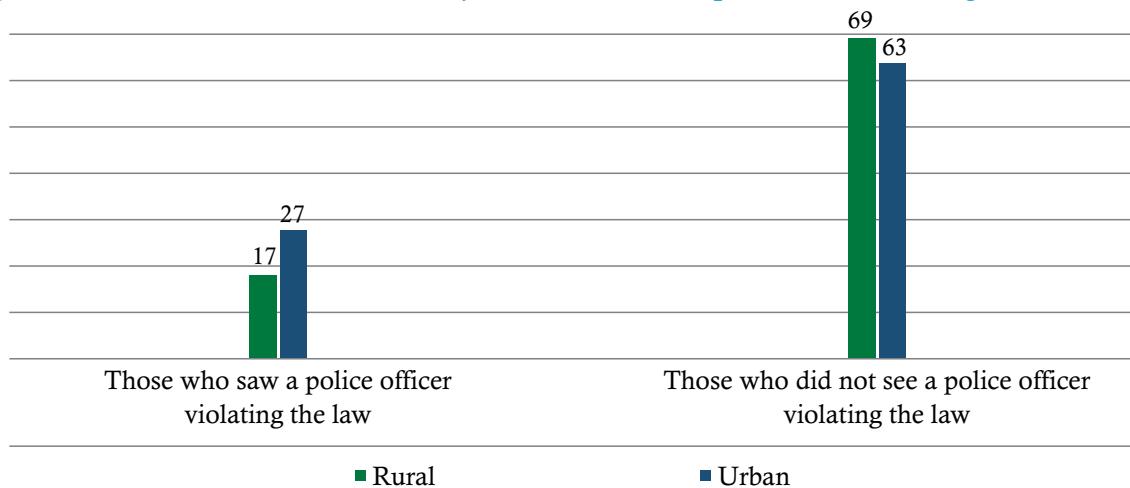
Note: Figures are percentages and rest of the respondents did not respond.

citizens' satisfaction with police services and their attitude toward crime. This means that encouraging a better policing system that focuses on reducing fear and ensuring safety in the neighbourhood overall can generate positive results- it can make communities safer and invoke positive citizen satisfaction with police and their services.

2.5. Opinion on police services

Often, the presence of police officers and patrolling vans are thought to create feelings of safety. Visible policing positively affects citizens' perception of crime, safety and their confidence in the police. At the same time, not all communities are likely to echo this sentiment. Vulnerable groups such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes may associate greater police presence with the fear of being targeted and wrongfully implicated by uniformed officers. To better understand this, the survey sought to ascertain people's opinion and satisfaction with police presence in their locality. A large proportion of 47 percent expressed the need for greater police presence while a relatively smaller proportion of 15 percent said that they would prefer lesser police presence (Figure 2.28). Nearly three out of ten respondents were not likely to prefer any change. It must be noted here that the demand for greater police presence can point towards both the existing levels of trust in the rule of law and people's perceived lack of safety. Men and upper castes were much more likely to expect an increase in police presence than women and persons from lower castes. In contrast, caste communities such as Hindu OBCs and Scheduled Tribes displayed preference for decreased presence of the police (Table 2.9). As the locality increases in size and urbanity, the preference for greater police presence also increases.

Table 2.8: Sense of safety among people during different times of the day

Perception of safety early morning		Perception of safety during the day		Perception of safety at night	
Those who feel very unsafe	13	Those who feel very unsafe	12	Those who feel very unsafe	23
Those who feel somewhat unsafe	18	Those who feel somewhat unsafe	18	Those who feel somewhat unsafe	21
Those who feel not very unsafe	19	Those who feel not very unsafe	20	Those who feel not very unsafe	16
Those who feel not at all unsafe	47	Those who feel not at all unsafe	47	Those who feel not at all unsafe	36
Overall those who feel safe early morning	66	Overall those who feel safe during the day	66	Overall those who feel safe at night	52
Overall those who feel unsafe early morning	31	Overall those who feel unsafe during the day	30	Overall those who feel unsafe at night	44

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.
Question asked: How unsafe do you feel in your village/neighbourhood during different times of the day—very, somewhat, not very or not at all?

Figure 2.27: Feeling safe has bearing on levels of satisfaction with the police

■ Those who are satisfied with police's work in their locality   ■ Those who are dissatisfied with police's work in their locality
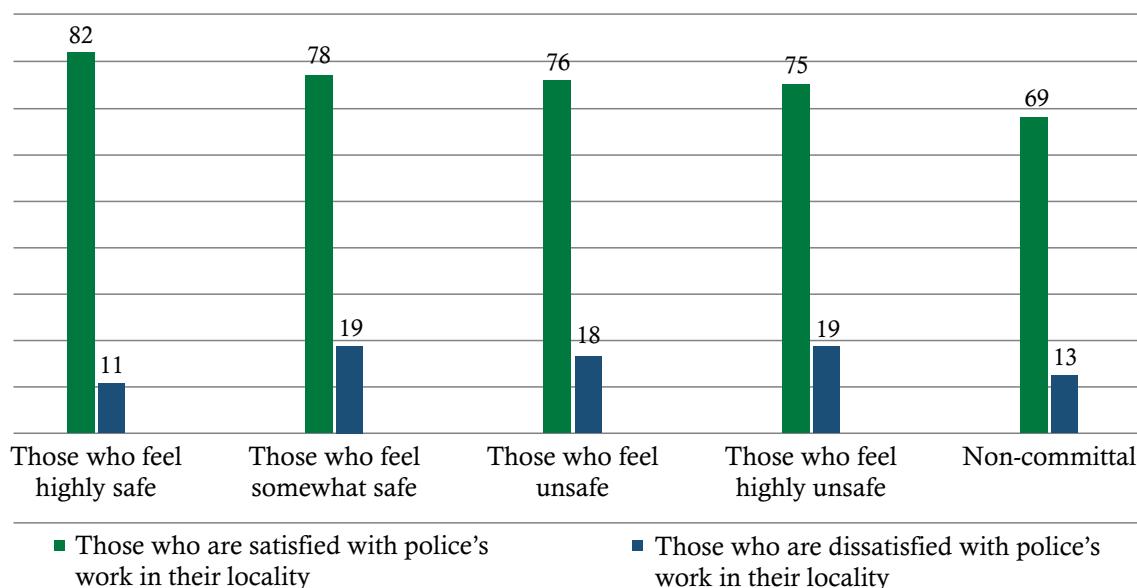
Note: Figures are percentages. For methodology on how Index of feeling safe was constructed, see Appendix.

On the question of whether police's help was sought by calling them on the number 100, only 8 percent replied in agreement whereas a large proportion of 82 percent did not (Figure 2.29). This is an alarming finding because the 100-number call service has been operational for over two decades, yet its usage remains abysmally low. Men and those residing in urban areas were more likely to have called on the 100 number than their respective counterparts. Respondents were asked if access to 100-number service had improved in the last two-three years and almost a quarter (23%) agreed. Over one-third (34%) expressed that it had improved 'somewhat', and about 12 percent opined that there was no improvement (Figure 2.30).

To address the safety issues faced by women, police introduced a special helpline number which would provide round-the-clock access to safety services. To ascertain its popularity and usage, women respondents were asked whether in the last 2-3 years they used the special helpline number (Figure 2.31). Only three percent had previously called on the special women's helpline number. Among those who had previously used the helpline number, about 65 percent reported positive experience and received the required help whereas 13 percent did not.

To coordinate and manage the safety and security of elderly, the police introduced senior citizen helpline in various states of India. However, awareness of

Figure 2.28: A large plurality of citizens want greater police presence in their locality

- ■ Those who want greater police presence in their locality
- ■ Those who want less police presence in their locality
- ■ Those who are satisfied with the existing police presence in their locality
- ■ No response
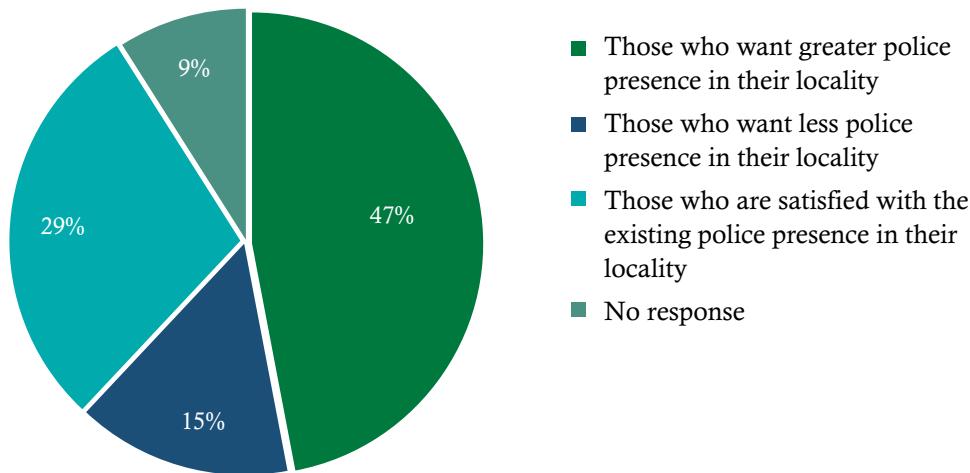
Note: Question asked: What kind of police presence would you like to see in your locality- greater, less, same as before?

Table 2.9: Upper castes most vocal about greater police presence

	Those who want greater police presence in their locality	Those who want less police presence in their locality	Those who are satisfied with the existing police presence in their locality
Upper castes	54	9	20
OBCs	47	18	27
Scheduled Castes	43	15	32
Scheduled Tribes	41	17	28
Muslims	43	14	32
Men	50	14	29
Women	44	15	29
Rural	45	15	30
Urban	53	13	27

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not answer.

Figure 2.29: Respondents who used the 100-number service
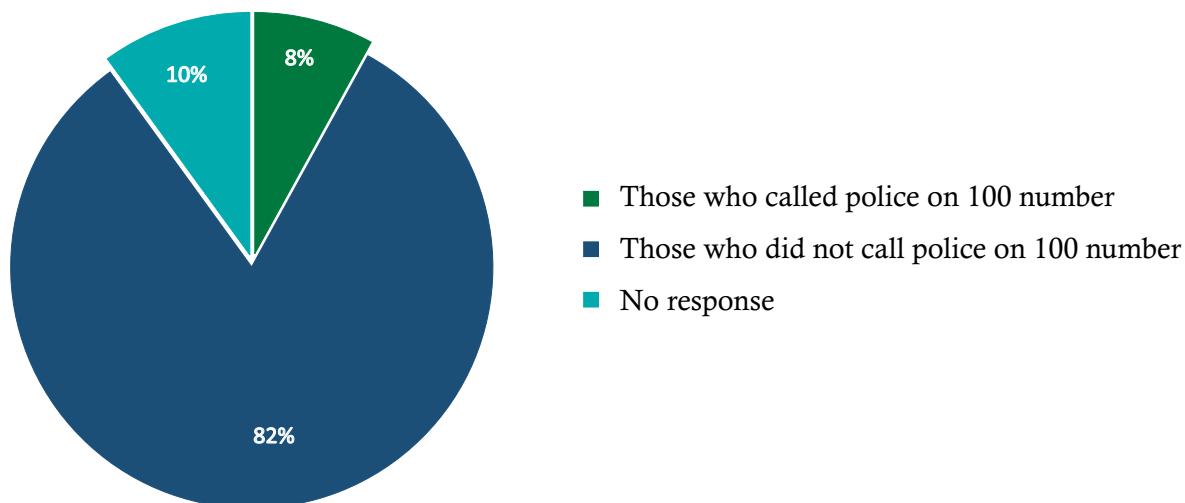
- 8% Those who called police on 100 number
- 82% Those who did not call police on 100 number
- 10% No response

Note: Question asked: In the last 2-3 years, have you tried calling police (100 number) on phone in case of an emergency?

Figure 2.30: Improvement in the access of '100' number

- 23% Those who believed that access to '100' number has improved a lot
- 34% Those who believed that access to '100' number has improved somewhat
- 7% Those who believed that access to '100' number has improved not much
- 5% Those who believed that access to '100' number has improved not at all
- 31% No response
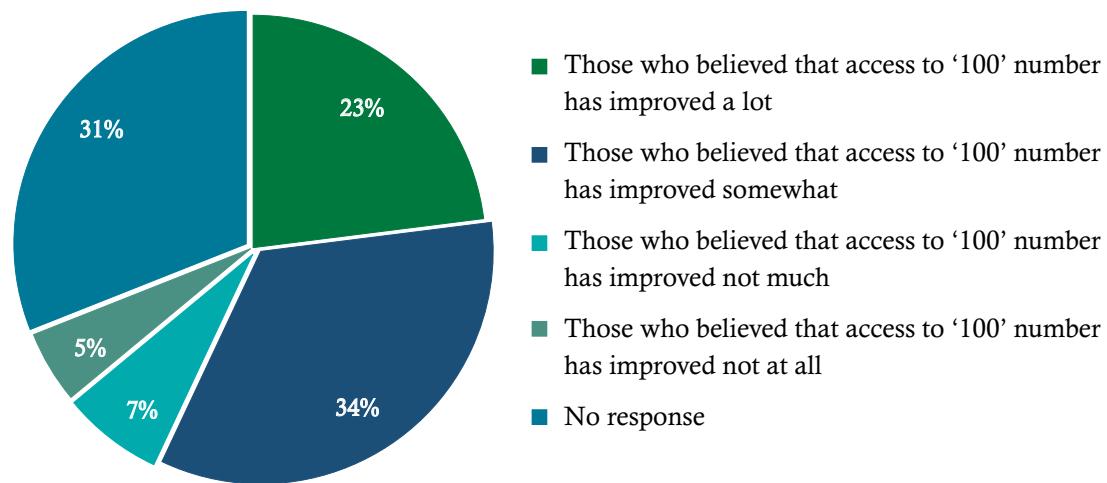
Note: Question asked: In your experience, to what extent has access to 100 number improved in the last 2-3 years—a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

Figure 2.31: Seven out of ten women did not call on the helpline

- 3% Women who called on the special helpline number
- 70% Women who did not call on the special helpline number
- 27% No response
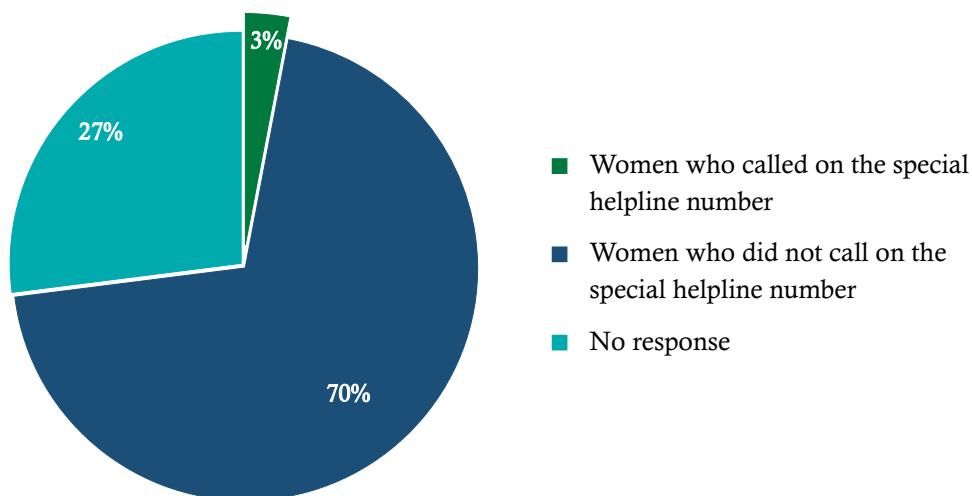
Figure 2.32: Awareness on police related services
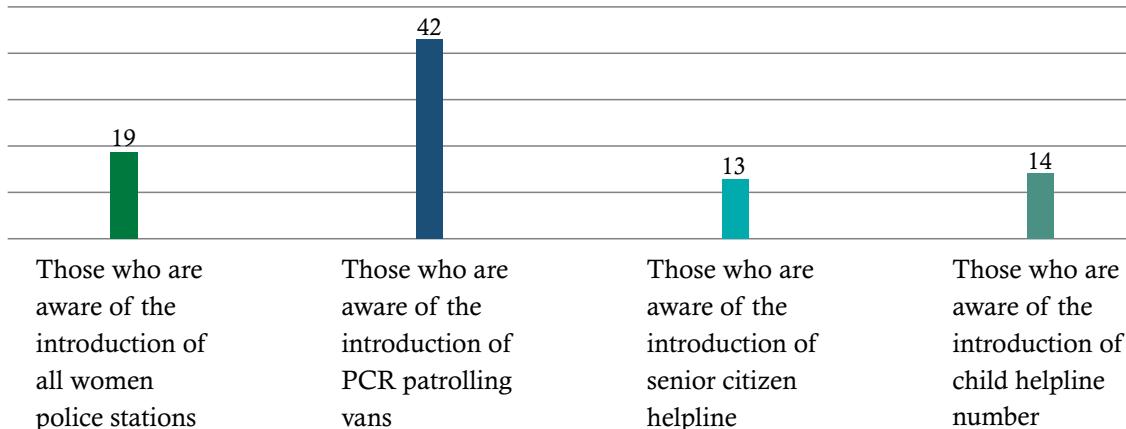
Note: Figures are percentages. Figures of respondents who were not aware or did not respond have not been reported.
Question asked: Please tell me whether the following services have been introduced in your area or not.

the same remains low and only 13 percent reported that they were aware of this provision (Figure 2.32). People were most likely to be aware of the introduction of PCR patrolling vans with over two-fifths stating so. A little less than one-fifth (19%) knew that all women police stations had been introduced and about 14 percent were aware of the introduction of the child helpline number.

2.6. Conclusion:

This chapter highlighted different aspects of police-public interaction, people's perception and experience of crime, corruption, usage of services such as special help lines for women etc. It illustrated that people's experiences, perceptions and opinions range from polarity to uniformity across geographies, gender, caste and class communities. An important finding of the survey has been the low incidence of police contact (14%) i.e. people who contacted the police or vice versa in recent past. There are two possibilities here. First, police contact might have been affected by stereotypes of mistrust, fear and enmity between police and citizens thereby deterring latter from approaching them for reporting crime or for seeking any other help. Second, it is also likely that contrary to our intuition, situations that require assistance or intervention of police are far and few, thereby resulting in minimal police-citizen interaction. The first possibility indicates that the trust deficit needs to be addressed by enhancing the relationship through sustained communication and non emergency-based interaction. Such

measures would also positively affect the sense of safety and reduced fear of crime among people. Regarding corruption and subsequent satisfaction with the police, the survey found that over one third respondents were compelled to pay bribe in return for police services, about 23 percent were dissatisfied and satisfaction was quite high (65%). The gendered aspect of police-public interaction revealed that women were much less likely to contact the police, more likely to be accompanied by a family member and less likely to visit the police station alone. For crimes that are experienced predominantly by women, the police are the first link in the chain of access to justice. Therefore, not only do women need to be actively encouraged to report crime to the police, issues relating to responsiveness and discriminatory attitudes of justice service providers need to be addressed on priority basis.

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(Endnotes)

[1] In the survey, the terms complaint and FIR were used interchangeably because many respondents would not be familiar with the difference. However, the author of this report recognize the distinction between the two.

CHAPTER 3:
TRUST IN POLICE

A police constable helping a blind couple at Sion, Mumbai
(Credits: Kunal Patil, Hindustan Times, 20 March 2017, Mumbai)

Trust in Police

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the levels of trust among people with regard to the institution of police. Every public institution, by virtue of their role, is always subject to public scrutiny. Their functioning, manner of dealing with issues of public concern and attitudes towards the general public guides people's perception, which in turn influences people's trust.

The trustworthiness of the police is often linked to their performance as well as a close interplay of societal factors, which in turn guides public assessments of the ability of the police to be a 'civic guardian' (Loader and Mulcahy,2003). A number of studies show that policing practices which focus on respectful treatment and proactive attitude is strongly linked to higher levels of trust. A close linkage exists between perception of police and their legitimacy in terms of their role - many widely used policing practices and approach are often seen as unfair which in turn have compromised the trust that people place in police. The image of the police in India, coupled with the problems and limitations that this institution faces today, warrants the needs to study the trust people place in this institution.

In the context of the everyday discourse in India with regard to police, we hypothesized that a number of social demographic factors would affect the trust people place in the police. Furthermore, we tried to explore whether experiential factors affect trust and satisfaction of an individual with the police functioning. The survey showed interesting trends in this regard. This chapter explores the dimension of trust with regard to how one's perceptions and experiences guide the overall trust levels.

3.2. Trust in police: measured directly

Relative to all public institutions, it was noted in the Common Cause-CSDS Survey that people have high levels of trust (a lot of trust) in the army (54%), followed by the judiciary/courts (31%; see Figure 3.1). The assessment of the police was however not as positive. Only three in every ten people said that they had significant levels of trust in senior police officers and two in every ten in the local police. Lowest levels of trust were reported for traffic police (16%).The police only fared better when compared to government officers, high trust in whom was found to be 18 percent. That being said, the image of the police seems to have improved in the last few years even as trust in other institutions has declined, albeit marginally. When we compare the current trust data with past data on trust collected by CSDS, we find a significant improvement in high trust levels with respect to the police and a slight dip in high trust levels with the military, judiciary and government officers. In a national survey conducted by CSDS in 2013 as part of the larger State of Democracy in South Asia Study, high trust in the police as a whole had been found to be only 16 percent. This is around seven points lower than the simple average of the high trust figures recorded for senior, local and traffic police officers in current survey. On the other hand, in the case of the military, judiciary and government officers, high trust of people in them has declined by about 2-3 points in the last 3-4 years.

Figure 3.1: Trust in police vis-à-vis other institutions
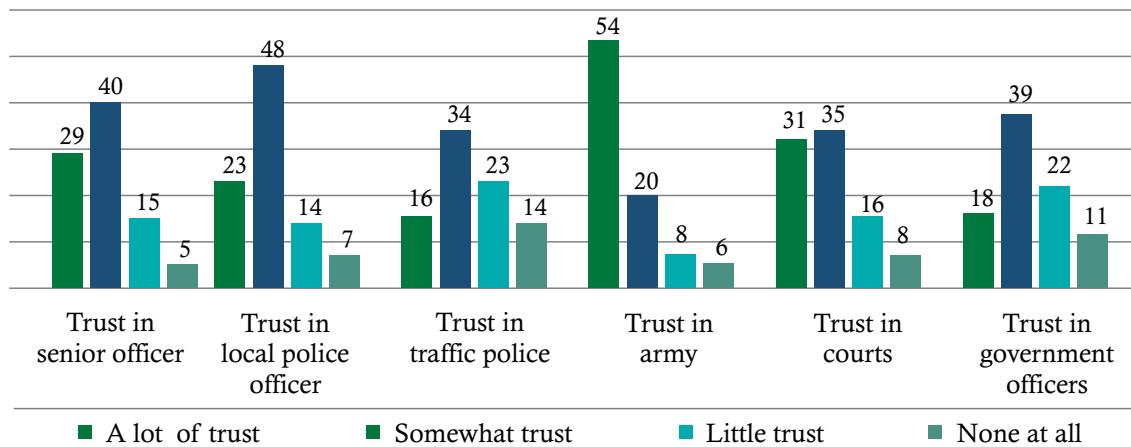
	Trust in senior officer	Trust in local police officer	Trust in traffic police	Trust in army	Trust in courts	Trust in government officers
A lot of trust	29	23	16	54	31	18
Somewhat trust	40	48	34	20	35	39
Little trust	15	14	23	8	16	22
None at all	5	7	14	6	8	11

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked: Please tell me how much trust do you have in each of the institutions- a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

On analyzing trust in different hierarchies of police by states we found that trust in local police was greatest in Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Telangana and Kerala (in that order; Table 3.1). On the other hand, Rajasthan reported the lowest levels of trust, followed by Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Nagaland. For senior police, states such as Haryana (highest trust), Himachal Pradesh, Odisha and Kerala were ranked high, which indicates that people have significant levels of trust in the senior police officers (Table 3.2). Here again, Rajasthan ranked the lowest. Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Gujarat also performed poorly on this count. We haven't analyzed trust levels in the traffic police state-wise since its presence is largely restricted to bigger cities.

State-wise variation was noted in this regard: If Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Odisha and Kerala were the states where people had high trust in senior police, the top three states in terms of trust in local police were found to be Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Telangana and Kerala. Looking at states which performed poorly on this metric for both senior police and local police, we found that both Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh appear at the bottom of the rankings.

Table 3.1: Trust in local police by state

Rank	States	A lot	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all	Score
1	Andhra Pradesh	35.9	42.1	5.7	3.6	10.1
2	Jharkhand	26.3	58.3	9.2	0.8	10.0
3	Telangana	26.4	55.9	5.4	1.8	10.0
4	Kerala	43.1	32.6	11.3	5.1	9.7
5	Odisha	33.1	40.3	6.7	4.2	9.1
6	Himachal Pradesh	13.9	72.0	6.1	2.3	8.9
7	Uttarakhand	23.7	57.6	10.0	6.2	8.3
8	Tamil Nadu	30.6	45.1	11.2	6.6	8.2
9	Madhya Pradesh	25.3	53.4	15.1	4.0	8.1
10	Karnataka	26.1	49.7	12.9	5.2	7.9
11	Haryana	11.3	72.0	14.0	2.1	7.6
12	Chhattisgarh	22.6	46.0	11.8	3.8	7.2
13	Assam	18.5	56.1	14.4	4.7	6.9
14	Maharashtra	20.5	49.5	11.9	8.6	6.1
15	Gujarat	22.8	47.0	16.2	7.8	6.1
16	Punjab	25.1	37.4	19.1	8.4	5.2
17	Delhi	13.9	50.5	16.7	9.7	4.2
18	West Bengal	18.1	39.9	14.1	10.2	4.2
19	Nagaland	16.8	47.0	23.7	9.5	3.8
20	Bihar	16.3	44.0	27.4	10.9	2.7
21	Uttar Pradesh	9.4	48.4	19.4	15.7	1.6
22	Rajasthan	6.2	43.5	27.7	6.8	1.5

Note: The state rankings for the question- *Please tell me how much trust do you have in local police like police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO - a lot, somewhat, not much, or not at all?- * are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. An 'a lot' answer was weighted as 0.2, a 'somewhat' answer was weighted as 0.1, a 'not much' answer was weighted as -0.1, and a 'not at all' answer was weighted as -0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a more positive assessment.

Table 3.2: Trust in senior police by state

Rank	States	A lot	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all	Score
1	Haryana	31.0	60.3	6.9	1.0	11.3
2	Himachal Pradesh	25.2	63.0	3.9	2.0	10.6
3	Odisha	37.9	33.4	6.7	2.5	9.8
4	Kerala	43.9	31.3	9.0	6.5	9.7
5	Bihar	47.5	29.2	15.3	6.8	9.5
6	Uttarakhand	35.1	44.1	15.5	2.6	9.4
7	Andhra Pradesh	28.8	42.1	11.1	2.4	8.4
8	Jharkhand	46.4	19.6	26.6	1.4	8.3
9	Telangana	28.9	40.6	13.6	2.1	8.1
10	Assam	23.2	50.6	13.1	2.1	8.0
11	Madhya Pradesh	32.7	38.5	19.7	3.5	7.7
12	Delhi	28.2	41.6	10.7	5.6	7.6
13	Nagaland	20.4	54.3	19.1	2.9	7.0
14	Chhattisgarh	30.1	33.7	15.2	4.6	7.0
15	Tamil Nadu	27.4	40.5	17.5	7.5	6.3
16	Karnataka	24.6	43.1	19.6	5.8	6.1
17	West Bengal	24.1	36.9	11.3	6.7	6.0
18	Maharashtra	20.5	44.3	16.4	5.5	5.8
19	Gujarat	24.6	41.7	18.3	7.7	5.7
20	Punjab	26.2	29.5	24.6	7.8	4.2
21	Uttar Pradesh	19.6	40.7	20.1	11.2	3.7
22	Rajasthan	13.0	37.7	20.8	11.9	1.9

Note: The state rankings for the question - *Please tell me how much trust do you have in a senior police officer like SP, DCP - a lot, somewhat, not much, or not at all?* - are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. An 'a lot' answer was weighted as 0.2, a 'somewhat' answer was weighted as 0.1, a 'not much' answer was weighted as -0.1, and a 'not at all' answer was weighted as 0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a more positive assessment.

3.3. Trust in police: measuring indirectly

Apart from the direct questions related to trust, the survey also asked a question that helped gauge trust levels indirectly. Respondents were asked whether they would allow their child to visit the police station alone to file a complaint in the event that they were a victim of any crime. Over half (54%) were of the opinion that they would not let their children visit the police station alone (Figure 3.2). This helped us to make an inference that largely people were of the opinion that it is usually not safe to approach this authority without any support. Furthermore, it was interesting to note that women (55%) were only slightly more likely than men (53%) to be hesitant in letting their wards approach the police alone. To understand whether the gender of the child could play a potential role in influencing such decisions, we tried to analyze this response with the sex of the respondents' children. It was noticed that there wasn't any significant difference in opinion between all those who had a daughter (53%) or a son (54%). This is to say, that irrespective of the gender, people show hesitance, which in turn tells us a lot about their level of trust in the functioning of that institution.

A state-wise disaggregation of the responses found respondents in West Bengal, Assam and Jharkhand to be more willing about sending their child to the police station alone, if the need arose. Respondents in Madhya Pradesh, Telangana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were found to be the most reluctant (Table 3.3).

Figure 3.2: Majority unlikely to let their wards visit police station alone

- Will let my child visit the police station alone — 36%
- Won't let child visit the police station alone — 54%
- No response — 10%
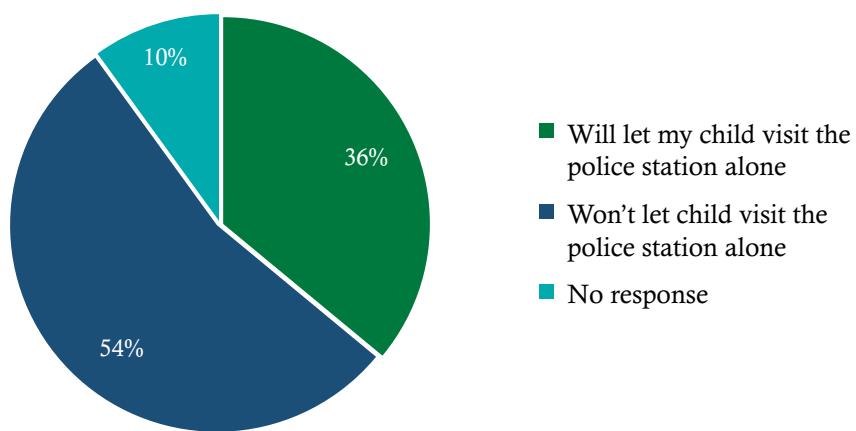
Note: Question asked: If your daughter or son was to be a victim of any crime, would you allow her/him to visit the police station alone to file a complaint?

Table 3.3: Respondents in West Bengal, Assam and Jharkhand most willing to send their child to the police station if need arises

Rank	States	Will let my child visit the police station alone	Won't let child visit the police station alone
1	West Bengal	87	3
2	Assam	83	6
3	Jharkhand	73	25
4	Himachal Pradesh	47	24
5	Nagaland	46	39
6	Kerala	40	53
7	Tamil Nadu	40	55
8	Haryana	40	59
9	Odisha	38	59
10	Punjab	36	43
11	Bihar	35	57
12	Karnataka	33	64
13	Uttarakhand	31	59
14	Chhattisgarh	30	50
15	Maharashtra	30	59
16	Delhi	27	65
17	Andhra Pradesh	25	64
18	Gujarat	24	62
19	Madhya Pradesh	19	74
20	Uttar Pradesh	17	67
21	Rajasthan	16	67
22	Telangana	12	70

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked was: If your daughter/son was to be the victim of any crime, would you allow her/him to visit the police station alone to file a complaint? The state rankings are based on the 'yes' responses. In states where the 'yes' responses are of similar proportion, the no answer has been taken into consideration.

3.4. Overall trust in police

In order to understand the possible determinants of trust in the institution of police as a whole we created a trust in police Index. To construct this Index, the two questions directly related to trust were taken into consideration - one that probed people's level of trust in the local police like police inspector, sub-inspector, SHO and second that probed their trust in senior police officers like SP, DCP. Once again the question that probed trust levels in the traffic police was excluded from analysis since it is largely an urban phenomenon. The Index also took into account a third question, the indirect one that asked respondents whether they would allow their child to visit the police station alone to file a complaint. On constructing the Index (for a detailed methodology,

see Appendix 3), we found, one in every four (24%) to be trusting the police highly, more than two in every five (45%) to be trusting it somewhat, nearly one in every four (23%) to be somewhat distrustful of it and less than one in every ten (7%) to be very distrustful of it (Figure 3.3). This trust in police Index helped us to understand the interplay of a number of factors which affect levels of trust across different groups and communities. We report these findings in the following sub-sections.

3.4.1. Socio-economic cleavages

Demographic factors have a significant bearing and guide an individual's interaction and perception of the police, which in turn influences their level of trust.

Figure 3.3: Overall trust levels in the police based on the trust Index
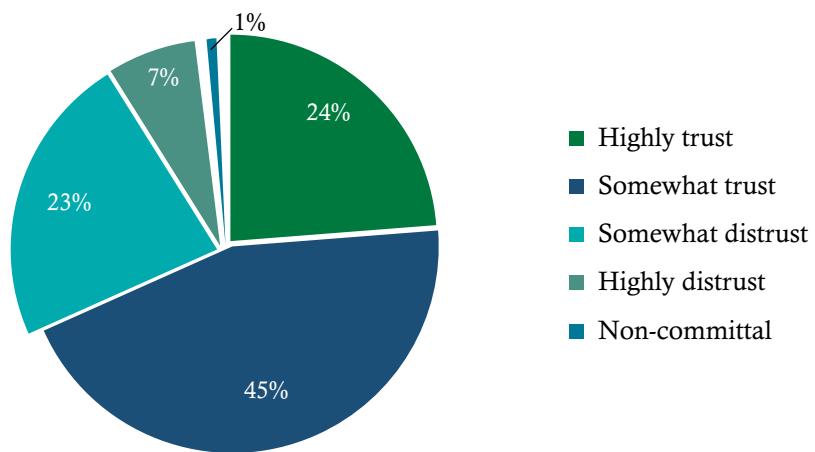
Note: For methodology on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3.

Figure 3.4: Distrust is inversely proportional to class hierarchy
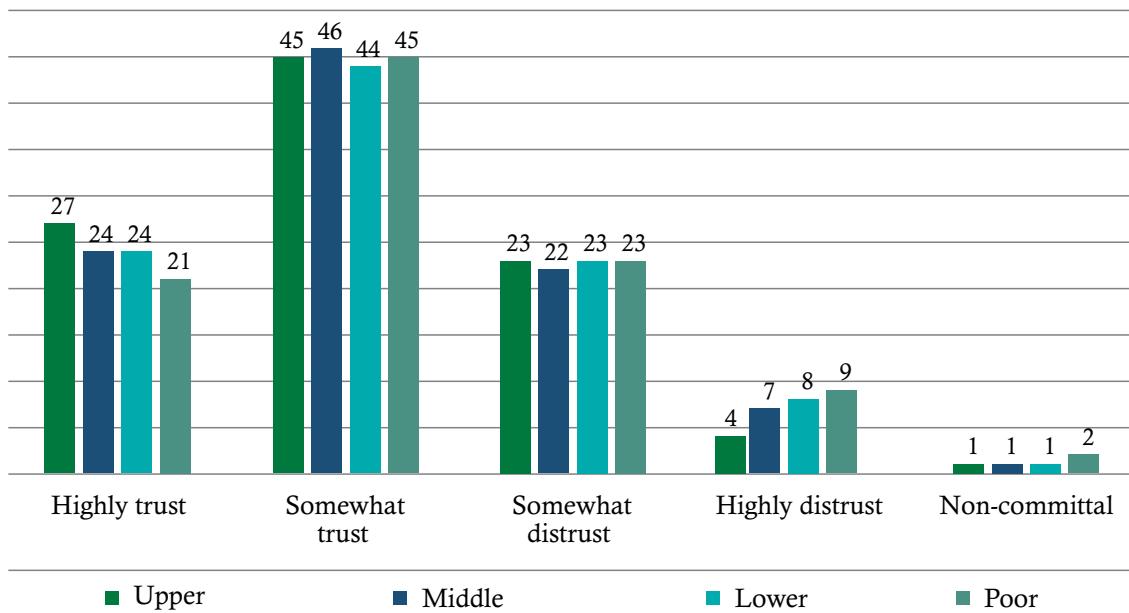
Note: For methodology on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3.

In the survey, it was found that the poor and the lower classes had the highest levels of distrust in police (32%, and 31% respectively; see Figure 3.4). The upper class had the highest levels of trust, and this was true across all genders. Often class hierarchies tend to impact one's vulnerability. As one's vulnerability increases, their trust levels tend to decrease (Offe and Patterson, quoted in Warren, 1999). Such a finding corresponds even with regard to other institutions we took into consideration in the survey.

Interestingly, the inverse relationship between class hierarchy and trust levels coincided sharply even within the caste-groups and across different religions. On the whole, the upper class, even within the various caste-based distinctions weaved together, exhibited highest levels of trust.

The caste angle on its own also plays an important role in shaping public trust in police. The Scheduled Tribes (STs hereafter) were found to be most distrustful of the police (37%; highly and somewhat combined), followed by Other Backward Classes (30%) (OBCs hereafter) and Scheduled Castes (SCs hereafter) (29%; see Figure 3.5).

Even within these social groups, regional variation was evident. Among STs, it was those residing in Rajasthan that stood out with three-fourths of them (78%) being highly or somewhat distrustful of the police. STs in Gujarat also reported high distrust at 54 percent. However, in the other tribal concentrated states such as Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Assam and Maharashtra the level of distrust was not as high (30%, 19%, 28%, 20% and 16%, respectively).

Figure 3.5: STs distrust the police more than any other caste groups
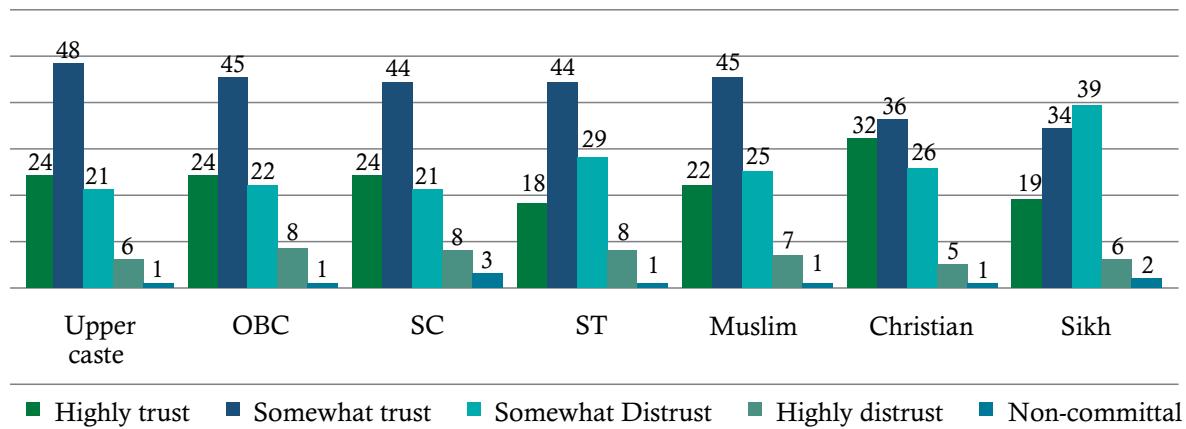
Note: Figures are percentages.

Figure 3.6: Lower literacy levels correspond to high levels of distrust
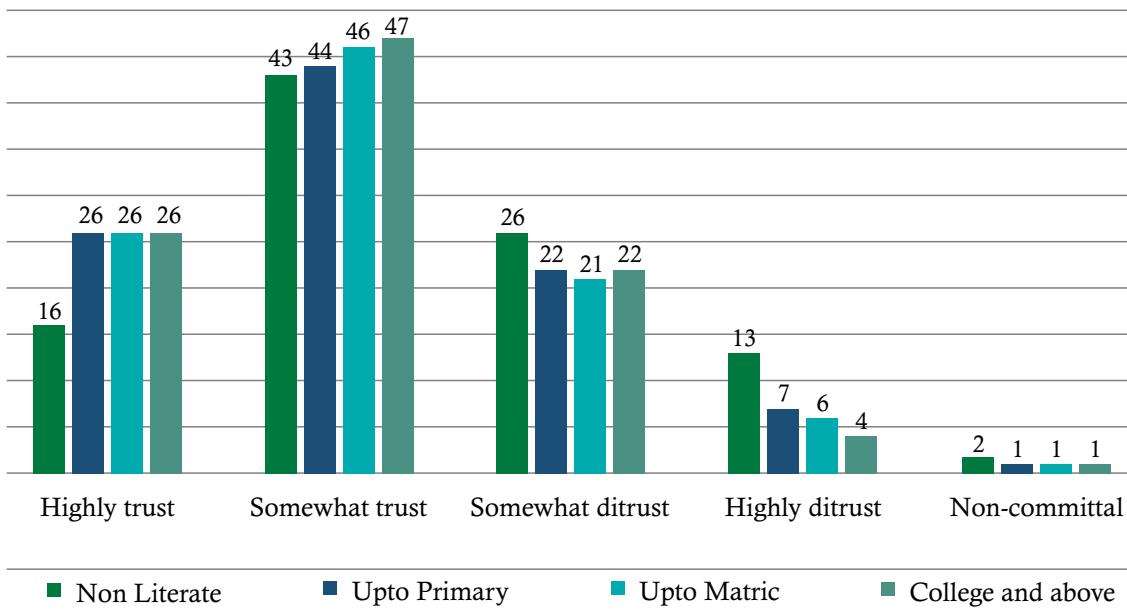
Note: Figures are percentages.

As far as SCs are concerned, the highest levels of distrust were recorded among SCs of Punjab (59%), Rajasthan (58%), Delhi (54%), Uttar Pradesh (44%), Bihar (37%), Maharashtra (34%) and Telangana (32%).

With respect to religion, the highest 'highly trust' figure was recorded among Christian respondents (32%). Sikhs (mainly situated in Punjab in our sample) were least likely to highly trust the police (19%). Muslims were found to be nearly as trusting or distrusting as the Hindus (Figure 3.5).

It was also found that educational levels have a significant impact on the trust levels of the public. A clear trend was evident that suggested that people with higher levels of education tend to have greater trust in the police. While high distrust among non-literates was found to be 13 percent, among those educated up to primary and matriculation, it dropped to 7 percent and 6 percent, respectively. Graduates were least distrustful of the police with only 4 percent of them reporting high distrust (Figure 3.6). This finding could be explained in the context of the police's attitude towards people with lower educational levels and the manner in which they address their issues.

The survey found that across all occupations, semi-skilled workers, agricultural workers and non-workers had the highest level of distrust as far as police is concerned (Figure 3.7). This could be explained in the light of the treatment meted out to them by the police. Among the semi-skilled workers and agricultural workers, women were found to be expressing significantly higher levels of distrust than men. For instance, 38 percent of female semi-skilled workers said they were distrustful of the police as opposed to 31 percent male semi-skilled workers. Similarly, while 34 percent of female agricultural laborers reported being distrustful of the police, among their male counterparts the figure

of distrust was 29 percent. This underlined the need to explore whether one's gender plays a role as far as their interactions are concerned and how such interactions determine the trust levels.

On the whole too, women were seen to be more distrustful of the police compared to men but not by a very wide margin (32% as opposed to 28%, when we combine highly distrust and somewhat distrust; see Figure 3.8).

The survey showed a consistent trend that the older population had higher levels of distrust in the police, elderly women particularly. While 30 percent of men aged above 55 years reported high distrust of the police, among women from the same age group, 37 percent had high distrust. This gender divide was not as sharp among the middle aged respondents (those aged between 35-55 years) and it was non-existent among the young respondents, that is, those aged between 18-35 years reported similar levels of distrust of the police.

Across nearly all states men and women were similar in their levels of trust and distrust. That is to say, if men were found to be most distrustful of the police in certain states, so were the women of that state. There was a very little gap between the two. However if there is one state that stood out it was Uttar Pradesh, where the gap was quite big— while 41 percent of women in Uttar Pradesh were distrustful of the police, among the men of Uttar Pradesh it was ten points higher at 51 percent.

The trends that were noted in the previous sub-section with respect to caste and class based distinctions and their corresponding linkages with the levels of trust, were also evident even when we look at it with respect to gender. This is to say, that in the survey, just as STs were found to have the highest levels of distrust with the police, the same pattern could be seen even when in terms of gender: ST

Figure 3.7: Semi-skilled and agricultural workers more distrustful of the police

	Professionals	Managerial/Administrative	Services	Skilled workers	Semi-skilled workers	Agricultural workers	Non-workers
Highly trust	31	27	22	28	25	20	22
Somewhat trust	45	45	48	45	39	46	45
Somewhat distrust	20	21	23	19	26	23	25
Highly distrust	4	6	6	7	8	9	7
Non-committal	0	1	1	1	2	2	1
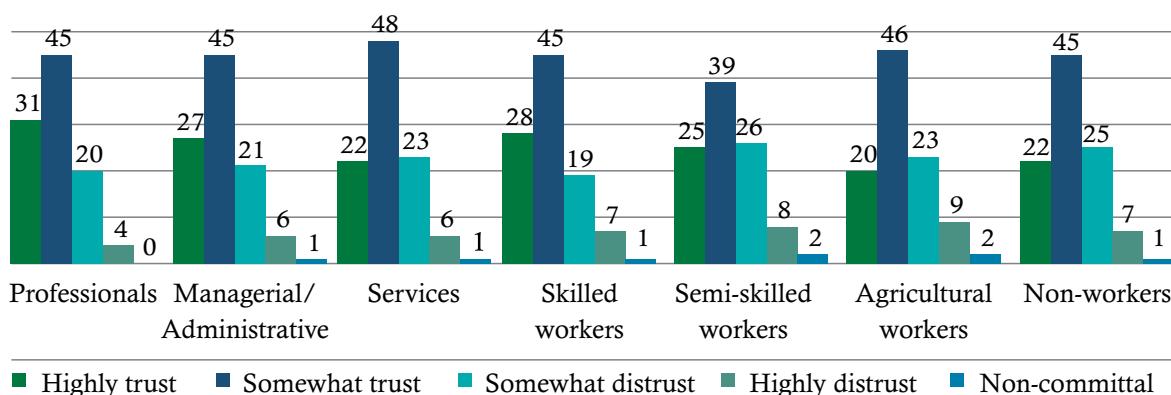
Note: Figures are percentages.

Figure 3.8: Women more distrustful of police
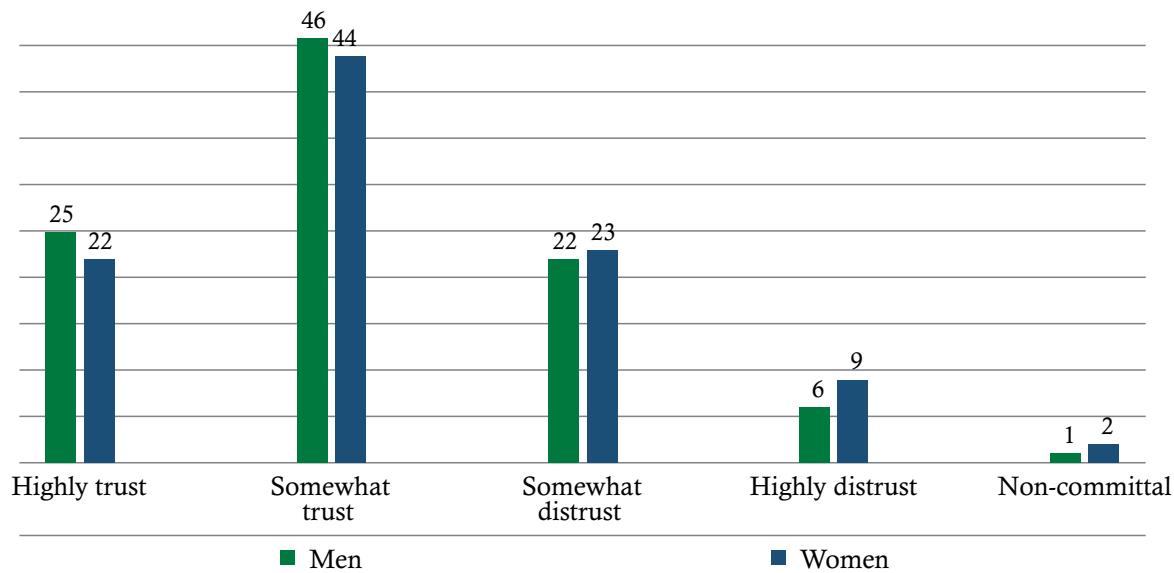
Note: Figures are percentages.

Table 3.4: Ranking the states in terms of trust in police

Rank	States	Highly trust	Somewhat trust	Somewhat distrust	Highly distrust	Score
1	Assam	57.0	25.9	14.8	1.7	12.2
2	Jharkhand	44.1	44.5	8.0	3.4	11.8
3	Haryana	34.6	54.5	9.9	1.0	11.2
4	Himachal Pradesh	43.0	35.9	14.5	3.2	10.1
5	West Bengal	47.2	25.0	22.4	2.6	9.2
6	Uttarakhand	22.2	57.4	16.7	3.2	7.9
7	Kerala	29.9	47.4	14.1	7.4	7.8
8	Tamil Nadu	29.2	43.1	17.6	9.8	6.4
9	Odisha	26.3	46.5	15.2	10.6	6.3
10	Karnataka	17.1	57.3	20.9	4.6	6.1
11	Bihar	26.6	43.4	23.8	6.0	6.1
12	Nagaland	30.7	31.5	34.7	2.9	5.2
13	Andhra Pradesh	19.7	49.5	17.6	12.0	4.7
14	Madhya Pradesh	12.9	55.8	27.4	3.5	4.7
15	Maharashtra	14.6	51.5	23.6	8.8	4.0
16	Chhattisgarh	17.7	43.8	25.3	7.2	4.0
17	Gujarat	16.5	47.3	24.9	9.8	3.6
18	Delhi	19.1	44.9	23.3	12.1	3.6
19	Telangana	7.2	58.6	24.6	6.5	3.5
20	Punjab	17.4	31.9	41.3	8.2	0.9
21	Uttar Pradesh	8.3	42.5	35.7	10.7	0.2
22	Rajasthan	9.9	30.8	38.4	17.0	-2.2

Note: The state rankings for the Index of trust in police (see Appendix 3 for details on how the Index was constructed) are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'highly distrust' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat distrust' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat trust' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'highly trust' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a greater trust.

women (40%) were also found to have the highest distrust in the police, which was followed by SC women (31%).

Probing the geographical angle by looking at the type of locality (rural or urban) that the respondent resides in, we found small towns to be reporting the lowest levels of distrust in police (26%). The two extreme ends – villages and cities—showed the highest levels of distrust at 31 percent and 30 percent respectively. A significant gender divide could be witnessed in these two areas. While 29 percent of male respondents in villages were found to be distrustful of the police, among female village respondents the same figure was four points higher at 33 percent. In cities, this gap between men and women when it came to distrusting the police was of six points—27 percent to 33 percent.

3.5. Trust levels by states

This variation in the levels of trust with the police followed a remarkable spatial pattern as well. After assigning specific weights to each category of the trust Index and then summing up the score, we find Assam ranked first as far as people's trust in the police is concerned. Jharkhand, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were the other states which ranked high on this metric, while Rajasthan ranked the lowest, with Uttar Pradesh and Punjab following it closely, indicating that people are relatively less trustful of the police in these states (Table 3.4).

3.6. Satisfaction with the police and trust in it

Satisfaction with the police performance in one's area also seems to be positively correlated with overall trust in it. On analyzing trust levels with the respondents' level of satisfaction with police work in their area, we noted highest levels of trust in police (31%) among all those who felt that they were 'fully satisfied' with how the police in their area was functioning. Conversely, high trust levels were nearly three times less at 11 percent among those who were fully dissatisfied with the performance of the police in their area (Table 3.5). Similarly, there is also a correlation the other way around—overall trust in the police seems to affect satisfaction with its functioning in one's area (Table 3.6).

Even as trust and satisfaction seem to be correlated when seen in overall terms, people seem to understand the two concepts quite differently in some of the states. We say this because states that reported highest trust levels with the police on our scoring scale are not the states that also reported the highest satisfaction levels. If Assam, Jharkhand and Haryana were the top three states in terms of trust in police, in terms of satisfaction with police functioning in one's area, the top three states on a similar scoring scale were found to be Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Odisha. Bihar ranked the lowest, followed closely by Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh on this metric (Table 3.7). This hints at the fact that while trust and satisfaction are seen to be closely related, people also tend to view them differently or that they represent different notions for the people at large.

3.7. Perception of police and trust

Other than the demographic variables, people's perception of the police as an institution and its functioning has strong linkages to the level of trust

Table 3.5: Satisfaction with police performance and its impact on levels of trust in it

Satisfaction with the police performance in their area	Highly trust	Somewhat trust	Somewhat Distrust	Highly distrust	Non committal
Fully satisfied	31	47	15	6	1
Somewhat satisfied	24	46	24	5	1
Somewhat dissatisfied	17	45	25	12	1
Fully dissatisfied	11	36	33	18	2

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Table 3.6: Trust in police and its impact on satisfaction with its performance

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Fully dissatisfied
Highly trust	34	53	8	2
Somewhat trust	27	53	11	4
Somewhat distrust	17	56	12	7
Fully distrust	19	38	18	12
Non-committal	29	28	7	5

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Table 3.7: Ranking the states in terms of satisfaction with police performance

Rank	States	Fully satisfied (%)	Somewhat satisfied (%)	Somewhat dissatisfied (%)	Fully dissatisfied (%)	Score
1	Kerala	51.5	35.4	2.4	1.8	13.2
2	Himachal Pradesh	29.5	61.8	1.6	0.9	11.7
3	Odisha	36.3	53.6	2.0	3.6	11.7
4	Chhattisgarh	42.9	39.6	4.2	3.2	11.5
5	Punjab	34.8	49.8	3.9	2.3	11.1
6	Gujarat	44.4	37.9	10.3	4.1	10.8
7	Haryana	16.3	72.4	3.5	0.6	10.0
8	Uttarakhand	31.6	50.5	7.8	6.8	9.2
9	Maharashtra	28.7	51.7	8.4	4.3	9.2
10	Jharkhand	32.6	43.0	21.6	2.2	8.2
11	Assam	22.1	57.5	12.4	4.1	8.1
12	Karnataka	18.7	60.8	12.1	2.5	8.1
13	Madhya Pradesh	16.1	63.8	12.1	2.2	8.0
14	West Bengal	26.3	46.7	16.3	2.0	7.9
15	Telangana	18.6	58.7	13.6	3.9	7.5
16	Delhi	21.9	56.8	9.2	8.6	7.4
17	Rajasthan	21.5	54.5	7.5	10.0	7.0
18	Tamil Nadu	17.1	57.7	16.2	3.1	7.0
19	Nagaland	17.1	53.2	11.7	5.6	6.5
20	Andhra Pradesh	27.4	40.2	20.4	5.8	6.3
21	Uttar Pradesh	14.2	52.5	11.1	12.0	4.6
22	Bihar	11.2	52.8	18.2	14.6	2.8

Note: The state rankings for the satisfaction with police performance in the area *(see Appendix 4 for details on how the Index was constructed)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'fully dissatisfied' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat dissatisfied' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat satisfied' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'fully satisfied' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of 'don't know' was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a greater trust.

they place. Such a perception can be guided by experiential instances (direct contact or vicarious experiences) and anecdotal references as well (Rosenbaum et al, 2005). Very often, a negative perception leads to low levels of trust, which in turn is guided by a multitude of factors. This was evident in the survey as well.

Using the Index for perception of police (see Appendix 3 for methodology), its relationship with trust in police was explored. It was found that three in every ten people who had a 'very negative' perception of the police highly distrusted it (Figure 3.9). Correspondingly, highest trust levels were found for all those with a 'very positive' perception. There is definitely a correlation between perception

and trust even though we cannot determine whether the former causes the latter.

Furthermore, it was found in the survey that all those respondents who were of the opinion that the police intentionally implicates exuded highest levels of distrust (33%; Table 3.8).

Ordinarily, we tend to expect that perception of police being corrupt would lead to lesser levels of trust. Such a conception was corroborated by the survey findings. Across all three sub-institutions of police, the perception of corruption correlated with highest levels of distrust- local police (27%, Table 3.9), senior police officers (32%; Table 3.10) and traffic police (50%; Table 3.11).

Figure 3.9: Negative perception of police indicates high levels of distrust
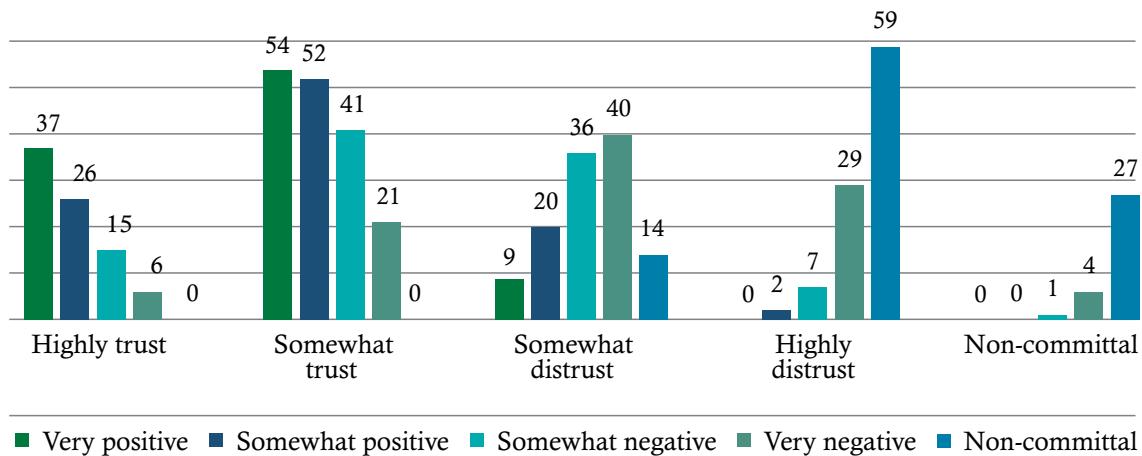
Note: Figures are percentages.

Table 3.8: Distrust levels highest for those who believe police intentionally implicates

	Highly distrust	Somewhat distrust	Somewhat trust	Highly trust	Non-committal
No, doesn't implicate intentionally	5	19	49	26	1
May be does implicate intentionally	6	24	46	23	1
Yes, implicates intentionally	9	24	45	21	1

Note: Figures are percentages.

Table 3.9: Perception of corruption and level of trust for local police

		A lot of trust	Somewhat trust	Not much trust	Not at all
Local police	Not at all corrupt	44	38	7	4
	Not much corrupt	20	58	13	3
	Somewhat corrupt	17	53	17	6
	Extremely corrupt	25	42	15	12

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Table 3.10: Perception of corruption and level of trust for senior police officer

		A lot of trust	Somewhat trust	Not much trust	Not at all
Senior police officer	Not at all corrupt	53	31	5	3
	Not much corrupt	29	46	13	4
	Somewhat corrupt	21	45	21	5
	Extremely corrupt	24	37	21	11

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Table 3.11: Perception of corruption and level of trust for traffic police

		A lot of trust	Somewhat trust	Not much trust	Not at all
Traffic police	Not at all corrupt	32	29	17	9
	Not much corrupt	16	42	25	7
	Somewhat corrupt	13	40	27	12
	Extremely corrupt	14	26	24	26

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

3.8. Experience with police and trust

The survey found no relationship between having contacted the police and trust in police. Those respondents who said they or a family member of theirs had contacted the police in the last 4-5 years for some purpose were as likely to trust or distrust the police as those who said they had not contacted the police during the same duration.

While it seems that the contact with the police does not seem to determine how much one trusts it, the kind of experience one has had with it does impact it to some extent. The kind of experience that people have tends to have an influence on their trust levels as well as on their preparedness to trust (Goldsmith, 2005). For instance, an individual's satisfaction with their engagement with the police, the help that they received and their functioning in their neighborhood, has a strong effect on trust. As the levels of trust hinge on a number of factors, studying people's trust in light of their satisfaction levels was important. It was found in the survey that such a correlation did exist as an individual who was satisfied with the police's performance when he/she contacted it was more likely to have higher levels of trust in it (Table 3.12)

Moreover, the study found that among all those who, after having contacted the police, hadn't paid a bribe, high or moderate degree of trust in police was at 74 percent. On the other hand among those who had paid a bribe trust in the police was at 64 percent (Figure 3.10). However it is still interesting to note that even among those who had paid a bribe a majority still were quite trusting of the police.

The survey allowed us to study the effect of satisfactory experience with the police and showed that this indeed seems to have a positive effect on their inclination to approach the police in the future as well (86%): positive experience contributes to trust, which in turn influences inclination to approach (Table 3.13).

Table 3.12: Satisfaction with police helps aid trust level

Satisfaction levels with the help at the police station	Highly trust	Somewhat trust	Somewhat Distrust	Highly distrust	Non-committal
Very satisfied with experience with police	36	48	14	2	0
Somewhat satisfied with experience with police	23	50	23	4	0
Somewhat dissatisfied with experience with police	18	40	32	10	0
Fully dissatisfied with experience with police	10	43	33	12	2

Note: Figures are percentages.

Figure 3.10: Paying a bribe and trust levels
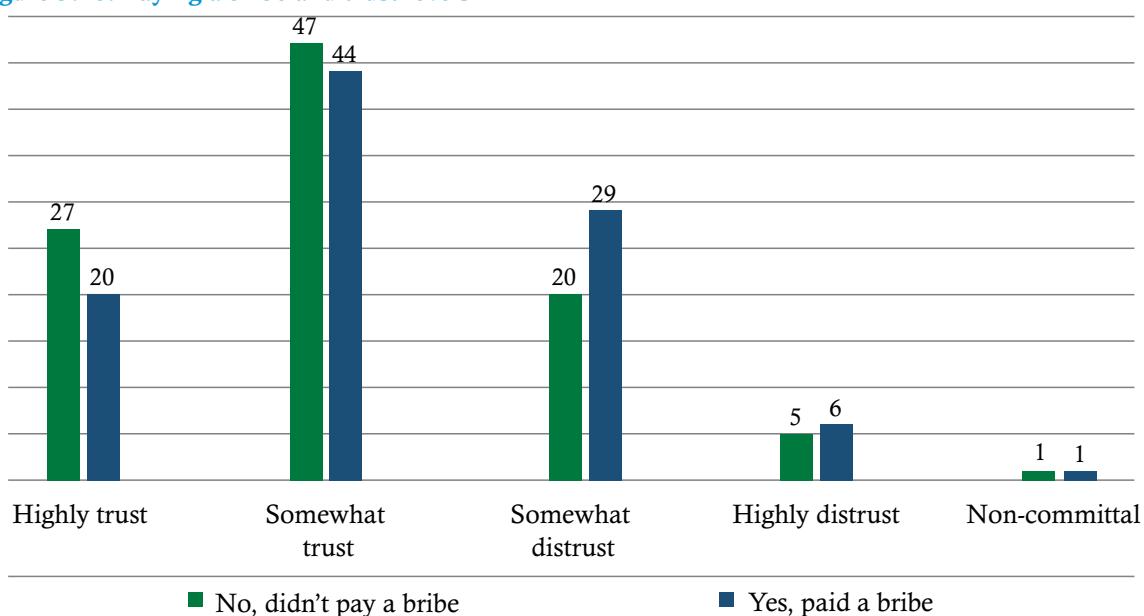
Note: Figures are percentages.

Table 3.13: Satisfaction with the help provided by police is positively related to willingness to approach it again

Satisfaction levels with the help at the police station	No, will not approach	Yes, will approach	Probably, will approach	Have no other option but to approach
Very satisfied	4	86	8	1
Somewhat satisfied	8	72	17	3
Somewhat dissatisfied	6	62	21	10
Fully dissatisfied	14	54	22	10

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked: In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police?

Figure 3.11: Those having paid a bribe to the police, relatively more hesitant to approach it in future
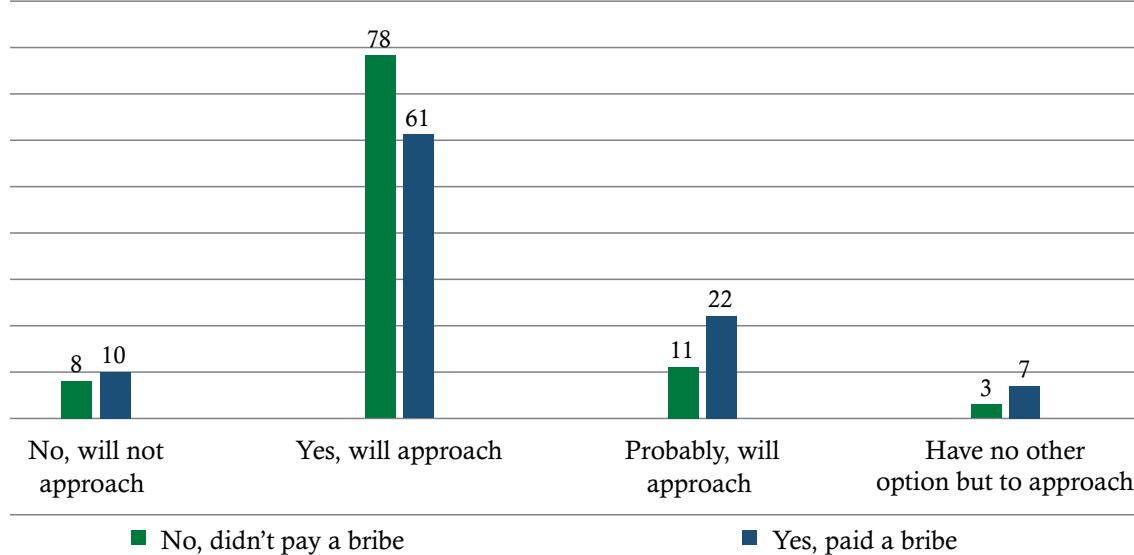
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked: In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police?

Similarly, the experience of having paid a bribe also had a bearing on people's inclination to approach the police in case of help. It was noted that almost every four out of five people who hadn't paid a bribe were inclined towards approaching the police. On the other hand, only three in every five of those who had paid a bribe expressed willingness to approach the police in the future (Figure 3.11).

3.9. Police diversity and trust in police

One tends to believe that adequate representation of their respective communities in the police would influence the levels of trust an individual has on the police, by virtue of a tendency to feel that they are likely to be less vindicated in that scenario. Police statistics were available to us on the themes of representation of various communities in the police-force based on which the states were categorized as 'very good/good' or 'bad' depending on the level of representation. However, it was found in the survey that perception of police as diverse or representative did not significantly influence the trust levels. Studying the correlation between the two across different communities, no reportable consistent finding was found. For instance, in states where SCs are well represented in the police, SC trust in the police was much less than SC trust in it in states where SCs are not as well represented. With respect to STs, Muslims and women too we saw no clear pattern with many states with poor representation of these communities in the police showing high trust of these communities in the police.

The survey found that often people are not aware about the level of representation their respective community has in the police force. Their perception of the degree of representation their community has in the police force of their state vastly differs from the actual representation of their community in the police. This could be the reason why contrary to what we hypothesized, in states with varying degree of representation of a community in the police force does not influence the trust of people.

Even as the degree of representation of a community in the police does not affect its trust levels in the police, it does seem to be positively associated with satisfaction with the police. In other words, while no consistent linkages were found between actual police diversity and trust, some important findings were noted with regard to satisfaction levels.

In the case of Muslims, in states which are ranked as 'very good' as far as representation of Muslims in the police-force is concerned, 30 percent of the Muslims stated that they were satisfied with the police. Meanwhile, in states ranked as 'very bad' in terms of representation of Muslims in the police, highest level of dissatisfaction (14%) was noted (Table 3.14).

This was evident even in case of women. In states having 'very bad' levels of representation of women in the police-force, relatively, highest level of dissatisfaction was noted (7%), while women were most satisfied in states ranked as having 'Good' (29%) and 'Very good' (24%) representation in this regard (Table 3.15).

For STs and SCs, perception of police as diverse and having adequate representation of their own community did not seem to have any notable impact on their satisfaction levels.

Therefore, we see that on the whole, perceptions of the police as being diverse or even having adequate representation of a particular community has little bearing on the degree of trust of an individual even though it may have an effect on their satisfaction levels in some cases

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to examine the degree of trust that individuals have on the police in India, by taking into account several factors. Contrary to impressions, the police seem to enjoy a fairly highly degree of trust, even if explicit expression of high distrust was somewhat limited. While in relation to other institutions such as the army and the judiciary, the police continues to be less trusted, in comparison with previous years, the trust levels in

Table 3.14: Dissatisfaction in Muslims most in states with 'very bad' Muslim representation

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Fully dissatisfied
States with very good Muslims' representation in police	30	45	13	9
States with good Muslims' representation in police	20	56	13	7
States with bad Muslims' representation in police	28	45	11	3
States with very bad Muslims' representation in police	15	49	16	14

Note: Figures are percentages. sample size: 1826. Only Muslim responses have been reported. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked: How satisfied are you with the police performance and their work in your area?
States with 'Very Good' representation are: Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Odisha. States with 'Good' representation are: Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, and Chhattisgarh. States with 'Bad' representation are Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Jharkhand. States with 'Very Bad' representation are: Assam, Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Uttarakhand.

Table 3.15: Poor representation of women in police leads to dissatisfaction with police among women

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Fully dissatisfied
States with very good women's representation in police	24	53	11	3
States with good women's representation in police	29	55	5	4
States with poor women's representation in police	27	50	12	2
States with very poor women's representation in police	22	49	16	7

Note: Figures are percentages. n- 7519. Only women responses have been reported. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked: How satisfied are you with the police performance and their work in your area?
States with 'Very good' representation are: Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. States with 'Good' representation are: Haryana, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi and Uttarakhand. States with 'Poor' representation are: Karnataka, Kerala, MP, WB, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. States with 'Very Poor' representation are: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Nagaland, Uttar Pradesh and Telangana.

the police seem to have increased significantly even as for other institutions they seem to have declined.

The survey revealed that trust is to some extent contingent on an individual's background, which was indicated especially by the fact that among the communities at the periphery, relatively lower levels of trust were noted. This helped us to know that as an institution, police and its operation is also influenced by the social realities or rather the inequalities which are so pervasive in the society. It was seen that women, STs, SCs, Muslims and poorer sections of the society were warier of the police and as a result, distrusted them slightly more. Nevertheless, even among these communities, trust in police is greater than distrust in police and by a wide margin.

More than a person's background however, the survey found that trust in police is to a large extent a function of one's satisfaction with it, one's perception of it and one's experience with it. If one is satisfied with its functioning, has a more positive perception of it and has had a good experience while interacting with it, then one is more likely to trust it. Moreover, it was noted that the perception of the police as corrupt or as those who falsely implicate and misuse their power, led to significantly lower levels of trust.

While the common perception is such that we tend to believe that if the police is more diverse and has adequate levels of representation of different communities, it would not only ameliorate this institution from its often criticized, disorderly conduct, but would also ensure a relatively positive perception of the police in the eyes of those communities. However, our survey does not really find this to be the case, at least not in terms of trust. Police diversity and representation of one's

community in the police had a very little bearing on the trust of an individual but has some degree of influence as far as their satisfaction with the police is concerned. Ordinarily one tends to correlate trust with satisfaction, with a close interplay between the two, however our survey showed that these two notions hold altogether different meaning for the people.

Thus, we see that an individual's level of trust hinges on a close interplay of number of factors and varies in accordance to their social identity, experience and perceptions.

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CHAPTER 4:

PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION BY THE POLICE

A police officer helps a blind man to cross the road near Mahim Durgah, Mumbai
(Credits: Vijayanand Gupta, Hindustan Times, 18 January 2009, Mumbai)

People's perception of discrimination by the police

4.1. Introduction

One of the key objectives of the Common Cause-CSDS study was to examine citizens' perception and experience of discrimination by the police. As an important part of the executive, the police in India wields immense power due to its primary responsibility of maintaining law and order. However, often, in the name of investigating crime, extracting confession and punishing perpetrators, torture is inflicted not only upon the accused, but also upon complainants, informants and bystanders in the form of physical abuse, custodial death, rape, humiliation, intimidation and deprivation of food, medical attention etc.

In addition to the physical police brutality, institutional discrimination is another component of policing that cannot be denied. Discrimination manifests itself in a variety of ways and may be motivated by intolerance towards traditionally marginalized groups, religious communities, caste and class background, and gender. For instance, around the time of communal riots, it has been widely perceived that the police does not act as a neutral law enforcement agency and perceptible discrimination is alleged in the use of force, preventive arrests, treatment of detained persons at police stations, reporting of facts and investigation, detection and prosecution of registered cases. This kind of social marginalisation is likely to have negative consequences and affect social harmony in society. In addition to less representation of minorities in the police force and their over-representation in prison, discriminatory attitudes of the police are one of the ways in which stereotypes and prejudices against certain communities play out in public life.

This chapter aims to explore people's perception of discrimination by the police. It is organized as follows: the first five sections address discrimination by the police on the basis of caste, religion, gender, class and region/state; the sixth section explains the findings thrown up by an overall 'Discrimination Index' that includes all the various possible grounds of discrimination discussed in sections one to five. The seventh and last section delves into the perception about the false implication of marginalized groups by the police.

4.2. Opinion on discrimination by police on the basis of caste

Respondents were asked to share their views on discrimination by the police on the basis of caste, that is, whether they thought that the police discriminates on the basis of caste. Contrary to many critical writings on the discriminatory practices of the police, this view was not found to be as widespread. One in four (25%) respondents stated that the police discriminates against people on the basis of caste while a large plurality (57%) did not think so. Nearly one in every five (18%) refused to answer the question (Figure 4.1).

With regard to religion, we found that the belief that the police discriminates on caste grounds was strongest among Muslims (30%) and weakest among Sikhs and Christians (8% and 11% respectively; Figure 4.3). While the degree of difference between responses based on religious disaggregation was not very large, those based on caste distinctions was greater: Upper Castes in both Muslim and Hindu communities were much more likely to have a favourable response for the police than their backward caste counterparts. Among Hindu communities, it is the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) who were found to be most likely to believe that the police engages in caste-based discrimination (30%), followed by the Scheduled Castes or Dalits (26%). Scheduled Tribes or Adivasis were least likely to hold this opinion (20%; Figure 4.2).

Like among Hindus, among Muslims too, it is the backward sections (Muslim OBCs) who were most likely to believe that the police discriminates on the grounds of caste (Figure 4.4). This perception of Muslim respondents may be derivative of the fact that the proportion of Muslims in jail far exceeds their overall proportion in the country's population.

While these percentages appear to be more moderate compared to the grim picture reported in the literature on this issue, yet the fact that more than a quarter of those who were interviewed reported perceived caste-based discrimination by the police is in itself an important revelation. In absolute terms, this proportion would translate into huge numbers.

Figure 4.1: Over a quarter think police discriminates on the basis of caste
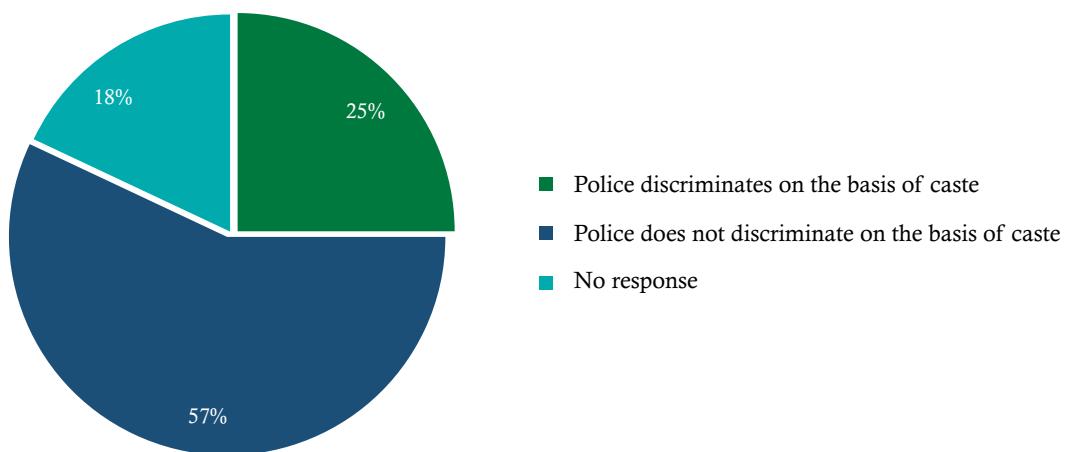
- ■ Police discriminates on the basis of caste
- ■ Police does not discriminate on the basis of caste
- ■ No response

Note: Question asked: It is widely believed that police discriminates between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion, does the police discriminate on the basis of caste?

Figure 4.2: OBCs among Hindus most likely to believe that police engages in caste discrimination

- ■ Police discriminates on the basis of caste
- ■ Police does not discriminate on the basis of caste
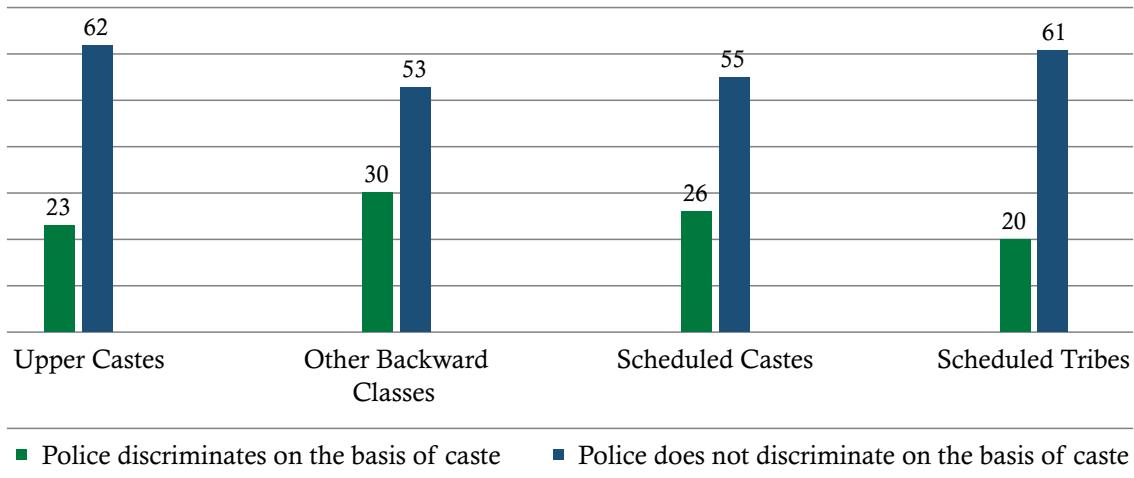
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 4.3: Muslims see the police as discriminating on caste basis more than other religious communities

- ■ Police discriminates on the basis of caste
- ■ Police does not discriminate on the basis of caste
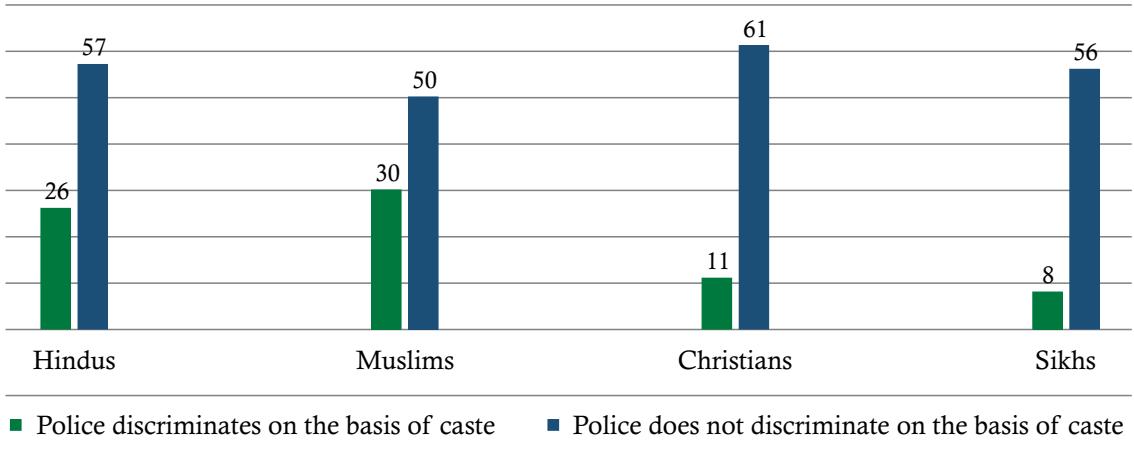
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 4.4: Muslim OBCs more vocal than Muslim upper castes in their perception of discrimination on caste basis

Muslim OBC — 51, 37
Muslim Upper castes — 50, 24

■ Police does not discriminate on the basis of caste
■ Police discriminates on the basis of caste
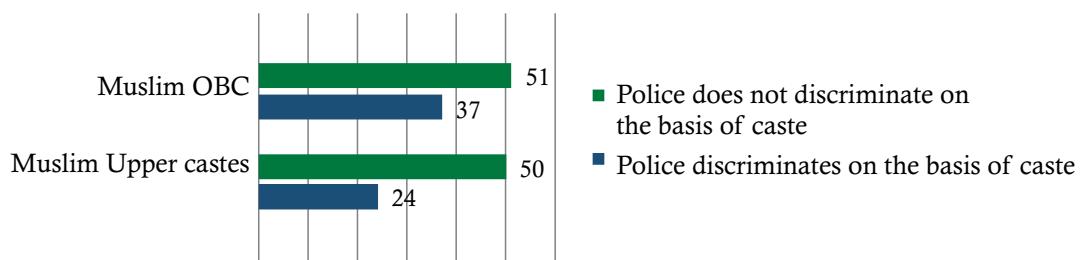
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 4.5: Economically well-off among communities more likely to perceive caste-based discrimination

Upper and Middle Class Upper Castes — 24, 64
Lower Class and Poorest Upper Castes — 22, 61
Upper and Middle Class OBCs — 35, 51
Lower Class and Poorest OBCs — 28, 54
Upper and Middle Class SCs — 27, 55
Lower Class and Poorest SCs — 25, 54
Upper and Middle Class STs — 32, 52
Lower Class and Poorest STs — 17, 63
Upper and Middle-Class Muslims — 37, 49
Lower Class and Poorest Muslims — 28, 50
Upper and Middle-Class Christians — 10, 53
Lower Class and Poorest Christians — 12, 64
Upper and Middle-Class Sikhs — 12, 62
Lower Class and Poorest Sikhs — 6, 53

■ Police discriminates on the basis of caste   ■ Police does not discriminate on the basis of caste

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Interestingly, when we disaggregated the community-wise findings further by economic class we found that across all communities (except Christians) the perception that the police discriminates on the basis of caste is stronger among the economically well-off sections than the economically worse-off. That is to say, the upper and middle classes among Hindu Upper Castes, OBCs, SCs, STs, Muslims and Sikhs were more likely to hold the opinion that the police discriminates on caste lines than the lower and poorer sections among all these communities. This class divide within communities was strongest among Muslims, Hindu OBCs and STs (Figure 4.5).

While the overall figures for perception of caste discrimination may appear moderate, examining state-wise opinion is an important comparative exercise that helps us in understanding the diverse range of public opinion with respect to police. In comparison to the nationwide average of perceived caste-based discrimination (26%), we found Bihar, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh to be the bottom three states on this parameter, implying that in these states people's perception of caste-based discrimination by the police is highest (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: State-wise opinion on caste-based discrimination by the police

States	Opinion of all respondents		Opinion of only SC respondents		Opinion of only OBC respondents		Opinion of only ST respondents	
	Police discriminates on caste lines	Police doesn't discriminate on caste lines	Police discriminates on caste lines	Police doesn't discriminate on caste lines	Police discriminates on caste lines	Police doesn't discriminate on caste lines	Police discriminates on caste lines	Police doesn't discriminate on caste lines
Andhra Pradesh	21	63	29	57	18	70	3	72
Assam	10	66	-	-	6	74	29	62
Bihar	71	28	70	28	73	26	-	-
Gujarat	19	63	13	65	14	71	46	36
Haryana	11	84	2	92	33	65	-	-
Himachal Pradesh	3	86	1	76	-	-	-	-
Karnataka	53	37	44	47	60	27	16	80
Kerala	5	76	-	-	4	79	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	46	41	49	32	55	29	23	65
Maharashtra	24	64	20	67	24	63	11	73
Nagaland	5	60	-	-	-	-	6	59
Odisha	9	64	12	57	9	65	5	60
Punjab	11	59	11	76	15	37	-	-
Rajasthan	19	50	15	60	22	54	23	68
Tamil Nadu	40	45	42	39	40	47	-	-
Uttar Pradesh	49	39	49	32	52	39	-	-
West Bengal	10	47	11	43	10	40	22	52
Delhi	22	65	13	68	26	64	-	-
Jharkhand	24	64	10	89	20	77	36	64
Chhattisgarh	10	52	10	68	13	43	5	61
Uttarakhand	10	68	10	59	14	62	-	-
Telangana	30	54	28	56	31	54	17	69

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. The views of respondents from states with a hyphen (-) have not been reported due to a small sample size. SCs, STs and OBCs reported above belong to all religious communities.

Additionally, our analysis suggests that Scheduled Castes in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh were more likely to perceive caste-based discrimination than Scheduled Castes in other states. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, along with Karnataka, are also states where OBCs were found to be more likely to be of the opinion that police engages in caste-based discrimination than OBCs in other states. In terms of Scheduled Tribe responses to the question, Gujarat and Jharkhand stood out compared to other states. Tribals in these two states were far more likely to believe that police discriminates on the basis of caste than tribals in other states (Table 4.1).

Probing another aspect of caste-based discrimination, the study also asked the respondents their view on impartiality shown by the police when it is confronted with situations of inter-caste strife. Over three in five (63%) respondents said that police is not partial towards a particular caste group in such situations whereas about one in ten (8%) thought it to be so. A large chunk of about one-third respondents chose to not answer this question. Muslims (11%) and Hindu OBCs (9%) were more likely to opine that police tends to be partial (Table 4.2). Among Muslims, OBC Muslims tended to believe far more than 'Upper caste' Muslim that the police is impartial in such situations (13 percent as opposed to 8 percent).

4.3. Opinion on discrimination by police on the basis of religion

Respondents were also asked about the prevalence of discrimination by the police on the grounds of

Figure 4.6: People's opinion on police impartiality in the event of a caste strife
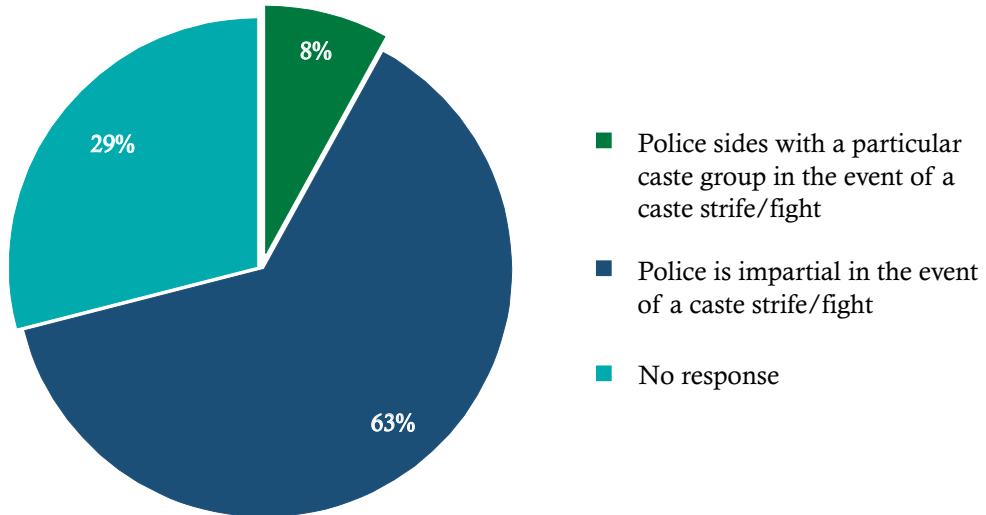
- Police sides with a particular caste group in the event of a caste strife/fight
- Police is impartial in the event of a caste strife/fight
- No response

Note: Question asked: In an area, whenever there is an instance of fight between people from two caste groups, do you think the police sides with any particular caste group or remains impartial?

Table 4.2: Perception of castes and communities on police impartiality in the event of a caste strife

	Police sides with a particular caste group in the event of a caste strife/fight	Police is impartial in the event of a caste strife/fight	No response
Upper Castes	7	68	25
Other Backward Classes	9	61	30
Scheduled Castes	8	60	32
Scheduled Tribes	6	63	31
Hindus	8	63	29
Muslims	11	58	31
Christians	4	66	30
Sikhs	4	55	41

Note: Figures are percentages. Figures of Upper Castes, Other Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are for Hindus only.

religion. About one in every five (19%) of them said that it does take place while three in every five (61%) denied its occurrence (Figure 4.7). One-fifth (20%) did not answer the question. Among all religious communities Muslims were most likely to hold the view that the police discriminates on religious grounds with one in four (26%) of them stating so (Figure 4.8). Among Hindus, this figure was much less at 18 percent and among Christians it was 16 percent. Sikhs were the least likely to hold the opinion that the police engages in religion-based discrimination. Only 6 percent of them thought so.

Out of all the States, people's perception of religious discrimination by the police was found to be greatest in Bihar, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu (Table 4.3). On the other hand, respondents in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala and Odisha were least likely to opine that the police discriminates on the grounds of religion. When we did a state-wise analysis by looking at only Muslim responses we found the belief among community that the police discriminates on religious grounds to be greatest in Bihar, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Among Christians, the feeling that the police discriminates on religious grounds was found to be strongest in the southern states except Kerala.

As in the case of caste, respondents were also asked their view on impartiality shown by the police when

Figure 4.7: Three in every five deny occurrence of discrimination by police on religious grounds
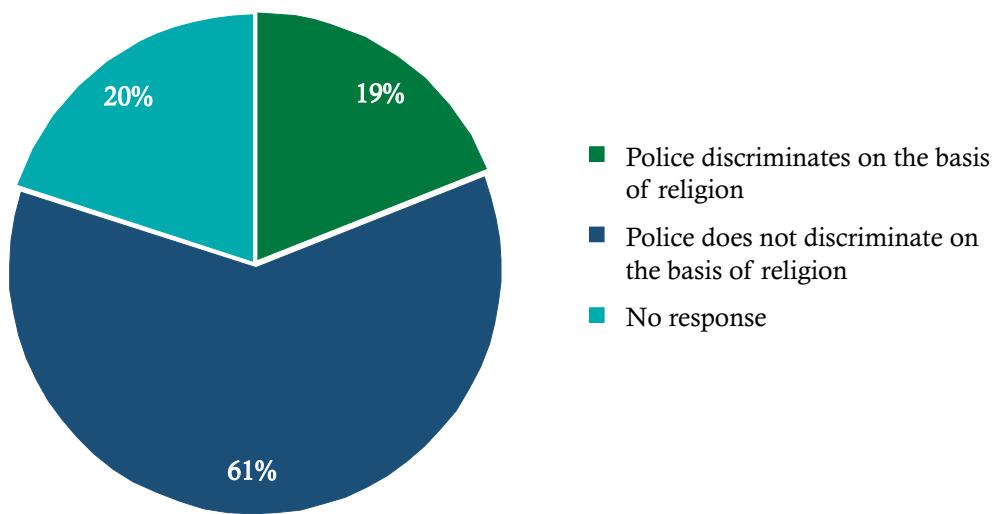
- Police discriminates on the basis of religion
- Police does not discriminate on the basis of religion
- No response

Note: Question asked: It is widely believed that police discriminates between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion, does the police discriminate on the basis of religion?

Figure 4.8: Muslims most likely to see police as discriminating on grounds of religion

- Police discriminates on the basis of religion
- Police does not discriminate on the basis of religion
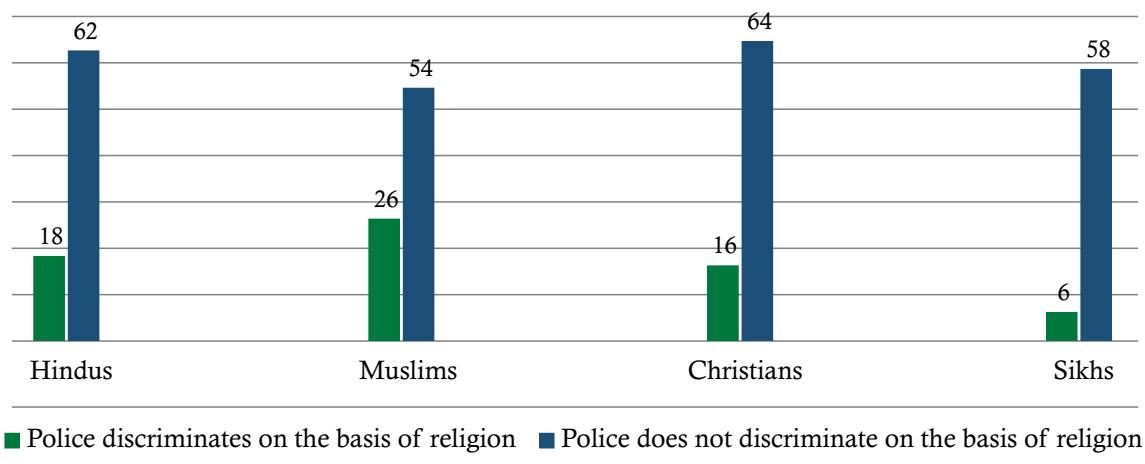
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of respondents did not respond.

Table 4.3: State-wise opinion on religious discrimination by the police

States	Opinion of all the respondents		Opinion of only Muslims	
	Police discriminates on the basis of religion	Police does not discriminate on the basis of religion	Police discriminates on the basis of religion	Police does not discriminate on the basis of religion
Andhra Pradesh	19	63	26	64
Assam	12	66	14	54
Bihar	40	57	56	44
Gujarat	15	64	15	59
Haryana	2	93	-	-
Himachal Pradesh	0	89	-	-
Karnataka	37	51	32	65
Kerala	5	75	4	77
Madhya Pradesh	20	56	35	31
Maharashtra	22	64	50	43
Nagaland	13	68	-	-
Odisha	5	64	-	-
Punjab	8	61	-	-
Rajasthan	22	51	55	36
Tamil Nadu	34	48	50	22
Uttar Pradesh	26	51	39	44
West Bengal	11	47	13	38
Delhi	23	64	41	47
Jharkhand	24	74	25	74
Chhattisgarh	5	52	-	-
Uttarakhand	8	68	7	76
Telangana	21	63	26	57

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. The views of respondents from states with a hyphen (-) have not been reported due to a small sample size.

Figure 4.9: Two in every three view police as being impartial when faced with an inter-religious conflict
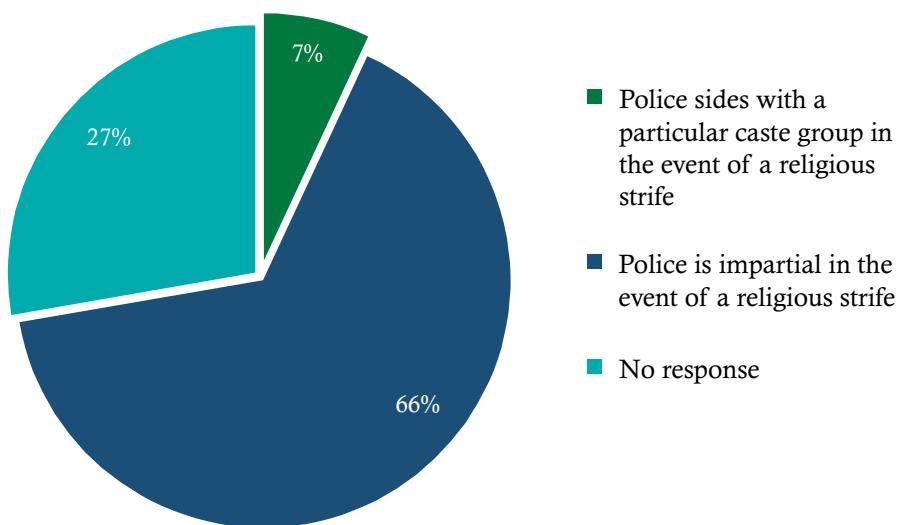
- Police sides with a particular caste group in the event of a religious strife
- Police is impartial in the event of a religious strife
- No response

Note: Question asked: In an area, whenever there is an instance of fight between people from two religious communities, do you think the police sides with any particular religious community or remains impartial?

it is confronted with situations of inter-religious strife. Two in every three (66%) respondents said that police is not partial towards a particular religious group in such situations whereas only 7 percent thought it to be so. Nearly three in every ten (28%) chose to not answer this question (Figure 4.9). Muslims were twice as likely to opine that police tends to be partial than Hindus, 12 percent as opposed to 6 percent. Christians and Sikhs were the least likely to believe so (Figure 4.10). Muslims in Delhi, Haryana and Rajasthan stood out in their responses to this question compared to Muslims in other states. In other words, Muslims in these three states were far more likely to believe that the police is partial to a particular religious group whenever there is a fight between people from two religious communities.

4.4. Opinion on discrimination by police on the basis of gender

On the question of gender discrimination, three out of ten respondents stated that police discriminates between men and women. One in every two (50%) denied its occurrence and 20 percent remained silent on the issue, that is, they did not answer the question (Figure 4.11). Interestingly, there was not much of a difference between how men and women responded to this question. If anything, men were slightly more likely to view the police as being discriminatory on the grounds of gender than women were, particularly in towns and cities (Figure 4.12).

Educational attainment seems to make a significant difference to views on gender discrimination by the

Figure 4.10: Perception of religious communities on police impartiality in the event of a religious strife

Legend:
- Police sides with a particular caste group in the event of a religious strife
- Police is impartial in the event of a religious strife
- No response
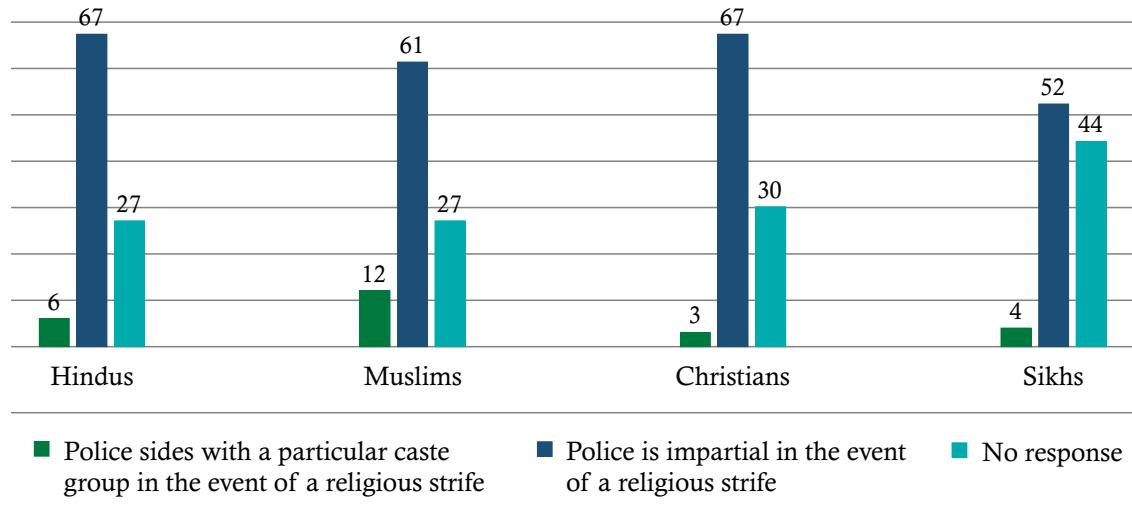
Note: Figures are percentages.

Figure 4.11: Perception on gender-based discrimination by the police

Legend:
- Police discriminates on the basis of gender
- Police does not discriminate on the basis of gender
- No response

Note:Question asked: It is widely believed that police discriminates between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion, does the police discriminate on the basis of gender?

Figure 4.12: Urban men and women more likely to see gender bias among police than rural men and women

	Men in villages	Women in villages	Men in towns	Women in towns	Men in cities	Women in cities
Police discriminates on the basis of gender	29	29	31	28	37	34
Police does not discriminate on the basis of gender	53	48	54	55	43	44
No response	18	23	15	17	20	22
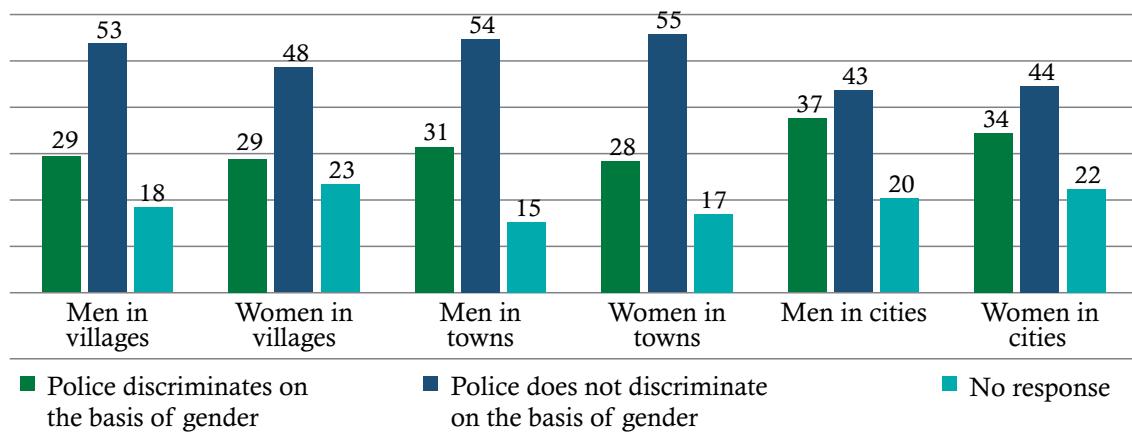
Note: Figures are percentages.

police, both among men and women. The more educated a man or a woman, the more likely he or she is to see the police as being biased on gender lines (Figure 4.13).

A state-wise analysis of responses revealed that respondents in Bihar, Telangana and Maharashtra were most likely to view the police as being gender-biased. Nearly half the respondents in these three states saw the police as discriminating between men and women. This finding held true for women as well, that is, women of these three states were also far more likely to view the police as being discriminatory on the grounds of gender than women in other states. Women in Chhattisgarh,

Rajasthan, Punjab and Kerala were least likely to hold such a perception (Table 4.4).

4.5. Opinion on discrimination by police on the basis of class

In comparison to caste, gender and religion, we found that in the eyes of the people class was the more significant and telling cleavage of discriminatory attitudes of the police. Overall, one in every two (51%) respondents was of the opinion that police discriminates on the basis of class, that is, between rich and poor (Figure 4.14). There is no difference between how the economically well-off

Figure 4.13: Highly educated women and men more likely to express gender discrimination by police
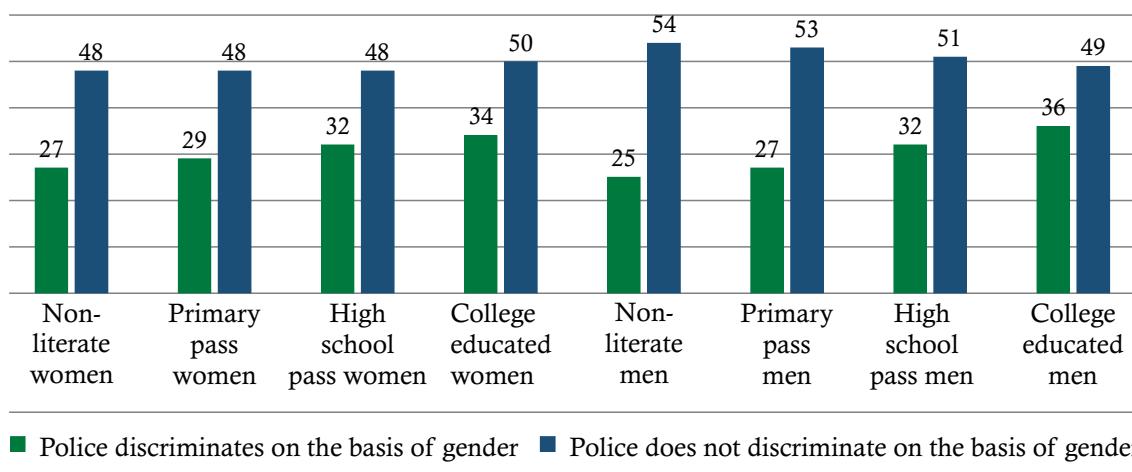
	Non-literate women	Primary pass women	High school pass women	College educated women	Non-literate men	Primary pass men	High school pass men	College educated men
Police discriminates on the basis of gender	27	29	32	34	25	27	32	36
Police does not discriminate on the basis of gender	48	48	48	50	54	53	51	49

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond

Table 4.4: State-wise opinion on gender discrimination by the police

State Name	Opinion of all respondents		Opinion of only women respondents	
	Police discriminates on the basis of gender	Police does not discriminate on the basis of gender	Police discriminates on the basis of gender	Police does not discriminate on the basis of gender
Andhra Pradesh	35	43	37	40
Assam	37	49	39	45
Bihar	52	45	53	44
Gujarat	26	55	25	52
Haryana	28	67	26	69
Himachal Pradesh	30	59	23	61
Karnataka	37	50	36	50
Kerala	13	67	14	62
Madhya Pradesh	25	49	22	47
Maharashtra	47	43	46	42
Nagaland	25	60	24	63
Odisha	16	55	17	49
Punjab	17	54	14	55
Rajasthan	17	60	14	62
Tamil Nadu	37	47	36	45
Uttar Pradesh	27	43	23	48
West Bengal	21	37	22	33
Delhi	41	46	40	45
Jharkhand	43	55	45	52
Chhattisgarh	12	50	12	50
Uttarakhand	21	53	23	49
Telangana	50	37	50	35

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of respondents did not respond.

Figure 4.14: Opinion on class- based discrimination by the police
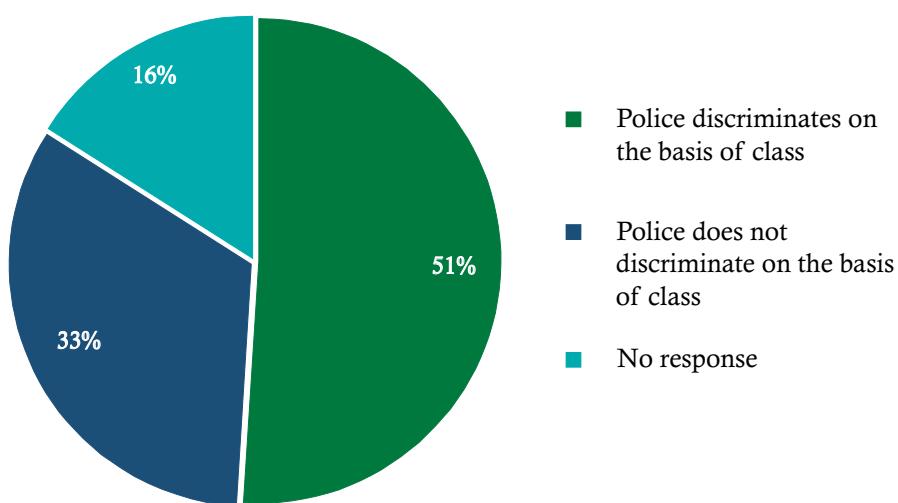
- 51% Police discriminates on the basis of class
- 33% Police does not discriminate on the basis of class
- 16% No response

Note: Question asked was: It is widely believed that police discriminate between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion, does the police discriminate on the basis of class?

and worse-off answered this question. Upper and middle-class respondents were found to be as likely to see the police as discriminating on class lines as lower class and poor respondents (Figure 4.15). Among the poorest sections, it is those living in big urban centres that were more likely to believe that the police discriminates on class lines than those living in small towns and villages (Figure 4.16).

Nearly three out of every four respondents (73%) in Bihar and Delhi saw the police as discriminating on the grounds of economic class (Table 4.5). Maharashtra too reported a high proportion of such discrimination perceivers – over two in every three respondents (68%) there saw the police as engaging in class-based discrimination. If we just analyse the responses of the poorest respondents by states, then those in Bihar, Punjab and Delhi were more likely to affirm to the police's differential treatment between the rich and poor than those in other states.

Figure 4.15: Both rich and poor equally likely to believe that police discriminates on class lines

Upper and middle class — 51 / 34
Lower class — 51 / 34
Poor — 51 / 31

- ▪ Police does not discriminate on the basis of class (between rich and poor)
- ▪ Police discriminates on the basis of class (between rich and poor)
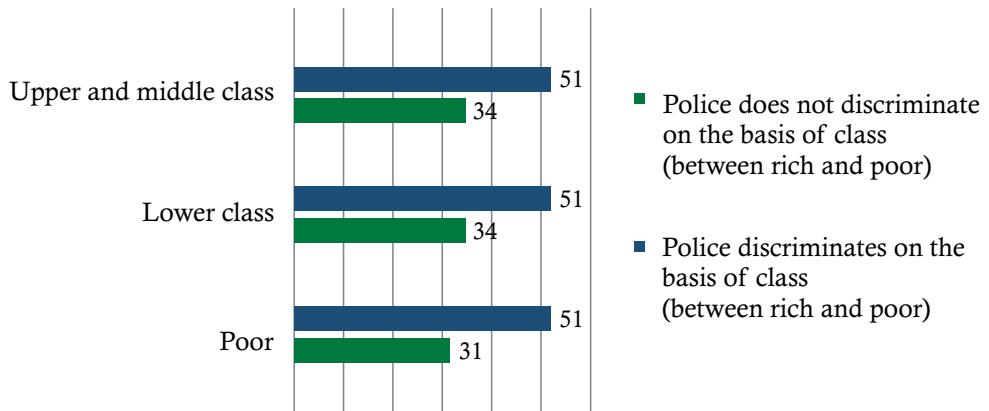
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond

Figure 4.16: Urban poor more likely to view police as being discriminatory than rural poor

Poor in big cities — 57 / 25
Poor in small cities and towns — 52 / 34
Poor in villages — 48 / 32

- ▪ Police discriminates on the basis of class (between rich and poor)
- ▪ Police does not discriminate on the basis of class (between rich and poor)
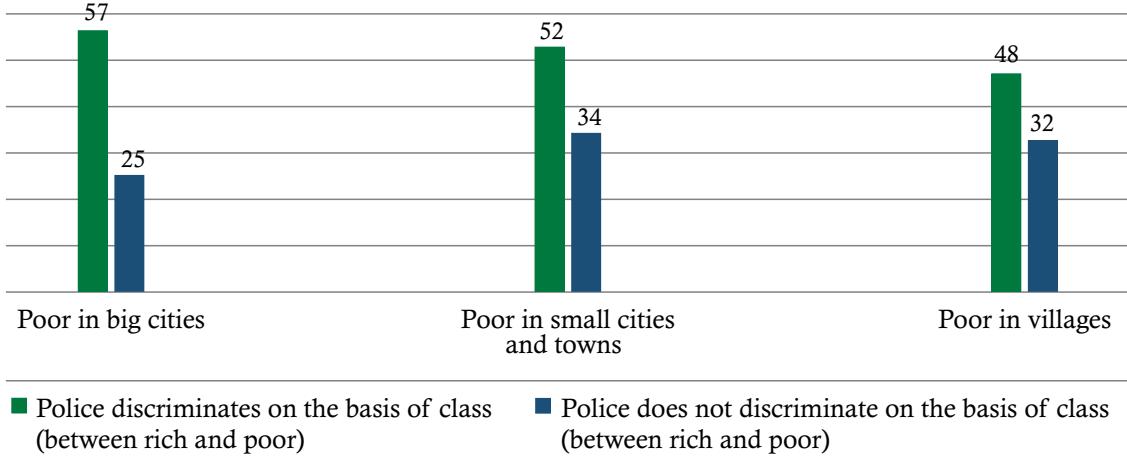
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Table 4.5: State-wise opinion on class-based discrimination

States	Opinion of all respondents		Opinion of poorest respondents only	
	Police discriminates on the basis of class (between rich and poor)	Police does not discriminate on the basis of class (between rich and poor)	Police discriminates on the basis of class (between rich and poor)	Police does not discriminate on the basis of class (between rich and poor)
Andhra Pradesh	52	28	51	28
Assam	56	35	64	25
Bihar	73	25	81	19
Gujarat	44	43	58	29
Haryana	55	39	31	64
Himachal Pradesh	40	50	59	31
Karnataka	56	31	55	34
Kerala	40	43	41	38
Madhya Pradesh	56	23	61	19
Maharashtra	68	26	64	26
Nagaland	31	53	20	59
Odisha	42	36	30	43
Punjab	49	23	77	13
Rajasthan	40	35	32	24
Tamil Nadu	58	25	55	26
Uttar Pradesh	44	34	42	30
West Bengal	41	30	41	25
Delhi	73	20	73	18
Jharkhand	50	48	35	62
Chhattisgarh	34	35	30	38
Uttarakhand	49	34	33	43
Telangana	56	32	64	25

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

4.6. Opinion on discrimination by police on the basis of state

The study also tried to find out people's opinion about discrimination by the police against people from other states/migrants. Only 16 percent said that such discrimination by the police takes place whereas 48 percent denied its occurrence. More than one in every three (36%) did not answer the question (Figure 4.17). Respondents residing in big cities were more likely to perceive the police as discriminatory on this question than those living in small towns or villages (Figure 4.18). We did not however find any association between being a recent migrant/resident of a big city and holding the opinion that police discriminate against people from another state. Recent residents (those who had been living in a big city for 1-5 years) were least likely to believe that police discriminates against people from another state (only 14% thought so) than those who had been living there for a longer time. In fact, big city residents who had been living in the city since birth were most likely to hold such a view (24%; Figure 4.19). In other words, non-migrants/original inhabitants in big cities were ten percentage points more likely to view the police as discriminating against people from another state than migrants who had arrived in the city only recently. We cannot however identify how many of these recent migrants to a city had come from another state since we did not ask a question probing the state of origin of such a respondent. The pattern with respect to big cities

also holds with respect to small towns but not to the same degree.

This belief that the police discriminates against people from another state was found to be strongest in Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Jharkhand (Table 4.6). If we take into account only urban responses, then Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra stand out. Respondents in urban centres in these states were most likely to believe that the police discriminates against people from other states.

4.7. Overall perception of police discrimination

In order to get a holistic view of people's perception of discrimination by the police, we constructed an all-encompassing Index (see Appendix for details on how it was constructed) that included all the 7 discrimination-related questions that have been separately probed in sections 4.2. to 4.6. above. We found that only about 7 percent thought that

Figure 4.17: Opinion on discrimination by the police against people from another state
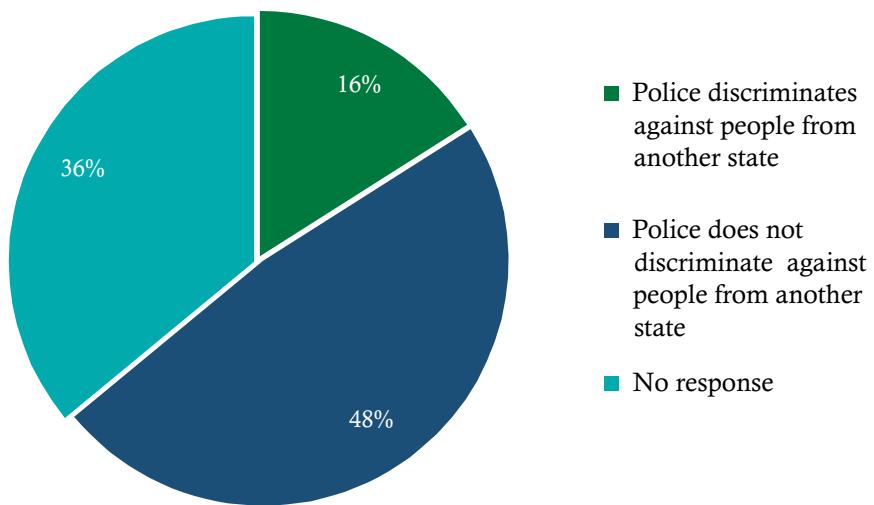
- Police discriminates against people from another state
- Police does not discriminate against people from another state
- No response

Note: Question asked was: It is widely believed that police discriminate between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion, does the police discriminate against people from another state?

Figure 4.18: People in cities more likely to believe police discriminates against people from another state

- Police discriminates against people from another state
- Police does not discriminate against people from another state
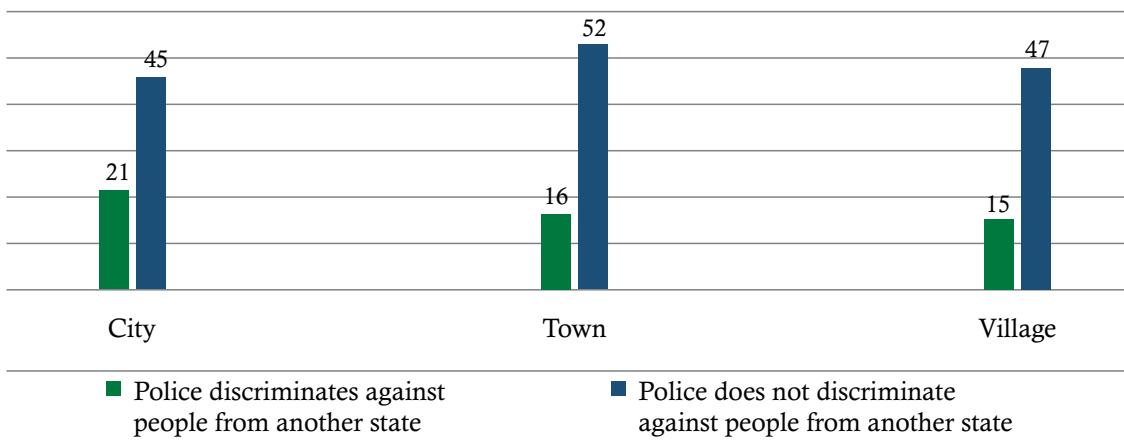
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 4.19: Non-migrants in big cities more likely to see police as discriminating against people from another state than recent migrants
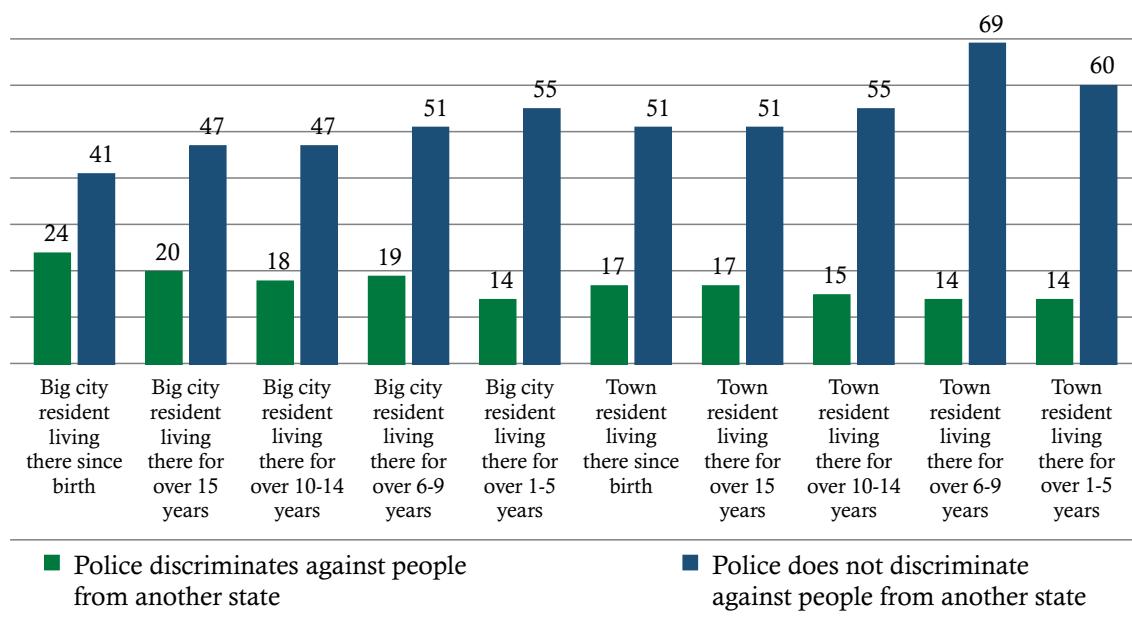

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Table 4.6: State-wise opinion on state-based discrimination

States	Opinion of all respondents		Opinion of urban respondents only	
	Police discriminates against people from another state	Police does not discriminate against people from another state	Police discriminates against people from another state	Police does not discriminate against people from another state
Andhra Pradesh	10	40	20	44
Assam	10	53	17	75
Bihar	24	60	25	52
Gujarat	8	49	10	35
Haryana	3	84	1	87
Himachal Pradesh	29	59	-	-
Karnataka	32	43	42	37
Kerala	16	54	15	55
Madhya Pradesh	17	37	10	42
Maharashtra	24	43	28	55
Nagaland	18	56	7	69
Odisha	4	50	7	66
Punjab	16	53	13	32
Rajasthan	9	47	4	14
Tamil Nadu	26	40	33	37
Uttar Pradesh	21	42	19	49
West Bengal	6	36	9	53
Delhi	24	51	24	51
Jharkhand	26	61	13	87
Chhattisgarh	4	47	0	82
Uttarakhand	14	43	24	43
Telangana	17	40	6	48

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. The views of respondents from states with a hyphen (-) have not been reported due to a small sample size.

police either discriminates very rarely or doesn't discriminate at all, 13 percent fell in the category of those who felt it discriminates rarely, 67 percent or over two-thirds thought that police discriminates somewhat and 9 percent or nearly one-tenth were found to view the police as being highly discriminatory (Figure 4.20).

We also tried to find out how each of the 22 states where the survey was conducted fared with respect to this comprehensive discrimination perception Index. The states were ranked on the basis of summated scores that were arrived at after assigning different weights to each of the Index categories (see note below Table 4.7 or the Appendix 4 for methodology). West Bengal, Chhattisgarh and Odisha fared the best – respondents in these three states were least likely to perceive the police as being discriminatory compared to the other states. On the other hand, Bihar, Jharkhand and Haryana fared the worst with respondents here being most likely to perceive the police as being discriminatory in its functioning.

4.8. Opinion on false implication of certain communities by the police

Another aspect of police discrimination is the unfair targeting of certain vulnerable communities by the police and their false implication in cases. This section deals with people's opinion on this aspect. Respondents were asked to share their views on the false implication of Dalits in petty crimes, Adivasis on Maoist charges and Muslims in terrorism-related cases. Nearly two in every five (38%) respondents agreed with the proposition that the often the police falsely implicates members of backward castes such as Dalits in petty crimes such as theft, robbery, dacoity etc. However, agreement with the proposition that Adivasis are falsely implicated on Maoist charges and that Muslims are falsely implicated in terrorism-related cases was not as high. Only a little over one in every four (28%) were of the opinion that such false implication of Adivasis and Muslims occurs (Table 4.8).

Figure 4.20: Index on perception of discrimination

- Highly discriminates
- Somewhat discriminates
- Rarely discriminates
- Very rarely discriminates
- Non-committal
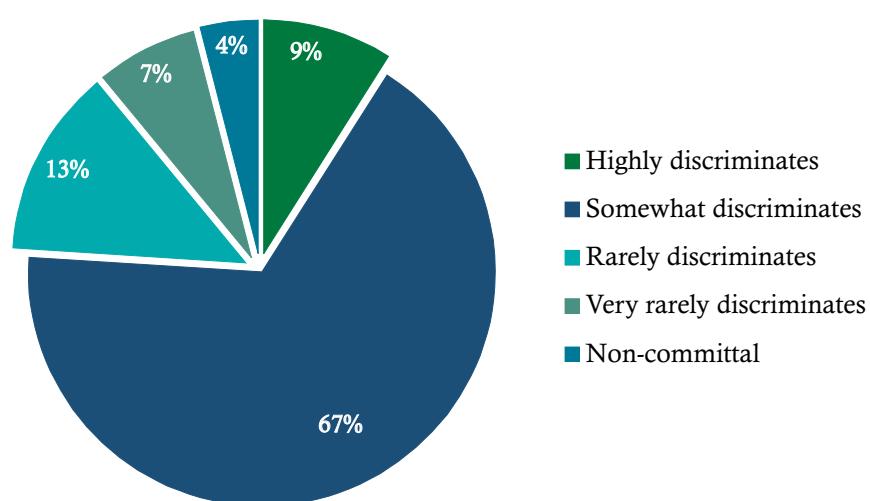
Note: See Appendix to know how Index was constructed.

Table 4.7: State-wise ranking based on overall perception of discrimination

Rank	State	Very rarely discriminates (%)	Rarely discriminates (%)	Somewhat Discriminates (%)	Highly discriminates (%)	Score
1	West Bengal	19.9	17.3	47.5	4.7	0.0
2	Chhattisgarh	17.1	15.6	57.1	0.6	-0.9
3	Odisha	15.0	15.3	60.8	1.2	-1.8
4	Rajasthan	16.4	16.0	55.2	8.4	-2.3
5	Nagaland	4.9	26.7	65.3	1.1	-3.1
6	Uttarakhand	8.3	18.2	66.9	4.1	-4.0
7	Madhya Pradesh	4.3	24.4	66.4	3.8	-4.1
8	Andhra Pradesh	8.9	16.3	69.8	2.8	-4.1
9	Himachal Pradesh	4.1	18.1	70.5	0.2	-4.5
10	Uttar Pradesh	9.4	15.1	62.7	9.6	-4.8
11	Kerala	8.5	13.4	71.9	3.3	-4.8
12	Gujarat	7.7	13.1	72.3	4.2	-5.2
13	Punjab	4.7	3.7	66.6	3.9	-6.1
14	Telangana	2.6	13.9	77.6	3.6	-6.6
15	Assam	5.4	10.9	77.0	5.8	-6.7
16	Maharashtra	4.0	8.7	73.4	12.0	-8.1
17	Tamil Nadu	4.7	9.6	56.9	21.8	-8.2
18	Karnataka	3.6	7.7	65.1	17.8	-8.6
19	Delhi	5.6	7.2	68.2	18.5	-8.7
20	Haryana	4.6	0.0	86.4	8.4	-9.4
21	Jharkhand	0.4	3.6	88.6	7.0	-9.8
22	Bihar	0.2	0.7	66.8	31.8	-12.9

Note: The state rankings for The Index of Perception of Discrimination by Police *(see Appendix 3 for more details on how the Index was constructed)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'highly discriminates' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat discriminates' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'rarely discriminates' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'very rarely discriminates' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., weaker perception of discrimination.

Table 4.8: Opinion on false implication of marginalized communities by the police

	Those who agree that there is false implication	Those who disagree that there is false implication
View of all respondents on false implication of SCs in petty crimes by the police	38	39
Views of only SCs on false implication of SCs by the police	35	43
View of all respondents on false implication of STs on Maoist charges by the police	28	42
View of only STs on false implication of STs on Maoist charges by the police	27	42
View of all respondents on the false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases	27	43
View of only Muslims on the false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases	47	31

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of respondents did not respond.
Question asked: Now I will read out three statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each? (Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agrees or disagrees) a. Often members of backward castes such as Dalits are falsely implicated in petty crimes such as theft, robbery, dacoity by the police b. Often tribals are falsely implicated on Maoist charges by the police c. Often Muslims are falsely implicated in terrorism related cases by the police.

Table 4.9: State-wise opinion on false implication of SCs in petty crimes

States	Among all the respondents		Among only Scheduled Castes	
	Those who agree that there is false implication of Dalits in petty crimes by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of Dalits in petty crimes by the police	Those who agree that there is false implication of Dalits in petty crimes by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of Dalits in petty crimes by the police
Andhra Pradesh	48	37	38	50
Assam	25	58	37	63
Bihar	36	61	26	71
Gujarat	28	47	28	58
Haryana	27	67	19	79
Himachal Pradesh	30	54	6	66
Karnataka	60	27	50	25
Kerala	24	45	28	34
Madhya Pradesh	56	19	56	14
Maharashtra	34	50	45	39
Nagaland	5	33	-	-
Odisha	40	35	23	48
Punjab	52	26	33	42
Rajasthan	33	26	34	28
Tamil Nadu	52	35	50	35
Uttar Pradesh	49	29	41	32
West Bengal	25	41	21	50
Delhi	33	50	35	47
Jharkhand	53	42	66	34-
Chhattisgarh	16	41	15	66
Uttarakhand	15	51	9	42
Telangana	63	21	59	22

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. The views of respondents from states with a hyphen (-) have not been reported due to a small sample size.

Table 4.10: State-wise opinion on false implication of tribals on Maoist charges

States	Among all the respondents		Among only Scheduled Tribes	
	Those who agree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police	Those who agree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police
Andhra Pradesh	39	39	24	48
Assam	13	67	35	62
Bihar	28	66	-	-
Gujarat	17	50	47	31
Haryana	14	61	-	-
Himachal Pradesh	30	55	-	-
Karnataka	45	35	35	58
Kerala	22	37	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	41	38	41	51
Maharashtra	29	41	59	41
Nagaland	5	33	6	37

States	Among all the respondents		Among only Scheduled Tribes	
	Those who agree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police	Those who agree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of tribals on Maoist charges by the police
Odisha	42	29	45	26
Punjab	18	27	-	-
Rajasthan	21	33	21	61
Tamil Nadu	37	34	-	-
Uttar Pradesh	33	40	-	-
West Bengal	22	41	49	35
Delhi	21	55	-	-
Jharkhand	21	73	26	59
Chhattisgarh	11	36	13	43
Uttarakhand	16	47	-	-
Telangana	48	27	19	42

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. The views of respondents from states with a hyphen (-) have not been reported due to a small sample size.

Table 4.11: State-wise opinion on false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases

States	Among all the respondents		Among only Muslims	
	Those who agree that there is false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases by the police	Those who agree that there is false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases by the police	Those who disagree that there is false implication of Muslims in terrorism related cases by the police
Andhra Pradesh	35	37	49	41
Assam	22	65	31	46
Bihar	26	70	49	48
Gujarat	15	53	17	64
Haryana	16	63	-	-
Himachal Pradesh	31	54	-	-
Karnataka	39	40	60	34
Kerala	20	41	32	37
Madhya Pradesh	27	44	36	17
Maharashtra	33	43	62	24
Nagaland	2	34	-	-
Odisha	31	30	-	-
Punjab	28	25	-	-
Rajasthan	17	36	41	22
Tamil Nadu	37	36	63	23
Uttar Pradesh	31	43	59	26
West Bengal	16	43	32	22
Delhi	30	54	65	20
Jharkhand	43	50	59	40
Chhattisgarh	6	39	-	-
Uttarakhand	21	46	46	13
Telangana	55	19	68	18

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. The views of respondents from states with a hyphen (-) have not been reported due to a small sample size.

While Muslims were much more likely to see their community as being falsely implicated by the police than non-Muslims, quite interestingly the same pattern did not hold with respect to Dalits and Adivasis. Respondents belonging to the two communities were less likely to see their communities as victims of false implication by the police than non-Dalits and non-tribals (Table 4.8).

An examination of state-wise opinion suggests that Dalits in Jharkhand, Telangana and Madhya Pradesh (Table 4.9), Adivasis in Maharashtra, Gujarat and West Bengal (Table 4.10) and Muslims in Telangana, Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Karnataka (Table 4.11) were most likely to hold the opinion that their respective communities are falsely implicated by the police than their counterparts in other States.

4.9. Conclusion

This chapter sought to understand people's perception of discrimination by the police. It is a positive sign that perceptions of discrimination were articulated only on a moderate scale and a large plurality of respondents did not adhere to the view on discriminatory practices of the police. Nevertheless, the opinion of those who affirmed the discriminatory attitudes of rule of law revealed core cleavages of caste and community. Overall, people were much more likely to report class-based discriminatory attitudes of the police, followed by gender and caste-based discrimination, and least likely to perceive religious discrimination by the police. While on one hand, a large plurality of respondents stated that police remain impartial in case of inter-community conflict, at the same time among those who expressed otherwise Muslims were most likely to endorse the view of police's partiality. The scope of these findings builds on several previous studies on the fragile relationship between public institutions such as the police and citizens in general. This chapter has shown that the sense of discrimination and marginalisation is not restricted to Muslims and the very fact that discrimination continues to be felt among minority communities needs to be recognized and duly addressed by the state.

CHAPTER 5:
FEAR OF POLICE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ITS EXCESSES

Police clash with passengers blocking railway lines at Diva Station in Mumbai after rail traffic was severely disrupted following violent public protests at the Central line in Mumbai (Credits: Rishikesh Choudhary, Hindustan Times, 2 January 2015, Kalyan)

Fear of Police and Attitudes towards its Excesses

5.1. Introduction

Custodial torture, extra-judicial killings and unwarranted incarceration are some of the most violent forms of police excesses that one closely associates with the functioning of police departments across the country (Human Rights Watch, 2016). In this chapter, we seek to understand people's perceptions about these issues and how it might shape their attitudes towards police behaviour. Broadly, questions pertaining to this topic probe the following three themes - fear of the police, attitudes towards custodial excesses and awareness of police brutality.

In this chapter we present citizens' responses to questions about police excesses; we check these responses against demographic variables of region, caste, class, gender and religion, to report the possible patterns that emerge from this exercise. Once this step firmly established the groundwork, we turned towards finding correlations and possible explanations using other questions of police perception and empirical information. The chapter is thematically divided into three sections, each disaggregating and analysing responses on questions pertaining to the leading theme for that section—fear of police, police brutality or awareness about police excesses.

5.2. Fear of police

To understand people's overall attitude towards the police, it was important to understand their level of trepidation and how it shaped their interaction with the police. In this section, we have used an Index especially created for this purpose. This Index on fear of police combines a set of questions which each probed a different aspect of the fear - whether it was the anxiety about being wrongfully arrested,

being beaten by the police, being approached by it or of being sexually harassed by policemen.

Fear or anxiety regarding the police is as much a function of people's perception as it is about the actual actions of the police. When citizens view the police as representatives of the state's coercive power and not the protectors of their rights, it is understandable that they fear the possibility of the police's unjustified actions. Such trepidation not only affects their perception of the police as prejudiced or submissive to their political masters, but also affects the likelihood of one approaching the police in times of need, as we show in later sections. It therefore becomes important to understand the various dimensions of this fear, as well as possible reasons for it. We do this first by trying to ascertain what is it about the police that makes people most anxious, and then to see the interaction of the overall fear with other responses. The Common Cause-CSDS survey found about two in every five respondents being fearful (either 'very' or 'somewhat') of the police when it came to being beaten up by them (44%), arrested by them (38%), falsely implicated by them (38%) and being approached by them at home (38%). On the issue of sexual harassment by the police personnel, a little over one in every four (27% overall and 29% among women) said they either feared it a lot or somewhat (Table 5.1).

To get a more comprehensive sense of this fear of police, we constructed an Index which would aggregate responses from various sub-parts of the question to give us overall levels of fear among the people (for details on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3). The Index found 14 percent of the respondents to be highly fearful of the police and 30 percent to be somewhat fearful of it. Twenty-four percent were found to be not much fearful and 27 percent turned out to be not at all fearful.

Table 5.1: People most fearful of being beaten up by the police

	A lot	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all
Fear of being beaten up by the police	16	28	18	32
Fear of being arrested by the police	13	25	20	36
Fear of police coming to your house	14	24	19	36
Fear of being falsely implicated by the police	14	24	19	35
Fear of sexual harassment by the police	11	16	17	41

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.
Question asked: Often people are scared of the police due to various reasons. What about you, how scared are you of following - very fearful, somewhat fearful, not much fearful or not at all fearful?

Figure 5.1: Index of fear of police

Legend:
- ■ Highly fearful of police
- ■ Somewhat fearful of police
- ■ Not much fearful of police
- ■ Not at all fearful of police
- ■ Non-committal
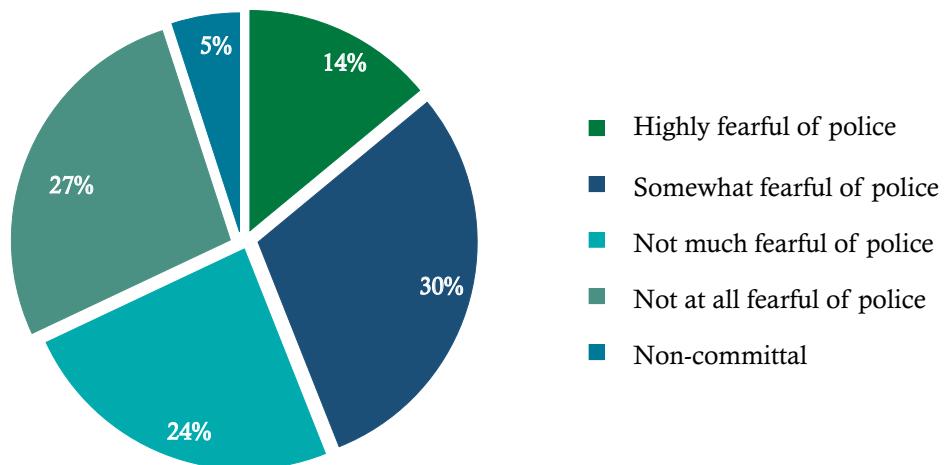
Note: See Appendix 3 on how the Index of fear of police was constructed.

In Table 5.2, a state-wise distribution of the various levels of fear in different states of the country is reported, which gives us a relative and comparative picture of the trepidation felt by citizens across the country. From the state responses we derived a unique score for each state, which would reflect its overall levels of fear in a single figure (for methodology see note below the table). Arranging the states in a

Table 5.2: State-wise ranking of responses about fear of police: Punjab is the most afraid

Rank	State	Not at all fearful	Not much fearful	Somewhat fearful	Highly fearful	Non-committal	Score
1	Himachal Pradesh	83.2	9.1	2.9	0.2	4.5	17.2
2	Uttarakhand	71.0	17.6	9.6	1.4	0.5	14.7
3	Haryana	53.7	39.9	4.0	2.3	0.2	13.9
4	Kerala	51.9	27.1	12.9	3.8	4.4	11.0
5	Delhi	58.0	19.3	14.9	6.2	1.6	10.8
6	Rajasthan	41.6	25.0	18.7	2.2	12.4	8.5
7	Maharashtra	39.1	30.5	23.7	4.6	2.1	7.6
8	Nagaland	27.7	39.5	24.0	4.4	4.4	6.2
9	Chhattisgarh	29.5	30.9	23.2	4.2	12.2	5.8
10	Assam	25.5	32.5	31.9	6.9	3.2	3.8
11	Gujarat	27.0	31.1	25.8	14.0	2.1	3.1
12	West Bengal	27.0	29.5	26.3	13.8	3.5	3.0
13	Bihar	26.8	24.5	43.4	4.8	0.5	2.5
14	Madhya Pradesh	11.0	35.3	43.7	8.0	2.0	-0.2
15	Odisha	24.5	17.3	26.2	23.2	8.8	-0.6
16	Jharkhand	19.0	17.6	56.6	6.4	0.4	-1.4
17	Uttar Pradesh	15.4	20.4	41.5	17.8	4.9	-2.6
18	Telangana	9.5	22.4	54.4	8.9	4.8	-3.1
19	Andhra Pradesh	9.0	17.1	43.4	25.1	5.3	-5.9
20	Tamil Nadu	4.8	14.8	33.5	39.2	7.6	-8.8
21	Karnataka	3.8	14.7	44.1	33.9	3.6	-9.0
22	Punjab	6.1	9.8	20.9	46.7	16.4	-9.2

Note: The state rankings for the Index of fear of police *(see appendix 3 for details on how the Index was constructed)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'highly fearful' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat fearful' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'not much fearful' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'not at all fearful' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., lesser fear.

descending order of their scores—highest score first, representing least amount of fear - we arrived at the following distribution, which displays the relative position of each state regarding this question. The negative sign denotes that the presence of fear outnumbers those respondents who are unafraid of the police. We see that Himachal Pradesh fares best among all the states, meaning that here people are the least fearful of being a victim of police excesses, while Punjab comes last, signalling that people are most fearful of the police here. The control and responsibility of the police falls under the state list and such a relative analysis tells us about the vastly differing perceptions the same institution inspires in different states, opening the space for deliberating and comparing different state policies of policing. It is interesting to note that nearly all southern states reported high levels of fear. Kerala was the only exception where fear of police was found to be quite low.

Figure 5.2: Religion-wise distribution of police fear: Sikh fear higher than other communities
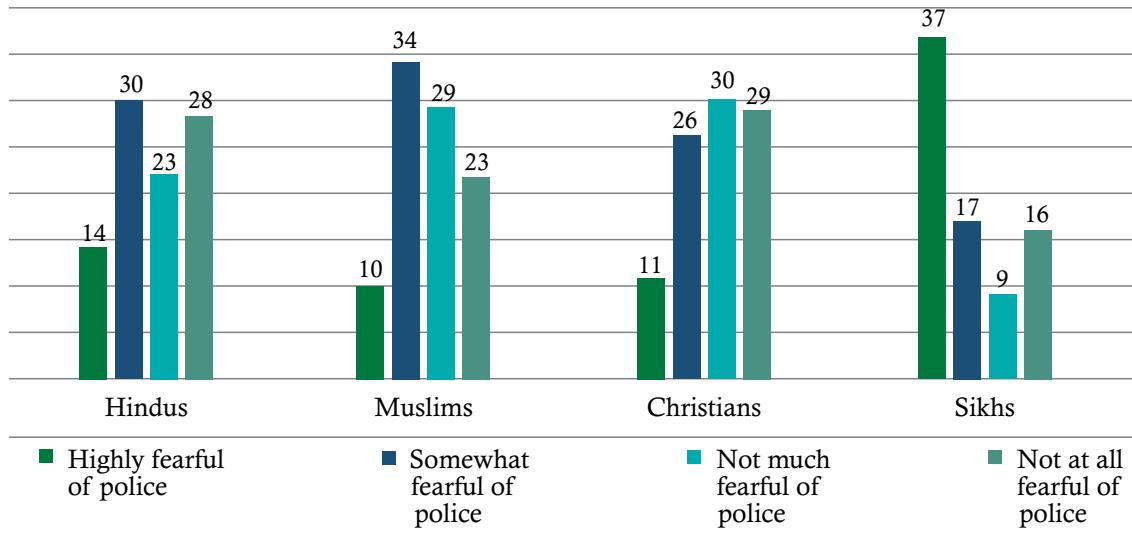
Legend:
- Highly fearful of police
- Somewhat fearful of police
- Not much fearful of police
- Not at all fearful of police

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. Figures for other religions have not been reported due to their small sample size.

Figure 5.3: Muslims in the South are more likely to fear the police
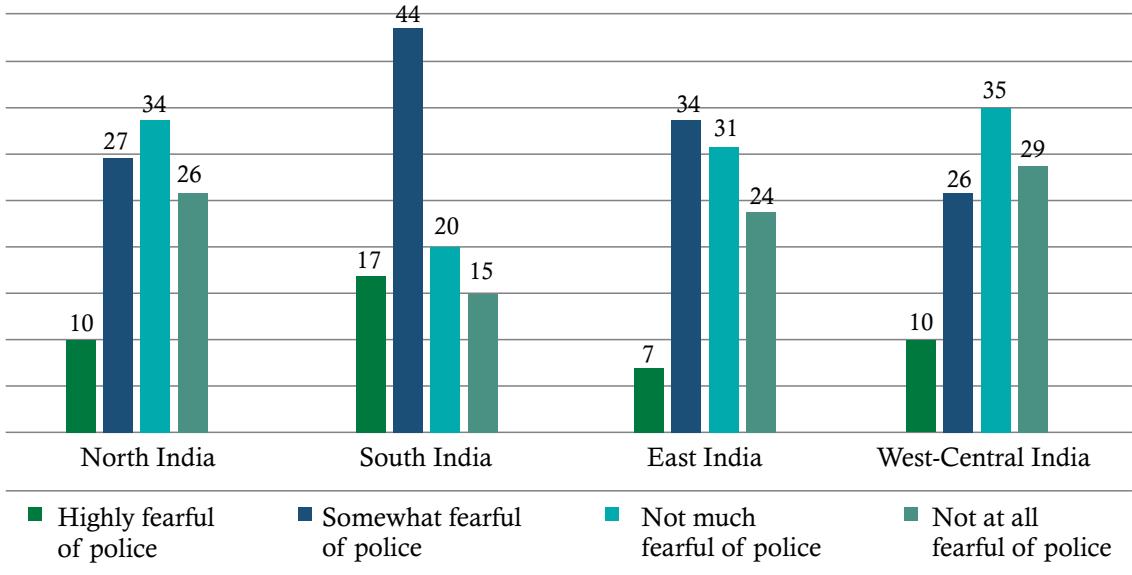
Legend:
- Highly fearful of police
- Somewhat fearful of police
- Not much fearful of police
- Not at all fearful of police

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:1826 (Only Muslim responses). States in the North include: Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Uttarakhand; States in the South include: Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Telangana, Kerala and Tamil Nadu; States in the East include: Assam, Bihar, Nagaland, Odisha, West Bengal and Jharkhand; States in the West-Central region include: Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh.

5.2.1. Community demographics and fear of police

From a region-based explanation, we now go towards delineating the possible reasons as to why certain states are ranked higher than others, while certain others lag behind. A religion-wise distribution shows us that Sikhs have the highest levels of fear, which turns out to be much higher than the national average (Figure 5.2). The state-wise distribution shows the high incidence of this fear in Punjab (Table 5.2). Given that a majority of the Sikh responses are coming from this state, it is the high fear levels in Punjab which are contributing to the high figures. When further disaggregated, the likelihood of poor Sikhs being scared is higher, a trend which is repeated across all other groups. But in comparison to the response of upper classes from other religions, the Sikh upper class is much more likely to be scared (42%) as against upper class Hindus (14%) or upper class Muslims (9%) (a trend that can have a possible connection to the particular history of Punjab in the last four decades).

A region-wise examination of the Muslim community shows that Muslims in southern India are more likely to be fearful of the police than Muslims in other parts of the country (Figure 5.3). Here 17 percent Muslims were found to be highly fearful of the police, which is 7 points higher than the national average. A state-wise breakup of the southern region reveals Muslims in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh to be the most fearful. It should also be noted here that the fear among Hindus was also highest in the southern states, compared to other regions in the country. Class-wise, poor Muslims are more likely to be highly afraid of the police (11%) than any other class of Muslims.

While overall figures for Muslims are not much different from other communities, we however notice that the fear within the community is informed by the concentration of their population in a particular state. In states which have very high Muslim concentration, the highly fearful percentage was found to be 7 percent, 3 points less than the overall average, but in states with a low population concentration, the situation reverses itself with 20 percent Muslims reporting high fears, which is double the national average (Table 5.3). For a minority community such as Muslims in India, it seems to appear that higher concentration also equals lesser fear of police violence, whereas lower population makes for more insecurity.

Among Hindus, the highest fear is displayed in the Scheduled Caste (SC) category, followed by the Other Backward Classes (OBC) (Figure 5.4). Among SCs, fear is highest among the poorest class (23%). Upon further disaggregating this and considering only the category of highly fearful, we see that SCs in the south are more likely to be scared (33%) than SCs in the North (13%) or East (14%). Historically and socially, movements against caste oppression have been more successful in the south than in the north. In such a scenario, the high fear numbers from this region become all the more significant. For ST respondents, while the overall levels are very low compared to other groups, some states do become significant outliers to this picture. ST responses from Gujarat, Karnataka and Odisha are significantly higher than the average (highly fearful- 36%, 17% and 18% respectively).

Another significant detail that emerges from further disaggregation is that fear and caste don't always have a simplistic narrative. For instance, in disaggregating Hindu castes, we see that 39 percent of Upper Castes in rural areas reported to have no fear of the police at all. This figure is not only much higher than the overall national average (27%) but is also the highest among responses in the similar category by other caste groups in rural areas. OBC respondents from rural areas are almost as likely to be highly fearful as rural SC respondents (18% and 16% respectively). However, this picture changes significantly in the case of urban areas. Whereas Upper Castes continue to be the least likely to be afraid of the police (37% in urban areas said they were not at all fearful), SC responses to fear are very

Table 5.3: Muslims most fearful where their numbers are low

States categorised by Muslim population	Highly fearful of police	Somewhat fearful of police	Not much fearful of police	Not at all fearful of police
Very high population	7	25	37	26
High population	7	44	26	21
Moderate population	11	36	20	29
Low population	20	33	36	9

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:1826 (Only Muslim responses). The states have been recategorized according to the presence of Muslim population. Very high concentration category has Assam, Kerala and West Bengal; high concentration states are Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand Uttarakhand; Moderate concentration states are Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Delhi and Telangana; Low concentration states are Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Chhattisgarh.

high, with 22 percent having reported high levels of fear. This figure is only 12 percent for urban Other Backward Classes. Thus, in understanding police fear, it is important to situate the individual in a particular social and geographical milieu, which would give us a better understanding of how social status coincides with fear.

To probe the relationship between one's social and economic situation and its relation to the fear of police excesses, we tried to ascertain which particular class would be most vulnerable to it. Upon probing by class, education and gender, we did not see any significant distinction in the responses. Probing with occupational categories, however, we do see some variation in the responses. For instance, people in the informal occupations such as agriculture are

most likely to feel highly afraid of the police and formal higher paying occupations the least. While on the whole, 16 percent of the people in agriculture have said they are highly fearful of the police, 12 percent and 10 percent of the professional and managerial class respectively feel so. Within these occupational categories however, a clear pattern is difficult to establish. This is a crucial exercise in that it tells us that the fear of police seems to function independent of general class considerations; class looked at through the prism of occupation, caste or community does seem to have some determining power in this context.

In Figure 5.5 we see a location-wise distribution of fear of police. People in villages are 5 points higher on the highly fearful scale than those living in cities.

Figure 5.4: Fear within the Hindu community: Upper Castes least fearful of the police
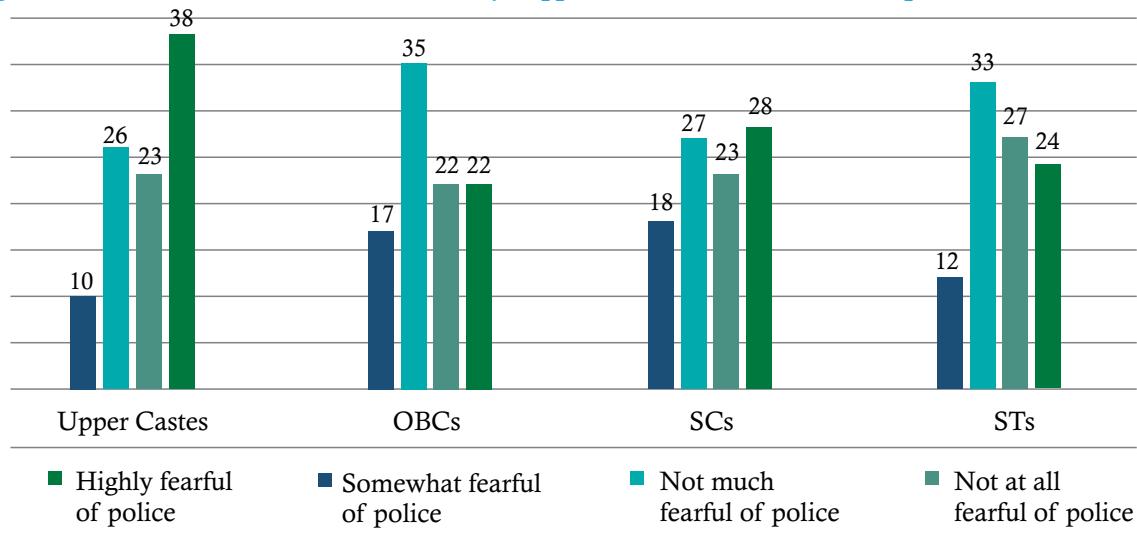
- Highly fearful of police
- Somewhat fearful of police
- Not much fearful of police
- Not at all fearful of police

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:12380. Caste-wise classification is based on the responses received.

Figure 5.5: Region-wise distribution: Villages most fearful of the police
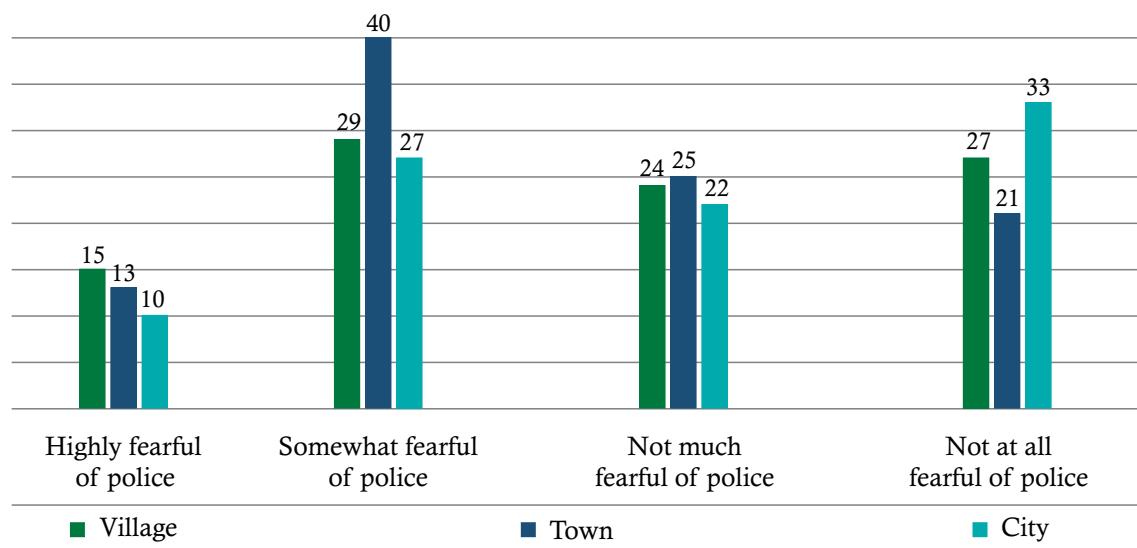
- Village
- Town
- City

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question..

As the locality increases in size and urbanity, the fear also seems to recede. This could suggest that people living in villages have a more negative perception of police than their urban counter-parts.

5.2.2. Police statistics and fear of the police

Police statistics are available to us on the themes of representation of various communities in the force and the percentage incarceration of different communities. On categorising states based on these, we came up with a relative classification of states—whether they were very good/good or bad depending on their performance in the respective categories. However, relating these classified states with responses about fear of police didn't bring out any significant patterns or general trends. For instance, the actual numbers of SCs in the police force had no effect on fear outcomes. Thus, there was no association between fear levels of people from states with high representation of SCs in the police force and fear levels of respondents of those states where number of SCs in the police force was low. The same lack of relationship between actual numbers of one's community in the force and ones level of fear held true for even STs and Muslims.

On classifying states according to the level of incarceration of backward classes in relation to their population in the state, we again see that a clear picture doesn't emerge vis-a-vis fear. In states where the percentage of SCs in prison is high ('Bad' states), the fear is the lowest, whereas the same figure for Muslims is very high for Muslims and STs. Since no discernible pattern can be identified across Muslims, SCs and STs, it seems that here too police statistics do not provide an explanation for the variation in levels of fear.

Since these classifications provide us with little explanation to the variations and patterns that we see in the responses, in the following sub-section we try to find associations between the attitudes of fear and people's perception of the police in other matters such as diversity or discrimination. In doing so, we seek to get a fuller understanding of what invokes and increases fear and effects people's perception towards policing.

5.2.3. Association between sense of discrimination by police and fear of it

There seems to be a high degree of association between fear of the police and how discriminatory one perceives it to be. We see in Table 5.4 that as the discrimination perception increases, so does the likelihood of being afraid of possible police brutality - one is more than twice as likely (31%)

Table 5.4: Fear highest when one believes police is highly discriminatory

Discrimination Perception Index	Highly fearful of police	Somewhat fearful of police	Not much fearful of police	Not at all fearful of police
Highly discriminates	31	35	19	15
Discriminates	13	32	24	29
Doesn't discriminate much	9	27	31	29
Doesn't discriminate at all	13	25	20	28

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. The Discrimination Perception Index has been computed by combining responses to questions about police discrimination (for methodology, see Appendix).

Figure 5.6: Experience has a significant effect on fear- bad experience leads to more fear.
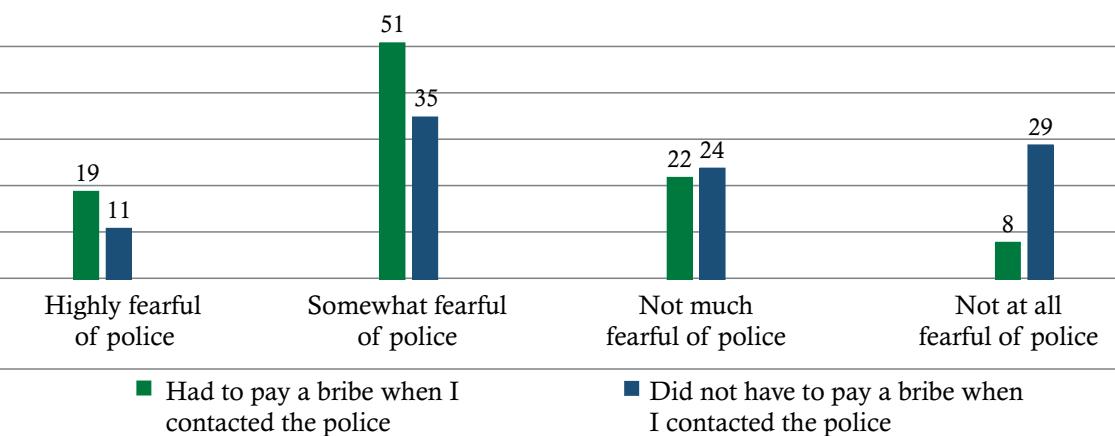
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:2126. 'Yes' n=727. 'No' n=1058. Question related to bribery was: (If contacted the police recently) During the last 4-5 years, whenever you contacted a police officer or visited the police station, did you have to pay a bribe to get your work done?

to be highly afraid if one believes that the police is highly discriminatory in nature than if one believes it isn't (13%), which perhaps goes to show that one's level of confidence has a significant effect on one's perception and attitude towards the police.

Since there are not many ways to probe a possible harrowing experience that a person might have gone through, we have here taken bribery as a proxy for bad experience with the police. In Figure 5.6 we see that the experience of having paid a bribe has a significant effect on one's levels of fear. If one has paid a bribe in the past one year, 19 percent report to being highly fearful, whereas if one hasn't paid a bribe the figure is 8 points lower (11%). Similarly, people who have not had to pay a bribe are much more confident and nearly four times more likely to be completely unafraid (29%) than those who have paid a bribe (8%).

In Table 5.5, we have tried to ascertain whether one's awareness about police excesses informs fear or not. The table seems to suggest a clear relation between the two—in cases where a person knows some cases of police violence, the likelihood of

being highly fearful is 15 percent. This figure jumps to 36 percent among respondents who know of many cases of police brutality. Thus, it seems that the level of awareness does have an effect of how fearful one feels of the police.

Among SCs who believe that the police is often complicit in falsifying charges against them, the level of fear (40% highly fearful) is more than double those who believe that police doesn't frame SCs. In fact, among those SCs who believe police never implicates their community under false charges, 41 percent say they are not at all fearful of the police (Table 5.6).

Strong agreement or disagreement with police implicating Muslims in false terrorism charges seems to significantly influence one's level of fear. If one fully denies that it happens, the high fear percentage among Muslims is 9 percent, but when one fully agrees with the vulnerability of the Muslim community towards falsified terrorism charges, the high fear percentage increases more than two times to 20 percent (Table 5.7).

Table 5.5: Relation between awareness and fear of police: fear increases with awareness

Awareness about police brutality	Highly fearful of police	Somewhat fearful of police	Not much fearful of police	Not at all fearful of police
Know of quite a few cases	15	46	29	9
Know of many cases	36	43	10	10
Don't know of any case	13	25	22	33

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. The Awareness Index is made by combining responses for questions which probe whether a person knows of a victim of police brutality For methodology on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3

Table 5.6: SCs very fearful of police if they believe it falsely implicates their community

False implication of Scheduled Castes by the police	Highly fearful of police	Somewhat fearful of police	Not much fearful of police	Not at all fearful of police
Strongly believe it happens	40	33	12	15
Somewhat believe it happens	16	42	22	16
Don't much believe it happens	11	31	34	21
Don't believe at all it happens	17	18	23	41

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:2214 (SC responses only). Question asked was police often implicates SCs under false charges - do you agree or disagree? *(Probe further whether fully or somewhat)*

Table 5.7: Muslims who believe police falsely implicates their community in terror related cases are more fearful of it

False implication of Muslims by the police	Highly fearful of police	Somewhat fearful of police	Not much fearful of police	Not at all fearful of police
Strongly believe it happens	20	37	23	19
Somewhat believe it happens	7	44	30	18
Don't much believe it happens	6	40	34	20
Don't believe at all it happens	9	19	33	35

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:1824 (Muslim responses only). Question asked was- Police often implicates Muslims in false terrorism charges. Do you agree or disagree? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat)

As in the case of Muslims and SCs, in the case of STs too we see that one's perception of unfair accusations about Maoist activities leads one to be highly fearful of the police. Among STs who fully disagreed about false accusations being levelled against them by the police, the proportion of highly fearful respondents is 6 percent, but among STs who fully agree with it, the figure is 20 percent, which is three times more (Table 5.8).

It therefore seems to become clear that in understanding and examining the fear of police brutality and unfair convictions, it is important to see how the police interact not with individuals but with the whole community. Responses from SCs, STs and Muslims, who are often the most vulnerable sections of the population, tell us that the fear is largely informed by how they perceive the police to behave with them[1].

5.2.4. Effect of fear on perception about independence, autonomy and partiality

In previous sub-sections, we have tried to identify and evaluate the possible constituents of the sense of fear invoked by the police. However, these do not tell us about the implications this fear could have on the interaction of citizens with the police. Considering how important a part the police plays in the functioning of modern states and in the daily interaction of the state with its citizens, it is imperative to delineate the result of fear with its causes. In this section we gauge the nature and extent of the effects of fear on the overall perception of police among the people and the likelihood of approaching the police, if the need arises.

Fear and negative perception feed on each other and so are closely associated. Among people who are highly fearful of the police, the level of extremely negative perception of the police (for methodology on how the Index of perception was constructed, see Appendix 3) is the highest, while positive perception of the police is the lowest (Table 5.9). In terms of their perception about police biases as well, we find a significant association between fear and perception of discriminatory attitudes by the police (Table 5.10). For methodology on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3).

Table 5.8: STs who believe police falsely implicates them are three times more likely to be highly fearful of it than those who don't

False implication of Scheduled Tribes by the police	Highly fearful of police	Somewhat fearful of police	Not much fearful of police	Not at all fearful of police
Strongly believe it happens	20	32	26	23
Somewhat believe it happens	19	48	20	13
Don't much believe it happens	6	45	34	15
Don't believe at all it happens	6	14	32	46

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. sample size:1172 (ST responses only). Question asked: STs are falsely implicated in false Naxalism charges. Do you agree or disagree? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat)

Table 5.9: Highly fearful respondents most likely to have a negative perception of the police

Fear of police Index	Extremely negative perception of police	Somewhat negative perception of police	Somewhat positive perception of police	Extremely positive perception of police
Highly fearful of police	23	19	37	20
Somewhat fearful of police	14	15	51	20
Not much fearful of police	16	15	40	28
Not at all fearful of police	15	14	32	38

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. The Index of Perception of Police has been made by combining responses about questions dealing with public's perception of police For methodology on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3.

Table 5.10: Fear increases the level of partiality people perceive in the police

Fear of police Index	Doesn't discriminate at all	Doesn't discriminate much	Discriminates	Discriminates a lot
Highly fearful of police	7	8	62	19
Somewhat fearful of police	6	11	70	10
Not much fearful of police	6	17	68	7
Not at all fearful of police	8	14	72	5

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. The Index of Perception of Discrimination by the police has been made by combining responses about questions dealing with public's perception of discrimination by the police For methodology on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3.

People who are most fearful of the police are also least likely to want to approach them in times of need (Table 5.11). They also feel the need for lesser police presence in their localities compared to those who are less fearful (Table 5.12). Thus, it becomes apparent that fear has a significant effect on how the police is perceived by the people.

5.3. Attitudes towards police brutality

The previous section tried to analyse fear of police among citizens and factors associated with it. In this section we try to gauge people's attitudes towards police brutality - whether they are critical of it or do they condone and accept violence towards the accused and the criminals. The answers to the question asked in this respect reveal ambivalence tilted more in favour of police using violence (Figure 5.7).

In Table 5.13, a state-wise summated score that was arrived at after compressing responses of people to a question that measured their acceptability of violent police behaviour towards criminals/custodial

Table 5.11: People afraid of the police are less likely to approach them

Fear of police Index	Won't approach police if a problem requires help	Will definitely approach police if a problem requires help	Will probably approach police if a problem requires help	Have no other option but to approach
Highly fearful of police	9	67	16	6
Somewhat fearful of police	6	66	21	5
Not much fearful of police	5	74	14	4
Not at all fearful	3	81	7	3

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. Question asked: In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police?

Table 5.12: Fear leads to a demand for lesser police presence.

Fear of police Index	Prefer greater police presence in my area	Prefer lesser presence in my area	Prefer no change in police presence in my area
Highly fearful of police	45	22	23
Somewhat fearful of police	48	16	28
Not much fearful of police	46	13	31
Not at all fearful of police	51	9	32

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. Question asked: What kind of police presence would you like to see in your village/area- greater, less or no change?

Figure 5.7: Half the respondents condone the use of violence on criminals in police custody

'There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals'

- Fully agree — 21%
- Somewhat agree — 29%
- Somewhat disagree — 20%
- Fully disagree — 14%
- No Response — 16%
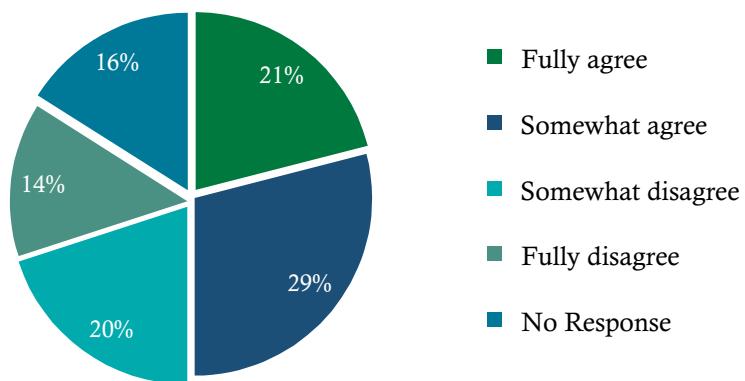
Note: Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. Question asked: There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals. Do you agree or disagree? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat)

violence. The table is arranged in descending order, meaning that state which has the least acceptability towards police violence is ranked highest, and state with highest acceptability is ranked lowest.

From this table we see that states at the bottom of the table such as Tamil Nadu and Gujarat have a high acceptance of police brutality, meaning that they are most likely to agree with the statement that "there is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals". In states at the top of the table, these attitudes are reversed and we see that they are more likely to disagree with the above statement. In fact, the negative sign depicts that number of respondents who condoned police violence outnumbered those who were against it in that particular state; there are only four states where a majority seem to reject police violence—Himachal Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal and Nagaland. Like in the case of the first table demarking the ranked

scores, here too it is difficult to establish similarities between states which are at the top or the bottom of the table, suggesting the need to disaggregate and analyse this data based on some other parameters.

The responses elicited seem to be uniform across class. The poor are as likely to condone or reprove police violence as the upper class (21% of the poor 'fully agree' and among the upper class, this figure is 22%). Similarly, we find little to no variation in responses across educational levels. There is not much difference between those who are unlettered and those who have a college degree in this context; whatever little difference that exists can be attributed to the propensity of unlettered people to not respond, which is not observed in the more educated groups.

Some variation does exist in particular caste/ religious groups with respect to their attitudes towards police violence. For instance, Christians are

Table 5.13: State-wise arrangement of scores showing attitudes towards police violence

		"There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals"					
Rank	State	Fully agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Fully disagree	No response	Score
1	Himachal Pradesh	11.8	20.5	40.9	13.2	13.6	2.3
2	Odisha	9.4	20.6	23.2	19.0	27.7	2.2
3	West Bengal	12.0	15.0	15.0	21.0	37.1	1.8
4	Nagaland	12.2	36.4	19.3	28.4	3.8	1.5
5	Uttarakhand	24.8	19.6	11.6	25.2	18.8	-0.7
6	Telangana	13.6	29.8	19.9	13.1	23.7	-1.1
7	Karnataka	18.5	29.6	23.5	14.9	13.5	-1.3
8	Chhattisgarh	16.0	22.9	13.7	13.9	33.5	-1.3
9	Uttar Pradesh	17.6	26.6	24.7	11.7	19.4	-1.4
10	Jharkhand	12.8	43.6	18.2	18.2	7.2	-1.5
11	Madhya Pradesh	19.7	30.0	20.8	12.5	17.0	-2.4
12	Maharashtra	19.8	36.0	21.4	14.3	8.6	-2.6
13	Assam	24.7	32.4	20.0	14.6	8.4	-3.3
14	Haryana	30.7	25.3	31.3	10.6	2.1	-3.4
15	Punjab	19.9	27.7	14.3	7.8	30.3	-3.8
16	Bihar	33.3	23.3	28.0	12.0	3.3	-3.8
17	Andhra Pradesh	21.6	34.8	17.6	9.1	17.0	-4.2
18	Delhi	32.0	28.6	12.5	18.7	8.2	-4.3
19	Rajasthan	21.6	35.7	13.0	7.5	22.3	-5.1
20	Kerala	32.0	29.2	11.6	15.3	11.9	-5.1
21	Gujarat	26.7	31.4	19.2	5.8	16.8	-5.4
22	Tamil Nadu	31.7	29.8	14.2	11.6	12.6	-5.6

Note: The state rankings for the question *(Please tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement – There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals (If agree or disagree probe further whether fully or somewhat)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. An 'fully agree' answer was weighted as -0.2, a 'somewhat agree' answer was weighted as -0.1, a 'somewhat disagree' answer was weighted as 0.1, and a 'fully disagree' answer was weighted as 0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a greater disagreement with police violence.

the least likely to condone police violence towards criminals (17% fully agreed with the statement), which is 8 points less than the Muslims who are most likely to condone it (25%). Hindus seem to have a high percentage of agreement, but also a high level of disagreement with police violence. In the case of caste and community-wise distribution, we find that STs are the least likely to accept police violence at 11%, and are significantly lower than the national average, which is 21%. But further disaggregating any of these categories into class categories ceases to show a pattern.

In terms of locality those living in rural areas are much less likely to condone police violence towards criminals (20% fully agreed with the statement) than those living in urban areas (25%; Figure 5.9). Even though their responses in the other categories are similar to their urban counterparts, in the 'Fully agree (condone)' category they are 5 points behind

people in urban areas, which perhaps shows that they are less likely to condone such acts of violence.

5.3.1. Condoning police violence: citizen's responses

Demographic variables in the previous section help us identify some particular qualities which inform attitudes towards police violence. In the following section we try to further identify social attitudes which have an effect on one's acceptance/rejection of such violence.

A clear pattern emerges when we associate sympathy for police with acceptability for its violent behaviour. As sympathy for police working conditions increases, so does the likelihood of agreeing with custodial violence. If one believes the working conditions for police are difficult, the agreement percentage is 58 percent ('fully' and 'somewhat' combined), which is 8 points higher than the average and 21

Figure 5.8: STs least likely to agree with police violence
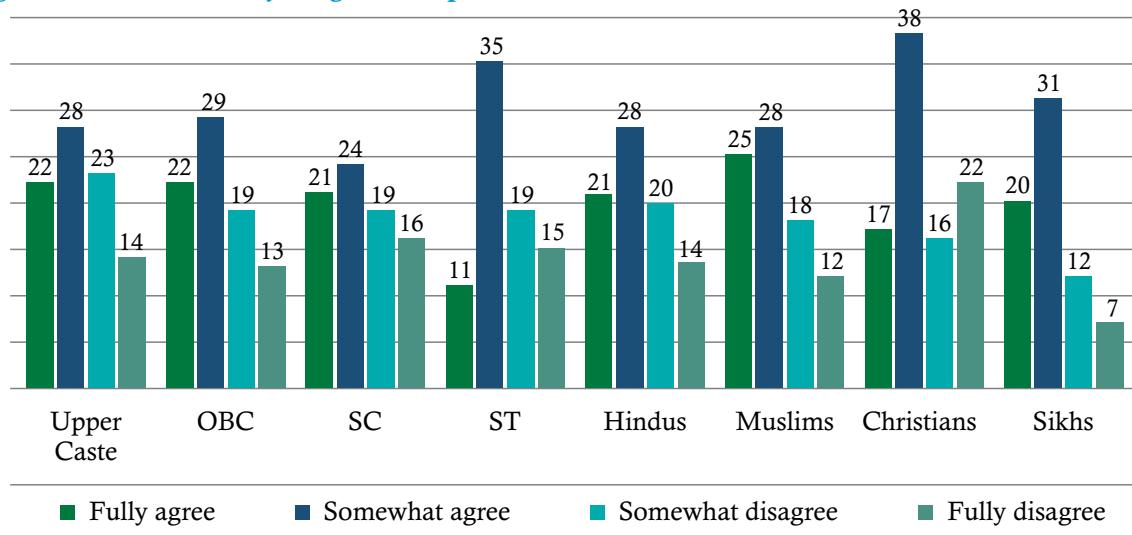
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Figure 5.9: People in rural areas less likely to accept police violence towards criminals
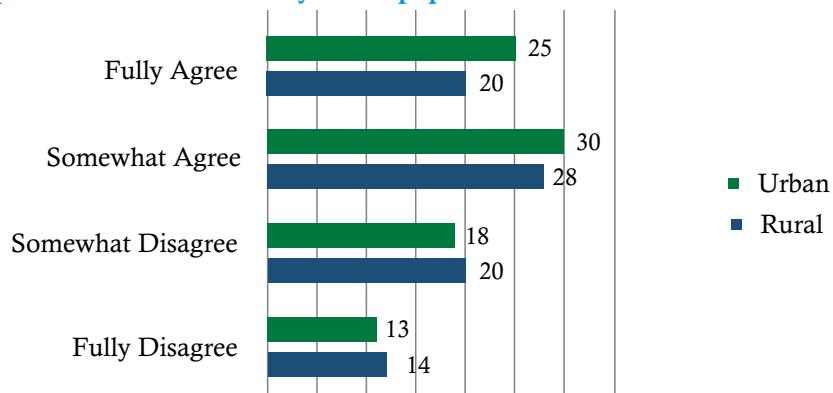
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. Question asked: There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals. Do you agree or disagree? *(Probe further whether fully or somewhat)*

points higher than if one doesn't have a sympathetic attitude towards the police.

There is no clear relation between level of crime and acceptance of police violence. The rate of violent crime comes to us from police statistics and is based on actual crime rates from NCRB. Crime rate doesn't seem to be dictating the level of agreement/disagreement with police violence and even though condoning attitudes seem to be falling as the level of violent crimes decreases, a parallel movement in the 'agree' category is not observed. Thus, it would appear that a significant relationship between the two does not exist.

Table 5.14: Sympathy for police likely to influence attitudes towards police brutality

Sympathy towards police working conditions Index	"There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals"			
	Fully Agree	Somewhat Agree	Fully Disagree	Somewhat Disagree
Does not believe police works under stressful conditions	15	22	17	17
Somewhat believes police works under stressful conditions	19	30	22	14
Strongly believes police works under stressful conditions	27	31	20	14

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. Sympathy for police Index was made by combining responses which gauged the level of sympathy for police with respect to their working conditions (for methodology on how it was constructed, see Appendix).

Figure 5.10: Few people have reported awareness of cases of police violence: Maximum know victims of police torture
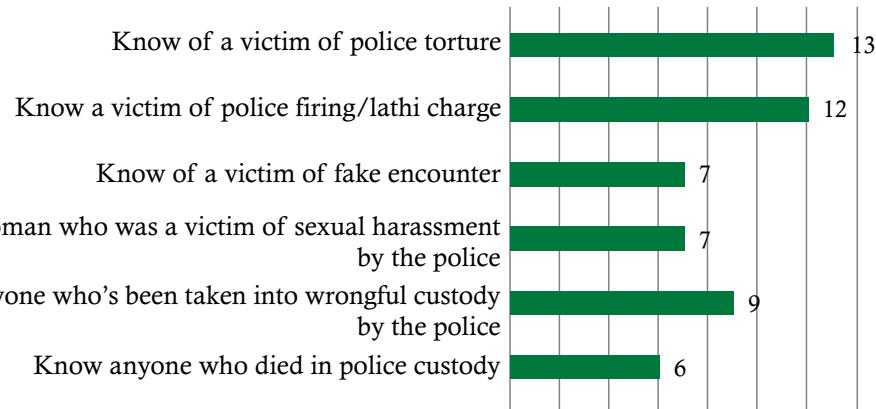
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond to the question. Responses under 'Know a few cases' and Know quite a few cases' have been merged under 'Yes'.
Question asked: Do you know of anyone who was affected by the following (as mentioned above).

Figure 5.11: Awareness of police excesses: Majority report being unaware of police violence

Awareness of Police Excesses Index

- Don't know of any cases of police excesses
- Know of a few cases of police excesses
- Know of quite a few cases of police excesses
- Know of many cases
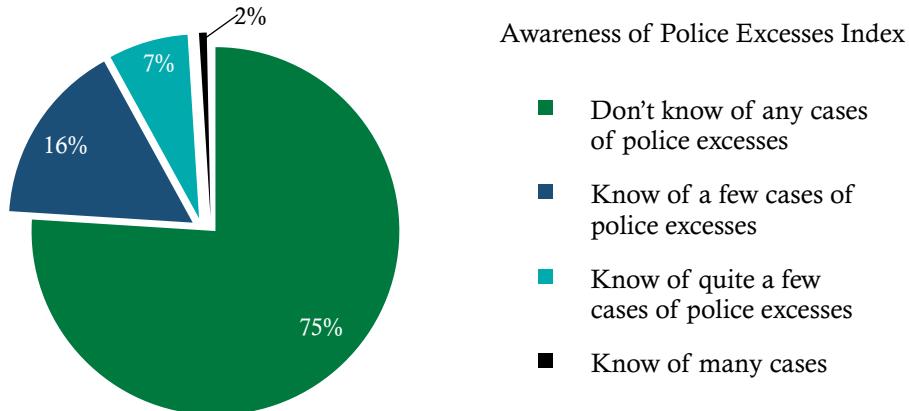
Note: For details on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3.

5.4. Awareness about police excesses

As is visible from Figure 5.11, in most cases three-fourths of the respondents were not aware of any such cases. Of the remaining who were aware, even fewer were aware of more than a few cases. Thus, the sample size reduces at each level of awareness, which does not allow for further meaningful analysis to take place. When checked against demographic variables of region/caste/class and education, little variation was found in this regard and they have therefore not been reported. However, in a sample survey based on randomised sampling, it is quite likely that one isn't able to capture people who would have personally heard about such crimes.

In the Table 5.15, which shows us a state-wise distribution of the Index of awareness about police excesses (made by combining questions shown in Figure 5.10; to know how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3), some important differences appear. For ease of analysis, the category of 'Know of many cases' has been merged within the category

of 'Know of quite a few cases'. For instance, states such as Bihar, Telangana, Jharkhand and Karnataka have high figures in the last category (know quite a few cases), which are a significant deviation from the norm observed in other states. The low sample size does not allow us to make further disaggregation, but this finding is important in itself in that it shows the level of awareness must have a parallel story of excessive violence here. NCRB data reports a total of 66 cases of custodial deaths in 2015, of which as many as 14 came from one state—Maharashtra. Yet the reported level of awareness about police violence is not very high here. Similarly, Madhya Pradesh reported the highest number of complaints against police personnel (10089 out of a total of 41424 cases in 2015), but only a relatively lesser number of people have reported knowing more than a few cases of police violence (even though more have reported knowing a few cases). This tells us that the relation between actual cases that end up getting reported and people's awareness of police excesses is somewhat ambiguous.

Table 5.15: People in Jharkhand are most aware about quite a few cases involving police violence

States	Don't know of any police excesses	Know of a few cases of police excesses	Know of quite a few cases of police excesses
Andhra Pradesh	77	15	8
Assam	82	12	5
Bihar	56	26	18
Gujarat	94	5	1
Haryana	87	12	1
Himachal Pradesh	98	2	0
Karnataka	55	22	24
Kerala	83	16	2
Madhya Pradesh	39	48	13
Maharashtra	70	23	7
Nagaland	75	13	13
Odisha	85	9	6
Punjab	94	5	1
Rajasthan	88	10	2
Tamil Nadu	81	12	7
Uttar Pradesh	63	29	8
West Bengal	83	14	3
Delhi	89	9	2
Jharkhand	61	12	27
Chhattisgarh	94	5	1
Uttarakhand	97	3	0
Telangana	48	29	23

Note: Figures are percentages. The awareness of police excesses Index was computed from the individual questions about awareness of police excesses. For details on how the Index was constructed, see Appendix 3. "Know of many cases" has been added to "know quite a few cases".

5.5. Conclusion

Fear of the police is greatly predicated on some particular social demographics. We found that incidences of fear were lowest among people living in metropolitan cities, among people belonging to upper castes and among upper caste people in rural areas. Communities which were vulnerable and fearful in one context might not feel so in another situation: thus, the levels of fear among Muslims was dependent on their levels of concentration in the area. In states where population concentration of Muslims is higher, their levels of fear are lower whereas in states with lower concentration, the levels of fear are seen to be higher.

Experiences with police and perceptions about their attitude have a very significant effect on how fearful one feels. Among people who believe the police is discriminatory in its practices, the levels of fear are fairly high. When one adds the particular respondent's caste/communication to this question, such as asking SC respondents if they believe the police discriminates against them, the responses to fear of such respondents who agree with this are likely to be much higher than those SC respondents who believe the police doesn't discriminate against them.

In reversing the relation between fear and perception, we see that a high level of fear of the police has significant effects on how one perceives the police, on people's perception of police autonomy and impartiality. Thus, understanding fear is useful not only to understand the relation of particular communities to the police, but also to realise that it might have significant implications on overall perception and likelihood of contact.

After understanding the fear of police in this detail, it is interesting to note the high levels of popular agreement that police violence against criminals enjoys. While there is significant variation across states, generally it can be stated that a majority of respondents seem to condone it instead of disapproving of it. Such approval has close ties to levels of sympathy for the police, which could suggest why people with sympathetic attitudes towards police personnel are also more likely to have a more positive perception of the police, as different parts of the report mention.

Throughout this report we have made an effort to understand the relation of social variables to attitudes towards police and policing in the country. The thrust of this report has been to report citizens' perception of the police, and how certain perceptions can contribute to the overall image of the police. In doing so, we find that some interesting findings have emerged in this regard, which have challenged conventional notions of policing, even as other findings have reiterated oft-perceived mores and tropes of Indian society. Most importantly, these findings are grounded in survey-based social science research, which finds few precedents in the available scholarship on this subject in the country. This adds not only to the saliency of this report, but also to the credibility of research. The gap between intention and outcome in the matter of police reform is one that needs to be fulfilled with availability of meaningful research which talks of the complexities that are involved in an institution such as the police. This report is an effort to address this lacuna and add to the vibrancy of debate on this issue.

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[1] Wide-ranging research on this subject in the US has established how race has significant effects on levels of trust, satisfaction and perception of the police (Chevigny 1990; Cohn et al 1991; Jackson 1989). Similar studies, especially in the context of fear, are not present for India. Responses of SCs, STs and Muslims reported here, however, do suggest that marginality and vulnerability can play an important role in relations with the police.

CHAPTER 6:

PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION ON DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF POLICING

Police officers presented with vehicles to control the law and order situation in Noida
(Credits: Virendra Singh Gosain, Hindustan Times, 9 September 2017, Noida)

People's Perception on Different Aspects of Policing

6.1. Introduction

This chapter considers some of the factors that go into shaping people's perception of police. A wide range of studies and literature on public perception of police have established the primacy of personal experience in shaping one's perception of the police. These experiences are related to not only the personal interaction or relationship that one has had with the police, but also the consequences of police action on an individual's life. For instance, it is believed that the effectiveness of police presence in one's area has an effect on how people perceive the police. However, another set of variables that have been found to be consequential in shaping the perception on police deal with the particular socio-cultural position of individuals. Thus, class and caste have been found to be important signifiers of the variation in people's perception of the police.

A 1977 report by the National Police Commission, India on the perception of people about the police strongly condemned the general view of the police, stating that "the egregious features of police are politically oriented partisan performance of duties, brutality, corruption and inefficiency, degrees of which vary from place to place and person to person". Since then, empirical research on Indians' attitudes toward the police has been relatively scant, sporadic and descriptive in nature. The present survey seeks to fill the gap in understanding citizen's perception by analysing the findings on public perception of police in 22 states of India.

In this chapter, we have used questions which probed citizens' perception of the police along parameters of trust, honesty and fairness to arrive at an overall understanding of how policing and police personnel are viewed by common citizens. Such an exercise has far-reaching implications not just for the self-image and confidence of police personnel, but also for how the public chooses to interact with the police.

The chapter also seeks to understand which social cleavages produce differences in the way police is perceived. In a deeply stratified society such as India, it is of immense importance to arrive at an understanding of how individual and group identities interact with state institutions. The chapter is organised as follows: the first section analyses people's perception of police using a set of questions; the second section probes people's opinion on the extent of police independence; the third section unpacks people's empathy levels towards the police and its working conditions, and the fourth section delves deeper into the complex relationship of gender and policing.

6.2. People's perception of the police

We attempted to analyse people's perception of the police by constructing a comprehensive Index that took into account their responses to 9 questions that probed various aspects of perception - their trust levels in the police, their assessment of corruption in the police, their opinion on police bias and their sympathetic attitude towards the police. These questions along with the answers they elicited have been listed below –

Q1. Please tell me how much trust do you have in local police like police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO – a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

Q2. Please tell me how much trust do you have in senior police officer like SP, DCP - – a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

Q3. Please tell me how much trust do you have in traffic police - – a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

Q4. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point on the left stands for extremely corrupt and the 10th point on the right stands for not at all corrupt, where would you place the local police, i.e., police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO, beat constable, in terms of corruption?

Table 6.1: Trust levels lowest for traffic police

	Trust a lot	Trust somewhat	Don't trust much	Don't trust at all
Local police	23	48	14	7
Senior police	29	40	15	5
Traffic police	16	34	23	14

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Q5. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point on the left stands for extremely corrupt and the 10th point on the right stands for not at all corrupt, where would you place the senior police officer, i.e., SP, DCP in terms of corruption?

Q6. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point on the left stands for extremely corrupt and the 10th point on the right stands for not at all corrupt,

where would you place the traffic police in terms of corruption?

Q7. Do you think the police intentionally implicate people under false charges?

Q8. Please tell me whether you would agree or disagree (and to what extent) with –police is blamed unnecessarily even when it does its job well?

Table 6.2: Senior police thought to be least corrupt

	Very corrupt (Rated 1-2 on scale)	Corrupt (Rated 3-5 on scale)	Not much corrupt (Rated 6-8 on scale)	Not at all corrupt (Rated 9-10 on scale)
Local police	27	34	22	11
Senior police	17	33	29	16
Traffic police	27	30	25	11

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 6.1: Nearly 1 in 6 feel police implicates under false charges

- Police implicates people under false charges
- Police perhaps implicates people under false charges
- Police does not implicate people under false charges
- No response
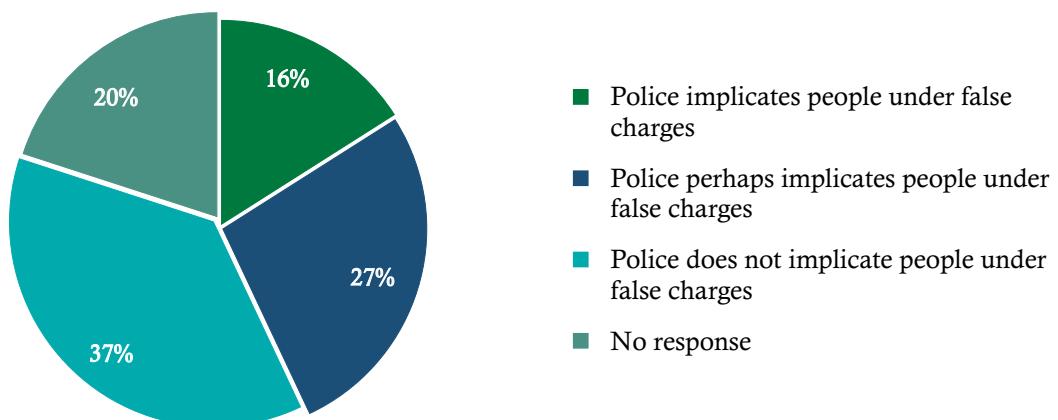
Figure 6.2: 54% feel police is blamed unnecessarily despite doing its job well

- Fully agree with the statement
- Somewhat agree with the statement
- Somewhat disagree with the statement
- Fully disagree with the statement
- No response
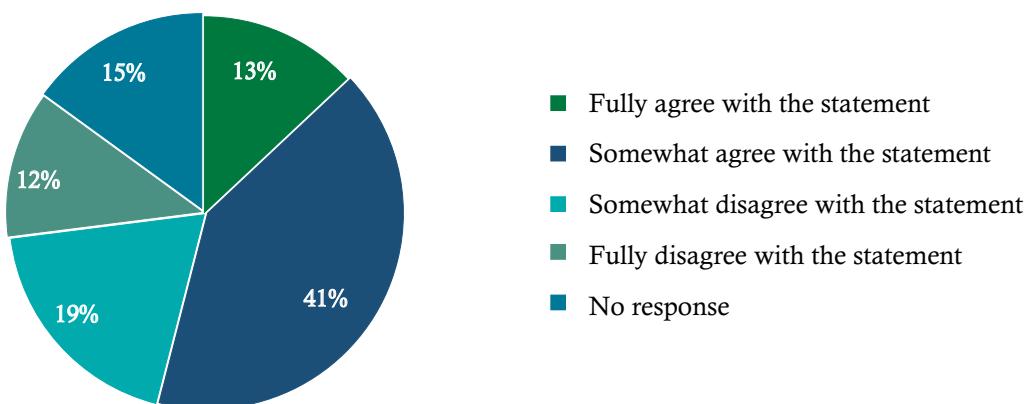
Note: Question asked: Police is blamed unnecessarily even when it does its job well. Do you agree?

Q9. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement –police is corrupt, it does not do its job without a bribe? (Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agree or disagree)

The response categories for each question listed above were assigned scores that ranged from 0 to 4, following which the scores of all questions were summed up to arrive at a comprehensive perception Index (for detailed methodology, see Appendix 3). The Index results revealed that almost one-in-five respondents (18%) hold a very negative opinion of the police, while about one in seven (15%) have a somewhat negative opinion of it. This means that

in total only 33 percent of the respondents displayed an overall negative perception of the police. An overwhelming majority (66%) were found to hold a positive perception of the police (26% had a very positive opinion and 40% had a somewhat positive opinion; Figure 6.4).

Disaggregating the perception of police across demographic variables reveals interesting variations. Despite accusations by many of a gender unfriendly approach of the police, men and women do not differ much in their perception of police. While 68 percent of men were found to have a positive perception (strong and moderate combined), among

Figure 6.3: 55% feel that the police is corrupt and does not do its job well

- Fully agree with the statement
- Somewhat agree with the statement
- Somewhat disagree with the statement
- Fully disagree with the statement
- No response
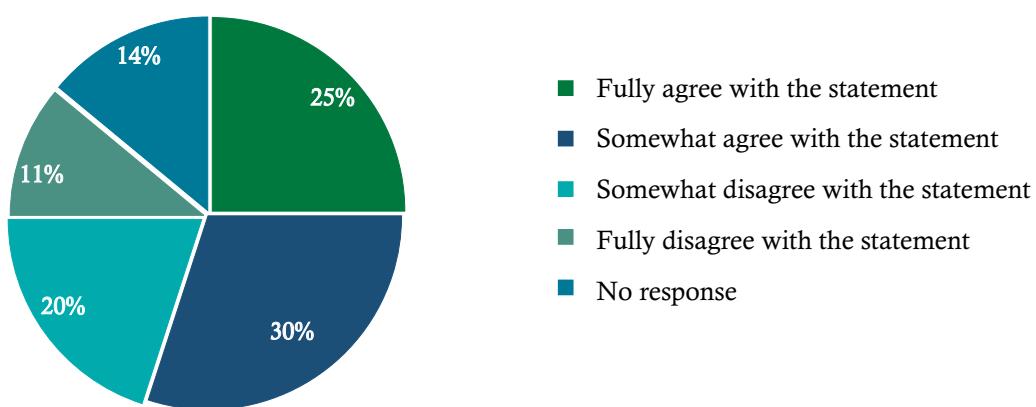
Note: Question asked: Police is corrupt- it does not do its job without a bribe, Do you agree?

Figure 6.4: Index of perception about the police-majority display a positive perception

- Very positive perception
- Somewhat positive perception
- Somewhat negative perception
- Very negative perception
- Non-committal
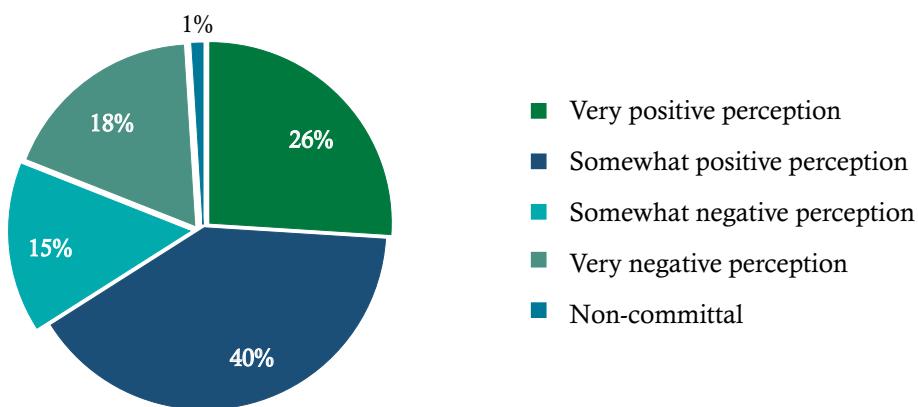
Note: See Appendix 3 for methodology of Index construction.

women the same assessment was just four points less at 64 percent (Figure 6.5).

An analysis of perception by the respondent's level of education throws up a clearer pattern. Non-literates were found to be twice as likely to have a very negative perception of the police as the college educated (25% as opposed to 13%). In fact, a highly negative perception of the police decreases as people's level of education increases (see Figure 6.6).

People's perception of the police also appears to be affected by their economic status. Various studies have found economic situation to have a significant effect on people's opinion of the police. Our survey also attests to this view, as is visible from Figure 6.7. Between the two extreme points of the class hierarchy - the upper class and the poorest - there is a seven-percentage point difference as far as a 'very negative' perception of the police is concerned (14% among the upper class and 21% among the poorest). There is an even higher difference of 11 points in

Figure 6.5: Female perception of police: not very different from male perception
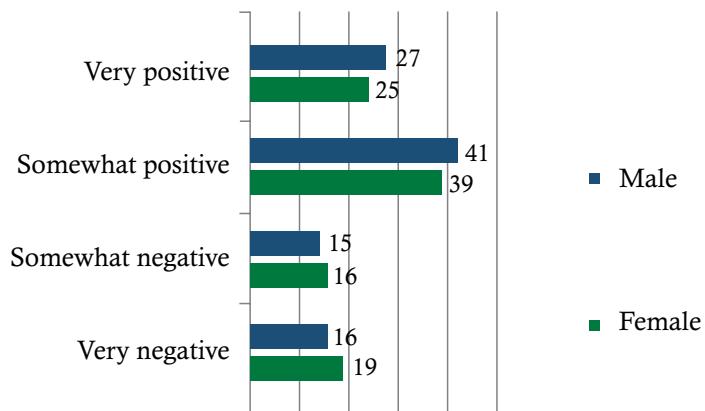
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 6.6: Non-literates most likely to have a negative perception of the police
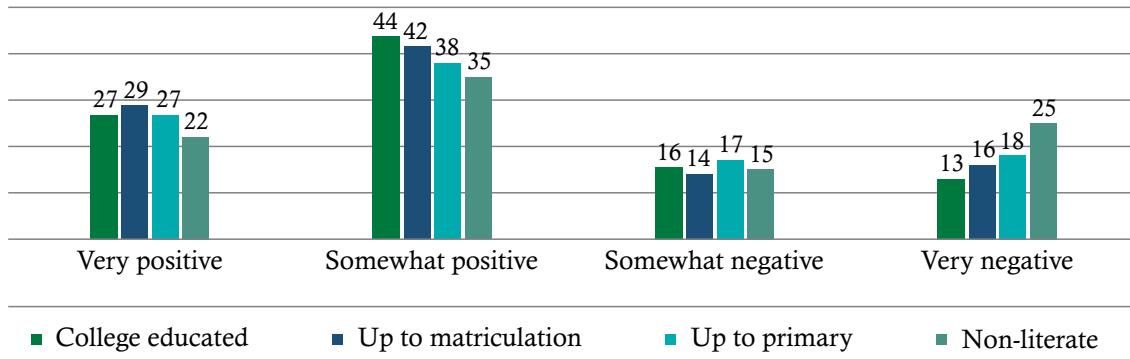
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 6.7: Poorer individuals more likely to have a negative perception of the police
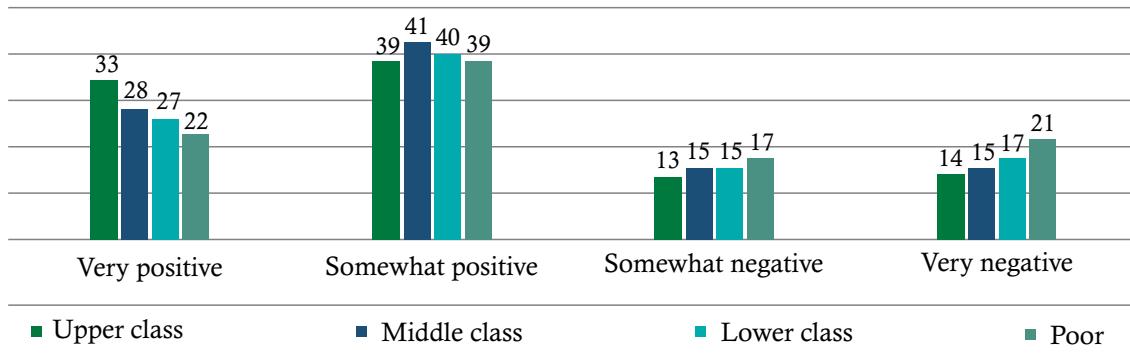
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

the 'very positive' perception category - while 33 percent of upper class respondents were found to carry a very positive perception, among the poorest respondents this outright positivity was way less at 22 percent.

In India, caste and class often interact in definitive ways. The responses for police perception on the basis of caste also follow the logic of class-based perception: Hindu upper castes generally reflected a more favourable opinion of the police than other Hindu communities. Hindu Scheduled Tribes were found to carry the most negative opinion followed by Hindu Scheduled Castes (see Table 6.3). Within castes however, class comes back into play: with the exception of Scheduled Tribes, in all other communities the poor were more likely to hold a negative opinion of the police and the upper class a more positive one.

In terms of religion, Sikhs (mostly from Punjab in our achieved sample)were found to have the most

negative perception of the police, followed by Muslims. Christians held the most positive opinion (see Figure 6.8).

Examining state wise opinion on how police is perceived by people is an important comparative exercise that helps us in understanding the diverse range of public opinion with respect to policing. We weighted each response category of the Perception about the Police Index and arrived at a summated score for each state (see note below Table 6.4 or the Appendix 4 to know more about methodology). On doing this we found Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal to be the bottom three states when it comes to police perception, implying that in these states the level of negative perception of police is the highest (see Table 6.4). The negative sign for states towards the bottom of the table signifies that a majority of people have a negative opinion of the police, instead of a positive one. The states with the most positive perception of police are Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jharkhand.

Table 6.3: Scheduled Tribes most likely to hold a negative perception of the police

	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Somewhat negative	Very negative
Upper Castes	31	39	15	14
Other Backward Classes	23	41	17	18
Schedule Castes	26	37	16	19
Schedule Tribes	27	38	14	21

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 6.8: Sikhs most likely to hold a negative perception of the police
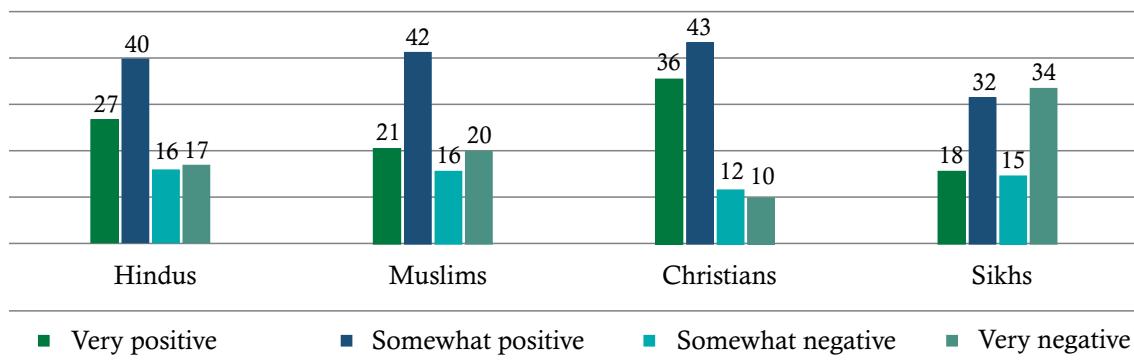
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Table 6.4: Haryana and Himachal Pradesh have the most positive perception of police

Rank	State	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Somewhat negative	Very negative	Score
1	Haryana	70.9	22.4	3.8	2.9	15.5
2	Himachal Pradesh	69.8	22.0	4.5	3.6	15.0
3	Jharkhand	46.7	42.5	4.6	5.6	12.0
4	Nagaland	37.2	47.0	6.4	9.5	9.6
5	Kerala	41.4	37.7	10.3	9.5	9.1
6	Bihar	30.3	48.3	13.0	8.4	7.9
7	Uttarakhand	29.6	43.6	14.1	12.0	6.5
8	Andhra Pradesh	24.9	44.5	15.3	14.7	5.0
9	Karnataka	25.7	44.7	12.3	17.2	4.9
10	Assam	24.0	45.7	13.7	16.5	4.7
11	Maharashtra	25.8	40.0	15.9	16.6	4.3
12	Telangana	19.9	44.8	16.9	15.8	3.6
13	Odisha	26.1	37.7	11.2	23.9	3.1
14	Madhya Pradesh	18.7	41.8	25.4	14.2	2.5
15	Gujarat	25.6	34.2	18.5	21.7	2.4
16	Delhi	22.2	34.9	20.8	21.8	1.5
17	Tamil Nadu	15.9	40.2	26.0	17.8	1.0
18	Rajasthan	14.5	39.7	12.4	29.5	-0.3
19	Chhattisgarh	18.3	32.8	16.8	31.5	-1.0
20	West Bengal	15.7	35.6	13.9	31.9	-1.1
21	Uttar Pradesh	8.2	37.2	27.6	26.2	-2.6
22	Punjab	9.4	37.8	17.8	34.6	-3.0

Note: Figures are percentages. The state rankings for The Index of perception about the police (see Appendix 3 for more details on how the Index was constructed) are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'very negative' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat negative' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat positive' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'very positive' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., a better perception of the police.

Perception of the police seems to determine whether a person is likely to seek the police's help in the future if the need arose. Four in every five (80%) of those who were found to hold a very positive perception of the police said they would go to the police in the future if they have a problem that requires police help. This figure drops to 72 percent among those who hold a somewhat positive perception of the police, to 68 percent among those with a somewhat negative perception and to 66 percent among those with a very negative perception of it (see Table 6.5).

6.3. People's opinion on police independence

People's view on police independence is another aspect that we tried to probe in the survey through a series of questions. Respondents were asked about the extent of interference in the police's work in their locality by politicians, local goons, senior police officers, economically powerful groups and influential castes in the area. Their responses reveal that the greatest interference in the police's

Table 6.5: People with a negative perception of the police least likely to seek police help

Perception about police	Open to seeking police's help in the future	Reluctant to seek police's help in the future	Won't at all seek police's help in the future
Very positive	80	13	4
Somewhat positive	72	20	6
Somewhat negative	68	22	7
Very negative	66	21	7

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.
Question asked: In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police?

functioning is seen to be coming from political parties and politicians (39%), followed by senior police officers (24%) and economically powerful groups (23%). Local goons and dominant castes were not seen to be influencing police's work as much (see Table 6.6).

Based on the responses to all these questions on interference in police's work by various actors, we constructed an Index of perception of police independence (see Appendix for methodology on how it was constructed). We found over half the respondents to be under the impression that the police in their area works independently (12%

thought it was highly independent and 41 percent thought it was somewhat so). At the other end, only 34 percent thought it was not much independent and 4 percent were of the opinion that it was not independent at all (see Figure 6.9).

We weighted each response category of the Index to arrive at a summated score for each state (see note below Table 6.7 or the Appendix 4 for methodology on how the weightage was done). We found respondents in Kerala to have the most positive perception on the issue of police independence. In other words, the respondents here saw the police as being far more independent in its functioning as

Table 6.6: Extent of interference in the police's functioning in one's area

	A lot of interference	Somewhat interference	Not much interference	Not interference at all
Political party	39	36	9	6
Local goons	14	33	24	15
Senior police officers	24	38	15	8
Economically powerful groups	23	33	18	12
Influential and dominant caste of the area	14	28	22	16

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not answer.
Question asked: Often the police says that it is not allowed to work independently and free from political interference. Please tell me how much interference do these groups have in the functioning of the police in your locality – a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

Figure 6.9: Nearly half the respondents likely to perceive police as independent

Perception of police independence Index

Legend:
- Highly independent
- Somewhat independent
- Not much independent
- Not independent at all
- Non-committal
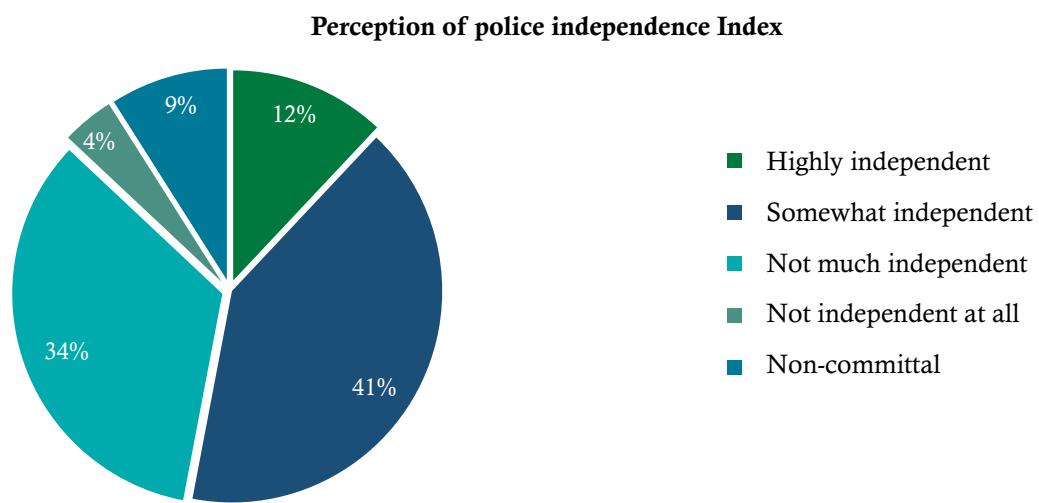
compared to respondents in other states. Odisha fared the worst (see Table 6.7).

Perception of police independence and the perception of the police in general are correlated and the former seems to be informing the latter in a significant way. Among those who considered police to be very less independent, implying that people in positions of power and authority can wield great influence on the police, 45 percent of the respondents hold a very negative opinion of the police (see Table 6.8). This is an important finding since it shows us that perhaps the biggest roadblock to improving perceptions lies in improving police independence.

Table 6.7: State rankings on the question of police independence

Rank	State	Not at all independent	Not much independent	Somewhat independent	Highly independent	Score
1	Kerala	2.1	12.4	14.4	64.8	12.7
2	Assam	2.4	17.3	52.2	20.6	7.1
3	Nagaland	7.5	19.5	42.1	24.0	5.6
4	Himachal Pradesh	0.7	22.5	52.5	10.2	4.9
5	Gujarat	2.3	30.3	42.6	17.1	4.2
6	Haryana	0.2	36.5	43.2	17.0	4.0
7	Maharashtra	3.3	28.3	52.2	10.8	3.9
8	Rajasthan	1.4	29.6	45.0	9.8	3.2
9	Bihar	1.2	41.7	42.7	11.8	2.2
10	Jharkhand	6.2	32.0	52.0	7.0	2.2
11	Andhra Pradesh	7.3	27.6	51.2	6.3	2.2
12	Karnataka	1.7	43.8	37.9	12.8	1.6
13	Uttarakhand	2.9	40.7	44.9	7.9	1.4
14	Madhya Pradesh	1.8	42.9	51.0	3.7	1.2
15	Tamil Nadu	0.3	44.9	32.4	10.7	0.8
16	Telangana	3.6	39.6	42.1	6.4	0.8
17	West Bengal	11.4	27.3	32.8	12.0	0.7
18	Uttar Pradesh	2.7	43.6	39.3	8.0	0.6
19	Chhattisgarh	13.9	23.2	36.3	7.2	0.0
20	Punjab	4.5	43.2	42.8	3.7	-0.2
21	Delhi	4.8	48.6	33.9	5.4	-1.4
22	Odisha	9.8	40.4	29.4	3.1	-2.4

Note: The state rankings for The Index of Perception of Police Independence (see Appendix 3 for details on how the Index was constructed) are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'not at all independent' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'not much independent' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat independent' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'highly independent' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., a better perception of the police's independence.

Table 6.8: Negative perception of police greatest among those who don't see police as independent

	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Somewhat negative	Very negative
Highly independent	42	36	12	10
Somewhat independent	30	45	15	11
Not much independent	22	42	18	18
Not independent at all	14	27	12	45

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

6.4. Sympathy for the police

Policing is a relentless activity, requiring efficient service delivery round-the-clock. Police are required to be available for work 24 hours a day, seven days a week - a gruelling reality for constables and other low-ranking officers in. In addition, the problem of personnel shortage and heavy workload disproportionately affects the investigation of crimes, registration of complaints/FIR thereby affecting complainants' satisfaction. To ascertain people's understanding of this challenge and complexity of policing, their opinion on the demanding nature of policing was sought. Approximately 1 in two persons (49%) acknowledged that the working hours of police officers are greater compared to other occupations, over one-fifth considered them to be the same as other jobs and 1 in ten stated that the working hours of the police are less (see Figure

6.10). Respondents in urban areas are more likely to acknowledge that the working hours of the police are greater than respondents in rural areas (55% as opposed to 46%). Three out of five respondents (59%) also acknowledged that it is difficult to work in the police force due to high stress levels and long working hours (see Figure 6.11). These questions are important because they probe a key aspect of public-police relations and reflect that while citizens may not be content with the functioning of police in India, this does not necessarily translate into diminished levels of sympathy towards police personnel and recognition of systemic challenges.

In the survey we asked another question that tried to indirectly probe people's sympathy levels towards the police. Respondents were asked about what they thought was hindering proper police functioning – whether it was lack of training or other resources or

Figure 6.10: Urban dwellers more likely to acknowledge that working hours of the police are greater
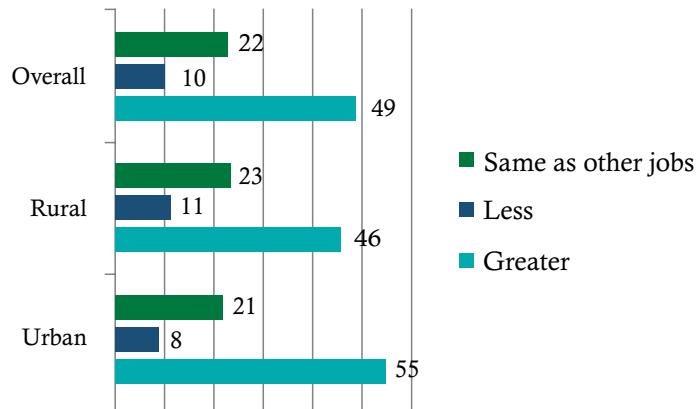
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.
Question asked: In comparison to other jobs, are the working hours of the police greater or less?

Figure 6.11: 60% believe police personnel work under high stress level

'Compared to other professions, it is difficult to work in the police force because of high stress levels and long working hours'
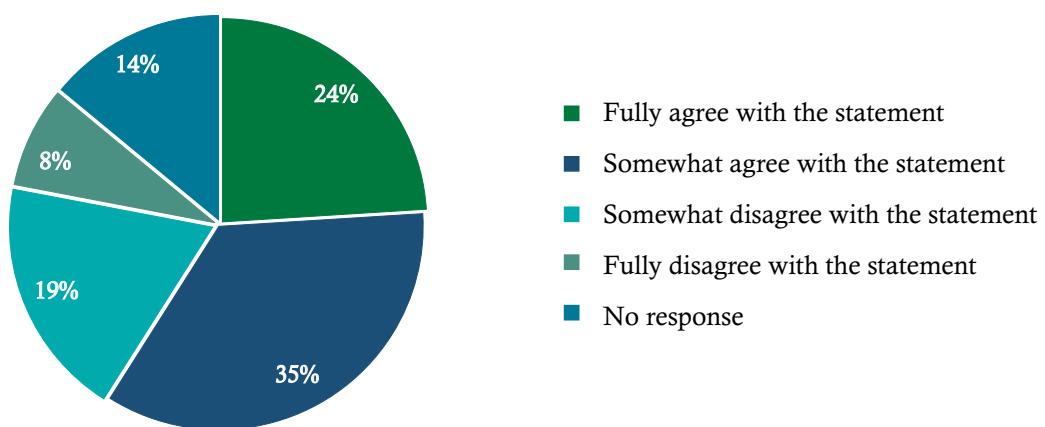
Note: Question asked: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement - Compared to other professions, it is difficult to work in the police force because of high stress levels and long working hours?

whether it was because the police were lazy and not motivated to serve people. Their responses to this question were far less sympathetic. Nearly half the respondents said that what hindered proper police functioning was the police personnel's laziness and unwillingness to discharge their duty in the correct manner. Only 29 percent (3 in ten) believed that the police doesn't function properly due to lack of training and other resources.

We clubbed all the three questions (responses to which are shown in figures 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12) together to construct an Index which gave us an overall picture of the sympathetic attitudes towards the police (see Appendix for details on how it was constructed). Overall only one in every seven respondents (13%) was found to be unsympathetic towards the police working conditions. Such people were of the opinion that the police does not work

under tough conditions. On the other hand, eight out of ten respondents either strongly or moderately believed that police working conditions are tough (Figure 6.13).

Overall sympathy levels for the police's working conditions appear to be informed by the particular socio-economic position of the individual: locality, education and caste have significant implications for this. Urban respondents were more likely (seven percentage points more to be precise) to be fully sympathetic than rural respondents (Figure 6.14). Similarly, in terms of education, the difference between 'full sympathy' for the police working conditions among college educated respondents and non-literate respondents was of 14 points (see Table 6.9). In terms of caste Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the Hindu religion were found to be least likely to be fully sympathetic

Figure 6.12: Half the respondents believe that police is lazy and unmotivated to serve the people

Police doesn't function properly due to lack of training and other resources

Police are in fact lazy and not motivated to serve the people

No opinion
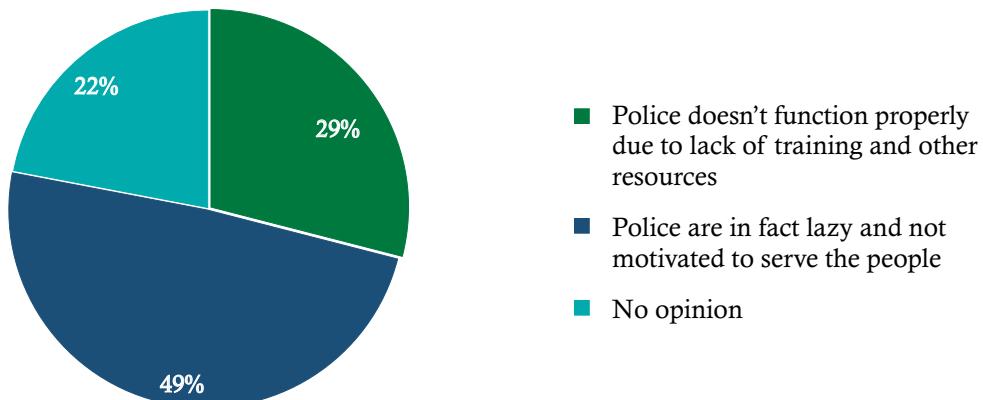
Note: Question asked: Which of these two statements do you agree with? (1) Police is not able to function properly due to lack of training and other resources. (2) It is not that the police lack resources, they are in fact lazy and not motivated to serve people. Do you agree with 1 or 2?

Figure 6.13: 4 out of 5 believe that police work under tough conditions

Strongly believes police works under tough conditions

Somewhat believes police works under tough conditions

Does not believe police works under tough conditions

Non-committal
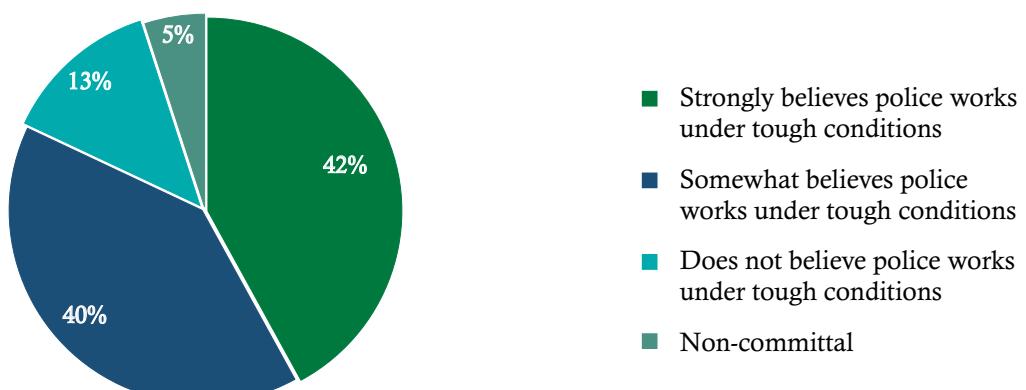
Note: See Appendix 3 for details on how the Index was constructed.

Figure 6.14: Urban respondents more likely to be fully sympathetic than rural
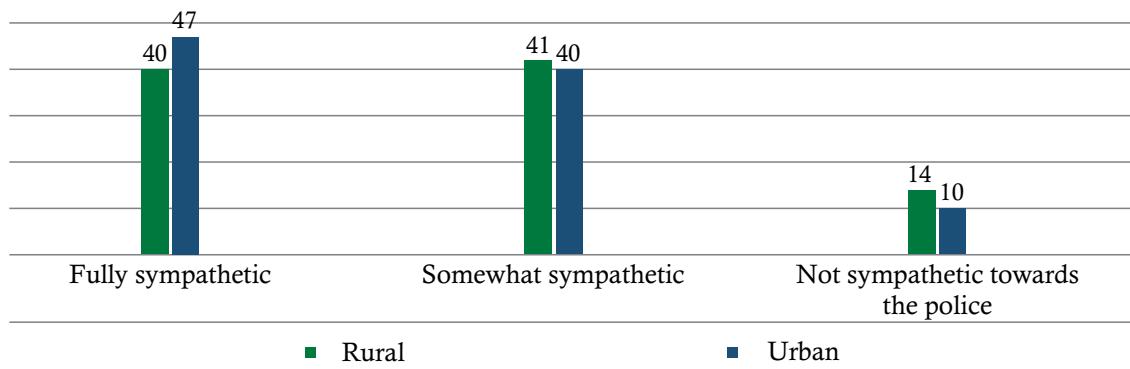
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Table 6.9: Sympathy for the police increases with improvement in the literacy levels of respondents

	Fully sympathetic	Somewhat sympathetic	Not sympathetic towards the police
Non-literate	35	38	18
Up to Primary	38	44	13
Up to Matric	45	41	11
College and above	49	40	10

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 6.15: OBC respondents most likely to have a fully sympathetic attitude towards police
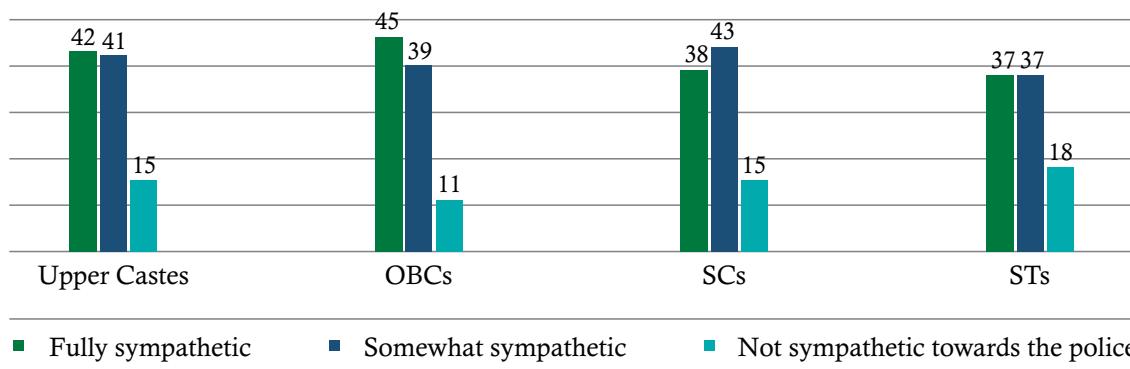
Note: Figures are percentages.Rest of the respondents did not respond.

towards the working conditions of the police(see Figure 6.15). Hindu Upper castes and OBCs were found to be highly sympathetic. In fact, urban, college educated Hindu OBC men were more likely than any other similarly situated caste group to have a sympathetic attitude towards the police, with 64 percent of them showing full sympathy for the police. In terms of religious communities, we find Christians to be most sympathetic and Muslims to be least (see Figure 6.16)

An interesting pattern emerges when we analyse the sympathy towards police across different states. After assigning weights to each Index category and arriving at a summated score, we found that the top four states with the greatest amount of sympathy towards the police's working conditions are all southern states – Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Assam recorded the

fifth highest sympathy whereas,Kerala recorded sixth highest sympathy. Sympathy for the police was lowest in Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh (see Table 6.10).

While sympathy for police personnel is an important area of analysis, what is more significant is its possible correlation with people's perception of police, which then gives us a more nuanced understanding into what might be informing people's attitudes towards the police. In a similar vein, people who were more sympathetic towards the working conditions of police personnel were significantly more likely to hold a positive opinion about them. Of the respondents who were fully sympathetic to police condition, 31 percent held a very positive perception of the police; on the other end of the spectrum, a near reversal of this takes place: among those who were least sympathetic, 31

Figure 6.16: Christians most likely to hold fully sympathetic attitude towards police

■ Fully sympathetic   ■ Somewhat sympathetic   ■ Not sympathetic towards the police
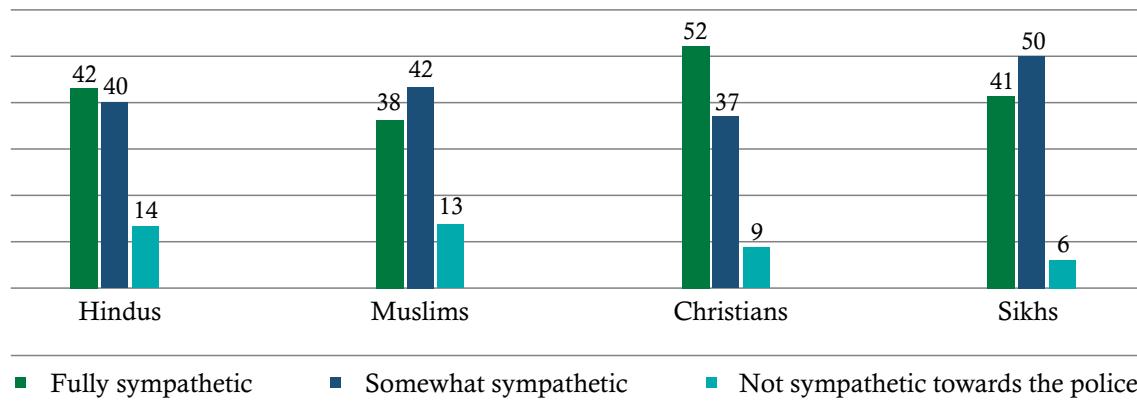
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Table 6.10: Ranking of states on sympathy for police's working conditions

Rank	State	No sympathy	Moderate sympathy	Strong sympathy	Score
1	Telangana	3.0	24.8	70.6	43.3
2	Andhra Pradesh	6.6	30.2	60.2	40.5
3	Karnataka	3.0	42.1	54.1	40.3
4	Tamil Nadu	5.3	36.0	56.7	40.2
5	Assam	6.4	36.6	55.7	40.1
6	Kerala	7.0	35.1	54.3	39.1
7	Maharashtra	5.8	34.1	55.2	39.0
8	Bihar	9.0	40.7	49.6	38.8
9	Nagaland	9.1	42.7	45.5	37.4
10	Delhi	14.3	41.0	44.2	37.3
11	Punjab	7.0	52.7	38.1	36.3
12	Uttarakhand	16.1	43.9	37.4	35.1
13	Jharkhand	4.4	63.4	29.2	34.5
14	Odisha	20.6	43.5	30.8	32.6
15	Gujarat	23.6	44.2	27.8	31.9
16	Rajasthan	23.7	34.2	33.5	31.8
17	Madhya Pradesh	20.2	38.1	32.3	31.6
18	Haryana	15.3	68.2	15.5	31.3
19	West Bengal	13.2	37.4	34.7	31.2
20	Himachal Pradesh	32.5	32.3	30.0	31.2
21	Chhattisgarh	16.4	42.3	29.7	30.8
22	Uttar Pradesh	27.4	53.0	14.1	28.4

Note: The state rankings for The Index of Sympathetic attitude towards police working conditions (see Appendix 3 for details on how the Index was constructed) are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'no sympathy' category was weighted as 2, the 'somewhat sympathy' category was weighted as 3 and the 'strong sympathy category was weighted as 5. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates more sympathy.

Table 6.11: Perception depends on sympathy levels for police

	Those who hold a very positive perception	Those who hold a somewhat positive perception	Those who hold a somewhat negative perception	Those who hold a very negative perception
Those who are fully sympathetic	31	44	14	11
Those who are somewhat sympathetic	25	43	16	16
Those who are not sympathetic	21	28	18	31

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

percent held a very negative perception of the police (see Table 6.11).

6.5. Female police officers: The gendered aspect of policing

In India, norms around the appropriate role of men and women and gender-based stereotyping in labour market inhibit women's entry for certain occupations such as the police force, army. Like the Indian army, the police force also continues to define itself along gendered lines and suffers from the twin deficits of diversity and design. There is a strong belief that combat, by nature, is a male occupation; that the police force is a male domain and therefore unsuitable to the female physique and temperament. In addition to these culturally privileged beliefs, the abuse and systemic marginalisation of serving policewomen, an overall dis-incentivising atmosphere, peer pressures and gender issues mean that women are actively discouraged from joining the police force. While research shows that women can be just as effective as men, uneven hiring practices, societal cultural values, selection processes and recruitment policies keep the number of women low.

According to a survey done by the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (2007), most women never even consider a career in uniform or law enforcement to begin with due to their misunderstanding of the nature of the job, resistance from family, or the aggressive and authoritarian images portrayed in the media. However, once hired, women face discrimination, sexual harassment, or even peer intimidation, and they often lack the necessary role models or mentors to help them move up the ranks.

In recent discussions on safety of women and gender equity within the police force, it is a broadly accepted assumption that the presence of women personnel is likely to make police forces more gender-just, help impact patriarchal social norms and gendered hierarchies operative in police stations. Following the 1970s, a combination of societal changes and progressive legislations paved the way for women to enter law enforcement. However, the diversity deficit continues to be alarming: just about 7.3 per cent of the Indian police force is made up of women.

To test people's perception and preferences, their responses on different parameters such as honesty and hard work of police officers and their overall preference towards policemen vs. policewomen were gauged. A large plurality of respondents stated that they consider police officers of both the genders honest (43%), hardworking (46%) and would be open to approaching both for help (51%).

Figure 6.17: Policewomen thought to be more honest, but respondents more likely to approach Policemen
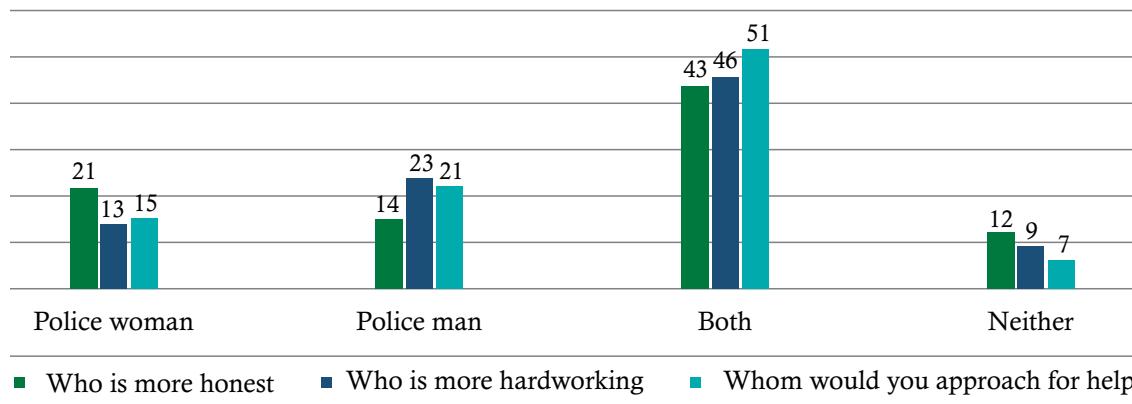
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

However, if we compare the responses towards policemen and policewomen specifically, it emerges that respondents were more likely to consider a policewoman more honest than a policeman (21% to 14%), a policeman more hardworking than a policewoman (23% to 13%) and were more likely to approach a policeman than a policewoman (20% to 15%) for help (see Figure 6.17).

Analysing responses on these parameters by the gender of respondents showed that both men and women were more likely to consider policemen more hardworking and policewomen more honest.

Figure 6.18 Across demographic variables, preference for police officers of both the genders is visibly high
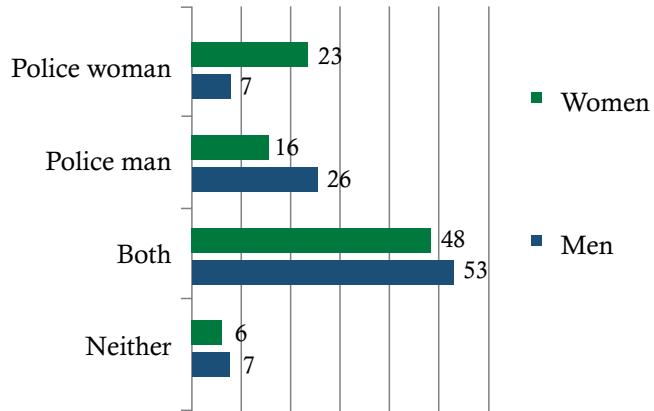
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.
Question asked: Usually both men and women work in the police force. Whom would you approach for help?

Figure 6.19: Women more likely to believe that policewomen are more honest
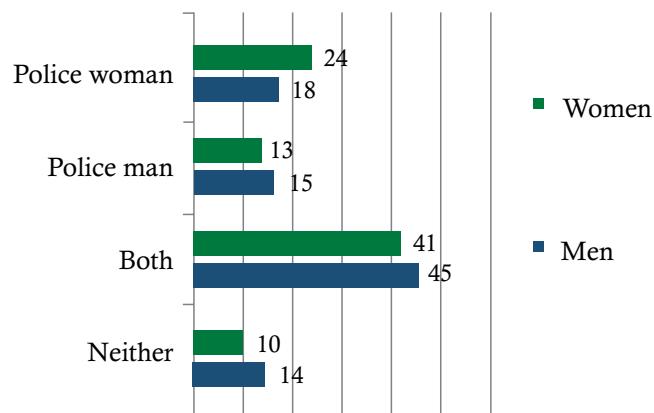
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

Figure 6.20: Both men and women consider policemen as more hardworking
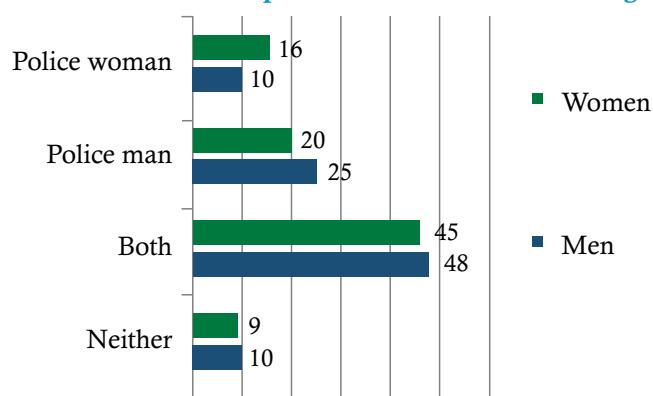
Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

With regard to approaching either of them for help, respondents of both the genders displayed preference for police of their gender, that is, women preferred policewomen (23%) and men preferred policemen (26%) for help (see Figure 6.18). In contrast to women who were interviewed, men appear to be more open to the idea of seeking help from police officers of both the genders (53%). With respect to honesty of police officers, women were nearly twice more likely to hold a favourable opinion towards policewomen than policemen, 24 percent as opposed to 13 percent (see Figure 6.19). Even among men a slightly greater proportion believed that policewomen were honest than policemen. Finally, as far as opinion on who is more hardworking, both men and women thought that policemen are more hardworking than policewomen; however, women were once again less likely to believe so than men (see Figure 6.20).

The survey also sought to ascertain people's views on women and policing and test the extent of powerful stereotypes that view policing as 'men's work'. Among all those who were interviewed, over 1 in two persons agreed that due to lack of physical strength, aggressive behaviour (52%), and inflexible working hours (51%), it is not viable for women to join the police force (see Table 6.12). Nearly an equal proportion of respondents affirmed that women are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases (41%) and they should prioritise managing the home (39%) instead of joining the police force. Respondents were most likely to justify lack of physical strength and inflexible working hours as reasons for women's unsuitability in the police force. However, they were most likely to not agree that women should give priority to their home over joining the police force.

Paradoxically, the gender of respondents does not appear to have any bearing on their responses to these questions. In other words, women were nearly equally likely to hold the same opinion on why it is difficult for women to serve in the police force and prioritising home instead of working (Table 6.13). This suggests that significant primacy continues to be given to the idea of tying the traditional role of women to family, housework and nurturing responsibility. The bias against women suggests that their competence to join the police force is evaluated not in professional terms but weighed against their

Table 6.12: Responses to questions on women working in the police force

	Women lack physical strength & aggressive behaviour required in the police force	Women should prioritise managing home instead of joining the police force	Because of inflexible working hours, difficult for women to work in the police force	Women police officers are incapable of handling high intensity cases & crimes
Very justified	15	12	19	12
Somewhat justified	37	27	32	29
Somewhat unjustified	20	26	18	24
Very unjustified	18	25	16	21
No response	10	10	15	14

Note: Figures are percentages.

Table 6.13: Gender based responses on women working in the police force

	Women should prioritise managing home instead of joining the police force		Because of inflexible working hours, difficult for women to work in the police force		Women police officers are incapable of handling high intensity cases & crimes	
	Justified	Unjustified	Justified	Unjustified	Justified	Unjustified
Men	40	50	53	33	43	44
Women	37	52	49	35	39	46

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

traditionally suited role as mothers, wives and homemakers.

Taking into account the responses to all these questions (except for the one that deals with inflexible working hours) we constructed an Index that tried to measure the overall favourability towards women in the police force (see Appendix 3 for methodology). We found one-fourth of the respondents to be very favourable towards having women in the police and about two-fifths to be somewhat favourable (see Table 6.14). However, a significant proportion (one-third) was against it. There wasn't much of a gap between how men and women fared on this Index. If we combine the 'very favourable' and 'somewhat favourable' categories then women were only slightly more likely to be favourable to having women in the police force than men (67% to 63%). However, if we take into consideration only the 'very favourable' category, then women fared much better and were ahead by six points (27% to 21%).

There was a significant age-divide that was seen among women. Younger women were far more likely to be open to having women in the police force than older women. Among men on the other hand, no such age-based pattern was seen (see Table 6.15). Locality was also found to make a difference. Women in villages were least approving (only 24% were very favourable to the idea) of having women in the police, those in towns and small cities were slightly more favourable (30% were very favourable)

Table 6.14: Overall favourability towards women in the police force

	Very favourable towards women in police force	Somewhat favourable towards women in police force	Not much favourable towards women in police force	Not favourable at all towards women in police force
Overall	24	41	31	3
Men	21	42	32	3
Women	27	40	29	2

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. For methodology, see Appendix 3.

Table 6.15: Young women more favourable towards having women in police than older women

	Very favourable towards women in police force	Somewhat favourable towards women in police force	Not much favourable towards women in police force	Not favourable at all towards women in police force
Women 18-25 years	32	43	23	2
Women 26-35 years	29	40	29	2
Women 36-45 years	27	43	26	2
Women 46-55 years	25	39	32	2
Women 56+ years	22	38	31	4
Men 18-25 years	23	45	29	2
Men 26-35 years	21	44	32	3
Men 36-45 years	20	43	33	4
Men 46-55 years	23	40	32	4
Men 56+ years	21	39	33	4

Note: Figures are percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond.

than them, and women in big cities were most favourable to the idea (34% being very favourable). This pattern holds with respect to men as well but not as strongly as it was among women. Men in cities were found to be more open to the idea than men in towns and villages (24% as opposed to 20%).

We also tried to see how different states did with respect to this Index. This was done by assigning each response category of the Index different weights and then arriving at a summated score (see Appendix 4 for ranking methodology). The greatest favourability for the idea was found to be Uttarakhand, Haryana and Maharashtra (in that order). Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka showed the lowest favourability across all states (see Table 6.16). A caveat is in order here - Kerala reports

a higher 'very favourable' figure than Jharkhand and yet scores slightly less than it in overall terms. This is because of two reasons –the 'somewhat favourable' figure in Jharkhand is double of what it is in Kerala. Moreover, unfavorability in Kerala is nine points higher than it is in Jharkhand. Similarly, Himachal Pradesh despite recording a much higher 'very favourable' figure (39.1%) than some other states ranks below those states because it also recorded a very high 'not much favourable' figure of 43.6 percent as well.

Respondents were also asked to share their opinion on the possible reason(s) for women's hesitation in seeking help from the police and visiting the police station. The responses of men and women were found to be nearly identical on the question. Nearly

Table 6.16 State-wise favourability towards women in the police force

Rank		Not at all favourable	Not much favourable	Somewhat favourable	Very favourable	Score
1	Uttarakhand	1.7	11.1	39.8	47.4	12.0
2	Haryana	1.5	13.0	37.7	47.8	11.7
3	Maharashtra	1.5	14.9	37.0	45.2	11.0
4	Nagaland	0.0	15.8	43.3	40.7	10.9
5	Delhi	2.4	20.1	40.6	36.4	8.9
6	Jharkhand	1.6	15.0	64.0	19.4	8.5
7	Kerala	2.0	24.1	32.7	39.3	8.3
8	Punjab	1.6	21.5	53.5	23.2	7.5
9	Odisha	4.0	21.9	40.4	30.4	7.1
10	Tamil Nadu	2.0	30.5	44.8	21.7	5.4
11	Madhya Pradesh	0.3	34.2	43.7	21.5	5.2
12	Gujarat	1.9	29.0	49.8	17.4	5.2
13	Himachal Pradesh	0.9	43.6	12.3	39.1	4.5
14	Chhattisgarh	2.7	34.9	31.6	26.7	4.5
15	Assam	3.6	35.1	38.3	21.8	4.0
16	Bihar	1.2	33.7	57.4	7.4	3.6
17	Rajasthan	3.9	37.1	35.6	19.9	3.1
18	Andhra Pradesh	4.5	37.7	46.5	9.4	1.9
19	West Bengal	6.8	38.2	33.1	16.9	1.5
20	Karnataka	3.8	44.0	42.2	9.5	1.0
21	Uttar Pradesh	6.2	42.6	38.3	10.2	0.4
22	Telangana	5.1	48.1	33.7	9.9	-0.5

Note: The state rankings for The Index of favourability towards women in the police (see Appendix 3 for details on how the Index was constructed) are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'not at all favourable' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'not much favourable' category was weighted as -0.1 the 'somewhat favourable' category was weighted as 0.1 and the 'very favourable' category as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates more favourability.

Table 6.17: Fear of social stigma and harassment biggest reason why women don't approach the police

Fear of social stigma, harassment & use of abusive language by the police	19
Unsafe for women- absence of policewomen, family doesn't allow, not possible for women to visit the police station repeatedly	18
Systemic issues- lack of speedy trials, poor conviction rates; absence of FIR/complaint registration, lack of confidentiality	11
Behaviour of police officers- demands for bribe, partisan attitude, lack of complete knowledge of law and legal procedure	8
Other reasons	7
No response	37

Note: Figures are percentages.
Question asked: Often women and young girls are scared to seek help from the police or visit the police station. In your opinion, what is the main reason for this?

one in five persons stated that the fear of harassment, use of abusive language by police officers and general social stigma deters women from visiting the police station in case of emergency (see Table 6.17). These issues have also been documented in the literature on the twin challenges of women's safety and policing.

6.6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to report the various factors that go into informing one's perception of the police. Given the salience of police as an institution in the everyday life of citizens, it is important to not only engage with reforms regarding police performance, but also give due importance to citizens' perception of the police. Our analysis suggests that people's initial attitudes about the police play a critical role in shaping their overall judgments, subsequent direct and indirect experiences as well as their future attitudes. Also, negative experiences were associated with more negative perceptions of the police, whereas positive experiences were associated with less negative

perceptions of the police. It can also be inferred that the challenges of women's safety, improved public accountability of police officers, greater reportage of crimes rests on an improvement in the fragile police-populace relationship. While it is difficult to encourage women to join the police force, cultural attitudes towards women working as police officers will transform and acceptance will increase only when more women are seen in the police force.

Undoubtedly, the relation between the two is complex and informed by a multiplicity of factors—primarily the individual's position in society and their past experiences with the police. Such exercises are often a common mode of enquiry in other complex societies, with a heterogeneous population. In a country like India, which is teeming with cross-cutting social cleavages and intersectionalities of caste, gender, class and religion, people's perception can tell us a lot about the experience of policing at the ground level and can go a long way in furthering the cause of reform.

CHAPTER 7:
Analysing CAG Audit Reports: (Not) Learning from Mistakes

Police escorting the polling officials taking EVMs to Hasnabad for voting. (Credits: Subhendu Ghosh, Hindustan Times, 9 May 2001, West Bengal)

Analysing CAG Audit Reports: (Not) Learning from Mistakes

Both, the first chapter based on official data and the following chapters presenting people's perceptions, indicate that improving the police infrastructure may go a long way in improving performance and perception. One way of addressing this aspect is diligent, transparent and faithful deployment of available resources and budgetary allocations. The crucial question is, does that really happen? The short answer is that our chronic maladies persist despite timely diagnoses by existing institutions.

In this chapter we are collating and analysing critical deficiencies which have been pointed out over a long period of time by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) in dozens of audit reports in different states of India. The CAG auditors have not only looked at the account books but have also assessed performances and extensively interviewed lower level police officials to get to the bottom of issues.

It is common, for instance, for the states to deploy lower-level officers to the field without the requisite training. Many states don't even bother to train them in handling weapons and some don't even have a firing range to train them in. The CAG reports are full of insights but the attempt here is to collate critical patterns or egregious violations by the states. More details about specific area are available in the Appendix.

This chapter covers the audit of police of 11 states – UP, Uttarakhand, Tamil Nadu, MP, West Bengal, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan on the following, largely comparable, parameters - weapons, training, police stations and housing, forensic science labs, communications and vehicles along with the expenditure and financial management. The audit spans over the periods 2009-14, 2010-15 and 2011-16. It also includes audit findings on the management of prisons of Assam, Karnataka, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, the 4 states where prison audits were conducted.

In India, police and law-and-order are state subjects. But the central government also makes special provisions for federal grants meant to be spent by the states for specific purposes. A good example is the centre's allocation of Rs 25,061 crores for a new umbrella scheme for the modernisation of police force (MPF) for three years, beginning in 2017-18. Since its inception in 1969, the MPF has witnessed many lofty announcements by successive governments in power without matching action on the ground.

Conventional wisdom suggests that the money well-spent on law and order should improve the quality of life for the common citizens by making the country a safer place and by improving the performance of the police force on the ground. And that is the main logic as to why India needs to increase allocations on all aspects of police modernisation.

However, our experience of expenditure on MPF over almost half a century, belies the conventional wisdom simply because of lax monitoring by the states. This means that improved grants and allocations do not always translate into improved action on the ground. And that is precisely what the CAG of India has been saying in report after report for decades.

CAG audit reports on the expenditure by the states makes a depressing reading. It shows that in a country where resources are scarce, improper use of money, pilferage and inefficiency leads to huge costs in terms of human lives and missed opportunities. In its audit report on the MPF programme in MP, the CAG observed that questionable practices have put the policemen's "own security in jeopardy". It was also scathing on the attitude of the UP government, which was indifferent in dealing with issues such as police modernisation, maintenance of law & order and security of citizens. The audit reports from across the states show how the successive governments have failed the ordinary policeman.

In Uttarakhand, the auditors remarked that the police training college was not fully equipped, which would have a bearing on their ability to work in the field. The MP audit rued the exclusion of issues like gender sensitisation and custodial sensitivities in the MPF training guidelines. The story appears to be the same across states.

The patterns seem to suggest that the manpower, funds and resource crunch challenges have almost grounded the traffic police in almost all states. The Home departments seem to be blind to changing requirements of the Indian cities which are becoming more and more chaotic by the day. In Uttar Pradesh, the vehicles increased by 2,256 percent in 30 years between 1985 and 2015, but the sanctioned strength of traffic personnel remained the same; the shortages range from 71 percent to 93 percent in the cadres of traffic inspectors, sub-inspectors and constables against the sanctioned strengths. The situation may

be extrapolated in almost all North and central Indian states.

7.1 Poor and patchy Modernisation of Police Force (MPF)

The MPF programme was initiated in 1969 to augment critical police infrastructure to tackle the threat to country's internal security. Despite thousands of crores being pumped into the programme, not much headway has been made in the performance of the police, the CAG audits have noted. The ratio of the funding between the central and the state governments under the MPF were 75:25 until the year 2011-12, and after that, 60:40 for each year of 2012-16. The North-Eastern states and Jammu and Kashmir were eligible for funding in the ratio of 90:10.

In order to access the central funds, the states are required to prepare Annual Action Plans (AAP) which should flow from a central government approved five-year strategic plan. There is a paucity of funds, and whatever money is made available, is frittered away due to the states' administrative incapability or lack of capacity. This means that the states refuse to learn and the policemen continue to suffer for no fault of theirs. In the implementation of the MPF, the CAG audit has exposed these deficiencies, particularly in terms of resources, lack of training and crumbling infrastructure. These, coupled with lack of ethical values and alleged bias against the poor and the vulnerable communities, cry for a massive overhaul. In UP, a state particularly hard pressed for funds due to its large population, 80 percent (Rs.25.65 crore) of funds for procurement of training equipment during 2011-16 were surrendered due to delay in finalisation of acquisitions. UP, obviously, is not an isolated case.

7.1.1 Apathy towards ordinary cops/citizens

The CAG audits have brought out instances of government and bureaucratic apathy towards concerns of policing, particularly the challenges faced by an ordinary policeman. In UP, the shortage of Medium Police Vehicles (used for patrolling) was as high as 68 percent in civil police and 75 percent in Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) compared to the BPRD norms.

Despite these critical shortages, the audit report revealed that an exorbitant amount of almost Rs 4 crores was incurred on purchasing luxury vehicles (Mercedes Model M-Guard) for the Chief Minister's security, instead of Land Cruisers sanctioned earlier. The department also spent funds on 10 bulletproof Tata Safari and eight General Safari vehicles, again for the Chief Minister's security. This was at the cost of 18 condemned vehicles of 11 districts, thus

depriving the district police of their sanctioned fleet of vehicles. Thus, the money which was earmarked for increasing the efficiency of police by increasing the fleet was diverted to buy luxurious vehicles for the Chief Minister. In Rajasthan, despite a shortage of operational vehicles the department bought 66 cars (Indigo, Ambassador, Swift Dzire, Maruti SX4) during 2009-14 in violation of MPF norms.

In West Bengal, senior police officers and bureaucrats attempted to divert funds (Rs.5.72 crores) meant for construction of quarters for Constables and Head Constables, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors to build houses for 12 IPS officers, which was a gross violation of the MPF guidelines. After the CAG red-flagged the decision, the project was dropped under unclear circumstances leaving no way of knowing whether the houses were constructed or not. Thus, in spite of the initial availability of funds, the construction of quarters for junior officials was delayed by altering the proposal to one for IPS officers, the CAG noted. This episode reflects the attitude of senior police officers towards not only the funds meant for specific purposes but also towards the needs of their junior colleagues.

In Maharashtra, CAG audit points out a shortage of 65,026 modern weapons which constitutes 45 percent of the total state need. During an interview with CAG, 122 out of 150 police personnel (of Madhya Pradesh), who were stationed in the crumbling buildings, cited the issues of water seepage, space constraints, inconvenience, and even risk to life. Due to a shortage of housing in selected 13 districts where audits were conducted, police personnel occupied "683 condemned and 582 dilapidated houses" in Madhya Pradesh.

Superintendents of Police, in 13 districts in MP where audits were conducted stated that such buildings caused problems like unsafe records/office equipment and dangers to the lives of the personnel operating from them, besides cramped spaces, all round inconvenience, and seepage of water. MP police department has not been able to provide even separate toilets for its women constables. The CAG was apprised by 48 out of 50 women police personnel about non-availability of separate retiring rooms and washrooms, which apart from being huge inconvenience and adding to insecurity have had an adverse impact on their work and performance too.

7.1.2 Financial inefficiencies, lack of capacities

It took 17 years for successive DGPs in UP to prepare a response to the MHA's 1995 proposal for revision of the Arming Policy of state police, despite increasing sophistication of weaponry used by terrorists, Maoists & criminal elements. The CAG audit report adds that Rs 875.95 crore (28%) from the UP state's own modernisation funds were

surrendered despite facing critical shortages of resources like police stations, arms and ammunition, vehicles and forensic labs. The state police, which works on a depleted strength of less than 50 percent, also failed to utilise 41 percent of Rs 1.165 crore allotted under the MPF in 2011-16.

In MP, the progress of MPF fund expenditure against total available funds was slow for long but improved largely during 2015-16 when 52 percent of funds (i.e. Rs 316.47 crore) were spent in what appeared to the auditors as a massive hurry, while the state reeled under heavy shortage in all the segments. In Bihar, as high as 71 percent of the funds remained unspent due to the delay in finalisation of tender for procurement. Bihar was also deprived of central fund share of Rs 119.82 crore due to a slow pace of expenditure. There were also grave issues of delay in the release of matching share essential for claiming the central funds in Bihar.

Rajasthan police could not utilise MPF funds ranging between 36 percent and 79 percent during the period 2009-14. The audit report observed that the department machinery was ill-prepared to implement the scheme. In Maharashtra, the non-utilisation was highest at an astounding 88 percent under equipment component. Massive fund under-utilisation too remained a concern in Assam, (2009-14) Himachal Pradesh (2011-16) and Gujarat (2009-15).

7.1.3 Acute shortage of police buildings

The financial mess is bound to be reflected in shortages of critical infrastructure requirements across the states. In UP, only 9 percent of the total requirement of residential quarters was sanctioned during the years 1998-2016. This amounted to 5.156 quarters against the total requirement of 59.453 accommodations of different types. Only 499 (47%) out of 1,064 of police stations in Bihar have their own buildings. The 2011-16 audit also observed a severe shortage of housing - 76 percent for 'upper subordinates' and 83 percent for 'lower subordinates'.

In Maharashtra, during 2011-16, only 8 percent of planned residential and non-residential buildings (including police stations) could be constructed/upgraded, even as there was an unspent balance of Rs 205.76 crore at the end of September 2016 in this component. The audit found that in eight selected districts of Assam, only 36 residential buildings were constructed against the requirement of 2,748 up to March 2009. This meant a shortage of almost 99 percent (2,712) buildings during 2009-14. The situation was found to be similar in Tamil Nadu, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and other states. Only 2,553 staff quarters (10.27%) were found available by the audit for 24,863 staff

in Uttarakhand, according to the report of 2011-16. The situation was found to be similar in West Bengal, where audit done in nine police stations have revealed the availability of only 26 (10%) quarters against the requirement of 254. Despite BPRD advocating residential accommodation for all staff, the availability of the same was far behind the prescribed standards across states.

7.1.4 Poor mobility and a severe shortage of police vehicles

A recurrent perception about the police, which needs to be corrected, is that they always reach the crime scene late, almost as a practice. The CAG audits give a clue to this laggard behaviour. Audits have brought out extreme shortage of vehicles in all categories across the states. In MP, there was a shortage of 71 percent or 14,107 motorcycles, 720 heavy vehicles, 1382 four wheelers (21%) and still went on to buy 102 Sedan cars (Rs.5.88 crores) in violation of MPF guidelines.

The BPRD norms call for availability of two light motor vehicles and three motor cycles for each of the police stations (PS).

Bihar was able to procure only 531 vehicles out of 2,160 proposed. In Maharashtra, only 662 vehicles were procured during 2011-16, leaving a gap of 1,564 vehicles (70%). In nine districts of Maharashtra, there were 5955 vehicles and 5174 drivers against a requirement of 8933 drivers. As a result, Hawldars and Naiks (57%) who were supposed to perform other policing duties were put into driving duties. The shortage of vehicles was similar in Tamil Nadu, Uttarakhand, Rajasthan, Assam and other states. The availability of vehicles was better in only one state, Gujarat, with surplus two and four wheelers compared to the minimum prescribed under BPRD norms.

7.1.5 Erratic communications network

Technology-driven crimes have shot up to pose a huge challenge to policing. To tackle new and emerging threats like cyber-crimes, online hate mongering and identity threats etc. policing needs to equip itself with technology-driven solutions. It requires putting in place a countrywide communication infrastructure across police stations, installation of CCTV cameras at key locations and providing modern communication gadgets to increase connectivity, reach and efficiency.

The CAG audits reflect very poorly on technology-enabled solutions to policing. Uttar Pradesh could not spend nearly 60 percent of Rs 136.51 crore it received under the MPF for buying communication equipment, even as about half of the force was deprived of hand-held sets as per the required norms. The audit noted that nearly two-third sets

in use have already passed their prescribed lives. As of December 2014, the Assam Cyber Crime Investigation Lab (ACCIL) was non-functional as it struggled with shortages like power-backup, broadband, equipment and manpower. During 2009-14 Assam CID was able to dispose only 1.82 percent to 16.15 percent of the outstanding cases, while its sleuths were regularly pushed into law and order duties. The Maharashtra Home Department could spend under 50 percent of the grants (Rs 19.51 crore out of Rs 44.66 crore) for improving the state's communication system. Policemen in Tamil Nadu too faced shortage of more than half of the required quantity of hand-held sets and allied equipment. In Bihar, CCTV cameras bought in 2011-12, were not found installed in eight out of 11 test-checked districts, and were kept in stores, audits of 2011-16 have revealed.

The ambitious CCTNS (Crime and Criminal Tracking Network and Systems), launched a year after the Mumbai attacks of November 2008, simplifies complaints mechanisms and generates real time crime data, besides connecting 15,000 police stations and 5,000 offices of top police officials across the country (Chowdhury, 2015). The compliance rate in this crucial area is between 80 percent and 94 percent in Telangana, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha. On the other hand, Bihar at 11.1 percent lies at the bottom of the chart, as of January 2018, according to CCTNS dashboard hosted on NCRB website.

7.1.6 Shortage of weapons and obsolete equipment

Amid rising crime graph, Bihar continues to face a heavy shortage of modern weapons - 33 percent in INSAS rifle, 42 percent in Pistol, 36 percent in Carbine, 52 percent in AK 47. Due to a heavy shortage of modern weapons, the state police continue to use outdated .303 rifles despite Home Ministry orders to phase them out.

The shortage of AK-47s was to the tune of 76 percent in Gujarat (as per state's own assessment). It does not have an adequate number of modern weaponry (36% shortage) which could compromise the striking capability of the force, the audit report of 2009-15 noted. In Uttarakhand, against a sanctioned requirement of 2,221 modern weapons, only 867 (39.04%) were available. Despite the huge gap, only Rs 1.12 crore was spent for procurement of weapons, which constituted just over 2 percent of the total budget allotted under MPF 2011-16. There

was an overall shortage of 75 percent modern arms during 2009-14 in Rajasthan. In five test districts of West Bengal the deficiencies were: 73 percent in SLRs, 90 percent in AK-47, 100 percent in grenade launchers, 100 percent in assault and sniper rifles and 54 percent in INSAS rifles and 100 percent in night vision sight for rifles. Similar situation prevailed in Himachal Pradesh and many other states.

7.1.7 Severe shortage of forensic labs, manpower

Audit reports flag vacancies of 46 percent of Senior Scientific Officers, 34 percent of Scientific Officers, 48 percent of Lab Technicians, 67 percent of Lab Assistant and 61 percent of Lab Attendants in the FSL in Madhya Pradesh. In one particular Regional Forensic Science Lab (RFSL) in Jabalpur, the auditors found that all sanctioned posts were lying vacant as of March 2016.

Bihar has one of the worst forensic infrastructures in the country with only two regional labs. Even a smaller state like Andhra Pradesh has five RFSLs and 18 MFSU (Mobile Forensic Science Unit) while Odisha has 3 RFSL and 36 MFSU as of March 2017[1]. The department in Bihar also suffers from a massive shortage of manpower with only 66 people posted in the state-level Forensic Science Lab (FSL) in the capital Patna and the two regional forensic labs (RFSLs), against the sanctioned strength of 314 officials, the audit says. This has led to a colossal pendency in the labs. The establishment of four mobile units were delayed in Bihar for the reason that the state failed to form an effective forensic science governing body mandated by the Home Ministry. On the basis of utilisation certificate submitted by the body every six months, the central government releases funds. The central funds to the tune of Rs.1.64 crore for the four forensic units were diverted to the account of Bihar electronic corporation where it was lying till July 2016, the date of audit. This reflects administrative incapacity on the part of who's who of Bihar police and state administration.

Twenty-six per cent vacant positions were found by the auditors in the FSL in Guwahati in Assam. As against the sanctioned strength of 111, the men-in-position were 82. Huge pendency was found in the FSL at Dehradun (Uttarakhand) due to non-availability of adequate workforce. Pendency in Rajasthan forensic labs, due to the shortage of technical staff, varied from 37 to over 50 percent in various laboratories. In West Bengal, the shortage of technical workforce in the state forensic science lab (SFSL) at Kolkata ranged between 38 and

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[1] According to the Directorate of Forensic Science Services website, as of March 2017, Bihar has 4 MFUs. The list of state forensic labs, accessed on December 15th, 2017 was not accessible as the website become dysfunctional on a later date.

88 percent. At least 88 percent positions of lab assistants to 50 percent positions of senior scientific assistants were vacant as of July 2012. There was only one functional biological department out of required seven at the RFSL at Jalpaiguri.

7.1.8 Crumbling police training infrastructure

Bihar has among the worst training infrastructure for its policeman in the country as required training equipment was not found in any of the five selected districts. Even the Constable Training School (CTS) at Nathnagar (Bhagalpur) was found ill-equipped, audits of 2011-16 have revealed. Due to lack of training for operation, bomb disposal suits (body armour designed to withstand pressure of a blast) and non-linear junction detector (counter surveillance device) remained idle despite availability. In Uttarakhand, PTC (police training college) at Narendnagar tehsil (Tehri Garhwal district) did not have a firing range which is a fundamental part of training, and there was a huge shortage of drinking water. Only 5,000 litres of drinking water was given per day against the need for 36,000 litres, while the rest were partially arranged from tanker supplies.

In Rajasthan, according to state specified norms (August 2010), 2,772 pieces of equipment (fibre reinforced plastic helmets, poly carbonate lathis, 771 shields, 615 body protectors) were required in 35 test-checked police stations. Of these only 422 (15.23%) sets of equipment were available, a shortage of nearly 85 percent, audits of 2009-14 reveal. In West Bengal, live training was not imparted for handling some of the weapons viz. LMG, 0.303 rifle, anti-riot gun, grenade and mortar, scrutiny in Swami Vivekananda State Police Academy (SVSPA), Barrackpore, according to audits conducted between 2009 and 2014. Similar situation prevailed across the states.

7.2 Prison audits (of Assam, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Karnataka)

The "Modernisation of Prisons" was launched by the central government in 2002-03 in 27 states on a cost-sharing ratio of 75:25 between the central and the state governments. The management and administration of prisons fall exclusively under the control of the concerned states which are governed by the Prisons Act, 1894, and Prisoners Act, 1900.

The Modern Prison Manual (MPM) prepared by the BPRD 2003 clearly says that a prisoner has the right to be treated as a human being and as a person. The Supreme Court of India has categorically declared that prisoners shall not be treated as nonpersons. The manual explains the rights of the prisoners which comprises right to human dignity. It says that a prisoner is guaranteed the right to basic minimum needs such as adequate diet, health, medical care and treatment, access to clean and proper drinking water, access to clean and hygienic conditions of accommodation, sanitation and personal hygiene, appropriate clothing and bedding.

7.2.1 Assam

The fund mismanagement story continues in Assam prisons also. Despite the prison security facing challenges due to acute shortage of guarding staff, weapons, an insufficient height of boundary walls and absence of watch towers and security equipment, while Rs.49.15 crore of funds remained unspent during 2011-16. At least 68 escapes were registered during 2012-15. The audit found that in 2012-16, while 18 jails faced the issue of overcrowding of inmates, the registered capacities of 12 prisons remained unutilised.

Despite the issue of overcrowding, over 60 percent of the inmates were undertrial prisoners (UTPs). The Under-Trial Review Committees meant for reviewing the duration of imprisonment of UTPs, did not function in 15 jails during the audit period. Vocational training was imparted to only 4 percent and educational training to even less than 20 percent of inmates during each of the last five calendar years ending December 2015.

7.2.2 Rajasthan

CAG audits of 2011-16 reveal that in 12 Rajasthan jails, security equipment was found out of order and not provided in three sub-jails, even as incidents of prisoner escapes increased during 2012-15 in the state. At least 323 inmates escaped in 275 incidents during the period.

Unhygienic conditions prevail in prisons across the states. Prisoners' stay in the jails gets prolonged as authorities repeatedly fail to produce them in courts due to non-availability of vehicles. The audit disclosed that in nine out of the 16 test-checked units, there was non-availability of any vehicle for transportation of prisoners to courts and hospitals. Test checks of selected prisons for 2012-16, also revealed that in seven of these the mandatory medical examination to be conducted at the time of admission was not carried out. In eight jails, 129 inmates died during 2012-16 due to diseases such as TB, AIDs and cancer. Out of these, 49 inmates were infected during their term of imprisonment. The audit clearly revealed that these 146 (49+97)

prisoners were perfectly healthy and free from any ailment or infection at the time of entering the jail. Similarly, in seven jails, 97 inmates contracted TB in the jail premises. This shows the pathetic condition of health services in the prisons.

7.2.3 Himachal Pradesh

The state has not yet revised its prison manual as per MPM 2003 of the BPRD. The CAG audits of 2013-16 revealed that 809 new prisoners admitted were not segregated on medical grounds, age and behaviour. Of this, 456 prisoners found to be suffering from various diseases like tuberculosis, scabies and heart disease and renal problems were lodged with other prisoners in the barracks. Audit noticed that in two test-checked jails (Kanda and Mandi), 65 percent prisoners who were referred to government hospitals in 2013-16 could not be sent due to an insufficient police escort. The audit also noted non-availability of medical officers in test-checked jails, essential for any kind of emergency. Against four sanctioned posts of doctors in these jails, the audit could find only one officer posted in central jail, Kanda during (2013-16). Surprisingly, no posts of doctors were earmarked for other jails in Himachal Pradesh.

The audit also revealed an acute shortage of sleeping berths (or raised platform of 6.5 ft. X 2.25 X 1.5 ft.) for prisoners in all the five barracks of Bilaspur Jail. Such berths were not found in 21 barracks, out of 42 audited barracks. Thus gross violations of rights of the prisoners as recommended under the Model Prison Manual, 2003 was noted.

7.2.4 Karnataka

CAG has noted that Karnataka is still managing with an outdated 1978 prison manual and has not yet revised it against the BPRD recommendations. The audit reports from 2010-15 revealed that many electronic equipment (hand held metal detectors, door frame metal detectors, deep search metal detectors, baggage scanners) procured were not in working condition, in a tech-savvy state which prides itself in being India's Silicon Valley. Worse still is that no action had been initiated to get them repaired, the CAG audit has noted.

In test checked prisons before 2014, it was found that out of the 58 cameras installed, 47 were non-functional, of which 43 cameras were irreparable. The medical records of prisoners, such as the prescription/case books, medical treatment registers and hospital rolls were also not maintained regularly. Posts of doctors were not sanctioned in four out of five district prisons or sub-jails. There was no lady Medical Officer in any of the jails test-checked.

7.3 Conclusion: CAG shows a method in our madness

The CAG audits of the MPF programme of the states show that the problem typically begins with the mishandling of funds, their allocation and fulfilling of statutory requirements like making of the mandatory Annual Action Plans (AAP), the five-year strategic plans, and sharing them with the central government for a smooth flow of resources. These include the procurement of weapons, construction of buildings, purchase of vehicles, setting up of forensic labs, providing training and provisioning a range of equipment. Who ends up paying the price of delays, inefficiencies or procedural lapses? It is not just the common people or the lower-level officials who suffer but also the rule of law and the state of democracy in the country.

The audit reports show that most of the states formulated AAPs without taking inputs from district units which is a requirement. They routinely lost funds for not taking approvals for strategic plans from MHA or underutilised the MPF funds. Assam, HP, MP, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, UP, Uttarakhand, West Bengal and Gujarat too defaulted in these aspects. Bihar could not spend 71 percent of the funds, Assam used only 68 percent of the released fund, in Himachal, non-utilisation of funds ranged between 21 and 87 percent. In Maharashtra, there was 88 percent non-utilisation in equipment component. These are only a few examples of the pattern exposed by the CAG audit reports.

All the 11 states audited fully have severe shortage of police buildings but despite the availability of funds, they have failed to build new police stations, barracks and houses. There was almost 99 percent shortage of staff quarters in eight selected districts of Assam, nearly 80 percent in Bihar, 88 percent in Himachal Pradesh, 69 percent in Rajasthan, 48 percent in Uttar Pradesh, over 89 percent in Uttarakhand, 90 percent in the test checked districts of West Bengal. The percentage of utilisation of construction funds in Maharashtra and Gujarat was only 8 percent and 26 percent respectively. This indicates that laxity and inefficiency could be as high a culprit for lack of adequate resources as the actual shortage of funds.

A substantial chunk of staff quarters in many states, which were somehow made available, were found to be dilapidated or in bad condition. Same thing can be said about transportation and patrolling vehicles which need to be procured according to the norms set up by the BPRD. Among the worst performers were Maharashtra and Bihar (70% and 75% shortage in procurements of all vehicles respectively), UP

(68% shortage of patrolling vehicles) and MP (71% shortage of motorbikes).

In the forensic science infrastructure, the situation is particularly worrisome where state after state is guilty of neglecting this crucial area of investigation. In Bihar almost 80 percent of all positions in forensic labs are vacant, in West Bengal 88 percent of lab assistants' position were vacant. Even in the states where the forensic infrastructure appears to be better, such as UP, almost 70 percent positions are vacant. In the want of proper facilities, most states depend on the Central Forensic Science Laboratories (CFSLs) located at Chandigarh, Kolkata, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Pune, Guwahati and New Delhi which work under the Directorate of Forensic Sciences Services (DFSS). As for the preparedness of the police to deal with the rising number of cyber-crimes, the less said is better.

The above examples show that virtually no lessons are being learnt from the CAG audit reports which are painstakingly done in a scientific manner. Under the circumstances, it seems that the best thing about CAG audits is that they are still taking place. The worst thing, of course, is that their meticulous endeavours do not seem to deter the corrupt or the inefficient bureaucrats and political leaders from continuing the business as usual at huge cost to the nation and its people.

A limitation of the analysis of CAG reports is that data on the different states were not found to be across the same parameters, therefore making comparison difficult in many cases. For instance, information regarding cyber-crime/communication infrastructure was not available for the states of Rajasthan, West Bengal and MP on comparable parameters. A detailed comparative CAG data for all the relevant parameters for 11 states has been incorporated in the Appendix 8.

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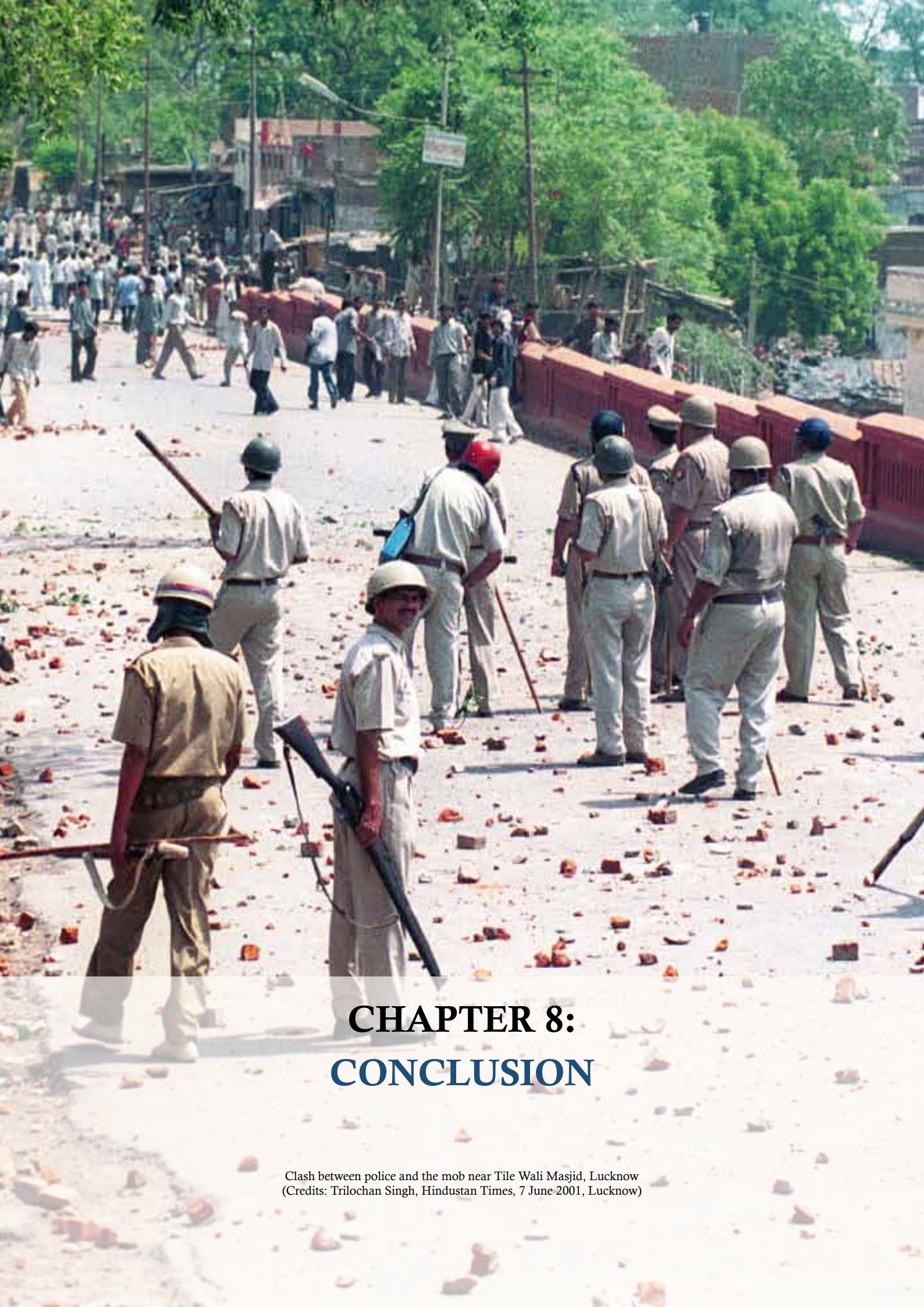
CHAPTER 8:
CONCLUSION

Clash between police and the mob near Tile Wali Masjid, Lucknow
(Credits: Trilochan Singh, Hindustan Times, 7 June 2001, Lucknow)

Conclusion

Public institutions are central to social and political life of modern societies. They play a crucial role in democratic governance and therefore it is expected that their functioning will result in goodwill and legitimacy for the state. However, the Indian experience on the ground leaves much to be desired. While institutions such as the Army have gained popularity and acceptability (SDSA 2007 & 2015), other formal bodies such as the police, elected representatives and even the judiciary have been viewed with increasing cynicism. In the context of the functioning of the police in India, it is widely believed that they do not always cater to the interests of common citizens and suffer from a systemic lack of accountability. As a result, a perceptible trust deficit has developed over the years.

It is in this light that the Status *of Policing in India Report 2018: A Study of Performance and Perceptions* was conceived. The report is an attempt to understand the functioning of the police by placing people at the centre-stage of their assessment. The report is a conscious effort to move away from a micro analysis and it tries to offer the big picture regarding the understanding of satisfaction and trust in the rule of law, police excesses, perception of discrimination, responsiveness of criminal justice system and levels of impartiality. The survey data from 22 states provides valuable clues on degrees of public support, police-community relations and ascertain the overall impact of the police force on the ground.

8.1 Context

Before we proceed to make sense of the empirical data, it would be useful to reiterate the broader context of policing in India that informs people's relationship, opinions and experiences. The Indian policing system as a whole has colonial origins. The British constituted colonial policing with the passage of Indian Police Act, 1861, wherein the intent was to establish a relationship of control, coercion and surveillance over a subject population. The onset of democracy after independence did little to change the structure of the police since the organization and rules established by the repressive colonial power continued business as usual. Numerous police reform commissions have recommended wide-ranging changes, but without effective implementation. Today, organisational, political and managerial deficiencies of the Indian police system have severely inhibited its performance. Decades of partisan functioning of police machinery, frequent failures to register complaints and investigate crime, arbitrary detentions, torture and killings have resulted in significant public distrust and fear of the police (Human Rights Watch 2009). At the same time, inefficient deployment of personnel, lack of basic crime investigation equipment and training, limited promotional opportunities for junior rank officers and relegation to menial tasks has left them demoralized and exhausted. Some of this comes across rather clearly in the CAG reports on the functioning of the state police forces, as detailed in Chapter Seven. The police reform agenda has also failed to address the working and living conditions of low-ranking police officers, who are often the perpetrators of abuses, carrying out illegal orders or operating within a police culture and command structure that condones and facilitates bad behavior. In the rigid hierarchy of rank and function between the superintendents, inspectors and the constable; senior police officers drawn from the elite cadre of the Indian Police Service have been relatively unaffected.

Another dimension of this broader context is the churning Indian society is witnessing, particularly in the past quarter of a century. This churning, characterized by new claims by backward communities and by new aspirations and tensions generated by the shift in the economic policies, has challenged pre-existing hierarchies and produced extra-ordinary pressures on India's public institutions. The increased demands of being more representative, accountable and efficient have also made the public institutions more fragile. The law & order machinery is no exception to this overall trend, but perhaps is in the forefront of these contextual dynamics placing by the greatest challenges before it.

8.2. Key findings from the perception survey and official data on police, prisons and crime in India

A survey of people's perception of the police warrants a comparative study of people's attitudes with the patterns and findings emerging from the statistical data available from official sources. It is for this juxtaposition that an evaluation of data available from NCRB and BPRD was carried out. While the analysis of official data does not directly correlate with the survey findings, both bring out nearly similar trends and patterns.

The principal findings in this report have both challenged conventional notions of policing and also reiterated and endorsed popular beliefs and generalisations. As discussed in the preceding chapters, it is clear that people's perception and opinion of police are evenly split between positive

and negative assessments. Our analysis revealed a peculiar dissonance surrounding policing: even as citizens' continue to fear the police, they simultaneously show considerable satisfaction with the rule of law. This puzzling coexistence of despair and hope is illustrated through many findings: while a large number of people were willing to approach the police if the need arises, in the same breath they also shared that they do not expect police officers to give them fair and equal treatment.

Presented early on in the report is the finding that a fairly small proportion of citizens contacted the police in recent past and a majority was satisfied with the help received. Even those citizens who experienced negative police contact (such as non-registration of complaint/FIR and compulsion to pay bribe) did not develop too high a negative attitude towards police as one would have expected. We also found that police's initial response to crime; positive police contact and sense of safety in neighborhood have a direct bearing on citizens' levels of satisfaction and trust. Prior positive police contact was associated with greater optimism and openness towards future police contact.

8.2.1 Discrimination, minorities and vulnerability

An important point of overlap between survey data and official data pertains to the relationship of the police with vulnerable communities in India. In the Common Cause- CSDS survey, the opinion of those who affirmed the discriminatory attitudes of rule of law revealed core cleavages of caste and community. Specifically, class emerged as the most significant and telling cleavage of discriminatory attitudes, with over a half of the respondents confirming that police discriminates between the rich and the poor; followed by caste, gender and religion. Geographically, citizens' perception of caste-based discrimination by the police was highest in Bihar, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh. The opinion of Dalits in particular in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh on caste based discrimination stood out compared to other states.

We also found that incidences of fear of police were lowest among people living in metropolitan cities, among people belonging to the upper castes in general and the upper castes in rural areas. Communities which were vulnerable and fearful in one context may not feel so in another situation: thus, the levels of fear among the Muslims were dependent on their levels of concentration in the area. In states where population concentration of the Muslims is higher, their levels of fear were lower whereas in states with

lower concentration, the levels of fear were seen to be higher. A large plurality of respondents stated that the police remain impartial in case of an inter-community conflict, however, among those who disagreed, Muslims were most likely to endorse the view of police's partiality.

Citizens' responses also revealed an inversely proportional relationship between a person's social status, i.e., their class, caste, gender, etc. and their levels of trust in the police. This perception can be rationalized through the findings from the official objective data which exhibit a systemic bias against vulnerable sections of the community- SCs, STs, OBCs, women, children and the Muslims. This bias is evident at certain levels, particularly at the level of recruitment of SCs, STs, OBCs and women in the police force. The failure of the states to meet the statutory mandate of reservations for SCs, STs and OBCs is made worse by the fact that the representation of these groups is actually decreasing over the years in a number of states, contrary to the popular opinion. Women, who should ideally be representing half the police force, stood at a meager 7.3 percent representation in 2016, with none of the states being able to meet even the 33 percent benchmark. Data for the Muslims in the police force, available only till the year 2013, presents an equally bleak picture with poor representation of the Muslims in the police in proportion to their population in the states. In contrast, however, there is a drastic over-representation of the above groups, barring women, in the prisons of India. Of the 22 states studied for a period of five years, there is disproportionately higher representation in prisons of the SCs in 18 states, of the STs in 19 states and of the Muslims in all of the 22 surveyed states. Since data for the OBCs is not available in the Census 2011, a similar analysis could not be done for them.

8.2.2 Police violence and sympathy for personnel

Another complex finding pertains to the high levels of popular agreement on police violence against the criminals. While geographically, there were significant variations across states, the overall pattern showed that a majority of citizens condoned it instead of disapproving it. This finding helps us understand excesses by police. The citizens, in their eagerness to address crime, are ready to posit trust in the police and believe that police apprehend only the guilty. Secondly, citizens also seem to care less for procedures and the foundational principles of rule of law as far as inquiry into guilt of the suspects and punishment of the guilty are concerned. Therefore, a tendency depicted and glorified by entertainment

industry about police turning themselves into judge and executioner seems to pervade both the self-image of many police personnel and the ordinary citizen. As a result, this study finds that the knowledge of police violence does not agitate the public much; on the contrary, it earns public approbation.

8.2.3 Police infrastructure

Our survey sought to evaluate police performance based on their direct contact with the public. The official data, on the other end of the spectrum, examined the infrastructural setup of the police as an organisation. Poor utilization of funds is a chronic issue amongst all government institutions, with the police being no exception. In 2015, the utilization percentage of funds for police modernisation in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Bihar was shockingly nil.

The Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG hereafter) of India has done an extensive performance audit of police establishments in several states and it reports substantial mismanagement of modernisation funds, along with infrastructural breakdowns across the 11 states in which the audits were conducted. These reports tell the story of inefficiency and maladministration in the police structure. The poor state of criminal justice system in India may be symptomatic of this larger organizational malfunctioning. Bihar, for instance, failed to spend 71 percent of the modernisation funds due to delays in finalization of tenders for procurement, while in Uttar Pradesh 80 percent of funds for training equipments had to be surrendered due to administrative inefficiency.

A similar story of mismanagement and inefficiency in the police infrastructure is documented across the different parameters evaluated by the CAG – be it shortage of buildings, vehicles, arms and ammunition, forensic or communication infrastructures. More than two-thirds of the police staff from Madhya Pradesh could not be provided government accommodation. While the BPRD data may not reveal a shortage of police stations against its sanctioned number, but when measured against the norms set up by BPRD itself, a severe scarcity is disclosed, with 44 percent shortage in Uttar Pradesh alone.

The vehicles and communication infrastructure are equally deficient and outdated. The shortage of vehicles ranges from 40 percent shortage of motorcycles in Rajasthan to 71 percent in Madhya Pradesh. When it comes to weaponry, nearly half the police force in Uttar Pradesh continues to use outdated arms, while Rajasthan is short of 75 percent of the required modern weaponry.

Two important components of police infrastructure that would have a direct bearing on the investigation of crime and prosecution duties of the police – forensics labs and training of police personnel – are in equally pathetic condition. Forensic laboratories are severely under-staffed, with shortages of over two-third in UP and over three-fourth in Bihar. Basic training equipment were also found to be absent across the states. Firing range was not available in several training schools in many states, such as Uttarakhand.

8.2.4 Police autonomy

While everyone expects police to be impartial and efficient, the idea of police autonomy does not seem to have much purchase. Neither the political executive nor the public in general appear to be concerned much about police having autonomy in their functioning. So, police autonomy is a matter often relegated to the backrooms of policy and does not receive much traction in terms of public support or demand. Yet, people's perception of police autonomy appeared to be informed in a significant way by their overall opinion of police- people who believed that police is not independent were more likely to hold a negative perception of them. This is an important finding since it shows that perhaps one of the biggest roadblocks to improving perceptions lies in improving police independence. One of the directives of the Supreme Court in the *Prakash Singh vs Union of India* judgment of 2006 on police reforms was the establishment of the State Security Commissions (SSC) which would ensure that the police is able to function independent of unwarranted government control, pressure or influence. Of the 13 state Acts which were studied to understand the level of compliance to the judgment, all 13 have established SSCs, but the composition of its membership appears to be compromised. Five states do not have provisions for the Leader of Opposition to be a member, which is mandated, while four do not provide for non-political or independent members. Worse still, the recommendations of the Commission have been made statutorily binding through specific provisions to that effect in only two states, Kerala and Himachal Pradesh.

8.2.5 Incidence of crime

Another crucial marker for people's satisfaction with police in India, as revealed through the survey findings, is the direct correlation between lower crime rates as perceived by the people with increased satisfaction with police performance. Overall, we found that a greater proportion of citizens said that crime had decreased in their locality in the last 2-3 years. A variation in the perception of crime was observed primarily in urban areas: as the locality

increased in size and urbanity, citizens reported an increase in the occurrence of crime.

The crime rate from the official data suggests that when taken as a cumulative score of the total crime rates, violent crime rates, and rates of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children, states such as Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Jharkhand fare the best, signaling the lowest crime rates. An important finding here is that while the total rates of crimes have had little fluctuations over the last five years, the rates of crimes against women, children, SCs and STs have increased considerably between 2012 and 2016.

8.2.6   Trust and satisfaction

The survey also illustrated that contrary to impressions, the police enjoy a fairly high degree of trust, while explicit expression of high distrust was somewhat limited. However, in relation to other public institutions such as the Army and the judiciary, the police is less trusted and only fared better when compared to other government officers. Earlier studies (both rounds of SDSA) suggest that institutions that are distant from routine lives of citizens tend to acquire a halo and greater trust whereas institutions that have to continually come into direct contact with citizens accumulate less trust. In the case of the police, this is doubly true: police being an institution that is in constant interaction with citizens, tends to be more critically evaluated and those segments of the police force, such as the higher officials in the police hierarchy with whom citizens' interaction is much more limited tend to enjoy greater trust than police personnel in the lower ranks.

More than a person's background, trust in police was to a large extent a function of satisfaction, perception and experience with it. Hierarchies of class, caste etc. impact one's vulnerability and as vulnerability increases, trust levels in public institutions decrease. That is, poor and lower classes, the STs and non literates had the highest levels of distrust in police than privileged sections of respondents. In a society driven by acute social inequalities, this is bad news indeed. If the criterion of successful democracy were satisfaction and trust of those at the bottom of social hierarchies, then this failure of the police becomes central to any discussion of trust in police.

While trust and satisfaction seem to be correlated when seen in overall terms, people appear to understand the two concepts quite differently in some of the states. We saw a divergent pattern wherein states that reported highest trust levels with the police on our scoring scale were not the states that also reported the highest satisfaction levels. If Assam, Jharkhand and Haryana were the top

three states in terms of trust in police, in terms of satisfaction with the functioning of police in one's area, the top three states were Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Odisha.

An important parameter for satisfaction with public institutions is their efficiency and promptness in dealing with cases. For the criminal justice system, this can be measured through the disposal of cases-an Index developed using the charge sheeting rate, disposal percentage of cases by police, conviction rate and disposal percentage of cases by courts. Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh figure at the top of the disposal Index, while Delhi, West Bengal and Assam figure at the bottom. It is to be noted that disposal of cases by the police is uniformly better across all states than disposal of cases by the courts. (For the police the disposal of a case here denotes a cumulative score of charge sheeting rate and the percentage of cases in which investigation has been completed by the police. For the courts, the disposal of a case means conviction rate and the percentage of cases in which trial has been completed by the court) However, here again, discrimination against vulnerable groups is evident – disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children is poorer than the disposal of the total IPC and SLL cases. Whether the disposal is by the police or by the courts, this trend is found to be uniform nearly across all states. For instance, while the overall conviction rate for IPC and SLL cases in India is 75 percent it falls to a poor 21 percent when it comes to cases of crimes against women.

8.2.7 State comparisons

The Report draws attention to interstate variations and in some cases, interstate uniformities. We hope that states would learn from this report as far as their state-specific weaknesses are concerned and address the gaps and limitations. A spirit of healthy comparison and competition can only enhance the performance of state level institutions such as the police.

An overview of the official data shows that Himachal Pradesh performed consistently well on multiple parameters such as crime rate index, police diversity index, prison data index and compliance to the Prakash Singh directives, particularly with respect to police autonomy. Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh performed well in the category of disposal of cases. However, Uttar Pradesh was lagging behind in all other aspects of policing such as diversity, infrastructure and prison data indices. Delhi performed well on the police infrastructure index but poorly on the crime and disposal (of total cases, and cases of crimes against SCs, women and children) indices. West Bengal also figured as one of

the weakly performing states on the diversity index and along with Assam on the disposal (of total crimes, crimes against STs and children) indices.

According to the public perception survey, on nearly all the parameters, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar were the least performing states, and Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Odisha stood out as the best performing states. A large gap in the performance of states in both the categories was observed. For example, on parameters such as satisfaction with the performance of police, if Kerala ranked first, on the other end of the spectrum, Bihar scored the lowest and was ranked at the bottom. The variation between Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh on positive perception of the police was widest at 47 points. Uttar Pradesh in particular fared poorly on multiple parameters such as positive perception of police, trust in the police, sympathy for the working conditions of police officers and favorability towards women in the police force. Among the larger states Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh performed poorly on caste based discrimination by the police, whereas Kerala, Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh ranked on top in terms of trust in local police. On the parameter of police brutality, while nearly all the states condoned police violence, states such Himachal Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal and Nagaland stood out with the majority of the respondents rejecting police violence.

Some states fared better in one domain than others suggesting that there is scope to improve their performance with specific targeted interventions. For example Jharkhand and Telangana fared well on parameters such as trust in the local police and satisfaction with police help. However, incidence of crime was found to be greatest in Jharkhand and dissatisfaction with police's investigation of crime was significantly high in Telangana.

Juxtaposing evidence from the two data sources shows that that the overall performance of Kerala is not consistent across official data and perception survey. The perception survey illustrated that the state performed well on parameters such as positive police contact, incidence of crime, religious discrimination by the police and police autonomy. However, according to the official data, disposal indices (indices based on disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children) highlight that Kerala performed poorly on two of the disposal indices (disposal of cases of crimes against SCs and STs). Apart from the prison Index, the state does not figure in the list of top three best performing states on any of the other indices.

These variations have dissuaded us from constructing a composite index of police performance for all states. Such an index would distract attention from state specific strengths and weaknesses and focus only on the net result in the form of a ranking. Such rankings make splash but fail the policy makers and the concerned actors to identify areas that require more attention. The present report prefers the more mundane route of detailing to the more dramatic route of ranking with a view to allow for nuance and hopes for targeted action because it is not the ranking but the actual improvement in policing and the satisfaction of the citizen which matters most.

8.3 Challenge of institutional rejuvenation

Policing is an unenviable task. Notwithstanding the objectives to help the innocent and the needy, to enhance and protect the civic virtue and to strengthen the idea of citizenship, the exercise of force and coercion not only posits extra-ordinary authority in the institutions and personnel involved in policing, it also potentially invites criticism of excess and arbitrariness. Any assessment of police therefore is bound to be complex and even disputed. More so, when the society is characterized by diversity and competing claims by groups located at different places in the socio-economic hierarchies. This report seeks to bring out these complexities in an exercise assessing the performance of police.

The report does not have evidence of full scale condemnation of police by the public. Contrary to popular narratives of chronic deficit of trust in institutions, our study found that citizens hold moderate levels of satisfaction and trust in the police. This apparently counterintuitive puzzle suggests that there is variance in the assessment of institutions such as the police by ordinary citizens on the one hand, and activists, opinion leaders and political theorists on the other. The difference in assessment is largely due to the nature of yardsticks which are applied. There has been an enduring sense of despair among activists, social workers and academics regarding the functioning, accountability and failure of public institutions in India. Political theorists in particular rely on theoretical explanations for understanding trust in institutions and these might be at variance with popular perception of public institutions. Ordinary citizens, on the other hand, appear to be more optimistic and their moderate levels of trust and distrust need not be understood as absolute and uncritical submission to institutions of power and authority. Citizens express negative opinions somewhat sparingly. The Indian citizen is patient and indulgent toward authority. As the preceding chapters show, rather than expressing views located at the extremes of positive or negative assessment, respondents tend to remain skeptically hopeful and hence situate their assessments in the intermediate terrain. In fact, the negative assessment

that comes to forefront despite these factors is rather striking and is certainly a cause for concern.

Our analyses suggest that there is a clear relation between vicarious experience (in the form of levels of awareness about police violence), negative encounters with the police and people's fear and perception of police. That is, the impact of police action on public opinion is not limited to the individuals that police deal with directly. People's negative contact (e.g. non registration of FIR, complaint and compulsion to pay bribe) with the police shapes public opinion as much through its impact on friends, family and acquaintances as through the citizen directly involved in the encounter. Since attempts to improve public opinion by promoting positive contacts with the police would probably be insufficient on their own, reducing the number of negative encounters with the police are likely to be more consequential. In addition, greater accountability of police personnel will also help improve citizens' faith in public institutions and give them assurance of impartial inquiry.

At the first glance, the reader may also sense a dichotomy between citizens perceptions and the findings from the official data. That is, the average Indian appears to be satisfied with the day-to-day functioning of the police machinery despite critical deficiencies in the police infrastructure; poor performance on parameters such as disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children; lack of diversity in the police force and disproportionate representation of minorities in prisons. But a careful examination reveals that the two in fact feed into each other. It is not necessarily a paradox that people's levels of satisfaction with the police are high despite its poor performance on several indicators. A clearer understanding of this emerges when we examine the levels of sympathy with the police, and discern it in the context of administrative and state failures in providing optimum infrastructure for effective policing.

This study also highlights the importance of periodic evaluation of official data on law enforcement, measuring public opinion and understanding the impact of policing through objectively designed surveys. This kind of empirical evidence will act as an intervention to improve public satisfaction, hold police departments and senior officers accountable for their relationship with citizens, and provide pathways for future research on public institutions in India.

In nutshell, the present report shows that the police face a critical test today. As an institution, in most states of India, people are not exactly happy with the police but as our survey shows, people have still not given up on the institution. If the dissatisfaction and distrust increase that would have deep impact not merely on the police but on the legitimacy of the Indian state. It would adversely affect not merely popular perceptions of police but also the ability of democratic institutions to exercise authority with care and efficiency. Often, questions of improving police as an institution are conveniently laid at the doors of the politician and the policy maker. But a careful look at the findings here would suggest that even as the politician and the policy maker need to be persuaded to do their bit, the police leadership can also respond to the issues arising from these findings, without waiting for larger and systemic reforms. Sheer professional commitment requires that the police leadership should address issues of limited reform and urgent improvement.

Of course, the larger question that this report should leave us with is this: Do we allow institutional corrosion leading the citizens to more negative views thereby risking legitimacy of police; in the process, also risking that citizens will further lose hope and confidence in institutions of legitimate coercion or should there be efforts at stalling the spiral of negativity that permeates our institutions, including the police? We hope that the dawn of institutional rejuvenation is what the citizens of this country deserve and this report is a small step in the direction of making this dream possible.

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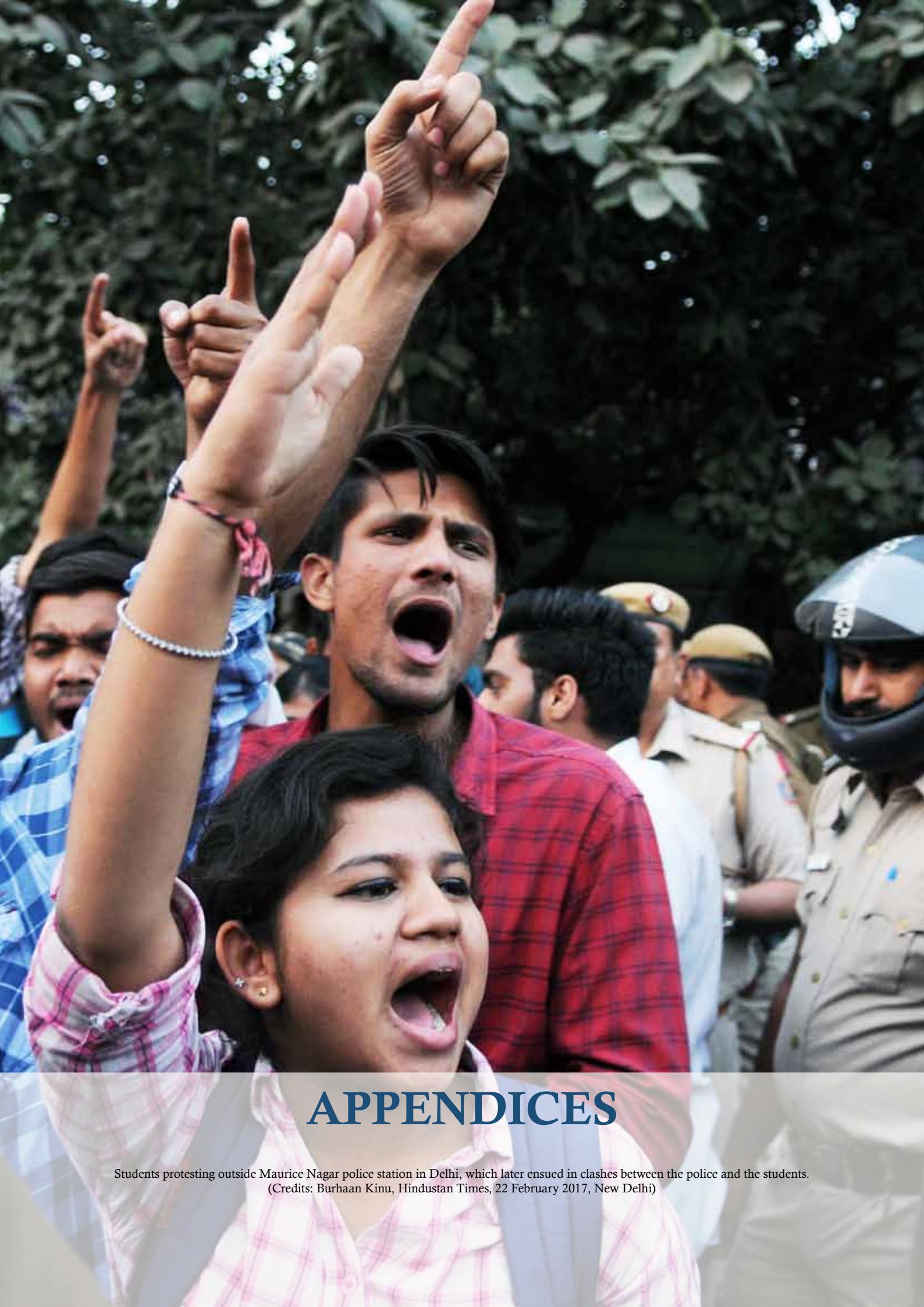
APPENDICES

Students protesting outside Maurice Nagar police station in Delhi, which later ensued in clashes between the police and the students.
(Credits: Burhaan Kinu, Hindustan Times, 22 February 2017, New Delhi)

Appendix 1. Technical Details of Study Design and Sample

Status of Policing in India Report 2018: A Study of Performance and Perceptions is based on a sample survey of 15563 respondents across 188 assembly constituencies in 22 states of India. The surveyed states were namely Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Delhi, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Telangana. The survey was conducted by Lokniti-Programme for Comparative Democracy, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), in the months of June and July, 2017.

I. Sampling Method

One of the key objectives of the study was to provide state-wise analysis of performance and perception of policing. Therefore, the sample size for all 22 states was pre-decided based on their size. In big states such as Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, 880 interviews were to be targeted. In midsized states such as Odisha and Karnataka, 720 interviews and in small states such as Delhi and Nagaland, 480 interviews were to be targeted.

Stage I: Sampling of Assembly Constituencies (ACs)

Based on the pre-decided sample target for each state and with a target of about 80 interviews per seat, the number of ACs to be sampled per state was arrived at. A total of 188 assembly constituencies were randomly selected using the Probability Proportionate to Size method.

Stage II: Sampling of Polling Stations (PSs)

The second stage of sampling was the selection of four polling stations within each sampled AC. 752 polling stations were selected by listing all the PSs within the sampled ACs in the serial order followed by the Election Commission. The selection of PS was also done using the Systematic Random Sampling Method.

Stage III: Sampling of Respondents

The third and final stage of sampling was selection of the respondents. In every polling station, 35 respondents were selected from the latest electoral rolls using the Systematic Random Sampling Method. This procedure ensured that the selected sample was fully representative of the cross-section of voters in the country. In each sampled polling station, a list of sampled respondents was prepared by listing their name, age, gender and address.

Table A1: Sampling framework

States	Proposed Sample	Number of ACs	Number of Sampled ACs	Achieved Sample
Andhra Pradesh	900	175	11	1103
Assam	500	126	6	466
Bihar	900	243	11	814
Gujarat	900	182	11	895
Haryana	500	90	6	478
Himachal Pradesh	500	68	6	441
Karnataka	700	224	9	812
Kerala	700	140	9	613
Madhya Pradesh	900	230	11	883
Maharashtra	900	288	11	806
Nagaland	500	60	6	549
Odisha	700	147	9	809
Punjab	500	117	6	488
Rajasthan	800	200	10	764
Tamil Nadu	900	234	11	1011

States	Proposed Sample	Number of ACs	Number of Sampled ACs	Achieved Sample
Uttar Pradesh	900	403	11	850
West Bengal	900	294	11	834
Delhi	500	70	6	503
Jharkhand	500	81	6	500
Chhattisgarh	500	90	6	475
Uttarakhand	500	70	6	658
Telangana	700	119	9	811
Total	15300			15563

II. Research Instrument

a) Preparation of the Questionnaire: The English questionnaire was designed after a rigorous dialogue in a series of meetings and discussions. The main objective of the survey was to study citizens' experience with the police, their satisfaction and trust in the rule of law, police excesses, perception of discrimination, responsiveness of criminal justice system and levels of impartiality. Most questions in the questionnaire were structured, i.e., close-ended. However there were some that were kept open-ended in order to find out the respondent's spontaneous feelings about an issue without giving her/him a pre-decided set of options.

Pre-testing and Finalizing the Questionnaire: To check the accuracy and credibility of the questions set in the questionnaire, it was necessary to administer it in the field. A pilot fieldwork was conducted on April 17-18, 2017 in poor & lower income settlements, middle & upper income settlements and urban villages of Delhi. No sampling of any sort was carried out during pre-testing. The pre-testing was conducted by the research team at Lokniti and Common Cause which was involved in the questionnaire designing. After getting inputs from the researchers, the questions were reframed, omitted and added. This process also gave insights to determine the length of questionnaire, writing instructions for field investigators and adding and omitting some new options in answer categories.

Translation: It would not be justifiable to use a single language questionnaire in a multi lingual country like India. Therefore, translation was done for each state by the regional team which was familiar with the language of each region before administering the questionnaire in field. The questionnaire was translated in eleven (Assamese, Bangla, Hindi, Gujarati, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya and Punjabi) languages.

Training Workshop: A two-day training workshop was organized in each state before the survey fieldwork began in order to train the field investigators (FIs) and supervisors who carry out the fieldwork operations. The trainers conducted an intensive and interactive workshop wherein investigators underwent an orientation programme and were trained rigorously on survey method, interviewing techniques and communication with the respondents. A comprehensive and detailed interviewing guide, designed on the basis of the questionnaire and survey methodology, was prepared for the interviewers. For a better understanding of the questionnaire, mock interviews were also conducted by the interviewers.

b) Fieldwork: The fieldwork of the survey took place in the months of June and July, 2017. Field investigators, who were mainly students of social sciences belonging to colleges and universities in different parts of the country, were selected to carry out the field work. They conducted face to face interviews with the respondents at the place of residence of the respondent using a standardized questionnaire in the language spoken and understood by her/ him. They were instructed to interview only those respondents whose names were given to them. At some locations the non-availability of sampled respondents or difficulty in locating households necessitated replacements or substitutions. A total of 15562 interviews could be completed across the 22 States.

c) Data checking and analysis: All questionnaires were manually screened for consistency and quality check. The questionnaire had codes (of pre-coded questions) that were used for data punching. A team was constituted for checking the codes and making corrections if there were any mistakes. The checking and the subsequent data entry took place at the Lokniti-CSDS office in Delhi. The analyses presented in this report have been done using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). In order to be representative at the state level, the achieved sample of every state was weighted by locality, religion, caste group and gender based on Census 2011 figures.

Table A2: Profile of the achieved sample

	Raw survey sample (22 states)	Weighted survey sample (22 states)	Profile of 22 States based on Census 2011	All-India population profile based on Census 2011
Women	45.5	48.3	48.3	48.6
Urban	26.3	32.8	32.8	34.7
Scheduled Castes	18.6	16.0	16.1	16.2
Scheduled Tribes	10.8	11.3	11.4	9.7
Muslims	9.9	11.7	11.7	14.2
Christian	5.9	5.4	5.4	2.3
Sikhs	2.8	2.2	2.2	1.7

Note: Figures are percentages

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

State ID	Official No. of A.C.	Official No. of P.S.	Respondent No.
☐☐	☐☐☐	☐☐☐	☐☐☐☐

As in voter list

POLICE STUDY - 2017
LOKNITI, CSDS-COMMON CAUSE STUDY

F1. State Name:

F2. A.C. Name: _____

F3. P.S. Name: _____

F4. Name of the Respondent: _____

F5. Address of the respondent (Give landmark): _____

F6. Date of interview (dd/mm/yyyy): _____

☐☐ F7. Name of the Investigator (Code Roll No.): _____

INVESTIGATOR'S INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

My name is _____and I have come on behalf of Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (also give your university's reference), a social science research organization and Common Cause, an NGO in Delhi. We are conducting a survey on people's perception and experience of dealing with the police. Every person over the age of 18 has an equal chance of being included in this study. You have been selected by chance. There is no risk and also no benefit in participating in this survey and your participation is voluntary. This survey is an independent study and is not linked to any political party or government agency. Your identity and the information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Participation in this survey is voluntary. We hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. It usually takes 30 to 35 minutes to complete this interview. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in sucessfully completing the survey.

F8. May I begin the interview now?   1. Respondent agrees to be interviewed

2. Respondent does not agree to be interviewed   *INTERVIEW BEGINS:*

☐☐ Z1. Let us begin by talking about this village/ town you live in. How long have you lived here? (Number of years) _____ 97. Entire life   98. Don't know

☐☐ **Z1a.** Which state do your ancestors belong to? (Record state name & consult Codebook for coding)

Name of State: _____   98. Don't know

☐☐ Z2. What is your age? (in completed years) _____ 98. No Response (Code 95 for 95 yrs & above)

☐ Z3. Gender: 1. Male   2. Female   3. Other

☐ Z4. Up to what level have you studied? (Record exactly and consult code book)

_____   9. No response

☐ Q1. How often do incidents such as burglary, murder, physical assault, chain snatching occur in your locality very often, sometimes, rarely or never? 1. Very often   2. SomeTimes

3. Rarely   4. Never 8. DK

☐ Q1a. In your opinion, is the police's investigation of such incidents proper and satisfactory or is it temporary investigation?

1. Investigation is proper and satisfactory   2. Temporary investigation

3. Police harasses people during investigation   4. Does not carry out the needful investigation 8. DK

☐ **Q2.** What kind of police presence would you like to see in your village/area- greater, less or no change?

　　1. Greater　　　　2. Less　　　　3. No change, same as before　　8. DK

☐ **Q3.** From time to time, for different purposes, people have some kind of contact with the police. In the last 4-5 years, have you or your family member had any kind of contact with the police?

　　2. Yes　　　　　　　　1. No　　　　　　　　8. DK

　　(If in Q3 the respodent's answer is NO or DK, then please do no ask questions Q3a to Q8a and move to Q9)

☐ **Q3a.** If in Q3, answer is yes) So did you or someone from your family contact the police or the police contactedyou?

　　1. I contacted the police　　2. Police contacted me　　3. Both　　8. DK　　　　9. NA

Q3b. *(If in Q3, answer is yes)* What was the reason for contacting the police or the police contacting you?

(Investigator can write down upto two reasons for police contact and alongside each reason, kindly ask the respondent whether she or he was an accused, victim or witnessed a crime.)

☐☐ Q3ba.**Reason for police contact**

　　a. _____98. DK/CS　　99.NA

　　1. Accused 2.Victim 3. Witnessed a crime 4.Other_____8.DK　　9. NA

☐☐ Q3bb.b. _____98. DK/CS　　99.NA

　　1. Accused 2.Victim 3. Witnessed a crime 4.Other_____8.DK　　9. NA

☐ **Q4.** How did you first contact the police- over the phone, visited the police station, via internet/online or police visited residence or workplace?

　　1. Over the phone　　　　　　2. Visited the police station　　　　3. Via internet/ Online

　　4. Police visited the residence/workplace of the respondent　　5. Other_____ 8. DK　9.NA

☐ **Q5.** Who assisted you in contacting the police or visiting the police station?

　　1. Family member　　2. Influential person　　3. Neighbour / friend

　　4. Any other person_____　　　　5. Nobody, went alone　　　　8.DK　9.NA

☐ **Q6.** On contacting the police, was your complaint/ FIR registered? 2.Yes　　　　1. No

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　8. Can't say　9. N.A.

☐ **Q6a.** **(***If no in Q6***)** So in that case, why did the police not file your complaint/ FIR? *(Record answer and consult codebook)* _____ 98.DK　　　99.NA

☐ **Q6b.** (If yes in Q6) How was the FIR registered-was it read out, written or via mail?

　　1. Oral/ read out　　　　　　2. Written　　　　3. Email/via internet
　　4. Other_____　　8. DK　　　9. N.A.

☐ **Q6c.** *(If yes in Q6)* Did you get a copy of the FIR?　　2.Yes 1. No　　　8. DK　　9. N.A.

☐ **Q7.** During the last 4-5 years, whenever you contacted a police officer or visited the police station, did you have to pay a bribe to get your work done?　　2.Yes 1. No　　8. DK　　9.NA

☐ **Q8.** How satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the help provided at the police station? *(If satisfied or dissatisfied, probe further whether fully or somewhat)*

　　1. Very satisfied　　　　　　　　2. Somewhat satisfied
　　3. Somewhat dissatisfied　　　　4. Very dissatisfied 8. DK　　　　　9. NA

☐ Q8a. (If somewhat or fully dissatisfied in Q8), What was the main reason for your dissatisfaction? (Record answer and consult codebook)_____　　98.DK　99.NA

☐ Q9. In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police?

　　2.Yes　　　　　　1. No　　　　3. Probably　　4. Have no other option　　8. DK

Q10. How unsafe do you feel in your village/ neighbourhood- very, somewhat, not very or not at all?

		Very unsafe	Somewhat	Not very unsafe	Not at all unsafe	DK
a	a. Early morning	1　2	3　4	8		
b	b. During the day	1　2	3　4	8		
c	c. At night	1　2	3　4	8		

Q11. Usually both men and women work in the police force. In your opinion who is more:

		Police woman	Police man	Both	Neither	DK
a	a. Honest	1	2	3	4	8
b	b. Hardworking And........	1	2	3	4	8
c	c. Whom would you approach for help	1	2	3	4	8

Q12. Listed below are a number of institutions. Please tell me how much trust do you have in each of them-a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

		A lot	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all	DK
a	a. Local police like police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO	1	2	3	4	8
b	b. Senior police officer like SP, DCP	1	2	3	4	8
c	c. Traffic police	1	2	3	4	8
d	d. Army/Paramilitary	1	2	3	4	8
e	e. Court	1	2	3	4	8
f	f. Government official	1	2	3	4	8

Q13. Often women and young girls are scared to seek help from the police or visit the police station. In your opinion, what is the main reason for this? (Record answer and consult the codebook for coding)._____ 98. DK

Q14. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point at left stands for extremely ineffective and the10th point at the right stands for extremely effective. In your opinion, where would you place the following in terms of effectiveness to get work done from the police? SHOW THE SCALE AND EXPLAIN (If no answer is given, then code 98) Extremely ineffective Effectiveness

a.	a. Political connection	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
b.	b. Money	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
c.	c. Personal connections in the police	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
d.	d. Seeking help from local goon	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

Q15. In the last 2-3 years, has crime in your locality increased or decreased?

1. Increased　　　　2. Decreased　　　　3. Remained the same　　　　8. DK

Q16. Now I will read out two statements. Please tell me which statement would you agree the most with?
Statement 1: Police is not able to function properly due to lack of training and other resources.
Statement 2: It is not that the police lacks resources, they are in fact lazy and not motivated to serve people.

1. Agree with statement 1　　　　2. Agree with statement 2　　　　8. DK

Q17. Do you think the police intentionally implicates people under false charges?

2.Yes　　　　1. No　　　　3.May be　　　　8. Can't say

Q18. In an area, whenever there is an instance of fight between people from two religious communities, do you think the police sides with any particular religious community or remains impartial ?

1. Sides with a particular religious community　　　　2. Remains impartial　　　　8. DK

Q18a. (If answer in Q18 is police sides with a particular religious community), In your opinion, which religious community does the police take sides with? (Record answer and consult codebook)

_____ 98. DK 99. NA

Q19. How satisfied are you with police performance and their work in your area? (If satisfied or dissatisfied, probe further whether fully or somewhat.) 1. Fully satisfied 2. Somewhat satisfied

3. Somewhat dissatisfied 4. Fully dissatisfied 8. DK

Q20. Do you know of anyone who....?

	Yes	No	DK/ CS
a. Died in mysterious circumstances under police custody	2	1	8
b. Been taken into unlawful detention by police/army	2	1	8
c. A woman who is a victim of sexual harassment or eve teasing by the police.	2	1	8
d. A victim of fake encounter	2	1	8
e. A victim of police firing, lathi charge.	2	1	8
f. A victim of police torture.	2	1	8

Q21. Very often , even in times of need, people are hesitant to visit the police or seek help. What is the single most important reason for this? _____ 98. DK

Q22. Now I will read out some statements. Please tell me whether you would agree or disagree with the following?

(Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agree or disagree)

	Agree		Disagree		NR
	Fully	Somewhat	Somewhat	Fully	
a. Police is blamed unnecessarily even when it does its job well	1	2	3	4	8
b. There is nothing wrong in politicians interfering in the transfer and posting of police officers.	1	2	3	4	8
c. There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals. .	1	2	3	4	8

Q23. Looking at the present number of these communities in the police force, are there adequate numbers of the following groups in the police ?

	Adequate	Less than adequate	More than adequate	DK
a. Scheduled Caste such as Dalits	1	2	3	8
b. OBC	1	2	3	8
c. Scheduled Tribes such as Adivasis	1	2	3	8

And what about the following?

	Adequate	Less than adequate	More than adequate	DK
d. Muslims	1	2	3	8
e. Women	1	2	3	8

Q24. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point at left stands for extremely corrupt and the10th point at the right stands for not at all corrupt. In your opinion, where would you place the following institutions in terms of corruption? SHOW THE SCALE AND EXPLAIN (If no answer is given, then code 98)

	Extremely corrupt							**Not at all corrupt**		
a. Local police- police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO, Beat constable	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
b. Senior police officer- SP, DCP	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
c. Traffic police	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
d. Army/Paramilitary	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
e. Court	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
f. Government official	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10

Q25. Now I will read out a few statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with these statements?

(Probe further whether strongly or somewhat agree or disagree)

	Agree		Disagree		NR
	Fully	Somewhat	Somewhat	Fully	
a. Police as a profession is better than other occupations because of easy access to power and security.	1	2	3	4	8
b. Compared to other professions, it is difficult to work in the police force because of high stress levels and long working hours.	1	2	3	4	8
c. Police is corrupt- it does not do its job without a bribe.	1	2	3	4	8

a ☐
b ☐
c ☐

Q26 Often people are scared of police due to different reasons. What about you- how scared are you of the following- a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

	Very	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all	DK
a. Fear of being beaten up by the police	1	2	3	4	8
b. Fear of being arrested by the police for no reason	1	2	3	4	8
c. Fear of the police coming to your house	1	2	3	4	8
d. Fear of being falsely implicated in police cases.	1	2	3	4	8
e. Fear of sexual harassment or eve teasing by the police.	1	2	3	4	8

a ☐
b ☐
c ☐
d ☐
e ☐

☐ Q27. Have you ever seen a police officer violating the law? 2.Yes 1. No 8. DK

☐ Q27a. (If answer is yes in Q27) Then did you file a complaint? 2.Yes 1. No 8. DK 9. NA

☐ Q27b. Do you think there should be a separate body for filing complaint against police officers who violate the law?

2.Yes   1. No   8. DK

Q28. Often the police says that it is not allowed to work independently and free from political interference. Please tell me how much interference do these groups have in the functioning of the police in your locality- a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?

	A lot	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all	DK
a. Political party & politicans	1	2	3	4	8
b. Local goons / gundas	1	2	3	4	8
c. Senior police officers	1	2	3	4	8
d. Economically powerful groups	1	2	3	4	8
e. Influential and dominant caste of your area	1	2	3	4	8

a ☐
b ☐
c ☐
d ☐
e ☐

☐ Q29 Do you know of someone or have heard of a case of domestic violence in your village/ locality?

2.Yes   1. No   8. DK

☐ Q29a. (If answer is yes in Q29) Do you know if the victim of domestic violence filed a complaint or not?

2.Yes   1. No   8. DK   9.NA

☐ Q29b. In cases of domestic violence, is the police helpful to the victim? 2.Yes   1. No   8. DK

Q30. It is often argued that police harasses certain groups of people. Have you seen the police harassing the following communities? Q30a. Is the police right or wrong in taking action against these communities?

			Yes	No	DK	Q30a.	Right	Wrong	DK
a. Rickshaw pullers			2	1	8		2	1	8
b. street vendors			2	1	8		2	1	8
c. Nat dancers/street performers/Madaris/ Saperas (specify Denotified and Nomadic Tribes in every state)			2	1	8		2	1	8

Q30 Q30a
a ☐ ☐
b ☐ ☐
c ☐ ☐

d			d. Beggars	2	1	8	2	1	8
e			e. Hijras/ Kinnars/ Kothi	2	1	8	2	1	8

Q31. According to you, in the police force of your village/ locality? (Record answer and consult codebook for coding)

a. Which religious community's members are more in number?_____ 98. DK

b. Which caste's members are more in number? _____ 998. DK

Q32. It is widely believed that police discriminates between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion, does the police discriminate?

		Yes	No	DK/CS
a	a. On the basis of caste.	2	1	8
b	b. On the basis of religion.	2	1	8

And does it also discriminate between

c	c. Rich and poor.	2	1	8
d	d. Women and men.	2	1	8
e	e. People from another state.	2	1	8

Q33. Many people argue that working in the police is not appropriate for women. Now I am going to read out some such arguments. Please tell me whether these arguments are justified or not? (Probe further whether very or somewhat justified or unjustified).

		Justified		Unjustified		DK
		Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very	
a	a. Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack.	1	2	3	4	8
b	b. A woman should prioritise managing home instead of joining the police force.	1	2	3	4	8
c	c. Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases.	1	2	3	4	8
d	d. Because of inflexible working hours, it is difficult for women to work in the police force.	1	2	3	4	8

Q34. Please tell me whether the following measures in your locality/ area have been introduced or not?

		Introduced	Not introduced	CS
a	a. All women police station.	1	2	8
b	b. PCR van patrolling in your locality.	1	2	8
c	c. Senior citizen helpline.	1	2	8
d	d. Child helpline number.	1	2	8
e	e. Helpline for people from North Eastern part of India (To be asked only in cities)	1	2	8
f	f. Help desk for SC & ST in police station.	1	2	8

Q35. If your daughter/son was to be the victim of any crime, would you allow her/him to visit the police station alone to file a complain? (To be asked to everyone including unmarried respondents)

2. Yes   1. No   8. DK

Q35a. (If yes in Q35) Would you allow your daughter to visit the police station as much as you would allow your son?

2. Yes   1. No   8. DK   9. NA

Q36. In your locality, members from which caste/community are more in number? (Record answer and consult codebook) _____   998. DK

Q37. In an area, whenever there is an instance of fight between people from two caste groups, do you think the police sides with any particular caste group or remains impartial?

1. Sides with a particular caste group   2. Remains impartial   8. DK

Q37a. (If answer in Q37 is police sides with a particular caste group), In your opinion, which caste group does the police take sides with? (Record answer and consult codebook)

_____ 998. DK   999. NA

Q38. Now I will read out three statements. Please tell me which of these would you agree with? (Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agrees or disagrees).

	Agree		Disagree		NR
	Fully	Somewhat	Somewhat	Fully	
a. Often members of backward castes such as Dalits are falsely implicated in petty crimes such as theft, robbery, dacoity by the police.	1	2	3	4	8
b. Often tribals are falsely implicated on Maoist charges by the police.	1	2	3	4	8
c. Often Muslims are falsely implicated in terrorism related cases by the police.	1	2	3	4	8

a ☐
b ☐
c ☐

☐ Q39. In any of the above cases, if the person is absolved of charges by the court, should action be initiated against policemen who implicated them?   2.Yes   1. No   8. DK

☐ Q40. In the last 2-3 years, have you tried calling police (100 number) on phone in an emergency situation?

2.Yes   1. No   8. DK

☐ Q40a. (Only for women) Have you ever called on the women's helpline number?

2.Yes   1. No   8. DK   9. NA

☐ Q40b. (If yes in Q40) Then on calling police did you receive any help?

2. Yes   1. No   3. No one took the call

4. Number was not in use   5. Other _____   8. DK 9.NA

☐ Q40c. (If yes in Q40) In your experience, to what extent has access to 100 number improved in the last 2-3 years- a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?   1. A lot   2. Somewhat   3. Not much

4. Not at all   8.DK   9. NA

☐ Q41. In comparison to other jobs, are the working hours of the police greater or less?

1. Greater   2. Less   3. Same as other jobs   8.DK

☐ Q42. We know that the process of justice often gets delayed and numerous cases remain pending for several years. According to you, which institution is responsible for this delay?

1. Police   2. Court   3. Both   4. Neither

5. Other_____   8. DK

☐ Q43. Often, police harasses those girls and boys who hang out and roam around in public places. In your opinion is this right, somewhat right or wrong?

1. Right   2. Somewhat Right   3. Wrong   8. DK

☐ Q44. In your locality, have you seen the police preventing girls and boys from meeting and hanging out in public area?

2. Yes   1. No   8. DK

BACKGROUND DATA

Personal Information

☐☐ **Z4a.** Up to what level have your father and your mother studied?

Z4a. Father:_____ Z4b.Mother:_____ 9. No response

☐☐ **Z5.** What is your main occupation? *(Record exactly and consult codebook & if retired, try to ascer tain his/her previous occupation. If student or housewife, then note down that as well)*
_____ 98. No response

☐ **Z5a.** Are you the main earner of your household? 2. Yes 1. No

☐☐ **Z5b.** *(If No in Z5a)* What is the occupation of the main earner of your household? (Record exactly and consult codebook) _____99. NA

☐☐ **Z6.** How far is the nearest police station/chowki from your village/locality? *(Record answer in kilometer. If answer is more than 100 kilometer then code 96)* _____ 98. Can't say

☐ **Z7.** Are you married? 1. Married   2. Married (Gauna not performed, not started living together)
3. Widowed   4. Divorced   5. Separated   6. Deserted
7. Unmarried/Single   8. Live with partner but not married   9. NR

☐ **Z7a.** *(If married)* Do you have a boy or a girl?
1. Boy   2. Girl 3. Both 4. None 8. NR 9. NA

☐☐☐ **Z8.** What is your Caste/Jati-biradari/Tribe name?*(Consult code book for code)*
_____

☐ **Z8a.** And what is your caste group? *(Double check and consult code book)*
1. Scheduled Caste (SC) 2. Scheduled Tribe (ST) 3. Other Backward Classes (OBC) 4. Other

☐ **Z9.** What is your religion? 1. Hindu 2. Muslim 3. Christian 4. Sikh 5. Buddhist/Neo Buddhist
6. Jain 7. Parsi 8. No religion 9. Others (Specify) _____

☐☐ **Z10.** Generally, which language is spoken in your house?*(Consult code book for coding)*
_____ 98. No response

☐ **Z11.** What kind of mobile phone do you have – a normal phone or a smart phone with a touch screen?
1. Normal phone 2. Smart phone 3. Don't have a phone 8. No answer

☐ **Z11a.** *(If respondent has a mobile phone)* Does your phone have an internet connection?
2.Yes 1. No 8. No Answer 9. Not Applicable

☐ **Z12.** Do you have an Aadhaar Card?   2.Yes   1. No

☐ **Z13.** Locality: 1. Village   2. Town *(50,000 to 1 lakh population)*
3. Small City *(1-5 lakh)* 4. Big City *(5-10 lakh)* 5. Metropolitan City *(Above 10 lakh)*

☐ **Z13a.** *(If Town/Small City/Big City/Metropolitan City)* Type of house where the respondent lives
1. House/Flat/Bunglow   2. House/Flat with 5 or more rooms
3. House/Flat with 4 rooms 4. Houses/Flat with 3 rooms 5. Houses/Flat with 2 rooms
6. House with 1 room   7. Mainly Kutcha house 8. Slum/Jhuggi Jhopri
9. NA.

☐ **Z13b.** *(If Village)* Type of house where the respondent lives
1. Pucca (both wall and roof made of pucca material)
2. Pucca-Kutcha (Either wall or roof is made of pucca material and other of kutcha material)
3. Kutcha/Mud houses (both wall and roof are made of kutcha material)
4. Hut (both wall and roof made of grass, leaves, un-burnt brick or bamboo)   9. NA.

Household Information

Z14. Total No. of family members living in the household:
Above 18 years:_____   Below 18 years :___ *(If more than 9, Code 9)*

Z15. Total agricultural land including orchard and plantation owned by your household *(as on date of survey):*
_____*(Ask in local units, but record in standard acres. If more than 99, Code 99)*

Z16. In normal circumstances, what is your monthly household expenditure?
*(Record in Rupees, if respondent gives no answer, fill 000000 in the box)*_____

Z17. Do you or members of your household have the following: Yes   No

	Yes	No	
a. Car/Jeep/Van	1	2	
b. Scooter/Motorcycle/Moped	1	2	
c. Airconditioner	1	2	
d. Computer/laptop/Ipad	1	2	*(d1. If resp. has computer/ laptop)*
e. Fan/Cooler	1	2	*1. With Internet 2. Without Net 9. NA*
f. Washing machine/Microwave	1	2	
g. Fridge	1	2	
h. TV	1	2	
i. Bank/Post office account	1	2	
j. ATM/Debit/Credit card	1	2	
k. LPG gas	1	2	
l. Toilet inside the house	1	2	
m. Motorised pumping set	1	2	
n. Tractor	1	2	
o. Handpump inside the house	1	2	

Z18. Livestock: Total Number

a. Goat /sheep/pig: _____

b. Cow/Oxen /buffalo/Camel: _____

c. Any other: _____

Z19. Total monthly household income - putting together the income of all members of the household?
_____
(Record exact amount in Rupees. If respondent does not give any amount then record 000000)

Z20. Mobile/Telephone number of the respondent _____

FILL AFTER COMPLETING INTERVIEW

☐ E1. Were there any other people immediately present who might be listening during the interview?

1. No one 2. Husband 3. Other adult male family members 4. Adult female family members

5. Any male from neighborhood 6. Any Female from neighborhood

7. Small crowd 8. Any Other

☐ E2. In how many questions did the respondent check with others for information to answer for questions?

1. None 2. One or two 3. Three to five 4. Six to ten 5. More than 10

☐ E3. At some stage did you notice something that made you feel that the respondent was answering under some fear or pressure?   1. Yes 2. No   3. Not sure

☐☐☐ E4. Which caste community was more in number in the locality you visited? *(Record answer and consult codebook)* _____

☐ E5. Which religious community was more in number in the locality you visited? *(Record answer and for coding refer to Z9 Codes.)* _____

☐ E6. Overall was the respondent cooperative? 1. Yes, very much 2. Somewhat 3. Not at all

E7. Investigator's signature (Sign in box):

E8. Name of the Supervisor: _____

☐ E9. Checked by the Supervisor: 1. Yes   2. No

E10. Supervisor's signature (Sign in box):

Any additional notes/comments

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 3: Details of How The Indices Were Constructed

Index of fear of police

The Index was constructed by taking into account 5 questions asked in the survey. They are –

Q26. Often people are scared of police due to different reasons. What about you - how scared are you of the following?

Q26a. Fear of being arrested by the police for no reason

Q26b. Fear of being arrested by the police for no reason

Q26c. Fear of the police coming to your house

Q26d. Fear of being falsely implicated in police cases

Q26e. Fear of sexual harassment or eve teasing by the police

In each question, the response options offered to the respondent were 'a lot', 'somewhat', 'not much' or 'not at all'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: An 'a lot' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat' answer was scored as 3, a 'not much' answer was scored as 2, a 'not at all' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 20.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated different degrees of fear of police among the people –

A total score ranging from 16 to 20 was categorised as 'Highly fearful'.

A total score ranging from 11 to 15 was categorised as 'Somewhat fearful'.

A total score ranging from 6 to 10 was categorised as 'Not much fearful'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 5 was categorised as 'Not at all fearful'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of awareness about police excesses

The Index was constructed by taking into account 6 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q20a. Do you know of anyone who died in mysterious circumstances under police custody?

Q20b. Do you know of anyone who had been taken into unlawful detention by police/army?

Q20c. Do you know a woman who is a victim of sexual harassment or eve teasing by the police?

Q20d. Do you know anyone who is a victim of fake encounter?

Q20e. Do you know anyone who is a victim of police firing, lathi charge?

Q20f. Do you know anyone who is a victim of police torture?

In each question, the possible response options were 'yes' and 'no'.

Step 1: A 'yes' answer was scored as 1 and a 'no' answer or no response was scored as 0. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 6.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across four newly created categories that indicated different levels of awareness about police excesses –

A total score of 5 or 6 was categorised as 'Know of many cases'.

A total score of 3 or 4 was categorised as 'Know of quite a few cases'.

A total score of 1 or 2 was categorised as 'Know of a few cases'.

A total score of 0 was categorised as 'Don't know of any case'.

Index of perception about the police

The Index was constructed by taking into account 9 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q12a. Please tell me how much trust do you have in local police like police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO?

Q12b. Please tell me how much trust do you have in senior police officer like SP, DCP?

Q12c. Please tell me how much trust do you have in traffic police?

Q17. Do you think the police intentionally implicate people under false charges?

Q22a. Please tell me whether you would agree or disagree with - Police is blamed unnecessarily even when it does its job well? *(Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agree or disagree)*

Q24a On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point on the left stands for extremely corrupt and the 10th point on the right stands for not at all corrupt, where would you place the local police, i.e, police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO, beat constable, in terms of corruption?

Q24b. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point on the left stands for extremely corrupt and the 10th point on the right stands for not at all corrupt, where would you place the senior police officer, i.e., SP, DCP in terms of corruption?

Q24c. On a scale of 10 points where the 1st point on the left stands for extremely corrupt and the 10th point on the right stands for not at all corrupt, where would you place the traffic police in terms of corruption?

Q25c. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement - Police is corrupt, it does not do its job without a bribe? *(Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agree or disagree)*

In Q12a, Q12b, Q12c, the response options offered were 'a lot', 'somewhat', 'not much' and 'not at all'. In Q17, the possible responses were 'yes', 'no' and 'maybe'. In Q22a, the response options offered were 'fully agree', 'somewhat agree', "somewhat disagree' and 'fully disagree'. In Q24a, Q24b and Q24c, the response options offered were any number between 1 and 10 where 1 stood for extremely corrupt and 10 stood for not at all corrupt. In Q25c the response options offered were 'fully agree', 'somewhat agree', "somewhat disagree', and 'fully disagree'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: In Q12a, Q12b and Q12c, an 'a lot' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat' answer was scored as 3, a 'not much' answer was scored as 2, a 'not at all' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q17, a 'no' answer was scored as 4, a 'maybe' answer was scored as 3, a 'yes' answer was scored as 2 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q24a, Q24b and Q24c, answers '8' '9' and '10' were scored as 4, answers '6' and '7' were scored as 3, answers '4' and '5' were scored as 2, answers '1' '2' and '3' were scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q22a, a 'fully agree' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat agree' answer was scored as 3, a 'somewhat disagree' answer was scored as 2, a 'fully disagree' answer was scored as 1 and a 'no response' answer was scored as 0. In Q22a, a 'fully disagree' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat disagree' answer was scored as 3, a 'somewhat agree' answer was scored as 2, a 'fully agree' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 36.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated how negative or positive people's perception of police is -

A total score ranging from 25 to 36 was categorised as 'Very positive'.

A total score ranging from 19 to 24 was categorised as 'Somewhat positive'.

A total score ranging from 16 and 18 was categorised as 'Somewhat negative'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 15 was categorised as 'Very negative'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of feeling safe

The Index was constructed by taking into account 3 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q10a. Early morning, how unsafe do you feel in your village/ neighbourhood?

Q10b. During the day, how unsafe do you feel in your village/ neighbourhood?

Q10c. At night, how unsafe do you feel in your village/ neighbourhood?

In each question, the response options offered to the respondent were 'very', 'somewhat', 'not much' or 'not at all'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: A 'very' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat' answer was scored as 3, a 'not much' answer was scored as 2, a 'not at all' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 12.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated different degrees of feeling unsafe -

A total score ranging from 9 to 12 was categorised as 'Feel highly unsafe'.

A total score ranging from 6 to 8 was categorised as 'Feel unsafe'.

A total score of 4 or 5 was categorised as 'Feel somewhat safe'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 3 was categorised as 'Feel highly unsafe'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of trust in police

The Index was constructed by taking into account 3 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q12a. Please tell me how much trust do you have in local police like police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO?

Q12b. Please tell me how much trust do you have in a senior police officer like SP, DCP?

Q35. If your daughter/son was to be the victim of any crime, would you allow her/him to visit the police station alone to file a complaint?

In Q12a and Q12b the response options offered were 'a lot'. 'somewhat', 'not much', and 'not at all'. In Q35, the possible response options were 'yes' and 'no'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: In Q12a and Q12b, an 'a lot' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat' answer was scored as 3, a 'not much' answer was scored as 2, a 'not at all' answer was scored as 1 and no response was scored as 0. In Q35, a 'yes' answer was scored as 4, a 'no' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 12.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated different degrees of trust in the police –

A total score ranging from 10 to 12 was categorised as 'Highly trust'.

A total score ranging from 7 to 9 was categorised as 'Somewhat trust'.

A total score ranging from 4 to 6 was categorised as 'Somewhat distrust'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 3 was categorised as 'Highly distrust'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of perception about police independence

The Index was constructed by taking into account 5 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q28a. Please tell me how much interference do the political party & politicians have in the functioning of the police in your locality?

Q28b. Please tell me how much interference do the local goons/goondas have in the functioning of the police in your locality?

Q28c. Please tell me how much interference do the senior police officers have in the functioning of the police in your locality?

Q28d. Please tell me how much interference do the economically powerful groups have in the functioning of the police in your locality?

Q28e. Please tell me how much interference do the influential and dominant castes of your area have in the functioning of the police in your locality?

In all the questions the response options offered were 'a lot'. 'somewhat', 'not much', and 'not at all'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: An 'a lot' answer was scored as 1, a 'somewhat' answer was scored as 2, a 'not much' answer was scored as 3, a 'not at all' answer was scored as 4 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 20.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated how negative or positive people's perception of independence of police is –

A total score ranging from 15 to 20 was categorised as 'Highly independent'.

A total score ranging from 10 to 14 was categorised as 'Somewhat independent'.

A total score ranging from 5 to 9 was categorised as 'Not much independent'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 4 was categorised as 'Not independent at all'.
A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of perception of discrimination by the police

The Index was constructed by taking into account 7 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q18. In an area whenever there is an instance of fight between people from two religious communities, do you think the police sides with any particular religious community or remains partial?

Q32. It is widely believed that police discriminates between people on the basis of different things. In your opinion…

Q32a: Does the police discriminate on the basis of caste?

Q32b: Does the police discriminate basis of religion?

Q32c: Does the police also discriminate between rich and poor?

Q32d: Does the police also discriminate between women and men?

Q32e: Does the police also discriminate between people from another state?

Q37. In an area, whenever there is an instance of a fight between people from two caste groups, do you think the police sides with any particular group or remains impartial?

In Q32a and Q32e the possible response options were 'yes' and 'no'. In Q18 and Q37, the response options were 'sides with a particular caste group' and 'remains impartial'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: In Q32a Q32b, Q32c, Q32d, and Q32e, a 'yes' answer was scored as 2, a 'no' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q18and Q37, a 'sides with a particular caste group' answer was scored

as 2, a 'remains impartial' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 14.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated the extent to which people thought the police were discriminatory –

A total score ranging from 11 to 14 was categorised as 'Highly discriminates'.

A total score ranging from 6 to 10 was categorised as 'Somewhat discriminates'.

A total score ranging from 3 to 5 was categorised as 'Rarely discriminates'.

A total score of 1 or 2 was categorised as 'Very rarely discriminates'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of perception of police diversity

The Index was constructed by taking into account 4 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q23a. Looking at the present number of Scheduled Castes (Dalits) in the police force, are there adequate numbers of the community in the police?

Q23b. Looking at the present number of OBC in the police force, are there adequate numbers of the community in the police?

Q23c. Looking at the present number of Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) in the police force, are there adequate numbers of the community in the police?

Q23d. Looking at the present number of Muslims in the police force, are there adequate numbers of the community in the police?

In all the questions the possible response options were 'yes, adequate', 'no, less than adequate', and 'more than adequate'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: A 'yes, adequate' answer and a 'more than adequate' answer were scored as 2, a 'no, less than adequate' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 10.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated the extent to which people saw the police as being diverse/representative –

A total score of 9 or 10 was categorised as 'View police as highly diverse/representative'.

A total score of 7 or 8 was categorised as 'View police as somewhat diverse/representative'.

A total score ranging from 4 to 6 was categorised as 'View police as not much diverse/representative'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 3 was categorised as 'View police as not at all diverse/representative'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of sympathetic attitude towards police working conditions

The Index was constructed by taking into account 3 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q16. Now I will read out two statements. Please tell me which statement would you agree most with?

Statement 1 - Police is not able to function properly due to lack of training and other resources.

Statement 2 - It is not that the police lack resources; they are in fact lazy and not motivated to serve people.

Q25b. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with - Compared to other professions, it is difficult to work in the police force because of high stress levels and long working hours? *(Probe further whether fully or somewhat agree or disagree)*

Q41. In comparison to other jobs, are the working hours of the police greater or less?

In Q16, the response options were 'agree with statement 1' or 'agree with statement 2'. In Q25b, the response options were 'fully agree', 'somewhat agree', 'somewhat disagree' and 'fully disagree'. In Q41, the response options were 'greater', 'less' and 'same as other jobs'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: In Q16 an 'agree with statement 1' answer was scored as 4, an 'agree with statement 2' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q25b, a 'fully agree' answer was scored as 4, a 'somewhat agree' answer was scored as 3, a 'somewhat disagree' answer was scored as 2, a 'fully disagree' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q41, a 'greater' answer was scored as 4, a 'less' or 'same as other jobs' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 12.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across four newly created categories that indicated the extent of people's sympathy with police working conditions –

A total score ranging from 8 to 12 was categorised as 'Strongly believes that police works under stressful conditions'.

A total score ranging from 4 to 7 was categorised as 'Somewhat believes that police works under stressful conditions'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 3 was categorised as 'Does not believe police works under stressful conditions'.

A total score of score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Index of favorability towards women in police

The Index was constructed by taking into account 6 questions asked in the survey. They are -

Q33a. Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack. Please tell me whether this argument is justified or not? *(Probe further whether very or somewhat justified or unjustified).*

Q33b. A woman should prioritize managing home instead of joining the police force. Please tell me whether this argument is justified or not? *(Probe further whether very or somewhat justified or unjustified).*

Q33c. Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases. Please tell me whether this argument is justified or not? *(Probe further whether very or somewhat justified or unjustified).*

Q11a. Usually both men and women work in the police force. In your opinion who is more honest?

Q11b. Usually both men and women work in the police force. In your opinion who is more hardworking?

Q11c. And whom would you approach for help?

In Q33a, Q33b, and Q33c, the response options offered were 'fully justified', 'somewhat justified', 'somewhat unjustified' and 'fully unjustified'. In Q11a, Q11b, Q11c, and Q11d. the response options offered were 'police women', 'police man', 'both' and 'neither'. Across all the questions, a no response category was also provided, in case the respondent refused to answer the question.

Step 1: In Q33a, Q33b and Q33c, a 'fully justified' answer was scored as 1, a 'somewhat justified' answer was scored as 2, a 'somewhat unjustified' answer was scored as 3, a 'fully unjustified' answer was scored as 4 and a no response was scored as 0. In Q11a, Q11b, Q11c and Q11d, a 'police woman' or 'both' answer was scored as 4, a 'police man' or 'neither' answer was scored as 1 and a no response was scored as 0.

Step 2: The scores of all questions were summed up. The summated scores of all questions ranged from 0 to 24.

Step 3: These summated scores were then distributed across five newly created categories that indicated the extent of people's favorability to women in police –

A total score ranging from 20 to 24 was categorised as 'Very favourable'.

A total score ranging from 14 to 19 was categorised as 'Somewhat favourable'.

A total score ranging from 6 to 13 was categorised as 'Not much favourable'.

A total score ranging from 1 to 5 was categorised as 'Not at all favourable'.

A total score of 0 was treated as being 'Non-committal'.

Appendix 4: Details of State Rankings

Index of trust in police

The state rankings for the Index of trust in police are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'highly distrust' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat distrust' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat trust' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'highly trust' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a greater trust.

State	Highly distrust (%)	After W1	Somewhat distrust (%)	After W2	Somewhat trust (%)	After W3	Highly trust (%)	After W4	Non committal (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Assam	1.7	-0.3	14.8	-1.5	25.9	2.6	57.0	11.4	0.6	0.0	12.2	1
Jharkhand	3.4	-0.7	8.0	-0.8	44.5	4.5	44.1	8.8	0.0	0.0	11.8	2
Haryana	1.0	-0.2	9.9	-1.0	54.5	5.5	34.6	6.9	0.0	0.0	11.2	3
Himachal Pradesh	3.2	-0.6	14.5	-1.5	35.9	3.6	43.0	8.6	3.4	0.0	10.1	4
West Bengal	2.6	-0.5	22.4	-2.2	25.0	2.5	47.2	9.4	2.8	0.0	9.2	5
Uttarakhand	3.2	-0.6	16.7	-1.7	57.4	5.7	22.2	4.4	0.5	0.0	7.9	6
Kerala	7.4	-1.5	14.1	-1.4	47.4	4.7	29.9	6.0	1.3	0.0	7.8	7
Tamil Nadu	9.8	-2.0	17.6	-1.8	43.1	4.3	29.2	5.8	0.4	0.0	6.4	8
Odisha	10.6	-2.1	15.2	-1.5	46.5	4.7	26.3	5.3	1.4	0.0	6.3	9
Karnataka	4.6	-0.9	20.9	-2.1	57.3	5.7	17.1	3.4	0.1	0.0	6.1	10
Bihar	6.0	-1.2	23.8	-2.4	43.4	4.3	26.6	5.3	0.1	0.0	6.1	11
Nagaland	2.9	-0.6	34.7	-3.5	31.5	3.2	30.7	6.1	0.2	0.0	5.2	12
Andhra Pradesh	12.0	-2.4	17.6	-1.8	49.5	5.0	19.7	3.9	1.3	0.0	4.7	13
Madhya Pradesh	3.5	-0.7	27.4	-2.7	55.8	5.6	12.9	2.6	0.3	0.0	4.7	14
Maharashtra	8.8	-1.8	23.6	-2.4	51.5	5.2	14.6	2.9	1.5	0.0	4.0	15
Chhattisgarh	7.2	-1.4	25.3	-2.5	43.8	4.4	17.7	3.5	6.1	0.0	4.0	16
Gujarat	9.8	-2.0	24.9	-2.5	47.3	4.7	16.5	3.3	1.5	0.0	3.6	17
Delhi	12.1	-2.4	23.3	-2.3	44.9	4.5	19.1	3.8	0.6	0.0	3.6	18
Telangana	6.5	-1.3	24.6	-2.5	58.6	5.9	7.2	1.4	3.1	0.0	3.5	19
Punjab	8.2	-1.6	41.3	-4.1	31.9	3.2	17.4	3.5	1.2	0.0	0.9	20
Uttar Pradesh	10.7	-2.1	35.7	-3.6	42.5	4.3	8.3	1.7	2.7	0.0	0.2	21
Rajasthan	17.0	-3.4	38.4	-3.8	30.8	3.1	9.9	2.0	3.9	0.0	-2.2	22

Index of fear of police

The state rankings for the Index of pear of police are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'highly fearful' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat fearful' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'not much fearful' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'not at all fearful' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., lesser fear.

State	Not at all fearful (%)	After W1	Not much fearful (%)	After W2	Somewhat fearful (%)	After W3	Highly fearful (%)	After W4	Non-committal (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Himachal Pradesh	83.2	16.6	9.1	0.9	2.9	-0.3	0.2	-0.04	4.5	0.0	17.2	1
Uttarakhand	71.0	14.2	17.6	1.8	9.6	-1.0	1.4	-0.28	0.5	0.0	14.7	2
Haryana	53.7	10.7	39.9	4.0	4.0	-0.4	2.3	-0.46	0.2	0.0	13.9	3
Kerala	51.9	10.4	27.1	2.7	12.9	-1.3	3.8	-0.76	4.4	0.0	11.0	4
Delhi	58.0	11.6	19.3	1.9	14.9	-1.5	6.2	-1.24	1.6	0.0	10.8	5
Rajasthan	41.6	8.3	25.0	2.5	18.7	-1.9	2.2	-0.44	12.4	0.0	8.5	6
Maharashtra	39.1	7.8	30.5	3.1	23.7	-2.4	4.6	-0.92	2.1	0.0	7.6	7
Nagaland	27.7	5.5	39.5	4.0	24.0	-2.4	4.4	-0.88	4.4	0.0	6.2	8
Chhattisgarh	29.5	5.9	30.9	3.1	23.2	-2.3	4.2	-0.84	12.2	0.0	5.8	9
Assam	25.5	5.1	32.5	3.3	31.9	-3.2	6.9	-1.38	3.2	0.0	3.8	10
Gujarat	27.0	5.4	31.1	3.1	25.8	-2.6	14.0	-2.80	2.1	0.0	3.1	11
West Bengal	27.0	5.4	29.5	3.0	26.3	-2.6	13.8	-2.76	3.5	0.0	3.0	12
Bihar	26.8	5.4	24.5	2.5	43.4	-4.3	4.8	-0.96	0.5	0.0	2.5	13
Madhya Pradesh	11.0	2.2	35.3	3.5	43.7	-4.4	8.0	-1.60	2.0	0.0	-0.2	14
Odisha	24.5	4.9	17.3	1.7	26.2	-2.6	23.2	-4.64	8.8	0.0	-0.6	15
Jharkhand	19.0	3.8	17.6	1.8	56.6	-5.7	6.4	-1.28	0.4	0.0	-1.4	16
Uttar Pradesh	15.4	3.1	20.4	2.0	41.5	-4.2	17.8	-3.56	4.9	0.0	-2.6	17
Telangana	9.5	1.9	22.4	2.2	54.4	-5.4	8.9	-1.78	4.8	0.0	-3.1	18
Andhra Pradesh	9.0	1.8	17.1	1.7	43.4	-4.3	25.1	-5.02	5.3	0.0	-5.9	19
Tamil Nadu	4.8	1.0	14.8	1.5	33.5	-3.4	39.2	-7.84	7.6	0.0	-8.8	20
Karnataka	3.8	0.8	14.7	1.5	44.1	-4.4	33.9	-6.78	3.6	0.0	-9.0	21
Punjab	6.1	1.2	9.8	1.0	20.9	-2.1	46.7	-9.34	16.4	0.0	-9.2	22

Index of perception about the police

The state rankings for the Index of perception about the police are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'very negative' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat negative' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat positive' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'very positive' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., a better perception of the police.

State	Very negative (%)	After W1	Somewhat negative (%)	After W2	Somewhat positive (%)	After W3	Very positive (%)	After W4	Non committal (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Haryana	2.9	-0.6	3.8	-0.4	22.4	2.2	70.9	14.2	0.0	0.0	15.5	1
Himachal Pradesh	3.6	-0.7	4.5	-0.5	22.0	2.2	69.8	14.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	2
Jharkhand	5.6	-1.1	4.6	-0.5	42.5	4.3	46.7	9.3	0.6	0.0	12.0	3
Nagaland	9.5	-1.9	6.4	-0.6	47.0	4.7	37.2	7.4	0.0	0.0	9.6	4
Kerala	9.5	-1.9	10.3	-1.0	37.7	3.8	41.4	8.3	1.1	0.0	9.1	5
Bihar	8.4	-1.7	13.0	-1.3	48.3	4.8	30.3	6.1	0.0	0.0	7.9	6
Uttarakhand	12.0	-2.4	14.1	-1.4	43.6	4.4	29.6	5.9	0.6	0.0	6.5	7
Andhra Pradesh	14.7	-2.9	15.3	-1.5	44.5	4.5	24.9	5.0	0.5	0.0	5.0	8
Karnataka	17.2	-3.4	12.3	-1.2	44.7	4.5	25.7	5.1	0.0	0.0	4.9	9
Assam	16.5	-3.3	13.7	-1.4	45.7	4.6	24.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	4.7	10
Maharashtra	16.6	-3.3	15.9	-1.6	40.0	4.0	25.8	5.2	1.7	0.0	4.3	11
Telangana	15.8	-3.2	16.9	-1.7	44.8	4.5	19.9	4.0	2.7	0.0	3.6	12
Odisha	23.9	-4.8	11.2	-1.1	37.7	3.8	26.1	5.2	1.1	0.0	3.1	13
Madhya Pradesh	14.2	-2.8	25.4	-2.5	41.8	4.2	18.7	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.5	14
Gujarat	21.7	-4.3	18.5	-1.9	34.2	3.4	25.6	5.1	0.0	0.0	2.4	15
Delhi	21.8	-4.4	20.8	-2.1	34.9	3.5	22.2	4.4	0.2	0.0	1.5	16
Tamil Nadu	17.8	-3.6	26.0	-2.6	40.2	4.0	15.9	3.2	0.1	0.0	1.0	17
Rajasthan	29.5	-5.9	12.4	-1.2	39.7	4.0	14.5	2.9	3.9	0.0	-0.3	18
Chhattisgarh	31.5	-6.3	16.8	-1.7	32.8	3.3	18.3	3.7	0.6	0.0	-1.0	19
West Bengal	31.9	-6.4	13.9	-1.4	35.6	3.6	15.7	3.1	2.9	0.0	-1.1	20
Uttar Pradesh	26.2	-5.2	27.6	-2.8	37.2	3.7	8.2	1.6	0.8	0.0	-2.6	21
Punjab	34.6	-6.9	17.8	-1.8	37.8	3.8	9.4	1.9	0.4	0.0	-3.0	22

Index of perception about police independence

The state rankings for the Index of perception about police independence are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'not at all independent' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'not much independent' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'somewhat independent' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'highly independent' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., a better perception of the police's independence.

State	Not at all independent (%)	After W1	Not much independent (%)	After W2	Somewhat independent (%)	After W3	Highly independent (%)	After W4	Non committal (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Kerala	2.1	-0.4	12.4	-1.2	14.4	1.4	64.8	13.0	6.4	0.0	12.7	1
Assam	2.4	-0.5	17.3	-1.7	52.2	5.2	20.6	4.1	7.5	0.0	7.1	2
Nagaland	7.5	-1.5	19.5	-2.0	42.1	4.2	24.0	4.8	6.9	0.0	5.6	3
Himachal Pradesh	0.7	-0.1	22.5	-2.3	52.5	5.3	10.2	2.0	14.1	0.0	4.9	4
Gujarat	2.3	-0.5	30.3	-3.0	42.6	4.3	17.1	3.4	7.7	0.0	4.2	5
Haryana	0.2	0.0	36.5	-3.7	43.2	4.3	17.0	3.4	3.1	0.0	4.0	6
Maharashtra	3.3	-0.7	28.3	-2.8	52.2	5.2	10.8	2.2	5.5	0.0	3.9	7
Rajasthan	1.4	-0.3	29.6	-3.0	45.0	4.5	9.8	2.0	14.1	0.0	3.2	8
Bihar	1.2	-0.2	41.7	-4.2	42.7	4.3	11.8	2.4	2.6	0.0	2.2	9
Jharkhand	6.2	-1.2	32.0	-3.2	52.0	5.2	7.0	1.4	2.8	0.0	2.2	10
Andhra Pradesh	7.3	-1.5	27.6	-2.8	51.2	5.1	6.3	1.3	7.5	0.0	2.2	11
Karnataka	1.7	-0.3	43.8	-4.4	37.9	3.8	12.8	2.6	3.8	0.0	1.6	12
Uttarakhand	2.9	-0.6	40.7	-4.1	44.9	4.5	7.9	1.6	3.6	0.0	1.4	13
Madhya Pradesh	1.8	-0.4	42.9	-4.3	51.0	5.1	3.7	0.7	0.6	0.0	1.2	14
Tamil Nadu	0.3	-0.1	44.9	-4.5	32.4	3.2	10.7	2.1	11.7	0.0	0.8	15
Telangana	3.6	-0.7	39.6	-4.0	42.1	4.2	6.4	1.3	8.3	0.0	0.8	16
West Bengal	11.4	-2.3	27.3	-2.7	32.8	3.3	12.0	2.4	16.5	0.0	0.7	17
Uttar Pradesh	2.7	-0.5	43.6	-4.4	39.3	3.9	8.0	1.6	6.3	0.0	0.6	18
Chhattisgarh	13.9	-2.8	23.2	-2.3	36.3	3.6	7.2	1.4	19.4	0.0	0.0	19
Punjab	4.5	-0.9	43.2	-4.3	42.8	4.3	3.7	0.7	5.7	0.0	-0.2	20
Delhi	4.8	-1.0	48.6	-4.9	33.9	3.4	5.4	1.1	7.3	0.0	-1.4	21
Odisha	9.8	-2.0	40.4	-4.0	29.4	2.9	3.1	0.6	17.3	0.0	-2.4	22

Index of perception of discrimination by the police

The state rankings for the Index of perception of discrimination by the police are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'highly discriminates' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'somewhat discriminates' category was weighted as -0.1, the 'rarely discriminates' category was weighted as 0.1, and the 'very rarely discriminates' category was weighted as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a positive assessment, i.e., weaker perception of discrimination.

State	Very rarely discriminates (%)	After W1	Rarely discriminates (%)	After W2	Somewhat discriminates (%)	After W3	Highly discriminates (%)	After W4	Non committal (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
West Bengal	19.9	4.0	17.3	1.7	47.5	-4.8	4.7	-0.9	10.7	0.0	0.0	1
Chhattisgarh	17.1	3.4	15.6	1.6	57.1	-5.7	0.6	-0.1	9.7	0.0	-0.9	2
Odisha	15.0	3.0	15.3	1.5	60.8	-6.1	1.2	-0.2	7.7	0.0	-1.8	3
Rajasthan	16.4	3.3	16.0	1.6	55.2	-5.5	8.4	-1.7	4.1	0.0	-2.3	4
Nagaland	4.9	1.0	26.7	2.7	65.3	-6.5	1.1	-0.2	2.0	0.0	-3.1	5
Uttarakhand	8.3	1.7	18.2	1.8	66.9	-6.7	4.1	-0.8	2.4	0.0	-4.0	6
Madhya Pradesh	4.3	0.9	24.4	2.4	66.4	-6.6	3.8	-0.8	1.0	0.0	-4.1	7
Andhra Pradesh	8.9	1.8	16.3	1.6	69.8	-7.0	2.8	-0.6	2.2	0.0	-4.1	8
Himachal Pradesh	4.1	0.8	18.1	1.8	70.5	-7.1	0.2	0.0	7.0	0.0	-4.5	9
Uttar Pradesh	9.4	1.9	15.1	1.5	62.7	-6.3	9.6	-1.9	3.1	0.0	-4.8	10
Kerala	8.5	1.7	13.4	1.3	71.9	-7.2	3.3	-0.7	2.9	0.0	-4.8	11
Gujarat	7.7	1.5	13.1	1.3	72.3	-7.2	4.2	-0.8	2.7	0.0	-5.2	12
Punjab	4.7	0.9	3.7	0.4	66.6	-6.7	3.9	-0.8	21.1	0.0	-6.1	13
Telangana	2.6	0.5	13.9	1.4	77.6	-7.8	3.6	-0.7	2.3	0.0	-6.6	14
Assam	5.4	1.1	10.9	1.1	77.0	-7.7	5.8	-1.2	0.9	0.0	-6.7	15
Maharashtra	4.0	0.8	8.7	0.9	73.4	-7.3	12.0	-2.4	1.9	0.0	-8.1	16
Tamil Nadu	4.7	0.9	9.6	1.0	56.9	-5.7	21.8	-4.4	7.0	0.0	-8.2	17
Karnataka	3.6	0.7	7.7	0.8	65.1	-6.5	17.8	-3.6	5.8	0.0	-8.6	18
Delhi	5.6	1.1	7.2	0.7	68.2	-6.8	18.5	-3.7	0.6	0.0	-8.7	19
Haryana	4.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	86.4	-8.6	8.4	-1.7	0.6	0.0	-9.4	20
Jharkhand	0.4	0.1	3.6	0.4	88.6	-8.9	7.0	-1.4	0.4	0.0	-9.8	21
Bihar	0.2	0.0	0.7	0.1	66.8	-6.7	31.8	-6.4	0.4	0.0	-12.9	22

Index of sympathetic attitudes towards police working conditions

The state rankings for the Index of sympathetic attitude towards police working conditions are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'no sympathy' category was weighted as 2, the 'somewhat sympathy' category was weighted as 3, the 'strong sympathy category was weighted as 5 and the category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates more sympathy.

State	No sympathy (%)	After W1	Moderate sympathy (%)	After W2	Strong sympathy (%)	After W3	Non committal (%)	After W4	Score	Rank
Telangana	3.0	0.6	24.8	7.4	70.6	35.3	1.7	0.0	43.3	1
Andhra Pradesh	6.6	1.3	30.2	9.1	60.2	30.1	3.0	0.0	40.5	2
Karnataka	3.0	0.6	42.1	12.6	54.1	27.1	0.9	0.0	40.3	3
Tamil Nadu	5.3	1.1	36.0	10.8	56.7	28.4	2.0	0.0	40.2	4
Assam	6.4	1.3	36.6	11.0	55.7	27.9	1.3	0.0	40.1	5
Kerala	7.0	1.4	35.1	10.5	54.3	27.2	3.6	0.0	39.1	6
Maharashtra	5.8	1.2	34.1	10.2	55.2	27.6	4.8	0.0	39.0	7
Bihar	9.0	1.8	40.7	12.2	49.6	24.8	0.7	0.0	38.8	8
Nagaland	9.1	1.8	42.7	12.8	45.5	22.8	2.7	0.0	37.4	9
Delhi	14.3	2.9	41.0	12.3	44.2	22.1	0.4	0.0	37.3	10
Punjab	7.0	1.4	52.7	15.8	38.1	19.1	2.3	0.0	36.3	11
Uttarakhand	16.1	3.2	43.9	13.2	37.4	18.7	2.6	0.0	35.1	12
Jharkhand	4.4	0.9	63.4	19.0	29.2	14.6	3.0	0.0	34.5	13
Odisha	20.6	4.1	43.5	13.1	30.8	15.4	5.1	0.0	32.6	14
Gujarat	23.6	4.7	44.2	13.3	27.8	13.9	4.4	0.0	31.9	15
Rajasthan	23.7	4.7	34.2	10.3	33.5	16.8	8.6	0.0	31.8	16
Madhya Pradesh	20.2	4.0	38.1	11.4	32.3	16.2	9.5	0.0	31.6	17
Haryana	15.3	3.1	68.2	20.5	15.5	7.8	1.0	0.0	31.3	18
West Bengal	13.2	2.6	37.4	11.2	34.7	17.4	14.7	0.0	31.2	19
Himachal Pradesh	32.5	6.5	32.3	9.7	30.0	15.0	5.2	0.0	31.2	20
Chhattisgarh	16.4	3.3	42.3	12.7	29.7	14.9	11.6	0.0	30.8	21
Uttar Pradesh	27.4	5.5	53.0	15.9	14.1	7.1	5.5	0.0	28.4	22

Index of favorability towards women in the police

The state rankings for the Index of favorability towards women in the police are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each Index category. The 'not at all favourable' category was weighted as -0.2, the 'not much favourable' category was weighted as -0.1 the 'somewhat favourable' category was weighted as 0.1 and the 'very favourable' category as 0.2. The category of non-committal (those who did not answer any question that went into making the Index) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates more favorability.

	Not at all favourable (%)	After W1	Not much favourable (%)	After W2	Somewhat favourable (%)	After W3	Very favourable (%)	After W4	Non committal (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Uttarakhand	1.7	-0.3	11.1	-1.1	39.8	4.0	47.4	9.5	0.0	0.0	12.0	1
Haryana	1.5	-0.3	13.0	-1.3	37.7	3.8	47.8	9.6	0.0	0.0	11.7	2
Maharashtra	1.5	-0.3	14.9	-1.5	37.0	3.7	45.2	9.0	1.4	0.0	11.0	3
Nagaland	0.0	0.0	15.8	-1.6	43.3	4.3	40.7	8.1	0.2	0.0	10.9	4
Delhi	2.4	-0.5	20.1	-2.0	40.6	4.1	36.4	7.3	0.6	0.0	8.9	5
Jharkhand	1.6	-0.3	15.0	-1.5	64.0	6.4	19.4	3.9	0.0	0.0	8.5	6
Kerala	2.0	-0.4	24.1	-2.4	32.7	3.3	39.3	7.9	2.0	0.0	8.3	7
Punjab	1.6	-0.3	21.5	-2.2	53.5	5.4	23.2	4.6	0.2	0.0	7.5	8
Odisha	4.0	-0.8	21.9	-2.2	40.4	4.0	30.4	6.1	3.3	0.0	7.1	9
Tamil Nadu	2.0	-0.4	30.5	-3.1	44.8	4.5	21.7	4.3	1.1	0.0	5.4	10
Madhya Pradesh	0.3	-0.1	34.2	-3.4	43.7	4.4	21.5	4.3	0.2	0.0	5.2	11
Gujarat	1.9	-0.4	29.0	-2.9	49.8	5.0	17.4	3.5	1.9	0.0	5.2	12
Himachal Pradesh	0.9	-0.2	43.6	-4.4	12.3	1.2	39.1	7.8	4.1	0.0	4.5	13
Chhattisgarh	2.7	-0.5	34.9	-3.5	31.6	3.2	26.7	5.3	4.0	0.0	4.5	14
Assam	3.6	-0.7	35.1	-3.5	38.3	3.8	21.8	4.4	1.1	0.0	4.0	15
Bihar	1.2	-0.2	33.7	-3.4	57.4	5.7	7.4	1.5	0.4	0.0	3.6	16
Rajasthan	3.9	-0.8	37.1	-3.7	35.6	3.6	19.9	4.0	3.4	0.0	3.1	17
Andhra Pradesh	4.5	-0.9	37.7	-3.8	46.5	4.7	9.4	1.9	1.9	0.0	1.9	18
West Bengal	6.8	-1.4	38.2	-3.8	33.1	3.3	16.9	3.4	4.9	0.0	1.5	19
Karnataka	3.8	-0.8	44.0	-4.4	42.2	4.2	9.5	1.9	0.5	0.0	1.0	20
Uttar Pradesh	6.2	-1.2	42.6	-4.3	38.3	3.8	10.2	2.0	2.7	0.0	0.4	21
Telangana	5.1	-1.0	48.1	-4.8	33.7	3.4	9.9	2.0	3.3	0.0	-0.5	22

Q12a

The state rankings for Q12a *(Please tell me how much trust do you have in local police like police inspector, Sub inspector, SHO - a lot, somewhat, not much, or not at all?)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. An 'a lot' answer was weighted as 0.2, a 'somewhat' answer was weighted as 0.1, a 'not much' answer was weighted as -0.1, and a 'not at all' answer was weighted as -0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a more positive assessment.

State	A lot (%)	After W1	Somewhat (%)	After W2	Not much (%)	After W3	Not at all (%)	After W4	No response (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Andhra Pradesh	35.9	7.2	42.1	4.2	5.7	-0.6	3.6	-0.7	12.7	0.0	10.1	1
Jharkhand	26.3	5.3	58.3	5.8	9.2	-0.9	0.8	-0.2	5.4	0.0	10.0	2
Telangana	26.4	5.3	55.9	5.6	5.4	-0.5	1.8	-0.4	10.5	0.0	10.0	3
Kerala	43.1	8.6	32.6	3.3	11.3	-1.1	5.1	-1.0	8.0	0.0	9.7	4
Odisha	33.1	6.6	40.3	4.0	6.7	-0.7	4.2	-0.8	15.7	0.0	9.1	5
Himachal Pradesh	13.9	2.8	72.0	7.2	6.1	-0.6	2.3	-0.5	5.7	0.0	8.9	6
Uttarakhand	23.7	4.7	57.6	5.8	10.0	-1.0	6.2	-1.2	2.4	0.0	8.3	7
Tamil Nadu	30.6	6.1	45.1	4.5	11.2	-1.1	6.6	-1.3	6.5	0.0	8.2	8
Madhya Pradesh	25.3	5.1	53.4	5.3	15.1	-1.5	4.0	-0.8	2.3	0.0	8.1	9
Karnataka	26.1	5.2	49.7	5.0	12.9	-1.3	5.2	-1.0	6.0	0.0	7.9	10
Haryana	11.3	2.3	72.0	7.2	14.0	-1.4	2.1	-0.4	0.6	0.0	7.6	11
Chhattisgarh	22.6	4.5	46.0	4.6	11.8	-1.2	3.8	-0.8	15.8	0.0	7.2	12
Assam	18.5	3.7	56.1	5.6	14.4	-1.4	4.7	-0.9	6.2	0.0	6.9	13
Maharashtra	20.5	4.1	49.5	5.0	11.9	-1.2	8.6	-1.7	9.6	0.0	6.1	14
Gujarat	22.8	4.6	47.0	4.7	16.2	-1.6	7.8	-1.6	6.1	0.0	6.1	15
Punjab	25.1	5.0	37.4	3.7	19.1	-1.9	8.4	-1.7	10.1	0.0	5.2	16
Delhi	13.9	2.8	50.5	5.1	16.7	-1.7	9.7	-1.9	9.1	0.0	4.2	17
West Bengal	18.1	3.6	39.9	4.0	14.1	-1.4	10.2	-2.0	17.6	0.0	4.2	18
Nagaland	16.8	3.4	47.0	4.7	23.7	-2.4	9.5	-1.9	3.1	0.0	3.8	19
Bihar	16.3	3.3	44.0	4.4	27.4	-2.7	10.9	-2.2	1.3	0.0	2.7	20
Uttar Pradesh	9.4	1.9	48.4	4.8	19.4	-1.9	15.7	-3.1	7.1	0.0	1.6	21
Rajasthan	6.2	1.2	43.5	4.4	27.7	-2.8	6.8	-1.4	15.9	0.0	1.5	22

Q12b.

The state rankings for Q12b *(Please tell me how much trust do you have in a senior police officer like SP, DCP - a lot, somewhat, not much, or not at all?)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. An 'a lot' answer was weighted as 0.2, a 'somewhat' answer was weighted as 0.1, a 'not much' answer was weighted as -0.1, and a 'not at all' answer was weighted as 0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a more positive assessment.

State	A lot (%)	After W1	Somewhat (%)	After W2	Not much (%)	After W3	Not at all (%)	After W4	No response (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Haryana	31.0	6.2	60.3	6.0	6.9	-0.7	1.0	-0.2	0.8	0.0	11.3	1
Himachal Pradesh	25.2	5.0	63.0	6.3	3.9	-0.4	2.0	-0.4	5.9	0.0	10.6	2
Odisha	37.9	7.6	33.4	3.3	6.7	-0.7	2.5	-0.5	19.5	0.0	9.8	3
Kerala	43.9	8.8	31.3	3.1	9.0	-0.9	6.5	-1.3	9.3	0.0	9.7	4
Bihar	47.5	9.5	29.2	2.9	15.3	-1.5	6.8	-1.4	1.4	0.0	9.5	5
Uttarakhand	35.1	7.0	44.1	4.4	15.5	-1.6	2.6	-0.5	2.7	0.0	9.4	6
Andhra Pradesh	28.8	5.8	42.1	4.2	11.1	-1.1	2.4	-0.5	15.6	0.0	8.4	7
Jharkhand	46.4	9.3	19.6	2.0	26.6	-2.7	1.4	-0.3	6.0	0.0	8.3	8
Telangana	28.9	5.8	40.6	4.1	13.6	-1.4	2.1	-0.4	14.8	0.0	8.1	9
Assam	23.2	4.6	50.6	5.1	13.1	-1.3	2.1	-0.4	10.9	0.0	8.0	10
Madhya Pradesh	32.7	6.5	38.5	3.9	19.7	-2.0	3.5	-0.7	5.7	0.0	7.7	11
Delhi	28.2	5.6	41.6	4.2	10.7	-1.1	5.6	-1.1	13.9	0.0	7.6	12
Nagaland	20.4	4.1	54.3	5.4	19.1	-1.9	2.9	-0.6	3.3	0.0	7.0	13
Chhattisgarh	30.1	6.0	33.7	3.4	15.2	-1.5	4.6	-0.9	16.4	0.0	7.0	14
Tamil Nadu	27.4	5.5	40.5	4.1	17.5	-1.8	7.5	-1.5	7.0	0.0	6.3	15
Karnataka	24.6	4.9	43.1	4.3	19.6	-2.0	5.8	-1.2	6.9	0.0	6.1	16
West Bengal	24.1	4.8	36.9	3.7	11.3	-1.1	6.7	-1.3	21.0	0.0	6.0	17
Maharashtra	20.5	4.1	44.3	4.4	16.4	-1.6	5.5	-1.1	13.4	0.0	5.8	18
Gujarat	24.6	4.9	41.7	4.2	18.3	-1.8	7.7	-1.5	7.7	0.0	5.7	19
Punjab	26.2	5.2	29.5	3.0	24.6	-2.5	7.8	-1.6	11.9	0.0	4.2	20
Uttar Pradesh	19.6	3.9	40.7	4.1	20.1	-2.0	11.2	-2.2	8.4	0.0	3.7	21
Rajasthan	13.0	2.6	37.7	3.8	20.8	-2.1	11.9	-2.4	16.5	0.0	1.9	22

Q19

The state rankings for Q19 *(How satisfied are you with police performance and their work in your area? (If satisfied or dissatisfied probe further whether fully or somewhat)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. An 'fully satisfied' answer was weighted as 0.2, a 'somewhat satisfied' answer was weighted as 0.1, a 'somewhat dissatisfied' answer was weighted as -0.1, and a 'fully dissatisfied' answer was weighted as -0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a more positive assessment.

State	Fully satisfied (%)	After W1	Somewhat satisfied (%)	After W2	Somewhat dissatisfied (%)	After W3	Fully dissatisfied (%)	After W4	No response (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Kerala	51.5	10.3	35.4	3.5	2.4	-0.2	1.8	-0.4	8.8	0.0	13.2	1
Himachal Pradesh	29.5	5.9	61.8	6.2	1.6	-0.2	0.9	-0.2	6.1	0.0	11.7	2
Odisha	36.3	7.3	53.6	5.4	2.0	-0.2	3.6	-0.7	4.4	0.0	11.7	3
Chhattisgarh	42.9	8.6	39.6	4.0	4.2	-0.4	3.2	-0.6	10.1	0.0	11.5	4
Punjab	34.8	7.0	49.8	5.0	3.9	-0.4	2.3	-0.5	9.2	0.0	11.1	5
Gujarat	44.4	8.9	37.9	3.8	10.3	-1.0	4.1	-0.8	3.2	0.0	10.8	6
Haryana	16.3	3.3	72.4	7.2	3.5	-0.4	0.6	-0.1	7.1	0.0	10.0	7
Uttarakhand	31.6	6.3	50.5	5.1	7.8	-0.8	6.8	-1.4	3.3	0.0	9.2	8
Maharashtra	28.7	5.7	51.7	5.2	8.4	-0.8	4.3	-0.9	6.8	0.0	9.2	9
Jharkhand	32.6	6.5	43.0	4.3	21.6	-2.2	2.2	-0.4	0.6	0.0	8.2	10
Assam	22.1	4.4	57.5	5.8	12.4	-1.2	4.1	-0.8	3.9	0.0	8.1	11
Karnataka	18.7	3.7	60.8	6.1	12.1	-1.2	2.5	-0.5	5.9	0.0	8.1	12
Madhya Pradesh	16.1	3.2	63.8	6.4	12.1	-1.2	2.2	-0.4	5.8	0.0	8.0	13
West Bengal	26.3	5.3	46.7	4.7	16.3	-1.6	2.0	-0.4	8.6	0.0	7.9	14
Telangana	18.6	3.7	58.7	5.9	13.6	-1.4	3.9	-0.8	5.2	0.0	7.5	15
Delhi	21.9	4.4	56.8	5.7	9.2	-0.9	8.6	-1.7	3.6	0.0	7.4	16
Rajasthan	21.5	4.3	54.5	5.5	7.5	-0.8	10.0	-2.0	6.6	0.0	7.0	17
Tamil Nadu	17.1	3.4	57.7	5.8	16.2	-1.6	3.1	-0.6	5.9	0.0	7.0	18
Nagaland	17.1	3.4	53.2	5.3	11.7	-1.2	5.6	-1.1	12.4	0.0	6.5	19
Andhra Pradesh	27.4	5.5	40.2	4.0	20.4	-2.0	5.8	-1.2	6.2	0.0	6.3	20
Uttar Pradesh	14.2	2.8	52.5	5.3	11.1	-1.1	12.0	-2.4	10.2	0.0	4.6	21
Bihar	11.2	2.2	52.8	5.3	18.2	-1.8	14.6	-2.9	3.2	0.0	2.8	22

Q22c

The state rankings for Q22c *(Please tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement – There is nothing wrong in the police being violent towards criminals (If agree or disagree probe further whether fully or somewhat)* are based on summated scores that were arrived at after weighting each response option. A 'fully agree' answer was weighted as -0.2, a 'somewhat agree' answer was weighted as -0.1, a 'somewhat disagree' answer was weighted as 0.1, and a 'fully disagree' answer was weighted as 0.2. The category of no response (those who did not answer the question) was weighted as 0 and hence excluded from the ranking analysis. A higher summated score here indicates a more positive assessment.

State	Fully agree (%)	After W1	Somewhat agree (%)	After W2	Somewhat disagree (%)	After W3	Fully disagree (%)	After W4	No response (%)	After W5	Score	Rank
Himachal Pradesh	11.8	-2.4	20.5	-2.1	40.9	4.1	13.2	2.6	13.6	0.0	2.3	1
Odisha	9.4	-1.9	20.6	-2.1	23.2	2.3	19.0	3.8	27.7	0.0	2.2	2
West Bengal	12.0	-2.4	15.0	-1.5	15.0	1.5	21.0	4.2	37.1	0.0	1.8	3
Nagaland	12.2	-2.4	36.4	-3.6	19.3	1.9	28.4	5.7	3.8	0.0	1.5	4
Uttarakhand	24.8	-5.0	19.6	-2.0	11.6	1.2	25.2	5.0	18.8	0.0	-0.7	5
Telangana	13.6	-2.7	29.8	-3.0	19.9	2.0	13.1	2.6	23.7	0.0	-1.1	6
Karnataka	18.5	-3.7	29.6	-3.0	23.5	2.4	14.9	3.0	13.5	0.0	-1.3	7
Chhattisgarh	16.0	-3.2	22.9	-2.3	13.7	1.4	13.9	2.8	33.5	0.0	-1.3	8
Uttar Pradesh	17.6	-3.5	26.6	-2.7	24.7	2.5	11.7	2.3	19.4	0.0	-1.4	9
Jharkhand	12.8	-2.6	43.6	-4.4	18.2	1.8	18.2	3.6	7.2	0.0	-1.5	10
Madhya Pradesh	19.7	-3.9	30.0	-3.0	20.8	2.1	12.5	2.5	17.0	0.0	-2.4	11
Maharashtra	19.8	-4.0	36.0	-3.6	21.4	2.1	14.3	2.9	8.6	0.0	-2.6	12
Assam	24.7	-4.9	32.4	-3.2	20.0	2.0	14.6	2.9	8.4	0.0	-3.3	13
Haryana	30.7	-6.1	25.3	-2.5	31.3	3.1	10.6	2.1	2.1	0.0	-3.4	14
Punjab	19.9	-4.0	27.7	-2.8	14.3	1.4	7.8	1.6	30.3	0.0	-3.8	15
Bihar	33.3	-6.7	23.3	-2.3	28.0	2.8	12.0	2.4	3.3	0.0	-3.8	16
Andhra Pradesh	21.6	-4.3	34.8	-3.5	17.6	1.8	9.1	1.8	17.0	0.0	-4.2	17
Delhi	32.0	-6.4	28.6	-2.9	12.5	1.3	18.7	3.7	8.2	0.0	-4.3	18
Rajasthan	21.6	-4.3	35.7	-3.6	13.0	1.3	7.5	1.5	22.3	0.0	-5.1	19
Kerala	32.0	-6.4	29.2	-2.9	11.6	1.2	15.3	3.1	11.9	0.0	-5.1	20
Gujarat	26.7	-5.3	31.4	-3.1	19.2	1.9	5.8	1.2	16.8	0.0	-5.4	21
Tamil Nadu	31.7	-6.3	29.8	-3.0	14.2	1.4	11.6	2.3	12.6	0.0	-5.6	22

Appendix 5: State-Wise Findings from The Survey on Select Questions

Table 1:

Q. What kind of police presence would you like to see in your village/area- greater, less or no change? 1. Greater 2. Less 3. No change, same as before 8. Don't know

States	Respondents who want greater police presence in their locality
Andhra Pradesh	49
Assam	8
Bihar	65
Gujarat	34
Haryana	72
Himachal Pradesh	59
Karnataka	41
Kerala	41
Madhya Pradesh	46
Maharashtra	56
Nagaland	56
Odisha	52
Punjab	30
Rajasthan	41
Tamil Nadu	26
Uttar Pradesh	56
West Bengal	47
Delhi	73
Jharkhand	73
Chhattisgarh	58
Uttarakhand	44
Telangana	35
Overall	47

Table 2:

Q. From time to time, for different purposes, people have some kind of contact with the police. In the last 4-5 years, have you or your family member had any kind of contact with the police?

2. Yes 1. No 8. Don't know

State	Respondents who had some kind of contact with the police in the last 4-5 years
Andhra Pradesh	4
Assam	9
Bihar	34
Gujarat	7
Haryana	9
Himachal Pradesh	3
Karnataka	34
Kerala	21
Madhya Pradesh	15
Maharashtra	18
Nagaland	2
Odisha	10
Punjab	7
Rajasthan	9
Tamil Nadu	9
Uttar Pradesh	33
West Bengal	8
Delhi	16
Jharkhand	21
Chhattisgarh	4
Uttarakhand	8
Telangana	10
Overall	14

Table 2:

Table 3:

Q: In the future, if you have a problem that requires police help, would you go to the police? 2.Yes 1. No 3. Probably 4. Have no other option 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who said they will be willing to contact the police in future
Andhra Pradesh	59
Assam	82
Bihar	70
Gujarat	75
Haryana	74
Himachal Pradesh	73
Karnataka	69
Kerala	91
Madhya Pradesh	83
Maharashtra	82
Nagaland	63
Odisha	92
Punjab	69
Rajasthan	73
Tamil Nadu	58
Uttar Pradesh	53
West Bengal	80
Delhi	87
Jharkhand	53
Chhattisgarh	83
Uttarakhand	89
Telangana	48
Overall	72

Table 3:

Table 4:

Q: Do you think the police intentionally implicates people under false charges?

2. Yes 1. No 3. Maybe 8. Can't say

States	Respondents who believe that police implicates people under false charges
Andhra Pradesh	18
Assam	14
Bihar	20
Gujarat	15
Haryana	9
Himachal Pradesh	4
Karnataka	29
Kerala	10
Madhya Pradesh	18
Maharashtra	13
Nagaland	5
Odisha	10
Punjab	30
Rajasthan	8
Tamil Nadu	24
Uttar Pradesh	25
West Bengal	12
Delhi	32
Jharkhand	9
Chhattisgarh	10
Uttarakhand	11
Telangana	18
Overall	27

Table 5:

Q: Looking at the present number of Scheduled Castes such as Dalits in the police force, are there adequate numbers of them in the police?

1. Adequate 2. Less than adequate 3. More than adequate 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who said there are inadequate number of Scheduled Castes in the police force
Andhra Pradesh	35
Assam	17
Bihar	60
Gujarat	48
Haryana	34
Himachal Pradesh	92
Karnataka	54
Kerala	31
Madhya Pradesh	73
Maharashtra	27
Nagaland	56
Odisha	48
Punjab	41
Rajasthan	67
Tamil Nadu	56
Uttar Pradesh	43
West Bengal	44
Delhi	42
Jharkhand	71
Chhattisgarh	64
Uttarakhand	47
Telangana	65
Overall	51

Table 5:

Table 6:

Q: Looking at the present number of OBCs in the police force, are there adequate number of them in the police?

1. Adequate 2. Less than adequate 3. More than adequate 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who said there are inadequate number of OBCs in the police force
Andhra Pradesh	33
Assam	14
Bihar	33
Gujarat	43
Haryana	30
Himachal Pradesh	88
Karnataka	57
Kerala	26
Madhya Pradesh	40
Maharashtra	34
Nagaland	52
Odisha	63
Punjab	50
Rajasthan	51
Tamil Nadu	48
Uttar Pradesh	28
West Bengal	36
Delhi	29
Jharkhand	57
30: Chhattisgarh	53
31: Uttarakhand	32
32: Telangana	23
Overall	41

Table 6:

Table 7:

Q: Looking at the present number of Scheduled Tribes such as Adivasis in the police force, are there adequate numbers of them in the police?

1. Adequate 2. Less than adequate 3. More than adequate 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who said there are inadequate number of Scheduled Tribes in the police force
Andhra Pradesh	45
Assam	14
Bihar	78
Gujarat	47
Haryana	76
Himachal Pradesh	79
Karnataka	56
Kerala	39
Madhya Pradesh	70
Maharashtra	53
Nagaland	39
Odisha	54
Punjab	37
Rajasthan	63
Tamil Nadu	63
Uttar Pradesh	46
West Bengal	59
Delhi	68
Jharkhand	35
Chhattisgarh	43
Uttarakhand	62
Telangana	49
Overall	55

Table 8:

Q: Looking at the present number of Muslims in the police force, are there adequate numbers of them in the police?

1. Adequate 2. Less than adequate 3. More than adequate 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who said there are inadequate number of Muslims in the police force
Andhra Pradesh	39
Assam	32
Bihar	50
Gujarat	60
Haryana	58
Himachal Pradesh	93
Karnataka	64
Kerala	29
Madhya Pradesh	63
Maharashtra	69
Nagaland	61
Odisha	74
Punjab	62
Rajasthan	67
Tamil Nadu	50
Uttar Pradesh	50
West Bengal	50
Delhi	59
Jharkhand	85
Chhattisgarh	82
Uttarakhand	72
Telangana	23
Overall	56

Table 9:

Q: Looking at the present number of women in the police force, are there adequate numbers of them in the police?

1 Adequate 2. Less than adequate 3. More than adequate 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who said there are inadequate number of women in the police force
Andhra Pradesh	44
Assam	64
Bihar	50
Gujarat	71
Haryana	74
Himachal Pradesh	94
Karnataka	62
Kerala	33
Madhya Pradesh	71
Maharashtra	68
Nagaland	61
Odisha	64
Punjab	42
Rajasthan	78
Tamil Nadu	52
Uttar Pradesh	56
West Bengal	61
Delhi	61
Jharkhand	45
Chhattisgarh	80
Uttarakhand	76
Telangana	80
Overall	61

Table 10:

Q: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with - Police is corrupt- it does not do its job without a bribe?
(Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' agree or disagree)

States	Respondents who agree that police is corrupt
Andhra Pradesh	26
Assam	22
Bihar	54
Gujarat	23
Haryana	22
Himachal Pradesh	6
Karnataka	28
Kerala	7
Madhya Pradesh	43
Maharashtra	21
Nagaland	6
Odisha	18
Punjab	34
Rajasthan	21
Tamil Nadu	42
Uttar Pradesh	34
West Bengal	18
Delhi	40
Jharkhand	15
Chhattisgarh	20
Uttarakhand	13
Telangana	17
Overall	25

Table 11:

Q: Have you ever seen a police officer violating the law?
2.Yes 1. No 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who witnessed a police officer violating the law
Andhra Pradesh	11
Assam	18
Bihar	34
Gujarat	13
Haryana	18
Himachal Pradesh	31
Karnataka	14
Kerala	25
Madhya Pradesh	27
Maharashtra	29
Nagaland	17
Odisha	6
Punjab	20
Rajasthan	15
Tamil Nadu	35
Uttar Pradesh	25
West Bengal	9
Delhi	38
Jharkhand	35
Chhattisgarh	13
Uttarakhand	9
Telangana	18
Overall	20

Table 12:

Q: Please tell me how much interference do the political party & politicians have in the functioning of the police in your locality- a lot, somewhat, not much or not at all?
1. A lot 2. Somewhat 3. Not much 4. Not at all 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who think that political parties and politicians interfere significantly (includes both a lot and somewhat) in the functioning of police
Andhra Pradesh	71
Assam	68
Bihar	77
Gujarat	68
Haryana	91
Himachal Pradesh	73
Karnataka	77
Kerala	32
Madhya Pradesh	88
Maharashtra	74
Nagaland	58
Odisha	74
Punjab	88
Rajasthan	74
Tamil Nadu	78
Uttar Pradesh	76
West Bengal	69
Delhi	83
Jharkhand	88
Chhattisgarh	52
Uttarakhand	88
Telangana	83
Overall	74

Table 13:

Q: Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack. Please tell me whether this argument are justified or not?

(Probe further whether very or somewhat justified or unjustified)

States	Respondents who said that the above mentioned argument is justified
Andhra Pradesh	62
Assam	60
Bihar	64
Gujarat	56
Haryana	65
Himachal Pradesh	10
Karnataka	74
Kerala	25
Madhya Pradesh	67
Maharashtra	39
Nagaland	36
Odisha	34
Punjab	71
Rajasthan	50
Tamil Nadu	59
Uttar Pradesh	61
West Bengal	56
Delhi	30
Jharkhand	66
Chhattisgarh	24
Uttarakhand	29
Telangana	66
Overall	52

Table 14:

Q: In an area, whenever there is an instance of fight between people from two caste groups, do you think the police sides with any particular caste group or remains impartial?

1. Sides with a particular religious community 2. Remains impartial 8. Don't Know

States	Respondents who stated that police sides with a particular caste group
Andhra Pradesh	15
Assam	4
Bihar	13
Gujarat	4
Haryana	8
Himachal Pradesh	
Karnataka	16
Kerala	0
Madhya Pradesh	5
Maharashtra	7
Nagaland	1
Odisha	1
Punjab	5
Rajasthan	8
Tamil Nadu	14
Uttar Pradesh	13
West Bengal	4
Delhi	10
Jharkhand	1
Chhattisgarh	1
Uttarakhand	4
Telangana	16
Overall	8

Appendix 6a: Police Performance Review Using Official Data

For the calculation of all thematic Indices (crime rate Index, disposal of cases by police and courts Index, police diversity Index, police infrastructure Index, prison data Index, disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children Index), Indices have been developed for the five-year average of each variable, and then the individual variable Indices have been averaged to arrive at the final thematic Index. For instance,

Crime rate Index = arithmetic mean of rate of total cognizable crimes Index, rate of violent crime Index, rate of total cognizable crimes against women Index, rate of total cognizable crimes against children Index, rate of total cognizable crimes against SCs Index and the rate of total cognizable crimes against STs Index.

The formula used for the calculation of individual variable Indices is:

State Index = (x-minimum observed in the last five years) / (maximum observed in the last five years-minimum observed in the last five years)

where 'x' is the actual state figure for the variable

In the below section, the explanation for the calculation of the individual variables is given.

I. Crime rate Index

The formula used by NCRB for the calculation of the rate of total cognizable crimes against women, children, SCs and STs changed in the year 2012 and comparable data was not available for previous years. Therefore, only data from 2012-2016 has been used for the calculation of the respective Indices. All final indices of all variables under this theme has been subtracted by 1 so that a higher Index reflects better performance by the state, i.e., a higher Index indicates lower crime in that state. The variables used in the calculation of crime rate Index are:

1. Rate of total cognizable crimes under Indian Penal Code (IPC) and the Special and Local Laws (SLL): The number of total cognizable crimes committed per lakh of population.

   Calculation of variable: [(Total incidents of IPC crimes committed in the state+ total incidents of SLL crimes committed in the state) / Estimated mid-year population of the state] * 100

   Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2007-2016

2. Rate of violent crimes: The number of violent crimes occurring per lakh of population. Crimes included under the category of "violent crimes" according to NCRB are murder, attempt to commit murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, attempt to commit culpable homicide, dowry deaths, kidnapping & abduction, dacoity, making preparation & assembly for committing dacoity, robbery, riots, arson, rape and attempt to commit rape.

   Calculation of variable: (Total incidents of violent crimes in the state/ estimated mid-year population of the state) * 100

   Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2007-2016

3. Rate of total cognizable crimes against women: The number of crimes against women per lakh of female population. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against women" according to NCRB (2014) are rape, attempt to commit rape, kidnapping and abduction of women, dowry deaths, assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty, insult to the modest of women, cruelty by husband or his relatives, importation of girl from foreign country, abetment of suicide of women, The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986, the Commission of Sati Prevention Act 1987, the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 and the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956 (women related crimes only)

   Calculation of variable: (Total incidents of cognizable crimes against women in the state/ estimated mid-year female population in the state) * 100

   Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2012-2016

4. Rate of total cognizable crimes against Scheduled Castes: The number of crimes against Scheduled Castes per lakh of SC population. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against SCs" according to NCRB (2015) are crimes under Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, atrocities committed against persons belonging to SCs by non-SCs, i.e., where SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act has been applied along with various sections of IPC, crimes committed against SCs where SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act has not been applied and only IPC sections have been involved, the Employment of Manual Scavengers

and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prevention) Act 1923, other SLL crimes, assault on SC woman with intent to outrage her modesty and insult to modesty of SC women.

Data on the following states not available/ not computable- Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep

Calculation of variable: (Total incidents of cognizable crimes against SCs in the state / estimated mid-year SC population in the state) * 100

Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2012-2016

5. Rate of total cognizable crimes against Scheduled Tribes: The number of crimes against STs per lakh of ST population. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against STs" according to NCRB (2015) are crimes under Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, atrocities committed against persons belonging to STs by non-STs, i.e., where SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act has been applied along with various sections of IPC, crimes committed against STs where SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act has not been applied and only IPC sections have been involved, the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prevention) Act 1923, other SLL crimes, assault on ST woman with intent to outrage her modesty and insult to modesty of ST women.

Data on the following states not available/ not computable- Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh, Delhi, Puducherry

Calculation of variable: (Total incidents of cognizable crimes against STs in the state / estimated mid-year ST population in the state) * 100

Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2012-2016

6. Rate of total cognizable crimes against children: The number of crimes against children per lakh of children's population. Crimes included under the category of "crimes against children" according to NCRB (2014) are murder, attempt to commit murder, infanticide, rape, unnatural offence, assault on women (girl child) with intent to outrage her modesty, insult to the modesty of women (girl child), kidnapping and abduction, foeticide, abetment of suicide of child, exposure and abandonment, procuration of minor girls, importation of girls from foreign countries (under 18 years of age), buying of minors for prostitution, selling of minor for prostitution, Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006, Transplantation of Human organs Act 1994 (for persons below 18 years of age), Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986, Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956, Juvenile Justice (care and Protection of Children) Act 2000 and Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act 2012.

Calculation of variable: (Total incidents of cognizable crimes against children in the state / estimated mid-year children's population in the state) * 100

Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2012-2016

II. Police diversity Index

Data on SCs, STs. OBCs and women in police taken from BPRD, while data on Muslims in police taken from NCRB and Census 2011. Data on Muslims in police only available till 2013, therefore, the respective Index is an average of three years (2011-2013). Data on SCs, STs and OBCs in police available for the year 2015, therefore the respective Indices are averages of four years (2012, 2013, 2014 and 2016). The variables used in the calculation of police diversity Index are:

1. Percentage of SCs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for SCs: Actual percentage of SCs in state police force as a proportion of the reserved percentage of SCs in the state police force. Data not available for the year 2015.

Data not available for the following states due to no reservation for SCs in the state - Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, A&N Islands, Lakshadweep.

Calculation of variable: (Percentage of actual SCs in police force/Percentage of reservation of SCs in police force) * 100

Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

2. Percentage of STs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for STs: Actual percentage of STs in state police force as a proportion of the reserved percentage of STs in the state police force. Data not available for the year 2015.

Data not available for the following states due to no reservation for STs in the state/data not available-Haryana, Mizoram, Chandigarh, Puducherry.

Calculation of variable: (Percentage of actual STs in police force/Percentage of reservation of STs in police force) * 100

Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

3. Percentage of OBCs in police in proportion to the reserved percentage for OBCs: Actual percentage of OBCs in state police force as a proportion of the reserved percentage of OBCs in the state police force. Data not available for the year 2015.

Data not available for the following states due to no reservation for OBCs in the state/data not available - Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Lakshadweep.

Calculation of variable: (Percentage of actual OBCs in police force/Percentage of reservation of OBCs in police force) * 100

Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

4. Percentage of Muslims in police in proportion to the Muslim population in the state: The percentage of Muslims in state police as a proportion of percentage of Muslim population in the state. Data taken from NCRB, and discontinued in 2013, therefore Index only calculated until 2013. Data on this variable not given in BPRD report.

Data of following state not available- Telangana.

Calculation of variable: (Percentage of Muslims in state police/Percentage of Muslim population in state) * 100

Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2006-2013 and Census 2011

5. Percentage of women in police: The percentage of women in state police in proportion to the actual number of total police personnel in the state.

Calculation of variable: [Actual number of women in state police/actual number of total police personnel (civil + armed) in the state] * 100

Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

III. Disposal of cases by police and courts Index

The variables used for the calculation of disposal of cases by police and courts Index are:

1. Chargesheeting rate of IPC and SLL cases by the police: The number of IPC and SLL cases in which chargesheets were filed by the police as a percentage of the total number of cases disposed by the police. Chargesheeting rate calculation method used by NCRB in each particular year was replicated in this file for obtaining the rate for IPC+SLL chargesheeting.

Calculation of variable: [(Total number of IPC cases in which chargesheets were filed + Total number of SLL cases in which chargesheets were filed) / (Total number of cases disposed off by police under IPC + total number of cases disposed off by police under SLL]] * 100
Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2007-2016

2. Disposal percentage of IPC and SLL cases by the police: The number of IPC and SLL cases disposed off by police as a percentage of the total number of cases for investigation by the police.

Calculation of variable: 100- {[(IPC cases pending investigation by police at the end of the year + SLL cases pending investigation by police at the end of the year) / (total IPC cases for investigation by the police in the year + total SLL cases for investigation by the police in the year)] * 100}
Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2007-2016

3. Conviction rate of IPC and SLL cases by the courts: The number of IPC and SLL cases convicted by court as a percentage of the total number of IPC+SLL cases tried by the court in the year.

Calculation of variable: [(Total IPC cases convicted + total SLL cases convicted) / (total IPC cases in which trials were completed + total SLL cases in which trials were completed)] * 100

Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2007-2016

4. Disposal percentage of IPC and SLL cases by the courts: The number of IPC and SLL cases disposed off by courts as a percentage of the total number of case for trial by the courts.

   Calculation of variable: 100- {[(IPC cases pending trial at the end of the year + SLL cases pending trial at the end of the year) / (total IPC cases for trial during the year + total SLL cases for trial during the year)] * 100}
   Source: Crime in India, NCRB, 2007-2016

IV. Police infrastructure Index

The variables used in the calculation of police infrastructure Index are:

1. Percentage utilisation of grants for police modernisation: The grants for police modernisation utilised as a percentage of the sum of central and state grants for police modernisation

   Data of following states not available/ no grants for police modernisation- Assam, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Nagaland, Uttarakhand, A&N Islands, Meghalaya, Chandigarh, D&N Haveli, Daman &Diu, Delhi, Lakshadweep, Sikkim, Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh.

   Calculation of variable: [Total grants for police modernisation utilised by the state/ (central + state grants for police modernisation)] * 100

   Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

2. Strength of actual police per lakh of population as a percentage of sanctioned police per lakh of population: Data of following state not available- Telangana

   Calculation of variable: (Actual strength of police per lakh of population in the state / sanctioned strength of police per lakh of population in the state) * 100

   Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

3. Strength of actual police stations as a percentage of sanctioned police stations: The number of actual police stations in a state as a percentage of the sanctioned number of police stations in the state. Data on sanctioned number of police stations not available for the year 2007, therefore maximum and minimum values for Index calculation taken from the years 2008-2016.

   Calculation of variable: (Actual strength of police stations in the state/sanctioned strength of police stations in the state) * 100

   Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2009-2017

4. Police expenditure as a percentage of state budget: The total expenditure on police as a percentage of the total state budget.

   Data of following states not available- Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Jharkhand, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Punjab, Telangana, UP, WB, D&N Haveli, Daman & Diu, Delhi.

   Calculation of variable: (Total police expenditure in state / total budget for state) * 100

   Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

5. Training expenditure as a percentage of total police expenditure: The expenditure on police training as a percentage of the total police expenditure in the state.

   Data of following states not available- Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Telangana, D&N Haveli, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

   Calculation of variable: (Total expenditure on police training / total police expenditure in state) * 100

   Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

6. Police personnel given in-service training as a percentage of total police strength: The number of police personnel given in-service training as a percentage of the actual strength of police personnel in the state.

   Calculation of of variable: [(Constables + ASI/SIs + DySPs + IPS given in-service training in the state) / total number of police personnel in the state (civil + armed) (actual)] * 100

   Source: Data on Police Organisations, BPRD, 2008-2017

V. Prison data Index

For calculation of the prison data Index, the average of the variables has been subtracted by 1 so that a higher Index indicates better state performance i.e., the greater the Index, the better the state performs in terms of its prison data. Percentage of OBC prisoners in proportion to OBC population in the state left out as a variable because data on OBC population in states not available in Census 2011. Prison data only available until 2015, therefore for the calculation of the Indices, five-year average of the variables have been taken for the years 2011-2015. The variables used for the calculation of prison data Index are:

1. Percentage non-utilisation of prison budget: The percentage of funds allocated to prisons not utilised by the state.

   Calculation of variable: 100 - [(total annual expenditure on prisons / total annual budget for the prison) * 100]

   Source: Prison Statistics India, NCRB, 2006-2015

2. Percentage of SC prisoners in proportion to SC population in the state: States for which data not available- Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Telangana, A&N Islands, Lakshadweep.

   Calculation of percentage of SCs in prisons: [SC prison inmates (sum of convicts, undertrials, detenues and others)/total prison inmates] * 100

   Calculation of percentage of SCs in prisons in proportion to SC population in the state: [(Percentage of SC inmates in prison / percentage of SC population in state) * 100]

   Source: Prison Statistics India, NCRB, 2006-2015 and Census 2011

3. Percentage of ST prisoners in proportion to ST population in the state: States for which data not available- Haryana, Punjab, Telangana, Chandigarh, Delhi, Puducherry.

   Calculation of percentage of STs in prisons: [ST prison inmates (sum of convicts, undertrials, detenues and others)/total prison inmates] * 100

   Calculation of percentage of STs in prisons in proportion to ST population in the state: [(Percentage of ST inmates in prison / percentage of ST population in state) * 100]

   Source: Prison Statistics India, NCRB, 2006-2015 and Census 2011

4. Percentage of Muslim prisoners in proportion to Muslim population in the state: State for which data not available- Telangana.

   Calculation of percentage of Muslims in prisons: [Muslim prison inmates (sum of convicts, undertrials, detenues and others) / total prison inmates] * 100

   Calculation of percentage of Muslims in prisons in proportion to Muslim population in the state: [(Percentage of Muslim inmates in prison / percentage of Muslim population in state) * 100]

   Source: Prison Statistics India, NCRB, 2006-2015 and Census 2011

5. Number of undertrial prisoners as a percentage of the total strength of prisoners: Undertrial prisoners as a percentage of the total prison population.

   Calculation of variable: (Number of Undertrial prison inmates in the state / total number of prison inmates in the state) * 100

   Source: Prison Statistics India, NCRB, 2006-2015

VI. Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children Index

The disposal Indices for crimes against SCs, STs, women and children were created separately. Data on all variables of disposal of crimes against SCs and STs not available for the years 2014 and 2015. Therefore, Indices for these variables created using three year averages (2012, 2013 and 2016). Data on disposal percentages of cases of crimes against children by police and courts not available for the years 2014 and 2015. Therefore, Indices for these variables calculated using three-year average for the years 2012, 2013 and 2016. Data on disposal percentages of cases of crimes against women by police and by courts not available for the years 2010-2015. Therefore, Indices for these variables calculated using only the data for 2016, with

maximum and minimum values taken from the years 2006-2010. The variables used for the calculation of disposal of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children Indices are:

1. Chargesheeting rate of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children: Number of cases chargesheeted by the police as a percentage of the total number of cases disposed off by the police (of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively). Chargesheeting rate of cases of crimes against SCs and STs not available for the years 2014 and 2015. Therefore, three-year averages used for the calculation of the respective Indices (2012, 2013 and 2016).

   States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against SCs: Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura, A&N Islands, Chandigarh, D&N Haveli, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep

   States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against STs: Haryana, J&K, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Sikkim, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu, Delhi, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

   State in which data not available/ not computable in cases of crimes against women: Lakshadweep

   State in which data not available/ not computable in cases of crimes against children: Lakshadweep

   Calculation of variables: [Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women, children respectively in which chargesheets were filed / (total number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women, children respectively disposed off by the police)] * 100

   Source: Crime in India, 2007-2016, NCRB

2. Disposal percentage by police of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children: Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children disposed off by the police as a percentage of the total number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively for investigation by the police. Data on disposal percentage of cases of crimes against SCs, STs and children by police not available for the years 2014 and 2015. Therefore, three-year averages taken for the calculation of the respective Indices of the years 2012, 2013 and 2016. Data on disposal percentage of cases of crimes against women by police not available for the years 2010-2015. Therefore, Indices for these variables calculated using only the data for 2016, with maximum and minimum values taken from the years 2006-2010.

   States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against SCs: Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, A&N Islands, D&N Haveli, Lakshadweep

   States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against STs: Haryana, J&K, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Sikkim, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu.

   Calculation of variables: 100 - [(Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children pending investigation at the end of the year / total cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively for investigation by police in the year) * 100]

   Source: Crime in India, 2007-2016, NCRB

3. Conviction rate of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children: Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children convicted by the courts as a percentage of the total number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively tried by the court in the year. Conviction rate of cases of crimes against SCs and STs not available for the years 2014 and 2015. Therefore, three-year averages used for the calculation of the respective Indices (2012, 2013 and 2016).

States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against SCs: Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, J&K, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, A&N Islands, Chandigarh, D&N Haveli, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against STs: Assam, Haryana, HP, J&K, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Sikkim, Chandigarh, D&N Haveli, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

State in which data not available/ not computable in cases of crimes against women: Lakshadweep

States in which data not available/ not computable in cases of crimes against children: Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, D&N Haveli, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

Calculation of variables: [(Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children convicted by court during the year / total cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively tried by the court in the year) * 100]

Source: Crime in India, 2007-2016, NCRB

4. Disposal percentage by court of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children: Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children disposed off by the courts as a percentage of the total number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively for trial by the courts in the year. Data on disposal percentage of cases of crimes against SCs, STs and children by courts not available for the years 2014 and 2015. Therefore, three-year averages taken for the calculation of the respective Indices of the years 2012, 2013 and 2016. Data on disposal percentage of cases of crimes against women by courts not available for the years 2010-2015. Therefore, Indices for these variables calculated using only the data for 2016, with maximum and minimum values taken from the years 2006-2010.

States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against SCs: Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, A&N Islands, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep

States in which data not available/ not computable in crimes against STs: Haryana, J&K, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Punjab, Sikkim, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep, Puducherry.

Calculation of variables: 100 - [(Number of cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children pending trial at the end of the year / total cases of crimes against SCs, STs, women and children respectively for trial during the year) *100]

Source: Crime in India, 2007-2016, NCRB

Appendix 6b: Police Performance Review Using Objective Data

Crime Index

States	Rate of total cognizable crimes (IPC+SLL)	Rate of violent crimes	Rate of crimes against women	Rate of crimes against children	Rate of crimes against SCs	Rate of crimes against STs
Andhra Pradesh	0.89	0.87	0.66	0.93	0.48	0.58
Arunachal Pradesh	0.92	0.49	0.74	0.86	NA	0.96
Assam	0.88	0.29	0.35	0.91	1	1
Bihar	0.94	0.56	0.87	0.97	0.43	0.89
Chhattisgarh	0.49	0.69	0.77	0.77	0.74	0.8
Goa	0.88	0.73	0.8	0.73	0.28	0.89
Gujarat	0.69	0.87	0.84	0.92	0.58	0.94
Haryana	0.8	0.53	0.63	0.85	0.82	1
Himachal Pradesh	0.91	0.79	0.82	0.88	0.89	0.98
Jammu & Kashmir	0.92	0.58	0.71	0.98	1	1
Jharkhand	0.95	0.69	0.82	0.98	0.71	0.91
Karnataka	0.89	0.65	0.79	0.92	0.68	0.76
Kerala	0.15	0.52	0.7	0.86	0.61	0.28
Madhya Pradesh	0.8	0.67	0.66	0.78	0.5	0.75
Maharashtra	0.86	0.65	0.77	0.85	0.82	0.91
Manipur	0.94	0.57	0.9	0.92	0.99	1
Meghalaya	0.96	0.66	0.89	0.88	1	1
Mizoram	0.91	0.79	0.82	0.77	1	1
Nagaland	0.99	0.91	0.99	0.97	NA	1
Odisha	0.92	0.57	0.62	0.92	0.53	0.77
Punjab	0.92	0.82	0.82	0.9	0.98	1
Rajasthan	0.85	0.78	0.58	0.93	0.21	0.43
Sikkim	0.95	0.71	0.85	0.8	0.65	0.92
Tamil Nadu	0.61	0.81	0.92	0.94	0.83	0.93
Telangana	0.86	0.8	0.57	0.87	0.55	0.61
Tripura	0.96	0.68	0.6	0.9	0.91	0.97
Uttar Pradesh	0.55	0.78	0.83	0.92	0.71	0.96
Uttarakhand	0.43	0.79	0.87	0.93	0.95	0.98
West Bengal	0.92	0.6	0.62	0.91	0.99	0.95
A & N Islands	0.77	0.83	0.81	0.73	NA	0.64
Chandigarh	0.88	0.67	0.7	0.7	0.99	1
D&N Haveli	0.99	0.9	0.96	0.92	1	0.95
Daman & Diu	0.99	0.83	0.9	0.89	0.85	0.97
Delhi UT	0.67	0.01	0.21	0.18	0.97	1
Lakshadweep	0.98	0.9	0.95	0.95	NA	0.99
Puducherry	0.88	0.91	0.96	0.94	0.9	1
AP+ Telangana	0.88	0.85	0.63	0.92	0.52	0.63
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.77	0.68	0.74	0.9	0.69	0.81

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Crime in India' Report (National Crime Records Bureau) 2007-2016

Police diversity Index

States	SCs in Police	STs in Police	OBCs in Police	Muslims in Police	Women in Police
Andhra Pradesh	0.07	0.09	0.55	0.69	0.25
Arunachal Pradesh	NA	0.08	NA	0.37	0.48
Assam	0.08	0.11	0.52	0.08	0.15
Bihar	0.06	0.14	0.31	0.18	0.38
Chhattisgarh	0.05	0.07	0.3	0.32	0.33
Goa	0.05	0.03	0.18	0.15	0.53
Gujarat	0.09	0.06	0.23	0.31	0.31
Haryana	0.05	0	0.23	0.11	0.55
Himachal Pradesh	0.09	0.15	0.26	0.41	0.91
Jammu & Kashmir	0.04	0.07	0.22	0.56	0.2
Jharkhand	0.08	0.1	0.57	0.21	0.36
Karnataka	0.07	0.13	0.6	0.31	0.4
Kerala	0.08	0.07	0.39	0.21	0.46
Madhya Pradesh	0.06	0.06	0.28	0.36	0.35
Maharashtra	0.08	0.12	0.59	0.17	0.87
Manipur	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.87	0.6
Meghalaya	NA	0.1	0.47	0.25	0.25
Mizoram	NA	NA	NA	0.21	0.48
Nagaland	NA	0.12	NA	0.3	0.21
Odisha	0.08	0.11	0.53	0.56	0.68
Punjab	0.09	0	0.61	0.13	0.49
Rajasthan	0.07	0.1	0.25	0.09	0.61
Sikkim	0.06	0.14	0.7	0.05	0.58
Tamil Nadu	0.06	0.06	0.29	0.27	1.12
Telangana	0.07	0.17	0.64	NA	0.18
Tripura	0.07	0.1	NA	0.37	0.29
Uttar Pradesh	0.03	0.05	0.22	0.18	0.29
Uttarakhand	0.09	0.18	0.47	0.1	0.63
West Bengal	0.05	0.08	0.1	0.22	0.49
A & N Islands	NA	0.09	0.1	0.72	0.94
Chandigarh	0.06	NA	0.34	0.06	1.3
D&N Haveli	0.04	0.84	0.31	0.27	0.93
Daman & Diu	0.53	0.08	0.36	0.24	0.71
Delhi UT	0.08	0.1	0.33	0.11	0.63
Lakshadweep	NA	0.08	NA	0	0.61
Puducherry	0.06	NA	0.35	0.2	0.48
AP+ Telangana	0.06	0.11	0.54	0.69	0.22
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	NA	NA	NA	0.31	0.5

Note: SCs in police Index, STs in police Index, OBCs in police Index and women in police Index have been developed using data from 'Data on Police Organisations' Report (Bureau of Police Research and Development) 2008-2017. Muslims in Police Index calculated using data from 'Crime in India' report 2006-2013 and Census 2011.

Disposal Index

States	Chargesheeting rate (IPC+SLL)	Conviction rate (IPC+SLL)	Disposal percentage of cases by courts (IPC+SLL)	Disposal percentage of cases by police (IPC+SLL)
Andhra Pradesh	0.91	0.41	0.45	0.67
Arunachal Pradesh	0.63	0.42	0.03	0.49
Assam	0.5	0.11	0.19	0.37
Bihar	0.81	0.14	0.09	0.68
Chhattisgarh	0.96	0.84	0.64	0.97
Goa	0.74	0.39	0.24	0.55
Gujarat	0.97	0.54	0.12	0.89
Haryana	0.65	0.49	0.35	0.81
Himachal Pradesh	0.87	0.32	0.13	0.81
Jammu & Kashmir	0.85	0.38	0.22	0.65
Jharkhand	0.7	0.24	0.3	0.56
Karnataka	0.85	0.42	0.32	0.66
Kerala	1	0.9	0.33	0.92
Madhya Pradesh	0.93	0.67	0.37	0.95
Maharashtra	0.82	0.25	0.1	0.61
Manipur	0.18	0.53	0.06	0.04
Meghalaya	0.54	0.55	0.06	0.21
Mizoram	0.93	0.9	0.65	0.74
Nagaland	0.73	0.79	0.48	0.68
Odisha	0.9	0.11	0.11	0.67
Punjab	0.86	0.52	0.31	0.51
Rajasthan	0.78	0.72	0.24	0.94
Sikkim	0.75	0.45	0.53	0.72
Tamil Nadu	0.84	0.81	0.65	0.78
Telangana	0.84	0.37	0.33	0.7
Tripura	0.82	0.22	0.29	0.8
Uttar Pradesh	0.92	0.93	0.5	0.96
Uttarakhand	0.93	0.92	0.81	0.93
West Bengal	0.84	0.15	0.05	0.66
A & N Islands	0.96	0.85	0.12	0.79
Chandigarh	0.74	0.65	0.44	0.65
D&N Haveli	0.76	0.1	0.08	0.52
Daman & Diu	0.7	0.06	0.43	0.5
Delhi UT	0.39	0.52	0.15	0.49
Lakshadweep	0.85	0.6	0.45	0.42
Puducherry	0.9	0.83	0.28	0.76
AP+ Telangana	0.89	0.41	0.41	0.69
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.89	0.75	0.29	0.81

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Crime in India' Report (National Crime Records Bureau) 2007-2016

Police Infrastructure Index

States	Percentage Utilization of grants for police modernization	Strength of police per lakh of population	Police station Index	Police expenditure Index	training expenditure Index	Police personnel given training in service
Andhra Pradesh	0.04	0.53	0.93	0.18	0.04	0.16
Arunachal Pradesh	0.01	0.61	0.77	0.4	0.46	0.06
Assam	0	0.58	0.93	0.25	0.04	0.14
Bihar	0.03	0.4	0.93	0.27	0.01	0.12
Chhattisgarh	0.06	0.52	0.87	0.25	0.06	0.12
Goa	0.01	0.54	0.93	NA	0.01	0.14
Gujarat	0.05	0.36	0.88	0.15	0.04	0.02
Haryana	0.1	0.36	0.93	0.19	0.03	0.47
Himachal Pradesh	0.11	0.6	0.93	0.18	0.03	0.31
Jammu & Kashmir	0.09	0.65	0.93	0.46	0.03	0.14
Jharkhand	0.08	0.45	0.88	0.33	0.03	0.29
Karnataka	0.03	0.41	0.93	0.16	0.04	0.04
Kerala	0.04	0.71	0.92	0.18	0.02	0.08
Madhya Pradesh	0.01	0.58	0.93	0.18	0.06	0.05
Maharashtra	0.02	0.69	0.93	0.25	0.01	0.06
Manipur	0.01	0.49	0.67	0.63	0	0.22
Meghalaya	0	0.57	0.94	0.38	0.02	0.17
Mizoram	0.03	0.56	0.93	0.44	0.07	0.32
Nagaland	0.11	0.8	0.93	0.57	0.05	0.04
Odisha	0.05	0.57	0.91	0.19	0.03	0.07
Punjab	0.02	0.64	0.93	0.44	0.05	0.18
Rajasthan	0.07	0.6	0.93	0.7	0.04	0.09
Sikkim	0.07	0.48	0.93	0.4	0.03	0.13
Tamil Nadu	0.05	0.58	0.92	0.24	0.06	0.45
Telangana	0.02	0.48	0.93	0.07	0.07	0.22
Tripura	0.05	0.61	0.92	0.45	0.07	0.12
Uttar Pradesh	0.03	0.1	0.93	0.27	0.03	0.09
Uttarakhand	0.07	0.66	0.93	0.19	0.02	0.12
West Bengal	0.05	0.35	0.92	0.23	0.01	0.05
A & N Islands	0.04	0.61	0.93	0.44	0.03	0.04
Chandigarh	0.02	0.64	0.93	0.76	0.01	0.89
D&N Haveli	0.02	0.63	1.02	0.17	0.02	0.01
Daman & Diu	0.04	0.48	0.7	0.08	0.04	0.09
Delhi UT	0.04	0.7	0.93	0.86	0.07	0.26
Lakshadweep	0.05	0.52	0.79	0.14	0.01	0
Puducherry	0.08	0.51	0.93	0.19	0.12	0.07
AP+ Telangana	0.04	0.5	0.93	0.14	0.04	0.18
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.05	0.47	0.92	0.22	0.04	0.15

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Data on Police Organisations' Report (Bureau of Police Research and Development) 2008-2017.

Prison index

States	Percentage non-utlization of prison budget (100-percent utilization)	SC prisoners in proportion to SC population in the state	STprisoners in proportion to ST population in the state	Muslim prisoners in proportion to Muslim population in the state	Percentage of Undertrials Index
Andhra Pradesh	0.68	0.99	0.85	0.93	0.35
Arunachal Pradesh	0.77	NA	0.94	0.54	0.16
Assam	0.53	0.97	0.87	0.94	0.38
Bihar	0.65	0.99	0.64	0.95	0.16
Chhattisgarh	0.7	0.98	0.91	0.85	0.42
Goa	0.62	0.95	0.94	0.85	0.3
Gujarat	0.68	0.97	0.9	0.85	0.39
Haryana	0.75	0.99	NA	0.91	0.41
Himachal Pradesh	0.8	0.99	0.94	0.87	0.49
Jammu & Kashmir	0.71	0.98	0.94	0.96	0.19
Jharkhand	0.63	0.99	0.91	0.92	0.24
Karnataka	0.7	0.99	0.89	0.93	0.32
Kerala	0.73	0.98	0.85	0.94	0.38
Madhya Pradesh	0.76	0.98	0.92	0.9	0.48
Maharashtra	0.72	0.98	0.87	0.83	0.3
Manipur	0.77	1	0.94	0.88	0.23
Meghalaya	0.55	0.71	0.93	0.82	0.13
Mizoram	0.78	0.63	0.92	0.8	0.45
Nagaland	0.79	NA	0.93	0.56	0.3
Odisha	0.63	0.99	0.92	0.84	0.25
Punjab	0.7	0.99	NA	0.85	0.39
Rajasthan	0.72	0.99	0.88	0.88	0.31
Sikkim	0.67	0.97	0.93	0.86	0.41
Tamil Nadu	0.74	0.98	0.56	0.83	0.43
Telangana	0.69	NA	NA	1	0.4
Tripura	0.58	0.99	0.93	0.9	0.58
Uttar Pradesh	0.74	0.99	0.44	0.93	0.31
Uttarakhand	0.72	0.99	0.59	0.85	0.48
West Bengal	0.72	0.99	0.88	0.9	0.3
A & N Islands	0.67	NA	1	0.96	0.72
Chandigarh	0.77	0.99	NA	0.86	0.43
D&N Haveli	0.63	0.93	0.95	0.61	0
Daman & Diu	0.77	0.93	0.77	0.92	0.36
Delhi UT	0.76	0.98	NA	0.9	0.26
Lakshadweep	0.18	NA	0.93	0.95	0.53
Puducherry	0.74	0.98	NA	0.95	0.4
AP+ Telangana	0.68	0.98	0.85	0.91	0.36
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.7	0.99	0.88	0.92	0.33

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Prison Statistics India' Report (National Crime Records Bureau) 2006-2015 and Census 2011.

Disposal of cases of crimes against SCs Index

States	Chargesheeting rate of cases of crimes against SCs	Disposal percentage by police of cases of crimes against SCs	Conviction rate of cases of crimes against SCs	Disposal percentage by courts of cases of crimes against SCs
Andhra Pradesh	0.78	0.52	0.07	0.34
Arunachal Pradesh	NA	NA	NA	NA
Assam	0.68	0.47	NA	0.37
Bihar	0.91	0.63	0.15	0.09
Chhattisgarh	0.99	0.84	0.36	0.24
Goa	0.81	0.58	0.03	0.17
Gujarat	0.96	0.9	0.05	0.09
Haryana	0.89	0.91	0.12	0.36
Himachal Pradesh	0.92	0.79	0.11	0.15
Jammu & Kashmir	0.67	0.56	NA	0.06
Jharkhand	0.57	0.42	0.31	0.22
Karnataka	0.91	0.72	0.04	0.18
Kerala	0.73	0.6	0.08	0.1
Madhya Pradesh	0.99	0.91	0.33	0.21
Maharashtra	0.93	0.69	0.07	0.1
Manipur	0.33	0.58	NA	0.67
Meghalaya	NA	NA	NA	NA
Mizoram	NA	NA	NA	NA
Nagaland	NA	NA	NA	NA
Odisha	0.9	0.57	0.05	0.15
Punjab	0.81	0.6	0.2	0.24
Rajasthan	0.81	0.89	0.44	0.1
Sikkim	NA	0.67	0.51	0.8
Tamil Nadu	0.87	0.67	0.13	0.18
Telangana	0.69	0.82	0.07	0.15
Tripura	NA	NA	NA	NA
Uttar Pradesh	0.84	0.87	0.54	0.12
Uttarakhand	0.7	0.74	0.53	0.32
West Bengal	0.92	0.51	0.02	0.1
A & N Islands	NA	NA	NA	NA
Chandigarh	NA	0.5	NA	0.17
D&N Haveli	NA	NA	NA	0.07
Daman & Diu	NA	0.17	NA	NA
Delhi UT	0.89	0.31	0.12	0.08
Lakshadweep	NA	NA	NA	NA
Puducherry	0.92	0.73	NA	0.22
AP+ Telangana	0.79	0.52	0.04	0.32
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.87	0.72	0.24	0.14

Note1: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Crime in India' Report (National Crime Records Bureau) 2007-2016

Disposal of cases of crimes against STs Index

States	Chargesheeting rate of cases of crimes against STs	Disposal percentage by police of cases of crimes against STs	Conviction rate of cases of crimes against STs	Disposal percentage by courts of cases of crimes against STs
Andhra Pradesh	0.85	0.56	0.03	0.35
Arunachal Pradesh	0.6	0.65	0.5	0.04
Assam	0.67	0.64	NA	0.36
Bihar	0.82	0.71	0.2	0.17
Chhattisgarh	1	0.87	0.34	0.24
Goa	0.92	0.36	0.08	0.18
Gujarat	0.98	0.86	0.04	0.07
Haryana	NA	NA	NA	NA
Himachal Pradesh	0.93	0.7	NA	0.14
Jammu & Kashmir	NA	NA	NA	NA
Jharkhand	0.69	0.44	0.39	0.19
Karnataka	0.92	0.71	0.02	0.19
Kerala	0.86	0.57	0.1	0.13
Madhya Pradesh	0.99	0.92	0.32	0.22
Maharashtra	0.95	0.7	0.07	0.1
Manipur	0.83	0.35	NA	0.11
Meghalaya	NA	NA	NA	NA
Mizoram	NA	NA	NA	NA
Nagaland	NA	NA	NA	NA
Odisha	0.95	0.64	0.08	0.12
Punjab	NA	NA	NA	NA
Rajasthan	0.81	0.88	0.28	0.07
Sikkim	NA	NA	NA	NA
Tamil Nadu	0.96	0.67	0.08	0.11
Telangana	0.74	0.49	0.08	0.22
Tripura	0.97	0.65	0	0.3
Uttar Pradesh	0.97	0.91	0.5	0.1
Uttarakhand	0.72	0.72	0	0.44
West Bengal	0.92	0.53	0.03	0.05
A & N Islands	0.61	0.58	0.33	0.05
Chandigarh	NA	NA	NA	NA
D&N Haveli	0.5	0.16	NA	0.06
Daman & Diu	NA	NA	NA	NA
Delhi UT	NA	0.67	0	0.71
Lakshadweep	NA	0.67	NA	NA
Puducherry	NA	0.67	NA	NA
AP+ Telangana	0.85	0.56	0.04	0.34
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.9	0.73	0.2	0.16

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Crime in India' Report (National Crime Records Bureau) 2007-2016.

Disposal of cases of crimes against women Index

States	Chargesheeting rate for cases of crimes against women	Disposal percentage by police of cases of crimes against women	Conviction rate for cases of crimes against women	Disposal percentage by courts of cases of crimes against women
Andhra Pradesh	0.95	0.67	0.12	0.83
Arunachal Pradesh	0.75	0.7	0.34	0.87
Assam	0.61	0.47	0.08	0.59
Bihar	0.86	0.72	0.17	0.89
Chhattisgarh	0.94	0.87	0.33	1.09
Goa	0.79	0.48	0.15	0.6
Gujarat	0.96	0.86	0.04	1.08
Haryana	0.85	0.88	0.18	1.1
Himachal Pradesh	0.93	0.8	0.15	1
Jammu & Kashmir	0.92	0.68	0.07	0.84
Jharkhand	0.84	0.55	0.29	0.69
Karnataka	0.94	0.64	0.06	0.8
Kerala	0.97	0.72	0.12	0.9
Madhya Pradesh	0.97	0.88	0.32	1.09
Maharashtra	0.94	0.66	0.09	0.83
Manipur	0.35	0.16	0.31	0.2
Meghalaya	0.78	0.38	0.42	0.47
Mizoram	0.98	0.77	0.79	0.96
Nagaland	0.81	0.73	0.75	0.91
Odisha	0.96	0.71	0.08	0.88
Punjab	0.85	0.48	0.3	0.6
Rajasthan	0.89	0.96	0.38	1.2
Sikkim	0.9	0.68	0.46	0.85
Tamil Nadu	0.83	0.53	0.26	0.66
Telangana	0.92	0.66	0.08	0.82
Tripura	0.92	0.82	0.19	1.02
Uttar Pradesh	0.73	0.81	0.53	1.01
Uttarakhand	0.73	0.75	0.55	0.93
West Bengal	0.95	0.75	0.06	0.93
A & N Islands	0.87	0.67	0.16	0.83
Chandigarh	0.87	0.58	0.24	0.72
D&N Haveli	0.8	0.64	0.12	0.8
Daman & Diu	0.86	0.59	0.04	0.74
Delhi UT	0.75	0.4	0.33	0.5
Lakshadweep	NA	0.38	NA	0.47
Puducherry	0.93	0.68	0.41	0.85
AP+ Telangana	NA	0.66	NA	0.83
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.88	0.69	0.21	0.87

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Crime in India' Report (National Crime Records Bureau) 2006-2016.

Disposal of cases of crimes against children Index

States	Chargesheeting rate for cases of crimes against children	Disposal percentage by police of cases of crimes against children	Conviction rate for cases of crimes against children	Disposal percentage by courts of cases of crimes against children
Andhra Pradesh	0.93	0.59	0.1	0.29
Arunachal Pradesh	0.75	0.58	NA	0.02
Assam	0.66	0.46	0.14	0.15
Bihar	0.84	0.64	0.18	0.12
Chhattisgarh	0.87	0.81	0.41	0.23
Goa	0.74	0.41	0.24	0.07
Gujarat	0.81	0.85	0.11	0.06
Haryana	0.82	0.87	0.2	0.26
Himachal Pradesh	0.83	0.74	0.25	0.17
Jammu & Kashmir	0.81	0.65	0.05	0.25
Jharkhand	0.83	0.64	0.25	0.38
Karnataka	0.83	0.64	0.12	0.19
Kerala	0.96	0.59	0.23	0.08
Madhya Pradesh	0.9	0.83	0.33	0.22
Maharashtra	0.82	0.57	0.16	0.05
Manipur	0.36	0.06	NA	0.02
Meghalaya	0.8	0.18	0.58	0.04
Mizoram	0.98	0.72	0.9	0.23
Nagaland	0.72	0.6	0.81	0.71
Odisha	0.96	0.63	0.13	0.08
Punjab	0.83	0.47	0.37	0.31
Rajasthan	0.8	0.88	0.37	0.14
Sikkim	0.97	0.9	0.55	0.41
Tamil Nadu	0.85	0.54	0.42	0.22
Telangana	0.88	0.62	0.13	0.15
Tripura	0.92	0.69	0.29	0.1
Uttar Pradesh	0.79	0.82	0.55	0.11
Uttarakhand	0.61	0.81	0.63	0.21
West Bengal	0.88	0.4	0.09	0.06
A & N Islands	0.88	0.65	0.24	0.06
Chandigarh	0.78	0.58	0.42	0.37
D&N Haveli	0.68	0.64	NA	0.13
Daman & Diu	0.56	0.62	NA	0.18
Delhi UT	0.44	0.47	0.38	0.14
Lakshadweep	NA	0.87	NA	0.67
Puducherry	0.93	0.74	NA	0.07
AP+ Telangana	NA	0.62	NA	0.26
TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	0.81	0.64	0.32	0.14

Note: Above Indices have been developed using data from 'Crime in India Report' (National Crime Records Bureau) 2007-2016.

Appendix 7: States' Compliance with Supreme Court Directives

1. State Security Comission

	Term used	Lokayukta	Judge-sitting or retired	Leader of Opposition	Non-political members	Recommendations binding
Assam		No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Bihar	State Police Board	No	No	No	No	No
Chhattisgarh	State Police Commission	No	No	No	Yes	No
Gujarat	State Security Commission	No	No	No	Yes	No
Haryana	State Police Board	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Himachal Pradesh	State Police Board	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Normally binding
Karnataka	State Security Commission	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Kerala	SSC	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, but governmentt can reject/modify with written reasons specified
Maharashtra	SSC	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Punjab	State Police Board	No	No-AG	No	No	No
Rajasthan	State Police Commission	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Tamil Nadu	SSC	No	No	Yes	No	No
Uttarakhand	State Police Board	No	No	Yes	Yes	No- Board can only suggest and advise the government

Note: Above data has been taken from State Police Acts passed post 2006.

2. DGP appointment

	2 yr tenure	Grounds for removal before end of tenure: any other than disciplinary action, conviction, otherwise incapacitated
Assam	No	promotion, public interest, inefficiency, negligence
Bihar	Yes	promotion; any other administrative reason
Chhattisgarh	Yes	Superannuation; suspension; on his own request; administrative exigency
Gujarat	Yes	Only by a written order with reasons mentioned: suspension, physical/mental illness
Haryana	No	Promotion- on written order specifying reasons
Himachal Pradesh	No	superannuation
Karnataka	Yes	Superannuation; appointed to another post with his consent
Kerala	Yes	Superannuation, dissatisfaction of public, requests in writing, not carrying out duties sufficiently
Maharashtra	Yes	Superannuation; gross dereliction of duty
Punjab	Yes	Superannuation, promotion, transfer by state government for special reasons- to be recorded in writing
Rajasthan	Yes	on his own request; administrative exigency- to be recorded in writing
Tamil Nadu	Yes	Appointment to any other post, with his consent; administrative grounds (to be recorded in writing)
Uttarakhand	Yes	Superannuation; promotion; on how own request; gross negligence (to be recorded in writing)

Note: Above data has been taken from State Police Acts passed post 2006.

3. Officers on operational Duties

	Min tenure-2 yrs	Grounds for removal before end of tenure: any other than disciplinary action, conviction, otherwise incapacitated, promotion and retirement
Assam	No	In public interest
Bihar	Yes	Transfer; other administrative reasons
Chhattisgarh	Yes	On his own request, administrative exigency
Gujarat	Yes	Misuse/abuse of power; on his own request
Haryana	No	Transfer; inefficiency
Himachal Pradesh	Yes	Larger public interest- to be recorded in writing
Karnataka	No	To fill a vacancy; on his own request (in writing); gross misconduct/ negligence
Kerala	Yes	Superannuation, dissatisfaction of public, requests in writing, not carrying out duties sufficiently
Maharashtra	Yes	Administrative exigencies, public interest
Punjab	No	Filling up a vacancy; Transfer; inefficiency or negligence or non-performance
Rajasthan	Yes	Vacancy; on his own request; administrative exigency- recorded in writing
Tamil Nadu	Yes	Any other administrative ground (to be recorded in writing)
Uttarakhand	SHO has it for only one year. Yes for others	At own request, filling up a vacancy, in public interest (by written order)

Note: Above data has been taken from State Police Acts passed post 2006.

4. Separation of investigation and law and order functions of police

	Term used	state level	metros/ district	each Police Station
Assam		Yes	Yes	No
Bihar		Yes	No	No
Chhattisgarh	Special Crime Investigation Units: jurisdiction not mentioned	NA	NA	NA
Gujarat	No jurisdiction mentioned; State govt may establish separate wings by an order under section 7A	NA	NA	NA
Haryana	Specialized crime investigation unit	No	yes	Yes
Himachal Pradesh	Criminal Investigation Unit+ State Criminal Investigation Dept	Yes	No	Yes
Karnataka		No	No	Yes
Kerala	Jurisdiction not mentioned	NA	NA	NA
Maharashtra		No	No	Yes
Punjab	Intelligence Wing, State Crime Investigation Wing	Yes	Yes	No
Rajasthan	Crime Investigation Units	No	yes	Yes
Tamil Nadu	Law & order wing, Investigation Wing	No	No	Yes
Uttarakhand	Special Crime Investigation Units	No	Yes	Yes

Note: Above data has been taken from State Police Acts passed post 2006.

5. Police Establishment Board

	Term used	Decides transfer and posting of officers below Deputy Superintendent rank	Bar on state interference without written reasons	Can give recommendations regarding transfer and posting of officers above the rank of SP	Appeal forum for greivances related to transfer and posting
Assam		Yes	State government can reject on ground of public interest	No	Yes
Bihar	Does not exist	No	NA	No	No
Chhattisgarh		Yes	State government can review order passed by PEB	No	Yes
Gujarat	Police Establishment Board	Yes	No mention	No	Yes
Haryana	Police Establishment Committee	no	No	No	No
Himachal Pradesh	District, Range and State Police Establishment Committees	Yes	No mention	Yes	Yes
Karnataka	Police Establishment Board	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kerala	Police Establishment Board	No	Yes	No	Yes
Maharashtra	Police Establishment Board No.1, 2, at range level and at commissionerate level	Yes	No- state government directions to be binding on board	No	Yes
Punjab	Police Establishment Committees	Yes	Not Mentioned	No	No
Rajasthan	Police Establishment Board	Yes	No- transfer only with the approval of govt	yes	Yes
Tamil Nadu	PEB- state level, disctrict, zonal, range and city level	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Uttarakhand	Police Establishment Committee	Yes	No- state govt can alter or amend decisions for reasons given in writing	Yes	Yes

Note: Above data has been taken from State Police Acts passed post 2006.

6. Police Complaints Authority

	Term used	District level	State level	Head chosen from a list given by Chief Justice of High Court	Headed by retired judges	Recommendations binding
Assam		Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Bihar	District Accountability Authority	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Chhattisgarh	State Police Accountability Authority	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Gujarat	State Police Complaints Authority	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Haryana	Police Complaint Authority	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Himachal Pradesh	State, District Police Complaints Authority	Yes	Yes	No	No-Lokayukta	Yes
Karnataka		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Kerala	SPCA and DPCA	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Maharashtra	Police Complaint Authority	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	May be rejected by state government for reasons given in writing in exceptional cases
Punjab	State and District Police Complaint Authority	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Rajasthan	State, District Accountability Committee	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Tamil Nadu	State, District Police Complaint Authority	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Uttarakhand	State Police Complaints Authority	No	Yes	No	No	No

Note: Above data has been taken from State Police Acts passed post 2006.

Appendix 8a: CAG Report on Modernisation of Police

	Expenditure and Funds	Housing, Police Stations and other Infrastructure	Shortage of Vehicles
Assam (2009-14)	Annual Action Plans (AAPs) not made on inputs from district units	Requirement of 8395 new buildings of which only 125 buildings constructed as of March 2014	59% of the proposed vehicles procured
		Construction of Police Training Academy at Der gaon incomplete with 18% progress as of June 2014, despite scheduled date of completion of July 2014	Six districts incurred an expenditure of Rs.72.68 crore towards hiring of private vehicles
	Centre released only 63% of funds allocated for MPF. State released 89% of the allocated funds, and the police could utilise 68% of the funds realeased.	98% shortage of residential buildings in 8 selected districts	26 Bullet Proof vehicles valuing Rs.3.51 crore procured under MPF for operational purposes were allotted for non-operational duties
		Basic facilities lacking in 24 test-checked police stations- reception room(6 PS), interrogation room (14 PS), weapons store (3 PS), restrooms (18 PS)	
Bihar (2011-16)	Annual Action Plans (AAPs) not made on inputs from district units	Only 47% police stations have their own buildings	Only 24.6% of the proposed vehicles procured
	Only 55% of the funds from the approved plan received under the MPF scheme	Only 35% of the proposed units constructed	In the motorcycle section, the procurement was only 27%
	Because of delay in release of proportionate fund allocation by state, central fund of the amount of Rs.119.82 crore lapsed.	Housing shortage of 76% in upper subordinates and 83% for lower subordinates	There was a delay in procurement procedure of 4 anti-landmine vehicle (ALMV) which resulted in avoidable expenditure of Rs1.81 crore towards them
	71% funds unspent due to delay in tender finalization of tender for procurement		
Gujarat (2009-15)	Non-utilisation of planned fund of Rs 141.88 crore during 2013-15	Only 26% utilisation of funds by Gujarat State Police Housing Corporation Limited (GSPHCL)	The availability of vehicles is better in Gujarat than most of the states, though there were instances of their non-judicious distribution among various police stations
		Slow progress because of non-availability of land, pending approval of layout plans, delay in finalisation of tenders, etc.	
		GSPHCL failed to complete many important works at Police academy, Karai	

	Expenditure and Funds	Housing, Police Stations and other Infrastructure	Shortage of Vehicles
Himachal Pradesh (2011-16)	No improvement in the financial management of MPF since the previous audit (2004-09)	Only 12% of police personnel provided housing facility as of May 2016	One light vehicle was available in each of the 13 selected PSs whereas two motor cycles were provided to each of the eight PSs and one motor cycle each was provided in other five PS
	Central government released only 53% of the MPF funds	Satisfaction level of housing facility ranged between 11% to 16%	
	Percentage of non-utlization of funds ranged between 21% and 87% in each financial year	23 civil works lying incomplete for 7 years	In spite of MHA directions (March 2000), 37 out of 54 light vehicles purchased during 2011-13 were retained at other units instead of the PS
Madhya Pradesh (2011-16)	52% of the total expenditure incurred in 2015-16, otherwise utilisation percentages very low	More than two thirds of subordinate police personnel could not be provided government accommodation because of shortage	No motorcycles in six police stations and two outposts of the 39 test checked locations
		75% shortage of good houses in selected police stations/outposts (PS/OPs)	Shortage of 14,107 motorcycles, 720 heavy vehicles, 636 medium vehicles (jeeps) and still went on to buy 102 Sedan cars (Rs.5.88 crores) in violation of MPF guidelines
		Toilets and restrooms for women personnel lacking in PS/Ops	In selected districts, the audit found presence of 626 drivers against availability of 1302 vehicles
		Only 57% of the sanctioned houses/buildings were completed during 2011-16	Response Time was not monitored properly due to lack of flow of data to PHQ, thus it could not be noted at the state level
Maharashtra (2011-16)	Only 38% funds utilised due to delay in submission of AAP to the central government	Only 8% of the planned buildings constructed	Despite 70% shortfall in procurement of vehicles, only 662 vehicles procured through the MPF scheme
	88% non-utilisation under equipment component		In selected nine districts for audit, there were 5955 vehicles and 5174 drivers against requirement of 8933 drivers. Hawldars and Naiks (57%) were put into driving duties.
	Only 6 of the scheduled 60 State Level Empowered Committee (SLEC) meetings held	71% unspent balance at the end of September 2016 in this component	While 10 police stations in Mumbai (out of 140) did not have specific columns for recording the response time, the remaining 130 police stations did not record the response time in the crime registers

	Expenditure and Funds	Housing, Police Stations and other Infrastructure	Shortage of Vehicles
Rajasthan (2009-14)	Five year strategic plan not sent to central government for approval	31% of the required staff quarters available as of March 2014.	72% of the required vehicles available
	Non-unitilisation of funds ranging between 36% to 79% during 2009-14		The department purchased 222 vehicles (18%) costing Rs.7.97 crore for replacement of old vehicles, against violation of MPF norms. It also bought 66 cars during 2009-14 in violation of AAP despite shortage of operational vehicles.
	Physical shortfall in procurement of equipments ranged between 17% and 100%	In 9 districts, quarter not available for 78% staff	In test checked records of PS over 2 months, in only 4% cases police reached the crime scene on time. In 72% cases police response time could not be worked out
	Only 10 SLEC meetings held against the stipulated 60		
Tamil Nadu (2011-16)	No approval was obtained from High Powered Committee of Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) for the deviation in procurement of items pointed out in the previous audit report (2006-10)	Lack of planning in identification of locations for the construction of police stations before making proposals in the AAPs	Around 40% of the test-checked PS did not have four wheelers and 47% PS did not have two-wheelers
	AAPs were prepared without adequate planning in ensuring clear titles of land for buildings.	63% of the work completed as of June 2016	
Uttar Pradesh (2011-16)	41% non-utilization of MPF funds	44% shortfall of police stations- 41% in rural areas and 51% in urban areas	Shortage of 27% police vehicles
	28% state funds lapsed		Shortage of Medium Police Vehicles (used for patrolling) was as high as 68% in civil police and 75% in Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC)
	No funds for Traffic Police modernisation. Traffic police was able to collect only 23% of the target amount.	Shortage of 48% residential quarters and 26% barracks	Despite the district police facing critical shortage of vehicles, the department purchased 10 bulletproof Tata Safari and eight General Safari vehicles for Chief Minister's security
	Police strength less than 50% of the sanctioned strength	Only four barracks for women personnel constructed as of March 2016.	The government also incurred avoidable expenditure of Rs.3.66 crore by purchasing more expensive and luxurious vehicles (Mercedes Model M-Guard) for Chief Minister's security instead of Land Cruiser sanctioned earlier.

	Expenditure and Funds	Housing, Police Stations and other Infrastructure	Shortage of Vehicles
Uttarakhand (2011-16)	Details of strategic plan not shared with central government	25 police stations and 105 outposts operating from rented premises or from temporary arrangements	69.7% availability of vehicles
	Only 2.2% of the projected required funds were received by the state		
	Delays in release of state share ranging from 6 to 48 months	Only 10.27% of the required staff quarters available	Non-availability of drivers for 47% operational vehicles
West Bengal (2009-14)	Department could not prepare long term strategic plan as the central government did not intimate the outlay for the scheme for these five years	In violation of MPF guidelines, attempts were made to divert funds of Rs 5.72 crores meant for construction of quarters for constabulary and inspectors to build houses for 12 IPS officers	In four test checked districts scrutiny indicated acute shortage of vehicles. Against the requirement of 1219 vehicles, only 578 were available in these offices indicating a shortage of 53 per cent
		Only 10% of required staff quarters available in test-checked districts, and majority of available quarters in poor condition	Only 36% of the required vehicles procured
	Non-utilization leading to loss of central funds, poor monitoring of released funds, shortfall in components, lack of transparency and slow progress in construction	Construction of Regional Forensic Science Laboratory (RFSL) at Jalpaiguri could not be completed even after lapse of nine years	Three Directorates procured 23 cars at a cost of Rs.1.44 crore during the scheme years 2011-13 in violation of MPF scheme guidelines
			A mine protected vehicle (MPV) (procured in July 2005) deployed under SP, Bankura met with an accident due to rash driving (September 2007). The repairable vehicle was not repaired and left to rot in open. A new vehicle was purchased in 2011 at a cost of Rs.88.7 lakh to replace it

Appendix 8b: CAG Report on Modernisation of Police

	Weaponry	Forensic Science Infrastructure	Cyber Crime Infrastructure	Training Infrastructure
Assam (2009-14)	26% weapons and ammunition declared obsolete by Assam police headquarters in March 2014.	26% vacancy in the FSL	88.4% of ultra high frequency digital mobile radios (UHF DMR) valuing Rs.1.79 crore lay uninstalled for nearly two years	Inadequate training of police personnel. New equipment lying unused in training centres.
	In the test checked districts, 40.74% weapons were outdated (.303 Rifles)	No time frame was fixed for submission of the analysis report. There were pendency of samples for settlement ranging from 15.35 to 81.63% during 2009-14	Assam Cyber Crime Investigation Lab (ACCIL), remained non-functional as of December 2014	Only 166 training staff against requirement of 428 (BPR&D norms) in four state police training schools.
	Three battalions were holding 2,540 arms against the authorisation of 7,058 as of March 2014. Reason for shortage of 4,518 arms was not on record.	No Forensic Mobile unit and Laboratory at district level existed as of March 2017 according to State FSL list at Directorate of Forensic Science Services (DFSS) website.	Post of the IGP (CID) was lying vacant since September 2011. Disposal percentage ranged between 1.82% to 16.15%	The state could spend less than half of nearly Rs.33 crore provided by MHA during 2009-14 for procurement of training equipment
		For 7 sophisticated equipment along with spare parts costing Rs.1.08 crore under MPF 2011-12, the FSL certified that the goods were received in good condition and showed them as allotted to different divisions of FSL. The divisions, however, did not receive the material as of May 2014	Shortage of experts/ supervising officers etc., in the CID coupled with frequent engagement of CID officials in law and order duty	
Bihar (2011-16)	Heavy shortage of modern weapons, 33% INSAS rifle, 42% in Pistol, 36% in Carbine, 52% in AK 47	One Forensic Science Lab (FSL), Patna, which is functioning from a police barrack. Two RFSLs, Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur (non-functional)	Under the MPF scheme, 53 sets of CCTV camera with LCD (worth Rs.3.11 crore) were purchased in 2011-12 and provided to different units. However, during test-check, it was found that in 8 out of 11 district units, nine CCTV camera sets not installed.	Required Training equipment not found in any of the 5 selected district police offices and CTS Nathnagar
	Availability of modern weapons- only 59% in 10 selected districts and 4 BMPs (Bihar Military Police)	Four DMFU could not be made operational due to delay on the part of state govt in forming forensic governing body despite funds being sanctioned. The four DMFUs are now operational as per the DFSS list of State FSLs		In CTS Nathnagar, only one firing weapon available, making three simulators redundant

	Weaponry	Forensic Science Infrastructure	Cyber Crime Infrastructure	Training Infrastructure
	.303 rifles still in use (ratio of 46:54) despite MHA orders to phase out	Only 21% of the sanctioned strength posted at FSLs and RFSLs		The equipments used by Bomb squad such as Bomb Suit and Non Linear Junction Detector were provided in August and October 2015 to units. But due to lack of training for operation, the equipments remained idle
	Audit says that gap between availability and requirement not minimized despite MPF funds at disposal	Ballistic division cases were pending since August 2013 in absence of Test Fired Shell/ Bullet. Further, 443 exhibits of Viscera were pending in Toxicology division for analysis as the post of Viscera Cutter was vacant		
Gujarat (2009-15)	Overall 60% shortage of modern weapons was pointed out earlier in 2009 audit report	Five RFSLs in Gujarat and 10 district mobile forensic units	Non-functional POLNET was pointed out in the earlier Audit Report for the year ended March 2009, however it remained non-functional until October 2015.	Non-imparting of prescribed rounds of firing practice was pointed out in the earlier Audit Report for the year ended March 2009.
	It has been brought down from 60 to 36% and norms of BPR&D had been fulfilled		46.5% Remote Subscriber Units (RSUs) not installed and remain 53% RSUs non-operational as of October 2015	
	Shortage of AK-47s to the tune of 76% "as per state norms"	Shortage of staff in eight districts	Radio Frequency Modulator (RFM) cards at Gandhinagar police headquarter were not functioning as of October 2015.	Out of 63 units in the State, a few units had not provided any firing practice to the trainees in a year and some units had not provided the prescribed number of firing practice in a year
	Shortage of personnel in various cadres of ATS as of March 2015			
Himachal Pradesh (2011-16)	Against the requirement of 9,074 numbers of 7.62/5.56 mm SLR Rifles and 323 numbers of LMGs, there were 5,889 Rifles and 191 LMGs as of March 2016, resulting in shortfall of 35 and 41% in 7.62/5.56 mm SLR Rifles and LMGs respectively	Shortage of staff in the Forensic Science Laboratories (FSLs) had been reduced to 25% as of May 2016	Only three (POLNET) V-SATs functioning and other V-SATs were out of order due to obsolete technology as of April 2016.	Rs.1.15 crore of state money not utilised by two training centres for buying disaster management training equipment as of December 2016. No disaster response force constituted.

	Weaponry	Forensic Science Infrastructure	Cyber Crime Infrastructure	Training Infrastructure
	Department had not disposed off/ replaced the old weapons with modern weaponry as of March 2016	18.6% cases disposed off in 2012-16 and delay ranging from 2 to 207 days	CCTNS system not being fully utilised in 10 (out of 13) test-checked PSs due to non-availability of technical/ operational know-how	
Madhya Pradesh (2011-16)	25% deficiency of modern weapons	One FSL, four RFSL and 50 District Scene of Crime Units (March2016) for forensic analysis	Funds for this component not released under MPF during 2013-16. Available information is not on comparable parameters	Deficiency of in-service training in modern weaponry
		Inordinate delays noticed in procurement of equipment related to FSLs, Telecommunication, Intelligence, CID wing		Only basic foundation courses in six PTS. Trainee pass percentage reduced from 84% in 2011 to 69% in 2016
	Machines used in Arms Workshop for repair of weapons were outdated and were not fit for repair of modern weapons	Department incurred only 16% expenditure on the sanctioned funds and met 23% of the physical targets		29% vacancy of teachers in PTS and 32% vacancy in academies as of March 2016
		The posts of Director and Senior Joint Director were vacant. A vacancy of 46% in Senior Scientific Officers, 34% in Scientific Officers, 48% in Lab Technicians, 67% in Lab Assistant and 61 % in Lab Attendants.		In interview of 150 police personnel in selected districts, only 26% were satisfied with available resources and 45 % were satisfied with career progression. However, 85% stated that they are motivated to meet the challenges and 81% were satisfied with the reward system
	Only 46% funds provided for modernisation of CID utilized	During 2011-16, cases received for examination increased from 19,235 to 24,155, but disposal of cases decreased from 26,656 to 23,780. 267 cases pending for more than 12 months (March 2016)		
Maharashtra (2011-16)	Shortage of 45% weapons of the total state need	Shortage of technical staff, leading to 18% samples pending investigation as of January 2017. One FSL at Mumbai	Only 43.7% funds utilised against the total released budget	Only 54.8% of allotted funds were spent on training during 2011-16.
	56% shortage in test-checked districts as of September 2016	Seven RFSLs at Nanded, Nagpur, Pune, Aurangabad, Nashik Amravati and Kolhapur		

	Weaponry	Forensic Science Infrastructure	Cyber Crime Infrastructure	Training Infrastructure
	Supply of 41% ordered quantity pending from Ordinance Factory Board for a preiod ranging 6 months to 4.5 years	One evidence investigator equipment for detection of drugs in human body procured at a cost of Rs.98.91 lakh remained dysfunctional (July 2016) since its installation in August 2011		Shortfall of 60 to 71% in armed firing practice during 2011-16 in test-checked districts
Rajasthan (2009-14)	44.6% utilization of budget on weapons as of March 2014.	State FSL at Jaipur, and five regional forensic Science laboratories (RFSL). Five district mobile forensic units (DMFU)	Not available on comparable parameters	Only 15.23% equipments available in test-checked police stations
	75% shortage of weapons, but only 31% of the required weapons were ordered as of March 2014.	Shortage of technical staff varying from 37% to 53% in various labratories		
	Purchased weapons were not issued to police stations, and remained stockpiled at Jaipur central store	Nine posts sanctioned in October 2006 for DNA lab were not filled up till Nov 2014		
	Training for new weapons procured were not included in training courses	Various equipments worth Rs.55 crore were lying out of order due to lack of repairs		
Tamil Nadu (2011-16)	Not available	DNA Unit at Madurai established in December 2011 without ensuring availability of requisite cold storage facilities and technical staff, resulted in its sub-optimal usage for 5 years	Shortage of 50.5% communication equipments as of March 2016.	Not available
		Main Lab at Chennai and 9 RFSLs besides 33 Mobile Forensic Science Units (MFSU), as per the DFSS list of State FSLs.	The department sanctioned Terrestrial Trunked Radio (TETRA) communication project (Rs.71.51 crore) without assessing its feasibility, only later to be replaced by APCO. The state took four years for the technology to be adopted.	

	Weaponry	Forensic Science Infrastructure	Cyber Crime Infrastructure	Training Infrastructure
Uttar Pradesh (2011-16)	DGP took 17 years to prepare a response to the MHA's 1995 proposal for revision of Arming policy of State Police	Only 44 % of the districts in the state could be equipped with mobile forensic vans and none of the 500 circles have been provided such facility	Only 41% of allotted funds spent	80% of funds for procurement of training equipment during 2011-16 were surrendered due to delay in finalization of procurements
	About 48% of the police force in the state still using .303 bore rifle which had been declared obsolete more than 20 years ago	Four FSLs at Lucknow, Agra, Varanasi and Ghaziabad while FIVE RFSLs proposed and under construction at Allahabad, Ghaziabad, Gorakhpur, Jhansi and Moradabad	About 48% of the police force was not provided with hand held sets in violation of norms	Equipment such as interactive fire arms simulators; cybercrime lab equipment etc. could not be procured due to delays in tender finalisation
	The Central Reserve at Sitapur lacked proper storage buildings, fire security system and surveillance system	Department failed to utilise 55% of the budget allotted for purchase of lab equipment	67.4% sets had expired and needed replacement, but new sets not procured	
	Arms like 9mm MP5, 12 Bore Pump Action Gun (PAG), Stun Grenade and UBGL were provided first time to state ATS in 2013-15 but ammunition for these weapons have still not been provided	31% staff against the sanctioned strength in all the 75 districts and 37% in 15 test checked districts	Only 38 districts (51%) were found to have functional Polnet (a satellite based communication system)	The training capacity of existing training centres in the State is highly inadequate with a deficiency of 63 to 65% during 2011-16. The department did not establish three Police Training Schools (PTS) as of March 2017
			39% CCTVs found not functional in test-checked districts	
	61% shortage on group B gazetted officers in PAC at the end of 2015-16	Shortage of staff increased from 47 to 67% during 2012-16	Crime and Criminals Tracking Network System (CCTNS) has still not been made fully operational	Police training institutions had huge shortage of indoor training instructors ranging from 36 to 68% during 2011-16
Uttarakhand (2011-16)	63.64% of the total required weapons available and 39.04% of required modern weapons available	Only 40.6% utilisation of allotted funds	80.6% police stations covered under CCTNS but lack of citizens' portal for online registration of FIRs and tracking of cases	PTC lacked infrastructure like swimming pool, assault/ obstacle courses, mountaineering class room/wall, audio-visual facilities and hill driving facilities
	Despite the gap, only Rs.1.12 crore was spent for procurement of weapons, which constituted 2.41% of the total budget allotted under MPF 2011-16	RFSL and DMFUs not set up even after lapse of more than five years. According to the DFSS list of State FSLs, the state has one RFSL (Uddhamsingh Nagar) and two DMFU as of March 2017.		PTC did not have a firing range which is a fundamental part of the training; Only 5,000 litres of drinking water per day was being provided against requirement of 36,000 litres per day.

	Weaponry	Forensic Science Infrastructure	Cyber Crime Infrastructure	Training Infrastructure
	37% required bullet proof jackets and 41% required helmets available	FSL Dehradun had only one scientist available for the study of samples and huge shortage of technical cadres	Only seven out of 125 connected PS were registering the FIRs offline due to connectivity issues	The training school lacked basic amenities like beds, chairs, hot water, library, pharmacist
West Bengal (2009-14)	48% of the required arms procured by the state. Kolkata Police received only 21% of its requirement	One FSL and two MFSUs	Not available on comparable parameters	Existing training system/ infrastructure in Swami Vivekananda State Police Academy (SVSPA), Barrackpore was far short of the norms prescribed by the BPR&D
		Only 9.6% funds utilised during 2009-14		
	In five districts shortage of 71% of arms as on March 2014	Shortage of technical manpower in FSL ranged between 38 and 88%. At least 88% positions of lab assistant to 50% positions of senior scientific assistants are vacant,		Live training was not imparted for handling some of the weapons, while scale of actual practice, wherever done, was substantially lower than BPR&D norms

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