Police Culture and its Impact on the Associated Communities:

(A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur*, District Sargodha)

By

EHSAN SADIQ

Department of Anthropology

Quaid-e-Azam University

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This thesis is written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

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Dr. Waheed Chaudhry   **Dr. Waheed Chaudhry**

Supervisor   **Incharge**

Assistant Professor   Department of Anthropology

Department of Anthropology   Quaid-e-Azam University

Quaid-e-Azam University   Islamabad-Pakistan

Islamabad-Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

The study gives a detailed anthropological account of 'Police culture' in Pakistan through a case study of police practices and their impact on the associated communities in *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar) district Sargodha of Pakistan. *Thana Shahpur* (and its village Jahanabad), with a social and political history dominated by feudalism, provided an ideal setting for this ethnographic study. The study spread over a period of three years (2008-2011) in the locale, helped to penetrate deep into the police-community relations and explore latent structures and process in police culture and how it impacts upon police community relations. Being first of its kind in a Pakistani context, the study also examines the historical, social and organizational perspective of evolution of the police culture.

The police culture, a legacy of British colonial rule in India, is mainly manifested in the working of a *Thana* (police station). As cardinal point for the police's interaction with the community and vice versa, a *Thana* characterizes police culture for most of the citizens. In a political and social context, defined by interplay of power and patronage to gain influence and authority, control of *Thana* assumes critical importance for attaining and maintaining social and political dominance. Consequential co-option and politicization of the police by dominant socio-political groups negatively influence police culture with adverse effects for the community such as non responsive and abusive attitude, corruption, politicization, torture, disregard for rule of law and equal treatment. This further alienates community which feels scared and distrustful from the police.

The ethnographic research revealed that the dynamics of police culture are shaped and constructed more by informal processes than laws, rules and regulations. The study, therefore, maps the rituals, ceremonies and practices, along with their philosophical and cultural genesis which promote a particular

type of police culture. It was observed that the police culture works both as a cause and an obstacle to reform it. This also explains the failure of previous reform efforts, which mainly focused on organizational, administrative structural, procedural, financial and legal aspects of the police culture.

The results of qualitative and quantitative research during the study reinforce the common perception of an adversarial relationship between the police and community. Extraneous interference (from socio-political and bureaucratic elite) not only in operational matters but also internal management functions such as recruitment, training, posting, promotions award of punishment and rewards have further eroded neutral and professional character of the police. Enjoying little legitimacy, the police actions are often seen as coercive, discriminatory and anti people by the community. Media portrayal of police further reinforces this negative image of police. Lack of communication between the public and police also increases gap between them.

It finds that being subsystem of the larger socio-political system cannot be reformed in isolation. However, despite the fact that an efficient and professional police is critical to good governance, access to justice, rule of law, security and socio-economic development; it remains a non priority in public policy debate. Political and police leadership, media and civil society can play a critical role in restructuring and re-orienting police culture for positively transforming the police community relations. Not only police need to be insulated from extraneous influences, the role and responsibility also need to be redefined to correspond to existing socio-political realities. Community also needs to demand, as a matter of fundamental right, a police which is subservient to law only.

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the work produced under this thesis on **"Police Culture and its Impact on the Associated Communities: (A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur*, District Sargodha)"** is my original work and has been carried out as part of the partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, Pakistan.

Ch. Ehsan Sadiq

GLOSSARY

Adab	Decency
Anna, ghairat	Ego
Asar o rasukh	Influence, Access, Approach (political)
Baithak	In Punjab- male reception area in a village
Barakandazes	Armed guards/cavalry
Begaar	Free labor
Bella	Riverside area
Bilay/pittian	Uniform strips
Biradari	Clan
Boher tree	Banyan Tree
Bus adda	Bus stand
Chak	Village
Charas	Hashish
Charpyee	Cot
Chhithar	Broad flat leather slipper
Chokidari	Security through watchmen
Chaat	A type of mix fruit platter
Chayey	Tea and cookies
Chowki	Police Post
Dak	Correspondence
Darbar	Royal court
Darogha	A term used for Police officer during late Mughal and British period
Deh	Villages/Rural area
Dehwari	Porch style structure
Dera	Farmhouse constructed by a landlord near his cultivated lands

Diwani adaulats	Civil court
Eid	Muslim Holiday/ religious celebration
Faujdar	Principal police officer in the Mughal period
Fauji	Military man or a soldier
Ghara	Water pitcher
Giarween Shareef	Some types of Sweets Distributed on the 11 day of lunar month
Gulli	Street
Hamsaya	Neighbor
HaqMeher	An Islamic custom according to which the bride is entitled to a certain sum of money from the groom on marriage
Havaldar	Head Constable
Haveli	Mansion/ huge residential building
Hukkah	Punjab traditional way of tobacco smoking
Izzat	Prestige
Julaha	Weaver
Kabbadi	Punjab traditional wrestling
Kachha	Construction in material other than burnt brick in cement, mortar, and concrete.
Kammi	An often derogatory term for a nonagricultural service caste
Kanal	About five hundred yards of piece of land.
Karwai Bazi	Eye wash
Khairaati	As charity
Khatam	Religious mantra for good deal
Khilafat	Caliphate
Kinnow	Oranges
Koonday	A religious festivity / ritual in which sweet are distributed

Kothi	Villa type house
Kotwal	Head of the city police in urban areas and head of criminal court of the province
Kutcheri	Courts
Kurta dhoti	Eastern ruled dress
Lain dain	Transactions
Lohar	Blacksmith
lamabardar	Head of village
Lathi	Stick
Ludo	A type of sweet
Lashkar	Force
Madrissah	Religious seminary
Malia	Forced tax by government
Malkhana	Store room
Mamlatdar	Sharer, accomplice
Marawat	Courtesy
Mashqi	Water carrier
Masjid	Mosque
Mauza	The lowest defined geographic unit functioning as a revenue village
Mazars	Shrine
Mohallah	A area of land or cluster of houses inhabited by close relatives, taken to mean neighborhood in most other areas
Moharram	Sacred first month of Islamic calendar
Moharir	Clerk
Mousola	(Information) received

Musali	Members of lower casts
Muzaray	Tillers
Naat Khawani	Islamic song praising Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)
Nans	Oven-baked flatbread
Nakkabandi	Cordoning off a certain geographical area through placing police watch/barriers
Naik	Village headman-ship
Naib Nazim	Convener of local government council; takes over from nazim when he or she is away
Nazar Niaz	A type of religious/ Islamic charity
Nazim	Mayor: elected head of local government
Nehla	A useless person
Nikah	Muslim marriage contract
Nokar	Personal servant
Oadh	A casts of Punjab
Panchayat	Village elders council: decision-making body most commonly operational in parts of Punjab
Pagri	Turban
Paishi	Appearance before a senior officer
Petti bhra	Police brotherhood
Pir	Spiritual leader
Powdree	Drug addict
Parcha Majaria	Information note issued by the police station
Purdah	The segregation of women from men who are not family members
Qabza	Occupancy
Qisai	Butcher
Rangeenmizaj	Bohemian
Riyaya	People under rule
Roznamcha	Daily diary

Sarkar	Government
Sarkari Maal	Public property
Shalwar Qameez	Shirt and trousers
Shamaina	Canopy
Shikdar	Land register official
Sifarish	Favour
Tafteshi	Investigation Officer (IO)
Tola	Unit of weight roughly equivalent to 11.7 g; usually used to measure gold
Tehsildar	A government functionary at sub division level.
Ustad	Teacher
Wazadari	Decency
Zaat	Endogamous kinship group
Zamindar	Landowner/ tenant/farmer
Zarda	Sweet rice
Zimnies	Case diaries

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ ACRONYMS

AJP	Access to Justice Program
ASI	Assistant Sub-Inspector
ASP	Assistant Superintendent Police
ART	Awareness Raising Training
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CCD	Capital City District
CCPO	Capital City Police Officer
CPLC	Citizen Police Liaison Committee
CPO	City Police Officer
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DHQ	District Head Quarter Hospital
DIG	Deputy Inspector General of Police
DPO	District Police Officer
DPSC	District Public Safety Commission
DPSPCC	District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commission
DSJ	District and Session Judge
DSP	Deputy Superintendent Police
FIR	First Information Report
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
GPA	General Police Area
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
IGP	Inspector General of Police
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NPMB	National Police Management Board
NPSC	National Public Safety Commission
NRB	National Reconstruction Bureau
PER	Performance Evaluation Report
PPCA	Provincial Police Complaint Authority

PPO	Provincial Police Officer
PPSC	Provincial Public Safety Commission
PPSPCC	Provincial Public Safety and Police Complaints Commission
PSC	Public Safety Commission
RHC	Rural Health Center
SSP	Senior Superintendent Police
SHO	Station House Officer
THO	Tehsil Hospital
ADB	Asian Development Bank

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

GLOSSARY

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES/GRAPHS

Chapter 1

Introduction

The term police culture (or *Thana* culture in popular phraseology) in Pakistan is widely used, metaphorically, to allude to all the ills associated with functioning of police in Pakistan (Shigri, 2004). This is, in a way, a derogatory term, denoting all such negative attitudes, perspectives, norms and values which are believed to be prevalent amongst police officers and which are seen as shaping their understanding of the social world and impacting upon their behavior with associated communities.

It is in this context that the very word 'police' evokes so familiar response across any dividing line in Pakistan that such a consensus is hard to find on any other issue. Interestingly, despite major changes in police structure in recent years like in its size and formulation of specialized units such as traffic, security and investigation, traditional perception of police immediately brings into imagination the *Thana*. The term '*Thana*' is used in at least two senses; namely a particular territorial jurisdiction/unit for the purpose of law enforcement and a specified building premises where police officials, responsible for crime control and maintenance of order in that particular jurisdiction, are stationed to carry out their duties. The head of *Thana* is called Station House Officer (SHO), assisted by a number of other officers in different ranks who perform their functions under his direct command[1].The definition of *Thana* is given in Section 4 (q) of Criminal Procedure Code (Cr.P.C)[2] as "The locality (home, building, village or even a frigate or a plane) which has been granted the rank of *Thana* (police staion) by the provincial government will be called *Thana*, the same

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[1] Article 18(3) of the Police Order, 2002

[2] The procedure given in the Cr.P.C. is followed ordinary in every criminal case, beginning with its registration, investigation and the trial in a criminal court.

government has also been bound by a sanction/provision that it would also mention the jurisdiction of the *Thana* along with its establishment."[3,]

The *Thana*, a lynchpin of the police system in Pakistan[4], is legally mandated to take cognizance of any crime or violation of law and arrest and detain persons involved in such acts. Reporting and registration of a crime can be done only at a *Thana*. All the complainants, who want to report any kind of crime, offence or violation of a law, have to approach a *Thana* in whose jurisdiction it has happened for reporting, registration and investigations of their complaints or First Information Report (FIR)[5]. So citizens, who happen to be victim, witness or accused of an offence, have to inevitably interact with a *Thana*. Moreover, as the *Thana* has to perform function relating to watch and ward, maintenance of order, and security as well, so the people who are stopped and searched or controlled during law & order situation also come in contact with the staff of *Thana*. This is mainly true for most of the rural areas of Pakistan, while in major urban centers, the security and law & order functions are generally performed through specialized and centralized units.

Thana staff not only deals with prevention and detection of crime, but it is also supposed to ensure that all other departments of the governments especially the revenue department function without hindrance. In that sense it is responsible for maintenance of state's writ in that particular jurisdiction and for that matter, it is state's most visible and potent presence at local level. *Thana* is the most important

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[3] The same jurisdiction can only be altered by the same authorities who specify it.

[4] In 2011 there were around 1479 *Thanas* across Pakistan. In Punjab there were 637, in Sindh 440, in KPK 290, in Baluchistan 84, in Islamabad 14, in AJK 42 and in GB 26 *Thana*. (Source: National Police Bureau, Islamabad)

[5] Every information registered under section 154 Criminal Procedure Code is called FIR. The Information is given to a police officer and reduced to writing as required under this section.

operational unit in the police organization, as already mentioned. It is unique in many respects from other units and branches of the police. Despite emergence of some specialized agencies to investigate cases of narcotics, carjacking, organized crimes and terrorism, the role of *Thana* has not diminished in any significant manner. Such is the legacy of fear of the *Thana* that a common prayer in Pakistan is,

> *"Khuda kisay dushman noon vi Thana /Kutcheri na dikayay"*
> (May God save even enemy from visiting a *Thana* or a court).

The police culture and the efforts to reform it, both have a long history. Since the introduction of modern police system (including establishment of *Thana* in their present form) in 1861, various attempts have been made to reform it; both in pre-independence and post independence eras (Jamal, 2010; Suddle, 2002). These included measures ranging from such cosmetic acts like renaming *Thana* as *Dar-ul-Aman (*or place of safety) to more profound initiatives like promulgation of Police Order, 2002. There have been other attempts, mostly at individual levels, to change the anachronistic philosophy and authoritarian *Thana* culture in Pakistan. These include, the establishment of Rescue 15 (on the pattern of 911 in USA) in major cities, Citizens Police Liaison Committees (CPLCs) and Women and Children Help Desks in Karachi. These attempts are to be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, mainly focused on legal, structural or financial aspects of the police. Whether or not these were successful, in brining any improvement either in police working or its public image, need to be evaluated.[6]

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[6] For example people expected that the Police Order 2002 will bring a fundamental change in police behavior and working. Similarly, there were lot of expectations that a very substantial pay rise (almost a 100 % rise in basic pay of police officers in 2009 in the Punjab) would bring the change in *Thana* culture. But, "there has been hardly any discernible improvement in police performance" (Suddle, 2012) .

However, despite public appreciation for such initiatives, media reports and opinion poll surveys (Gallop Poll, 2011)[7] continue to negatively reflect on working of police as a professional agency and as a protector of people's rights. It is commonly viewed as an oppressive instrument of state's power (Ghazalli, 1999; Imam, 2011). Media portrayal of negative police practices, such as torture, has further alienated the police from the community[8]. So, at a time when Pakistan is fighting against terrorism and other internal challenges; police is still suffering from a crisis of legitimacy owing to profound and prolonged community estrangement.

1.1   Statement of the problem

Despite its prevalence as a subject of common concern and social discussion, little serious academic discourse is available on what forms *Thana* culture, its various dimensions and consequential police-community estrangement. The legacy and environment that shapes *Thana* culture is relatively an unexplored area of research (Imam, 2011). Most of the contemporary written work available is either of journalistic nature found in the newspaper articles[9] or in form of an administrative commentary in reports of police reforms committees/commissions.

Even in some serious academic works[10], the subject has, invariably been analyzed more from an administrative and organizational perspective. *Thana* culture and its

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[7] Daily the Express Tribune, Lahore, May 30, 2011

[8] For instance footage of public flogging of an accused by police men in Chinoit in March 2010 and police helplessly watching lynching of two accused brothers in Sialkot was widely and repeatedly telecasted by major TV channels such as Geo and Duniya (See Un-immitigable torture, the Dawn 11th March 2010   and Anatomy of a Brutality, the Dawn 26th August, 2010 by I.A. Rehman)

[9] For instance see, "*Thana* Culture Impeding Registration of FIRs", the Daily Times, July 26th, 2010 by Atif Raza

[10] For instance see Suddle, 2002; ICG Report No. 157, 2008; Richard & Hoffman, 2008; Abbas, 2009; Grare, 2010; Jamal, 2010 & Imam, 2011.

socio-political determinants remain largely unexplored from ethnographic perspective.

On the other hand research on police culture, carried out from a western perspective, has generally focused on elements of cohesiveness, isolation, suspicion, cynicism, frustration, aggression and political conservatism (Reuss Ianni, 1993; Brown, 1995; Chan, 1997; Prenzler, 1997; Reiner, 2000; Paoline, 2003). It is argued that such characteristics greatly contribute and explain the police deviance and other forms of major and minor police misconduct including violence and corruption. While some of these elements of police culture may exist in Pakistan too; there are peculiarities as well, owing to a different socio-political context, which need to be identified and examined.

It, therefore, needs to be determined as to what extent the history and prevailing socio-political environment directly and indirectly reflects upon the *Thana* culture. The other related question which needs to be examined is how, in turn, it impacts upon the associated communities generally and during its interaction with the police especially. In case it adversely affects the communities, it would be critical to determine as to how police culture can be modified to change this equation positively.

1.2 Significance of the study

Most of the existing academic work on policing and police culture in Pakistan primarily deals with the role, powers, legal and administrative framework of the police and the contentious relationship between the police and magistracy (Suddle, 2002; Shigri, 2010) with a focus on the historical aspect of this relationship and organizational issues such as human resource, logistics, discipline training, etc (Imam, 2011). The recent interest in the police in Pakistan, mainly evoked by war on terrorism, has helped to bring some focus on the inadequacy of police resources and

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denial of its due role as the premier law enforcement agency (See for instance Abbas, 2009; Grare, 2010).

However, excepting autobiographical memoirs of some retired police officers and sporadic journalistic coverage of issues related to the police, no detailed and systematic study is available on how police officers live and carry out their job and on how they interact with communities in Pakistan. The jargon of '*Thana culture*' is often used by media, politicians and community members as a convenient way to denote all serious ills that afflict the police in Pakistan including corruption, torture, misbehavior, and non responsive attitude. This attribution is done on the basis of stereotypical approach towards the issue, rather than emanating from any rigorous study of the police culture. There is little scholarly study of the police culture in Pakistan with an aim to peep into the lives of policemen and study the factors shaping their behavior during the service.

An anthropological study of police culture will not only contribute to the theoretical debate on the subject but will also point toward the possibility of enhancing organizational capacity of the police through bringing about changes in the police culture. Adopting an ethnographic approach is the most appropriate technique to study the the police culture. An ethnographic account of the police culture, by an insider who happens to be there on the spot and watches the subject from a very close angle would be different from detached studies which are essentially based on data collected through indirect and distant observations. The ethnographic accounts are real life encounters and animated experiences, which yield rich and in-depth understanding of

the subject such as police culture. This ethnographic study[11] of the police will be the first of its kind in Pakistan. The study takes into consideration, the role of socio-political determinants in shaping identity of *Thana* culture, and explains impact of Police Culture so evolved on associated communities and eventually on police-community relationship, through an analysis of quantitative and qualitative data collected during the research work. It analyzes *Thana* culture in detail by focusing a rural locale in Pakistan. It explores the factors contributing to negative police attitudes towards community and reviews nature and impact of police response towards complaints or victims of different socio economic status. The study also explains that how police conceptualize the community and the dual relation of expected roles and statuses between *Thana* and its inhabitants. The study explains as to how police construct, understand, and manipulate their daily decisions, especially, with regard to their interactions with different members of the community. More importantly, as mentioned earlier, it dissects the nature and extent of contextual factors impacting upon the police culture as well as the dynamics of change and resistance within the organizational setup of the police.

The pioneering study will primarily focus on the socio-political factors as opposed to legal, organizational and administrative factors. While doing so; it will, particularly, take into account impact of history, political system, economic condition and social stratification etc. in shaping a particular type of *Thana* culture. The study will thus help to understand the dynamics of police practices which adversely affect police community relations. The study will explore and dilate upon internal and external

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[11] Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of people'. An ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behavior based on information collected through fieldwork (Marvin Harris and Orna Johnson, 2000).

constituents of the *Thana* culture from an anthropological perspective rather than merely examining its legal or procedural aspects.

It will also contribute to develop a practical, as well as theoretical understanding of police work in relation to broader social and political environment. Most of the studies related to the culture of police are from the perspective of observer, and there is a need for understanding the culture from the participants' perspective (Crank, 2004). This study, a participatory in nature, will therefore, provide insights into policemen's mindset, their belief system, values and norms and their perception of community. Such an understanding will contribute towards efforts for reshaping the *Thana* culture and bringing change in their attitude towards the community.

As there is no in-depth and exhaustive study undertaken so far, from a Pakistani context, it would add value to the existing academic work on police culture and would provide stimuli for further research in the area. The study will enormously help the policy makers and the government to formulate policies which correspond to objective realities in which police actually operate and improve police-community interaction.

1.3   Locale of the study

The locale selected for the present study was *Thana* (*Thana* in sense of the building where police staff is located and work) *Shahpur* (Saddar) and a village named *Jahanabad*. The area was selected as it is almost centre of Punjab and incorporates some features of southern, northern and central Punjab. The area has been under typical feudal system that prevailed in the province. It is one of the oldest and earlier *Thanas* in the Punjab Province and it is a representative of socio-political culture of the mainland of the province which has also undergone socio-political changes over time. A more detailed introduction of the locale is given in Chapter 4.

1.4   Sample size

The sample size was selected from *Thana Shahpur* and Jehanabad village. The sample size for the empirical part of this study was 124 and for the qualitative survey on police community perceptions through in-depth interviews it was 20.

1.5   Research methodology

In the introductory phase of field work observation was used as one of the key research tools. The researcher conducted a detailed tour of the locale to get an idea of the area and the community. It also proved useful in identifying potential key informants and other individuals who could be helpful in the fieldwork. The researcher, further, tried to get familiar with the local dialect, slangs, verbal and non verbal communication styles.

These preliminary explorations into the peculiarities of language, culture and social interaction helped in developing a familiarity with the locale and a line of communication with target groups. Observation process also provided an opportunity to see the nature of relationship among different groups and institutions. During this phase the researcher was able to establish a preliminary rapport with the police personnel that subsequently helped in conducting participant observation. My own background and experience in the police was greatly helpful in understanding and appreciating many visible and invisible phenomenons. A number of visits were made to the *Thana* to let police officials get used to my presence there. Gradually, a more friendly relationship was developed with the *Thana* staff and in due course they started opening up. To facilitate access and generate trust of the community under study, the researcher requested a friend familiar with the area to accompany during these visits.

The study, being an anthropological one, focused on profiles of *Thana* staff, their daily routines, and their perceptions about themselves and the community. On the community side, the study focused on identification of various groups, intra-community conflicts and disputes and their interaction with *Thana*. Though, Participant Observation was adopted as the main research tool, other research methods, especially key informants, in-depth interviews, socio-economic survey and case studies were also used to complement and correlate the data collected through Participant Observation. The qualitative data so collected was further supplemented by quantitative data collected through a survey of police and community.

Participant observation and in-depth interviews provided a rare insight into the lives and environment of the community under study and enabled the researcher to discuss things in multi dimensional perspectives and identify dynamics which had not been covered by earlier studies on the subject. A combination of research tools also helped in broadening the dimensions of exploratory study; with empirical analysis, conducted on the basis of quantitative data, augmenting the qualitative part of research. The research methodology enabled the researcher to go beyond the statistical data, which limits the discussion to certain parameters (Andrew, 2011). Detailed description of research methods used during the study is given below.

1.5.1   Participant observation

'Participant Observation', as one of the key ethnographic methods to understand everyday work of institutions, is being increasingly adopted by the researchers[12] as "it offers an understanding of the informal practices of bureaucratic organizations" (Li,

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[12] The ethnographic approach in research studies on policing has been used by many scholars including Rubinstein (1973) Rubinstein, (1973), Van Maanen (1988), Vincent (1990), who incorporated aspects of participant observation, into the understandings of police in USA (Philadelphia) Ireland, England, and Germany (Berlin) respectively.

J., 2008). It is considered an established method[13] in anthropology (and also in sociology) as "it portrays different aspects of daily lives of that particular group or community through understanding the latent structures of their behavior and interaction amongst them". Participant observation also records the changes that take place over a period of time and allows the researcher, to approximate more the moving picture than the photograph (Whyte, 1984) "Telling it like it is" or "Really understanding, through personal experience, what is going on in any given situation". Traditionally, participant observation has been used, in anthropology, to study 'other' communities or cultures but increasingly this method is also being adopted to study a particular group or a community, where the researchers and the target participants have the basic knowledge about each other.

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[13] Though there has been no dispute over actual concept and process of participant observation method, there have been questions about the reliability and validity of the inferences, which were made through it, due to the researcher being the sole source of information. It is often not possible to know how one acquired items of information, insights and hypotheses in the participant observation study, and similarly, it is certainly impossible to present them all for others to examine. Easthope (1974), criticized it for being 'non-scientific", as the researcher brings intuitive and subjective interpretations to what he or she is viewing and certainly, the method also cannot be put under public scrutiny (Easthope, 1990). The counter argument to this objection is that the research definitely observes certain factual situations and thus at a fundamental level his observations are based on certain facts and are not merely fictional or his own creation, though these may be interpreted differently by different observers. Moreover, it is the very intuitive and empathizing nature of this research method, which strongly distinguishes it with other detached and dispirited methods and enables the researcher to live through real life experiences of target groups. Moreover, the criticism regarding its reliability and validity can be equally true for many of the quantitative methods. It was argued that using a participant observer methodology may in fact eliminate some of the discrepancies that are evident in surveys, since self-reports are not always accurate.

The other criticism of participant observation is related to the observer effect on the group under study (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). However, this ethnographic approach is also more demanding, as it requires the researcher to become deeply involved in lives of the participants, to have closer look at reality and true meanings of their life and activities. Spradley (1980) has differentiated between the types of participant observation that are passive, moderate and active participation, characterized essentially by observation of the people, and balanced insider and outsider perspectives respectively. Whatever type of participation he may adopt, the researcher has to remain aware that he or she is primarily there for gathering data and that all the information being generated during the process must be recorded (James, 1980).

"Hanging out" with the police men and the villagers provided equally valuable inputs for the study as it provided a more informal, personal and relaxed environment to learn about the inner meanings of many activities, situations and events going around are of the view that, such private conversations should be seen as more or less equivalent to interviewing (Becker and Geer, 1957) and are an integral part of participant observation (Bryman, 2002)[14].

My observations as a participant were not merely limited to a passive observation of the activities taking place in village *Jahanabad* and *Thana Shahpur* Saddar but I also participated as actively in some of them such as investigations, enquiries, interviews, crime scene visits, police patrolling, stop and search procedures, village dispute resolution process. The process of such an active engagement may entail "dropping objectivity and understanding emotional involvement" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975), but it was necessary to understand 'the native' from his or her own point of view (Malovinski, 1926) without losing the ability to stand back at times to see what has been happening". 'The need is to be a part of the world and not just an observer of it'. Such a methodology is most appropriate for studying the practical policing, which one cannot really do except being part of that experience.

Participant observation gave me a unique opportunity to become a part of the social environment of *Jahanabad* and *Thana Shahpur Saddar* to observe and experience it

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[14] "Hanging out" also allows the researcher to become less unobtrusive in his or her presence and gradually acquire the confidence of group members to a level, where they feel at ease with him /her and the participants take the researcher's presence for granted (Bogdan and Robert, 1972). This type of informal connection and exchange helps in establishing trust and ultimately acceptance of the researcher or observer within the group is reached. As a result of trust building between the researcher and the group, the researcher may be accepted as a 'full' member of the group and is invited to actually participate in the group's activities in one form or another; ultimately indicating the degree of acceptance of the researcher by the group. The greater degree of personal involvement with the participants and a genuine interest in their lives would indicate the sincerity of cause and commitment of the researcher towards them. Often it is found that participants are far more willing to share their life experiences, if the researcher displays genuine interest in their lives and thoughts.

from the viewpoint of the people being studied as well as to develop insights to discover true nature of social reality, by understanding it as a subject and interpreting it through their own perceptions, comprehension and interpretation of the social world.[15] Many researchers of *Thana* culture have adopted this method in their endeavors, preferring it over the others methods. For example a "Positivist methodology", only focusing on the "official reality" such as police procedures, rule, reports etc, would not permit to uncover the everyday routines of the police, especially their encounter with the public in and out of the police station (Wood and David, 2002).

For these reasons, the main research tool used during the present study was participant observation. The preliminary data so collected equipped research work with first hand information and helped in corroborating information gathered through other research techniques. During the study of *Thana,* I had to employ a mix of overt and covert observation methods. It was overt in the sense that broad objectives of the study were being shared with *Thana* staff but it was covert also, as true identity of the researcher was not disclosed to all of them.

In some situations, it was observed that people being studied changed the way they "normally" would behave; a phenomenon explained as, 'observer effect'. For instance when the community elders were intervening to resolve a certain dispute or approach the police, their behavior was affected by the presence of researcher. However, continuous contact with the community under observation greatly reduced problems relating to 'observer effect'.

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[15] In this context, David Downes and Paul Rock's made apt observation in their work "Understanding Deviance" that, "It is a theoretical commitment that drives the sociologist into participant observation". (Downes, 1988 and Rock, 1973)

Participant observation provided the chance to see police working and their interaction with the community from a close perspective but on the other hand, it was very time consuming, as the researcher estimated to reach the real time scenario to deduce the actual behaviors required to realize the objectives of the study.

The research was carried out very tactfully as only one person in the *Thana* knew about the true identity of the researcher, while rest of the officials knew the researcher as a close friend of the key informant, conducting study on police problems. Otherwise, the police officials have been too conscious of my presence and would have felt seriously inhibited to exhibit their true behaviour. The key informant (Sub Inspector) really acted as a '*gatekeeper*' in introducing the researcher to the police officials. It was, indeed, an extremely daunting task to build a trust based rapport with them and to overcome their skepticism. However, after initial aloofness, I was allowed sufficient space by the staff to bring out the invisible and latent realities, which would have not been possible through any other research method. Some officials developed very close association with the researcher and would reveal their true feelings and thoughts. However, a certain level of social distance was maintained to avoid any effect of researcher's own beliefs, ideas, values, biases and framed opinion on the research process and its outcomes.

1.5.2 Key informants

The 'key informant' is an individual who appears to be particularly well informed, articulate, approachable or available. It is an approach which can often be adapted for applied social research. In ethnography, key informant interviewing is appropriate because people differ also in their cultural sensitivity, and, therefore, in their ability to contribute culturally meaningful data (Punch, 2005).

This method further helps identify systems, processes, issues, and refinement of data collection effort. The key informants were selected from within the police and the community on the basis of their suitability, willingness and capability for sharing cultural information related to the research work.

Selected on the basis of the referred criteria, the first key informant in the village was a retired government official 'Rehmat Deen'. He is considered as an authority on the history, political and social development of the area. A humble old man of over 60 years of age, has a small family with a wife and two sons. He receives pension from the government and some additional income from his small agricultural land. He is reverently called '*Baba Jee*'. Many of the villagers would regularly gather at his '*Baithak*' (Guests Room) for '*gup-shup*' (gossip) every day. His *Baithak* is located at the main *Gulli* (Street) of the village and connects residential area to shops and main link road, connecting *Jahanabad* with *Shahpur*.

The *Baithtak* opens into this *Gulli,* where the passing by community members would often drop in for a while for little chitchat with *Baba Jee*; who would then introduce the researcher to them. The *Baithak*, therefore, proved an easy access point for getting introduced to the community members and to have prolonged sessions with them subsequently. Baba Rehmat Deen was of great help for establishing good rapport with the community members. Over time the researcher was able to visit other residents either at their houses or workplaces such as shops, workshops or fields to consolidate affinity with them and to observe closely real life situations.

Another key informant who provided extremely valuable help in developing insight into the social, political and cultural dynamic of the areas was 'Master Karim', popularly known as '*Master Sahib*'. He welcomed the researcher warmly and assured all the support for conducting this research. The stature of *Master Sahib's* personality,

his neutral and apolitical status, and his knowledge of the area and people, merited for his selection as one of the key informants for the study. Master Karim enjoyed respect and influence among the inhabitants of *Jahanabad*. His presence was a great strength, as he facilitated the research work through building trust and rapport with the villagers and other community leaders; whose initial skepticism and reservation gradually faded away. He runs a private school and was greatly helpful in getting access to women and youth of the village. As he remained associated with latest housing census, he had valuable information about demography of the village.

From the police department, Rana Akram a Sub-Inspector and Ghulam Rasul a retired *Head Moharir* were identified as potential key informants. The 52 years old Sub-Inspector, a matriculate, was a very experienced police officer and had served in various districts of the Punjab province. He had also attended some police training courses and had a comprehensive understanding of police rules and operating procedures. He was accessed through one of his close friends, who assured him about the unofficial and academic nature of this study. He was also assured of the confidentiality of the information he would provide. Interaction with him was a pleasant experience, as he willingly provided a lot of valuable information. Ghulam Rasul, 63 years old retired *Head Moharir* provided valuable insights into police record keeping system, purpose of different registers and how the records and entries are manipulated in certain cases.

The researcher had long gossips/discussions to develop a better rapport and understanding with them. Despite their tendency to defend their colleagues and make high claims about their knowledge of police laws and their achievements in career, Ghulam Rasul provided critical insight into life and working inside the *Thana*.

It may be mentioned that while drawing conclusions from the information acquired from key informants, the researcher remained conscious of any social or cultural biases, the key informants might have.

1.5.3 Socio-economic survey

Socio-economic survey method is an important tool extensively employed in sociological and anthropological research endeavors. This approach helps not only in appreciating the socio-economic conditions of the target population but also in linking it with the intended objectives of the study. Topical and exploratory surveys are two main categories of the socio-economic survey. The former focuses on issues at community level whereas the latter is more specific in nature. Generally, questionnaires are used in this method.

The survey of the citizens helped to determine predominant community perception of '*Thana* Culture' and its impact on police-community relations, while the survey of police officers assisted in knowing the perception of police towards the community. Structured and semi-structured questionnaire formats were used to elicit maximum relevant information during course of interviews and surveys.

Two survey forms were developed to get empirical data on the research problem. First form was exclusively designed for respondents from police about their perceptions about themselves and the community. The second form was designed to elicit responses from the community about their perceptions about the police and *Thana* culture. Through this questionnaire, it was also tried to explore and determine, as to how these perceptions have been formed.

It also contained questions probing the details related to the experience of interaction (and its nature) of the community with police was explored. The questionnaire form had also designated space, to allow the researcher to record additional observations at

the end of the interview. These observations mainly pertained to the structure of the house, living conditions, body language and expressions of the respondents, their behavior, and willingness to answer different kinds of questions, etc. Both forms had one additional set of questions attached to them in order to determine the socio-economic status of the respondents.

The questionnaire also contained questions pertaining to data on the demographic variables, economic conditions, educational status, caste, profession, occupation, income, etc. The questionnaires were filled in before start of each interview. Both questionnaires also contained separate columns to record any additional details or observations given by the respondents. The questionnaire forms were further modified after introductory visits to the field for rapport building with the community. The changes were in accordance with the preliminary observations and guidelines provided by the research supervisor. Collecting data through these questionnaires for an empirical analysis was useful in several ways. It provided a baseline data on the background of the respondents and also helped in providing a base for interacting with a big segment of the target population; however, during initial visits few potential key informants were repeatedly contacted. Hence, the baseline data collected through socio-economic and census survey forms, proved to be a good instrument to cross check the information obtained by the key informants.

1.5.4   Indepth interviews

In-depth interviewing, a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation (Boyce, 2006), was used to develop insight to the issues related to the research problem. The method is frequently

employed to know the feelings and thoughts of the people, and to know their reactions to different situations and issues (Bouma & Ling, 2004).

In-depth interviews were conducted with selected members of the community, as well as the police; to explore their perspectives on the research problem. For this purpose, in the first phase of research endeavor, it was determined as to what kind of information is needed and from whom. Accordingly, key stakeholders including police officers, politicians, land lords lambardars[16], councilors, citizens, women, members of different castes to be interviewed were identified and listed. Some additional interviewees were also identified during data collection.

Accordingly, two detailed 'structured questionnaires' for in-depth interviews were developed, at the time of research design, in accordance with the objectives of the research. One questionnaire was developed for interviews with the police personnel and second for the interviews with the community members to explore their thoughts, perceptions, experiences and analysis about each other. All broad areas of investigation related to the research problem were incorporated in the questionnaire. The purpose of developing structured questionnaires was to ensure that the conversation during the interviews remained focused and to keep it as a checklist to ensure that all relevant information had been asked before ending the interview. However, care was taken to ensure the liberty of the respondents to respond in wider perspectives; if they offer so. This flexibility provided opportunities to receive much diverse feedback from respondents on areas which were not conceived at the time of developing a questionnaire.

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[16] Lambardar or Numberdar is a village headman primarily responsible for collection of land revenue from villagers.

A proper interview protocol was developed, elaborating the rules that would guide in conducting the interview; to ensure consistency and reliability of the findings. Most of the questions were framed in open-ended manner and during actual interview further probes were made to elicit a detailed and clear answer. Ethics towards respondents were ensured. The in-depth interviews were conducted in an informal setting, mostly at the homes of the respondents to ensure privacy and confidentiality and at the time of their convenience.

Data collected during the interviews, was subsequently summarized and transcribed. The responses were examined and thematically grouped. Similar responses were grouped together for separate analysis and drawing conclusions.

In-depth interview method provided an important tool for getting detailed information from all the stakeholders on different aspects, manifestation and causation of *Thana* culture. It greatly helped in contextualizing data collected through other means and thus helped in making the subsequent analysis more reliable. However, there are a few limitations with this method as well. For instance depending upon their own peculiar contexts and experiences, respondents may reflect certain premeditated viewpoints that may be person specific in certain cases. It is also quite time-intensive activity, to conduct interviews, transcribe them, group main themes, analyze them and draw conclusions.

Moreover, despite the fact that the respondents were thoroughly informed about the objectives and purpose of the study and were taken into full confidence before conducting interviews, but still, the degree of openness while sharing information varied significantly among the respondents.[17] Being at the village and interviewing

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[17] Some respondents used the opportunity of in-depth interviews to give vent to their frustrations and their resentment against the system and perceived exploitations. They would also assume, despite

people was an interesting but challenging experience. Some of the persons were skeptical about my real purpose. They thought I might be there to collect some special information and may be their responses are conveyed to the police. A couple of others were very straightforward as one of them remarked, "who does not know about what police does and why it does? You don't need any research study for this and frankly you are wasting your own as well as our time".

1.5.5   Archival and library research

Administrative, police, judicial and historical records or documents were consulted for developing background information and creating an appropriate reference to the context for purposes of the research study.

1.5.6   Data analysis

The quantitative data collected through survey of community on their perceptions and experience of interaction with police was analyzed through SPSS 17.0.[18] The analysis helped in setting frequencies, cross tabulations and establishing correlations among various variables to provide an overall picture of responses received through the survey.

The qualitative data collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews and case studies, was reviewed repeatedly during and after the fieldwork. The main themes emerged from this data were grouped separately and the study will revolve around these themes in subsequent chapters. At times relevant information selected from the field notes, have been quoted in verbatim, while proceeding with the discussion.

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repeated clarifications, that researcher would somehow convey their feelings and feedback to the policy and decision makers. All such interviews were invariably animated and full of excitement.

[18] SPSS is a comprehensive computer program used for survey authoring and deployment, data mining, text analytics, statistical analysis, and collaboration and deployment.

1.6   Limitations of the study

The researcher did his best to objectively examine, analyze and interpret the actions of all the participants and draw inferences accordingly; yet there may be some aspects which might not be as accurately and comprehensively reflected as they exist in real. As discussed in various parts of the study, characteristics of *Thana* culture spelt out in the study has been carried out in a predominantly rural socio-politico setting of the Punjab and cannot account for variations in other province and the urban areas due to different socio-economic realities although certain parallels can be drawn between different settings. Nevertheless, these variations will not affect it in reflecting a broad picture of police culture in Pakistan, generally.

1.7   Organization of the study

- Chapter one introduces the research problem and discusses the research methodology adopted during the course of study. It elaborates the process of participant observation and other research methods used in the study.

- Chapter two contains the review of literature pertaining to theoretical framework and academic work carried out internationally in the area.

- Chapter three provides historical context of evolution of police culture and efforts to reform it. It also examines the organizational and legal framework under which the police operate. A detailed description of different of concepts and terms used in subsequent chapters is also given in this chapter.

- Chapter four gives detailed profiles of the research area and respondents.

- Chapter five provides a portrayal of the world as it exists within the *Thana*, the peculiarities as well as the ceremonies and rituals within police culture are discussed in detail.

- Chapter six discusses the impact of various (internal and external) factors in shaping police culture.

- Chapter seven contains an in-depth qualitative and quantitative analysis of police culture and its impact on the community.

- Chapter eight comprises of summary, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The study of culture and cultural concepts can be traced back to the Greek and Roman scholars (Elizabeth Rawson, 1934 & 1988). However, a systematic study of culture, both as a phenomenon with an explanatory logic and as an effect, is a recent development. The study of culture has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in many modern social science disciplines, including psychology (Shweder and Levine, 1984; Triandis, 1989; Bruner, 1990; Shweder, 1991; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Cole, 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Shore, 1996; Fiske, et al. 1998; Nisbett, et al. 2001 and Nisbett, 2003), sociology (Karl Marx (1818–1883), Emile Durkheim (1893, 1895, 1897 and 1912), Max Weber (1864 –1920), economics (Ruth Towse, 2003, William A Jackson, 2006), geography, (Melena Ryzik, 2009; Dunbar 1977; Ratzal, 1882-1891; Staurt, 2007), anthropology (Rheenen, 1997; Doda, 2005) and political science (Thompson, 1999; Abu-Lughod, 1999) etc., Culture has not only been studied from different angles but, like many other social concepts and phenomena, it has also evoked a huge debate among social science scholars. Scholars have examined the nature (whether culture has any explanatory logic or is, in fact, the effect of some developments taking place in other realms of social life) and types of culture, including global culture, national culture, subculture, elite culture, popular and organizational culture etc. (Zlatko J Kovačić, 2005; Douglas R. White, 2002; Martin and Siehl 1983, Louis 1983, Gregory 1983). Also a part of this debate has been the question of how can we explain the cultural change at the local, national and global

levels as well as the impact of culture (or its subtypes) on the society, including the performance of political and bureacratic institutions.

In line with this scholarly debate, the present study focuses on the explanation of police culture and its impact on the associated communities in Pakistan. The argument of this study is that the police culture is dependent as well as an independent variable. In other words, the police culture is shaped by a host of factors, including sociopolitical structures and processes, but it also influences the surrounding communities in a variety of ways. This mutual interaction between the police culture and associated communities in other parts of the world and has been duly covered in the scholarly literature. This chapter reviews some important aspects of literature on police culture particularly from this anthropological perspective.

2.2 Definining the 'Police Culture'

In general terms 'police culture' can be referred to as set of ideas, customs, accepted practices, information and rules of conduct, and core skills that define and give meaning to police work (Manning, 1977, 1989; Kingshott et al., 2004). To some the concept of police culture includes the merging of two main elements: the image of professional crime fighters and a system of informal beliefs and behaviors (McDonald, Gaffigan and Greenberg, 1997). Champoux, (2006) saw the police culture as defining the actual purpose of the organization, by disseminating the ideology and curtailing uncertainty and apprehension in relationships. Egharevba (2006); Thomassen, (2009) observed that the police culture can affect society either negatively or positively, depending upon the way in which police officials carry out their functions.Philosophy of police culture has three main detriments bravery, autonomy, and secrecy maintenance (Gaines & Kappeler, 2008). Prenzler (1997)

equates the term 'police culture' with the problems found in the police behavior (Prenzler, 1997).

Police culture plays a very important role in daily work routine of police officers, (Paoline, 2003).The researchers explaining different phenomena of the police culture like crime fighter image, inter-organizational tensions between bosses and subordinates, group loyalty, etc. have been discussing them singly at a time, rather than considering them as a whole culture (Paoline, 2003).

The conception of culture in police literature is primarily drawn from psychological, sociological and lately anthropological research (Chan, 1997). Most research studies focus on the relationship between police culture and police use of force, corruption, deviant behavior, discretion and management.

Police scholars (for instance Van Maanen, 1974 Reiner, 1985;Brown, 1988; Fielding, 1988; Reuss-Ianni, 1993; Skolnick, 1994; Manning, 1995; Graves, 1996; Herbert, 1998; Kappeler et al., 1998; Paoline, 2011;) have studied the existence, formation, and boundaries of police culture since Westley's study of policing in Gary, Indiana in 1950s. This research has generally focused on ways in which the officers cope with the strains of their occupational and organizational environment.

Chan, based on Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'habitus' and adopting a framework developed by Sackmann, suggested a new approach to study of police culture, recognizing its interpretive and creative aspects, as well as the legal and political context of police work. Robert Reiner (2000) in his book, 'The Politics of Police' argued that hardcore culture of police is difficult to reform because the duties performed by the police are not taken as duty but a mission and anything leading to fulfill that mission is a great achievement in their context.

Some scholars (Reuss Ianni, 1983; Skolnick, 1994; Westley, 1970, Niederhoffer, 2005, Crank 1986, Rubinstein, 1973; Van Maanen, 1974) have suggested that within their occupational environment officers cope with danger and coercive authority by being suspicious and maintaining the edge or being one up on citizens all times.

The sociological approach (J. Skolnick (1966) Justice Without Trial. NY: Wiley) describes the cultural characteristics of isolation (bluewall), brotherhood (an attack on one is an attack on all), and action (the ability to recognize danger and symbolic assailants). Skolnick also gave us the concept of working personality (a potentially useful on duty, off duty distinction). Stress in police has also been studied from a social causation point of view (the organization produces the kinds of personalities it needs).

For scholars who have studied police culture from psychological perepective, the term 'police culture' describes problems found in the police behavior (Prenzler, 1997) and their impact on the police performance. As the police is characterized by more problems, than any other organization, the change is needed to rectify these problems (Prenzler, 1997). However, the police culture itself may not welcome reforms and allow the reforms to sustain (Goldsmith, 1990; Skogan and Hartnett, 1997).

Some scholars consider police culture responsible as promoting the misuse of police authority (Brown, 1988; Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert, 1998; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993). They attribute the lack of effective police accountablity to the blue wall of silence. The colleagues do not interrupt the wrong doings of each other and this silence dominates any thought of reform (Silverman, 1999) and effectively hinders the accountability to take place (Walker, 2001). Inciardi (1990), attributed this organizational adherence to the socialization process of the police that is quite different from the community.

Skolnick (1966) argues that police work environment; which contains elements of danger, authority, and efficiency, lead to development of a "working personality" as a consequence. This working personality leads police officers to develop feelings of suspicion towards, and isolation from, the public. Further, Skolnick claims that when police exert authority, this action limits citizens' liberty, which leads to some citizens resisting or challenging police officers' authority and that this response reinforces the danger in police work.

Police corruption as an important element of police culture has been studied from various aspects as insufficient incentive schemes, inadequate technical equipment, poor management and control by different scholars (L´ızal & Koˇcenda, 2001; Quah, 2006; Faull, 2007; Prenzler & Ronken, 2001). A regular payment by organized or habitual criminals in exchange for non-arrest (Bowles & Garoupa, 1997) due to low wages has also been explored. (Andvig & Fjeldstad, 2008 & Verdier & Zenou, 2005) Impact of corruption on the trust of public (Neild, 2007) to shield the society against threats and detect, stop and pursue crime (Gottschalk & Stedje, 2010) but police corruption is hard to explain by a single cause (Tanzi, 1998).

The element of masculinity in the police culture is invariably identified by all research literature on cop culture in the Western context. Chan (2003); Martin & Jurik, (1997); see police culture reinforcing macho or muculine characteristic of the police. Crank, (1998), Reuss-Ianni, (1983); explained the cultural constructs of masculinity in the police culuture. Baldwin, (1993); Baldwin, (1994) explain the emphasis on control in police-citizen interactions and law enforcement techniques used to procure confessions through element of masculinity.

Study of police coercion has also generated considerable interest with scholars (Fyfe, 1988; Garner et al., 1995; Muir, 1977;Klinger, 1995;Reiss, 1972; Terrill, 2001; Toch,

1969; Westley 1970; Worden, 1996; Brown, 1988) focusing much attention on why officers use force suggesting that the cumulative effects of the strains that officers confront in their work environment, and the prescriptive coping mechanisms to deal with these strains, produce two defining outcomes of police culture- social isolation and group loyality. Researchers (Crank, 1997; Crank and Caldero, 1991) have also tried to explore the attitudes of police officers towards their supervisors and upper level managers

Some scholars (like Eric D. Poole & Mark R. Pogrebin, 1991) explored the emotion-management strategies employed by police officers in wake of tragic events. Based on interview data obtained from a sample of patrol officers working in four urban departments, the study examined how police officers account for their handling of emotions in their work experiences involving tragic events.

Others, such Brian F. Kingshott (2004) using entitlement theory as "a lens for viewing police relationships", provided a theoretical foundation for understanding police behavior and their response to stress. He proposed that "early attachment experiences, the ensuing view of self and others, the police training and work culture, and traumatic experiences in the line of duty" are attributable to "psychological and relational problems in some police officers". Police culture promotes over-entitlements through the experiences, environments, and training of police officers (Kingshott et al., 2004). The training of officers, promoting a militaristic form of humiliation and psychological sado-machoism, (Conti, 2009; Kingshott et al., 2004) encourages a sense of over entitlement. Officers then seek out power relationship with spouses, children, and the general public (Kingshott et al., 2004), increasing levels of stress, anger, cynicism, mental health issues, and physical health issues.

While elaborating the police professionalism Burack (2006) argued that at certain complex circumstances, while maintaining the institutional and community needs, the officers should reflect true professionalism as per 'professional model of policing'. The researchers advocate the model by considering police as an expert in professional realm, for they are trained, educated and experienced in their profession, just like any other formal profession.

Biggam, Power, MacDonald, Carcary and Moodie, 1997; and Friedrich, 1980 focused on the relationship between use of force and racial orientation of the police officers. Terril and Mastrofski (2002) found the use of force by the police, independent of different variables such as experience, training, education, and gender. It was also found, however, that the inexperienced or young officers were more inclined towards such force use.

Explaining element of Police deviance in police culture scholars identified factors such tenure, job satisfaction, stress, the cultural acceptability and leniency, autonomy and control over the job isolation, cynicism, role conflict and legal mandate(Carter & Radelet, 1999) which lead police officers towards deviance. Niederhoffer, (1969); Giacopassi, (1986): Graves, 1996; Gould (2000); John, Crank, Robert, Culbertson, Eric, Poole, and Regoli, (2002): Hickman, 2004; and Dorsey (1987) dealt at lenghth with the police cynicism-the loss of passion for their real job, integrity and faith in people.

Coady, James, and Miller (2000), explained that if we consider violence in terms of wrongly intentioned use of power, then it goes without saying that police has been legally empowered to behave violently by its coercive force. The accreditation of violence is legitimized and the police officers' aggressive behaviour is excused because of this very license (Kop, Euwema, 2001; Kopel & Friedman, 1997; Shaw,

2002). But according to some scholars, most of the time, this empowerment is applied against offenders, that are intentionally violating the law and the justifiable police force according to the situational demand and behavior of the offender or suspect (Warren & James, 2000). Smit and Cilliers (1998) added that police officer has to cope with different incidence of violence, impacting their personality as well as the entire system and is victimized by the violence; sometimes severely.

Gaines, Kappeler, & Vaughn (2008) are of the view that, "the potential to become the victim of a violent encounter, the need for backup from other officers, and the legitimate use of violence to accomplish the police mandate all contribute to a subculture that stresses bravery, which is ultimately related to the perceived and actual dangers of policing."

According to Chan (2000), the powers though granted, are optional for them, and are to be used only when the situation demands them to be used but are utilized mostly as considerable autonomy. The officials that are not guided towards the use of power, categorizes it in relevance to the police that fails any type of police criminal justice system.

Bruce (2007) and Marks (2000) observed that in South Africa oppressive police groups are strong and resourceful enough to mitigate the positive changes by abusive approach towards members associated to the political movements against the government.

Studies have also blamed the bureaucratic rules in preventing the accountability of police officers as they are ultimately used to shield the cops from punishment for their deviance; therefore, they take law into their hands (Westmarland, 2005).

According to Bayley (1994), in a bureaucratic system, including the police, there is a special emphasis on the compliance; initiatives are not dared at all, as the nature of

police culture is authoritarian based on para-military lines and the decision making never invites participation. He elaborated in his study that rules and legislations of police organizations are strict enough, emphasizing both vertical and internal communication. Davis and Thomas (2003) elaborated the Bayley's findings that police culture is so entrenched with hierarchical subordination along with the integration of dignified bureaucratic practices that there is no space available for any change. The industrialized democracies even can have the potential to fix such bureaucratic structures. Skolnick and Bayley, (1986) further elaborated that police bureaucratic structure is not suitable for risky innovations as such measures are compounded by the traditional practices haltering any reform to emerge. When such reforms were introduced in Australia with an idea to shift the structure of police organizations as corporate bodies, they were revisited and retreated by the higher police officers and the union very rigorously (Fleming and Lafferty, 2000). The situation was not at all different in case of England's government, when White Paper on police reforms was presented (Reiner 1993). The hierarchical and strict bureaucratic control over services and policies welcomes intervention that could be controlled by such system that can take the hand-on-management role of bureaucrats. It has been a subject of study for more than forty years; especially in the U.S. and other developed countries (Paoline, 2004).

2.3   Anthropological study of the 'Police Culture'

The anthropological perspective, comparatively new as compared to the other two other approches, tries to explore the latent meanings and explanations of forms, structures and activities pertaining to the police.Interestingly, some of the forefathers of anthropology were associated with law or politics; either directly or indirectly. Apart from John McLenan and Morgan, who were lawyers by profession; Edward

Taylor, Henry Maine and Lowis Henry Morgan were also to some extent related to the law. This association in fact led them to debate the subject evolution in terms of law; giving birth to the discipline of political anthropology (Thomassen, 1996).

The pioneering work done by Bronislaw Malinowski (1926 & 1970) and Franz Boas (1928 & 1962) in their books '*Crime and Custom in Savage Society*' and '*Anthropology and Modern Life*' respectively, served as a milestone in the field of political anthropology. Malinowski analyzed the solid ethnographic data in terms of legal approach emphasizing specifically upon law and order, and crime and punishments in the selected ethnographies, while Franz Baos concentrated upon nationalism and criminology etc. The questions raised by both these scholars were of political nature; though not touching governance directly. So, it can be inferred that political anthropology was initiated in early twentieth century.

As compared to the early researches, recent anthropological research has moved in a big way from studying politics in stateless societies towards studying more complex social settings involving the state and its institutions. This shift resulted from an open criticism of earlier approaches which valorized the fieldwork in a localized setting but ignored the wider context. For example, Boissevain and Friedl (1975) criticized the early ethnographers of villages in Southern Europe by saying that they had "*Tribalised Europe*" as they studied their locales as isolated units or islands. Since 1960s, anthropologists have tried to link their theoretical research focus to wider social, political and economic structures, while zooming in on the local phenomena in the fieldwork.

The anthropologists since then are unfolding the ethnographic accounts of their studies by increasingly concentrating on the state, formal institutions, law, public policy, politics, bureaucracies and other state affairs conducting the research in

complex social settings at the national, regional and local levels (Thomassen, 2009) in contrast to previous preoccupation of anthropologists with pre-modern societies.In such studies, efforts have been made to explore how the state is related to local populations and how people at the local level experience and interpret state policies and governmental processes.

The finding, which most of these works share, is that all rules are not followed all the time in legal and bureaucratic structures. In other words, there is no mechanical implementation of bureaucratic rules which are assumed to be derived rationally; rather, their implementation critically depends on social, cultural and political circumstances. In this context, most of the contemporary anthropological literature challenges the apparent rationality of public policy making process and tries to explore the range of cultural and social variables which operate behind the scene in such processes.

If we trace back the examination of single institution, as presented in this study, it was done for the first time by Radcliffe Brown. The face of anthropology presented by Radcliffe can be termed as real political anthropology that was later inducted into British School Syllabi, which opened space for massive research in this context targeting African ethnographies (Thomassen, 2009). The police, being responsible for maintaining law and order situation, are a very much political phenomenon and it cannot be studied in detachement from broader socio- political context.

The first ethnographic carried out (by Bittner, Manning, Niederhoffer, van Maanen, Reiss, Muir, Wilson, Brown, and Rubenstein) in the US and (Cain, Punch, Chatterton and Holdaway) in the UK, utilized observational methods to access the 'inner realities of organizational life', the characteristics of the police work group and the determinants of officer interactions and relationships with citizens. As all police

officers in US, irrespective of rank, served their apprenticeship in patrol work, it became the focus of most of research studies. Accessing the behind closed doors world of the patrol officer was considered important because it would provided an understanding of the wider aspects of the police organization.

Though these studies are quite helpful in developing a general understanding of different dimensions of the police culture, but have limitations when applied to the police culture in developing countries. There are variations in historical, cultural, social, political, legal and organizational contexts of developed and developing countries and these contexts impact their police cultures also. The attitudes and behaviors of the police officers differ accordingly.

As the police are one of the bureaucratic institutions which represent the state, this study, therefore, also benefits from scholarly work undertaken on anthropology of the state and state institutions. In particular, Akhil Gupta (2012) work in context of his path breaking analysis of poverty in India adds a new dimension to earlier works on ethnographies of state and bureaucracy. He argues, contrary to popular myth, that India's poor are not disenfranchised; rather they actively participate in the democratic project. Similarly, apparently, the state is not indifferent to the plight of the poor; rather it sponsors many poverty amelioration programs. Drawing on his ethnographic research, he offers insightful analyses of corruption; the significance of writing and written records; and governmentality, or the expansion of bureaucracies. Those analyses underlines his argument that care is arbitrary in its consequences, and that arbitrariness is systematically produced by the very mechanisms that are meant to ameliorate social suffering. What is explained is not only why government programs, aimed at providing nutrition, employment, housing, healthcare, and education to poor;

do not succeed in their objectives, but also why, when they do succeed, they do so unevenly and erratically.

Gupta rightly points out that research on state, with its focus on large scale structures, epochal events, major policies, and "important people" (Evans et al. 1985, Skocpol, 1979) has failed to capture the quotidian practices (Bordieu, 1977) of bureaucrats' that tell us 'what lower level officials actually do in the name of the state'. Adding to the existing anthropological research on state (Abrams, 1998; Anagnost, 1994, 1995, n.d,; Ashforth, 1990; Brow, 1998; Cohn, 1987a; 1987b; Handelman, 1978; 1981; Herzfeld 1992a; Kasaba, 1994; Mitchell, 1989, 1991; Nugent 1994; Taussig 1992; Urla, 1993; Yang, 1989), Gupta underlines the need to lay down the empirical basis for ethnographies of the state.

The present study is also contextualized within the contemporary anthropological scholarly works on legal and bureaucratic systems which seek to understand how decisions are made in certain contexts. The role of societal power dynamics in the public policy making has increasingly attracted attentions of social scientists (Sullivan, 2008; Unsworth, 2010; Kappeler, Richard and Geoffrey, 1998). The common finding of most of these studies is that public policy and bureaucratic decisions which appear to be formal, impersonal and rational acts, reflect power relations and cultural norms of the concerned society.

In the recent past, there has been renewed attention on the mediated state model. In this model, a central government with limited power and capacity heavily relies on a diverse range of local and informal authorities and institutions to execute the core functions of government. In addition, these local authorities and institutions which are cultural, social, economic and political in character mediate relations between local communities and the state. In other words, the local, cultural and social conditions,

not just rational considerations, inform the public policy making and implementation of bureaucratic decisions.

This study of police culture also draws on theoretical insights of Manchester school of anthropology (Gluckman, 1963), the process approach (Bailey, 1969; Barth, 1959) and more importantly post-structuralist and Marxist flavor to the process approach added by Pierre Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1977), while working on the social reproduction and conflict. These theoretical studies greatly changed the orientation of anthropological research.

A growing volume of ethnographic literature on the police has explored different aspects of police culture in various countries, including Germany, Portugal, South Africa, Turkey, Taiwan, Thailand and Indonesia, though the major thrust of earlier studies were USA, Canada, Britain and Australia (Herbert 1998, Chan 1996, Punch, 1979).

In South Africa, a number of researches using ethnographic methods have conducted study of the police. Such studies include '*Dirty Work of Democracy'* by Antony Altbeker's (2005), '*Researching Police Transformation'* by Monique Marks (2004)**,** and **'***Don't Push this Constitution Down My Throat! Human Rights in Everyday Practice'* by Julia Christine Hornberger (2007)

In 'The Dirty Work of Democracy' Antony Altbeker explained the findings of his ethnographic study conducted for a year, being in close observation with the police officers, across the entire landscape of the country. This anthropological study uncovered different aspects affecting police functioning. After thorough examination of different aspects of police working it concluded that the superhero title should not be associated with the police as they are ordinary human beings, who are not only ignorant but are sometimes brutal and even corrupt. The distinctiveness associated

with the profession is not because of the specific duties assigned to them but the ways they adopt to execute them in a coercive manner. Altbeker argues that South African Police Service was responsible for dirty work because of the intervention of government of this new democratic state into policing with an excuse that this institution poses different causes and risks which could be dealt efficiently by the police.

Such a radical and sweeping transformation of the police, whilst essential, could not occur without opposition, as in many ways, the police reflect not only the nature of the state, but also responsible for the prevention or promotion of change in a state (Marks, 2000; Skogan, 2008).

Monique Marks (2000, 2003 & 2004), while using ethnographic approach for estimating the facts about South African Police, established that cultural knowledge of the police is a prerequisite to estimate the extent of change in the police organizations. For that the researcher needs to get absorbed in that particular culture, while staying along with its members. While explaining the police transformation in South Africa, Marks inferred that at times nature of the state is reflected clearly by the police. It is the police which halt any change imposed by the state. This is due to the unaccountable appointments of the police that maintain their set of believes that police transformation is not attainable at all.

The organizational structure of bureaucratic nature (as in case of Pakistan) deflects the institution from its main motive, as such institutes end up in self service. The cultures of such organisations doesnot encourage appreciation or recognition of any good service. This leads to slow progress of the institutional functioning, while creating stressful working environment for the employees (Perrier and Toner, 1984).

Julia Christine Hornberger (2007) in her dissertation gave an ethnographic account of police transformation in relation to the human rights and established that the police and the law are lacking legitimacy because of abusive practices against human rights. The remedy to this dilemma lies in the policing itself by introducing human right policing that will be established on accountability grounds (Westmarland, 2005).

Joshua Barker (1999), in her study titled '*Policing the Postcolonial City'*, focuses on the issues of criminality and policing in Indonesia. She provided an ethnographic account of urban policing practices in various types of urban spaces including the police precinct, the mall, the neighborhood, the street, the prison and the home, etc. In analyzing policing in these settings, she not only studied the practices of the "official" police but also of civilian guards, and even other groups such as mafias and gangs offering 'protection'. In her analysis of these various types of 'policing' she showed that their relation to one another was not static rather it changed over time.

Kaan Boke (2007) while studying Turkish police examined the existence and characteristics of an organizational culture and subculture in Turkey and compared them with similar identifiable groups in the United States. He explored different aspects of the Turkish National Police culture to reflect and identify behavioral and attitudinal patterns among officers. He also analyzed police officers perceptions relating to their organization's work environment. Nalla and Boke (2011) suggest that community policing activities need the official implementation, where law enforcement agent can refer the police activities towards the maintenance of orders in a particular community. This is quite visible in the U.S. where COP[19] activities have formal existence, whereas in Turkey, it is suggested that the absence of proper name

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[19] Community Oriented Policing (COP)

of COP for community policing is responsible for unfavorable disposition of officers towards community policing. The COP type activities can be predicted from the operational philosophy of police, environmental and organizational factors.

The study conducted by Chu (2006) reported that police officers of Taiwan differ from the US officers in terms of orientation towards their role. For instance, while the attitude of the former is positive towards duty performance, they got a negative attitude towards legal obligations and support of citizens.

The use of ethnographic methods, in these studies of the police in different countries, is indicative of the importance attached to the study of the police culture in a broader political and social context. Such an approach has increased the analytical power of anthropological researches on issues related to both the state institutions and local structures and processes. In the 1970s, a political scientist, David Easton (1971), criticized political anthropologists for viewing politics just as a matter of power relationships and inequality. However, today, the sensitivity to the pervasiveness of power not only in the political but also in social relations and processes at the local and community level, is considered one of the strengths of the anthropological researches on bureaucratic institutions and public decision making. In certain cases, as a result of the preoccupation with broader context, the focus of anthropological research has shifted toward nationalism, ethnicity and identity as opposed to its earlier focus on kinship and social organization. The exclusive focus on a broader context at the expense of local structures and processes also has its own limitations. In other words, an ethnographic study of local formal and informal structures and processes in a broader political and social context provide us rich insights into their functioning; an ethnographic study of broader political and social structures and processes without considering the local context will provide us partial truth.

This study recognizes the importance of both the broader political and social context and the local structures and processes in analysis of the police culture. It shall draw on the literature on both the aspects. It will take into account not only the formal and informal political phenomena but also formal and informal local structures and processes including local kinship, local social organization, and the local patron-client relationships and their impact on the state, state institutions, culture and subculture of these institutions, and public policy making.

2.4 Internal (organizational) dynamics impacting the 'Police Culture'

Despite the important role externalities in shaping police culture, the discussion internal dynamics of the police organization remain equally relevant. One of important features of internal dynamic of the police is existence of distinct and well defined groups, i.e. the "PSP officers" and "rankers," in the police in Pakistan. Whereas the rankers do the "dirty work" of actual policing, patrolling, arrests, interrogations, stop and seizure. The *Thana* culture or cop culture, therefore, largely refers to functioning of the police personnel up to the rank of SHO. Since they have a direct interaction with the general public, their conduct is generally perceived to be characterized by insensitivity towards citizens, use of violence, patronage and corruption.

On the other hand, the PSP officers are more involved in, supervision, management, administration and policy formulation-forming higher bureaucracy of the police. Characterized by typical bureaucratic approach, the managerial officers are mainly involved in routine file work and policy implementation in a highly formalized environment. At this level, though there is a concern about negative image of the police among masses, still practically little seems to have been done by the

management to improve this image. The contradiction in approaches of senior management and street cops impacts the overall police efficiency.

The existence of this phenomenon i.e. cops and management culture, in the western context was first highlighted by Elizabeth Reuss- Ianni and Francis Ianni (1976), who studied police precincts in New York. Through participant observation, network and event analysis they found a number of contrasts between street cops and management in the police. The observations revealed that both the street cops and management culture were well managed in the olden times and managerial personnel used to be the part of the 'police family'. According to Ianni, there is conflict between management and street cop culture and suggested that cultures should be integrated into one organizational whole and discrimination within different levels of the department should end to save this institution from a complete downfall.

Street cops, who generally predominate at lower level of all police organizations, directly interact with the public and have to make on the spot decisions on the basis of discretion available to them,. They try to tackle the issues according to the given situation and decision-making takes place on a personal and largely immediate level. Brown (1995) describes it as a concept of the tough guy, while Chan (1997) considers it as a reactive approach towards ambiguous situation which the police face on day to day basis. For Bradley (1992), it is a perception of the police regarding dealing with the public in given circumstances and situations and Reiner (1992) comprehensively describes it as having multiple facets like mission, cynicism and other factors.

The cop culture, to a large extent, determines the public image about the police. Cops, equipped with power of arrest and seizure, daily interact with citizens in a variety of situations, often in an environment of mutual distrust and hostility. The extent and nature of discretion available to cops and the way it is exercised further exacerbates

public perception of the police. Resultantly, the bulk of public criticism is directed towards them. Moreover, due to the fact that their visibility is quite pronounced, they get more media attention and coverage and not surprisingly the public perception of the police (cops), to a large extent, is shaped by media reports. The public, even if starts to have a positive or nreutral image of police, the media reports on corruption, excessive force use, brutality etc, insist them to think the other way round (Bruce, 2007; Shaw, 2002).

The senior management culture is mainly characterized by bureaucratic delays, self interest and neglect of ground realities which street cops face. The police officers do not welcome interference by the external administrative intereference as they take them professionally and personally threatening (Kappeler, Sluder & Alpert, 1998). The inconsistency between the administrators and the police officers creates an uncertainty between the actual orders by the administrators and the way they are executed by the police (Bennett, Richard & Schmitt, Erica, 2002).

The existence of two cultures in the police creates a sense of alienation among lower level employees. As a result, the cops have certain grievances. First, they feel that while they do the hard work in most adverse circumstances, they are not duly rewarded. Second, they are not given due status and do not receive due share. Third, the policies set out by senior managers are not realistic. Cops often complain that the senior police bureaucracy is more concerned about being politically correct, fashionable, playing to the galleries and succumbing to pressure groups and thus generally ignoring the operational realities and hardships of the street cops. They believe that they best understand the ground realities and know how to deal with them. So they use their own methodologies to deal with crimes and public order related issues at the local level, which may not entirely correspond to crime

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management policies outlined by the senior management. This schism between two streams of police culture affects the successful implementation of organizational goals and policies. More importantly a better comprehension of this phenomenon (existence of two (sub) cultures in police) can help us understand the overall functioning of the police. According to Ianni (1983), a better understanding of the two subcultures in the police can help us to: a) understand how police organizations might respond to change; b) analyse conflict within the organization; and c) know how new sentiments might be stimulated in an organization.

2.5   External (socio-political) dynamics impacting the 'Police Culture'

As discussed earlier, the formal structures and processes are only one category of factors which shape police culture. There are equally important informal socio-political structures and processes which shape this culture and we need to look deeper into these dynamics to gain an adequate understanding of the police culture.

Unsworth (2010), is of the view that in the contemporary period, elements of public authority are being created through complex processes of bargaining between state and society actors, and the interaction of formal and informal institutions. He suggests that "instead of prioritizing reform of formal institutions, development practitioners should look at the structures, relationships, interests and incentives that underpin them". In other words, in the study of formal state institutions, it is important to study the local factors which underpin them. In this context, it is important to remember that the most appropriate method to understand such interaction is the ethnographic technique. It is also true of the studies which focus on formal bureaucratic institutions and governance processes in society. Many scholars now recognize this need. The anthropological fieldwork is increasingly carried out inside bureaucratic structures

and organizations. The assumption underlying this trend is that the formal bureaucratic institutions can best be studied through living in them. In other words, the ethnographic method used to study communities is also appropriate to study bureaucratic institution. Of course, this approach is quite different from the rational study of bureaucratic system which many had been pointed out almost two decades before (Herzfeld, 1992) and has been used to study the police in a number of countries.

As would be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, the police in Pakistan are primarily organized on Irish constabulary model introduced during the colonial period with the objective of effectively controlling India, especially after the revolt of 1857. Even after gaining independence in 1947, the police continued to work under the same framework.

One main factor which distinguishes Pakistan from developed countries is the political interests of ruling elite which are aligned with the police in Pakistan. The convergence of these interests has hindered the reform process and impeded efforts to change the status quo. The most recent example is the way powerful interest groups torpedoed the Police Order (PO) 2002, the strongest and most robust effort made so far to alter the basic philosophy and governance framework of the police.

Any discuusion on police culture in Pakistan would necessitate a review of origin and evolution of policing here as well an examination of poltical system and its impact on police culture. Police operates in local environments which are highly politicized in presence of powerful influential individuals and groups who form political base of ruling and opposition parties. As Lange (2009) suggests that the British employed direct and indirect mechanisms to rule India. The direct rule was manifested through

creation of integerated, formal burecratic institutions whereas indirect rule laid emphasis on use of intermediaries and local authorities.

On the other hand Hamza Alavi (1972a), taking another view, claims that the state in Pakistan is 'overdeveloped' because of autnoumous power enjoyed by the bureaucracy and military relative to the propertied classes within the country. He attributes this phenemon to the persistence of authoritarianism in Pakistan. Wilder (1999) provides evidence to suggest that politics in country side of Punjab continues to be dominated by patron-client ties and biraderi linkages.

Despite difference of opinion on nature and role of state and state institutions in Pakistan, there is hardly a disagreement over the fact that there exists a lack of legitimacy of state institutions. Absence of the public accountability mechanisms of state authorities further exacerbates the crisis of legitimacy. Such authorities are primarily unable to win over the communities due to being coneived as illegitimate. Studies suggest that apart from the cultural and historical factors, lack of legitimacy in the local public institutions in developing countries is also attributable to corruption and weak institutions (Unsworth, 2010).

Legitimacy is a manner in which individuals are authorized to act by the society of their own. Weber in his theories, focused on the legitimate use of authority, and mentioned the legitimacy on three grounds that are, legal rules, personal authority and charisma (Miner, 2006). There are particularly four dimensions of the society that are responsible for the undermining of legitimacy, rendering the officers helpless and futile. These include media, as a manipulator of the public opinion though random reporting, regarding coercion of police; the pessimistic attitude of community towards police, who are not ready to extend cooperation; the spoiling attitude of government by supporting police in their wrongdoings, as they have influence over the court

sentences; and unlawful sentences of the courts, that are not balancing the extent of crime, which dishearten the loyal police officers who have tried hard to bring the criminals to the court (Koortzen, 1996).

Legitmiacy of police, as a state instution, assume even greater significance due to its powers to control crime and maintain order. Legitimacy of the police force is estimated by the extent of cooperation which is extended by the society and the prevailing political system of the country. Law and order maintenance in the society is possible only with the support of public-which is dependent on the performance of the police (Tyler, 2004).

Some scholars have argued that the main reason behind the lack of social and political legitimacy is the role of police itself (Jauregui, 2010; Altbeker, 2009). According to Kop et al. (Kop, Euwema & Schaufeli, 1999) the inconsistency or absurdness in the legitimacy is actually the incompetent performance of police and owes to the insufficiency in the structural solutions, limited authority of officers and few other factors that were mentioned by Koortzen (1996). This may be because of the fact that police experiences authorization and disempowerment at the same time as they have to act violently in the absurd society, provided that law is enforced and at the same time the legal system of the country undermines this prime responsibility. This results in mistrust and fear of police in community or society (Cawthra, 1993).

The democratic societies, where there is supposedly maximum legitimacy, insist that police professionals can socialize with the community and can use it as a weapon, rather than applying regression on them and delineating from the society as a consequence (Kop & Euwema, 2001; Shaw 2002); but following this contradictorily, snatches power from the police on the other hand (Nell, 1999). Keeping the actual scenario aside, the reason behind the change of SAPF (South African Police Force) to

SAPS (South African Police Service) was to introduce the expected duty of police that was serving people rather than coercing them (Shaw, 2002).

Moreover, the illegitimacy is also because of uncertain changes in political and social sectors, as a part of adapting themselves to the adversities of these changes, the police officers also have to struggle to protect society that wants to get absorbed in the changes imposed by policies made by the government (Nell & Burgers, 1998). These changing policies in the constitutions of democratic states overburdened the roles and ambitions of police officers (who are involved in management), especially those, who have been serving for a long time in the police institution (Nell, 1999).

In rural India, however, the police institutions communicate with the informal village councils while reaching any decision, where the culprits are sanctioned for their wrong activities and the legal authorities (courts) consider such locales as they are free from crime. Sequencing might be helpful in this regard, by creating the wholesome public authority of institutions over other institutions that are purely dependent upon rule, consent, negotiation and legitimacy, rather intimidation and coerciveness. But this sequencing should not be rigid, rather flexible for the proper working of the institution (Unsworth, 2010).

Some of the scholars have pointed out that, the police officers, frustrated by the inefficient and ineffective justice process try to administer justice against the perpetrators themselves. This fact underlines the need for the justice system to work efficiently to bring about the legitimacy (O'Loughlin & Billing, 2000).

The police depend on the cooperation of communities to keep order. The police can enforce laws only fractionally on citizens indulging in deviant behavior. It exercises its authority and control by creating deterrence through initiating legal action. However, in longer measure it depends on the cooperation of community for law

enforcement, maintenance of order and prevention and detection of crime. So the police needs community support to be effective professionally. This support can be obtained either through coercive measures, such as inflicting collective punishments on residents of a certain locality or through adopting consent based policing approach where citizens willingly cooperate with police in performance of its functions.

The latter approach can be successful only when certain pre-requisites are met by the police if it is preceded by meeting certain prerequisites. Firstly it must be trusted as a neutral, professional and fair agency. Secondly, its actions should enjoy legitimacy both legally and socially. Issues of trust and legitimacy are interconnected. A police not trusted by public; either in its integrity, neutrality, professionalism and competence, cannot enjoy legitimacy. It is important to understand that legitimacy is a critical factor that explains in more than one ways as to why the police succeed or fail in winning citizens' hearts and minds.

Some studies have highlighted the fact that unless the public perception about police legitimacy is positive, even very progressive and citizens oriented initiatives are not likely to produce desired results. For instance, Gorazd Meško and Goran Klemenčič who examined Slovenia's adoption of Western-style "community policing" during its transition to democracy from communist era noted that when "community policing" entailed omnipresent social and political control, citizens regarded these efforts with great suspicion, and offered little cooperation to the police. It is evident that police reform efforts can only succeed in changing police image and improving citizens' trust only when police is seen politically and socially neutral.

The "lack of legitimacy" or even the "vacuum of legitimacy" due to the misuse of police powers and its impact on efforts to reform police has been discussed by several studies (Kertész and Szikinger 2000; Perez 2000; Stone and Ward 2000;

Frühling 2003; Lindholt 2003; Sangroula 2003). This is interpreted as prevalence of mistrust and non-cooperation between police and citizens and remedy often proposed is to remove this mistrust by using the police powers in ways with which the population agrees and sees as beneficial i.e. through "policing by consensus" (Bowling, Phillips, Campbell et.al.2004:3). The main problem with this model is its applicability to a society like Pakistan, where populations are often divided on tribal, ethnic, sectarian, linguistic and *biradri* lines and 'consensus' may not be easily achieved. So contextualizing the discussion on reforming the police culture is all the more necessary to avoid deceptions created by borrowed ideas.

Another fallout of lack of legitimacy of police and other state institutions or their failure to carry out their mandated functions is that the citizens get attracted to extra constitutional and primitive policing methods. The support to demand for *Sharia* Law in Swat (Pakistan) in 1990s and 2000s, citizens' resort to local *punchyats/jirgas* as well as number of killings of alleged criminals by citizens in Karachi and Sialkot are instances of this phenomenon. It can increase public support for radical groups who seek to win public support through devising more efficient and credible means of policing even it mean subversion of formal institutions. For instance, farmers in Guerrero, Mexico, carried out an extra-legal policing system feeling that federal authorities were not prosecuting the crimes that plagued their province, the citizens of Guerrero strongly supported this extra-legal arrangement, and engaged in massive protests when the central government tried to suppress it. (Jennifer Johnson)

Several authors have examined how the perceived legitimacy of the police and courts varies across social groups. Graziella Da Silva, Ignacio Cano, and Hugo Frühling show that attitudes toward the police vary greatly across social classes in harshly unequal societies like Brazil and Chile. And many of the authors find that ethnic

minorities often display greater distrust toward the police, and perceive themselves to be targets of police discrimination.

2.6   Conclusion

The preceding analysis clearly shows that a number of factors shape police culture in the developed and developing countries. The studies of police culture in the Western countries mostly focus on the formal structures and processes. These studies are valuable because they surely enhance our understanding of police culture in Western context; however, their applicability to the non-Western context is limited because of different social context. In other words, the framework these studies provide cannot be applied to the developing countries like Pakistan in order to gain adequate understanding of police culture. It is important to draw on these studies but the need is to expand the framework for an adequate explanation of police culture in countries like Pakistan. Not only the formal structures and processes shape police culture in Pakistan but also informal societal structures and processes play a critical role in its formation. The formal structures and processes include state laws, power distribution, responsibilities and functions of state institutions, salary structure, including perks and privileges of the police personnel, rewards for good performance, punishment for poor performance, resource allocation, the level of education of the policy personnel, etc. Most of these factors exist in both the developed and developing countries. Hence, any study seeking to explain police culture will need to focus on the formal structures and processes. As already mentioned, the social context of the developing countries requires that such studies focus not only on the formal structure and processes but also on the informal structures and processes which shape police culture. The informal societal structures and processes include social norms of society, including culture of power, *biradari* system, culture of revenge, patrimonial

and patronage system, and intervention of influential figures, including politicians. In short, both the formal and informal structures and processes affect the police culture negatively and positively.

Chapter 3

Evolution of Police Culture in Pakistan:
A historical perspective

3.1   Introduction

Culture is not a product of days, months and even years. It is a product of 'historical process' (Brown, 1988) and an outcome of interaction of different factors over a period of centuries. The legacy of history is the first and foremost important issue which ought to be examined, because there is no better way of understanding the present, without a reference to the past (Shanahan, 2000). Without historical contextualization, the debate on the issue of policing would remain polemical. In other words, the historical contextualization of the debate would not only guide the current discussion on policing and police culture but would also prove beneficial in informing the process of reforming and restructuring of the police and police culture in our country.Any discussion on police culture in Pakistan would, therefore, be incomplete without first establishing the historical context in which it evolved. The subsequent discussion will try to explore continuities and shifts in the policing system during ancient, medieval and modern eras, with a view to examine how they influenced the shaping of our present police culture, often referred to as '*Thana culture*'.

3.2   Policing during ancient and mughal period

Although, the genesis of present police system coincides with the advent and expansion of the British rule in India in 18th century, however there had always been some kind of policing arrangements in times of the ancient Hindu and medieval

Muslim periods. Historically, the evidence on the existence of a specialized police force, as an agency for the maintenance of public peace in Indian subcontinent is quite scanty. It can be assumed that indication of existence of a highly organized and well regulated city life, one finds in ruins of *Mohenjo-Daro*[20] and *Harappa*[21] in Pakistan, could not have been possible without some sort of a regulatory body. There are also references in historical records, though in a passing manner, about policing in this part of the world. For instance, the Laws of *Manu* (200 BC. to 200 AD) speak of the king's duty to maintain fixed police posts, run spies to help in criminal justice administration, and punish those who were indulging in violence, by imposing penalties on them (Edward, 1891). Similarly, there is some mention in the '*Mahabharata*' and the '*Ramayana*' to a kind of police administration of those periods, and then, Kalidas, in his writings, also mentions about the police work (Oman, 2008).

Different historical accounts (more importantly by various travelers and courtly ambassadors, such as Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Mauryan Indian emperor, Chandra Gupta, two Chinese travelers, Fa Hien and Huen Tsang, and Kautilya's Arthshastra) also indicate that in the Mauryan period '*Nagarika*' and the '*Gopa*' were the police officers in the city and the village respectively, who were responsible to maintain law and order.. The Mauryan administration was essentially structured around collection of revenue and the Guptas also adopted the Mauryan administrative style with some suitable changes. There follows a dark period of several centuries, during which only sketchy information is available. However, by and large, the same system continued until advent of the Muslim Rule in India.

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[20] An archeological site situated in the province of Sindh, Pakistan. Built around 2600 BC, it was one of the largest settlements of the ancient Indus Valley Civilization, and one of the world's earliest major urban settlements

[21] An archaeological site in Punjab, northeast Pakistan, about 35 km (22 mi) west of Sahiwal

Evidence about police administration of the Muslim period, is equally scarce and scanty as about the earlier period. The first available information on this subject is discernible in the 14th century, i.e. during the *Sultanate period*. The official at the highest rung of the criminal justice administration was the *Mir-ie-Adil*. But the person entrusted with the responsibility of police administration was known as *Muhtasib* (Ombudsman). He was an Inspector General of Police, a Chief Engineer of Public Works, as well as an Inspector of Morals.(Elliot & Dowson, 1871) He used to delegate police duties in cities to the *Kotwal*.

During the Mughal Empire, policing became a subsidiary aspect of the empire's strategic, military and revenue requirements. To some, police force during this era was a mercenary and exotic group of people with official patronage.(Rajasthan Police: India[22]). Even then, community involvement, either through the medium of the landlords or through the village level *Panchayats* and analogous bodies existed to a certain extent. A detailed account of police management during Mughal era is found in the *Akbarnama*-a treatise written by Abul Fazl Allami, one of Emperor Akbar's advisers. (Beveridge, 1948) The following extract from *Akbarnama* throws adequate light on the police administration of that period:

"The *Kotwals* of cities, *kusbahs*, towns and villages, in conjunction with the royal clerks, shall prepare a register of the houses and buildings which shall include a particular description of the inhabitants of each habitation. One house shall become security for another; so that they shall all be reciprocally pledge and bound each for the other. They shall be divided into districts, each having a chief, or prefect, to whose superintendence the district shall be the subject. Secret intelligencers or spies shall be appointed

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[22] History of Indian Police, Retrieved from http://rajpolice.nic.in/ab-historyIP.htm

to each district who shall keep a journal of local occurrences, arrivals and departures, happening either by day or night. When any theft, fire or other misfortune may happen, the neighbors shall render immediate assistance; especially the prefect and public informers, who, failing to attend on such occasions, unless unavoidably prevented, shall be held responsible for the omission. No person shall be permitted to travel beyond, or to arrive within, the limits of the district, without the knowledge of the prefect, the neighbors or public informers. Those who cannot provide security shall reside in a separate place of abode, to be allotted to them by the prefect of the district and the public informers. A certain number of persons in each district shall be appointed of patrol by night the several streets and environs of the several cities, towns, villages, etc., taking care that no strangers infest them, and especially exerting themselves to discover, pursue and apprehend robbers, thieves, cut-purses, etc. If any articles be stolen or plundered, the police must restore the articles, produce the criminals, or failing to do so, become responsible for the equivalent."

Under the Mughal system *Faujdar* was the Chief Police Officer as well as the administrative and military head of the *Sarkar* (district). The *Faujdar* was appointed by the emperor but he performed his duties as lieutenant of the governor under his supervision and guidance. There was a military contingent of 500-1500 under each *Faujdar*. A *Faujdar* was primarily responsible for policing of the roads, controlling unlawfulness and disorder of any type, apprehension of criminals and their commitment to criminal courts for trial and penalty. Forceful collection of state revenue/dues from disobedient inhabitants was another important duty of *Faujdar*. Besides this, he also functioned as a police magistrate and used to be supervising

*shikdars (*responsible to manage each sub-district), who had control over the *Thana dars*-appointed to run a *Thana*. A *Thana dars* was supported by a small number of *barakandazes* (armed guards). Each sub-district used to have enough *Thanas* and armed guards to cater the villages in its jurisdiction.

Another distinctive feature of Mughal period was village policing. Rural policing was in the hands of *Chaukidars* functioning under the superintendence of village headman and under the overall supervision of the *Faujdar (*Maddison, 1971). The watchman was supposed to be vigilant at night, find out all arrivals and departures, kept an eye on strangers and reported all suspicious situations to the headman. The village headman was held so responsible and accountable that it was his duty to recover goods stolen from his village, in case he could not do so, he was obliged to make good the losses so far as his resources allowed, while the balance leftover was divided on the entire village (Indian Police Commission, 1902-1903). This liability was transferable, in case, the villagers succeeded in tracking the offender to the boundaries of another village.

Secret intelligencers or spies were appointed to each district to keep daily record of local occurrences, arrivals and departures. Not an individual was allowed to travel beyond or to arrive within the limits of the district without the knowledge of the prefect, the neighbors or public informers. . The Moghul system of police followed closely the indigenous system of the country in which the principle of collective responsibility and mutual security were the basis of policing. Interestingly, the same system of joint responsibility was almost alike to what existed in England during Anglo-Saxon era (500-1066 AD) and was sustained by the Normans after their conquest in 1066 AD.

The police organization of urban areas was carried out differently. There were *Kotwals* doing policing in provincial capitals and other important cities, and performed a number of executive and ministerial duties similar to the Police Commissioners during British rule in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras (Ember, 1964). They were not provincial officers, but were appointed by the central government. They also performed as police magistrate but had no judicial authority which exclusively belonged to '*Qazi'* and '*Mir-e-Adl'*. Their job was to catch thieves, recover stolen goods or make good the losses.

Policing during the Mughal period was linked with the army, on the one hand, and, with the department of justice, on the other hand (Samad, R., 2011). For instance, the *Faujdar apart from controlling crime* was equally responsible for external defense and punitive action against rebels. Similarly, in criminal cases, justice was the joint responsibility of the *Qazi*, who was responsible for investigation, and the '*Mir-e-Adl'*, who would decide the case. The same officers acted as revenue courts when they determined cases concerning the rights in land or other ancillary matters. There was a division between the judiciary and the executive at least up to the district level. The '*panchayats'* disposed of petty cases in villages.

The Mughals used to have separate machineries to deal with law and order and revenue collection until their defeat at the hands of the East India Company's troops in 1757. After their defeat the responsibility to collect revenues gradually shifted to the provincial administrators which during Mughals' finest times were only responsible for maintaining law and order. With the decline of Mughals' central authority the district functions of law and order and policing were taken over by the revenue collectors (Maddison, 1971).

3.3   Policing during the British period

3.3.1   Policing during 18th century: 1720-1800

The East India Company, formed by an association of London merchants in 1600 established its foothold in India during the reign of Shah Jahan 1627-1658 when it established factories in Surat, Calicut and Masaliputam in Bengal[23]. Subsequently Madras and Bombay also became factory towns of the company with their supervisors designated as "presidents". Accordingly, these towns came to be called as Presidencies.

The first hundred years of British presence in India saw a number of remarkable changes in the system of criminal justice administration through a process of trial and error, depending upon the contextual requirements of the times.

From 1720 to 1751 *Zamindars*[24] were appointed as *Faujdars*[25] and *Kotwals*[26] and had under their control of a body of men doing duty as police force.

The East India Company took over the direct administration of the three Presidencies, after it got the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, in 1765. In 1770 it transferred magisterial and police functions of Faujdars to the newly appointed (British)

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[23] Indian History Sourcebook: England, India, and The East Indies, 1617 A.D

[24] The term Zamindar (from the Persian zamin or land, and dar or keeper- holder or keeper of land) in use in India and Pakistan since medieval times denotes all rent receivers above the actual cultivators. The foremost duty of zamindars was the collection and punctual remittance of the land revenue; however they were also required to perform certain police, judicial and military duties. With both fiscal and political power at their disposal, Zamindars exercised enormous local influence

[25] "Faujdar" was principal police officer, commandant of local army and the chief executive for ensuring peace and security in the province of his charge with the help of contingent of army troops through which if necessary he could enforce the will of the emperor or his subedar (governor). Many Zamindars were given powers of Faujdars during the Mughal period.

[26] Kotwal was the head of the city police in urban areas and head of criminal court of the province. During Akbar's period all important cities and towns were placed under the direct charge of the Kotwal. Provincial Kotwal was also incharge of the capital city of the province. Kotwal of district headquarters town was also incharge of its administration and magistrate of criminal court. He acted as censor of morals of citizens.

Collectors of Revenue. Criminal courts were established in 1772 for each district of Bengal. In 1774 Warren Hastings observed due to high standards of evidence demanded by these courts and resultant low rate of convictions, the criminals were encouraged giving rise to high incidence of crime. He, therefore, decided to restore the posts of *Faujdars* (which were abolished earlier by the British officers) as desperate measures to curb rising crime. The Faujdars were reinstated in 1776 by Warren Hastings in wake of renewed threat from Marhattas and rampant dacoities in Bengal. This arrangement was again reversed in 1781 when the then Governor General, took the administration of criminal justice from the Deputy Governor (a native *Zamindar*) and established four councils of circuits.

The Faujdars were again relieved of their duties in 1781 and their functions (mainly of superintendence of the police) were transferred to the (British) Judges of the Diwani Adaluts; who in view of these additional (magisterial) responsibilities were re-designated as Judge-Magistrate. To assist a Judge-Magistrate in discharge of his police duties such as to maintain law and order, he was provided with an establishment which consisted of a jail officer, a few clerks and between 25 and 150 Barakandazes and watchmen. This arrangement continued till 1787 when Cornwallis (1786-1793), the next Governor General, combined the police, judicial and revenue functions and transferred these powers to the Collector. The Collector was also empowered to try minor criminal cases.

Acknowledging, soon, the danger of an unprecedented concentration of power and position in the office of the Collector, Cornwallis under his Regulation XVII of 1793 entitled, "Regulations for the Police of Collectorships of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa"[27],

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[27] Regulation XXII of 1973 was slightly modified on 1st May 1793. It divided city areas into wards. All such Daroghas being under the City-Kotwal, were required to furnish a security of Rs. 5000. The

separated the three functions and went back to the arrangement under the scheme of 1781-82 and introduced a set of measures aimed at improving the police administration[28]. The following were the important provisions:

i. The police in the country should be considered under the exclusive charge of Government and who may be specially appointed to that trust. No *Zamindar* or landholder should maintain any police force or alike establishment.

ii. If the complicity of *Zamindars* or landholders in committing crimes or conniving with criminals is proved, they should be compelled to make good the value of the property stolen or plundered.

iii. Centrally situated police posts (*Thanas*) under the charge of *Darogha* (or Superintendent), with necessary officers to assist him, should be created in every district and the area of operation (of a *Thana*) should not exceed 10 square 'Kose' (about 30 square miles)[29]. The police posts and district should be numbered and named after the central place and these should not be changed without the sanction of the Governor General in Council.

iv. *Daroghas* should be nominated by Magistrates, who were held responsible for selecting persons duly qualified for the trust. *Daroghas* were required to give personal security deposit of Rs. 1000/- and surety bond by two

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Kotwals and the Darogha, were also empowered to hold inquests in case of murder or unnatural death and record confessions of persons apprehended.

[28] In introducing these reform measures, Cornwallis was influenced by continuous tirade of the collectors and the Magistrates against Zamindars and other native institutions for their failure to curb crime and lawlessness. He acceded to their viewpoint by doing away with these native agencies altogether and by propping up the Company's European officers with enhanced powers and pay.

[29] A *Thana* was headed by a Darogha (SHO), who was assisted by a Muharrir (police station clerk), a Jamandar (police head constable) and about ten Barakandazes and a number of watchmen were made incharge of the ***Thana***. The Daroghas were also responsible to manage and control the village police.

creditable persons in Rs. 250/- each for his good conduct.

v. Any complaint of murder, robbery, house-breaking, theft or other crime of offence, cognizable by the criminal courts, were required to be made to the *Darogha* at the jurisdictional police post. The *Darogha* was responsible to apprehend the offender, release him on bail with adequate and solvent surety and forward him to the Magistrate having jurisdiction within twenty-four hours.

vi. The *Darogha* was empowered to arrest any person found in the act of committing a breach of peace, a notorious offender such as a thief, robber, dacoit, and murderer; all vagabonds or suspected persons who might be loitering about his jurisdiction without any ostensible means of subsistence or who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves or the alike. There were various other powers given to the *Darogha* (as available to SHO of today)[30].

3.3.2 Policing during 19th century: 1800-1857

The efforts to find a suitable model of police that can effectively and efficiently deliver continued with the advent of 19th century:

- In 1801 an inquiry into the causes of failure to preserve peace and order in Bengal was ordered by Lord Wellesley, the then Governor General of India.

- In 1802-03, the Cornwallis Code (which remained unchanged for the next twenty years) was extended to areas of Madras Presidency.

- In 1806, Lord Bentinck constituted a police committee in Madras with the same objective.

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[30] Though the Darogha was made a very powerful instrument of administration to maintain peace and order, he had to face penal action if found guilty of corruption, extortion or oppression.

- In 1807, the government again invested *Zamindars* with the police powers and authorized respectable *Zamindars*, farmers and *Tehsildars* to work as police '*Ameens*' (Commissioners) [31]. These powers were, however, yet again withdrawn in 1810.

- In 1808, under Regulation X, new changes were introduced to improve supervision over police with appointment of a European Officer as a Superintendent of Police[32] (with a job description similar to present day Inspector General of Police). The object was to have an officer at the capital of the province that could co-ordinate the activities of district police authorities for the purpose of crime control and prevention of public disorder. This officer was accordingly made a justice of peace having concurrent, and, if necessary, overriding jurisdiction over magistrates. Initially a Superintendent was appointed for the three divisions of Dacca (now Dhaka), Calcutta and Murshidabad.

- In 1810, the jurisdiction of the Superintendent was extended to the Patna Division and one more Superintendent was appointed for the Division of Benares and Bareilly (Curry, 1932) (Lower Provinces).

- In 1812 the Court of Directors (of East India Company) appointed yet another Special Committee to inquire into the administration of justice and police in the Company's territories in India. The report extensively dwelt upon the state

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[31] This predictably aroused an attitude of non-cooperation, if not open hostility, in the well entrenched landed gentry. On the top of this, a sizeable number of Zamindari police and low level policemen were discharged from service resulting in swelling the ranks of criminals. There was, therefore, a marked deterioration in the crime and public order situation in all the areas under British occupation. In order to stem the tide, the company had to protect its pride and once again invest many of the Zamindars with police powers in 1807.

[32] He was empowered to grant pardons and he worked largely with aid of informers and spies (goyendas).

of crime and police particularly in Bengal (the general conditions throughout British India were not very much different). It stated that, "The establishment of an efficient police, though an object of the first importance, appears to be a part of the new internal arrangements in which the endeavor of the supreme Government has been least successful" (Griffiths, 1971). The Committee identified the following factors negatively affecting police performance:-

i.   Magisterial neglect of their police duties in favor of their revenue duties arising out of the union of the offices of Collector and Magistrate.

ii. Jurisdiction and frequent transfer of district officers.

iii. Sense of insecurity among *Daroghas* due to frequent dismissals and a tendency to acquire maximum spoils from their uncertain tenure.

iv. Criminal propensities of *Chaukidars* or village watchmen.

v.   The total wants of cooperation on the part of the people which acted as the greatest impediments to the success of the police operation.

vi. Poor emoluments compelling the incumbents to compensate by other means.

The Committee wrapped up by stating that, in principle, the reintroduction of something close to pre-Cornwallis system was desirable.[33] Some of reform measures suggested by the Committee are including the following[34]:-

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[33] In spite of fact that most of the measures introduced by Cornwallis had to be revoked or drastically modified during the next twenty years, the basic elements of his scheme remained relevant to discussion that continued in British India for next over 60 years for a workable policing system. This is evident from the fact that police administration introduced through Police Act of 1860 finally divested the Zamindars of all their police powers, revived the Thanedari system with stipendiary police officers vested with full responsibility of crime control and prevention and superintendence over the police strengthened while also ending the control of Zamindars over village watchmen.

[34] Some of the recommendations of the Committee were accepted and acted upon. The separation of police functions from revenue and judicial area was implemented and a Superintendent of Police was

i. Collector should cease to exercise magisterial function of control over the police and it should devolve on a separate officer to be called the joint magistrate.

ii. Districts should be subdivided into sub-divisions, in each of which a deputy magistrate should be posted with authority over the police.

iii. Pay structure should be improved.

iv. Village *Chaukidari* system should be reorganized, the *Chaukidars* should be better paid and the responsibility of village officers should be clearly defined and enforced.

- In 1814 the Court of Directors, on the basis of the inquiry report of the Special Committee issued a detailed directive on police administration in areas being administered by the Company. The Court rejected the establishment of *Daroghas* and their subordinates and directed that measures should be taken to restore the Village Police to its former efficiency. The Court also directed that the duties of the Magistrates and the control of police should be transferred from *Zilla* (district) Judge to the Collector.

- In 1816, these directives were given a legal shape under Madras Regulation XI. In 1827 similar system was adopted in Bombay under Regulation XII of 1827. In 1829 through a 'reorganization' ordered by Lord William Bentinck, same arrangement was affected in Bengal. The regulations practically restored the pre-1793 arrangements "whereby revenue, police and judicial functions were combined in the office of the Collector". Resultantly the offices of the two Superintendents (one for the divisions of Dacca, Calcutta, Murshidabad

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appointed. The organizational restructuring of the police and better salary conditions had to be languished for another twenty years and the regular police force was continued to be small and ineffective.

and Patna and the other for the Divisions of Benares and Bareilly) were abolished and their functions were transferred once again to the newly appointed Commissioners of Revenue as a result of 'reorganization' ordered by the then Governor General Lord William Bentinck[35].

Despite a series of experiments to design a suitable policing model there remained a great amount of dissatisfaction with the working of police in India. A Select Committee of British House of Commons, known as 'Bird Committee' during its proceedings looked into the state of crime and policing particularly in Bengal and concluded that the,

> "Subordinates were corrupt, inefficient and oppressive, while the superior officers owing to multiplicity of their duties were unable to exercise an adequate supervision."

Witnesses who appeared before the Committee complained of "corruption and other worthlessness of the *Thanedars*" and "heavy duty and low paid *Chowkidars* were generally admitted to be thieves". The Bird Committee concluded that "in absence of defined duties, rules and regulations, powers and obligations, the village police system was in gross mess". The Bird Committee concluded that the primary reason of police inefficiency was its inadequate supervision and recommended that control over police be an exclusive responsibility of an officer other then the Collector.

A fractional execution of the Bird Committee's proposals[36] resulted in separation of judicial and executive functions by the same officers[37], opening of Sub-Divisional

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[35] However, after realizing the results of inappropriate supervision, a Superintendent of Police for Lower Provinces (Banaras and Bareilly) was reappointed in 1837 to bring improvement in law and order and the Commissioners of Revenue were relieved of their superintendence over the police.

[36] Although all its recommendations were not accepted immediately but the main principles of the system it proposed were implemented in next 25 years.

offices in some parts of the province and appointment of a superintendent of police in each district. Accordingly an exclusive superintendent of police for the Lower Provinces (Banaras and Braily) was reappointed and the Commissioners were relieved of their duties pertaining to "superintendence of police".

- In 1843, another experiment in quest for an effective and efficient policing in India was made in province of Sindh (then Scinde) after its annexation by Sir Charles Napier. He preferred establishing a 'semi-military force' rather than a pure civilian force to cater to the needs of a newly captured area 'which had reputation of being one of the most notoriously crime-ridden parts of the empire'. For this purpose he was greatly inspired from Irish Constabulary model.

  The police force organized by Napier was a separate and self-contained force exclusively meant for maintaining public order and prevention and detection of crime. The internal administration of the force was assigned to the police officers themselves (with a Superintendent appointed in each district) but they were placed under general direction and control of the 'District Officers' (District Magistrate/District Collector), who apart from their revenue collection and judicial functions, were held responsible for executive oversight of the district police. Particularly, they had a dominant role in police functions relating to maintaining law and order. Introduction of this duality of command was a purposeful deviation from the Irish Constabulary model to suit the needs and character of the colonial administration at that time (Griffith, 1971).

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[37] The Bird Committee had recommended functional division of criminal and general administration in three offices: a judge exercising both civil and sessions' jurisdiction, a district magistrate having control over the police and a collector responsible for revenue matters.

- In 1849, immediately after its annexation by the British, the Napier Model was also introduced in Punjab with a few modifications in it e.g. it had two branches: the military preventive police (infantry) which was under control of Chief Commissioner and the civil police of recognized *burkandazes* (cavalry), supervised by the District Magistrate. The same modified system was then extended to most provinces of British India. For instance, Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay was inspired by the Napier model that he introduced reforms in Bombay Police on similar lines in 1853[38].

While the process of restructuring the police force was being carried out in different provinces mainly on pattern of Napier Model, the Torture Commission of 1855 in its report highlighted some of the significant abuses in the police working in Madras.[39] The Commission recommended separation of revenue and police functions and placed the police establishment under independent European officers; who would be asked to give their undivided time and energies exclusively to the control of the force.

The Court of Directors of East India Company in England, in a letter dated, the 24th September, 1856 to the Governor General's Council in India, summed

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[38] For instance a Superintendent was appointed in every district, who while generally being subordinate to the District Magistrate, had exclusive control over his force. The police officers at Tehsil level had same equation with) as existed between the Superintendent and the District Magistrate. The supreme control over the police from the Court or Faujdari Adaulat was transferred to the government. This reform measure did not, however, work well and had to be abandoned in 1855, when the administration of the police was transferred to a Commissioner of Police, who was also Inspector of Prisons.(Fraser Commission Report 1902-3)

[39] One witness stated to the Commission that the police was terror to peaceful and well disposed people of the presidency and not to thieves and rogues. Another witness said that police had become pest and bane of the society, the terror of community and origin of half of the misery and discontent that existed among the subjects of the Government and thus it should be closed down to save the expenses of Government.

up the entire police organization and administration in India in the following words:

> "Our attention has been directed on various occasions, of late, to the character and proceedings of the police in different parts of India and (the reports which from time to time have been laid before us) have combined with many incidental notices of failure, abuse to deepen the conviction that an immediate and thorough reform of the police in all the old provinces of British India is required… It is all but useless for the prevention and sadly inefficient for the detection of crime. Unable to check crime it is, with rare exceptions, unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the functions which it fails to fulfill".

> "It has a very obvious character for corruption. There is, moreover, a want of general organization; the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated"

In view of this indictment of police, the Court of Directors of East India Company, decided in principle that the District Officer (District Collector/District Magistrate) would have no function to interfere in the working of police. They also resolved to commit the police exclusively to a European Superintendent of Police responsible only to his departmental hierarchy. The Directive clearly stated that:

> "The management of the police of each district be taken out of the hands of the Magistrate and be committed to an European officer

with no other duties and responsible to General Superintendent of Police for the whole presidency (Gupta, 1974)."

3.3.4 The War of Independence 1857 and enactment of Police Act 1861

The implementation of Directive of the Court of Directors in 1856, regarding taking the management of police from the Magistrates, would have helped the police of British India to get rid of many of its malfunctions but the events of 1857 changed the entire scenario. Once the revolt or mutiny was successfully quelled, the British Government in India decided to revisit the question of police reorganization and reform afresh. For this purpose a Police Commission was constituted on 17th August, 1860[40].Three main factors seem to have compelled the British rulers to bring some organic change in the system of policing in India (Razvi, 1961):

Firstly, the dual system of military and civil police proved very expensive. This is evident from the Terms of Reference assigned to the Police Commission which included:-

1. To ascertain the numbers and the cost of all police and quasi-police of every description then serving in each province throughout British India who were paid by the Government from the general revenues.

2. To suggest to government any measure either to reduce the expenditure or to increase the efficiency in the existing police forces.[41]

Secondly, there was less harmony in their working as the heads of each system were not the members of the same department.

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[40] The Commission was headed by Mr. M.H. Court of Bengal Civil Service. The other members of the Commission were S. Wancope of Bengal Civil Service, W. Robinson of Madras Civil Service and Lt. Col. Pharye of Pegu.

[41] As a result of police reorganization in Punjab alone, 17 lacs of rupees were saved on account of police expenditure in 1861.

Thirdly, the conflicting functions of a Magistrate and of a Superintendent of Police as vested in one individual (Commissioner) demanded some solution.

For the general guidance of the Commission, the Central Government outlined a model for the reorganization of the police. But this model was not intended to be rigidly adhered to. Its main clauses were:-

- o The police should be entirely subject to the civil executive Government.

- o The duties of the police were to be entirely civil and not military.

- o Their functions were to be either to prevent crime and disorder or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace.

- o The control of the Police to be vested in the hands of the Executive Administration.

- o In organization and discipline it had to resemble a Military body.

- o Only the European Officers to be vested with the powers of appointment and dismissal.

- o The pay of the Police had to vary according to time and place.

- o The Police were to have a uniform dress, and to be given arms according to their duty.

- o The Police officers were to be responsible for the interior economy of the force.

The Commission after a series of consultations with all stakeholders and prolonged deliberations recommended a number of prepositions to organize the police in India on uniform basis. The Commission mainly recommended that:

(a) There should be a complete separation of the military armed force (under military command) from the Civil Constabulary;

(b) The Civil Constabulary for India should be formed on the model of the English and the Irish Constabulary;

(c) The Civil Constabulary should be under the Executive Government for all police purposes: protective, preventive or detective;

(d) There should be unity of action and organization for necessary efficiency and economy;

(e) All separate police and quasi-police bodies should be fused in the new Constabulary;

(f) The new Constabulary to be linked to the village police;

(g) Mounted policemen to be employed only where absolutely necessary;

(h) There was to be no separate detective body, no spies and informers;

(i) There was to be a complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities, i.e. no police officer was to have any judicial function or vice versa;

(j) The police department to be a separate branch of administration with an Inspector-General under each Government;

(k) The Inspector-General to have under him District Superintendent and other subordinates;[42]

(l) The subordinate force to consist of Inspectors, Head Constables, Sergeants, and Constables;

(m) The Head Constable to be in charge of a *Thana* and the Inspector of a group of stations.

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[42] The recommendations did not make any mention of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police, while it recommended that Divisional Commissioner should cease to be Superintendents of Police. However, general control of Commissioners over the criminal administration was not curtailed. It gave the District Magistrates, powers of general control and supervision over the district police.

The Central Government forwarded the Commission's report along with a draft bill to the Local (Provincial) Goverments including the Punjab.[43] On the receipt of comments from the Local (Provincial) Governments, Sir Bartle Frere, the then Home Member, introduced the Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on 29th September 1860. The Bill, as drafted by the Commissioners on the pattern of the British and Irish Constabulary Acts and adapted to Indian conditions, after passing through the several stages of the Legislative Council, was passed into a law as Act V of 1861, on 22nd of March, 1861. Lieutenant Colonel H. Bruce was appointed as Inspector General of Police in India (IGP) to assist the Local (Provincial) Governments in remodeling their Police according to this Act[44].

After the passage of the Police Act, 1861 a Police Department was established as a separate branch of government under an IGP.[45] The IGP was placed under the Local (Provincial) Government and had to correspond directly with the Civil Secretary of the government, the Commissioners of the Divisions, and the Deputy Inspectors General. The IGP was also responsible for the formulation and execution of the police policies, as well as for advising the provincial government on matters concerning police administration in the province. He was empowered to frame such orders and rules, subject to the approval of the Local (Provincial) Government, as he deemed expedient, for the organization, classification and distribution of the police force to

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[43] The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab appointed a Committee of seven members for this purpose. The Committee carefully examined all the propositions and the provisions of a "Draft Bill" as prepared by the Calcutta Police Commission. It was found that to a considerable extent the principles of the new Bill were already introduced in some of the Divisions of the Punjab. It recommended that the rank of DIG should be introduced to facilitate the IG of Police in discharge of his functions. About the Village Police it was suggested that it had better be left to the Local Government.

[44] The Act was permissive in nature as it adoption rested with the local (provincial) government.

[45] The Judicial Commissioner who had hitherto acted as Head of the Civil Police was replaced by an Inspector General. Major George Hutchinson the Military Secretary was appointed as the first IG of Police of Punjab.

make it efficient in the discharge of its duties. The IGP was "assisted by several Deputy Inspector Generals of Police (DIG) posted on a territorial basis, usually each to a group of three to five districts called a range".[46] The DIG was responsible for the supervision of the District Superintendents in his range.

At the district level a Superintendent of Police (SP) was appointed as the head of police force. In larger districts an Assistant District Superintendent of Police was provided to assist the district SP in discharge of his functions. The district SP had no power to make general rules but he could issue special standing orders for local discipline and efficiency[47]. In addition to being accountable to the DIG, the district SP was also responsible to the District Magistrate.

In each *Tehsil* (Subdivision) a Deputy Inspector of Police was appointed as head of the local police. His relationship with *Tehsildar* was same as that of the district SP with the District Magistrate.

The subordinate grades were designated as Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors, Sergeants, and Constables. The *Thana* police and the city watchmen were fused into one, and organized like the regular Constabulary.

3.3.5   Policing during 1861-1947

The police system, envisaged under the Police Act, 1861 was not in any sense a perfect system and efforts to reform it started soon after its enactment. Several police

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[46] The province of Punjab was divided into four Police Circles. Each circle was placed under a Deputy Inspector General. Captain J. W. Younghusband was placed in charge of the Ambala Circle, which consisted of Ambala Thanesar, Ludhiana, Simla, Ferozepor, Delhi, Gurgaon, Kamal, Hissar and Rohtak. Its area was 17,358 square miles. The second Circle was under Captain George McAndrew, and comprised of Lahore, Amritsar Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and Kangra. It covered an area of 14058 square miles. Rawalpindi was the third Circle, Capitain J.N. Miller, being placed in charge of it. He had under him the districts of Rawalpindi, Shahpur, Jhelum, Gujrat, Sialkot and Gujranwala, which covered an area of 21067 square miles. Multan was the fourth and the last of such Circles. It was under Captain R. N. T. Thronson. It was made up of Multan, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Gugaira and Sirsa, and covered an area of 22569 square miles.

[47] Such special standing orders would, however, have no legal sanction to be made into general laws.

commissions/committees were formed to look into the flaws of the system and suggest remedies. However, most of them shied away from taking head on the systemic and structural defects in the system which, too many observers, were cause of other ills in the police. Most important structural flaws included the following:

Firstly, under the Act the IGP (appointed by the federal government) headed the police department in the province. The Act vested the superintendence of the Police directly in the hands of the political executive (through bureaucracy) at the Provincial level and in the hands of District Magistrate at the district level. Thus, it was not an autonomous organization and always remained susceptible to political interference and manipulation. Collusion between the political executive and the bureaucracy was aimed to use the police for doing the dirty job of suppressing political and social dissent. The scheme of things was designed in a way that police becomes bad guy and when it comes to public protest the politician-bureaucratic clique could blame all the ills on police, wash their hand and come clean in front of the public. Later on, once the public protest had subside the police officer suspended, transferred or penalized would be quietly restored to their positions or might be rewarded in better terms. This arrangement suited the police also who could then continue with their illegal activities with impunity in absence of a genuine accountability mechanism. While this arrangement suited politicians, bureaucracy and even police itself, it did so at the cost of violations of citizens' rights and image of the police.

Secondly, the most visible appearance of this arrangement was introduction of a system of dual control of police at the district level[48], where a Superintendent of Police had to perform his functions[49], especially relating to maintenance of order, subject to the lateral general control and direction of the District Magistrate[50] (Section 4 of the Police Act, 1861). In practice, police operations were also controlled and directed at the sub-divisional level by the Assistant Commissioner (who is subordinate to the district magistrate), and at the divisional level, by the Commissioner. The police were impressed upon to act as the 'hands' of the civilian authorities, thereby reducing the former to an agency of the later and practically excluding the IG and his deputies from supervision of police not only in the sphere of law and order but also, to a very large extent, even from its internal administration[51]. This "constant

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[48]There was considerable opposition to the system of dual control at the district level even when it was introduced. In fact, the British government realized that the district system would not work efficiently in metropolitan areas, which faced different police problems. Therefore, the commissionerate system of policing (based on the London Metropolitan Police model) was introduced in certain metropolitan areas like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad. Under this system the responsibility for policing the city/metropolis was vested in the Commissioner of Police.

[49] The SP acted as head of the district police and was responsible for all matters relating to the internal economy of the force, its management and the maintenance of its discipline and the efficient performance of all its duties connected with the prevention, investigation and detection of crime.

[50] The District Magistrate/Deputy Commissioner, a civil servant of the rank of Deputy Commissioner (belonging to Indian Civil Service in United India, Civil Service of Pakistan (1947-1973) and presently to the District Management Group of federal civil services or from Executive Cadre of Provincial Civil Service). He reported to the provincial Chief Executive directly as well as indirectly through a Commissioner (of concerned Division) provincial Home Secretary and Chief Secretary. The District Magistrate was not a police professional but a general administrator whose powers included not only the executive functions (e.g. revenue collection) but some judicial functions as well.

[51] This was done deliberately because the functioning of the District Magistrate as the chief officer of the district was considered essential for the maintenance of British rule in India. The British had realized that to perpetuate their rule in the country they must have system under which the head of the police force in the district was answerable, in addition to his own hierarchy, to the District Magistrate/Deputy Commissioner also.

interference with the authority of senior officers of police," among other things is a "spoiling [of] the discipline of the force" (Suddle, 2001).

Thirdly, the police created through the Act was meant to be, "a more efficient instrument for the prevention and detection of crime", and not aimed to serve, protect or respect citizens as do police organizations in modern societies. So, if the police had just to be a more efficient instrument for prevention and detection of crime, it would have to try to fulfill that purpose by hook or crook; without any regard to rule of law, due process or rights of citizens[52].

Fourthly, the Act gave authority to the government to exercise superintendence over the police, without defining the word "superintendence", or prescribing guidelines to ensure that the use of power would be legitimate.

Fifthly, the Act did not establish any institutional and other arrangements to insulate the police from undesirable and illegitimate outside control, pressures and influence.

Sixthly, the Act did not outline objectives and performance standards, nor did it set up independent mechanisms to monitor and inspect the police performance.

Seventhly, the Act was not in consonance with the requirements of democratic policing as the police was trained to exercise their authority for coercion and frightening the people.

For these deficiencies, there have been always demands from police and public to replace this anachronistic law with a new one to redefine police's role in a drastically changed socio-political environment. For this purpose, Lord Curzon, Governor General, appointed a (Second) Police Commission under Sir Andrew Fraser, Chief

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[52] This has led to frequent assertion by the Police that they have no other societal role to play.

Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The Second Police Commission (1902-1903) went into details of the organizational structure of police at the district level, functioning of the railway police and the river police, recruitment, training and pay structure of different subordinate ranks of police. The Commission concluded that,

> "The police force is far from efficient, it is defective in training and organization, it is inadequately supervised, it is generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive, and it has utterly failed to secure the confidence and cordial cooperation of the people."

The Commission highlighted the unnecessary interferences by the civil authorities and insisted that the District Magistrate should not interfere in matters of discipline of the police force. According to the Commission, the Act of 1861 did not allow the civil authorities to direct day to day police work rather the civil authority was supposed to give directions to the police organization only in specific situations and that routine police work was to be carried out by senior Police officers. However, the Commission favored to maintain the responsibility of the District Magistrate for the preservation of law and order within his district and did not support the Maharaja of *Darbhanga's* minority plea for the separation of the executive and judiciary.

The Fraser Commission recommended that the police force should consist of a European service to be recruited entirely in England through a competitive examination, a provincial service to be locally recruited, an upper subordinate service of inspectors and sub-inspectors and a lower subordinate service of head constables and constables.

On issues pertaining to reorganization and restructuring of force it was recommended by the Commission that larger provinces should be divided into Ranges with DIGs in full administrative charge. It was suggested that specified number of posts of

superintendents should be reserved for the provincial service, a grade of deputy superintendents should be created, the districts should be divided into circles of five to eight *Thanas* each with an inspector in charge, the area of a *Thana* should roughly be 150 square miles, sub-inspector and head constable should be posted at each *Thana*. The creation of a criminal investigation department under a DIG was suggested by the Commission.

About pay, it was suggested that it should give a reasonable living wage for a man. Free quarters were suggested for officers up to the rank of sub-inspectors. However it is apparent that the Commission was not prepared to make the terms and conditions of police rank and file attractive enough. The Commission also desired that the responsibility of the village headmen for the performance of police duties should be revised and to leave watch and ward in the countryside to the village police as it was expedient to relegate the control of petty offences to them or to *panchayats.*

Despite the apparent short comings of the police organization, it seems, the Commission could not effectively deal with the issues pertaining to organizational restructuring or altering the arrangements between the district police and the District Magistrate and was not ready to suggest to fundamentally altering the system established under the Police Act, 1861.

After the Fraser Commission of 1902-03 certain other committees and commissions were formed in different provinces in quest for an ideal police system. For instance in the Punjab Lumsden Committee was constituted in 1925, which in its report presented in 1926 emphasized increasing the number of officers/personnel per *Thana*. In Bengal a committee known as Blandy Gordon committee was constituted which presented its report in 1937. In Bengal another committee namely the *Chokidari* Inquiry Committee presented its report in 1940.

3.4 Policing during post independence period: 1947-2002

Even after creation of Pakistan in 1947, the police continued to operate under the Police Act, 1861. Resultantly, the police behavior and attitude towards citizens remained unchanged. A number of reform efforts were made to reform police and enable it to respond to contemporary socio-cultural dynamics. For this purpose different governments constituted more than two dozen police commissions and committees over past 65 years. Most of them dealt only with operational issues such as, training, promotions, pay and salaries, working of *Thana*s, increased control of inspecting officers and facilitating registration of FIRs etc. Ironically, only a few of these reform bodies took up more strategic and core issues relating to political neutrality, operational autonomy, abolishing the control of magistracy over the police, introduction of civil oversight, and changing the 'police culture'.

The following reform efforts have been since the indepence of the country in 1947:

- 1948- Bill passed by the Sind Assembly to introduce Metropolitan Police System in Karachi
- 1951- Recommendations of Sir Oliver Gilbert Grace
- 1956- Hatch Barnwell Report on Police Welfare
- 1957-Ad hoc Committees on increase of force in Dacca-Narayanganj
- 1961-Police Commission headed by Mr. Justice J.B. Constantine
- 196- Pay & Services Reorganization Committee headed by Justice Cornelius
- 1970-Police Commission headed by Major General A.O. Mitha
- 1972-One man Committee of Mr. G. Ahmed

- 1976-*Thana* Enquiry Committee headed by M.A.K. Chaudhry

- 1976-Law and Order Sub-Committee headed by Ch. Fazal Haque

- 1976-One man Committee of Mr. A. J. Giles of UK on Training Requirements of
  Police

- 1976-Police Reforms Committee headed by Rati Raza

- 1976-Foreign Experts Committee composed of Romanian police officers

- 1981-Orakzai Committee on Police Welfare, Promotion and Seniority Rules

- 1983-Cabinet Committee on Determining the Status of SHOs

- 1983-Police Committee headed by Sahibzada Rauf Ali

- 1985-Police Committee headed by Mr. Aslam Hayat

- 1990-Police Reforms Implementation Committee headed by Mr. M.A.K.
  Chaudhary

- 1995-UN Mission on Organised Crime in Pakistan

- 1996-Japanese Police Delegation on the Police System in Pakistan

- 1997-Committee on Police Reforms headed by Interior Minister

- 1998-Good Governance Group, Recommendations on Police Reforms

- 2000-Focal Group on Police Reforms

- 2001-Think Tank of National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), on Law
  Enforcement and Criminal Justice

The Think Tank of NRB deliberated on various aspects of the Focal Group's blue print of police reforms. NRB proposed repeal of the Police Act, 1861 and replacing it with a new legal framework prepared by it.

3.5   Policing during 2002-2010

Accordingly, the Police Order 2002 was promulgated on 14th August 2002. Some of the main reform areas focused by the Police Order 2002 included the following:

- Operational independence in administrative and financial matters

- Insulation from extraneous interference through establishment of apolitical Public Safety Commissions at the national, provincial and district levels. The Commissions were also to exercise civil oversight over critical aspects of police functioning, approve the annual plan of the police and monitor delivery of performance targets. The Commissions had representation from opposition parties and members of civil society, including one-third reserved seats for women. The Commissions were also meant to provide a measure of protection to the police officers against illegal orders by the executive authorities through a right of recourse.

- External accountability against all serious complaints through an independent statutory body called the Police Complaints Authority.

- Introduction of functional specialization by separating the police's investigative and "watch and ward" functions to ensure quality investigations by a cadre of specialist investigators with help of modern technologies and adherence to standard criminal investigation practices.

- Performance audits of the police by an independent inspectorate of inspections to enable the government and other stakeholders to receive an independent assessment of police performance.

- Introduction of self contained police organizations in big urban centers.

- Assigning roles and responsibilities relating to maintenance of order to local authorities particularly the District *Nazim*.

- Promoting community based policing through introduction of Annual Policing Plans and establishment of Citizens Police Liaison Committees.

- The Police Order 2002 tried to strengthen the internal police accountability by criminalising a range of police malpractices such as non-registration of crime reports (FIRs), vexatious entry, search, arrest, seizure of property, and use of torture and third degree, delay in bringing to court any arrested person or in notifying the court of the grounds of arrest.

If properly and sincerely implemented, the Police Order 2002 could provide the basis for a modern and progressive 21st century system of policing. However, the Police Order 2002 in its original form could exist only for two years and was amended in November 2004 after the political governments were installed in the provinces. These amendments introduced certain basic modifications in the law which included the following:

- Provincial Police Officer (PPO) was to be appointed out of a panel of 3 police officers recommended by the National Public Safety Commission (NPSC) from a list provided by the federal government. However, this function of NPSC was taken away under amendments introduced in 2004. Similarly the federal government could prematurely recall a PPO only with the agreement of the NPSC but no agreement with NPSC was now required.

- The administrative and financial powers given to PPO as ex-officio Secretary to the provincial government were diluted by defining superintendence as supervision of police by the appropriate government through policy oversight

and guidance, and in case of a province; to be exercised through the Chief Secretary and the provincial Home Department.

- The condition that a PPO could be transferred before the expiry of three years by the provincial government only with the agreement of the Provincial Public Safety Commission was withdrawn. The change virtually restored the status that prevailed prior to the Police Order 2002.

- The Public Safety Commission could initiate a case for premature transfer of the PPO on grounds of unsatisfactory performance of duties but now it could only recommend to the provincial government for premature repatriation of the PPO or CCPO.

- The Provincial Police Officer could appoint a City police Officer (CPO) or a District Police Officer (DPO) in consultation with the Government. Instead of consultation the approval of the Government was now mandatory.

- The City Police Officer or District Police officer could be transferred before completion of   normal tenure of 3 years on specific grounds such as inefficiency and ineffectiveness but subject to following conditions:

  - Concurrence of the *Zila Nazim* and District Public Safety Commission

  - Personal hearing of the officer by District Public Safety Commission

- Separate chain of command for investigation functions with designated officers at provincial, district and *Thana* level. However, the officers in-charge of investigations were subjected to general control of DPO and SHO in addition to being responsible to their separate hierarchy under the amendments.

- *Zila Nazim* had nothing to do with the Performance Evaluation Report of the Head of the district Police. However, *Zila Nazim* was now empowered to write

the manuscript report of the Head of District Police in the specified part of the PER.

- Police Complaint Authorities were merged with District Public Safety Commissions with later re-designated as District Public Safety and Police Complaints Commissions. Composition of District Public Safety Commissions was changed in following manner:

  o Instead of half of its members to be elected by *zila* council from its members it could now elect only 1/3rd of its members for this purpose while 1/3rd members were to be appointed from amongst the MNAs of the district as ex-officio members.

  o The number of independent members was reduced from half to 1/3rd

  o The composition of Selection Panel constituted for selection of these independent members which originally consisted of District & Sessions Judge (chairperson) a nominee of provincial government and one the District government was also changed with one nominee of Provincial Public safety and Police Complaints Commission replacing the nominee of the district government.

  o Selection Panel was required to select independent members of the district public safety commission by consensus, instead now it could select independent members by majority vote.

  o The chairperson of DPSC to be elected by members from amongst themselves instead of being alternated annually between independent and elected members was now to be elected for 3 years.

- Provincial Public Safety Commission was to be established consisting of 12 members and the ex-officio chairperson provincial home minister. It included

half of its members nominated by the speaker of the provincial Assembly from amongst its members - 3 each from the treasury and opposition in consultation with leader of the house and leader of the opposition; (b) other half as independent members to be appointed by the government from a list of names recommended by the Provincial Selection Panel. The composition of the members of the Provincial Public Safety Commissions was changed with no of MPAs from treasury enhanced from 3 to 4 and number of opposition members reduced from 3 to 2. Composition of Provincial Selection Panel for 6 independent members also changed with provincial ombudsman appointed as chairperson of the Panel instead of Chief Justice of High Court and nominee of governor being replaced by chairperson of provincial public service commission. The functions of Police Complaints Authorities merged with Provincial Public Safety Commissions.

- The Public Safety Commissions at all levels could not make any difference in the oversight of police mainly due to their diminished role as well as diluted bipartisan nature. They could neither insulate police from extraneous interference nor could they provide relief to public in complaints against police.

- Similarly, although the investigation was separated, though not whole heartedly, by grouping officials under investigation wing, no effort was made to enhance the skills of investigation officers, to improve forensic support and provide infrastructure to the investigation officers.

- Citizen Police Liaison Committees could not be established as envisaged and wherever they were established they could not replicate the performance of CPLC Karachi, from where the idea was borrowed.

- Giving *Zila Nazim* the power to comment on the PER of DPO further politicized the police.

In this backdrop it can be concluded that the Police Order 2002 which was promulgated with avowed objectiv*es of insu*lating police from political interference, making police operationally independent, publically accountable functionally specialized, administratively efficient and service oriented failed to achieve its objectives primarily for two reasons: lack of political will to support the reforms in a sustained manner; and secondly, the institutions created through borrowed ideas did not match their local environment. Thus, the public expectations of seeing a professional, corruption free service oriented police culture could not materialize.

The Police Order 2002 was placed in Schedule Six of the Constitution, when the parliament passed the 17th amendment in the Constitution in 2003. Under this arrangement, it could not be amended for a period of six years without the prior consent of the President of Pakistan. After the expiry of this deadline in 2009, the Parliament could now amend the law without the previous sanction of the President.

In the meantime, however, the provinces of Baluchistan and Sindh have abrogated the Police Order 2002. The legality of this decision was challenged in superior courts. While in case of Baluchistan, the Baluchistan High Court has declared this act of provincial government ultra vires, the petitions against Sindh governments' decision are still sub judice. Although the provinces, under Article 184 of the Police Order 2002 can amend it with the prior approval of the Prime Minister to meet their specific requirements and circumstances, they cannot completely repeal it. According to Mr. Afzal Ali Shigri, a former IGP and one of experts closely associated with drafting of the new law, the impression that the Police Order 2002 is no more in the field and each province is free to enact its own police law is erroneous.

Apart from the Police Order 2002 (and the Police Act, 1861 which is still operative in Sindh, Baluchistan, Islamabad, Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan) others important laws which pertain to police powers and procedures include the Pakistan Penal Code 1860, Criminal Procedures Code 1898, Law of Evidence (Qanun-ie-Shahdat) 1984 and the Police Rules 1934.

In Pakistan the policing is provincial matter hence each province and region has a separate police organization. Thus there are four provincial police organisations i.e.Punjab Police, Sindh Police, Khyberpakhtunkhwa Police and Balochistan Police. Similarly three regions enjoying special constitutional status i.e. Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad have separate police organisations. All these organizations used to have same legal framework. i.e Police Act 1861 until 2002 when it was replaced with the Police Order 2002 in the Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan. However, subsequently Sindh and Balochistan reverted to Police Act of 1861 and presently, apart from Punjab and KPK, all other provincial and regional police are being regulated under Police Act 1861. The basic administrative, hierarchical and organisational structure of all the police forces is largely same though they differ in the number of police officers and area of responsibility. The size of each police organization is given in the table below:

Table   3.1 Size of the Police Organizations in Pakistan

Sr. No.	Police organization	Number of employees
1.	Punjab Police	175,000
2.	Sindh Police	111,000
3.	Khyber Police	65,000
4.	Balochistan Police	32,000
5.	Islamabad Capital Territory Police	10,000
6.	Azad Jammu Kashmir Police	5,700
7.	Gilgit Baltistan Police	5,685

Source: Policing in Pakistan: An overview of institutions, debates and challenges; UNODC, 2012.

At federal level there are two other police forces i.e., Pakistan Railways Police (7, 310) and National Highways and Motorways Police (5,000). The provincial police forces are organized almost on similar lines. The basic police service delivery point is *Thana* (Police Station). In a bigger *Thana* there are also one or more police posts. The head of *Thana* is designated as Station House Officer or SHO. Usually he is in the rank of a Inspector or Sub Inspector. A cluster of two to four *Thana*s is designated as a Sub Division and supervised by a Deputy/Assistant Superintendent of Police. Next administrative tier in Police is District Police Officer who supervises all the policing in a district.

The basic organizational structure and procedural framework is greatly similar in different provinces. However, in certain areas the socio-cultural context has important impact on police culture. For instance due to egalitarian nature of the society, the police in KP is not widely believed to be indulging in torture, humiliation and excessive use of violence against suspects. Similarly, in urban areas like Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi due to high literacy rate and media exposure the police practices have seen some improvements in recent years. In rural Sindh, due to continuation of strong feudal culture, the police practices are still very repressive and retrogressive. In Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and in major parts of Balochistan the policing is carried out through primitive styled force called Levies. Despite these variations, in the police practices, procedures and attitudes in different regions, the broad nature of policing, legal framework and socio-political framework is largely same across Pakistan. In this context the study though carried out in a rural *Thana* of the Punjab, the conclusions and recommendations are greatly relevant to other police organizations also.

3. 6   Conclusion

Though some kind of arrangements for crime control and order maintenance had existed, in one form or another, throughout the history of Indian subcontinent; the police in its present shape was evolved mainly during the British era. After a series of experimentation; basically aiming to reconcile the two conflicting objectives of developing a modern police and effectively controlling the local population, the British succeeded in enacting a basic police law known as the Police Act, 1861- which continue to exist in one form or the other in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The first major attempt to revisit the Police Act, 1861 was made in 1902 when Lord Curzon the Governor General of India formed the second police commission to recommend reforms in police in India.Since then over two dozens commissions and committees have looked into various aspects of policing and suggested measures to improve it. The most significant reform effort was the promulgation of the Police Order 2002 which replaced Police Act, 1861.

As the basic objective of policing, prior, during and after the British period, was mainly to control the local populations and use the coercive police powers to maximize tax and revenue collection the police system has been inherently suppressive and authoritatraian in nature. There was little emphasis either in organizational philosophy or strategy on service or responsiveness to citizens. During the post independence era police was highly politicized as it was used by political and social elites to promote their influence and interests. Police was no longer a bipartisan, neutral independent law rnforcement entity. Highly politicized, underresourced and ill equipped police often conducted itself arbitrarily and unprofessionally resulting in further erosion of legitimacy.

Efforts to reform police were fiercly resisted by powerful interest groups particularly the politicians and the bearucracy who feared loosing control and hold over police.The Police Order 2002 which promised to transform the police into a citizen friendly, and accountable organization was not fully implementred and was even scrapped in the some provinces. As a result policing in Pakistan is still hinged to 19th century legal and administrative framework.

Chapter 4

Profile of the Research Area and Respondents

4.1   Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed profile of the locale, both the village *Jahanabad* and police station *Shahpur* where the rsearch was conducted. Its also gives profiles of the respondents contacted during the research. It provides a perspective to ensuing discussion in subsequent chapters. More importantly, the chapter examines the world that exists inside a police station. This includes some discussion on working and daily routines of the staff and their interaction with visitors/complainants.

4.2   Geography of the locale

As briefly discussed in chapter 1, the locale of the study is comprised of village *Jahanabad* and the premises of *Thana Shahpur*[54] Saddar. Both the places are administratively situated in Tehsil *Shahpur*, a Tehsil/subdivision of District[55] Sargodha[56] - one of the 34 districts of the Punjab province. A major reason for selecting this locale for the present study is that *Shahpur* was originally one of the

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[54] It lies on the river Jhelum. Its old name was Rampur and it had a majority Hindu population until the 17th century. The name changed after the arrival of a Sufi saint Shah Shams Sherazi from Delhi. There was a small cantonment in the town also the British era. The town had remains of an old fort over which now many houses have been built.

[55] District is an administrative unit for administrative, judicial, police and revenue puposes. Police is headed by a District Police Officer. It is divided in to 3-4 Tehsils or subdivision (with police headed by a Sub Dividional Police Officer) while in each subdivision there are atleast 3 Thanas (headed by the SHO) on everage.

[56] There are several theories as to the origin of the word Sargodha One theory suggests that it may have been derived from the Sanskrit word" Svargadhaama, "meaning "heavenly abode" other suggests that the name Sargodha is derived from the combination of two words "Sar" and Godha. It is believed that there was an old pond in the middle of present day Sargodha city called 'Sar' (in local language), where an old Hindu monk (Sadhu) with the name of 'Godha' used to live. So the people started calling the place as Sargodha.

oldest districts of Punjab, created in 1893. Although *Shahpur* was degraded to a *Tehsil* in 1960 and *Sargodha* was elevated as a district[57]. District *Sargodha* is located between two rivers, *Chenab* and *Jhelum*. It is connected with Lahore-Islamabad (M-2) motorway at three different locations. The district has an area of 5,864 square km[58] and borders with the districts of Jhelum on the north, Jhang on the south, Mandi Bahaudin on the northeast, Hafizabad on the south east and Khushab on the west. District headquarters, Sargodha city, is located at 172 km from Lahore (the provincial capital) and 200 km from Islamabad (the federal capital).

4.3   History of the locale

History of the locale (as part of erstwhile district *Shahpur* and present day district *Sargodha*) is not very different from rest of the northern and central Punjab. The area suffered various local and foreign invasions, occupations, destructions and settlements. All these developments played an important role in shaping citizens' perceptions of state, its functionaries and legitimacy of their actions. A detailed discussion on the issue is contained in later chapters. For any deeper understanding of the construction of police as an historical process a brief overview of historical developments and their impact on local population and institution will, therefore, be instructive. The first tangible account of the area is given in *King Babar's* memoirs, *'Tuzk-ie-Baburi',*[59] where he wrote about the prevailing political conditions in the area and observed that, "The Government of Bhera[60], Khushab[61] and Chenab[62] was

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[57] Shahpur city remained the headquarters of district Shahpur until 1914 when it was shifted to Sargodha city.

[58] Travel and Tourism in Pakistan: http://www.findpk.com/cities/Explorer-pakistan-Sargodha.html

[59] Tuzk-i-Baburi (Baburanamah) is the autobiography of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India.

[60] Bhera is a small city on the Jhelum River in Sargodha District.

held by Sayed Ali Khan who read the Khutba (Sermon) in the name of Iskander Bahlol, and was a subject to him. Being alarmed at my inroad he abandoned the town of Bhera, crossed the river Behat (Behat is still the local name for Jhelum) and made Sirkot (presently called Shorkot), a place in the district of Bhera, his capital. After a year or two, the Afghans having conceived suspicions against Sayed Ali on my account, he became alarmed at their hostility, and surrendered his country to Daulat Khan, who was governor of Lahore. Daulat Khan gave Bhera to his eldest son Ali Khan, by whom it was now (1519) held'' (Fredrick, 2004).

Ali Khan and his father were governors under the *Lodhi Dynasty*, then represented by Ibrahim Lodhi*,* the last of his line. Shortly before the above passage, Babur speaks of the country of Bhera, Khushab, Chenab and Chiniot as having been long in the possession of the Turks[5], and ruled over by the family of Timur Lung [63]and his adherent and dependents, ever since his invasion of India in 1398. It is said that during the later years of Muhammad Shah's reign [64](one of the last Mughal Kings), the affairs of Bhera and the surroundings as far south as *Shahpur*, were administered by Raja Salamat Rai[65], a Khatri[66] of Anand clan; and the tracts lying to the south of

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[61] Khushab city and district headquarter in the Punjab province of Pakistan

[62] The Chenab River is a major river of Jammu and Kashmir and the Punjab in Pakistan.

[63] Timur Lung: historically known as Tamerlane was a Turk, who conquered West, South and Central Asia, and the found the Timurid dynasty. He invaded India in 1398, and ruled Central Asia from 1411 to 1449. He was the great-great-grandfather of Babur, founder of the Mughal Empire, which ruled South Asia for centuries

[64]Muhammad   Shah   (1748 – 1702)   also   known   as Roshan   Akhtar,   was   a Mughal emperor of India between 1719 and 1748

[65] Raja Salamat Rai, of the Anand tribe, administrated Bhera and the surrounding country during the region of Muhammad shah.

[66] Khatri is a caste from the northern Indian subcontinent.

the district and along the Chenab formed part of the territory delegated to the charge of Maharaja Kaura Mal[67], the Governor of Multan.

Following the decline of Mughal authority in India in 18th century, the remote position of this tract of country did not altogether save it from the calamities, emanating from such a chaos and anarchy. In 1757 A.D Ahmad Shah Abdali [68]sent a force under Nur-ud-Din Bamizai to assist his son Timur, in repelling the Marhattas crossing the river Jhelum at Khushab. Nur-ud-Din Bamizai marched up to the left bank of the river and after finding that the inhabitants would not pay the large ransom demanded of them, successively plundered and burnt down three largest towns of the area. Two of these, Bhera and Miani, rose again on their ruins, but of the third, Chak Sahnu, nothing remains but a mound. After the final success of the Sikhs against Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1767, the whole of the Salt Range was overrun and appropriated by Chattar[69] Singh of Sukar-Chakia Misl, while the Bhangis took possession of areas between Salt Range [70]and the Chenab as far nearly as Sahiwal[71]; dividing it out among themselves. The Muslim tribal chiefs of Sahiwal, Mitha Tiwana [72]and Khushab struggled finally, when Man Singh[73]and his son Ranjit Singh[74]

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[67] Diwan Kaura Mal, was Sahajdhari Sikh and trusted officer under the Mughals in the eighteenth century Punjab, originally from a village near Shorkot in Jhang district.

[68] Ahmad Shah Durrani (1726–1773) was the founder of the Durrani dynasty in Afghanistan. He invaded India four times.

[69] Chattari: Chhatri or Chatri, is the mother caste of Suryavanshi Rajputs which originated from Rajputana (Rajasthan).

[70] Salt Range is a hill system in the Punjab province of Pakistan, deriving its name from its extensive deposits of rock salt. The range extends from the Jhelum River to the Indus, across the northern portion of the Punjab province

[71] Sahiwal is a city in Punjab, province of Pakistan.

[72] Mitha Tiwana is the third biggest city of Khushab District and having status of Municipal Committee of Khushab District in the Punjab Province of Pakistan

[73] Raja Shri Man Singh Ji Saheb (13 November 1780 – 20 June 1839) was the first Maharaja of the Sikh Empire in India.

[74] Maharaja Ranjit Singh (13 November 1780 – 20 June 1839) was the first Maharaja of the Sikh Empire.

acquired ascendancy and succeeded in taking control of Miani[75], Bhera, Khushab and Sahiwal. They became the masters of the whole territory.

During the Mughal era a system of Punj Hazaari was prevalent through which the state (or empire in those times) exercised its writ or interacted with citizens through a set of intermediaries. The system was designed to ensure that at the time of war the person who has been made in charge of a particular area can muster up a *lashkar* of 5000 men[76]. A more devolved system was subsequently evolved whereby the local '*mansabdars*' and '*jagirdars,*' in lieu of their allegiance, payment of revenue and other forms of financial support to the provincial governor or emperor were delegated complete authority to govern the affairs of their estates or '*jagirs*'. The '*jagirdars*' would have a whole stretch of area under them, containing dozens and sometimes hundreds of villages. The inhabitants of these villages would be called '*Riyaya*'. The '*jagirdars*' would sometimes adopt extortionist means to get maximum revenue collected or to maintain their hold.

The elite which mainly consisted of landed aristocracy and the new corps of loyalists created by the British in shape of '*lamabardars*' and '*zaildars*' played an important role in perpetuation of the British rule in India. A few excerpts from Gazetteer of District *Shahpur* (Government of the Punjab, 1934) would amply illustrate the role of local notables in quelling discontentment against the colonial rulers:

> "As soon as the war was over attempts were made to excite disaffection in
>
> the district, more especially by means of working on the sympathies of
>
> *Musalmans* for the old regime in Turkey. The *Khilafat* movement found

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[75] Miani is town in Sargodha District, Bhalwal Tehsil Punjab province.

[76] The modern day reincarnation of Punj Hazari is the local politician who is given unofficially and informally charge of a particular area, if he had been able to collect sufficient number of votes on Election Day and could win the election. In the locale of shortly it was informed that former MPA, Mr. Mazhar Qureshi and current MPA Shezadi Umer Tiwana act as the virtual ruler of the area.

its chief support in the Salt Range where the isolated and backward villages of Mardwal and Uchhala gave a good deal of trouble. The staunchness, however, of the *Zaildars* and other leaders of the public opinion in the salt Range prevented any serious outburst of public feeling, until the *Khilafat* bubble was finally pricked by the action of the Turks themselves in disowning the *Khilafat* movement".

"An attempt was made in December 1924 by Maulvi Zahur Ahmad of Bhera to work upon the religious feelings of the inhabitants of the Salt Range at Surakki village, which had one of the best recruiting records during the war. He attempted to persuade the people to demolish the memorial stone placed by the Punjab Government in the village to commemorate its war services. He was however, stoutly opposed by the aged *Lambardar* of the village Ali Muhammad, and assisted by his son Sahib Khan who was on leave from his regiment at the time. A riot nearly ensued, but was averted by the influence of the acting Zaildar Risaldar Sajawal Khan of Kufri. Maulvi Zahur Ahmed was bound down to be of good behavior and the incident thus terminated. The family of the *Lambardar* was rewarded by the allotment of a vacant horse-breeding grant of two squares in the Lower Jhelum Canal Colony."

"During the troubles in 1919 at Amritsar, Gujranwala and elsewhere the district remained quit. Subsequently agitators began to visit Sargodha from time to time, and efforts were made by various members of the Bar to encourage disaffection, partly in connection with the general *Khilafat* agitation, which was going on at the time, but more particularly in order to assist the meetings of the Congress elsewhere in the Province. The wiser

heads if the district, however, remained aloof from these movements, and the influence of *Tiwana Maliks*, and other leading residents, was so strong that, except in Sargodha and a few other towns, the district remained on the whole unaffected. Even in Sargodha, where at one time *Hartals* (strikes) were attempted with considerable prospects of success, the courageous action of *Shaikh Daswandhi*, a Municipal Commissioner, who was made *lambardar* of the civil station in recognition of his services in keeping his shops opened and preventing the *Hartals* from becoming complete success, rendered the whole agitation abortive."

The above passages make it clear that the British created certain institutions such as '*zaildar*', '*lambardar*' and '*jagirdars*' (who were granted big chunks of land as reward for their loyalty and services) to create their own constituency and rule the indigenous population through them. They, apparently, were from the community and acted as intermediary between state institutions and the citizens but practically they acted as promoter and protector of interests of rulers.

This system was largely prevalent till early seventies in much of the rural Punjab. However, rise of Mr. Bhutto and Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) served a serious blow to this system from which it could never recover. Though the remnants of system still continue to exist in parts of the Punjab and Sindh but things have greatly changed. It is interesting to note that despite decline in their feudal status the feudal families were able to continue their hold on power base through entering into the politics, army and bureaucracy: the three traditional pillars of power in Pakistan.

However, one thing which has not changed much is the way political authority is delegated at regional and local levels. The state continued to delegate political authority at local and district levels to create its own cadre of loyalists. During Ayub

Period it was 'Basic Democrats', during Bhutto era PPP MNA/MPAs and local office holders of the ruling party, in Zia era Chairmen *Zila* Councils, during Nawaz and Benazir government again MNA/MPAs, during Musharaaf era District *Nazims* and again during post 2008 era PPP government the MNAs/MPAs.

4.4   Civil administration of the locale

Thana Shahpur Saddar and village *Jahanabad* was originally a part of district *Shahpur* till 1934. District *Shahpur* was relegated to the status of a Tehsil of the new district Sargodha (Haily, 1872-1969). District Sargodha was separated from Rawalpindi division[77] and became the headquarters of the newly created Sargodha Division. The new division consisted of four districts i.e. Sargodha, Khushab, Mianwali, and Bhakkar. The Division was abolished in the year, 2000 as a part of the Devolution Plan of government under the rule of General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008), which aimed to reduce the role of bureaucracy and resultantly introduced a system of district. However, following the national elections of 2008, General Musharraf regime ended and Pakistan Muslim League (N) government was installed in the province of Punjab. The new government, with strong disliking for General Musharraf (who had staged a coup d'état against the PML (N) governments in the center and Punjab), restored the Divisions and also done away with the district governments by sacking the elected District Nazims.

District Sargodha consists of 6 Tehsils, 161 Union Councils and 845 villages. The literacy rate of the district is approximately 66.69%.[78]

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[77] Division was an administrative unit where 4-5 districts were clubbed together and placed under administrative control of a Commissioner.

[78] Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan 2011

4.5   Police administration of the locale

In the police administration, a Regional Police Officer (RPO) heads the police department at divisional level, the District Police Officer (DPO) heads police at district level, a Sub Divisional Police Officer (SDPO) at sub divisional or Tehsil level and a Thanedar or SHO at *Thana* level. In the police hierarchy SHO reports to the SDPO who in return works under the supervision of DPO. *Thana* is most basic and fundamental operational and administrative unit in police department and its jurisdiction spreads over around two dozen villages. It is, primarily, responsible for maintenance of law & order, security and crime control in its area of jurisdiction. In this way the *Thana* (police station) is an important lynchpin in not only police hierarchical structure but also in overall civil administration.

4.6   Village *Jahanabad*

The village takes its name from its founder Malik Jahan Khan, who was given a big land holding in the area by the British government in 1876.

4.6.1   Population

The village comprises of 1073 households. The village is divided into three blocks, categorized as 4, 5 and 6 having 457, 407 and 209 houses respectively; with a total estimated population of 5,292 individuals (Estimates are based on Housing Census of 2011).

According to 1998 census of Pakistan, the *Shahpur* had a population of 274,000. Due to high population growth rate population in the area has increased manifold. But interestingly the corresponding increase in number of policemen has not occurred. Moreover with number of persons in youth bracket is going higher; the incidence of juvenile delinquency has also on the rise. With higher unemployment rate juvenile delinquency and criminal tendencies having gone up. Accumulatively higher

population growth rate, youth bulge, higher unemployment rate, and delinquency among them have severely constrained police resources and capabilities. Resultant failure of police to respond the emerging challenges have further widened the caveat between police and community.

4.6.2 Economy

Historically the area had largely an agrarian based economy, with few industrial units (mainly sugar and flour mills). Some of the main crops include *citrus, wheat, rice, and sugarcane*. Variety of oranges (locally known as *kinnow*), guavas and mangoes are the main fruits grown in *Shahpur*. The main livestock of the area includes goats, sheep and buffaloes. Apart from agricultural goods and livestock, small scale commerce also contributes to the economy of *Shahpur*. The local *zamindars*/landlords have developed a range of crops and animal breeding programs.

The *zamindars* have been the main beneficiaries of the system as they had not only economic power but were also sole custodian of social and economic power. This made them highly influential in matters relating to revenue and police administration. With slight shifts in structures of the economy and commercial/business, industrial and persons enriched by overseas remittances making forays into economic arena. The role of *zamindars* as sole arbitrators of the political, social and administrative affairs in the area have undergone sufficient changes, the expansion in the group of influential persons has led to more individuals and groups sharing the control and influence over police; thus further exacerbating the role of police as a neutral institution. A detailed discussion on the relationship between economy and police will be carried in later part of this study.

4.6.3 Landscape and climate

Shahpur mainly comprises of flat, fertile plains. The *River Jhelum* flows on the western and northern sides and the *River Chenab* lies on the eastern side. The area has extreme climate with maximum temperature reaches 48 °C (122 °F) in the summer, while the minimum temperature recorded is as low as freezing point in the winter. Looking at climate of the area is useful as extreme weather conditions have impact on the psyche, behavior and crime pattern of the people. For instance *Uniform Crime Reports* of *Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)* state that climate has an independent impact on the variation of crime rates among places. (James W. DeFronzo, *1984)*

Similarly, geography also impacts on behavior of inhabitants and crime patterns of an area. For example as the district is bordered by two rivers, the criminal elements find an easy hideout in riverside areas or *bellas*. Cattle lifting are common in the district as they are transported to other districts across the river. People living close to river belt are prone to floods and are not economically sound hence more vulnerable to criminality and consequential police action.

4.6.4 Castes

An important feature of social stratification and identification in the locale, as is common in other parts of the Punjab, is the *caste system*. A reference to castes is important in context of studying the police-community relationship and interaction. The major castes inhabiting *Shahpur* include *Tiwanas, Harrals, Balochs, Laks, Kashmiris, Nagyanas, Syeds* and *Qureshis*. Moreover, there are some other castes,

though less in numbers, including the *Jats, Rajputs, Khokhars, Awans, Arains, Malihars, Ahirs, Syalls, Mughals, Tarrars, Kamboh,* and *Sheikh* [79].

The major communities in *Jahanabad* are *Tiwanas, Kashmiris* and *Awans,* however, some families belong to *Bachars* and *Maikkans* castes as well. A brief profile of each community is given below to illustrate socio-political dynamics of rural society and their implications for '*Thana* culture'.

Table 4 given below shows the distribution of accused person according to their castes. It is interesting to note that there is no set pattern of any particular castes but it is evident that Muslim Sheikhs, members of a low caste community, have highest number of accused persons in the village. It was informed that usually cases against members of high caste families pertain to murder, injury or possession of weapons (when they are involved in murder or hurt cases), whereas the cases registered against members of lower castes pertain to theft, burglary, dacoity, rape, drugs, liqour etc.

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[79] Haily. (1872). A study in British imperialism of criminal acts, published: 25 March 2010 vol: 35, issue 04, University of Cambridge.

Table 4.1   **Caste-wise Distribution of Accused Persons of Village *Jahanabad* in Cases Registered at *Thana Shahpur Saddar* from 2005 – 2010**

Year	Castes														
	Sayed	*Awan*	*Jatt*	*Gondal*	*Bhachar*	*Luk*	*Kashmiri*	*Pathan**	*Machi*	*Kasab*	*Lohar*	*Faqeer*	*Muslim sheikh*	*Nutt*	*Unknown*
2005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0
2006	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	1	0	11	1	7
2007	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0	3
2008	1	0	1	0	5	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	7	0	4
2009	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	7
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	2	0	1
No Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	1	1	2	3	9	6	0	1	9	1	1	4	41	1	23

*   In rural area of Punjab especially in reffered police station record, *Pathans* are reffered as caste.

- A single case against Sayed family was registered u/s 13 of Arms Ord 1965.

- A single case against Awan family was registered u/s 13 of Arms Ord 1965.

- Jatt are involved in 2 cases (U/S 14-6-79, 379/411 PPC & U/S 13-20-65 AO)

- Gondal are involved in 3 cases (U/S 13-20-65 AO, U/S 285, 286, 377 ii PPC, U/S 9-B/ CNSA)

- Bhachars are in volved in 9 cases.

- Luk are involved in 6 cases

4.6.4.1 *Tiwanas*

The founder of the village, *Malik Jahan khan*, belonged to *Hidalli*, a village in present day district Khushab. He was a scion of the famous *Tiwana* family of *Hidalli* and was rewarded for their support, extended to the British government during its wars with the *Sikhs*. A big chunk of land in and around present *Jahanabad* was gifted to *Malik Jahan Khan,* who brought land tillers from *Hidalli* and other places including adjacent river belts to cultivate this land. These people settled in the village as personal servants of the *Tiwana* family and were usually called as *Riyaya* or subjects. He had two sons *Nawab Muhammad Mubaraz Khan Tiwana* and *Nawab Major Mumtaz Khan Tiwana*. *Nawab Muhammad Mubaraz Khan* was awarded *Victoria Cross* and 250 acres of land for gallantry services in the then Indian army.

Nawab Mumtaz Khan also joined the British Indian Army and retired as a Major. He is reported to have declined to fight against Egypt, for which he was reportedly imprisoned for some time. In 1946, he joined *All India Muslim League* on insistence of *Quaid-ie-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, President of the League and founder of Pakistan. He contested elections in 1946, as a Muslim Leaguer, against his cousin Nawab Khizar Hayat Tiwana of Unionist Party of Punjab. It is reported that initially he was hesitant to oppose his own cousin in a political contest but could not refuse *Quaid-ie-Azam*. It is interesting to note that, as punishment for this 'crime' his son *Azizullah Tiwana* was reportedly arrested and imprisoned for some time, when *Nawab Khizar Hayat Tiwana* became the Chief Minister of the united Punjab. *Nawab Mubaraz Khan Tiwana* is said to have founded *Islamia High School Shahpur,* on the exhortation of *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan*[80].

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[80] A well known Muslim educationist and political thinker who stressed upon Muslims to adapt to English education system otherwise they will lag behind the Hindu community who were quick to switch over to new system.

Tiwanas are the traditional *Lambardars* and landlords of the area. They have considerable influence in the elections of members for local, provincial and national assembly from their respective areas. A considerable number of people from the village, who hold positive opinion about the family, still consider *Tiwana* family as the genuine head and leader of the village (Tiwana and Singh, 2009).

4.6.4.2 *Awans*

Awans write *Maliks,* as title before their names. A large number of *Awans* live in districts of *Chakwal, Attock and Khushab*. *Awans* were initially brought to *Jahanabad* by *Tiwana* family from village Jabi of district Khushab as tillers (*Muzaray*) for their lands. *Abi Zar Awan, Ghaiya Awan,* and *Qasim Awan* were the first to come and settle in *Jahanabad* in 1901. When the government of President Ayub Khan (1958-1969) introduced his agricultural reforms, *Awans* benefitted from this measure and got 8 Acres of land from *Tiwanas*, in their capacity of tillers of the land. Despite acquisition of land, the status of *Awans* largely remained the same till 1990 and presently around 43 homes belong to *Awan* families. Total *Awan* population in *Jahanabad* is over 200 individuals.

On the whole *Awan* families can be placed in the category of lower middle class. Most of the families own not more than 3 acres of land each. Majority of their male members are employed as drivers, conductors, laborers or farmers and few are employed as personal servants with well off Kashmiri families. In terms of better economic and social status, the only exception in *Awan* community is family of Mr. Maqbool Awan, a former *Nazim* of Union Council. The *Nazim* family, as they are popularly known, own two cars and individuals houses for each of five brothers.

Very few people in the *Awan* community are well educated. One person is a graduate, two are intermediate (Higher Secondary School) and six are matriculate. They belong to *Brelvi* school of thought and frequently visit '*Darbars*'.

Most of the *Awan* families are still strongly connected with their former village Jabbi, in district Khushab and frequently participate in social events such as on occasions of a death or a marriage. Some of them have entered into marriages with relatives over there.

4.6.4.3   *Kashmiris*

As mentioned earlier about different blocks of village. Block no. 6 of them consists of mainly *Kashmiri* community. A majority of them have migrated from Kotli district of State of *Azad Jammu & Kashmir* and belong to the *Gujar* caste. Originally some of the *Kashmiri* families were allotted land as compensation for their displacement from *Mangla Dam*. Subsequently, their extended family members and friends also purchased land in the village from *Tiwana* family and presently there are around 195 *Kashmiri* families in the village. Accumulatively, they own 250 acres of land in the village. They all live in one cluster of houses, on the west side of the village and also have '*Deras*' within their agriculture farms or '*murabahs*'. Many males from the *Kashmiri* families work in Dubai and the money they earn from there is invested in purchasing land within the village. *Kasmiri* community members are also owners of most of the shops in the village.

Those who own big chunk of land have constructed villas type houses called '*Kothis*' in local parlance, while some others have constructed traditional big houses. Many of them have new cars, tractors and farming instruments. Many houses have generators, UPS, telephone and internet facilities. Every land owner has his own tube well installed in his land. They invest more effort and money in farming than others. A big

majority of Kashmiri community is well educated with some of them qualified as engineers, law graduates, MBAs and M. Phils. They are ready to invest for quality education and there is quite high competition within the Kashmiri community in the field of education. There is no restriction on female education and girls are getting equal opportunities in all fields of education.

Endogamy is dominant pattern among *Kashmiri beradari*, like rest of the society. There was only one instance, where a girl got married to a boy from '*Qisai*' family. *Kashmiri* community is largely well knitted and united. As a result their nominee Mr. Javed 'Chaudhry' was able to win local council elections, against a nominee of '*Awan*' community. The '*Awans*' were being supported by the '*Qureshi*' community, who with the backing of Mr. *Mazhar Qureshi*, MPA from their community, managed to get false cases registered against Mr. Javed Chaudhry, to satisfy their political wrath against the opposing members of other caste.

4.6.5 Occupations/ professions

Majority of people living in the village are daily wagers, shopkeepers and low ranking government officials. Some are also engaged in farming. There are only few families mainly belonging to *Tiwanas, Kashmiris* and *Awans,* who can be termed as 'economically well off' families. Local grouping, whether on the basis of *beradari*, caste, occupation or politics, is very strong and an important reason for conflicts and disputes in the village.

4.6.6 Civic facilities

Though the village is electrified but due to prolonged load shedding, the daily lives of villagers are severely affected. There is no gas in the village. The streets are paved by bricks but there are no proper arrangements for sewerage and sanitation. The general standard of cleanliness is poor as is the case in other villages of the Punjab.

4.6.7 Education

Shahpur has a number of educational institutions. Some of them are nearly a century old. There are a number of private schools and colleges also operating in the area.

The village has one high and one primary school for boys. The high school for boys was initially established as a primarily school in 1963, subsequently upgraded as middle school in 1966 and as high school in 1982. The land for Boys School was given by Malik Anwar Ali Tiwana, son of Malik Habib Khan.

The Girls High School was established in 1982, utilizing the land given by Colonel Iqbal, who is the father of present *Lambardar* Malik Ishaq Tiwana, and after his retirement, he got elected as a Member of Provincial Assembly (PMA) for Punjab. He also donated land for the Basic Health Unit in the village.

Other than this, there are 3 private schools in the village and one small religious '*Madrissah*' or seminary. Thus the village truly represents the situation at national level, where three different types of education systems are operating. The official schools imparting education in traditional way; without charging fee, the private English medium schools conducting all courses in English; charging substantial fee and the religious schools following their own particular curriculum based on religious teaching without charging any fee.

4.6.8 Religion

A vast majority of the people around 80% belong to *Brelvi* school of thought. Approximately 20% of population belongs to *Shia* sect. There is no non Muslim in the village and a general religious harmony exists among different sects. The religious festivals, such as '*Giarween Shareef*,' '*Khatam*' and '*Koonday*' are celebrated regularly. Many villagers are the followers of different '*Pirs*', offer '*Nazar*' & '*Niaz*' at the '*Mazars*' and '*Darbars*' and also organize '*Naat Khawani*' programs regularly.

There are 3 Mosques in the village namely, '*Masjid e Anwar ie Madina', 'Kashmirion Wali Masjid'* and '*Ada Wali Masjid'*. There is one small religious seminary that is, '*Madrissah-ie-Dar-ul-ulum Anwar-ie-Madina'* attached to one of the mosques '*Jamia Mosque Makki'*. '*Jamia Mosque Makki'* is the oldest in the village and is situated near the '*haveli'* of Tiwana family. The mosque has an imposing structure with four big minarets adding to its grandeur. Exquisite brick masonry is a monument of the skills of the masons and represents the extreme dedication of its builder. The front wall has some inbuilt motifs but the whitewashing of the front wall has obscured its original character. Similarly the paint on old wooden doors, which had extensive carving work, has deprived them of their antique outlook. In the interior of mosque the wooden roof ceiling is beautifully decorated with different floral patterns, further beautified by the lacquer.

Some ad-hoc and improvised structures have been added in the premises of the mosque, which would have once constituted an extended courtyard of the mosque. These structures do not match with the architectural plan of the mosque and have become an eye sour, for the tasteful observers. On the right side of the entrance a three room structure with veranda, showing no harmony with the plan of mosque has been added in the compound of mosque, as a religious school or *Madrissah*. This is a clear indication of deterioration in the architectural taste of the inhabitants and a representation of overt tilt towards the religion.

As religion, in one form or the other, play a very important role in the lives of people it is interesting to see any possible impact of religious beliefs on police practices or conduct of ordinary citizens. A detailed discussion from this perspective is contained in subsequent chapters.

4.6.9   Games and recreation

The young men and boys mostly play cricket and volleyball. Volley ball is most popular evening activity among young males of the village. The middle aged males were observed passing time by playing '*ludo*' and cards. The youth who wants to join army or police also plays *kabbadi* (Punjab traditional wrestling) and do homemade workout instruments to get their bodies in shape. Policemen usually play volley ball and badminton.

4.6.10 Dresses

A couple of decades back majority of both males and females used to wear '*Kurta* (long shirt) *and Dhoti* (loose skirt)'. Though a small number of people still wear this traditional dress, a majority of population now wear '*Shalwar Kameez*' as a standard dress. A few young boys and quite a number of kids were also observed wearing shirts and trousers or shorts. Dress is an important indicator of social status of the person and is especially relevant to discussion relating to police behavior with people relating to different socio-economic strata. Usually the local influential will wear starched white *shalwar qammez* in the summer. While in winter they will wear a blazer also. Policemen treat people differently on the basis of their dress. This aspect of police will be discussed in more detail the subsequent chapters. Army and police uniforms have special charm as it symbolizes authority and awe for youngsters who dream to wear it one day.

4.6.11   Languages

The official language is English and national language is *Urdu,* the widely used language in the locale and the ***Thana***itself is *Punjabi* with a distinctive local dialect among old inhabitants. The use of harsh and abusive language is more conveniently done in the native language.

4.6.12 Disputes resolution

Even another innocuous and purely personal dispute between two families over trivial matters, such as common fighting between kids over a ball is soon politicized and both parties make it a point of personal, family and factional ego, and to teach the other party a lesson. If the matter goes to police then all the available political support has to be mustered to get an edge and upper hand over the opponent. If the political figure does not accompany the party to police or strongly support the opponent party they will be castigated as '*shudas*' (worthless) and not worth support in the next elections.

4.7 Respondents' profile and opinion regarding the police

The socio economic profile of the respondents is created from the details given by the respondents. The profile is semi structured so that representation from every stratum can be acquired. The community opinion regarding police is categorized on the basis respondents' education level, personal and family income, the source of acquired information and most importantly the level of experience with police. This breakup helps deep understanding of the public police trust deficit as well as public perceptions of police culture which will be discussed in chapter 7 in detail. This can be summed up from the results of the profile that most the public opinions pertaining to police are based on second hand information other than their personal interaction with the police.

4.7.1 General profile of respondents

The research sample comprised of 124 respondents. The mean age of the respondents was 32 years; the youngest respondent was 15 years of age while the oldest was of 80 years. Nearly 73% of the respondents fell in the age bracket of 15-40 years. The

average family size of the respondents was seven people. Other features are given in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 General Profiles of Respondents

		Percentage	N
Age of respondent (in years)	15 – 19	20.3	25
	20 – 24	11.4	14
	25 – 29	19.5	24
	30 – 34	12.2	15
	35 - 39	9.8	12
	40 – 44	8.1	10
	45 - 49	5.7	7
	50 – 54	4.9	6
	55 - 59	4.1	5
	60 – 80	4.1	5
Total		**100.0**	**123***
Gender	Male	94.4	117
	Female	5.6	7
Total		**100.0**	**124**
Education	Never went to school	18.6	22
	Below Primary	0.8	1
	Primary	5.1	6
	Middle	20.3	24
	Matric	31.4	37
	Intermediate	7.6	9
	Graduate	10.2	12
	Postgraduate	5.9	7
Total		**100.0**	**118****

* Out of total 124 respondents, 123 responded whereas one (1) did not offer any response to this question.
**Out of total 124 respondents, 118 responded whereas six (6) did not offer any response to this question

4.7.2 Education of respondents

As evident from Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1, nearly 19 % of the respondents had never received any formal education, while most of the sample fell in the education bracket of middle (8th grade) and matriculation; 20 % and 31 % respectively. Maximum level of education was postgraduate, 6% of the respondents fell into that category.

Figure 4.1   Education of respondents
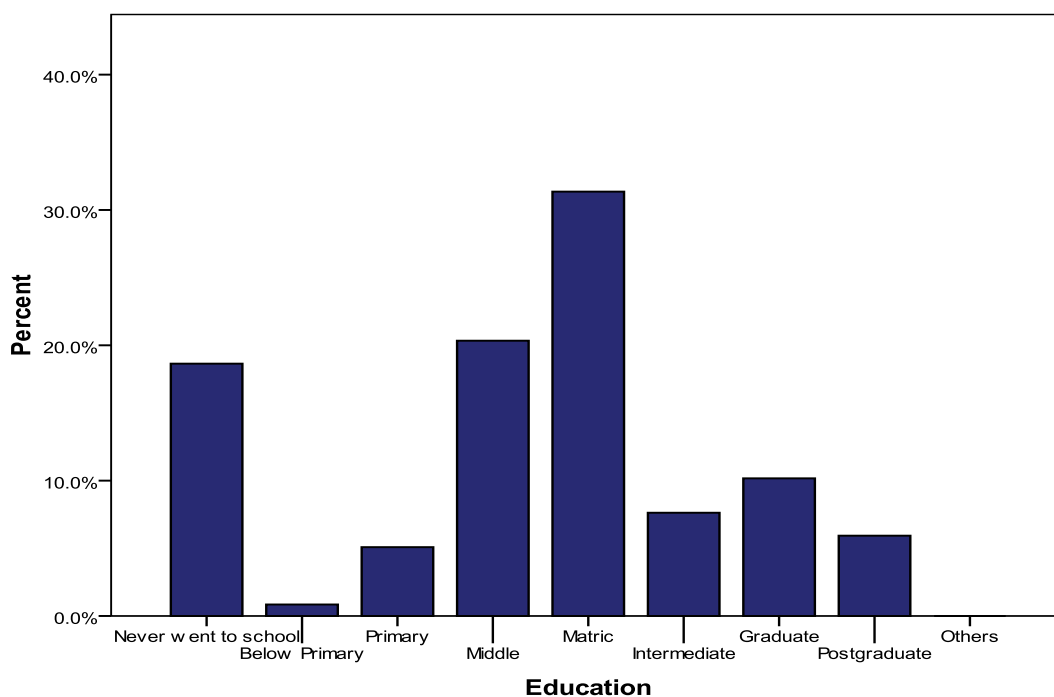
4.7.3   Average income of respondents

Nearly 63% of the respondents shared information regarding their personal income, wherein the minimum income was Rs 1,000 per month and the maximum was Rs 150,000 per month. Out of those who reported, 30% of the respondents had income below or equal to Rs 5,000. 55% had income greater than Rs. 5,000 and less than Rs.15,000 per month. 10.3% had income greater than Rs. 15,000 and less than Rs. 25,000, while only 5% surpassed the Rs. 25,000 mark on per month personal income.

Table 4.3   Personal income per month

Income Bracket (In Rs.)	Less than 5001	5001- 15000	15001- 25000	25001- 35000	Greater than 35000	Dependents with no formal personal means of income	N
%	18.5	34.7	6.5	0.8	2.4	37.1	118*

* Out of total 124 respondents, 118 responded whereas six (6) did not offer any response to this question.

4.8   Profile of *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

4.8.1   Location of *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

Thana Shahpur Saddar, which is more than 150 years old and is located in an area which exhibits features of a typical *Punjabi* rural area, provides a microcosm of historical, political, social and economic developments in Punjab. *Thana Shahpur* is located at a distance of 25KMs from Sargodha city on a junction of three roads; one leading to *Jhawarian,* other to *Sahiwal (Sargodha)* and a third to *Khushab*.
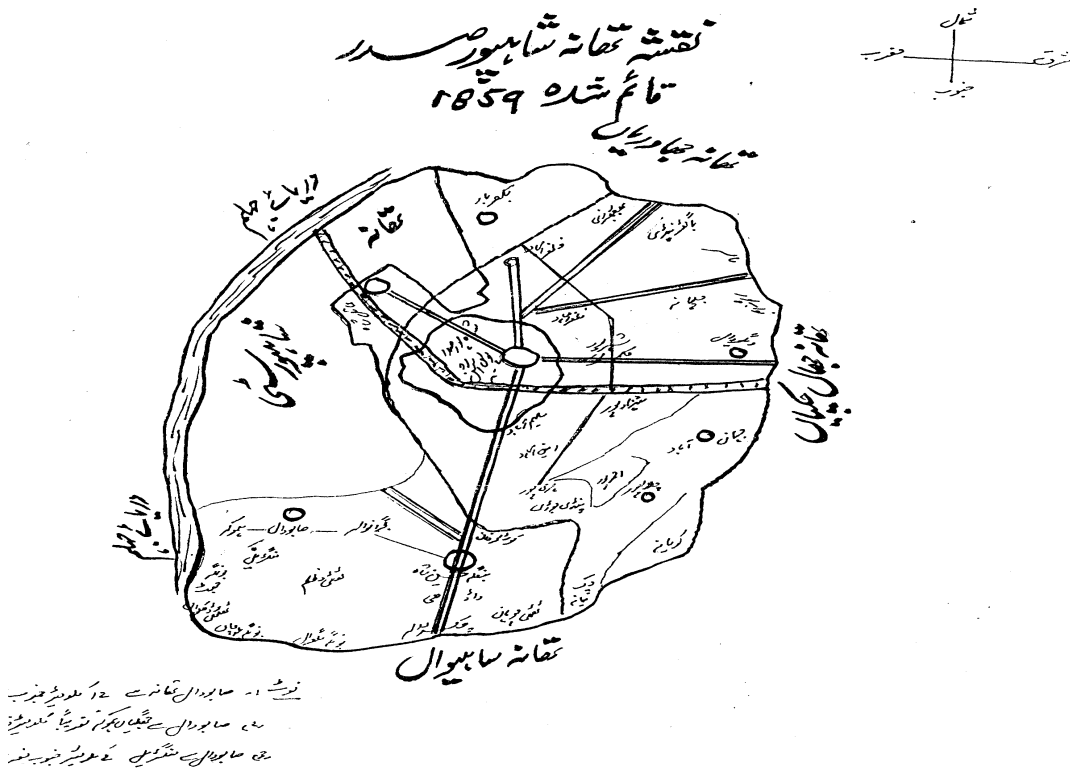
Figure 4.2:   Map of *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

4.8.2   Building of the *Thana*

The total area of the *Thana* premises is 3 kanals (around 1500 sq. meters). Only 1 kanal (500 sq. meter) is used for building (covered area) with rest of the space left open. The building of the *Thana* was constructed in 1859, as inscribed on mast of its main entrance, just after two years of War of Independence 1857 which heralded

formal end of the Mughal Empire and beginning of the British Rule in India. Initially, it started functioning as a Police *Chowki* (Post) and was subsequently upgraded as a *Thana* in 1900. This *Thana* can be considered as one of the oldest *Thanas* in Pakistan which was one of the main reasons for its selection as a locale for the present research study. The main building of *Thana* largely remains intact except for some repairs and extension in the original structure. *Thana* building is constructed in a square shape, the typical colonial architectural style of British era, with rooms and verandas all around and porch on the front entrance. There is an open space in the centre of the building which is used as court yard. The walls of building are 18 feet high and 2.5 feet thick. Outer sides of walls are made of red kiln brick while on inner side clay bricks are used, primarily to keep the rooms cool during long summers. The whole building is painted in yellow color which has faded and plaster coming off from various places.

Building of *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

There is a huge wooden gate at the main entrance of *Thana* which is usually closed and people enter and exit through small door with in the big gate. No one can pass

through this door without bowing down one's head. Commenting on this door in lighter vein one Assistant Sub Inspector (ASI) said:

> *"The small opening in the main gate is the cultural trait we inherited from British era when people used to bow down while entering the Thana in the acknowledgement of the authority and supremacy of police".*

Front of *Thana Shahpur* Saddar

There is some open space in front-side of *Thana* to be used as green area. However, there is no grass except for some trees including a huge old "*Boher*" or bunyan tree.[81] The open space is now being used to park the cars of police officials, and vehicles impounded on account of being involved in crimes, accidents or found abandoned. Some of the vehicles were completely or partially damaged in accidents, other rusted with tyres and other accessories removed (reportedly by police men). These ugly skeletons, scattered in disorderly fashion, are an eye sore for the first time visitor to *Thana*. Apart from vehicles, 10 motorbikes, related to cases of theft and robbery, were also parked in the central courtyard.

The open space is fenced with two feet high wall which also serves as outer boundary of the premises of the *Thana*. There are a few sign boards installed along this wall which are painted in traditional "red and blue" police colors. The boards display different public announcements from the DPO and SHO. One of the boards contained the notice about SHO's timing for listening to the public while another board displayed the message by DPO.

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[81] These trees are part of rural landscape of Punjab dating back to the Ashoka era. They are considered a sacred tree amongst Buddhist who believed that Buddha attained nirvana under this tree. The Boher tree invariably formed an integral part of British official buildings in India as well and one may find these trees in majority of the **Thana**s across Punjab. The visitors to the police station mostly sit under the thick shade of boher tree during the sizzling heat of summer.

Message Boards outside *Thana Shahpur* Saddar

There is a big log, a stem of old uprooted tree, lying at a distance of 8-10 feet from the main gate. Though, if someone so desires can get into the main gate through left or right side of the log but many people would just hop the log to get into the main gate. The sentry at the main gate explained that the log is not meant to hinder the entrance of individuals coming to the *Thana*, but to impede the entry of suicide vehicles into the *Thana* building, as the *Thana* is located at the main road. The placing of log is

indicative of many well entrenched features of *Thana* culture. This tells us about the changed security environment in which the police is extremely vulnerable to terrorist attacks. It also speaks the lack of seriousness and preparedness with which this threat is being responded. It also highlights the adhocism, non professionalism and casualness that pervade the *Thana* culture. It also shows how much the organization cares about its public image and how efficiently it manages its resources. It also reflects the attitude of the senior officers who visit the *Thana* regularly but failed to get the log replaced by a proper drop down barrier.

4.8.3   Surroundings of the *Thana* building

As mentioned above this *Thana* is situated on a juncture of three main roads. The left and rear sides of the *Thana* are surrounded by cultivatable fields and houses of local farmers.

There is a small tea stall in front of *Thana* across the road. The tea stall supplies tea and meals to the *Thana* staff, visitors and detainees in the *Thana*. The tea stall is typically one room, *semi-pakka* structure commonly found in the Punjab. There are a few *charpyees* (cots) and tables in the small thatched veranda on its front side. The tea stall also caters to the passengers at nearby bus stand. Apart from tea, it also sells different local dishes on daily basis for the staff of *Thana* and people waiting outside the *Thana* and at the bus stand. The tea stall provides a good avenue for discretely observing and listening to the comments of the people about the local police. There is a small mosque adjacent to the tea stall with a space of 10-15 people to offer prayer at a time.

4.8.4   An overview of the *Thana* building

There are around 20 rooms of varying sizes in the *Thana* building being used for different purposes. Half of these rooms are used as residence for the police officials

and officials who work during night shifts also sleep there during day time. There are no cupboards in the rooms and official uniforms and private clothing are hanging on walls or lying on the beds. Rooms are invariably in shabby condition and lack of cleanliness is too obvious to be ignored. The *Thana* building is over 150 years old. A few of the building rooms are permanently closed due to their dilapidated condition. Most of the rooms have plaster flooring but presently these are not in a good condition. White wash applied to most of the walls is coming off from many spots. There are no proper windows in most of the rooms and if there are some, these usually remain closed. There are one to two old wooden tables placed in the center of each room with a couple of chairs and one to two wooden beds (*charpayees*) woven with *Newar or Baan* (Cotton tape or rope).

The main gate opens into porch style structure called *dehwari* in the Punjabi vernacular. There are two lockups for the detainees on both sides of *dehwari*. The passage of *dehwari* 15 feet wide opening into the courtyard leveled with mud and bricks. The lockup doors open into the *dehwari* while windows open towards the central courtyard of *Thana*. The windows provide ventilation to the lock ups and police can keep an eye on the detainees through these windows.

Dehwari* and Lock Up in *Thana Shahpur Saddar

The average height of these locks up 15 feet. There is one ceiling fan in the center of each lock up which hardly provides sufficient air in corners of the room as the rooms are 20 feet in length and 15 in width. The lock ups are white washed with yellow color calcium rock similar to the rest of *Thana* building. Bathing place is provided for the detainees in each lock up, which is also used for urination. The bathing place is covered with four feet high wall with an opening at one side. Floor of lockup is partially covered with mats made of date tree leaves. There were 6 people in a lockup at the time of visit of the researcher. It was observed that when a visitor orders tea for the prisoner, he also orders a cup for the policeman.

Almost all lockups are not in good condition like other rooms of *Thana*. The lockup windows are secured with iron grills fitted on the side towards courtyard. The relatives of detainees bring food for them. The detainees are all male, as women are not allowed under law to be kept in male *Thana*. The prisoners in the lockup appeared from belonging to lowest socio-economic strata.

There were 8 persons including young boys and old men who were caught in some cases but were not kept in detention. They were free to move in the *Thana* and used to help police staff in different matters like moving furniture, filling of water cooler or ordering of tea etc. they are called "private". They work like private servants of different police officers often attached with ranks of ASIs or above. They are also used for massage and preparing *hukkah* (Punjab traditional way of tobacco smoking). In the absence of police constables they use their resting place, or they remain seated on benches placed in different places in *Thana*.

4.8.4.1 *Moharrir's* room

Moharrir's room is located at a very strategic location in *Thana* as he can observe all activities of *Thana* including lockups, *Malkhana*, main gate and the court yard.

Moharrir's **Room in** *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

The room is purposely located at this particular point so that the *Moharrir* can monitor almost every place and activity in entire *Thana* from his room. No one can enter the *Thana* without being noticed by the *Moharrir*. The room is 12 x 18 feet and furnished with old furniture including five chairs, three tables/wooden benches. The old wooden tables in the center of the room are used as office desk by the *Moharrir* and duty officer. Along the fire place there is a small book shelf, where record of official correspondence and other papers of the *Thana* are placed. A framed portrait of Father of the Nation Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-ie-Azam) and a framed Standing Order of the IGP (in Urdu) are placed on the fireplace. Two chairs are used by both the officials while remaining three chairs are meant for the visitors. Attached with the wall was also an old wooden. Additionally, there are five steel almirahs to store the old *Thana* records and there is a small store room on the left side. Framed maps, details of important places, persons and criminals of the area etc are displayed on walls. Most of the visitors first come to this room to enquire about their complaints and other matters. There is a color TV for watching entertainment or news.

Moharrir **Room in** *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

4.8.4.2   Wireless room

There is a wireless room (radio room) adjacent to Moharrir's room. The radio operator always remains present to monitor and respond to the communication from main police control room and other stations. A bed is also placed in the radio room for the radio operator as it is a 24 hours job. Wireless is not functional during power outages although a UPS (Uninterruptable Power Supply) has been set up to keep it working. It was learnt during the visit that the UPS is out of order.

4.8.4.3   *Maal Khana* (store room)

Maalkhana is situated at the central left side of *Thana* courtyard for storing weapons and ammunition. It is a small room of 10 x 5 feet with racks to store the weapons. Mostly these weapons remain in *Mallkhana* and are used during special operations/ raids only. Moreover, stolen items recovered by the police such as TV, cassette

players; motorbikes etc are also stored in *Malkhana*. This property is often referred as 'case property'.

4.8.4.4 Investigation officer's room

The Investigating Officer's room was 12 x 8 feet in size and situated in right side of the courtyard. These rooms are equipped with very old furniture consist of 2 chairs, one table and wooden benches for the visitors.

4.8.4.5 SHO's room

SHO's room is situated at the end of the *Thana* courtyard and is the only well decorated and well managed room in the entire *Thana*. The room is carpeted and has good quality new furniture. Like government offices, SHO's table is covered with green blazer cloth and glass sheet on top of it. There is beautifully tiled bathroom attached with the room. This bathroom is used by SHO or his personal guests and senior officials only.

SHO has a small rest room in the *Thana* as well. Usually nobody is allowed to enter it. Only his very close personal friends would have the privilege to visit this room for lunch dinner or personal conversation and sitting. No one else except the personal attendant or head *Moharrir* is permitted to enter in this room. Usually the staff would not disturb the SHO if he is in his rest room. The room had one bed, a table, few chairs, one small cupboard and a TV with a cable connection. There were few uniforms fully decorated and starched white *shalwar qameez* in the cupboard. A copy of the Holy Quran and few other religious books were also placed in a shelf inside the room. There was couple of photographs pasted on the side of cupboard showing the SHO in blue uniform of UN while serving in Bosnia. There was a Kalashnikov by the side of his bed. The room indicated the fact that despite his awe and status in and

around the *Thana*, he has little space for relaxation and entertainment except this small world of 10x10 feet room.

4.8.4.6 Sleeping rooms

The next room is sort of a barrack or a sleeping hall for the police men posted at the *Thanna*. It is 25 feet long and 9 feet wide room with a capacity to accommodate 10 *charpayees* in it. The room condition is quite bad as plaster is falling off from the walls. There are only two ceilings fans installed in it which are quite insufficient for this size of room. Metal boxes are placed along the walls of the room by the police constables to keep them useable. A newly transferred ASI also used a portion of the room as his office due to lack of space in the *Thana*.

4.8.4.7 Wash room

Next to the constables barrack is a washroom which usually remains in highly unhygienic condition. The bathroom neither has a lock nor any light inside it. The only way to keep the door closed it to place a brick in front of the door. There is a big water tank used for bathing. Its loose tap was tied with strings to shut the water. Adjacent to bathroom are two toilets with iron doors. The iron toilet doors are bigger than their frames and cannot be bolted from inside. The toilets were extremely filthy with dysfunctional flush system.

4.8.4.8 Staff of the *Thana*

Shahpur Thana has one Inspector (who is SHO), two Sub Inspectors (SIs) four Assistant Sub Inspectors (ASIs), four Head Constables (HCs) and seventeen Constables. Interestingly there is not even a single female officer in the staff.

Table 4.4   Staff of *Thana*

Inspector	Sub Inspector	Assistant Sub Inspector	Head Constable	Constables	Total
1	2	4	4	17	27

4.8.4.9   The SHO

The Police Official appointed as in charge to take care and look after the affairs of the *Thana* is called SHO. He is invariably an Inspector these days but till 80s a Sub-Inspector and (initially in 19th century even the Head Constable) used to be posted as SHO[82]. He has under him ordinarily a staff of 30-100 personnel depending on the size and workload of the *Thana*. The next most important man in a *Thana* is a *Moharrir*. The duties of an SHO are very comprehensive and onerous. He is responsible for the prevention and detection of crime, and for the discipline and behavior of the police under his charge.

The SHO is empowered under Section 156 of Cr.P.C to investigate the cognizable offences. Investigation is a process carried out by the Police Officer or any other person who has been assigned by the competent court for obtaining or collecting the evidences[83]. As per requirements of a particular *Thana* proportionate number of SIs, ASIs, HCs and PCs can be posted there. A general criterion to work out the required staff is the annual number of cases registered under Pakistan Panel Code and Local and Special Laws.

The officers deputed in the *Thana* conduct investigations on behalf of SHO and all their reports to the courts or senior officers are routed through the SHO. Vested with numerous powers SHO is a lynchpin of police organization. The range of these

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[82] According to Police Rules (22.1) SHO was to be a Sub-Inspector but presently he is invariably an Inspector. According to Section 4 of Cr.P.C. in the absence of the SHO an officer next in rank/seniority to him (except a constable) can perform functions.

[83] Each and every act of a Police Officer to collect the evidence is assumed as investigation like arrest, search of person & place, seizure of anything, substance, arranging identification parade, dealing bails etc.

powers is so huge that it is generally commented that all other supervisory officers, that are DSP, ASP or IGP are created to control the SHO.Some of the powers available to SHO under Cr.P.C include:

a)   to conduct and postpone the investigations of any case U/S 156 and 157,

b)   to ascertain real cause in cases of unnatural deaths U/S 174,

c)   to conduct search without warrants in the jurisdiction and even out of jurisdiction of the *Thana* U/S 166-165,

d)   to arrest the culprits without warrants U/S 54,

e)   to arrest without warrants of vagabonds, other suspects and culprits irritants to general calm U/S 54,

f)   to release the accused on bail or assurances U/S 497.

SHO is responsible for crime control and maintenance of law and order in his jurisdiction, but also the cases investigated by his subordinates are consequently his responsibility. He has to ensure the timely submission of the Challans of the cases in the courts and production of the arrested personnel before the Magistrates' within 24 hours.

It was observed that the generally SHO is not present at the *Thana*. Usually after taking a round of the *Thana* he would check important mail (dak) and decide important administrative matters. The SHO holds an open court (*khuli Ketchery*) for the people of the area on a daily basis as ordered by the DPO. People accused in different cases, detainees and family members appear in front of him in the evening. His style is quite authoritative with people during open court.

Arrival of the SHO is signaled by the sentry as he opens the main gate and gets very alert. The whole *Thana* is filled with the whisper,

      "*Sahb Aa Gayay Nain*" - (The boss has arrived).

Moharrir would start reading or writing on the files to show his activity and performance, the *Tafteeshis* become functional and everybody seems to be doing something. Even the detainees in the lockup become alert and disciplined. A cacophony and disorder that prevailed a moment earlier is replaced by an eerie silence. SHO moves in an impressive manner and sits on the head chair already placed in the courtyard of the *Thana*. A table covered with a cloth is placed in front of him. Two small chairs are placed on each side of the table. The Sub-Inspector (SI) sits on the one side and on the other side important guest is asked to sit. The SHO loudly calls his office runner, who comes literally running to him with hand folded on his belly appears and asks '*G Sarkar'*-(yes sir). He asks him to bring some *chayey* (tea and cookies). A jug of water and couple of glasses are already on the table. The *Moharrir* wearing a *white shalwar qameez* tells him,

'*sir g zarorri dak hay'* (sir kindly please review the urgent mail or correspondence).

Meanwhile complainants waiting outside the *Thana* are summoned by the SHO through the sentry. It was an enquiry and there were two groups which were party to a dispute. Persons from both groups stand in queue on left and right side of the SHO and present their respective versions. If any person tries to assert or speaks aloud or angrily, he is promptly snubbed by the SHO. While he hears each party, he seems to have already reached at certain conclusion. After asking a few questions from both parties he dismisses the gathering and tells them,

"*Tusi aapis wich koi suleh safai kar lo warna duaoon noon andar kar diyan ga*" (You better try to find an amicable solutions otherwise both groups will be booked)

SHO also asks the office runner to bring the people who have come either in their own capacity or have been referred by some senior official or influential person. He

directs the office runner to bring cold drinks or tea for those whom he considers more important. In the whole process, *Huqqa* remains the focal point. SHO leaves the *Thana* and tells Moharrir if someone enquires about him, he may be told that he has gone out for patrolling. He usually deals 5-8 cases in two to three hours before he orders the police staff to leave for patrolling. He usually talks in Punjabi with the staff and the community. His absence from the *Thana* is covered/handled by the *Moharrir* who would usually say that,

> "*sahib illaqa gasht per hain*" (Sahib is on a visit to area of responsibility) or "*shahadat per gayay hain*" (he has gone to the court for evidence) or he has gone to DPO office etc.

I was informed by the key informant that some of the SHOs were too '*rangeen mizaj*' that they would often go to Sargodha city or to Lahore over the weekend for fun and entertainment. Sometimes, he would inform the SDPO or DPO and sometimes not. If something serious happened, it would be tried to first let the SHO come back and then inform the seniors. Asked if some senior comes on a surprise visit, how his absence is managed? It was explained that in such a case the senior officer is told that SHO is out on patrolling in his private car. The entry for his departure is made in the movement register by *Moharrir* to SHO's movement. The senior official is informed of some place which is far enough that if SHO is informed about arrival of senior he could come back from Sargodha in the meantime. It was told that, before the mobile phones, it was so easy to cover up such furloughs. If something serious had happened, it would take hours for people to inform the police. The news would not reach to senior officials for many hours and in the meantime the SHO could come back to handle the situation. Secondly, in pre mobile phone era, it was convenient excuse that SHO is in an area where wireless coverage was weak and either the communication could not be heard properly or the officer was unable to receive the message. The use

of private car by SHO is informally accepted by the seniors, as there is usually only one vehicle for patrolling. The SHO uses a blue light on his private car and gunman would sit with him in plain clothes and a gun.

Another familiar excuse for SHO's absence is that he had attended a *Paishi* (appearance) in a court. Sometimes such "*Paishis*" are genuine but at times it would be managed or maneuvered. For example, if he has to spend a night at Lahore, a summon would be got issued from a court in Lahore in any previous case when he was posted in Lahore. Similarly, he would request the DPO that he wants to follow up on some service matter and seeks permission to visit the Central Police Office (CPO). In some cases he would just send an application that he is not well.

The SHO is usually not in his office till afternoon. The most common reply to all officers would be that,

> *"sab raat noon raid tey sann ya gasht tey sun, unn 2 bajay toon baad ann gay"*- (Sahib was on patrolling or raid and would come to the *Thana* after 2 pm.)

However, SHO would respond promptly if some senior officer is calling in an emergency. The police officials informed that the life of SHO was much easier a few years back but now it is becoming difficult with each passing day.

4.8.4.10   Friend of SHO

The SHO had a very close friend who accompanies him most of the time especially when he moves out of *Thana* jurisdiction. It was informed that he is a businessman from a nearby town. He was quite a mysterious person as he would hardly speak. But whenever the SHO would like to go out he would give him a call and he would be there in no time. It seemed that he could leave everything

even family and business commitment for the SHO. Such persons can be found in almost every *Thana*, it was informed.

4.8.4.11 Special staff of SHO

It's a common practice that SHOs, SIs and ASIs prefer to get some staff of their own liking and preference with them. It is rare that SHOs or other officers would use such staff for controlling crime, gathering intelligence on criminal activities and to plan raids for the arrest of criminals. Such staff is usually those officers who have worked with them previously and developed mutual trust and confidence. Some of these officers may be good at identifying the criminals and their hideouts in the jurisdiction of that *Thana*. In case of posting of this staff to Headquarters, their supervisory officers make all out efforts for stopping their transfers. Written requests, mentioning therein excellent performance of this staff, are also sent to senior officers so that posting transfer of the said staff can be cancelled. In case of transfer of SHOs to an unfamiliar place, he becomes aware of hideouts of criminals when the special staff provides such information to the SHOs. The SHOs obliges them by exempting them from duty. The special staff is normally in plain clothes and responsible to provide information regarding expenditure, upkeep of the *Thana* and carry out personal tasks of SHO called "fatigue".

4.8.4.12 Informers

The informers *(Mukhber)* are an important informal part of *Thana* working. One SHO reported that patrolling and *Naka* has a minimum role in successful policing, maximum success in the breakthrough against criminals is achievement through generating information on criminals. One SHO made this astonishing disclosure that some people are so needy that they can provide information for some most wanted

persons for couple of hundred rupees. It was, however, observed that the identity of informants is jealously protected by SHO and he has one to one interaction with them usually at some private place when he is also in private dress. Some of the informers are professionals. And sometimes, they become police informers due to some personal grudge and resort to taking revenge through the police, others act as double agents.

4.8.4.13 Investigating officer (*Tafteeshis Afsar*)

There is one Sub Inspector (who is also the additional SHO) and four Assistant Sub Inspectors to assist the SHO. These officers are entitled to carry out investigation of cases. Serious cases of murders and dacoity/robbery can only be investigated by a Sub-Inspector, while the ASI conducts investigation in theft cases and cases registered under local and special laws. The Investigation Officer (IO) is also called a "*Tafteeshi*"[84] The ASI, whether promoted or directly inducted, takes pride in being a "*Tafteeshi*" and feels very happy when addressed as *Malik sb, Chudhry sb, Qureshi sb* or *Bhutta sb* etc (titles given in local caste system as sign of respect to higher status of person and caste). Some of the clever visitors (complainant/accused/*sifarshis*) would, address them in this way only to please them and get their favor. They would call him with these titles even if *Tafteeshis* don't belong to that particular caste and neither entitled to be addressed with such titles. Some *Tafteeshis* are highly impressed by senior's officers and start behaving within staff in similar fashion. They become very stylish, use expensive glasses, mobile, perfumes, watches etc. They like to wear white dresses during evening especially in summers. It was observed that they mostly use perfumed soap and colored towels. The use of mustard oil on head is also common.

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[84] An Urdu word, which broadly defines a person who conducts an investigation.

4.8.4.14 Personal servant (*Nokar*)

Almost all the *Tafteeshis* have their own private servants or *"Nokar'* within the *Thana*. Having a *Nokar* is a way to impress upon their colleagues as well as visitors that they have some family background. It is customary for the visitors of *Tafteeshi* to give "*chayey Pani*" or a kind of tip to his *Nokar*. The *Nokar* takes pride if the *Tafteeshi* asks him to carry his pistol, belt, jersey, and bag or asked to drive their cars. Some *Nokar* get so well acquainted with the police work that they informally start participating in the investigation process. The *Nokar* of *Tafteeshi* also prepares *Huqqa* for him.

4.8.4.15 Head clerk (*Head Moharrir*)

Head Moharrir heads the *Thana* secretariat. Usually an ASI or a Head Constable is the *Head Moharrir*. He has complete information about *Thana* records, notables of the area, prominent criminals, events in the area and local security requirements. He is considered as a living directory with complete *Thana* related information. It is considered that he holds more information and knowledge than the SHO and other *Thana* officers. The senior officials often call him grandmother of the *Thana*as he is a key source of information and knowledge.

It was learnt that the *Moharrirs* consider it a right to be served by the detainees in the lockup, especially those alleged in less serious crimes such as theft etc. These detainees are often tasked to carry out cleaning a room, furniture, filling the water cooler etc. An interesting fact observed was that some of these detainees become permanently attached with *Tafteeshis* once they discharged or acquitted from cases against them.

Head Moharrir of *Thana Shahpur* was matriculate and seemed to have good grasp over the working of *Thana* and acted in a most professional manner. He a

commanding presence and would run the administration of *Thana* in absence of the SHO. The complainants/visitors were also overawed by his personality.

4.8.4.16   Guard (*Sentry Badshah*)

The guard or sentry duty is generally assigned to the person who is very old or not very fit. During visit to the *Thana* it was observed that a sentry usually appears half asleep all the time. It was learnt that he is a drug addict and is called *Powdree*, in the *Thana*.

4.8.5 Equipment in the *Thana*

Shahpur Thana is provided with two vehicles and two motor cycles. Other items present in the *Thana* store room included arms, ammunition, anti riot equipment such as helmets, sticks, shields, tear gas guns etc. *Shahpur Thana* has no fax machine, internet connection, photocopier, nor air conditioner etc. The following table shows the detail of different items present in the *Thana*.

Table   4.5   Arms & Ammunition in the *Thana*

S. No.	Name of Arms	Quantity	(Ammunition)
1.	Rifles	27	
2.	Pistols	04	2748 Cartridges
3.	Hand Grenade	08	
4.	Proof Jacket	02	

Table 4.6   Anti Riot Equipment in the *Thana*

S. No.	Name of Equipment	Quantity
1.	Tear Gas Gun	2 (shell 52)
2.	Shun guard	13
3.	Helmet	21
4.	Polo stick	50
5.	Shield	20
6.	Long Stick	30
7.	Reflecting Jacket	28
8.	Wireless Set	(2+1 Base Set)3

Table 4.7   Furniture in the *Thana*

S. No.	Name of Item	Quantity
1.	Chairs	16
2.	Tables	7
3.	Benches	2
4.	Steel Almirahs	3
5.	Wooden Almirahs	4

Table 4.8   Police vehicles in the *Thana*

S. No.	Type of vehicle	Quantity
1.	Pick Ups	2
2.	Motorcycles	2

One of the two police vehicles of *Thana Shahpur Saddar*

The above list mainly consists of arms/ammunition and anti riot equipment to control the general public which shows the priority of the state and police department. The emphasis is simply on ensuring security and maintenance of law and order. There is no concept of scientific investigation tools and procedures. It was observed that *Thana Shahpur* is not provided with basic investigation tools and equipments such as yellow tape, investigation kits, evidence collection/preservation equipment and cameras. It clearly indicates that scientific investigation is not accorded any importance in the prevailing *Thana* Culture. Provision of investigation related

136

equipment is not merely an issue of adequacy of resources; rather more a matter of organizational priorities and aptitude and skills of the *Tafteeshis* to make best use of it when available.

Moreover, lack of first aid boxes, search and rescue instruments is indicative of the lowest priority accorded by the *Thana* to the community service. Concept of community service is practically nonexistent in performance appraisal, training and financial allocations for the *Thana*. There might be some SOPs or written instructions on better attitude and behavior with citizens available but there is no mechanism to transform them into practice. The concept of police community relations, therefore, does not go beyond citizens giving funds on the basis of their personal rapport with SHO for different police initiatives. The very fact that there is no properly designed space and other facilities for visitors, where they can wait and sit instead of sitting on ground outside the *Thana* building is also indicative of level of respect being given to the community. The forbidding nature of *Thana* buildings do not generate trust and confidence in the community which is served by the respective *Thanas*. Shortage and lack of resources also restrict the *Thana* staff to undertake any kind of community service initiative and is biggest hurdle in bringing a meaningful change in the *Thana* culture. It is observed that that change in police cannot be brought through executive orders or 'royal wishes'.

4.8.6   Working of the *Thana*

Each *Thana* building has a lock-up for detention of the suspects or accused involved in the crimes. It has one room for custody of property called 'case property', pertaining to different cases; recovered or seized by police and presented to court during trial of cases. Moreover, a *Thana* has also a space for placing arms and anti-riot equipment etc. There is one room reserved for SHO, one for Head *Moharrir* and

few others for rest of the staff. Some big *Thanas* have one or two 'mini or sub *Thanas* called Police Posts or Police *Chowkis* headed by a SI or ASI. The *Chowki* Incharge is assisted by two Head Constables and four to six Constables. The In charge is responsible for all police duties within his orbit. Police posts are usually established in areas which are either too far away from the *Thana* or crime rate in such areas is very high. The constables are generally employed on watch and ward duty. They serve summonses and warrants and effect arrests. They look after bad characters in the area directly under their *Thana*. Previously the policemen used to carry batons or sticks (*lathis*) but presently a certain number of them carry firearms also. The initial training at the time of induction includes the training in the use of firearms. Previously, a constable used to visit each of the villages at least once a week, whereas, for the Head Constable it was mandatory to undertake such visits twice a month. The visits were planned to receive information about any crime committed in the village, or to learn of the activities of suspected characters and habitual criminals. In case of the serious criminal activity, however, the maximum number of policemen used to visit the place in order to ensure security, collect all possible evidences and bring back sense of normalcy.

Originally there were 25 registers in the *Thana* for documenting all processes and actions taking place there. The detailed description and procedure to maintain them is provided in Chapter No.25 of the Police Rules 1934. In Cr.P.C register/diary No.01 FIR and Daily Diary or *Roznamcha* has been mentioned in details and along with their modus operandi.

Other important registers include History Sheets, Village Crimes, *Parcha* Majaria and Mousola, Vigilance of Vagabonds, Proclaimed Offenders, Governmental Belongings, Licenses, Secret diary of SHO etc. All the officials deputed at *Thana* shares the

common responsibility of maintaining law and order, eradication of crime and to trace or arrest the responsible culprits of crimes. The reports received in the *Thana* can be classified or categorized in to two types i.e. cognizable and non-cognizable offences (The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898). Cognizable offences are those acts of crime or violations of law which a Police officer is empowered by the law to take direct and prompt cognizance, register a case and arrest the culprit or accused involved without warrants. Non cognizable offences are such violations or acts upon which, a Police officer cannot arrest the culprit or accused involved without warrants. Cr.P.C provides a detailed breakup of cognizable and no cognizable offences in its Appendix-II. Upon receipt of report of cognizable offence, SHO is bound by Section No.154 of Cr.P.C to register the report in the Register No.1 of the *Thana*. Moreover, SHO is also bound to recite and explain the contents of the report, so written, to the reporter or complainant and take his or her signatures on it. Furthermore, the SHO is then obliged to write a brief about the report in Register No.2 known as *Roznamcha*. After fulfilling these formalities, the police officer may provide a copy of the same to the complainant or reporter and inform him about next course of action.

4.8.7 Social environment and daily routine in the *Thana*

The world inside the *Thana* is very different from an ordinary government office or building. It is so unique that it's hard to compare it with any other institution. The police and criminals are housed together in the same building but due to their diametrically opposed roles they seem to belong to two different planets. *Thana* is both a work place as well as a living place for policemen. Even if physically they are not performing their duty, mentally they are never detached from their work and environment. The researcher observed that prolonged stay in such harsh and dehumanizing working environment must have serious affects on the behavior and

personality of officers. Sights of murders, mutilated dead bodies, agonies of victims and heirs, passionate pleas of accused claiming innocence are a daily routine of the *Thana* staff. The world in *Thana* revolves around assorted negativity of society, which is otherwise more scattered and dispersed for ordinary citizens.

Unlike other government offices, *Thana* has no fixed working hours. The *Thana* functions 24 hours a day, with nights being hectic and busier than the day. Working hour at *Thana* usually starts, from evening and sometimes continues till late at night. SHO usually holds his *darbar* or *Kutcheri* and listens to complainants of different parties, and notables in the evening. It was observed that morning is the leanest time in the daily routine of the *Thana*.

The day would typically start at 7 am. The sweeper is the first to come in the *Thana* followed by a *Mashqi* (water carrier) who sprinkles water in the courtyard of the *Thana* and also fills "*gharas*", (earthen water pitchers and water coolers). Slowly and gradually the rest of staff starts pouring in. The *Moharrir* takes roll call and announces the shift duty to those present and assigns tasks to each person. Some are deputed with SHO, others with the *Thana* Vehicle (mobile) while rests of them are sent to *nakas* (police check posts). The *pairvi staff* would be given the summons and warrants for execution while another policeman assigned to get the verification of antecedents of persons (recruited for different jobs). The Dispatch Rider (DR) is given the mail (*Dak*) to be delivered to different offices including the SDPO's and DPO's. The *Tafteeshis* are informed of their appearance in courts and other offices.

Most of the staff who have performed night duty as sentry, conducted patrolling, investigations or raids wake up late in the afternoon. They refresh themselves by taking shower followed by their lunch and tea. The staff sets their things in order

before the SHO comes and others would complete their case diaries and the formalities of challans they have to submit next day.

4.8.8   Recreation in the *Thana*

Playing card is a most popular sport of the *Thana* staff. The staff would sit in the open air courtyard during summer evening and play or eat citrus and chaat during winter afternoons to pass time. They would replace each other during playing cards in case one needs to leave for an official assignment.

Strong tea and spicy food is an important source of enjoyment for many policemen. The high level of tea consumption by the government officials is very common in many government offices but its proportion in a *Thana* was found comparatively much higher. It was observed that an officer would order a set of tea (tea brought in a small teapot containing four cups) after every 30 minutes. The researcher found that on average a police official consumes 8-10 cups of tea per day. It is customary that all the officials or visitors sitting with the officer, who ordered tea, have to take tea.[85]

Another source of recreation was "*powdrees*" (heroin and drug addicts). The policemen are not very keen to arrest them, as they are a risk if detained in the *Thana* due to their ill-health and constant need for drugs. However, some "*powdrees*" prove to be a source of entertainment for the policemen when they talk in their peculiar funny style. Some policemen who are slow in work and lazy in their outlook are also called "*powdrees*". Another source of enjoyment is eunuchs who are asked to sing and dance by the policemen, when brought in the *Thana*.

The internal environment of the *Thana* does not look like any formal office. Mostly, the police officials conduct themselves casually with loose belts and wearing berets in

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[85] There are on average 8 sets ordered by a single officer daily who should roughly cost him Rs.50 per day and Rs.7500/- a month.

careless manner, whereas ASIs and SIs usually do not wear uniform in the afternoon and evenings.[86]

4.8.9   Visitors to the *Thana*

The visitors to the *Thana* are of many categories. There is a different set of protocol for each category. It was observed that police officials were found to be more courteous and obliging to notables of the locality like politicians, media persons, members of local bar councils, lawyers and persons who are exceptionally well dressed.

The visitors who come with a reference or 'sifarish' a senior official or by an influential person are given special protocol by the SHO. One SHO, who was very smart in maintaining these protocols, informed, that as a matter of policy he extends extraordinary respect to such persons, He said that it is very important because these visitors would give positive feedback about him to the person who had referred him. Moreover, the extraordinary care and protocol extended by SHO also raises the prestige and image of referee and he feels obliged.

The detailed observation revealed that the MNA of the area would rarely visit *Thana* himself. He would often be represented by one of his brothers or his secretary who are also given due protocol. However, the MPA was a frequent visitor and is accorded a special status which included his privilege to park his car inside the parking area of *Thana* where no private car is allowed. He would often be accompanied by his close political supporters and a gunman. The gunman would be allowed without any hesitation to come inside the *Thana*. MPA along with his companions would walk straight to SHOs room. MPAs companions would come out in case he has to speak to

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[86] The police officers explained that their uniform is not good for summer season due to black color shirt and thickness of cloth.

SHO in private. MPA would address SHO as *Raja Sahib* or *Malik Sahib* and SHO would also address him as *Chaudhary Sahib* etc. Sometimes SHO would tell the MPA that such and such case has been registered at the orders of the DPO sahib so it's better that you talk to him. Similarly, if a person is arrested on the orders of DPO or SDPO, then SHO will show his inability to interfere but still oblige him by committing that someone from within the *Thana* would keep him posted about the factual situation. In one instance, a person was arrested on the orders of DPO in a case of fraud. The MPA approached the DPO who informed that said person is now under formal arrest and it is not possible to release him. The MPA insisted that according to his information formal case has not been registered in the official records and he can be released. When the DPO got it checked it transpired that MPA was correct and someone from the *Thana* had informed the MPA. DPO was furious on knowing this. He was of the view that his arrest was deliberately delayed to give the accused persons enough time to maneuver.

The second category of people who would come to the *Thana* was ex-Councilors, *Nazims* or former MPAs. They are not welcomed and are usually often given a cold shoulder because of two reasons; firstly, they are not in power and they had behaved arrogantly in the days when they were in power. Therefore, the police men thought that they deserved a belittling treatment. The researcher was informed that the former MNAs/MPAs also become more humble and submissive once out of power, and, therefore, get some protocol and respect.

The third category of visitors is notables, media persons or businessmen. They are politely handled but are not given as much attention and consideration. Depending upon their personal relations with the police officers or being helpful to the police, some of them are warmly received by the staff. The media persons, who are often

personally handled by SHO get quite frank with him. It was learnt that SHO pays the petrol and phone call bills of one of the local journalist. In return the SHO was rewarded by positive coverage of his performance. However, if not obliged the journalist, show their resentment by prominently publishing news items about rising robberies etc in the jurisdiction of the *Thana*. The journalists draft their news story contents from FIRs and as the FIR would be registered after some days of actual incidence of crime, the newspaper would report it only next day of registration of FIR. The reporter would hardly independently verify actual facts of a case. As long as the media is kept happy and satisfied the SHO had nothing to worry as most of senior officers generally take notice of crimes if they are highlighted in newspaper. During the study it was observed that good collaboration and managing press is one of the prerequisite for being a successful SHO.

It was observed that here were very few female visitors in *Thana Shahpur*. Females were always accompanied by their male relatives. Invariably they were from very poor or lower middle classes. It was observed that females only visit *Thana* in some cases of extreme domestic violence by their husband or in laws. In such a case a woman will be accompanied by her father, brothers or uncles. However, in certain instances the women are used as victims to build a strong case against a rival party as well. It was noticed that policemen have very skeptical and sometimes derogatory attitude towards such women. In cases of domestic violence they would tend to believe in the story of husband and privately remark that these women deserve such a treatment. In cases of rape, they would also suspect the victim's credentials and tend to think either she was already in a relationship with that person and made this an allegation when the man refused to marry her and when it became public. In such an instance she would level these charges against him. It was also noticed that in rural set

144

up the allegation of rape is used to implicate the opponents as the report of rape is taken seriously by seniors, courts, political bosses and media. Using women to get action initiated against opponents is not uncommon in rural areas and is one of the reasons for suspecting and dismissive attitude of the police officers towards complaints of violence against women.

There is no separate room for women to sit, nor any separate toilets. Women were found sitting outside the *Thana* on the footpath or on benches in the tea stall. Strangely enough, even the poor and uneducated women were found to be more vocal and articulate as compared to their males relatives accompanying them. In one instance a middle aged illiterate woman openly accused the *Tafteeshi* that he was bribed by the other party.

> *"Inoon dojay waloon maal milya hey aye taan hi insaaf nahi karda piya".* – (He has been bribed by the other party that's why he is not conducting impartial enquiry.)

She also openly criticized a local politician while sitting in SHO's office, who happened to be sitting there, for siding with her opponents.

> *"Inaan di sheh nan oondhi tey oh aedyey tagray koi nan nain"*-
> (if he was not behind them, they were not so strong themselves).

Some women would even start crying, shouting and screaming. It was quite interesting to note that the *Thana* Staff felt so helpless in dealing with such women. It was seen that due to the awareness provided by media and NGOs, the staff of *Thana* were found quite careful in handling such women. It was also revealed that some of the *Tafteeshis* deliberately avoid handling cases relating to women.

It was observed that treatment of visitors and handling them tactfully varied from one officer to the other. There were no special instructions, training, skills, space and facilities for the ordinary visitors in whatever capacity (as complainant, defendant, witnesses or seeking any other service from the *Thana*) they might come.

4.9 Conclusion

As discussed earlier the locale of the study happens to be a typical rural Punjabi village. The police station, which remained the focus of this study, is a prototype of police stations in Punjab. The community, dominantly poor and agrarian, is not homogenous and is divided on the basis of castes, creed, sects and political affiliations. The community reflects the general trends in the society where power, patronage and politics dominate citizens interaction with the police. The police station itself is the most important unit in the police setup. It is the first and foremost point of interaction with citizens. A police station is the visible face of policing and public image of police is largely shaped by the quality of police service delivery at the police station. It is a police station where citizens lodge a complaint or a FIR (First Information Report) and get their complaints investigated. Offenders are arrested, detained and interrogated generally in a police station. The case property and ammunition are stored, database of criminals maintained and local police operations managed as well. The Criminal Procedure Code1898 and the Police Order 2002 accord enormous powers to the head of police station i.e. the Station House Officer to discharge these functions effectively.

Citizens however are not only intimidated to access police due to an unresponsive and dismissive police attitude towards them but also due to the fact that the physical environment of the police station is unwelcoming and even intimidating. Though in recent years police organizations have strived to improve the infrastructure of the police station to facilitate citizens especially in big urban centers, it still remains less than ideal. In particular, women feel extremely discouraged to visit a highly male dominated facility. There is hardly any separate space earmarked for interacting with

the citizens, interviewing witnesses, carrying out investigations in a professionally conducive and stimulating environment.

Moreover, a police station is not a typical 9-5 government office. It is a 24/7 facility where police officers work round the clock. A substantive number of police officers have to, therefore, reside within the police station-making it a unique place where the working and living space is same. This entails provision of lodging facilities including availability of kitchen and toilets. The absence (or inadequacy) of basic facilities in the police station directly impact the self-image, attitudes, motivation and performance of the police staff.

Chapter 5

Peculiarities, Ceremonies & Rituals of the Police Culture

5.1   Introduction

The working of a *Thana* has many distinctive peculiar characteristics which not only make it different from any other organization or office but also play an important role in shaping the police (*Thana*) culture. These peculiarities pertaining to the nature of job and work environment impact upon the behavior, attitude and p erformance of the personnel working in a *Thana.* Similarly, the language and symbols used in the *Thana* has an important influence on the outlook of the *Thana* and its working. Like other types of cultures the police culture is reinforced by a number of ceremonies and rituals such as *Darbar, Bara Khana*, Inspections, and Burial Ceremony etc.

5.2   Peculiarities of 'Police Culture'

This chapter discusses these peculiarities of the police culture and analyzes their impact and influence on police interaction with associated communities.

5.2.1   A Thankless job

One 37 years old graduate police officer, who entered the police in the rank of ASI informed as to how social environment has changed him and his colleagues over years. As new entrants into police, they recalled, they had at least some idealism. However, initially when they would try to behave honestly they used to be taunted with the comments,

> "*Nawan aayay hain sonaian, chetti aa jain ga apni lane tey*" – (you seem to be stranger here soon you will fall in line (with rest of us)) - meaning thereby that your honesty would be short-lived.

They further informed that initially they also tried to exhibit qualities of a good cop such as tolerance, sympathy, and a friendly and helping attitude during their daily

contact with the public. However, they noted that the attitude of the public was generally unappreciative. Through continued exposure to such unappreciative behavior the level of motivation diminished and they started behaving like other cops.

A 54 years old Sub Inspector with 26 years of police service complained that,

> "while the public in general and public representatives in particular are quick to complain against us, there are hardly any instances where they have genuinely appreciated us for our good work and conveyed it to our seniors. Even in cases where such appreciation is conveyed it is mostly on personal and political considerations."

This public attitude, they insisted, leads to a growing frustration among the officers.

He also complained that,

> "the public especially media, politicians, courts and NGOs only notice our failings and mistakes whether big or small. They do not appreciate the preventive measures that we take whereby many incidents of crime, terrorism, accidents and other evils are thwarted. We are not given any credit for this work. Similarly, we arrest many accused persons on a daily basis but public focuses only on those who are not arrested."

Many officers shared their disappointment that public also don't generally appreciate the long and arduous duty hours, the fact that police works even on public holidays (*Eid* and *Moharam*) when almost everyone else is not working. For instance, a 59 years old DSP retiring within a years complained that,

> "the police is the only department which has presence in all parts of the country, and there is no *Thana* in which at least two to three policemen are not present at any given time. The intelligence agencies, media and NGOs collect a lot of information through police and often use the same to reflect negatively on police performance and the police itself."

He was of the view that people who misuse police are often the first to blame it. Police, he argued is the only agency who has highest causalities during peace time but police's sacrifices are not given as much value as accorded to officers from other forces. A 48 year old Head Constable with 23 years of experience showed his frustration that the public is critical of the police but they hardly take any initiative to reform it;

149

> "*Lok chanday nain issi faristey bun jayey per doojay saray shaitan hi rawan.*" - (The public expects police to behave like angels, but the society does not provide any conducive environment.)

Responding to such complaint of public behavior a retired Superintendent of Police informed that,

> "one reason for lack of public appreciation, is that police has never tried to meaningfully engage members of the public and communicate to them on the background of police work what exactly are the risks involved in carrying it out what are the benefits for the public and other details. So whenever, something negative relating to police work is seen or reported it is presumed that it must have been due to police corruption."

An office clerk who works in the education department in Sargodha and commutes daily from his village reported an incident where he was travelling in a van when at some point they saw two policemen arguing with a truck driver and trying to pull him down. Someone from the van commented:

> "*innan noon hadi na pai hoi gi*" – (meaning they would not have been given the bone "(bribe)"), and almost everyone seconded to this impression.

He said that the policemen might be very honest and doing a great job by stopping and checking a driver who might have done something serious. He might have killed a pedestrian somewhere, but nobody thought about that and everybody assumed that the policemen stopped him to extort money. He was of the view as long as this perception about police exists, public cannot genuinely appreciate police working. A senior police officer in the rank of SSP with 18 years of police experience commenting on this issued opined that,

> "The public expects the police to handle situations of violent nature, and the possibility of a police officer being injured or even killed is simply one of the risks of the job. Yet, in spite of the high expectations of the police, public opinion generally grants the police occupation relatively low status in comparison to other occupations. For example, army and paramilitary forces have more prestige in the eyes of the public than the police. The disparity between the demands of the job and the low prestige accorded to it contributes to producing a cynical police attitude. If the police does

hundred things without any problem it is not appreciated but if something go wrong somewhere, the police is universally condemned, often without being heard."

This lack of appreciation either from seniors, courts or public has implication for police culture. The police have developed thinking that, whatever they do, whatever risk they take, it would not be sufficient to change public perception. So they should do whatever they feel is right and suits them. Secondly, they think that public criticism of police is an easy way of ventilation of frustration with overall system and should not be taken seriously. Thirdly, continued criticism has hardened their attitudes as they think it carries no serious threat to their individual careers.

5.2.2   An endless job

The police officers interviewed revealed another aspect of 'police job' by saying that it is not only thankless but also an endless one. For example, one 48 years old police Inspector informed that,

> "if a most wanted criminal is arrested, the seniors demand that he should be properly interrogated and maximum stolen property be recovered from his accomplices and they too should be arrested promptly. The procedural formalities of arrest and remand should be observed. The confession statements under Section 164 are to be approved by the supervisory officers and his identification parade arranged. If any of these tasks is not properly done, then we get admonished by the seniors or courts. The police job is, therefore, highly demanding and chances of committing mistakes, unwittingly, are quite high with proportionally high chances of getting punished if such mistakes are subsequently detected."

A 50 years old Sub Inspector with 23 years of police service who is working as Investigation Officer (*Tafteeshi*) commented on the never ending nature of a police officer's job in these words;

> "If a most wanted criminal is arrested the next step would be very lengthy process of investigation. If he reveals information about his accomplices, previous crimes or stolen property or weapons used in commission of crime, the police officer has to plan the arrest of his accomplices, collect details of his past criminal record and recover the hidden weapons or stolen property. *Tafteeshi* has also to complete the procedural formalities

and paper work to meet the judicial requirements of production of arrested person before a magistrate, either for getting his remand for police custody or consideration of his bail application. All this is a time consuming process, more so, if he has to appear in the High Court or before DPO etc."

It was also observed that during public events police work starts much earlier than the scheduled time of an event continues long after it has formally ended. For instance when public rallies or congregations end such as on *Moharram* or *Eid*, the police has to stay there till the total dispersion of the crowd in order to prevent any attack on the remaining members of public.

5.2.3 Unpredictability and fluidity

During the course of study another peculiar characteristic of police culture was noticed, i.e. the unpredictability and fluidity of police work. The police has to respond to situations in a variety of social settings, involving either very sophisticated persons, localities, offices on the one hand and slums and highly violent persons on the other hand, Between these two extremes are other settings, mosques, schools, offices, where the police officer has to conduct himself according to the circumstances and conditions, each situation is unique in itself. What is common to all these locations and situations is that there are no fixed official guidelines or instructions on how to tackle the state of affairs. In such a case the police use its discretion and resort to arrests only when it has been either influenced or bribed or the nature of the crime is so heinous that arrest is inevitable.

5.2.4 Danger

The police is the only profession in which officers are killed and injured by use of arms during peace times. Moreover, they have to arrest people, many a times, which are dangerous, desperate and mostly armed. The threat of potential violence/danger, therefore, constitutes an important element of police job. The element of danger is so

integral to the policeman's daily work that he consciously or unconsciously becomes used to it and thus tends to overlook it; otherwise it has the potential to induce emotional barriers in the performance of his job. On the positive side it can also make his job more thrilling and challenging and keeps police officers alert to their surrounding and potential threats. A healthy measure of suspicion is a requirement for effective performance of the police task. Studies of police culture, especially in the context of America, have revealed that the presence of danger in police job makes police officers more suspicious of certain surroundings, situations and persons. Due to their repeated experiences, over a period of time, the policeman tends to identify certain types of individuals (on the basis of their peculiar gestures, language, attire or looks) as potentially suspicious or violent persons. Such preconceived notions about certain categories of individuals or profiling may lead to certain types of discrimination. Moreover, the existence of the element of threat also compels police officers to develop strong dependence on each other, which ultimately results in two other aspects of 'police culture', 'solidarity' within the force and their 'isolation' from larger society. Another consequence of the presence of element of 'danger' is that police overreacts to a situation. When, the police officer is challenged or confronted by a citizen or a suspect, he feels exposed to danger and challenge to his authority as a police officer. In such a situation the rules and procedural requirements are often pushed to the back seat.

It was observed that element 'danger' was not so visibly apparent in the conversations among police officers in the *Thana*, though they discussed certain odd cases where former colleagues or officers from other *Thanas* died during performance of job. They, however, rarely approached the topic as an immediate cause of concern for their own safety. Rather, it was observed that officers, during "*Nakka*" duty and raids,

did not even wear bullet proof vests as they were not taking the potential threat seriously. Most of them had a fatalistic view of death as a 37 years Constable:

> "*jidi ayi huay oh taldi koi nahin*" meaning by that "death is inescapable and it is preordained so there is no real use of taking precautions".

Nonetheless, despite infrequency of real dangerous encounters, the uncertainty and an ever present apprehension of a violent situation becomes unconsciously a mental and physical tension that permeates the officer's behavior. A 52 years old Inspector posted as SHO informed that,

> "once we had gathered over a farewell dinner in a restaurant for a colleague who was retiring next day. In mid of the dinner, the SHO of that area was informed about some dacoits having entered a house. As the senior officers were also present, the SHO left the dinner and went to the place of incident. While the dinner was not still over, the message was received through wireless that SHO has been shot dead by the dacoits. While the dead body of the SHO was being taken to hospital, we are asked to go after the dacoits. We could not even attend the burial of the SHO as we again got busy in interrogation of the suspects whom we had arrested and then another group of officers had to be sent to arrest some other suspects."

A retired Sub Inspector admitted that,

> "the *Thana* police hesitate or avoids going after certain hardened criminals as they fear severe resistance from them. So while policemen may appear to be not over concerned with presence of threat in performance of their duties, they might not always be willing to promptly confront the hardened criminals. This is one reason why public blames police for looking the other way even if they are informed about presence of certain wanted criminals."

During the course of study it was noticed that police has too much self confidence that police uniform deters any potential criminals from taking on policemen. They assume that in ordinary circumstances the common criminals would not dare to come in direct confrontation with the police. If police officer is too hyper in his zeal against criminals and becomes too personal in getting them, the threat to his person increases manifold. That may explain why police does just what is necessary and seem half-

hearted in its efforts.

The growing tendency of criminals to resort to violence in the commission of crimes has, however, rendered the police job much more risky and hazardous than ever before. Quite a number of policemen get killed or injured seriously in the discharge of their duties year after year. Most of the officials who got killed or injured were Constable and Head Constable (*Havaldar*).

5.2.5   Petti bhra' phenomenon – 'the Police brotherhood'

When the policemen have to face hazardous and dangerous situations in discharging their duties, or when they are complained against, the only immediate assistance they can expect to be available is from their fellow police officers. Due to this interdependence they develop a kind of unwritten covenant of loyalty and brotherhood normatively known as '*petti bhra'* literally meaning 'brother with similar belt' or 'brothers in uniform'. This bond is so strong that even serious misbehavior by an officer may go unreported. In western literature on police culture it has been termed as 'code of silence'. If one officer dares to say something against the other he is stigmatized.

During the course of study it was observed that though officers privately discussed and shared the stories of abuses, extortions, exploits and other forms of misconduct they would neither formally complain against such officers nor would they give any testimony against them if a citizen lodges a complaint. It was also observed that police officers, who would often privately complain against the conduct of *Moharrir*, would not dare to officially complain against him, though he may not be actually senior to them. One SDPO informed that most of the complaints of fellow police officers are anonymous. A seasoned DSP with 30 years of policing experience e explained as to why policemen are often reluctant to complain or witness against

fellow policemen;

> "the police work is very challenging and almost all the time there is a chance of something going wrong somewhere. So if one cop complains against another, he would feel more exposed to complaints against him as well on some other account. So the good cop for community becomes the bad cop for colleagues and gets ostracized."

One directly recruited 40 years old ASI narrated his own story that,

> "initially when I tried to report misconducts to my senior or inform him about the irregularities being committed in the investigation or in relation to some social evils being patronized by certain police officers I was asked to do my own job and not to poke my nose into others' affairs. I was labeled as a '*Fauji*' meaning a person who is not ready to bend himself to adapt to the situation. Consequently I was sent to *Naka* duty as a punishment where I had to stay wake whole night and check vehicles in very harsh weather."

5.2.6   Symbols

The most important symbol in the police force is that of rank. Rank is displayed through "pips". Constables and *Havaldars*, the lowest ranks in the police hierarchy, do not have any pips. *Havaldars* are distinguished from constables through wearing three red strips on the left arm. These strips are popularly known as '*bilay*" or '*pittian*'. One 58 years old Head Constable with 35 years of police career informed that,

> "For many constables it is big honor and an achievement if they can become *Havaldars* as it would give them some status, distinction, authority and relief as they are not ordinarily deployed on exhausting sentry duties**."**

During course of study, a constable who was nearing retirement, appeared before the SHO and requested him that he should arrange his 'shoulder' or out of turn promotion (the issue is discussed in more detail in section pertaining to promotions in next chapter). The SHO asked him as why he is so keen to get promoted as materially it

would make not much difference, in terms of duties and salary. The constable replied that,

> "*Sir mainoon do pittian lug jan gian tey kunbay qabeelay wich meri kuj izzat ho jai gi judoon lok mainoon kainan gey Valdar G, Valdar G,* - (if I can display the rank of *Havaldar*, it would enhance my status among his family, acquaintances and fellow villagers who would call me *Valdar* (a local version of word *Havaldar.*)"[87]

Ranks, therefore, symbolize the power and authority of an officer, which are important determinants of social status. The ASI has one pip, the SI two pips and the Inspector three pips. A DSP has also three pips but their shape is different from that of an Inspector. An ASP[88] who is equivalent to a DSP wears one pip during training, two after completing the training and three when he completes five years in service. But usually before he completes five years' service he is promoted to the rank of SP. However, if he is not promoted within five years he still continues to wear only two pips as he does not want to be presumed as DSP by the public as the shape of pips of ASP and DSP is the same.[89] The status gap between the senior and junior ranks is too wide and hence the later remain dissatisfied which is often reflected in their negative attitude towards citizens.

Another distinction is the shoulder pin. While in case of PSP[90] officers, the letters PSP are inscribed on it, the shoulder pin worn by non PSP officers has the word 'POLICE' inscribed on it. This distinction between shoulder pins goes up to the rank of SP.

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[87] The term *Havaldar* is again a reminiscent of military origins of police in the subcontinent.

[88] An ASP is directly inducted to Police Service of Pakistan (PSP) through a nationwide competitive examination called Central Superior Service Exam, held annually for recruiting highly talented young graduates into the Civil Services including the Police Service.

[89] Though on the shoulder pin of an ASP, the letters PSP are inscribed which denote his status as PSP officer.

[90] PSP stands for Police Service of Pakistan, an elite cadre of directly inducted federal police officers who enjoy a fast track career progression and more privileges as compared to officers who join in other ranks.

When an officer is promoted to rank of SSP (BS-19) he does not wear any shoulder pin.[91] This small difference between the inscriptions on shoulder pins has huge implications for the prestige, status and authority/influence of the officer.

In a highly hierarchical organization, another symbol of power and influence is level of intimacy that an officer enjoys with his seniors. One 52 years old Inspector posted as SHO informed that,

> "An indication of an officer's closeness to a senior is assumed, if he is assigned certain special or personal tasks or if his advice is given more weightage by that senior. An officer, whose closeness to his senior is established this way, usually enjoys more authority and influence and his juniors take his orders more seriously."

It was interesting to observe that there are certain other unwritten norms which indicate the power status among different officers. For instance if three officers are walking the senior would be in the middle, usually a step ahead, the junior to him would be on the left side and the most junior on the right side walking a step behind.

Ceremonial stick is another symbol that indicates the level and status of officers. Up to SHO level the officers do not carry any ceremonial stick.[92] The design of the stick changes when an officer is promoted to rank of SSP. Some officers have these sticks imported from abroad. A stick is different from baton which was earlier used by police, as well as from a '*Lathi*' (long and thick stick) used to control crowds and phrase "*Lathi Charge*" is after used to describe police beating.

Beret or cap, an integral part of every officer's uniform is another important symbol. The badge on the top right front of the beret is made of silver color metal with inscription of PP and emblem of Punjab Police. The metallic emblem is placed on a red leather or raxine material. From ASP/DSP upwards the emblem is made in silver

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[91] Usually the officers from ranks are inducted in the PSP cadre in BS-19.

[92] Previously, a constable while going out on patrolling or law & order duty used to carry a stick also.

embroidery. For PSP officers the letters 'PSP' are inscribed on the badge while 'PP' (Punjab Police) are inscribed for non-PSP officers. On ceremonial occasions such as parades, *Khuli Kucheries, Darbars* etc the senior officer prefers to wear 'Peak' caps. These caps indicate the senior status of the officer and add to their personality.

Blue light on cars/jeeps is another symbol which carries a special significance for police officers. Traditionally the blue light was used by police officers, district or sub divisional magistrates, a minister or senior judges. So the blue revolving light symbolizes that some very senior personality is present in that vehicle. Gradually, other unauthorized and lower ranking officials and private persons started using the blue revolving lights on their cars/jeeps thereby decreasing the awe among the junior police, which was created by the sight of blue lights. However, the sight of blue lights on vehicles carrying official number plates still makes them alert.

The senior officer sits on the front seat of a jeep and usually does not wear a headgear while in the vehicle.[93] When a senior officer uses a car, he sits on the left side of backseat of the car while his gunman sits on the front seat. If the senior officer desires that a junior officer should also accompany him he would sit on the right side of (the senior) on the back seat. It is considered impolite to sit in the car before a senior does.. The driver of the vehicle after starting a vehicle would stay half outside the vehicle till the senior is seated. As a mark of respect some officers would open or close of the vehicle for a senior.

It is usually assumed that as big cars Pajeros, Prados, etc are owned by rich and influential people, stopping them would be inviting trouble so it is avoided and the people who are stopped during *Nakka bandis* are motorcyclists or ordinary motorists. With regard to dressing an individual wearing starched *shalwar qameez*, expensive

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[93] Such an action by driver is seen as impolite and indisciplined behavior.

sunglasses, watch or studs and carrying an expensive mobile phone is presumed as a person who must be having good social status and hence he is spared from routine police checking. Even if the sentry at the *Thana* asks such a person about his identity, whatever he tells about himself, rightly or wrongly, it is accepted by the sentry without verification. Sometimes, he may even unwittingly salute such person. This underlines the fact that social status is deeply embedded in police culture and mindset and a policeman would generally extend respect to a person whom he thinks may either be of benefit to him or could do some potential harm; he will not care much for a person whom he considers of low social standing. This attitude is reflective of the prevailing behavior and psychology in the society.

Colors are another symbol visible in the *Thana* setting. There are two colors which have a sort of official sanction i.e. red and blue which are used to indicate police buildings, sign boards and vehicles.

5.2.7   Language

There are at least three languages which are used in the *Thana*. Although most of the forms and laws, rules relating to working of *Thana* are in English[94] but day to day correspondence including writing of FIRs, case diaries and other procedural work, is carried out in Urdu. However the operative language of conversation is Punjabi.

Many phrases used in FIRs, Daily Diary Reports or Case Diaries are inherited from early British period when highly Persianised Urdu was still in vogue. For example, a police officer while making entry into daily diary would use phrases such as "*Mun musammi, rawana barai muskan hota hooon"*. The pure Persian words still in vogue in the *Thana* include '*Arinda*' (coming) (*Arinda constable ASI/SI*) or *Farseenda*

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[94] Most of them, though originally drafted in English, are also available in Urdu.

(leaving) or departing (*Farseenda Constable/ ASI/SI*). Some other examples of particular police vocabulary include, words like *Qalandra, Istighasa, Rahbari, Zarar, Naqab zani, Naqs-ie-Aman, Roshan Ali martab rahai ,Girah khud, Bandi dalna*[95], *Imroz*.[96] The use of such phrases has gone into disuse in the rest of society but it still exists in the *Thana* world.

The *Thana* and other police offices also have a very unique nomenclature which is usually not found in other government offices. Such as *Moharrir, Bara Munshi, Chotta Munshi*, Reader, OASI etc. The style in which most of the *Thana* work is written is called *Shikasta*. Only after a careful reading and being familiar with writing of the policeman one can decipher what is written in an FIR or a case diary. This style was prevalent in 19th & early 20th century and is no more in use other than the *Thana* or *Kutchery* (courts). The world of *Thana* is almost frozen in time oblivious to changes and developments which have taken place in the recent past. If the language is any indicator of the time line, the *Thana* is still lagging behind the changes in society by at least 50 years. The English language used in official correspondence also the use of certain pet words and phrases making it peculiar and distinctive. For example, *Rapat* (a distortion of word report) is the word frequently used in the *Thana*. It refers to a report of incident or event recorded in the Daily Diary of the *Thana*[97]. The terms and phrases used to describe professional police work such as "crime control", "crowd control" and "control room" (as opposed to modern corresponding terms of crime management, crowd management, and operations room) are also

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[95] To formally arrest someone, against the common practice of keeping person informally in the lock up, is called Bandi daalna.

[96] Imroz (meaning today) is another Persian word commonly used in police vocabulary whereas in rest of society more widely used (officially and unofficially) word is "Aaj".

[97] Copy of report given or sent to concerned persons for intimation or record if so required is known as Naqal Rapat.

reflective of the authoritarian traditions and mindset. Similarly, when a disturbance or law and order situation has been pacified it is remarked that the situation is under control. A 52 years old Inspector also shared that when senior officers show their dissatisfaction with performance of an officer they say:

> "*uss ka illaqay pey control nahin, uss ka mulazmoon pey control nahin*" - (meaning by that he does not have effective control on crime in his area of jurisdiction or men under his command).

Modern terminology like personnel management, information management or resource management is still not in vogue in police vocabulary. How police language reflects the norms of police culture is reflected in the use of word Duties[98] to refer to different police functions. The use of word "duty" connotes an imposed function which has to be discharged willy nilly. The duty is, therefore, often taken as a burden and not carried out wholeheartedly. The personnel when deployed for security or other purposes are also called a "Duty". A Head Moharrir (in the rank of Head Constable) with 15 years experience informed that a compliance report to seniors is usually worded like this:

> "*sir duty bhej di hey, duty rawana hey ya duty laga di hey*" - (the police personnel have been sent, they are on their way or have been deployed).

Police personnel also complaint of long working hours as "*Lamian dutian*" "Long shifts". Another common word used in *Thana* affairs is *'fatique'*; a distorted version of English word 'fatigue'. It connotes those tasks or errands assigned by senior officers or politicians etc. SHO or on his behalf some other officials of the *Thana* may transfer a *fatique* to a member of the community. One example of this was collection of edible and other items for flood victims. The IG asked the DPO to collect the donations for Flood Relief Package on behalf of provincial police. DPO tasked to

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[98] Even the Police Order 2002, which is believed to be a progressive law uses term 'duties' when it refers to police obligations towards human rights and service oriented functions.

different SHOs who in turn asked traders, businessmen and other well off people to arrange these donations. The peculiarity of *Thana* language is not only found in the written correspondence but is also reflected in the conversion style of the *Thana* staff. For example, a phrase often used by SHO or a DSP, while they talk to senior officers on phone is:

"*Sir Kur laitay hain*" - (sir we will get it done).

This is polite way of indicating that the task or favor being asked is not so easy but for the sake of person asking it, the officer will do his best. If he uses phrase, "*ho jata haiy*" (sir it will be done) it implies that it's not a big issue and will be done promptly. If the SHO/IO says, "*Sir Taammeel Hogi*" (sir the orders will be complied) it indicates the importance and influence of other person and implies that the task being assigned will be completed efficiently. It was observed that many smart officers use such polite and humble phrases to immediate or distant seniors or political, bureaucratic, military or judicial figures to indicate their subordination.

This tone of complete subordination and humility is also often witnessed on many other occasions. For instance, if a junior officer wants to appear before a senior officer he would usually write in his application that:

"*Junab arz marrooz key liyaye paish hoona chatay hain*" – (I want an audience with your honor to submit my humble requests).

Similarly, when someone wants to communicate something to a senior especially in a meeting, he would start by saying:

"*sir agar ijazat ho to arz karoon*"- (If permitted may I submit please).

The junior ranks when appearing before the seniors for requesting a favor such as withdrawal of a punishment or grant of leave etc would often say:

"*Junab Mai baap hain*" – (sir you are like parents) and "*hum Junab key bachay hain*"- (we are like your children).

This implies that senior officer should be forgiving, generous and benevolent like parents are to children. Such behavior in a formal organization is indicative of strong socio-cultural imprints on officers' personalities which even the police training and socialization could not diminish. When an SHO is about to leave his office, he calls the Office Orderly and tells him:

"*Garhi lagwa do*" (Get the car/vehicle ready).

When a senior asks about a particular official as to whether he has been sent on leave or to a new place of posting it is generally replied:

"*sir rawangi kar di hey*" – (he has been sent sir).

When a senior officer sends for a junior officer, the messenger (an Office Orderly or a peon) tells that junior officer that:

"*sir janab ko sab yad kar rahay nain*" – (you are being called by the chief).

Very specific phrases have travelled down from generations and have not undergone any change. Interestingly, this not only reinforces notions about the conservative nature of the police culture, but also signifies the resilience of the police culture, change and innovation.

5.3   Ceremonies/ rituals of the police culture

This section dilates upon the rituals, ceremonies, and practices generally observed in the police; not only on special occasions but also in day to day activities. All these are manifestations and expressions of the beliefs and values held by different tiers of the police force ranging from the constable to the IGP. These are ingrained in the police culture, customs and traditions spanning over centuries. They have been derived from accumulated practices prevailing during the past, ranging from the times of the British Raj, the various monarchies which ruled the Sub-Continent, and the assorted military traditions, all against the wide ranging religious backdrop.

The following discussion will describe the concept, origin, practice, usefulness and expediency of a *Darbar*, *bara khana*, orderly room, inspections, and death/*shahdat*. This discourse reflects upon cultural genesis and importance of these rituals, ceremonies and practices from different perspectives. The discussion also provides an opportunity to review practices like *sifarish* which impact police working in many ways.

5.3.1 Darbar

The word "*Darbar*" literally means Royal Court. A holy shrine is also referred to as *Darbar* in Urdu. However, in police terminology it means holding of an open meeting with the police officials of a district or region during the visit of an IGP. The tradition of "*Darbar*" originates from British times and was held to give a chance to junior officers, in a very rigid hierarchical organization, to freely interact with their senior most officers. The notification of holding a *Darbar* is sent a few days earlier and each unit is asked to send a certain number of officials representing different ranks to attend the *Darbar*.

During the course of this study one such *Darbar* was held at the District Sargodha Police Lines. A contingent from *Thana Shahpur* headed by the SHO participated in the *Darbar*. They had made special preparations for the occasion. The police officers had a fresh hair cut and shave, got their shoes properly polished and ironed uniform. However, the Deputy Superintendent Police (DSP) *Shahpur*, on inspection of the contingent, before its departure for the *Darbar*, issued instructions for further improvement in their turn-out. He also directed that only problems of collective nature are to be highlighted at the *Darbar* and no individual issue or complaint should be raised.

Darbar, being a significant occasion, attracted many activities at the venue of *Darbar* i.e. the District Police Lines Headquarters. A large '*Shamaina*' (canopy) was erected, open floor carpeted, and seating arrangements made for over 500 officers. Space was marked separately for each district. A few hours before the start of *Darbar*, the Regional Police Officer (RPO) also visited the venue and issued directions accordingly. The officers of the rank of DSP and above were seated on sofas on the two front rows, thus marking their seniority.

IGP addressing the *Darbar* at Police Lines Sargodha

On the stage three chairs were placed for the IGP in the centre, flanked by the RPO on right, and for District Police Officer (DPO) Sargodha on the left, who being the host of the *Darbar*, also acted as the Master of the Ceremony. The *Darbar* started with a recitation from the Holy Quran. The verses recited on the occasion referred to the importance of justice.

The welcome speech by the RPO highlighted the contributions of the incumbent IGP in providing leadership, guidance and the efforts he had made for the welfare of the constabulary. The speech was interspersed with highly regimented clapping by the junior officers. He assured the IGP that officers and men would leave no stone unearthed to come up to his expectations.

The IGP in his speech highlighted the sacrifices and achievements of the police in the fight against terrorism. However, he lamented that the fact that despite a rise in salaries and provision of many facilities, the behavior of police with community had not changed for the better. This was proving highly embarrassing for police leadership and he warned that the police have to reciprocate the benefits; it had been awarded, through improvement in its performance and behavior.

Holding the *Darbar* was more a ceremonial and symbolic ritual rather than a substantive activity to inspire and motivate the ranks. Because of this the impact was momentary, hardly contributed in bridging the gap between senior and junior officers. The common and connecting thread between the leadership and constabulary was absent and junior officers appeared detached and spiritless. Too many the main attraction of the *Darbar* was the *Bara Khana,* so they spent the evening in enjoying the food. At the end of the *Darbar* the Police band played tunes of old English, Indian and Punjabi songs and the IGP stayed with them for a while and announced cash prizes for the band.

5.3.2   *Bara Khana*

Bara Khana is a term which literally means 'Big Feast'. In the police and military terminology it, however, also refers to a grand gathering followed by the meal. *Bara Khana* is arranged on different occasions, to celebrate the successful completion of the challenging and exhausting police tasks such as *Moharram, Eids* or elections. *Bara Khana* also provides an opportunity for management to express their gratitude to the police officers and entertain them with some amusement. Usually, the *Bara khana* is arranged in the evening, but on some occasions such as *Darbar* of IGP or on *Eids* it can also be held during the day time.

The most distinguishing feature of a '*Bara Khana*' is that first, food (from the same menu) is served to everyone from the constable up to highest officer present on the occasion. Secondly, the senior most officers go to the every table and informally chat with the junior officers. Normally, all the participants are in white "*shalwar qameez*". The meal usually consists of rice, curry, nans and a sweet dish called Zarda, sometimes, however, it can be more sumptuous.

On the occasion of '*Bara Khana*' officers from other departments especially district administration, judiciary, army are also invited, in addition to local politicians and media personnel. The general atmosphere is disciplined and sober but relaxed. Even very senior officers, who otherwise are very strict and reserved, appear jovial and pleasant on this occasion. Each unit is represented through a contingent comprised of all ranks.

Sometimes, the *Bara Khana* is followed by music and skits depicting the plight of the policemen, their deprivations and their frustrations. For instance, one skit showed how the junior officers are thwarted from following the law by senior officers because they have been approached by influential opponent parties. One senior officer on behalf of the complainant party directs the *Moharrir* to immediately arrest and put the accused in the lock up. Accordingly he arrests the person. In the meantime the party of accused person approaches the next senior officers who orders release of the accused. The *Thana* staff is thus forced to release him immediately.

Most popular skits are the ones which make parody of a relatively strict disciplinarian officer. Mostly, these performances are produced by some of the talented ones amongst the constabulary. Sometimes a professional performer usually a folksinger is invited. Some of the participants start dance on the beat of a popular number and others, even the shy officials, also join them. The function lasts till midnight. Usually

after the *Khana* is served there are no official ceremonial formalities. *Bara Khana* was more a source of joy and fun in the days when the *Thanas* were too remote and not so well connected with their Headquarters and there were not so many sources of entertainment and fun. However, *Bara Khana* is still used to instill organizational spirit and to demonstrate senior officers' appreciation of the work of the junior officers.

5.3.3 Orderly room

While the public has complaints about police non-responsiveness, lack of empathy and a dismissive behavior, police officers themselves face many problems in accessing their seniors. To facilitate and regularize their interaction with senior officers there is a well established mechanism of Orderly Room. The Orderly Room (commonly known as OR) refers to hearing of personnel's grievances, complaints, leave requests and disciplinary matters of officers from the Constable level up to that of Inspector. OR is an important point of interaction between senior officers and their juniors. The OR is usually held once in a week but, depending upon the availability of the concerned officer it can be less frequent. The proceedings of OR are conducted in a very serious and disciplined manner. Different units are informed in advance listing those who should be present in the OR on a particular date and time. Accordingly, all those who have been summoned or want to appear on their own come to the office of the concerned officer.

A retired Sub Inspector who served as Office Assistant Sub Inspector (OASI) with different DPOs informed that,

> "the officers appearing in OR are expected to be present with a fresh haircut, clean and ironed uniform, nameplate, shoes polished and other uniform articles well exhibited. Some senior officers are very particular on this account and may punish the officer on shabby dressing. Some officers experience great anxiety prior to the meeting; others, who fear a negative

> decision on a disciplinary issue (misconduct) try to arrange a recommendation from "*sifarish*" from an influential person."

Sometimes the OR does not start at the given time and they have a long wait. Before the OR starts, the 'Reader' of the senior officer presents him a file listing names of the officers, who are appearing on that particular day. In the mean time the summoned officials waiting outside the office are made to stand in attention in single file. When the Reader calls the first officer, his name is repeated loudly by drill incharge who is also present on this occasion. After speaking out his name he says "*baainey say sidha chal*" "march straight". After he has taken few steps and reaches at center of the table across which senior officer is sitting, he is again cautioned "*daainey murh*" (Turn Right) "*Ruk*" "Stop" and "*samnay salam*" (Front Salute). The appearing officer salutes the senior officer and then stands at attention.

The senior officer asks him about the allegation made in the Show Cause Notice (SCN) and why he committed the alleged misconduct. The officer defends his conduct and explains his position. Generally he denies the allegations and usually attributes it to misunderstanding on the part of the reporting officer. The senior officer, after asking more relevant questions the Enquiry Clerk and the Reader about the overall conduct of the officer. If the past record is not grave and the nature of misconduct is not serious, the SCN would be filed or a minor punishment handed out. Some officials would accept it happily as no major punishment is given. However, some would request for forgiveness arguing that their record has been clean till that day and there has been no red entry. Disposal of minor misconduct issues takes place in few minutes. However, in cases where a major misconduct has been alleged against the official, the senior goes in great details, studying the whole allegation, checking the past conduct of the officer and enquiring about his repute. He would also listen to the arguments of the officer and judge after looking at all different aspects. If it

appears to him that this was an isolated, one off, kind of act then he would be lenient in inflicting a punishment but if sees a pattern of negative and deviant behavior then a strict punishment, usually called "major punishment" is announced.

All the punishments are recorded in a register held by the 'Enquiry Clerk' and after every entry it is signed by the senior officer, who awarded the punishment. This is a check against any tampering of the record and also an easy checking method for the senior officer to recall what punishment he had given, when he would later sign a detailed order. At the end of each decision the same drill is repeated i.e. "*samanay salam*" "*daayney murh*" "*jaldi chal*" "Salute, Turn Right, Quick March".

As mentioned above, apart from disciplinary matters heard in OR there are also others which vary from grant of leave to allocation of official quarters, recruitment of a son or relative, any issue regarding seniority etc. The officials who wish to appear in OR on such accounts have to first take permission from the in-charge of the unit where he is posted. The officers usually try to request for the problems of the juniors in the OR as this would be an opportunity for them to show their concern and care for their juniors.

The institution of OR, basically is a remnant of the military origins of police it was a very useful instrument to provide a rare opportunity to lower ranks to have direct access to their seniors. This was also a way to prevent the junior officers from approaching outsiders for getting their problems resolved. However, this purpose is not being served. First, because if the issues pertaining to postings, promotions, discipline or other departmental matters are to be decided in the OR they have to be according to laid down policies, procedures and rules of the department. But those who don't believe in adhering to rules don't rely on OR and directly approach people

who can influence the senior officers to decide things in their favor irrespective of existing rules and policies. For these people there is little utility of the OR.

In that backdrop the significance of OR has diminished but it is still used by some officers to convey to the constabulary their care and concern for them and also to build a personal rapport with them. A former DPO, narrating his personal experience in this regard, observed that,

> "regular holding of OR gives officers the opportunity to present their grievances, problems or proposals and thus build a better rapport with the constabulary. However, despite this, a certain percentage of officers would still come with the "*sifarish*" of political or other influential persons".

Sometimes, politicians or other persons make "*sifarish*" on their own, even without being approached by an officer to either oblige the concerned police officer or to get him posted for advancing their own interests.

Discussions with constabulary revealed that the institution of OR can only be credible when officers decide things on merit and make junior officers feel that their grievances can be addressed if they appear in OR. Otherwise if postings and transfers are carried out on political considerations then not many officers will take the institution of OR seriously.

5.3.4   Inspection

During the period under observation, it was noted that the frequency of the senior officers visiting the *Thana* varied from rank to rank. The most frequent visiting officer is the DSP of the area followed by the DPO. No officer of the rank of DIG and IGP visited the *Thana*. The visits of the senior police officers are categorized as formal and informal. The informal visits are unannounced and brief. They may drop-in while they are patrolling the area, or when a serious crime has taken place in the jurisdiction of the *Thana*. DSP or DPO may conduct an informal inspection of the *Thana* at any time he wants and does not have to inform the *Thana* staff in advance.

During the informal inspection the visiting officer goes around the PS building and especially checks the Lock Up and *Malkhana*. Then he comes to the SHO's room and requests him for the crime report of a certain period, usually of last quarter; he questions the SHOs and *Tafteshis* about the progress in different cases and also issues instructions in certain cases. During one visit the DPO was very annoyed with the performance of certain *Tafteshis* and he warned them that they would be issued Show Cause Notices. The DPO also enquired of the names of the detainees in the lock up and asked in which cases they had been arrested. He also enquired about the detainees regarding allegations against them. All of them denied the allegation and pleaded, some even crying, that they had wrongly been implicated in false cases. The SHO very discretely informed the DPO that they were lying and that he had proofs of their involvement.

During subsequent discussions the *Tafteeshis* also briefed the DPO and assured him that they are genuinely arrested and they have evidence against them. Their typical reply was,

> "*sir bakwas karday nain saday kole suboot hain nain*" – (sir they are lying, we have sufficient evidence showing their involvement in cases).

At the end of his inspection he entered a note in the Inspection Register called "13 No register." The SHO was directed to send a typed copy of the note to DPO office. The copy was accordingly sent to the DPO office next day and after two days the note came back with a formal letter. The DPO also issued two Show Cause Notices against the *Tafteeshis*, who had not done proper investigation. It was observed that the *Tafteeshis* did not show much concern over the receipts of Show Cause Notices. In one instance a 58 years old Head Constable remarked:

> "*aih kerhi naween gal hey meno phelay wi so toon uthay show cause mil chukay nain*". "*Judoon paishi aiyeee gi aapan MPA sab di gal*

> *DPO sab nal karwa diyan gey"-* (It is not something new; I have already received over 100 Show Cause Notices. When I will be called to appear before the DPO, I will ask the MPA to talk to DPO).

As opposed to the informal inspections the formal inspections are rarer but very detailed.

Inspection is a part of the job description of the senior officers. Hence the word "Inspector" is an important part of the nomenclature of different designations of police officers. It may be mentioned that originally there were three categories of officers: Constable, Head Constables *Havaldars* and Superintendents of Police. Later on, after the introduction of the 1861 Police Act, the offices of IGP and DIG Police were established. Inspector of Police, now invariably posted as SHO in most of *Thanas*, was originally in charge of a circle consisting of 4-5 *Thanas* as an inspecting officer. His main job was to inspect the *Thanas*. However, gradually, he was replaced with another officer i.e. Deputy Superintendent of Police who is now supposed to assist the Superintendent of Police in his main task of supervision of *Thanas*. The DSP, albeit, remains engaged in other duties; apart from the inspection as does the Superintendent and Deputy and Inspector General of Police. They stay as preoccupied with other commitments as to be unable to carry out meaningful inspections.

A retired DSP informed that inspection is now reduced to a mere formality to show on paper that such and such officer has conducted inspection for such and such period. He informed that,

> *"Ajj kal inspection naan di hi reh gai bus DPO ya DSP sb dey reader khana puri leyee Thanain dey register waghera daftar lay janday nain tey uthoon hi report bana key saab koolon sign kara lanaday nain"* - (Nowadays the reader of the SDPO, DPO or RPO collects the figures from the *Thana* or even calls for the registers of the *Thana* to their offices. The reader inspects the registers, notes the discrepancies, gets the registers initialed by the concerned officer and sends them back.)

The concerned inspecting officer comes on a particular day for a few hours. After visiting the *Thana* and inspecting its different units he goes back and subsequently a detailed report, usually written by the readers, is produced.

Previously, the inspecting officers would come for a few days and stay in the *Thana*. The British had even built special bungalows called "*Inspection Bungalows*" for this purpose. During their stay in the *Thana* they would have detailed discussions with staff of the *Thana* as well as the notables of the area on different aspects of crime. Their visits would be a meaningful activity as it would result in certain policy changes in light of the observations of the senior officers. The detailed inspection notes prepared by inspecting officers were a valuable commentary on the social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the area.

The inspection seemed to be a routine affair and the SHO was happy about it. He commented that,

> "*saab lokan da kum ayey hi, koi na koi ghalti parhan gey taan hi tey waday afsar da pata chalda, chotay offcer da kum ghalti karna hey tey waday officer da kum ghalti phrna. Baray officer day dabkay naal saada wi ruuab wadh jandha hey tey taftishaan noon sidha karan wich madad mildi hey*". (It is natural for the seniors to find fault with juniors. The junior officers are prone to err while seniors' job is to identify their mistakes. When the senior officers show their annoyance and awe, it helps the supervisory officers to put the investigation officers to show results.)

He asked the *Tafteshis* to improve their performance and also the Head *Moharrir* to update his record within three days. Next day a murder took place in the area of the *Thana* in which many influential people of the area were involved and the SHO and DSP became preoccupied with it and the impact of inspection, whatever it was, vanished. The speed of events in the *Thana*, it was noticed diluted the importance of

175

many issues over time and unless vigorously pursued it would be hard to keep track of the events.

5.3.5   Death and martyrdom: burial ceremonies

Death of colleagues due to any natural or accidental reasons is mourned as it is in the rest of society. The close friends and relatives (if any) in police mourn the departing soul and would usually accompany the dead body to the ancestral place of the deceased. The seniors and other colleagues would condole the death through visiting, calling or writing to the heirs. The funeral is sometimes held at Police Lines Headquarters following which the dead body is dispatched to the family home town or village. The department pays for the funeral charges and other costs on the occasion.

However, if the police officer dies in performance of duties, such as in an encounter with criminals or in terrorist activity, the deceased is declared a "*Shaheed*" and a very different procedure is adopted for his funeral and burial. Normally, in such a situation the senior most officers responsible for that jurisdiction would try to reach the place of incident. This is done, in order to value the sacrifice, to show solidarity with his colleagues and supervisors and also to oversee and coordinate the arrangements for burial and other rituals.

A team is immediately formed to coordinate the funeral and other arrangements. The family is informed, usually through a senior officer or relative of deceased if he is in the police force. After consultation with the family, the time of the funeral is decided and all police officers and other department, politicians, media are notified about it. One official is tasked to prepare the coffin, arrange flowers etc. A "*Salami Guard*" or "Saluting Contingent" and "Bugler" is asked to get ready for the funeral. An

ambulance is arranged for transportation of the dead body. Another van or bus is also arranged for officials who would accompany the dead body.

Usually all the senior officers as well as, large number of constabulary and community participate in the funeral. The Imam Sahib after leading the funeral prayers makes a brief speech in which he highlights the status of a "*Shaheed*" in light of religious teachings. He emphasizes the point that,

> "*Shaheed humesha zinda hota hey aur janat main aala muqam per faiz hota hey*" - (a martyer never dies and he becomes immortal through his sacrifice. He enjoys high honours in the paradise.)

After this the participants of the funeral make a queue and pass by the wooden box containing the body of the *Shaheed*, praying for him. Some of them would be solemn, others sobbing. Once every one has taken a final glimpse of the deceased, his coffin, wrapped in a flag of Pakistan sis lifted by the senior officers, his colleagues and friends among chant of "*La illah il Allah Muhammad ur Rasul Allah*" and "*Ashhadu Allah Illaha Ill Allah*" and placed in the ambulance.

The senior- most officers condole with the relatives and friends of the deceased and direct the concerned officers to take care of all remaining arrangements. It is usually announced on the occasion that the deceased family would be given some financial assistance, his next of kin would be recruited in the police and the deceased would be given honorary promotion. The presence of senior officers and announcement of different facilities for family of deceased is done to boost the morale of the constabulary, who feel, on such occasions, more than ever, that they are also vulnerable to such tragic eventualities all the time.

After, the official ceremonies the dead body is dispatched to the village (in case of the *Shaheed* it is also accompanied by the Salami Guard, a senior officer who takes money for the family to perform final rituals such as serving food etc to mourners and

visitors). In case of a *Shaheed,* a Salute of Honor by firing gunshots is made in front of the coffin before the final burial.

5.4   Conclusion

Police culture is characterized by a number of peculiarities which distinguish it from other organizational cultures. These include the endless and thankless nature of police job, its unpredictability and uncertainty, and unwritten code of police brotherhood and perpetual existence of an element of danger. Such peculiarities not only give police a distinctive outlook but some of them also compel the policemen (such as police work being endless and thankless) to behave in a certain (mostly negative) way, thus leading to further reinforcement of a negative public image of the police. Interestingly, symbols norms and ceremonies are meant to create and reinforce a feeling of organizational solidarity and fraternity. However, some of these symbols (such as carrying of ceremonial sticks) are reflective of an authoritarian mindset.

These further distances the public from police as citizens see policemen using such language and behaving in a negative. Their stereo type police image, as uncivilized, corrupt, and aggressive, created through media gets strengthened. It is not merely indiscrete and unfair conduct of police officers but also the semantics and symbolism employed by the police which affect how citizens construe their image of the police.

Chapter 6

Construction of Police Culture:
Impact of Socio-Political Factors

6.1   Introduction

As discussed earlier, the police operate in a broader social, political, legal and administrative system. It is influenced by all these sub-systems. In context of *Thana Shahpur*, this chapter contains a detailed discussion on external and internal factors that influence the police culture. The socio-political factors such as politics of power, patronage and influence, biradarism, caste as well as other elements such as education, media and courts play an important role in shaping the 'police culture'. The discussion analyses how external environment impact upon quality intake, efficiency, discipline and professionalism of the police. It also tries to comprehend factors which induce social and political forces to exert influence over the police. The chapter also examines the frictions and fissures within the police ranks where officers belonging to elite PSP cadre are seen as distant and detached from non PSP officers. It also reviews certain informal organizational practices; which encourage promotion and protection of junior officers on basis of personal liking thus negatively contributing towards shaping of the police culture.

6.2   State, society and police: impact of external factors in shaping the 'Police Culture'

This section illustrates some of the external factors which were found to be playing a contributory role, either positively or negatively, in shaping the 'police culture'.

6.2.1   Impact of historical alienation between state and citizens

Village *Jahanabad*, the locale of the study is one of thousands of villages in Pakistan.

Till recently an overwhelming population of Pakistan was living in villages. The urban centers, with a long history and cultural traditions were few. The villages or "rural areas" as popularly called were the cultural mainstay of the country. In recent decades, those areas, which fall in the definition of urban areas, have increased manifold. However, due to their expansion in an unplanned and scattered manner most of urban areas now consist mostly of slums and ghettos. Resultantly, even these areas which are now technically in the category of urban areas continue to be impacted on by a rural mind set.

The village was pivot of Indian subcontinent and had assumed, over a period of time, role of self contained unit which had its own economy, political, social and dispute resolution system. A robust system of informal social control also existed which helped to manage deviance and crime in the village or its vicinity. The only interaction of the rural population with the state (or empire) was through usage of the coinage (as every new king would usher in his rule through introducing his own currency), through revenue collection officials or plundering armies (which could be local as well as foreigner). Policing function at the most was limited to making main highways safer, primarily through military under a *Faujdar*.

In most cases it hardly mattered to the rural population as to who has come and gone as a ruler as long as their daily lives remained undisturbed. The state was concerned only with revenue collection and ensuring that populace remained faithful to the government. There is no evidence of state presence in any benevolent shape, only architectural remnants of ruling classes are found in shape of palaces or grand mausoleums and forts.

The state's presence became visible through other means only during the British period; initially through *Thanas* and subsequently through other departments such as

education, irrigation, railways, buildings, and judiciary. In most villages the state was represented as late as till 1950s either through a policeman or a *Patwari*. And it is not merely a coincidence that both evoked feelings of fear as well as contempt among many as they symbolized state's tyranny and extortionist nature. The famous Pakistani poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz aptly captured this feeling in his poem '*Raba Suchiya*':

> *Somewhere there is the terror of police people*
>
> *Somewhere there is fraud in the revenue department*
>
> *My soul is shackled in my bones*
>
> *Like a squeaking lark caught in a net.*
>
> *Dear God what a king you made out of me*
>
> *I can't count the number of beatings that are given to me.*

For centuries people have known a state that remained detached, insensitive and mostly irrelevant to their lives. Hence, the allegiance to state was minimal and even none existing. Not surprisingly, the independence in 1947 did not create a big difference. Explaining the extent and reasons for this detachment a former candidate for provincial assembly stated that,

> "the citizens' detachment and lack of allegiance is evident from the fact that most of the people were not willing to voluntarily pay any taxes to the government for improvement of service delivery. There is no history of voluntary tax payment in the area. The governments used to collect only '*Malia*' often through forcible means. Moreover, as the people have no ownership of what belonged to state no one cares and owns the government property. If it is being encroached upon, destroyed or suffering negligence hardly anyone would care. This is small indication of how people don't show any concern for anything that is 'official' or 'public'. The term 'public property' is often translated as '*Sarkari Maal*' and it is not uncommon to hear that, "he is wasting his resources as if it is public property (*Sarkari Maal*)".

This mindset explains the historic disdain and disregard for what is perceived as

belonging to the state. This phenomenon is linked to larger question of legitimacy of state and its political system which has been discussed earlier in this study. Though, in post independence era the role of state is no more limited to collection of taxes and provision of security, increased manifold and many developmental and welfare oriented programs had been initiated, the image of state and governing class as exploitative and elitist has persisted. The state has been unable to evolve a system where the feelings of exclusion, discrimination and injustice are addressed.

In this context the former candidate for provincial assembly also explained the reasons for police community estrangement. He said that,

> "the police, by virtue of its visibility, direct involvement in daily lives of people and collusion with influentials become most apparent target of a persisting distrust between citizens and state. Resultantly, the state's relationship with citizens seems not to have changed much at least at the *Thana* level. This becomes more evident when one finds that in purely tangible terms, most of things stay unchanged in the *Thana.* The building and equipment remains almost the same, while the number of policemen is even less in real terms. Only difference which seems to have occurred is replacement of horses with vehicles, SI with an Inspector as SHO and introduction of a comparatively modern, wireless system. But in terms of any additional services or improvement in infrastructure the behavior of state seems unchanged[99]. Moreover, in most of the rural areas the territorial jurisdictions of the *Thana* (including *Thana Shahpur* Saddar) stays same despite three times multiplication of population, huge increase in number of private vehicles and road network. These developments greatly distanced the police from the community."

Another 65 years old senior citizen - a former government servant - endorsed these views by saying that the,

> "relegation of state interaction with citizens through the police, to a non priority area, is also evident from the fact that no measures were initiated to

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[99] During past decade however, a number of old dilapidated buildings have been replaced by new ones, and *Thana*s, working in makeshift or hired accommodations, have been provided with their own buildings.

allocate funds for improving the quality of service delivery at the *Thana* level. Moreover, the quality of human resource posted at the *Thana* was never ensured. Rather, recruitment in the police was adopted as a mean of accommodating political interests of the party leaders through recruiting their nominees as Constables, ASIs and even as DSPs. This conversion of police into personal loyalists, if not outright "private militias", of the politician was a retrogression into pre-modern times as a modern democratic state functions through formal, impersonal neutral and professional bureaucratic organizations. Hence, the police was not able to change itself according to changed social landscape and its performance considerably deteriorated. Especially, the investigation function also got lower priority with enhanced preoccupation of district SPs with law & order functions. It further lowered the police image in public eyes."

6.2.2   Impact of political culture

Political development in Pakistan has been generally uneven and fragmented; with four military coups interspersing comparatively short and often unstable spans of democratic rule. After first 11 years of democratic but highly unstable governments, the military under General Ayub Khan imposed martial law in the country in 1958 which remained in force till 1962. General Ayub Khan introduced a presidential form of government, got himself elected as President of the country, through disputed indirect elections. President Ayub's 10 years rule was brought to an end by General Yahya Khan under whom the army again took over in 1969. The second martial law in the country continued till 1972 when in wake of Indo-Pak war in 1971, a wekened army was compelled to allow the directly elected democratic government of Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to assume power. However, just after five years of democratic experience, the popularly elected government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was overthrown through another military coup in 1977 by General Zia-ul-Haq. After first 8 years of direct military rule he got himself elected through a fraudulent referendum and then for another three years presided over a government elected through an election on non party basis, holding the offices of the President and Chief of Army Staff

simultaneously. From 1988 to 1999 the power revolved among the rival Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan Peoples Party; each having short tenures of two to three years. Secret agencies were often blamed for meddling in political process to keep the political governments subservient and compliant. In 1999 yet another military intervention under the then Army Chief General Pervez Musharaf stalled the democratic process once again. He copied cat the pattern adopted by former military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq. After first three years of direct military rule, he first got himself elected as all powerful President (while retaining the post of Chief of Army Staff) for another five years through a sham referendum and then manipulated to install a so called elected government which was subservient to his dictates. General Musharaf had to relinquish the post of Chief of Army Staff in 2007 after popular discontent over his controversial acts of arbitrarily removing a popular Chief Justice, getting himself elected through national and provincial assemblies for second term as President, and imposition of Emergency. After the democratic process, resumed through the general elections in the country in early 2008, in which Pakistan Peoples Party won the majority seat in the parliament and formed its government in the center, Gen Musharaf was compelled to resign from Presidency as well The post Musharaf democratic dispensation though marred with widespread complaints of corruption, incompetence and mis-governance, has been able to withstand. Apart from and partially due to long spells of direct military rules, which scuttled and distorted the development of a sustainable democracy, the political system is also impacted by absence of strong political parties, clannish political culture and heavy reliance on personal loyalties and patronage to wield influence. (Declan Wash, 2013; Umair Javaid 2011; Castillejo, 2012; D. Morgan 2011, John R. Schmidt 2009; Lyon, Stephen M.2002). The politics of patronage and influence has made police directly vulnerable

to political interference and manipulations. As a journalist Qadir Baloch (2013) notes in his piece titled *"How do police in Islamabad acquire a posting that is more prestigious?"* that "police officers do not get important positions by working hard or solving more cases and providing dedicated services to citizens, rather the shortest route to better postings is through affiliation with powerful circles and close ties with high-ups in the department". He confirms the common perception that "a strong political background or having patronage of a high-ranking police official can help one get his favorite place for posting, as in the past recommendations for transfers were made by ruling ministers, former ministers, MPs and high-ranking police officials".

The historical tradition, as discussed in previous section, of delegation of authority and obliging the regional/local influentials[100], through giving them some control over affairs of local administration especially police continues.[101] This basically dilutes the objective formal bureaucratic institutes to ensure neutrality, non discrimination and non partisanship in treatment of citizens. On the other hand, the overriding consideration of local hit men of the ruling regime is political and if that entails compromise on these tenets no compunction is felt. The state by giving them authority over the police rewards them for their political support.

In more developed democratic societies, as the political parties are not personality centric hence they do not have to oblige influential individuals in a constituency. But in case of Pakistan, especially in rural areas considerable votes are considered to be

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[100] For example, it is an open secret that politicians from ruling party in the Punjab enjoy the political authority over *Potowar, Seriaki* and other regions, respectively.

[101] However, with the emergence of other centers of power and influence in the society like media, judiciary, pressure groups; the monopoly of political authority and absolute control is no more possible.

person specific. So a particular person can make a party win or lose an election. There were a couple of exception to this, especially in 1971 and 1997 when it was the parties, i.e. PPP & PML (N) which mattered and not the individuals. Elites were instrumental in sustaining the rulers. Even today, despite public rhetoric to provide speedy and inexpensive justice to people and changing the police culture, ruling politicians cannot afford to annoy local political elite. So high ideals are often sacrificed at the alter of practical politics.

In this context the first and foremost fact of personality based politics is that it revolves around *Thana*/*Kutcheri* (courts)[102]. The primaries focus of local politicians whether a MNA, a MPA or a *Nazim* is to have control of the *Thana*. Commenting on this situation one senior police officer a DIG with 25 years of police service remarked that,

> "previously, they would like to have a SHO whom they could trust and dictate. More recently, politicians even try to get a DPO of their choice. If the DPO can oblige them and post and transfer police officers of their choice in their respective areas they may remain contended with him. But if they think that the DPO is not obliging thus affecting their political interests, they would get the DPO transferred."

The question arises as to how *Thana* is instrumental in protecting and advancing political interests and why the politicians are so keen to manipulate posting of the local police staff especially, SHO, In-charge of Police Post, *Tafteshis* and even *Moharirs*. The in-depth interviews revealed some of the reasons for this phenomenon:

Firstly, it was informed that, "in rural areas people still obey an authority

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[102] Previously, when the Deputy Commissioner was also the District Magistrate and judiciary was not separate from the executive, this term was more valid as the political figures also used to influence the *Kutcheri* i.e. Deputy Commissioner/District Magistrate. District Magistrate and Assistant Commissioners/ Sub Divisional Magistrate. However, presently when the judiciary is independent and there is no District Magistrate the use of term *Kutcheri* along with the **Thana** practically means the issues related to police and district administration.

which has the police with it. One recent example is when the Deputy Commissioners, after being re-designated as DCOs under local Government of 2000, had been relieved of their control and authority over the police. They are no more powerful like their predecessors." Another respondent observed that, "even if the MPAs can afford to keep many security guards, it will not give the same impact a police gunman will have. The symbols like presence of gunman, green number plate and a Pakistani Flag will indicate the 'officialness' (official status) of the person and thus availability of state support to him".

Secondly, one respondent observed that, "it is simply unthinkable in rural areas that someone can approach any department especially the police without a *sifarish*. The best *sifarish* the rural population, one can have, is that of a political representative. A person asking MNA/MPA for '*sifarish*' can easily claim, that he had voted for such and such person (irrespective of the fact that whether or not he has actually done it)[103] and now it's his right that he should support him, rightly or wrongly. If he refuses to accompany his supporters whether they are accused or complainants, it tarnishes his image in public (supporters' eyes) who would threaten that they will not vote for him next time as,

> "*saaday tey waila aiya hey tey naal nahin turia*" – (when we are in a crises he refused to standby us).

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[103] Interestingly in every village the MPA or Nazim has at least one trusted person who guides him as to who has voted for him in fact and who hasn't. Similarly, such focal person of MPA has the final say in the matters relating to that village and MPA is obliged to go his way, otherwise he would get annoyed and may part ways with the MPA. The representative of the MPA/MNA would even try to monopolize the access of general public to that MNA/MPA. In case he meets or favors his opponents in the village it would be considered a big insult and the focal person would complain to MPA/MNA that while he has been doing all donkey work for him and now he is being treated equal with those who had opposed the MNA/MPA at the time of elections. This way, in cases the MNA/MPA wants to be even handed or doesn't get himself entangled in village and *Thana* politics.

In the rural areas the main criterion for judging a politician's credentials is how efficiently one accompanies a person to the police to get his work done. A former MPA during in-depth interview informed that,

> *"Sanoon patta howay vi jeh jis parti di ussi support ka rahey hain ohh ghalti tey hey taan wi sanonn udhay naal turnan painda hey kioon jey ohh sadi pakian votan nain"* - (in many cases they know that the cause for which they are going to the *Thana* (and other offices) is not right but still they have to accompany the parties to keep their votes intact.)

Thirdly, according to former candidate for Union Council Nazim (head of local council), "for a common villager the real measure of effectiveness of local politician is his effectiveness in,

> *"kisay noon banana huay ya charanan huay"* - (getting some one arrested or released).

Especially in cases of theft and burglary, if a person is arrested, whose family happens to be a voter of the local politician, it would become an obligation for MNA/MPA/*Nazim* that he gets released. If the other party is strong and well connected they will try to counter balance their intervention. The SHO or IO can oblige the MPA by not showing any recovery from the accused, this will increase his chances of bail and reduce chances of his conviction".

Fourthly, according to former MPA, "once the MNA/MPA approaches the *Thana*or SDPO or DPO then it no longer remains a matter of the concerned family. It becomes the matter of '*izzat*' and '*anna*' of the '*sifarshi*', MNA/MPA because he would be openly or through insinuation be ridiculed, belittled or politely made to realize that he doesn't hold any sway over the police". According to him some will simply say,

> *"junab tuaday kehn tay SHO nay banda nahin chadya per falan ney phir unnon mana hi liyaya"*- (sir the SHO didn't release the person on your direction but then we had to request someone

else who was able to manage the release).

If the '*sifarishi*' would try to put up a brave face by telling that the *Thana* has strong proof against the accused and they are not ready to release him, he may later be told,

> "*sir tuada bhuat shukria tusi apnay waloon bari koshish kiti, pur gul na bani unn kuj mal layiya tey police walian unnon chad dita hey*" – (sir, thank you very much for efforts but finally we had greased the policemen's palms to get the person released).

Fifthly, according to a senior police officer in the rank of DIG, "when the officers, who cannot get postings of their choices in routine, manage them through political manipulation, they extend all sorts of favors and facilities to the political patrons in return. This may include high protocol in the *Thana*, providing police gunmen and escort vehicles, releasing or arresting people on their commands, interfering with the process of investigation, letting their relatives/associates run illegal businesses (such as gambling dens, occupying lands/properties etc).

Thus the fragmented political process has resulted in highly politicized police where recruitments, transfers, postings and promotions are often subject to extraneous influence. Moreover, the police is used to politically oblige the supporters and voters of the ruling politicians. In a highly personalized political environment, the police are also used to intimidate, silence and coerce the political opponents through implicating them or their supporters in politically motivated cases. Politicians from ruling party, therefore, manage to get compliant and obliging police officers posted in their respective areas.

The actual relationship between the *Thana* and "associated communities" varies across different strata of the community. The *Thana* police are generally

submissive, compliant and obliging towards local landlords, political elite and big businessmen. However, this relationship is not as smooth as it appears, especially when the police has to deal with two equally powerful groups and has to be unwittingly on the wrong side of at least one of them. These sections of community, which benefit from status quo and want to keep their clients under control, use the police to further their interests and hence reinforce the *Thana* culture.

As the values system of the associated communities exhibits high acceptance level for corrupt practices, preference for personal relations ships over rules, use of violence as means of social control and compliance, the negative norms of *Thana* culture gets reinforced. For instance, people generally expect the police to rough up the suspected thieves and robbers to compel them to reveal their crimes. If the police fails to do this, they suspected the police to have been bribed and vice versa.

Instances of citizens falsely implicating their opponents, even if they happen to be their near relatives, are not uncommon. In such cases they show readiness to bribe the police-even if it entails selling a piece of landholding or getting a loan- to ensure that their opponents suffer through the tribulations and trials of the 'criminal justice processes. Gradual diminishing of informal and civil means of settlements of disputes has further enhanced citizens' recourse to the police as an agency which can be more effective, more often, in settling scores rather than settling the disputes. For this purpose sometimes civil nature disputes are given a twist to attract the criminal law and make them cognizable for police. This gives police an opportunity to exploit and extort both the parties.

This relationship becomes mutually benefit for the community members, who would use police for political and personal reasons even if that means doing things illegally or unethically; and the police also, who would be shielded against any disciplinary measures for their unscrupulous conduct. This way this relationship reinforce negative norms of the police culture defeating effective police accountability and further alienates common citizens from the police.

The middle educated class, having exposure to education and access/recourse to senior police officers, media, judiciary and public officials, are not as much cowed by the police as their uneducated/unconnected predecessors used to be. It was observed that some sections of community such as teachers and prayer leaders have minimum interaction with and influence over the police as they are usually out of the socio-political circle which controls the dynamics of dispute resolution and citizens interaction with the police. In the real world of the local politics and social control, there seems hardly a need for ethical and moral dimension, hence this marginalization of educators and religious personalities.

The treatment meted out to lower strata of the society for instance 'Kamis' (menial workers) the police and its acceptance by larger part of the community corresponds to the general social attitudes towards these sections. Similarly, the traditional value system of a typical rural agrarian society which revolves around the notion of Asar-o-Rasukh (power and influence), Izzat (honour), Zat (caste), Bradari (clan), and Badla (revenge) impact the *Thana* culture. So while the *Thana* culture negative impacts the associated communities, in certain ways it also gets reinforced by the socio-political dynamics of these communities.

6.2.3   Impact of changing composition of local elites

It was observed that in the locale of the study, as is also true for the Pakistani society in general, respect and obedience is extended to those who have power and authority. The sources of power can be different, spiritual, political, financial, and social. In village *Jahanabad*, particularly, the '*Zamindars*', wielded power as they were the land lords of the area and their control over the land gave them power to regulate the personal, social and political affairs of the village. In case of personal disputes, people would go to them to get their grievances redressed. Similarly, if the police had to arrest a wanted person they would come to *Dera* of the '*Zamindar*' and ask for his assistance. If they were convinced by the police plea, they would then hand over the wanted person.

The question arises as to what compels the police to co-opt or get co-opted with the local influentials. The *Lambardar* of the village *Jahanabad*, who had witnessed his father and grandfather dealing with various government and police officers, cited various reasons for this phenomenon:

> "The *Zamindar* would do the fatigues (the errands or different tasks such logistics for visits of seniors, financing different informal private initiatives of the police officers) for the SHO. He would privately and publicly help the SHO to comprehend wanted persons making the job of SHO and his staff much easier. He would help the police in maintaining order and ensure anti-government activity does not take place. He would also facilitate in making arrangements for visiting ministers, bureaucrats. Moreover, keeping the local landlords happy and satisfied was also necessary, as in those times they were the ones who had easy access to senior police officers, bureaucrats and politicians. A discrete remark about performance of the SHO by a landlord visiting a senior officer could make or break his career."

One retired DSP pointed out the subtlety of such remarks by informing that, if the local influentials are happy with the SHO they would just tell the SP or DIG,

> "*tuadi selection bari achi hey junab dey SHO bara kum kar riya hey*" - (Sir your selection of SHO is very commendable. He is really delivering.)

If they are unhappy with him and the SHO is comparatively honest, they would very gently comment,

> "*sir tusi jera banda tusi saday kol kaliya hey oh hey tey bara shareef par chorian dacatian zor kar giyan nain*" - (Sir the man you have posted as SHO in our area is too a gentleman but the crime has gone up in the meanwhile.)

If he is corrupt and uncooperative too, they would say,

> "*wal Sir asi kera qasoor kita hey jey ik passay chor dacait sanoon nahin chadaay dojay pasay thanedar saab aapna khata koilya hey. Loki hal hal karday pey nain*" – (Sir, what is our crime. On the one hand we are being plundered by robbers and thieves and on the other hand the SHO is doing the same with us. People are feeling so helpless and frustrated.)

Explaining the relationship between the local police and *zamindars* he further informed that,

> "the landed aristocracy, due to their prolonged and generational experience of dealing with community, government functionaries, had developed informal set of codes, etiquettes, and protocols to manage, different situations, events and persons. These set of codes and protocols were the main elements of decency (*Adab*), courtesy (*marawat*) and prestige (*izzat*) figured prominently. They would do things in a discreet manner. Even obliging the police would not be done through explicit bribes rather it would be done in a very decretory manner. For example, when the new SHO would come they would send a buffalo, bags of grain and other edible items saying that they know it's hard for him to survive without a home and they are not doing some special favor to him, rather it's their family custom. Similarly, the lower ranks would also be given some sort of gifts that would oblige them as even small gesture of respect and care would make them happy."

It was observed that over years the relationship between the notables or influential and *Thana* have changed. Previously the SHO was able to manage things by keeping a good working relationship with few landlords and other notables such as *lamabardars*, *zaildars* etc. Hence, though people used to be afraid of *Thana* in those times, the level of exploitation was not as grave and widespread as today. The reason for this phenomenon has been the gradual decline of landed gentry and extinction of

class of *'Zamindars', 'lamabardars' and 'zaildars'* who acted as intermediaries between local populace and *Thana*. A former MNA was of the view that;

> "these persons (*Zamindars/Zaildars*), in their personal capacity, were people of good conduct and character, though they might sometimes misuse their status and relationship to sustain their hold and control over the area. However, mostly they were not implicated in any criminal activity and would spend from their pockets to help people who would come to them. Even if some of them would harbor some "minor thieves" or "cattle lifters" that would be done discretely."

However, with their decline in 1970s, a new class of intermediaries emerged by early 1980s consisting of, mainly, the leading political supporters of the government, councilors, self proclaimed journalists, property dealers, contractors etc. The new breed of politicians was promoted, by the military government of General Zia-ul-Haq, through the local government institutions to sideline and politically eliminate the most popular political party at that time (i.e. the Pakistan Peoples' Party).

This breed of intermediaries was also promoted, to replace the traditional politicians, in the National Elections held in 1985in which political parties were not allowed to participate. The elections were contested on non party and individual basis. Absence of organized political and ideological support compelled candidates to take resort to '*biradaries'*. Candidates belonging to a certain caste would appeal to members of that caste or '*biradari*' to vote only for them. The second consequence of these elections was that in absence of political activists, who would voluntarily do electioneering for the candidates on behalf the political party, the candidates had to virtually buy through the elections. That means they had to pay for everything for themselves from printing of posters and banners, arranging corner meetings, funding the electioneering

staff, feeding the supporters and transporting the voters on Election Day and even buying the individual or family votes. Such expenses were huge and the traditional landowner classes could not match the nova rich, who acquired wealth through disputable means. These were supported by newly emerging pseudo middle class of rent seekers, traders and businessmen property dealers. Some of them were even supported by people who were dealing in drugs and other contrabands.

Thus, there emerged a new social and political class which replaced the traditional class of landowning political and social elites. The new class had no moral or ethical pretensions. It soon became the center of influence for access and dealings with the *Thana*. The police who also needed hard cash instead of goods and services in the changed social environment and conveniently got co-opted with these local syndicates of so called politicians, business people and other such elements with dubious character and questionable means of earning. Most of them started to buy and occupy land as they had always envied the power and style of land owners. Gradually their land possessions surpassed some of traditional landlords who have been holding them for generations.

The new class of intermediaries had much less quality of character and conduct, but a far more capacity to exploit. Moreover, as money became the new parameter of social status and prestige, instead of purely land holding these groups attained an upper hand over the traditional *Zamindars* who might have more land but less money. Commenting on the way this new class interacted with police one former MNA from Sargodha remarked that,

> "while the old intermediaries were well groomed in their dealing with police and their favors to police largely remained limited to provision of edible items to local SHO and his colleagues, the new class of intermediaries have no such decency or '*wazadari*' to do unethical things in a discrete manner. This new class which many people called as Dubai

class or "heroin and commission class" had neither grooming nor aptitude or patience for observing etiquettes and protocols. Their overtures to police were more direct and vulgar." He further noted that "while the previous intermediaries due to their conception of '*izzat*', '*anna*' and *ghairat* would spend from their pockets if they have to accompany a complainant or accused to *Thana*or court, the new intermediaries became a source of exploitation themselves. They would, for instance, demand from the party (either accused persons or victims) payment for hiring a vehicle to go to Sargodha or Lahore, luxurious stay and meals in the hotels and also the money they have to offer to police, medico-legal and court officials. It is commonly believed that they keep a certain percentage for themselves also. Police found it convenient too to get bribed through these intermediaries. The police didn't mind if such persons were patronizing or directly indulging in activities which might ordinarily be termed as criminal. In cases, where due to any adverse circumstance local police have to act against them under compulsion, it would be only for short duration and local police will not create any real problems for them. They would try to come out with clean slate eventually, as it is local police who has to collect evidence and produce witnesses in courts."

This marked, according to the key informants, the beginning of most exploitative phase in police culture. Local community is of the view that while, under previous class of intermediaries, police was dreaded more, level of injustice, corruption and exploitation had not been of this magnitude. The matters got further worse when this new class also acquired the political influence. Commenting on this phenomenon a DIG remarked that:

"now it was not merely a question of '*izzat*' '*anna*' and '*asar o rasukh*' but more of material gains. They not only required police to sustain and protecting and supporting many illegal and unethical practices of these influentials and their sponsors."enhance their political and social influence, but more than that also to protect their professional and business interest. Hence, it was no longer merely a matter of prestige for local influential to have an SHO of their choice in the *Thana*; rather it became an existential need. Police has to be co-opted at all cost for."

Interestingly, it was informed that many senior, middle and even junior ranking officers have invested in some kind of businesses themselves (such as flour and rice

mills, fuel stations and restaurants, property, transport and construction sectors).

Commenting on this trend a retired DSP observed that,

> "the main objective is to protect and promote their business interests while enjoying the position, perks and privileges of a police officer. Since money and acquisition of wealth, property, cars and foreign education have eclipsed the possession of an official status in the society, the police officers especially SHO and above have joined this race. Their ambitions have made them further vulnerable to develop a nexus with persons and groups who can be instrumental in fulfilling their ambitions."

It was also observed that the IOs, SHOs and other officers would not waste any opportunity to go out of way to oblige influential persons who can then become their patrons, protectors and promoters. Going out of way is very essential as doing things in routine or as per law means no big/real favor by a police officer. The real favor is when the beneficiary is convinced that this could not have been possible without this particular person. "It's better to join and benefit if you cannot change it. Cooption is the best option".

The local politicians especially an MPA/MNA make it a point that they have an SHO in their jurisdiction that is pliant and obliging. An un-obliging SHO is direct challenge to the authority of the MPA, who feels that he is not a MPA if he cannot get transferred a SHO, who is not unwilling to get dictation from him. Similarly, the media persons would flash stories of rising crime, if SHO ignores their *Sifarish*. The seniors would invent other pretexts to punish a SHO, who ever dared to ignore their instructions.

Social factors impacting the police culture - a case study of case registered u/s 489F of PPC

The practice of "*Banda Uttha Laina*" – "to pick up a person", without formally arresting him, is also common in a rural *Thanas*. It was observed that once a person was arrested in a cheque dishonor (commonly called a 489 F case in police terminology). As soon as he was brought to

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the *Thana* a flurry of phone calls and visitors started pouring in hectic process of negotiations was set in. The man was arrested on a complaint by the opposite party to DPO. However, the accused family was very furious and wanted him to be out before sunset. They said they will not let the person spend the night in the lockup as it would be a big stigma on their family.

The *sharika* would say,

"*innan kol inna nahi ho sakia banday noon Thanay toon lay annday*" – (They are so powerless and weak that they could not bring their family member back from the *Thana*.)

Finally, with the help of few notables and MPA the agreement was reached between parties. The SHO quietly remarked to MPA,

"*sir ey sehra tuaday sur janda hey*" – (sir! the credit goes to you for this.)

6.2.4   Impact of media

Discussions with key informants and other persons interviewed during the study indicated that emergence of dozens of private TV channels has immensely impacted the police culture. Its effects are far-reaching and unprecedented. One senior local journalist summed up the change in these words:

> "Previously only one government TV channel used to operate which was state controlled and conservative in its reporting and coverage. The news about police were very limited and mostly comprised of official press releases relating to arrest of criminals by the Police or recovery of drugs, arms or stolen property. However, in popular drama serials or humorous plays police was mostly depicted as corrupt, unprofessional and incompetent. There was no sensational coverage of police excesses or special programs on police. Police was not sacrosanct and criticism on it was permissible as long as it did not politically damage the incumbent government. The only way of people airing their grievances against the police was through the print media which used to highlight all ills pertaining to the police culture. These reports were generally taken seriously by the government and as a consequence by the police officers also. However, generally the local police especially in towns and rural areas was able to influence and manage the local press against publication of any damaging content. This led to a phenomenon which is usually

known as "*lifafa* journalism", or the police bribing the journalist for not publishing any adverse news against the local police."

However, with the emergence of dozens of TV channels and spread of internet it has not been possible to control the media in that manner. As a result, telecasting of police torture recorded through video cameras in mobile phone as discussed earlier, has made the police sensitive to the power of mobile phones as well as the power of the media. Noting this influence of media a Sub Inspector commented that,

> "the policemen are now more conscious of committing violence and torture publicly. The TV coverage of such brings pressure on those Police officials indulging in unethical practices as they are easily identifiable. Such videos are direct incriminating evidence of misconduct of the involved police officials and hence there are more chances of their being punished by the department as well as the courts. Previously, newspapers used to publish names of the police officials accused of committing torture but now graphic details are shown; this is simply abhorrent to many people. This has definitely had a sobering effect on the overall police culture."

One police officer also enumerated following positive effects of emergence of electronic media:

- It has created public awareness on problems and challenges of police, their working environment and sacrifices.

- Due to frequent coverage of crime, security and law and order matters and motivational programs police has become aware of their responsibilities.

- Moreover due to the presence of media representatives and connectivity of ordinary citizens to journalists and media outlets, courtesy mobile phones, hardly any noticeable incident can remain hidden from the media. -

- The police have become conscious of the power of the media and their responsiveness has increased especially in cases relating to violence against women and other blatant violations of human rights.

- Through the media or mobile phones any happening or incident can immediately be reported to political or organizational bosses. So inaction or lack of information in any incident is no more admissible as an excuse. Local *Thana* can no more afford any lethargy or inaction.

Another officer pointed out that there is also a down side of presence of a powerful media. He was of the view that,

- Media thus becomes an important function of the police even if it results in denying justice to some party. Officers who do not oblige the journalists get very negative publicity.

- Tea parties and dinner that follow police press conferences are usually very lavish. Some police officers use *Aftar* parties in Ramadan to improve their relationship with local journalists. If they are not invited they agitate and many adversely report on the crime situation. So, even most honest police officers have to give favors to journalists, for example, by 'giving him a police constable, a vehicle compounded under Section 550 Cr. PC for personal use.

- Journalists displaying number plates inscribed with words "Journalist or media", is usually not stopped at the *Nakkas*. If a police officer stops them they are infuriated and threaten with dire consequences. DSP or DPO is immediately contacted who assures them that strict action will be taken against such police officials.

- There is a great deal of politics involved within the journalists' groups and if a police officer shows slightly more inclination towards one particular group, the other group gets annoyed.

6.2.5   Impact of criminal justice practices

During formal and informal interviews many police officers were resentful that offenders receive little or no punishment. Such a view encourages disbelief in the justice system; they think that courts release people due to lack of observance of evidential formalities. They were of the view that the general public is unconcerned about the problem of crime and the practical problems which the police face. If the public was concerned, the officers argued, such practices would not be tolerated.

In particular, one officer complained that,

> "often after we arrest an accused with great effort and at personal risk, the members of the public do not dare to give evidence against them. Even the complainants of cases, who on receiving threats against pursuing the case by the criminals, back out, thus the entire onus to get the accused convicted falls on the police. When the police present the case before courts, the courts adopt very strict standards and favor the accused on the basis of legal technicalities. Even if a criminal is sent to jail as a result of good follow up the police, he is exposed to an environment where he becomes more hardened and develops nexus with other criminal gangs. When he is bailed out or acquitted, he again starts committing crimes and all the previous police efforts go waste."

The police officers were, therefore, of the view, that as the other components of the criminal justice system, i.e. the courts and prisons are not directly affected by the restart of criminal activities by such persons, they are not much bothered, whereas the police have to be answerable to the public, the government and the media for rise in crime and this seriously affects its image. This greatly frustrates the police officers and in their desperation they adopt different tactics; some of them opt for eliminating criminals, who have a history of involvement in serious offences such as murder, robbery, dacoity, rape or kidnapping for ransom, through extra judicial means. There is a considerable percentage of officers who favor this method. One senior police

officer explained at length as to how judicial practices play a role in encouraging some negative traits of *police culture*. He pointed out that,

> "the criminal cases are frequently adjourned either on the requests of lawyers or on account of other commitments of the courts. This leads to wastage of time of the investigating officers and security staff, who have made vigorous efforts in the production of under-trial prisoners. In addition the witnesses produced by the police after great endeavors and persuasions; are often returned unheard and as a result they do not turn up at the next hearing. As the courts are much focused on legal conviction and observance of laid down procedures, the police officer has to focus on each and every angle and detail to meet the requirements of the court. This eventually compels the police to invent witnesses and evidence. When confronted with cross examination by the defense lawyers, such planted evidence and witnesses get exposed and case ends in acquittal of the accused thereby upsetting and frustrating the police".

Policemen also generally blame the courts for observing leniency towards criminals by saying,

> "*jinni mushkil na asi mulzam phrnay aan ouni jaldi adalt chhad daindi aey, tay naa badnam police da*" - (We arrest the criminal after lot of efforts but courts show leniency towards them and eventually police is blamed for rise in crime).

There is a huge trust deficit and misunderstanding between the Courts and the police. Lack of proper understanding of each other has seriously affected the functioning of the criminal justice system.

6.2.6   Impact of experience of officers serving in UN Peacekeeping Missions

During in-depth interviews as well as informal discussions with police officers it was revealed that police officers, who had the opportunity to serve in different UN Civilian Police (CIVPOL contingents), brought positive vibes into the police culture. Their exposure, to international policing practices and standards, enabled them to objectively compare their existing way of policing and helped them in improving their knowledge, skills and above all the attitude towards citizens. As in UN peacekeeping missions their main task is to promote democratic policing (under the framework of

international human rights in post conflict zones), they become aware and sensitized towards rights of citizens. When they come back home it not only positively impacts their professional conduct, but they also bring back an urge to change the existing police culture.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to assimilate these positive impacts by the organization and thus the opportunities to avail of the lessons learned from UN missions fade in due course. As a result, some really capable officers have left the *Thana* job and opted for non-operational assignments. However, whatever constructive change has come in the police in the last one decade, it is partially due to the positive learning experience of officers who served in Peacekeeping Missions abroad. These officers have also benefitted at a personal level, they acquire an improved financial status through a better salary package offered by UN and, therefore, they are less vulnerable to corruption.

One senior officer in the rank of SSP, commenting on the role and contribution of officers having served in UN missions, remarked that,

> "had there been a systematic reintegration of these officers in the police and had their talent been optimally utilized it could have had a more significant impact on the police culture. Pakistan has been one of the largest contributors to United Nations Civilian Police (UNCIVPOL), but it has not benefitted from the experience and talent of this pool of officers. No policy to this effect has been formulated, except some individual initiatives by some officers undertaken, mostly in training in human rights, etc."

Another SSP, however, pointed out that there is a downside of this phenomenon as well. For instance, one officer informed that,

> "in the UN Missions; where local hierarchy of ranks is not observed, some talented junior officers, in certain instances, out-performed their senior officers in various tasks and were thus awarded senior positions. They, therefore, enjoyed special status, privileges and autonomy while holding such assignments. When they return home it is difficult for them to get

adjusted to their former junior positions as "lower subordinates"- a status to which they are almost condemned for life to that status. In this very strict and rigid hierarchy, where ranks play an important role and authority of seniors is unquestionable, they find it difficult to readjust themselves in the same old environment. Some of them have even left their jobs. Moreover, some of these officers lose interest in their work and are found marking time till their next assignment in UN Missions."[104]

6.2.7 Impact of mobile phones

A number of respondents hinted at another recent factor which has impacted upon the police culture; the 'mobile' or 'cell' phones. They indicated that mobile phones have affected the police culture in many ways. For instance, the SHO informed that,

> "previously, there was only one land line available in the whole *Thana* and telephone was placed in the room of SHO with an extension in *Moharir*'s room. This was used, inter alia, to convey urgent messages to or from the staff. As most of the *Thana* staff would come from lower middle and lower classes (mostly from villages), they did not have telephone connections available back home and they were virtually cut off from the families till the time they would go back on leave. This increased their isolation and thereby their frustrations. With the easy availability of mobile phones they are now more connected with their families and friends. This has diluted their overzealous approach and preoccupation with police work and police related conversation. Now they are frequently being updated on what is happening back home."

During the course of study it was observed that in fact chatting with friends (including girl friends), exchange of jokes, poetry and quotes thorough SMS has become a favorite pastime among officials. They also watch videos; listen to songs, *'naat and tilawat'* on mobiles, the wall papers of Indian actresses are also displayed on mobile screens. According to the SHO,

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[104]Another organization, to which many officers referred to during interviews, which helped in bringing in a measure of change in the field of training and to a very insignificant extent to police culture is International Criminal Investigation Training (ICITAP). Training courses conducted by ICITAP have subsequently been replicated in police training schools throughout Pakistan by Pakistani trainers themselves. Many police officers were of the view that their decade-long contribution in the field of training had a positives effect on the police.

"though this may cause a distraction from focusing on official work it has nonetheless helped in lessening the dry, strict and dehumanizing effects of the police culture - thus bringing a positive but subtle change."

Citing negative effects of mobile phones, one police officer noted that,

"it has increased connectivity between complainants and accused with police officers. This easy access (to police officers through mobile phones) has also increased the chances of officers indulging in corrupt practices. Moreover, the use of mobile phones by criminals (whether their own or stolen) has resulted in rise in crime."

Agreeing with these observations one DSP who has been supervised investigations in dozens of cases added that,

"although use of call data greatly help police in solving crimes and proving links between the commission of the crime and criminals, relying entirely on the mobile phone record has also resulted in the police becoming more lethargic in using other investigation techniques. The *Tafteeshis* often use the excuse of non-availability of the mobile phone data to cover their inaction when enquired about any progress in the case either by complainants or seniors. Resultantly, there is hardly any emphasis on crime scene inspections and collection of other forensic evidence."

Key informants also cited examples, where citizens have taken their own initiative and successfully traced criminals through tracking of mobile phone data.

Mobile phones have also, in a way, made the lives of police officers more difficult as they can be accessed during their private time and asked to come back to duty and perform certain urgent jobs. To handle these situations, police officers use more than one phone numbers. For urgent messages from family they use a special number while the public phone number is switched off. The usual answer, later on, is that they were in the court or the phone battery was discharged.

Interestingly, it was observed that the police officers use the latest, top of the line mobile phones. They use the still and video camera facilities to record some of important happenings in the *Thana* and also during inspection of crime scene etc.

Mobile phones have also deterred the police officers, at least publicly, to humiliate and torture suspects and citizens; as many videos made from mobile phones showing such incidents have been aired on the media, giving a highly negative image of the police as this is a major source of leakage of official information to outsiders. As a result the police officers have lately become very alert as their conversation is often recorded.

6.3   Impact of internal management practices

6.3.1   Impact of recruitment policies influenced by socio-political considerations

During the course of study it was observed that the external socio-political factors have also deeply affected the efficacy of internal management practices. For instance, recruitment especially of constables and other ranks especially ASIs to a great extent is influenced by social and political considerations. It is common to hear that,

> *"Sir tusi banda bharti tey kara dita hey hun agay wi tusi hi torna hey"* –
> (Sir, you have got me recruited and kindly patronize me in future/ entire service.)

Such utterances truly epitomize the embedded practices prevalent in the police department for decades. It speaks volumes about recruitment procedure, and implications of external interference on police training, postings, performance evaluation, punishment and rewards, elevations/promotion, etc. in the police department.[105]

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[105] Researchers have attempted to explore relationship of recruitment with officials' performance in other societies as well; they commented in general and also in cultural context. For instance Dick (2001) noted that, "if the selection of police officers is not based on quality and merit, then they take performance and professionalism as an extra role behavior, rather than taking it as a part of job, this is because, they lack quality and they are not aware of the actual requirements of job". Similarly Kiely & Peek (2002) observed that, "there is a change in police culture due to young and newly inducted police officers, the culture of an institution has a significant linkage with the perception of service quality, with this new change the service quality orientation is increasing and the officers are found to be more concerned with the improvement in quality of service" Farmer, Beehr & Love (2003) found that, "there is a strong linkage between justice in the organization (procedural and distributive), performance of the officers and commitment of the officers towards the organization."

From the local perspective, a substantive number of respondents, when asked about what type of job they would like their public representative do for them, replied that if he is effective in *Thana* and *katcheri*, he is preferred to the one who lacks such strength/influence. Reason is simple. It is a fact of rural life that residents' lives are inter-woven and due to disputes over women, honor and kinship, the police officials and *patwari* are still two major determinant of their social life.

Recruitment in police department is made at three tiers/levels; Constable, ASI and Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP).[106] Rest of the vacancies are filled through promotions. Until recently, the district Superintendent of Police was the competent authority for the recruitment to the rank of Constable. The basic requirements for recruitment of police constables are mentioned in the Police Rules. For instance, the candidate for recruitment as police constable should be between 18-25 years of age and should have a qualification of at least Secondary School Certificate. The Rules also mention a minimum physical height (which are above average height of ordinary young man) and chest measurement of not less than 33x34 ½ inches. It is worthwhile to mention that the IGP has the authority under rules to condone/relax the conditions of height and chest. During at least 140 years of police organization, more emphasis was on physical qualification/ requirements of the recruits which had been considered essential to meet the requirement of the "force". Their quality and motivation has not been given due consideration. Hence this shortcoming has resulted in a low quality and motivation. Similar practices have been in vogue for recruitment of ASIs. Except some better and close monitoring by the high ranking officers, such practices have in combination been adversely affecting the police culture.

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[106] In last two decades, two special batches of inspectors were recruited directly in the Punjab province through the Public Service Commission. It is highlighted that the discussion in this chapter will not incorporate recruitment of the ASPs as these officers are not posted in *Thana*.

Till late 1980s invariably, recruitment of constables was mainly the prerogative of the SP. During periods of political government, recruitment was overwhelmingly based on political consideration. Moreover, in many cases, where there had been no political interference as such, the SP would oblige people on personal basis and best lot was therefore not recruited. Resultantly, a large number of under-qualified candidates were recruited in the police department, who would remain a liability on the department for another 35 years or so. It would be naïve to assume that they will have pride in their abilities and qualification considering the fact that they have been selected on political basis or family connections or through bribery.

6.3.2 Impact of education qualifications of police personnel

According to some respondents, interviewed during the study, the increasingly high educational level of junior officers, a trend noticeable in recent years, has both positively and negatively impacted the police culture. On the positive side, better education levels have resulted in some improved attitudes towards citizens. On the negative side, it has sharpened their frustration at the existing police system.

During informal interviews and discussions with the constabulary, it was clear that they were neither motivated nor inspired. There are no structured means of motivating them to perform a meaningful and positive role in their police tasks as they did not have a complete understanding of the implications and objectives of the task in hand. Thus they function as automatons in situations where they are required to exercise their discretion and judgment. They function rigidly in circumstances which require flexibility of approach.

6.3.3 Impact of inadequate and out dated training regime

Subsequent to recruitment, training of the recruits has tremendous impact on their attitude, performance and ultimately on police culture. In this context it is important

to explore as to what is the role of initial police training in imbibing organizational norms and values? What do police recruits learn at training schools? What kind of training is imparted (military style-rigid, hierarchical, authoritarian or competency based)? How fresh recruits socialize in the organization? How low/high is the recruit informal status and what does this informal status tells us about the conception of the "police skills and knowledge"? Analogously, to what extent initial training is relevant to 'real police work?' How is on the job training organized? How are recruits evaluated? Which criterion is the most important for trainers or senior officers' i.e. proper uniform and respectful attitude towards seniors or "core tasks of policing? How is a recruit confirmed as a regular officer? What does he need to do to achieve that confirmation? How does the informal status of the recruit change? How does he progressively adopt occupational assumptions? What are these assumptions and attitudes? What happens when he "refuses" some of these assumptions? etc.

The discussions with police officers revealed that there is very limited content in police training curriculum which assists them to prepare for the real life situations. The training mainly consists of two components i.e. physical training and learning the law and theory of policing. Although in terms of time allocation, the theory and law part gets more hours but in real terms more emphasis is on physical training-mainly confined to learning the parade and rehearsing it two times a day[107].

The instructors who impart instructions in law and police practical work, forensics, ethics etc are generically called the law instructors, who are mostly law graduates or have other academic qualifications. The staff who imparts physical training or parade is called drill instructors-usually matriculate or below with some of them having a

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[107] One reason for this stress on excelling in parade is the fact that the passing out or graduation of trainees from police training school is marked by a grand function called the 'Passing Out Parade' in which a VIP and hundreds of other guests are invited to watch the show.

military background. There is a huge difference of attitude towards the trainees between the two sets of instructors. Generally, the law staff is considered to be more polite, well behaved and civilized. Their attitude is more considerate and sympathetic. On the other hand, drill instructors try to give a tough time to the trainees. This tough time does not remain merely confined to rigors of parade and physical training, but the trainees are humiliated by meeting out punishments termed as '*ragra*' or ragging even on small mistakes. The worst part is that they are also subjected to frequent swearing, abuses and name-calling-some of these being very unique and peculiar. Drill instructors don't hesitate to treat trainees as personal servants and send them for different errands such as bringing food, tea, cigarettes etc. Although trainees fulfill unjust demands of drill instructors during training yet they develop very bad impression upon their minds throughout their career.

For many years the ex-servicemen used to regularly join the police especially as drill instructors. They borough in some traditions, of humiliating attitude towards trainees and ragging, to the police training which has eventually impacted police culture in a negative manner. Through constant nagging and ragging, the trainees lose their self-esteem, respect and initiative; all very important requirements of a good police officer.

An under training police constable has not only to undergo rigorous physical exercises but is sometimes (sexually) abused by drill instructors. In men only, highly demanding and socially isolated environment with no women around, the good looking young boys become the focus of attraction drill staff. Trainees are also given different names like those who are not handsome they are called *chamar*, and those who are smart enough they are called *Wachi or Chokara* etc.

A 48 years old Head Constable recalling his own experience at the Police Training School informed that,

> "if recruits respond positively to the overtures of the staff, they are rewarded by a softened attitude and waver of extra drill and even absence from regular drill is on excuse of being sick etc is condoned. To seek amusement, in extra drill trainees are sometimes asked to crawl, frog jump etc. Sometimes, the targeted recruit is asked to fetch water, deliver a report to *Moharrir*, to get uniform of the instructor pressed from laundry or bring some water for shower. The entire phenomenon is closely watched by other trainees who feel frustrated over the discriminatory treatment meted out to the blue eyed boys. They show their anger and resentment by ostracizing such recruits and ridiculing them. Sometimes the favorite recruits are invited to instructors' residential quarters at leisure hours or even taken out from the premises of training centre to enjoy some refreshment outside.
>
> In many such cases, relationships are romantic in nature though may not purely be sexual ones. In case the recruit is sexually abused by any staff member, he is threatened with serious consequences if he discloses or complains to any senior. As such all the targeted recruits are victimized one after another. Those who refuse to act at the whims and wishes of instructors are subjected to maltreatment, frequent punishments on flimsy pretexts, arduous duties and even physical beatings."

38 years old Constable further informed that to oblige the training staff, the trainees brings different kinds of '*tohfa*'/local souvenirs from their local areas. Sometimes the staff members themselves indicate to the trainees that they would like certain gifts from trainees, while they are proceeding on leave. In case of trainees from the Khyber Pukhtunkhawa (KP) province such gift items may be *peshawari chappal*, woolen cap and warm clothes and in case of recruits from Punjab *desi ghee*, rice, oil or even cloth are usually most desired items. Trainees are not discouraged if they give gift items like soap, oil, brush, toothpaste, vest, perfume, vegetables, fruit etc to the instructors. Some instructors are reported to even accept cash for allowing a trainee to bunk parade period. Those recruits who do not participate in such activities are insulted and

even not granted weekends or leave etc. On conclusion of the training, drill instructors are again provided gifts like cloth, money, perfumes, etc.

Due to defective training content and methodology the new entrants, who join the force idealizing the authority and power of police officer, are not ready to deal with the pressures and demands of the job. Hence they are unable to cope with them and in the process are further alienated from the public.

When the recruit-turned-policemen are posted at a *Thana* or any other unit of the police department, they again take recourse to their patronizers - the people who got them recruited in the police department (be political figures, police officers or civil servants) to use all their influence and resources to get them posted in their own area or near their area.

6.3.4   Impact of a deficient performance appraisal system

Discussions with the police officers during the course of the present study indicated another important factor in formulation of *police culture*. It was observed that the evaluation parameters frequently used by the department itself prompts officers to indulge in a behavior which revolves around producing results with little emphasis on due process and public expectations. The department considers only crime reduction efforts as the real policing work. Officers' performance is recognized and appreciated on that account, generally.

The concept of valuing "social work" or "community service" in the performance appraisal criteria is totally lacking with negative implications for police culture. For instance, if a police officer arrests two suspects, his performance would be much more valued as compared to another officer who helped ten kids or old persons in road crossing. It is a fact that officers who behave well with citizens or help them in any manner receive hardly any recognition or appreciation for these efforts.

The complaints of physical abuse against an officer do not get adversely reflected in his annual performance evaluation reports. Resorting to such methods is rather rewarded if it results in tracing out non-traceable cases or cases of high profile/most wanted nature. Award of QPM and PPM are given for gallantry but no award for public service or human rights. ACR Form/Performance Evaluation Form (PER) of the police does not have specific mention of such attributes meaning thereby that such services are not appreciation.

In recent years, columns relating to politeness and social service have been incorporated in the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) of the Motorway Police.

As per Police Rules, Superintendent of Police shall prepare Annual Confidential Reports on the working of all upper subordinates and submit annually to the Deputy Inspector General of Police by the 15th January of the each calendar year. The DIG will add their own remarks and forward the reports to the I.G. on or before 15th February. The reports shall be of three kinds: A, B and C, and shall be marked as such:-

A:- Reports in which for special reasons it is recommended that promotion be given irrespective of seniority.

B:- Reports in which it is recommended that promotion be given in the ordinary course of seniority.

C:- Reports in which it is recommended that the officer be passed over for promotion or that the taking of departmental action on general grounds of inefficiency or unsatisfactory conduct be considered.

In 'A' and 'C' reports detailed reasons must be given for the recommendations made. The content of all 'C' reports shall be communicated to the officers concerned, through a personal interview or, if this is not possible, in writing. Written

acknowledgments shall be taken and attached to their personal files. Practice however differs from the rules. For instance,

- The supervisory officers do not strictly follow the rules and ACRs of only hardly one-tenth of the officers/officials posted in their personal staff are recorded in time.

- ACRs of the rest of the nine-tenth of the officers/officials are written by the concerned reporting officers after lapse of many years whenever these ACRs are required in connection with promotion of concerned officers/officials.

- The officers/officials initiated their ACRs from the reporting officers personally, which loses the effectiveness of the ACRs. When the ACRs are recorded on the personal requests of individuals, these are only good and the reporting officers do not point out the deficiencies/bad habits of the concerned officials. Due to these reasons the concept of adverse remarks has been discontinued. The ACRs are invariably taken to the officers themselves which is against the rules and concept of confidentiality. Moreover, it has also been observed that the officials change the posting dates/duration of ACRs for their convenience.

In view of these reasons the writing of ACRs has become a futile exercise. Rather, the ACRs are sarcastically called Annual Confidential Revenge.

6.3.5   Impact of an ineffective system of reward and punishment

It was observed that there was a great tendency among the senior police officers to inflict punishments from misconducts ranging from not wearing a cap, not using boots of standard pattern, late coming on duty, absence without leave, to allegation of torture, misbehavior, corruption etc.

It was observed that the police have an elaborate system of reward and punishment which was being regulated till 2001, under the Efficiency & Discipline Rule 1973. However, later on the rules were replaced by Removal from Service Ordinance 2000. Presently, Efficiency & Discipline Rules 1973 are again in force and applicable for inquiries of the civil servants and police personnel. Under these Rules, there are two types of punishment for police officers - minor and major. Minor Punishments include:

    i.   Censure

    ii.   Forfeiture of approved service up to 2 years

    iii.   With holding of promotion up to one year

    iv.   Stoppage of increment for a period not exceeding 3 years without accumulative effect

    v.   Fine of any amount not exceeding one month's pay

    vi.   Confinement to quarters for a term not exceeding fifteen days, with or without punishment, drill, extra guard, fatigue or other duty

    vii.   Extra drill not exceeding 15 days, fatigue or other duties

Major Punishments include:

    i.   Reduction in rank or pay

    ii.   Compulsory retirement

    iii.   Removal from service

    iv.   Dismissal from service

The procedure for award of punishment is that the delinquent police officer/official is served with a Show Cause Notice, mentioning misconduct committed by him/her. On receipt of reply to the Show Cause Notice the delinquent officer/official is called in Orderly Room and heard in person by concerned supervisory officers. During personal hearing if the supervisory officer finds that the plea taken by the delinquent officer/official in his written/verbal reply to the Show Cause Notice is not plausible,

he awards him minor or major punishment according to the gravity of his misconduct. Punishment is recorded on a book which is called '*Aamal Nama*' or Book of Deeds with red ink. At the time of promotion the number of bad and good entries is counted and the promotion board is informed that he has so many good and bad entries.

Before a major punishment a formal Show Cause Notice is issued to the official mentioning the allegations against the official/officer and asking him to submit his reply within seven days. Under the rules, seven days' time is not sufficed and it was observed that usually the replies are not submitted within the given time. The replies usually refute the allegations with the request of filing the Show Cause Notice. Upon the receipt of reply to a Show Cause Notice, the accused officers is called for personal hearing by the senior officer in what is termed as Orderly Room. It varies from officer to officer but some officers were reported to decide the SCN after months or weeks. If the senior officer is satisfied with the reply and verbal explanation given by what is called 'defaulter' officer, then he simply writes on the order book to file the Show Cause Notice.

If the officer decides to inflict punishment he writes on the margin of the order book 'forfeiture of 2 years service', 'dismissed' etc. On some occasions some emotional scenes are witnessed, as some officers would really beseech and even start crying if a harsher punishment is announced against them by the senior officer. Some will even do the same, even in case of a minor punishment and request if it could be waived off as they have a clean record. The usual arguments by such officers would be:

> "*huzoor meray chootay chootay bachay nain..rul jawan gay. Huzur tusi maai baap ho… ik dafa maaf kar deo…ainda shikait da moauqa nain dewan gay*" - (Some punishments were even negotiated this way and got reduced.)

It was interesting to observe that some of the officers who seemed to be crying in front of the senior officer were found cutting jokes outside his office just after few

minute as they feel that they can get this order overturned through a '*sifarish*' in next process of appeals. It was informed by key informant that the police officers/officials also use their sources to stop disciplinary proceedings at various stages.

It was noted that punishments are often given hastily and too frequently without any impact on the working of '*Thana*'. Hence, they don't serve as deterrence against any undesirable behavior. While the old generation of police officers would take it as an insult if a Show Cause Notice or an explanation was issued to them, the present lot of officers really doesn't care about these things. On 55 years old constable, when informed that he has been given a punishment by DPO, remarked that,

"*meri keri kund the likhi jani hey*" - (it would not be inscribed on my back.)
Another factor which practically negates any positive impact of punitive action is *Sifarish* culture. It was observed that police officers had a special knack for finding out who is a more effective person if a '*sifarish*' has to be made. If the senior officer is amenable to political '*sifarish*', then the easier way is to find a political '*sifarish*'. If he is not affected by a political '*sifarish*'; someone out of his family, circle of friends, seniors or colleagues would be traced out and requested to make a '*sifarish*' for officer subjected to disciplinary procedure. In a society where relationships matter a lot, and there is lot of regard for family elders, seniors, teachers and friends, it becomes difficult even for strict officers to not to bow to such influences. In such cases a lenient view is taken, by the concerned officers, while deciding the disciplinary case.

It was seen that even in cases where a citizen's rights have been seriously violated upon and the senior officer had made up his mind to impose severe penalty on defaulter officer, he had, in the meantime approached the aggrieved person. Using political and social pressure they would make him enter into a compromise and

withdraw his application and give a written undertaking that the application was made due to some misunderstanding and as the misunderstanding has now been removed the alleged officer may not be proceeded against. Such compromises are not uncommon even in cases involving custodial deaths. In such cases the defaulter officer has to face criminal proceedings as well as pay huge amount as compensation.

The police officers/officials who have been awarded punishments have a right of appeal to the higher authorities against these punishment orders. They can file an appeal to the next senior officer and subsequently to the IGP. If all the departmental appeals have been exhausted then they have yet another avenue/forum available to them i.e. the Provincial Service Tribunal. In this process, in more than two third cases punishments are set aside by the competent authority i.e. the DIG, Additional IGP or the Service Tribunal/Courts. An expert, extensively dealing with appeals against punishment orders of different officers, said that apart from *sifarish* and other influences the appeals against 'punitive orders' are accepted on technical grounds as these orders are not self explanatory speaking orders. They just mention that, *"such and such official was heard in person, his written reply was also perused but same was not found plausible hence he is awarded with such and such punishment."* He was of the view that such orders cannot stand scrutiny at any forum as they do not give any logical and rational reasoning as to why the reply of officer to the Show Cause Notice was found unsatisfactory. In view of these lacunas it is not possible for appellant authorities to sustain such orders.

The officers against whom a punishment is announced also use their influence/sources to ensure that the punishment orders are not entered in their service record. So eventually, very few punishments stay in the officer's record. Even if the

punishments get entered in the official record, it can be manipulated, if the concerned clerk co-operates, the whole record can vanish.

In these circumstances narrated above the accountability process in the police department has lost its effectiveness. It is well illustrated in the Table below which shows the punishments awarded to police officers/ officials in District Sargodha in the year 2009:

Table 6.1: Punishments Awarded to Police Personnel in District Sargodha in 2009

S. No.	Rank	No. of Minor Punishment	No. of Major Punishment	Total Penalties
1.	Inspector	14	12	26
2.	Sub-Inspector	113	67	180
3.	Assistant Sub-Inspector (ASI)	179	57	236
4.	Head Constable	137	58	195
Total		**1369**	**414**	**1783**

Source: Office record district police Sargodha.

Most of these punishments were, however, later on set aside by different appellate authorities. It was observed that the officers awarding punishments use discretion available to them indiscriminately, which makes their orders arbitrary. Subsequently, when challenged at different forums they lack legal and logical reasoning to avoid being set aside. Moreover, arbitrary use of discretionary powers diminishes the sanctity and moral authority of such orders. It was seen, however, that despite the ineffective sanctioning system, the frequency of issuance of Show Cause Notices, explanations and infliction of punishment has not reduced, which further diminishes its deterrent effect.

Similar/same arbitrary use of authority was evidenced in grant of reward, certificates of meritorious service and gallantry medals. The officers who get maximum number

of award sheets-called Commendation Certificates- are ones who serve as personal staff with the senior officer; such as a reader, operator, gunman or orderly. No doubt some of the awards are granted to really deserving and outstanding officers due to their extra ordinary/gallantry performance but generally many deserving officials remain unrewarded due to lack of a transparent, objective and self regulated system of performance appraisal and reward management system.

As per Police Rule 15.3 when an enrolled police officer or any person other than a police officer renders ready and efficient assistance in the investigation of a criminal case, the arrest of a criminal or the preservation of law and order, or gives valuable information, the Superintendent or other police officer superior in rank to such Superintendent may, in addition to or in lieu of any other reward, grant such police officer or other person a commendation certificate with cash reward.

It was also observed that officers would ask the juniors whom they would be recommending for some award or reward to prepare their own citations. Similarly, certain officers would recommend certain favorite officers for awards which they didn't deserve. Some officers revealed that even the highest awards such as Quaid-e-Azam Police Medal and President Police Medal have lost their credibility. Except for few honorable exceptions, these medals are no more considered as medals of honor and gallantry, rather indicate the officer's ability to maneuver and manipulate. For this reason, even those officers who have genuinely earned recognition as outstanding police officers, do not feel any real pride in getting them. In a nutshell, the reward and sanction system as being practiced currently hardly impacts the police culture in a positive way.

6.3.6 Impact of flawed system of promotions

During the course of study it was observed that the promotional structure within the police system is not conducive to the fulfillment of the legitimate career ambitions of the constabulary. With the system of direct recruitment at the level of ASI and the relatively meager number of ASIs' posts compared to the vast numbers of the constabulary, a large majority of the Constables retire as Constables without even one rank promotion in the entire career. Commenting on this situation one SSP informed that,

> "No system can claim to be fair if such a large chunk of its personnel are not given a chance to move into next rank even after working for nearly 30 years in the same rank at which they entered the system."

In the absence of strong chances of promotions they try to compensate themselves by getting other benefits and advantages, for example through better postings, posting in the area where they can cultivate relationships with influential figures of the locality/ society, more chances of getting illegal money. Another implication is that they bring political and other extraneous pressure on police management to promote them through by passing the rules and principle of seniority.[108] Moreover, they get detached from overall vision, objectives and strategy of the organization. They just do that which is sufficient to retain them in the up gradation. It was observed that for successful working in the *Thana*, one has to go beyond the eight hours shift and immerse oneself in the police working. Lack of prospects for promotion also encourage the officer, to indulge in deviant behavior as they think that they have not much to lose if caught but why not gain maximum advantage as long as it is possible. One Constable nearing retirement often used to remark:

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[108] Quote Supreme Court decision preferably with wording. SC was told that were given shoulder promotion in all over Pakistan.

"*Sir sipoy toon thalay koi rank nahi*", - (You cannot demote me lower than a Constable.)

6.3.7   Impact of friction between PSP and non PSP officers

It was also observed that the junior police officers, while talking among themselves would be critical of senior officers, particularly about Police Service of Pakistan officers. The PSP officers[109] are the heir to elite European Service and subsequently Indian Police Service during the British period. With the partition of the Sub-Continent the same system of filling the senior posts through a system of recruitment of officers in the rank of ASP and their fast track promotion, was kept intact. A certain percentage of deserving officers from ranks could also manage to get some good positions but an unwritten divide still existed between officer who were recruited as PSP and those who joined PSP through promotion. Under PSP rules 1985, there is almost a monopoly of PSP officers in policy making and strategic planning. Interestingly, the PSP mete out almost similar treatment to non-PSP officers as DMG officers extend to the PSP officers. There is another division within the officers below the rank of DSPs. This is the *Matataaan- ie -Aala* (upper subordinates) and *Maatattan- ie- adna (*lower subordinates). The upper subordinates are in the ranks of ASI, SI and Inspectors while lower subordinates are in the ranks of HC and constables. The upper subordinates are those who are supposed to be made incharge of certain number of constables and Head Constables. The ASI and above ranks also conduct investigations. The lower subordinates do not have any annual performance report.

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[109] The PSP officers are very small in number. The total number of all PSPs those directly recruited (as ASP) and those subsequently promoted as PSP is not more than 600 for the whole country in total police force of roughly 400,000.

The system has created a caste and class system within the police, in which the PSP officers always enjoyed the top positions, considerable prestige and status, perks and privileges. Foreign training is almost an exclusive domain of the PSP officers

PSP is very exclusionist in its character and when it comes to non-PSP officers they would observe certain discretionary practices. The PSP officers have more direct and easy access to their senior colleagues. Similarly, the PSP would generally avoid socializing with non-PSP officers but they would invite PSP officers even if they are juniors to their houses or non-official gatherings. A social distance will be maintained with other officers. However, in certain cases the non-PSP officers where they have been strongly loyal to a particular officer, or have conducted themselves gracefully would be given same treatment. In some cases the PSP would even prefer DSPs over ASPs as they would have more confidence in their ability to deliver due to their experience, skills, profound knowledge of area and profession. This is not taken well by the PSPs. Some PSP officers on the other hand promote and strongly protect PSP officers as it would send a good message among other PSP officers and they would earn goodwill.

For these reasons, they are sarcastically called "*Noori Mukhlooq*" (the chosen ones) and resented for being authoritarian, dictatorial and unrealistic.

While the system was originally devised to maintain a stronghold and supremacy of English officers over the native Indians, this has continued to exist almost in the same shape since then. The system definitely has some advantages but the disadvantages of the system have not been properly analyzed. Since the posting and transfer of subordinate officers, including the SHOs is controlled by officers in the rank SP and above, it is easy for them to post their own 'trusted' officers who extract and share

the spoils with them. Since this power also extends for disciplinary purposes, the PSP officers are also in a position to threaten their subordinates.

A 52 years old Sub Inspector posted at the *Thana* complained that,

> "while we are punished for small acts of bribery, the senior officers take bribes from contractors who supply large numbers of items, from vehicles to uniforms, guns and other paraphernalia to the police organization. They even misappropriate feeding charges and cost of investigations provided in the annual budget."

6.3.8 Impact of '*Nikka Culture*'

During the course of study police officers referred to the existence of a very interesting feature of the police and police culture, i.e. *'Nikka Culture'*. The "*Nikka*" is a Punjabi word which literally means small or little[110]. In context of police culture it refers to a practice of a senior officer to patronize one or more junior officers, who are considered his 'blue-eyed boys'. They are also called "*burkhudar*"-disciples. Such "adopted officers" receive special favors from the seniors. The primary reason for such special treatment is personal loyalty and obedience of the junior officers to seniors but sometimes professionalism and efficient performance also play a role. If the senior has built some kind of trust and liking for a junior he would try his best to keep him in his team wherever he is posted. As the SHOs are usually rotated within a district, it is easier for them to get their favorite juniors (called Kar-ie-Khas) posted with them. DPO or RPO would also try to get their favorite officer posted with them. These "*Nikkas*" are ensured continued protection by senior officers who patronize them. A 54 years old Inspector informed that, if there is a complaint against a blue

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[110] In common parlance Nikka is used to describe one's son or nephew. If someone says that I will send my son to you, he would say "*main nikaay noon bhaij diyan ga*". Sometimes the other person say "*thuada nika milia sa*-meaning that I met your son the other day"

eyed junior, the patron (senior officer) will call the officer conducting an enquiry and would tell him,

> *"yar banda apna burkhudar hey eidha khiyall rakhayay"* – (The officer is personally known to me, please take care of him).

He adds that they would make it a point that they are given good posting. Their usual style would be,

> *"yar bara achha munda hey tey avain zaiha ho rahi kidhray lao se"* – (He is very nice officer, get him posted somewhere).

The junior officer would, in return always obediently comply the directives of his patron senior. He would especially be more caring and responsive when the patron senior is not enjoying a good posting and is out of favour from the government and colleagues. This is the best time to oblige as he will never forget that somebody cared for him when he was on a non-important assignment or in a crisis.

The patronized junior officers do all small or big "fatigues". The senior patron feels that instead of getting obliged from so many people, it is better to get obliged from one person and return favors to him. It also ensures confidentiality in the personal matters of the senior patron. So the senior patron keeps a special, personal but discrete relationship with couple of such officers. With rest of officers he can afford to deal within an official stiff-upper-lip manner.

Nikka culture has adversely contributed in shaping the police culture. The favoritism displayed by senior patrons negates the equality of treatment and merit. The favourite juniors can bypass the rigid hierarchy and have direct access and special audience with the senior patron. This encourages them to behave in "above-the law" style and exploit their privileged position. As a patron[111], can preempt any disciplinary action against them, hence they grow bolder. This way a special group of officers emerge as

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[111] He is either from within the service and sometimes may be from civil or military bureaucracy and enjoys considerable influence over entire range of officers.

a ruling class within the police. It was observed that even honest and well reputed officers have some kind of *Nikkas* with them in a kind of "*Pir Murid*" or "Mentor-Follower" relationship. Even if it has no secret motives, it gives them a distinction at least within larger group. But such groups are in a minority and often not accepted in the larger police culture.

An important aspect of *Nikka* culture is that due to mutuality of interests it cuts across the 'PSP vs Rankers" divide and brings them closer than any other unifying factor. Some of the junior officers become like family members of the senior patron and enjoy more trust and confidence than their closest colleague or relatives. They usually manage their property affairs, travels and arrange other facilities such as transport etc or follow up matters in courts or other offices if so required. Some of the relationships become life long and if the senior patron rises to some higher status, the main beneficiary is that junior officer. Some times when senior patron falls out of favor and is sidelined, few of his more loyalist juniors may also suffer the same fate. Some of them, who are too smart to have maintained cordial relations with other well placed officers can, however, survive without the senior patron. The more successful officers do not keep all their eggs in one basket; they manage to have more patrons and keep all the parties happy and extract maximum benefits from everyone.

Nikka culture is an important element in promoting police culture. The mutual and reciprocal nature of *Nikka* culture has ensured its sustainability. The *Nikka* culture negatively impacts police culture as it promotes nepotism, cronyism, corruption, non-professionalism and impedes upon accountability. Deserving and competent officers often get marginalized. It acquires more serious dimensions when it gets transformed into a nexus for mutual benefit flouting rules and procedures. It also demoralizes the ranks and files destroying the espirit-de-corps.

6.3.9 Impact of heavy reliance on junior staff

Another aspect of police organizational culture pertains to a heavy reliance of police officers on the personal and office staff. The officers on operational duties, in DSP and senior ranks, are usually authorized to have a personal staff of at least two drivers, two gunmen, one telephone operator, one 'official' called a reader, one office runner (usually a police official but in some cases he is a civilian staff). This is mainly due to round the clock job requirement of these operational officers. The officers inclined to indulge in corrupt practices try to keep their staff satisfied and obliged through offering them good food, refreshments, gifts, reward money or other kind of favors. This benevolence makes them loyal to that officer.

As a result, many of the staff members are more happy and comfortable with the corrupt officers rather than honest officers. Even honest officers have to keep their personal staff happy to earn their loyalty, as many a time; they have to cover up their small omissions or weaknesses such as late arrival on a place of duty or office. A Head Constable who had served with senior Officers as a telephone operator informed that in such situations the staff attending the wireless or telephone calls covers up their seniors' absence etc through putting up excuses such as:

> "*sahib raat ghashat pey they*" – (The officer was on night patrolling).
> "*Tafteesh ya raid sey raat bhuat dair sey wapis aayay hain*" – (The officer was very late from duty last night as he was conducting a raid or investigation).
> "*abhi arram kar rahay hain...ya sahib garhi sey neechay utray hain wapis aatay hain to baat karatay hain*" – (The officer has gone out of vehicle, when he comes back, I'll put you through).

A senior officer in the rank of SSP was of the view that: the,

> "heavy dependence of the senior officers on the staff cannot be compared to any other organization. Field police officers spend more time with the staff than their families and their staff becomes aware of the mood and temperament of the bosses and tries to behave accordingly. In some cases the staff happens to be so resourceful and extraordinarily smart that they

227

start influencing the decisions of seniors officers. They become almost their unofficial advisers. The staff being permanently posted in certain /units informally and formally give their inputs in transfers and posting of the police personnel."

It was observed that such a heavy and unparallel dependence on lower staff by the senior police officers is often exploited by the former. Exploiting their proximity with senior officers they often try to overawe other officers and give negative feedback to seniors about the officers who do not oblige them. For example, when a senior officer orders that such and such directive be passed and a compliance report be sought, the wireless operator of DPO would come back after sometime and report that all officers have responded except so and so. Similarly, a "Reader" (a police official who keeps DPO informed on operation matters especially crime and data on crime) , in DPO office, annoyed by an SHO, might portray crime situation in *Thana*of that SHO in more damaging terms. A former OASI informed that the Reader will very politely say,

> "*sir SHO zara tagra ho way tey crime baran da sawal hi nahi paida honda*" - (If the SHO was effective, the crime would not have been committed in the area).

Similarly, any off the cuff or informal remark by an officer about the senior would be conveyed in a way that would offend the senior officer. In this context one retired DSP elaborated the nuance of the staff in these terms,

> "More practical and experienced officers, therefore, try to keep the staff of the senior officers on their right side. During visits by the senior officers, special care is taken to appease the accompanying staff. Similarly gifts on appropriate occasions are given to them as well. The requests made by the staff are always honored. The obliged staff whether driver, operator, PA, reader etc would in return always speak high of officers who have personally obliged them when they find an appropriate opportunity to make a comment."

Policemen are exploited by their own colleagues in the department. For instance, if a patrolling or duty officer does not respond at first call, he is threatened that the matter

will be reported to seniors and he will have to appear in the Orderly Room of the SSP/DPO. However to hush up the matter some wireless operators demand small but inappropriate favors such as gift of a mobile scratch card, tea, food or breakfast from the nearby hotel. If the wireless staff is obliged, they can cover his absence when enquired by seniors by telling them that he was available on wireless, a short while ago. In return, he may sleep for couple of hours. Surprisingly, the telephone and wireless operators, the readers and the clerical staff especially those responsible for maintaining ACRs, reward and punishment record, promotions and enquiries are paid bribes by police officers who are often notorious for taken bribes from public. Some *Moharrirs*, it was informed, take money from constables to allow them to proceed on leave.

6.4   Conclusion

Police or *Thana* culture as reflected in police practices, language, norms and values is not only shaped by the historical factors, as discussed in chapter 3 but also by external and internal environment of the police. Operating in a country which is still lagging behind in socio-political development, police has to face greater challenges. Politics of power and patronage, caste, clan and bridari loyalties are still prevalent and police works in a highly personalized, informal and politicized environment. Police is often tried to be co-opted, either using influence or bribes, by competing parties to settle scores. Relationships are more valued than rules and laws.

Internally, the factors which most significantly impact the continuation of a (negative) police culture include the defective HR practices, intra departmental conflict between PSP and non PSP officers, heavy reliance on low paid and semi skilled junior officers. Policemen tend to invest in extra departmental relations to protect them from (fair or unfair) departmental action.

Defective and susceptible to extraneous influences, recruitment, training, promotions and performance evaluation practices encourage the police officers to defy organizational discipline and manipulate their service career. Written rules, regulations and procedures are often ignored or manipulated to oblige individuals. This breeds a culture of informality, patronage and reciprocity of (often undue) favours. Official tasks are often performed arbitrarily and indiscreetly. Personal likings and disliking/interests become basis of decision making.

The exposure to international best practices through UN Peacekeeping deployment, emergence of media, mass scale use of mobile phones and enhanced education levels within and outside the police has positively influenced the police culture, but the change is more sporadic and latent in nature than holistic and more vivid.

Chapter 7

Impact of Police Culture on Associated Communities:

An Analysis of Police Practices and Public Perceptions

7.1   Introduction

This chapter analyzes the police practices which adversely affect the associated communities and build negative perception of police culture on basis of quantitative and qualitative data collected during the research study. The data was collected, utilizing a number of methods and techniques, to shed light on the police practices and public perceptions. The analysis covers a number of the routine police practices which are perceived by the community as manifestation of police culture such as non registration of complaints, police dealing leniently with criminals, corruption, abusive and aggressive behavior, police siding with powerful influentials and negative police image as portrayed in media. These practices, eventually resulting in alienation of community from the police, are discussed below in detail.

7.2   Community perceptions regarding the police

The analysis of quantitative data shows, as tabulated in Table 7.1 below, that as compared to 40 % of respondents who thought police is either very bad or bad, 28.5 % respondents categorized police as very good or good. The percentage of people who think police is very bad (18%) is almost four times high as compared to those who categorized police as very good (4.9%). Nearly 4.9 %, of respondents were either unclear about their opinion or gave no opinion.

Table 7.1   General community perceptions regarding the police

What is your opinion about the police?	Very good	Good	Unclear	Very bad	Bad	No opinion	N
Percent (%)	4.8	23.4	27.4	21.8	17.7	4.9	121*

*   Out of total 124 respondents, 121 responded whereas three (3) did not offer any response to this question.

7.2.1   Basis of community opinion regarding the police: role of personal experiences

To determine as to what are the basis of respondents' views about police, they were asked if they have made up their perceptions in light of any previous personal interaction with the police or through any other source. In the bar chart in Figure 7.1 it can be observed that the most of the respondents that categorized the police on the positive side (very good or good) or negative side (very bad or bad) had no personal experience of interacting with the department. While on the other hand, the respondents who had interacted with the police either as complainant (victim), as an accused, as witness or as a relative of the victim or an accused varied in their responses. The respondents who had interacted as a victim either had bad or very bad opinion. The relatives of the victims had also very high percentage of bad or very bad opinion. The respondents who had interacted as accused varied in their responses including some of them giving positive opinion about the police but majority of such persons also categorized the police either as bad or very bad. Relatives of the victims held more negative opinion about the police as compared to relatives of the accused. The witnesses were either reluctant to give a clear opinion or they perceived police as very bad in view of their experience.

Figure 7.1   Basis of perception about the police
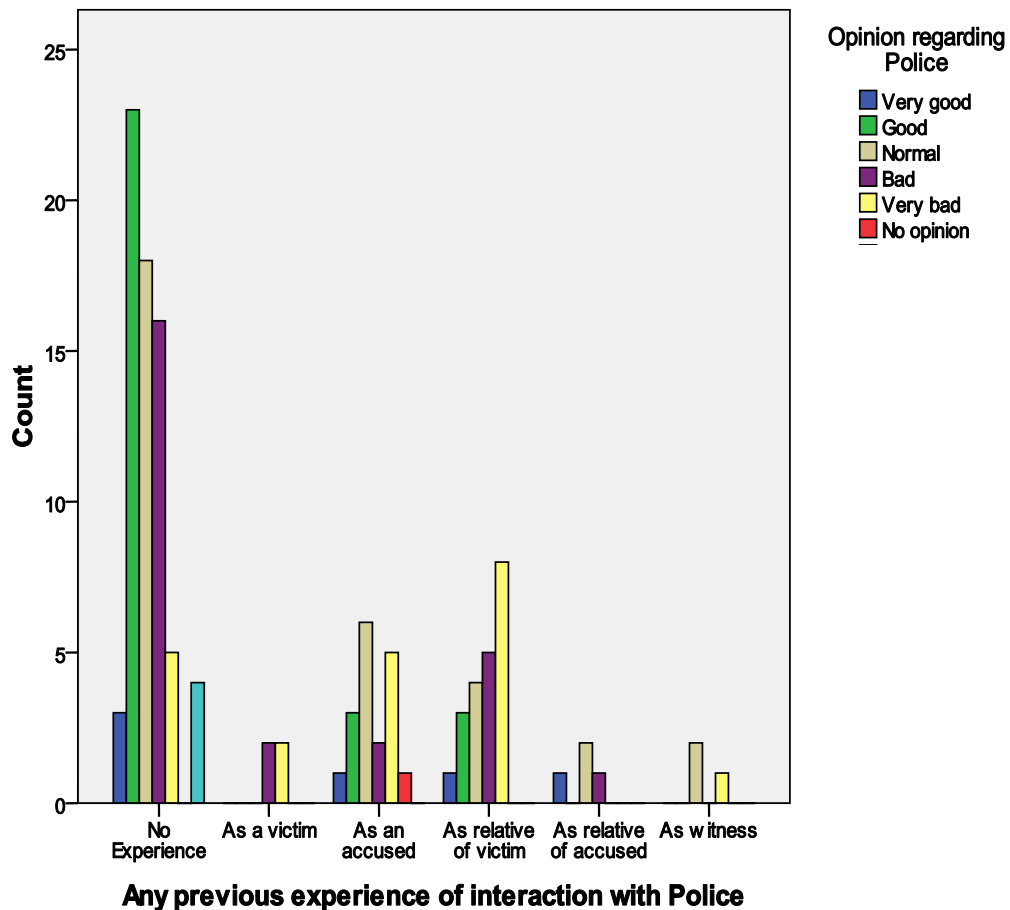
7.2.2   Basis of community opinion regarding the police: role of media

To explore how the opinion of those who had no personal experience of interaction with the police, the respondents were asked about their exposure to media portrayal of police. The results of the survey show that 64.4 percent of sampled population responded that they get to know about incidents of police misconduct or corruption through the media.

As a second step, the two factors were cross tabulated with each other and it was found that 50% of the people that often hear/watch/ read about cases of police's misconduct and corruption in the media held a negative impression of the police as compared to 25% of people who didn't consider the police bad. Furthermore, amongst

the respondents that didn't often hear/watch/ read about cases of misconduct or corruption in police, only 19% of the people held a negative view of the police as compared with 44% of people who didn't consider the police as overall negative.

Table 7.2   Basis of Community Opinion Regarding the Police: Role of Media

Do you often hear/watch/read about incidents of Police misconduct or corruption in the media		Opinion regarding police						Total	N
		Very Good	Good	Normal	Bad	Very Bad	No opinion		
%	Yes	6.6	18.4	23.7	28.9	21.1	1.3	100.0	**76**
	No	2.8	41.7	36.1	8.3	11.1	0.0	100.0	**36**
	No response	0.0	0.0	30.0	20.0	10.0	40.0	100.0	**10**
Total		**4.9**	**23.8**	**27.9**	**22.1**	**17.2**	**4.1**	**100.0**	**122***

*   Out of total 124 respondents, 122 responded whereas two (2) did not offer any response to this question.

These findings prove that media in Pakistan is an important source of public opinion formation regarding the police.

7. 3   Non-registration of citizens' complaints (FIRs)

The majority of interaction, the police have with the rural population, is at the time of registration of complaints (FIR) and during police investigation and enquiries into these complaints. FIR is the most common word and very important document in criminal justice process and most of the police work revolves around it. Police is supposed to take immediate action any information related to commission of a or any other offence punishable under relevant laws as soon as it is reported to a *Thana.* If it is regarding commission of an offence in which police is authorized to take direct

cognizance, it has to be registered as First Information Report (FIR) as per requirements laid down in Section 154 of Cr.P.C. It was observed that the police generally require a written application from a victim of a crime or from his/her family (if actual victim has died or otherwise unable to make a complaint himself/herself) for registration of FIR. It becomes important as to who lodges the FIR, as subsequently the interest of that person in pursuing the case in courts mainly determines the fate of the case.[112]

FIR is registered usually with the approval of SHO but in some cases the approval of DSP and even DPO is sought. Once it is decided that forma FIR has to be lodged it is recorded in the FIR register by the *Head Moharir*. In some *Thana s* services of a retired police officer, who had extensive experience of working as *Moharrir* are hired to write FIR and complete necessary records. Once a FIR is registered one copy is sent to the SDPO, second to the *Illaqa* (area) Magistrate and third to the District Prosecutor respectively. On the back side of the FIR form it has an index containing several columns which are to be filled by the *Tafteeshi* officer during the course of investigation. The index also helps the supervisory officers to check the performance of *Tafteeshi* officer and also the Moharir to ascertain whether or not they have made corresponding entries in different registers.

However, during the research work, both at time of participant observation qualitative survey, it transpired that registration of FIR is not an easy and simple task as it apparently seems to be. The results of quantitative survey also endorse this observation as is evident from the results tabulated in Table 7.3 below. It shows that 55.7 percent respondents are of the view that the police do not register their complaints, 34 percent said that it does, while 9.6 percent maintained a neutral view.

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[112] Instances of such cases include where a husband/wife lodges a FIR about murder of his/her spouse and subsequently it is suspected by the parents of the victim that he/she might be behind the murder then they demand that they should be made complainants in the FIR.

When same question was asked, in a slightly different way, 59 percent of the respondents opined that police show reluctance to register a FIR, 28 percent disagreed with this perception whereas 13.2 percent gave no opinion on the issue.

Table 7.3   Community Perceptions Regarding Registration of Complaints by the Police

Community perception regarding registration of complaints by the Police		SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
Police do not easily register complaints	%	23.5	32.2	9.6	33.9	0.9	100.0	124
Police is often reluctant to lodge and FIR	%	26.3	32.5	13.2	26.3	1.8	100.0	124

SA = strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = strongly disagree

It was observed that a variety of complaints are made to the police ranging from trivial issues like playing of loud music by the neighbors. The police are authorized under the law to take action only in those cases which are criminal in nature and law/rules allow the police to take cognizance. All those cases which are of civil in nature and apparently no cognizable offence has been committed should be referred to a magistrate.

However, it was observed, as mentioned earlier, that the police do not easily register public complaints as is evident from the results of public survey tabulated in Table 7.3. The police officers offered a variety of reasons for their reluctance to register the public complaints. They contended that in many cases the complaints are primarily of civil nature and as the people cannot afford to go to courts due to time and money involved they find it easy to engage police in resolution of their disputes. Secondly, in

many cases the complaints, which are basically false, are made to look like criminal offences to attract police action by twisting the facts. Thirdly, the police do not have sufficient human and financial resources to take action on all the complaints. Fourthly, the rise in number of FIRs/cases registered reflects negatively on performance of the SHO and *Thana*, hence it is preferred to keep the number at minimum. Fifthly, the registration of FIR is only first step towards activation of criminal justice system against the opponents. One police officer observed that first people get "*sifarish*" and pressurize SHO to register an "FIR". A 58 years old Sub Inspector added that once the FIR is registered they again get back to their "*Sifarsihi*" (Influential Supporter) and tell him that,

> "*junab tuadi mehrabani naal FIR tey darj ho gai per mulzim dandanaday phir rehay nay tey sanoon dhamkian vi la rahey nain. Muqami police nain koi grifatri nahin kiti*" - (sir, the FIR is registered due to your intervention but no arrest has been made so far and the culprits are roaming around and threatening us).

The strong "*sifarshi*" would ask the DPO or other senior police officer to personally call the SHO and direct him that the accused persons be immediately arrested and even admonish him for not doing so by now. In cases there is no "*sifarishi*", the DPO would simply write the instructions on their application and mark it to the SHO, or ask his 'reader' to tell the SHO to arrest the accused. The complainant would take the application and go back to SHO who, knowing that he has no strong "*sifarishi*" with him will not take DPO's routine instructions very seriously, and pass on to *Tafteeshi* for desired action. Even if one or two accused persons, out of many nominated by the complainant, are arrested while others remain at large, the complainant may again go to the senior officer; preferably after arranging a call from a *sifarishi* to that officer or even requesting the *sifarishi* to accompany him. The complainant and the *sifarishi*, in case he is accompanying him, would start by praising the senior officer for being

helpful and telling him that without his personal intervention the registration of FIR and some arrests would not have been possible. After this prelude they will come to the actual point and inform him that the arrested accused are lodged comfortably in the lock up and it does not seem they have any feeling of being in the *Thana*. He would add that one or more accused persons have not been arrested who are making complainants' life miserable through threats and intimidation. Orders would be passed by the senior officer to SHO to arrest the remaining accused within a specified time.

It can be concluded that while incidence of crime is a very serious issue for the community, the police processes for registration and investigation of crime do not correspond to victims concerns. The police response is not professional, efficient and scientific which only add to community misperceptions and alienation from police.

The discussions with community members also revealed that police only register cases if it is bribed or the complainant has a strong *sifarish* to compel the police to register a complaint. This contention of community members during in-depth interviews was further supported by the results of quantitative survey as tabulated in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4   Personalities Preferrred for Accessing & Influencing the Police

Percentage	Preferred Personality					
	MNA	*Nazim*	*Lambardar*	**MPA**	**Total**	**N**
%	37.5	29.2	18.8	14.6	100	119

Table 7.4 above shows that 37.5% of respondents would prefer to take along an MNA, 29.2% a *Nazim*, 18.8% a *Lambardar,* while 14.6% a MPA.

This indicates the implications of non responsive police culture for the associated community as it loses in faith and trust in police as a professional institution. Community members' reliance on political leaders and socially influential persons

increases with potential of their further exploitation and marginalization at their hands. Most dangerously community members start settling disputes and resolving conflicts on their own including use of violence or through informal mechanisms such as *jirga* which can potentially further marginalize already vulnerable groups such as women, minorities and members of lower castes.

7.4   Police patronize and protect criminals

Another aspect of police culture which came to light during qualitative survey and in-depth interviews is the perception about police that it patronizes sides with, protects or at least leniently treats the criminals. A 60 years old villager who had been complainant ion a theft case remarked that;

> *Sir inann noon sub pata Honda hey* (sir they know each and every thing)
> *Aey jaan key mujrman noon nahin parhday kyoon jo onanan tu mal jay liya honda hey* - (they deliberately don't arrest the accused as they been bribed by them)
> *Aey innan tun monthliian tey bhatay lainday nain unan noon kiwain paran gey* (They get monthly payments from them why they would arrest them).
> *Aye ishtarian tey mujrman noon nahin griftar jarday jay inan dey waday naraz ho jan gay* (they don't arrest the proclaimed offenders because if they do their patrons and *sifarshis* would be annoyed)

This perception was verified by the results of the quantitative survey as given in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5   Community Perceptions Regarding Police Protecting Criminals

Community perceptions regarding police protecting criminals		SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
Police do not come hard on criminals	%	28.3	19.5	16.8	34.5	0.9	100.0	124
Police mostly knows the criminals but does not arrest them	%	34.2	22.8	13.2	29.8	0	100.0	124

SA = Strongly Agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = Strongly Disagree

As the Table 7.5 shows 48% of the respondents in this study felt that the police do not come hard on criminals, 35.4% believed otherwise while 16.8% did not give any

opinion. 57% of the respondents felt that the police in most cases know the criminals but do not arrest them, whereas 29.8% thought otherwise, while 13.2% gave no view. The research study tried to explore the reasons for this strong perception about police culture in the community. Some police officers privately admitted that in some cases police do not arrest criminals either due to corruption or because of the support to these criminals by powerful individuals or groups and sometimes even under a tacit understanding with the criminals. Many a times there are, however, other reasons as well for police non action against the criminals.

It was informed that in most of the cases in which accused persons (unidentified or identified) are absconding, the criminals would be arrested only when the complainants are themselves proactively assisting or pushing the *Tafteeshis*. For example, in one murder case the family of victim was able to locate the presence of an absconding accused in Karachi through tracing the mobile phone data. They arranged the air ticket and other requirements for the police party to visit Karachi and arrest the accused. Using the personal influence the complainants also managed all the procedural formalities such as permission from Home Departments of Sind and Punjab for arrest and transfer of the criminals. Similarly in a theft case the complainant party through call data record of stolen mobiles traced the criminals and informed the police for arresting them. In both cases however, the *Thana* police took the credit and it was surprising to see them telling their seniors about stories of hectic efforts they made to arrest criminals and solve these cases.

It was further informed that generally *Tafteeshis* do not want to go outside for investigation and try to locate the criminals within the jurisdiction of the '*Thana*'. Often they falsely record in 'case diaries' that they questioned such number of accused persons, previously arrested either in the same or in any other *Thana,* to get a

hint about the particular crime being investigated. Interestingly, most of these case diaries are concluded with the remarks that the suspect or accused under questioning denied having any knowledge of the crime. One police officer informed that most of the cases diaries written by *Tafteeshis* are just paper work without doing real investigation work.

The study establishes that this aspect of police culture i.e. perceived as well actual police response towards crime and criminals, seriously impact the associated community as it increases a sense of insecurity and helplessness amongst themselves. They also lose trust in police's ability to protect them against these criminals. The community feels inclined to use private means or seek assistance of other strong groups for protection. This also discourages the community to provide any information to police or extend any kind of cooperation in investigation of a case or arrest of criminals.

7.5   Police corruption

The most representative assertion about corruption in police was made by a 63 years old retired head master who remarked that;

> "*Corruption in ki haddion main chali gai hai*" – "Corruption has penetrated into their bones".
> This perception is endorsed by the results of quantitative survey conducted during the study as given in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6   Community Perceptions Regarding Police Corruption

Community perception regarding police corruption		SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
Police is corrupt	%	34.5	44.0	10.5	10.1	0.9	100.0	117*
Police takes bribe	%	44.0	35.3	10.4	9.4	0.9	100.0	117*

SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = Strongly disagree
*Out of total 124 respondents, 117 responded whereas eight (7) did not offer any response to this question.

241

As the Table 7.6 above shows, 79.3 percent of the respondents think that the police take bribes, 10.4 percent were of the view that they do not while 10.3 percent did not give any opinion. On the basis of respondents' personal experience regarding their interaction with the police, 37.9 percent reported that the police demanded bribe from them and 43.2 percent said that the police demanded bribe from someone they know.

The police are considered as one of the most corrupt departments in many countries including Pakistan. In a simplest way corruption can be defined as the abuse of public power for private gain. In police, corruption damages the social justice as well as promotes organized crimes. Police officers are susceptible to many unethical behaviors i.e. bribes, brutality and fabrication of evidence, paying of regular payments by organized or habitual criminals in exchange for non-arrest. Police corruption demoralizes the trust of public in the key purpose of police to shield the society against threats as well as detect, stop and pursue crime. The main reasons of corruption have been cited as insufficient incentive schemes, inadequate technical equipment, poor management and control.

7.6 Stop and search (nakaas aur talashi) procedures

It was explained by the police officers that the police are responsible for preventing people from dangerous situation through acts such as stopping people from using certain roads, streets during VVIP movement and '*Moharram*' (a sacred and first Islamic month) procession. The police also stop and carry out thorough search before allowing general public to enter in the stadiums during important sports events, such as cricket matches. Moreover, the police arrest suspicious people during religious festivals like *Ashura*, *Independence Day* and *Eid* celebrations, etc. The police also assist the local administration and civic bodies during campaigns against

encroachments or illegal constructions. The police also stop people at different check posts *(Nakkas)* without any special reason.

Nakka Bandi is probably the most common and oldest form of policing. *Naka bandi* means cordoning off a certain geographical area through placing permanent and temporary police watch at various entry and exit points in order to keep close surveillance and restrict criminals' escape. It was a useful method when there were few roads and criminals did not have many options in terms of using alternative routes to escape. *Nakka bandi* is also frequently used in urban areas. Placing temporary check points or *Nakkas* is the first step taken by the police in wake of a major incident (serious crime or terrorism). A message is conveyed through wireless to all officers to come out on streets/roads in their vehicles and place themselves at strategic points such as big intersections, junctions, markets entry and exit points. Apparently this is done to arrest an escaped criminal, but it has rarely been a case. It was reported that real purpose of *Nakka Bandi* is to enhance police presence and visibility; as a measure of reassuring the panicked and frightened public as a result of any serious incidence. Whenever a reporter would ask a police officer about security measures taken by the police in wake of such an incident he would start off with saying that we have cordoned off the whole area through *Nakka Bandi*. The declared purposes of *Nakkas* are to carry out search of vehicles, to arrest criminals and recover drugs, illegal arms and stolen property.

The other types of *Nakkas* are those which are permanently located at certain vantage points. Their location is generally at main cross sections or other points which have witnessed high incidence of crime. *Nakka*s mainly serve to announce police presence and it is very rare that wanted criminals are arrested at a permanent *Nakka* as these are publicly known and visible from a safe distance. It was reported that only an insane

243

criminal would dare to pass through them. These *Nakkas* practically do not contribute to police performance and are merely a crow scaring policing. These are, however, a big source of creation of negative public image and cause of public irritations and disliking for the police. The staff at these points performs duties for very long duration, under very harsh weather conditions and interacts with a disdainful and contemptuous public. Even the best training and motivation cannot sustain a courteous and respectful attitude towards the public for long time. *Nakka* policemen are usually shabbily dressed and haggard; creating a bad public perception about the police as an organization, its training, discipline and management.

As a result of these measures citizens get irritated and feel humiliated; with their rights restricted and curtailed. In most of cases the police enforce such restrictions, on the unwilling and resisting citizens, through coercive measures. This leads to further resentment against the police and widens trust deficit between the citizens and the police. When asked about their perception of whether police does unnecessary policing and interference in their lives, majority of the respondents either agreed (29.2 percent) or did not give any opinion in this regard (44.2 percent) while 26.5 percent clearly disagreed with this notion.

Table 7.7   Community Perceptions Regarding Police Interference in Citizens' Life

Community perceptions regarding police interference in citizens' life		SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
Police do unnecessary policing and interference into citizens' life	%	13.3	15.9	44.2	17.7	8.8	100.0	124

SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = Strongly disagree

The low percentage of people agreeing with the statement that police interference with citizens' life in day to day business can be explained that unlike urban areas no of *Nakas*, stop and search through mobile patrolling constitutes a small proportion of police activities. It is evident from the fact that only one vehicle, with limited quantity of gasoline, is provided to *Thana Shahpur* for patrolling and *Nakabandi*. There are only 3-4 policemen deputed for patrolling in the vicinity of the *Thana*. The patrolling function in a rural *Thana* is extremely limited due to limited resources and the police interaction with the people is also very limited

7.7   Use of abusive language

A common perception about the police culture is that the policemen use abusive language and behave violently. This was evidenced through participant observation, in-depth interviews and quantitative survey. It was observed that police use of abusive language has become part of their everyday vocabulary. More often they would use abusive language against suspects in theft cases and stop and search operations on *Nakas*. Policemen talk to each other in Punjabi and frequently use expletives such as,

> "*Ma yada*"(Mother Fucker) "*Bhen chod*,(Sister fucker) *"kuti da bacha"*(Son of a Bitch), "*Dalla*, (Pimp) and "*Harami"* (Bastard).

This tendency is so prevalent that even during ordinary course of conversation and discussion among themselves, these expletives are used as part of their routine

vocabulary and idiom. Thus it has become a norm within the police culture to use abusive language, to humiliate and subjugate the suspects. This succinctly summed by the SHO who remarked that;

> *"ay mujrim aap junab di zuban nahin samjday jadoon tuk inaan di maan behn ik na kar diti jayay", "assi inan di waja toon zalil oonday rehanday han tey innan no kursi tey batha daiyay"* – (The suspects/criminals do not understand a decent language. We get a rough treatment because of their misdeeds and you expect us to give them protocol.)

Use of such abusive language by the police can also be explained in context of a masculine occupational culture of policing; with its preoccupation with issues of power and dominance. This masculinity is expressed in all aspects of police behavior, including their linguistic practices. One linguistic practice that has been associated both with aggressive expressions of dominance and masculinity is swearing. Swearing operates as an exercise of dominance and aggression, and serves to both signal a role transgression and aggressive anger and contempt for the person sworn at. (Jay, 2000; Winters & Duck, 2001). Not surprisingly, given the connection between swearing and issues of power, physical aggression, and dominance, swearing is considered masculine. Examination of patterns of swearing by male and female speakers shows that men swear more frequently than do women, and that the taboo language they choose is considered harsher and more vulgar than the swear words deployed by female swearers. (Ginsburg et. al, 2003). In view of this it is not surprising that given the importance of issues of dominance and masculinity in police culture, swearing is a prominent linguistic resource deployed by police officers in the Thana and street encounters.

The observations from participant observation and qualitative survey are further corroborated by the findings of the quantitative survey, as shown in Table 7.8, below.

246

The findings show that a predominant number of community members i.e. 75.7 percent of total respondents (either strongly or simply) agreed that the police use abusive language. Only 8.7 percent of respondents disagreed with this perception whereas 14.8 percent of respondents preferred to give no opinion on the issue. Similarly when asked whether police behaves in insulting manner with the community members 68.8 percent of the respondents (strongly or simply) agreed.

Table 7.8   Community Perceptions Regarding the Police Abusive Behavior

Community perceptions regarding the police abusive behavior		SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
Police use of abusive language	%	34.8	40.9	14.8	8.7	0.9	100.0	124

SA = strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = strongly disagree

It was observed during the course of study that SIs and ASIs use comparatively less abusive language as compared to Head Constables and Constables. Some police officials justified use of swearing by arguing that the people from lower classes understand only this kind of language. Some other policemen linked it to lower education qualifications and lower socio economic background of police officials; as officials with higher education standards behave differently. Few others attributed this phenomenon to the nature of the job. They argued that the police officers have to use such language as they mostly interact with hardened and habitual criminals, who do not respond to soft and polite language.

Police activities constitute a major aspect of police-community interaction. The police attitude, behavior and practices during investigation, interview and interrogation, stop and search procedures greatly impact the associated communities' perception of

police with regard to respect for human rights and rule of law, human dignity, equality before law and non discrimination.

7.8   Police submission to persons of influence and authority

It was observed that submission to authority and power, whether from within the department or from outside, constitute an important and essential part of the police culture. This unquestioned submission to informal and sometime unlawful authority and orders by the police has serious repercussion for the community. The police become a tool in hand of powerful and influential persons to advance their personal interests even if it entails violation of rights of less empowered and vulnerable groups. Police not only losses it's neutral and professional character but also looses the trust of the associate communities.

It was observed that police officers appear to be most submissive and obedient in front of their seniors; MPAs and other influential persons, while their behavior is very authoritarian with ordinary people. It was noted that during the visit of a DPO, MNA, MPA, DCO, a Judge or a *Nazim*, the SHO (who was very authoritarian and behaved like a king in the *Thana*) becomes so submissive as if he has gone through some instant metamorphism. SHO would salute such important person first and if he tells the SHO something he would instantly reply,

    "*Hukam ki tamil hogi janab*" - (The job will be done sir.)

The SHO while talking on telephone to the any influential person would utter the same phrase "*tameel hoigi janab*" even if the desire or instruction from influential person is not legally appropriate and not fair. It was observed that if he would dare to try to tell the true facts about a certain case he would start by saying that,

    "*janab jo farma rayey nain durasat hey lekin sir saadi wi ik aarz hey*

agar gustakhi na huay tey aarz karan" - (Sir you may be absolutely right, but if you don't mind, I may also submit something.)

The compliance is most rigoursely followed when an instruction is given through a senior officer or through a political figure from ruling party. One SHO tried to justify as to why he has to submit to illegal order of seniors and other persons of authority and influence his reply was that,

> "if I just follow the lawful orders these persons would think I have just performed my duty. However, in cases where I have to go beyond the legal formalities they will feel personally obliged."

This attitude has encouraged officers to oblige influential and powerful people even it requires doing things illegally. The main reason for such an unquestioned obedience is the leverage that such persons have over police officers' transfers, postings and disciplinary matters.

The SHO further informed that if some senior officer or political authority desires release or any other favour to an accused, and he is told that he cannot be obliged due to legal compulsions, this will infuriate that influential person who would often remark that; *"toon mainoon qanoon na parha, jo main keh reha han oh kar"* –

(Do not try to teach me law, do it as I instruct you.)

Due to this total submission to power and authority by the police, an ordinary citizen feels that unless he takes along a socially, politically or official person to the *Thana,* no one will listen and do justice to him; or incase he is at fault, do illegal favours to him. This observation is further reinforced by the results of quantitative survey, as given in Table 7.9, below which shows that 87.8 percent perceive that the police work under pressure and influence of politicians. 6.1 percent of respondents have no clear idea about it and another 6.1 percent don't agree with this perception. Similarly, 85.1 percent of the respondents perceive that the police work under pressure and influence of their senior officials, 7 percent believed otherwise, while only 8 percent had no

opinion on the issue. Whereas a large proportion of the respondents (84.2 percent) were of the view that the police side with the powerful and the rich.

Table 7.9   Community Perceptions Regarding Extraneous Interference in the Police Work

Community perceptions regarding extraneous interference in police work		SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
Police works under pressure/influence of politicians	%	67.8	20.0	6.1	6.1	00	100.0	119*
Police works under pressure of their high officers	%	50.0	35.1	7.9	7.0	00	100.0	120**
Police mostly sides with powerful and rich	%	57.0	27.2	7.9	7.0	.9	100.0	118***

SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = Strongly disagree

*Out of total 124 respondents, 119 responded whereas five (5) did not offer any response to this question.

**Out of total 124 respondents, 120 responded whereas four (4) did not offer any response to this question.

***Out of total 124 respondents, 118 responded whereas six (6) did not offer any response to this question.

To further pin down the exact group of persons whom community perceives as the really influential in matters related to the police station, the respondents were asked to identify, amongst political leaders, government officials, lawyers and journalists, whom they considered to have strongest influence over the police station.   The responses are tabulated in Table 7.10 below. The Table shows that 90 percent of respondents identified political leaders to be the most dominating personality that can affect the police, followed by 4 percent each, who identified either journalists or government officers whereas 2 percent of respondents considered lawyers as the most dominating personality in matters pertaining to police station.

Table 7.10   Community perceptions regarding most influential personality in matters relating to police station

Most Dominating Personality	Political Leaders	Journalists	Lawyers	Government Officers	Total	N
%	90	4	2	4	100	121*

*Out of total 124 respondents, 121 responded whereas three (3) did not offer any response to this question.

7.9   Authoritarianism and aggressive attitude

Why the police are authoritarian in public interaction is a question posed very often and different set of people have different answers to this question. This authoritarianism has been attributed to the police training and police role. According to a senior police officer, interviewed during the study, a measure of authoritarianism is part of the job requirement. For instance, to obtain the compliance and to be heard by the disputants, the police officer must have a measure of control over the situation. There is no choice for him but to act authoritatively to establish control and attentiveness, to make the disputants sit, be quiet or leave. However, he was of the view that authoritarian attitude should be only there as part of the job requirements, not as the characteristics of individual officer. It was observed that police job requires officers to behave authoritatively and aggressively to gain control in certain situations. In one particular instance the Thana staff was informed about two groups of people quarreling at the bus "adda". When the police officers reached there, the ASI asked the people to get aside and stop fighting. There was almost no response to the request. And then, one of the HC, old and more experienced than the ASI, loudly said "aye inj nahin mannan gay' "they will not listen like this" and shouted loudly "oye bus karo" "you stop it" and also started using his stick. Within minutes the parties were separated, calmed down and the trouble makers brought down to the Thana. It was also observed that the consciousness of authority makes the officer sensitive to any

arguments challenging his authority. First, he believes that he symbolizes state authority and if he is doing a job it should not be questioned. Secondly, he does not have the luxury of time to enter into lengthy arguments explaining the rationale for his actions or function to each and every individual. Thirdly, he thinks he is doing his duty at great personal pain and peril and people do not realize this. Fourthly, he also feels irritated that how an ordinary man dares to question his actions which are mandated by law as are the nature of his tasks. Another reason for police aggressive and violent behavior was attributed to job related frustrations, pressures from seniors and lack of public appreciation for their work. They opined that the officers experiencing such frustrations may resort to abuse and misuse of their powers in dealing with suspects and public. This view point was, however, not appreciated by a member of the community who counter argued that the real reason for such behavior is police mindset which fears the powerful and looks down upon the weak. Those citizens who are considered to be lower in social ranks face higher level of violent and irritating behavior form police officers. Some police officers linked their authoritarian behavior to lack of time and lack of training. One more reason given to explain police attitude is that they daily view the victims of assaults, rapes and other forms of violence. This also makes them less sensitive to violence. It often seems that the world of the police officer revolves around a continuous whirlwind of human tragedy. The results of the quantitative survey as given Table 7.11 clearly indicate that the associated communities strongly perceive police behavior as authoritarian and insulting. This is evident from the fact that as many as 68.8 percent of the respondents thought that police behaves in an authoritarian and insulting manner, 11.6 percent differed with this perception while 19.6 percent of respondent did not give any opinion.

Table 7.11   Community Perceptions Regarding the Police Behavior

Percentage	Police Behaves in Insulting and Authoritarian Manner with Others						
	SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
%	27.7	41.1	19.6	11.6	0.0	100.0	116*

SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = Strongly disagree
*Out of total 124 respondents, 116 responded whereas eight (8) did not offer any response to this question.

7.10   Use of torture and excessive force

Use of torture by the police for any reason and for any purpose is prohibited under the constitution, international law and standards. Torture to glean facts or to contrive the accused to confess is disallowed everywhere in the modern-day world as it is considered an affront to human dignity. Torture contravenes the inherent dignity of a person. By torturing the accused, the police violate the fundamental rights enshrined in Article 4, 9 and 14 of the Constitution. The use of torture, in any form has been prohibited under Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Pakistan already signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) on April 17, 2008 and also pledged before the UN Human Rights Council to stop the menace of torture in Pakistan and rectify its laws according to the CAT.

However, it is widely believed that the Pakistan police still widely use torture during police custody and investigation. This perception is evident from the results of quantitative survey regarding use of torture by police as shown in Table 7.12 below:

Table 7.12   Community Perceptions Regarding the Police Torture

Percentage	Use of Torture by the Police						
	SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA	Total	N
%	32.4	38.7	19.8	8.1	0.9	100.0	119*

SA = Strongly agree; A = Agree; UNC = Unclear; DA = Disagree; SDA = Strongly disagree
*Out of total 124 respondents, 119 responded whereas five (5) did not offer any response to this question.

Only 1 out of 119 respondents strongly disagreed that police use torture against others while 8.1 persons simply disagreed with this view. Whereas a predominant majority of respondents (71.1 %) either strongly or just simply agreed with this perception. However, discussions with the key informant and other respondents revealed that the use of torture is not prevalent on that large scale as witnessed in the past and as is publicly perceived. It still exists, nonetheless, as one of convenient methods of extracting confessions, solving crime mysteries and breaking hardened criminals. It was informed by the police officers as well members of the community that despite separation of investigation from watch and ward functions under the Police Order 2002, no improvement has been evidenced in police usage of modern and scientific investigation techniques. It was observed that persons from communities with low socioeconomic status, daily wagers and young domestic servants are mostly subjected to police torture. It was also informed that body parts, which are the most frequently targeted areas for battering, included the buttocks, foot soles, back, front and back of thighs, palms and wrists. The most common tool used to inflict severe pain is the cane-stick and a broad flat leather slipper (dipped in mustard oil to inflict maximum pain) more commonly known as *Chhithar*. A *chhithar or liter* is made from piece of tyre of heavy vehicles. The piece is attached with a wooden handle. When a suspect is hanged upside down, he is hit by the *liter* on the soles of feet and hands and also on buttocks. More sensible and experienced officials use it carefully as if its sharp sides

hit the bone of the suspect he may become unconscious. Many a times the '*liter*' is not actually used but the suspect is shown the '*liter*' to scare him. Sometimes, in adjacent room a drama is staged as if a suspect is being beaten by a '*liter*'. The fake suspect cries and loudly to express his agony. Some suspects get scared by merely the sound of '*liter parade*' and accompanying cries of the victims and come up with the "*Asal Kahani*" or the "true story". Other forms of police torture include chili spray, stretching/pulling of legs while hands are tied with the wall, deprivation of sleep and exposure to strong lights during the night and making the suspect stand for many hours.

It was informed by a Sub Inspector that most of the *tafteeshi officers* had taken away their '*liters*' and other instruments for inflicting torture, especially after the incident of Bhawana (District Chinoit), in which the footage of policemen publicly torturing the suspects was aired on a popular private TV channel. The airing of torture episode caused extremely negative publicity for the police department. In this kind of torture the suspect is laid upside down, (face hitting the floor) on a mat. A five feet long and six inches wide pipe is rolled on backside of the legs of the suspect as two persons put their weight on the pipe while two others hold the suspect's head and hands. Due to the pain and agony caused through this process the suspect comes up with the confession, if he has committed a crime. But these methods are mostly not used inside the premises of the *Thana*. It was informed that certain officers arrange private places to interrogate suspects in heinous crimes or habitual offenders who have become hardened to speak up through routine police interrogation. On retired DSP sharing his experience revealed that the torture is applied gradually and with every dose the afflicter reports to a senior,

"*Sir break ho gaya a hey*" – (Sir he is telling the story.) "*Sir hali tuk*

255

break nahin hua"?

Such suspects/criminals are subjected to very harsh treatment and brutal methods of investigation at these places; often referred by the local press as private torture cells. The suspects are kept there for an unspecified time to circumvent the condition of production of an arrested person within 24 hours before the court. The police, it was informed, circumvents this legal requirement because once a formally arrested accused is produced before the court, he knows that he has been produced before the court and police cannot keep in him in custody longer than14 days and also the police could not inflict torture as he can always complain to the court during next hearing of the case. With these sureties, police believes that suspect, especially hardened criminals would never disclose true details of their crimes. So the overzealous *Tafteeshis* think that only way out is not to keep them in the *Thana*. Sometimes on writs of habeas corpus such persons are recovered by bailiffs from the court. Some of them die due to torture inflicted on them. This becomes a big problem for the concerned SHO as often, on the pressure from media and public, FIR is normally registered U/S 302 PPC (charge of intentional murder) against these officers. The responsible officers, who have to then struggle to please the heirs of a victim through payment of an amount as compensation money.

7.11 Comparative analysis of community's major complaints against the police

Respondents of the quantitative survey were asked to list four major complaint(s) against the police in order of gravity. They listed corruption as number one complaint followed by unfair investigation, violence/torture and use of abusive language as other major complaints.

Figure 7.2   Major Complaints of Citizens Against the Police
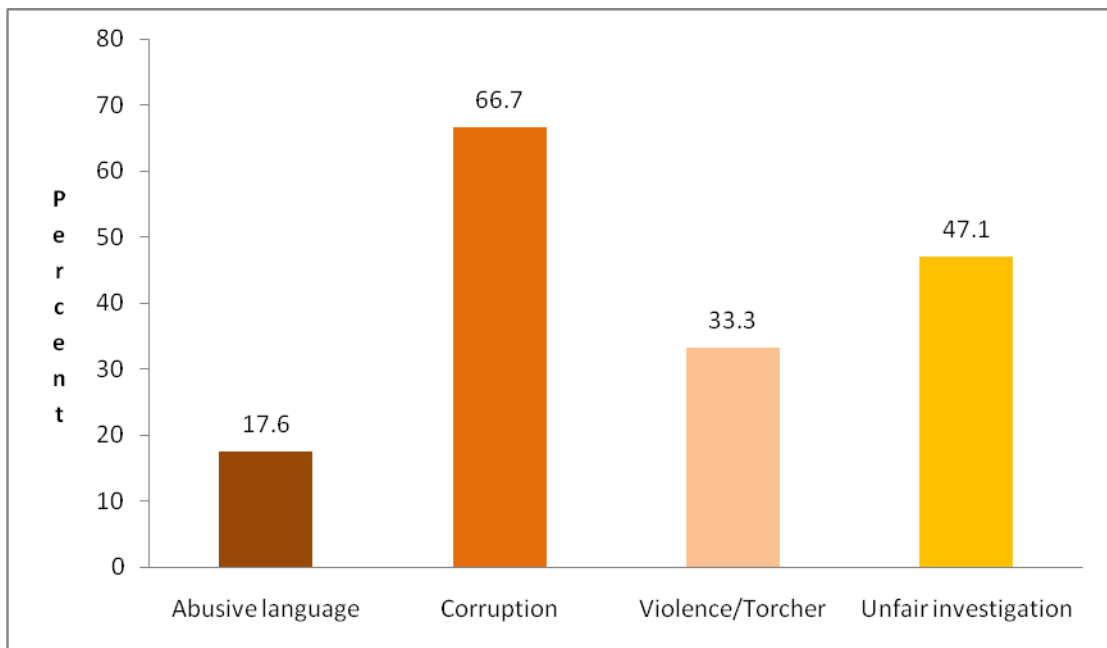
* Multiple responses

7.12   Conclusion

This chapter has tried to examine the state of police-community relationship through an analysis of quantitative data collected through a survey of respondents. This has been complemented with the data collected through qualitative survey of the community. The analysis indicates that overall perception about police mostly shaped by media but also as a result of personal experiences are generally negative, though quite a consider percentage of respondents (nearly 28 %) had a positive view of the police as well. However, when it comes to particular issues relating to police such as non registration of FIRS, police siding with criminals and influentials, political interference in police work, corruption and torture, use of abusive language and authoritarian behavior: the percentage of respondents who have a negative view of police on these issues becomes much higher. The perceptions get much stronger if they are verified through a personal experience or observation. Interestingly, the media, including movies, TV plays and news papers, apart from folklore, play an

257

important role in building these perceptions. Another important finding of the analysis is the community perception of the police being extremely susceptible to extraneous, especially the political influences,

The analysis vividly demonstrates the mistrust that exists between the police and community. This perception in return shapes public attitudes towards the police characterized by distrust, non-cooperation and (even) hostility. With this predominantly negative view of police, the community is not willing to extend information or other assistance to police. The real beneficiaries of this mistrust and divide between the police and community are criminal elements. This analysis would be helpful in drawing conclusions and proposing of recommendations of this study.

Chapter 8

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1   Summary

The study gives a detailed anthropological account of 'police culture' and its impact on associated communities in *Thana Shahpur*, District Sargodha in the Punjab province. The study is quite significant as it examines a relatively neglected subject. In fact, there is a little theoretical discourse found on the police culture. Hence, it is the first of its kind carried out on the subject. The available academic discourse usually dealt with the administrative and organizational aspects of the police; with little focus on the culture aspect. In addition, internationally, the major academic work on police culture has been from a western perspective, though there have been anthropological studies of police in Turkey, Taiwan, Indonesia and South Africa. This study looks at the subject from a Pakistani perspective. It is expected that the study would be an appreciable addition to the existing literature on the police. The existing police culture is discussed from three dimensions – historical influence, societal perception and police as an organization itself. For this purpose a number of ethnographic tools were used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data to develop a deeper understanding of the police culture and its impact on associated communities. Police culture shows an immense influence of history in the form of its authoritarian, aggressive and biased patterns. Pakistan police hinged to an authoritarian model inherited from the British colonial rule. Various reforms have been attempted on legal, organizational, structural, procedural and financial aspects in Pakistan since its independence from the colonial rule in 1947 but there have been

very little or no improvements in functioning of the police and in public's negative image about them.

In Pakistan, which lags behind in socio-political development, the police functions as a subsystem of the large socio-political system? The police despite being a major institution of the country are not even an agenda item in public policy debate.

In fact, there is no accountability mechanism which can effectively check corrupt practices of the police. A great deal of political and bureaucratic intervention is seen in police functions on all levels; ranging from recruitment, training, posting, promotions to award of punishment and rewards. Pressure and threat from influential figures, politicians and the powerful do not let the police work in a liberal, just and unbiased environment. Therefore, it is left with no legitimacy causing trust deficit between community and the police.

The perceptions of the general public and police of each other is the thrust of this study. From the viewpoint of the public, the police officers are corrupt, take bribe, favor powerful, do unnecessary intervention in the public life, do injustice, use abusive and insulting language towards both the convicted and victim, use authority unlawfully, and inflict physical and mental torture. For the public, the most prominent form of corruption is the '*sifarish*' culture that oils the wheel, smashing rights of the deserving. People usually feel scared of interacting with the police, especially when it comes to women, who happen to most infrequently interact with the police due to a number of socio-cultural factors. They usually are the victims of domestic violence but such cases are rarely reported as it is not considered honorable to take domestic issues to public authorities Moreover, there are no proper procedures to deal with the women in *Thana*. *Thana*s lack community service equipments such as first aid. The

lack of communication between the public and police also increases gap between them.

The study identifies a number of external and internal factors which play a contributory role in shaping police culture. These include existence of an overbearing socio-political environment, extraneous interference in operational matters and management practices, lack of proper training/education/counseling, inadequacy and mismanagement of resources, adversarial relationship with courts, community and media, and widespread corruption. The existing norms of police culture are instilled amongst fresh entrant into the police through a defective training and socialization process. Police motivational level suffers from lack of appreciation for their work, long and tiresome duty hours. The use of insulting or abusive language and humiliation of community erodes community respect for police. The research also discussed in detail the rituals, ceremonies and practices along with their philosophical and cultural genesis and highlights bad patterns. It was observed that police culture works both as the cause and as obstacle to reform it.

To establish a friendly and trust based relationship between the police and public to transform it from 'Police Force' to 'Police Service' the very fundamentals of the institution need to be revisited. A modern, progressive and stable socio-political stable environment can be immensely helpful to bring about this change. Print, electronic and social media can immensely contribute to bring about a positive transformation.

8.2   Conclusions

Police culture in Pakistan is a product of interplay of complex dynamics of historical, political, social and cultural factors. The present policing system in Pakistan is, mainly, a legacy of the British colonial rule in India. Through a long process of experimentation, they tried to evolve a police organization which could satisfy the

need for a modern policing system as well as ensure effective control of the "natives". Towards this end they made frequent changes in the constitution as well as the command of the police and finally came up with a model informed by the lessons learned from the 1857's War of Independence of 1857. Embodied in the Police Act, 1861 this system has been the basis for the functioning of police in India, Bangladesh and some provinces of Pakistan.

The Police Act, 1861 in an attempt to keep the indigenous people as well as the police under control, introduced the concept of 'dual control' by vesting the superintendence of the police with the political executive (through the bureaucracy) at the provincial level and the District Magistrate at the district level. Under this arrangement the police were responsive to the government through the District Magistrate and not to the community. Consequently, the policing that evolved through Police Act of 1861 relied heavily on coercion and threat of force rather than consent of the community. This system served the original purpose of the colonizers that of keeping the "natives" under strict control but alienated the public in the process and the British continued to fine tune the police system with the most important effort, to comprehensively revisit this arrangement, made in 1902 through the constitution of a Police Commission, known as the Fraser Commission. The Commission made a number of recommendations to improve the system but stopped short of proposing any radical alteration which could have affected the core issue of magisterial control over the local police.

In the post independence era over two dozen committees and commissions, formed to look into the various aspects of policing and suggest measures to improve police working, could not bring in any fundamental change in the policing philosophy. Resultantly, policing in Pakistan remained largely hinged to an authoritarian colonial

police model with a transformation of the Police Culture remained an elusive goal. The only real breakthrough occurred on 14th August 2002, when the then military government of General Pervez Mussharaf, undeterred by objections from the powerful provincial bureaucracy, replaced the Police Act, 1861 with a new police law- the Police Order 2002. The Police Order 2002 introduced some significant reform measures. It introduced operational independence and civil oversight of the police through establishment of apolitical public safety commissions, external accountability against all serious complaints through Police Complaints Authority, functional specialization in investigations and other areas of police working, performance audits of the police by an independent body, self contained police organizations in big urban centers, assigning roles to local authorities in maintenance of public order, community based policing, Citizens Police Liaison Committees, and strengthening the internal police accountability by criminalizing a range of police malpractices. However, even before it could be properly implemented, the new police law was massively amended by the provincial political governments in 2004. The implementation of the Police Order 2002, thus, remained half hearted and without any real impact. Separation of investigation, carried out without much thought and planning, failed to achieve its objectives and added to public frustrations with the system. Similarly, new institutions like Public Safety Commissions, Criminal Justice Coordination Committees, Citizen Police Liaison Committees and National Police Management Board could neither become operational nor function as envisaged in the law. Giving the power to comment on the PER of DPO to Zila Nazim further politicized the police. In this backdrop it can be concluded that the Police Order 2002 failed to achieve its original objectives primarily for four reasons. Firstly absence of political ownership of reforms; secondly lack of institutional capacity for

implementation, thirdly lack of focus on police station-the primary point of service delivery in police, and fourthly lack of any effort to win civil society and community support creation of did not match their local environment. Thus, the public expectations of seeing a professional, corruption free and service oriented police could not materialize. Changing some of the variables such as rise salary, improving recruitment standards or quality of training has produced limited effects.

The intake of police officers with better academic qualifications, improvement in quality of training, pay raise, exposure to international policing standards through deployment in UN peacekeeping missions, prevalence of media and mobile phone have marginally but positively impacted upon the police culture, but the associate communities remain greatly dissatisfied. Improved police services by Police Emergency Response Unit 15 in Islamabad the Motorways Police, Islamabad Traffic Police and Traffic Wardens in Punjab have earned public appreciation. Similarly, some efforts have been made to respond to violence against women through establishment of Lady Complaints Units and Child Protection Units in selected Police Stations of Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Islamabad. Punjab Police has adopted a new training policy while the National Police Academy has conducted comprehensive Job Task and Training Needs Analysis for SDPOs and DPOs.

However, the main grievances of community, against the police; i.e.to be non responsive and dismissive attitude, use of abusive language, prevalence of corruption, siding with influential and susceptibility to political manipulation and influences still exist. This is due to the fact that the crisis of policing in Pakistan is much deeper and more profound than merely pertaining to such public complaints about police excesses, corruption and inefficiency. It is inextricably linked with the larger socio-political ethos, ill effects of incidence of poverty and internal displacement, political

instability, social exclusion, population growth rate, sustained inflation, which apparently do not appear to have any linkage with policing but eventually they do affect the quality of policing. Ill effects of bad governance and failure of other institutions eventually put enormous strain on the police's ability to deliver. Resultantly, trust deficit between the police and community has widened over the years. Another aspect that differentiates policing in Pakistan from other modern countries is absence of an effective police accountability mechanism, Moreover, improving quality of policing is not a priority in overall governance.

Extraneous influences have badly affected the operational neutrality of police leading to a virtual paralysis of the internal management of the organization. The apparently strong hierarchical command structure has been largely reduced to a farce with different tiers owing loyalty and allegiance to many outside actors for gaining protection against any departmental action. Marginalization of police role by other institutions including politicians, bureaucracy, judiciary and paramilitary organizations has further exacerbated the deterioration of quality of policing. Resultantly, the police in Pakistan lack legitimacy, professionalism and above all political space to move towards democratic policing.

Police officers at different levels enjoy great amount of discretionary powers without corresponding system of checks and balance. A credible, efficient, and responsive public grievance redressal system is fundamental to win the trust and confidence of citizens. It entails establishment of effective internal and external institutional accountability mechanisms against any misuse of authority or violations of fundamental human rights by police officers. Such amenability of the police to be accountable through internal (investigations and inspections) as well external (public representatives, judiciary and citizens bodies) oversight mechanism(s) is an essential

element of democratic policing. A lack of transparency in internal accountability procedures of the police affects trust level among the public as well as in its ranks. Public are not promptly informed of the outcome of their complaints as no arrangement exists for public oversight of police.

The internal disciplinary framework and apparently strong hierarchical command structure of the police have become terribly ineffective and weak with different tiers owing loyalty and allegiance to many outside actors, for gaining protection against any departmental action. A high percentage of punishments awarded to erring officers get either reversed or reduced thro ugh appeals to departmental or judicial forums on procedurals grounds or due to 'sifarsh'. This ultimately weakens the disciplinary regime as despite delinquent officers get posted at desired places, promoted to higher ranks, and reinstated in service (if dismissed). They feel emboldened to defy rules and authority. Such weak disciplinary mechanisms also compel citizens to be distrustful of internal accountability mechanisms of police.

Police corruption, notwithstanding the argument that the police is comparatively less corrupt department in actual terms-given the magnitude of white collar crime in other departments; most directly and visibly impacts citizens. No effort to win the hearts and minds of people, such as community policing, can succeed if this perception persists. However, the accountability mechanisms to check corrupt practices in the police are ineffective and credibility of internal methods of public grievance redressal is minimal. Public commitment to minimize corruption and remove undesirable and incompetent elements from the organization is lacking.

As a result of police culture, human rights of the citizens, especially those belonging to vulnerable groups, are frequently infringed upon. These in turn add to the

vulnerability of the poorest stratum of the population leading to the diminishing trust in the existing system. Principles of respect for human rights and due process, do not always guide all aspects of police working including stop and searches, arrests, detention, interrogation and investigation, interacting with victims, complainants and witnesses. Human rights violations take away whatever legitimacy police may have. Absence of a strong grievance redress system against police misuse of authority has contributed in diminishing the state legitimacy and citizens allegiance to the state. The citizens feel alienated when their human rights remain unprotected. To be accepted by the public as a legitimate law enforcement agency, the police must uphold rule carry out their functions with fairness, especially when faced with challenging situations. The present emphasis on crime fighting must not be allowed to justify adoption of methods which violate human rights standards and rule of law, such as extra judicial killings, use of torture, illegal detention, forced confessions and blackmailing. Any complaint of human rights violation must be properly investigated and documented. When right to equal and fair law and right to access to justice are denied, people recourse to extraneous methods to extract their rights and further speed up the deterioration in the society.

The class difference gulf between PSP and non PSP officers has marginalized the juniors. Police officers at different level enjoy great amount of discretionary powers without corresponding system of checks and balance. Amongst other factors, trust deficit, corruption and *sifarish* culture contributory factors of police culture adversely affecting the police's image. 'Perennial demands' for more men and motors by the police have prevented them from adopting policing strategies which are in tune with modern times and correspond to urbanized environment. Resultantly, there is no orientation, focus and accountability either in terms of training, equipment or resource

availability on community service. The lack of merit based system in the society hinders in modernizing the police culture.

Training and socialization of police officers play an important role in developing their attitudes. However, there is little orientation, focus and accountability either in terms of training, equipment or resource availability on community service. The lower ranks which constitute the bulk of force and are most frequent point of interaction with public lack competence and skills to cope with stressful situations and use interpersonal skills.

In this backdrop, changing one or some of the variables would yield only partial or non-discernable success. For fundamentally changing the police culture, holistic and well-integrated approach needs to be opted with unwavering political commitment for reformation and better governance. Long term strategies have to be evolved to address the socio-cultural norms and ethos which reinforce the negative traits of police culture. The scope for a meaningful reform in the police will remain limited as long as it is subject to extraneous influences, still there is need to initiate reform measures in the available space. While de-politicization of the police should remain an overarching goal, the reform effort, to begin with, can focus on aspects of policing specially on internal management of organization to minimize the adverse affects of extraneous influences. Police itself as an organization needs to improve its internal structure, enhance its competence and capacity and accord priority to respect for law to improve its image, service delivery, education of vulnerabilities /marginalized groups for its sustainability. Recruitments and promotions are not very transparent and affect merit and professionalism in the department. Detailed job descriptions and case scenarios are mostly non-existent. There is more emphasis on infrastructure and less on training and professional requirements of police personnel. Training and

socialization of police officers play an important role in developing their attitudes. Police also lacks capacity to conceptualize, plan, develop and implement new projects and introduce innovations, technology and modernize management practices to improve its operational capability. Departmental strategies for dealing with critical issues such as gender crimes, human rights violations, police practices on arrest, search, custody and seizure of property do not comply with the international human rights standards. Similarly, unless communities and civil society demand and play their active and proactive role in bringing some change in police culture and other similar endeavors underway in the society, the aim of improvement of police culture will not be realized.

8.3 Recommendations

Any debate on police culture reform will have to focus on creating a police force that works better, enjoys the trust of the public and can prove to the people that it exists, principally, to serve and protect them. It must be based on the principles of political neutrality, public oversight, internal autonomy, rights and consent based policing. The experience of past efforts, aimed at creating such an ideal, informs us that it cannot succeed unless all the community support is enlist for this purpose. In light of the research study's findings following recommendations are offered.

8.3.1 Political consensus needed to prevent interference in police work

Police is part of broader governance structure and it cannot undergo fundamental reforms unless an enabling political environment exists. Many experts who have closely worked with law and justice sector reforms have already reached the conclusion that any reform effort cannot yield results unless the broader governance framework is rightly aligned. In this backdrop, the police can never be truly reformed

until a consensus is evolved among all political stakeholders to depoliticize it and letting it serve the public and not the party or parties in power. All organizational reforms, which are being suggested below, can succeed only if it is allowed to work neutrally, professional and without any kind of external influence or manipulation in its internal administration as well as operations. Continuous political interference at any level is bound to stymie any other reform effort initiated either through law, police changes or administrative order. It is clear from the experience of the Police Order 2002 that political commitment is critical for reforming the police.

8.3.2 Administrative and political will critical for changing Police Culture

In doing away with dual control under the Police Act, 1861, allowing necessary operational autonomy, and establishing credible accountability mechanisms; under Police Order 2002, was a positive development, but as discussed earlier, it was subverted by vested interests. Similarly, divesting Public Safety Commission from their prime function of insulating police from extraneous influences is another prime example of how such interventions, even if introduced through force of law, can be subverted by powerful interest groups. The most important prerequisite, to turn unabated rhetoric of good governance, rule of law and changing the police culture into reality is, therefore, strong political and administrative will to ensure that law is implemented in letter and spirit.

8.3.3 Police Culture problems must be examined in context of broader challenges

Policing and good governance are inextricably linked to each other. Initially the implications of bad governance may be less visible but gradually they become more accentuated. Political instability, social exclusion, high population growth rate, sustained inflation, chronic unemployment, unplanned urbanization, increase in

incidence of poverty, internal displacement in the first instance may appear to be issues with no apparent link with policing. But eventually they do become police problems, whether there are crowds burning trains to protest against power outages or youth committing crimes due to poverty and unemployment. Policy makers therefore must recognize the broader governance challenges when it comes to reform the police.

8.3.4 Enhanced resource allocation to the police

The police should be allocated appropriate budgets to cater their needs for human resource, training, equipment and infrastructure. The concerned government should not plead paucity of funds as the reason for any negligence to protect the life and property of citizens. The police should be delegated required authority to dispense budgets as per their needs. This responsibility should be devolved to the lowest administrative unit i.e. *Thanas*. Special privileges and allowances should be granted for in-service personnel who are working in hard and conflict areas and as well as for the martyrs. Group insurance should also be awarded to the *Thana* personal.

8.3.5 Enhanced acceptability of reform measures within the community and the police

The second most important factor, for a police reform strategy to succeed, is an unwavering and sustained commitment of police leadership. Acceptability of reform measures can be enhanced within the police, if these are seen as complementing or strengthening the core mission of the police force: to maintain order and reduce crime. The police will resist in adopting reform if they believe that it will undermine their effectiveness as police officers. Adopting the "Santa Claus"[113] and "Engaging the

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[113] Under this approach, the police are given funding for equipment and other resources so that they can perform better. This model frequently fails to reform the underlying structure of the police and the existing problems continue to persist.

Police"[114] models can be helpful in this regard. Government needs to encourage senior police leadership, who knows the police best, to inform as to what works and what does not, and how things ought to be changed. The governments also need to take on board other stakeholders especially judiciary, media and civil society and seek their inputs.

Thana can contribute significantly by adopting internationally accepted organizational practices in relation to administration and proper management of the force including recruitments, promotions, postings and transfers. Police leadership also need to proactively and innovatively adopt quality human resource management, efficient use of financial resources, and modern technologies. Establishing credible internal methods of public grievance redressal also need primary focus. More than any other measure a public commitment to minimize corruption and removal of incompetent elements from the *Thana* would restore the public confidence. Honest and competent officers should be deputed to probe public complaints against police. Departmental strategies for dealing with the critical issues such as gender crimes and human rights and *Thana* practices surrounding arrest, search custody and seizure or property need to be developed in line with the international standards. To change the image of the *Thana* and avoid illegal detention maltreatment of arrested suspects detention cells at *Thana* be replaced by charging units which are organizationally separate from *Thana* set up.

8.3.6   Other important reform measures

The chances of politicians adopting hands off policy in *Thana* related matters do not seem bright. Any *Thana* reform strategy should, therefore, concentrate on exploring

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[114] This model seeks to bring a non-threatening reform agenda to the police, which empower them to pursue reforms by providing them with appropriate information and incentives.

and capturing the space which is available for initiatives which can minimize the scope and impact of politicization of police. Some these may include:

8.3.6.1 *Thana* must be focus of reform effort

Thana, being the primary administrative unit and most important service delivery point, needs to be the focus of reform initiatives. Not only should it be adequately equipped in terms of human, financial and infrastructural resources, concerted efforts are also needed to re-engineer the outdated processes and procedures at that level.

8.3.6.2 Adequate & effective accountability

Extensive politicization, coupled with a culture that tolerates and promotes, corruption, entails inefficiency and incapacity. The problem is further exacerbated, due to lack of efficient and credible performance appraisal system and an adequate and transparent reward and punishment mechanism. Effective accountability mechanisms, supplemented by adequate and attractive reward package need to be in place to curb police corruption and inefficiency. Similarly, fundamental pre-requisite for progressive police force aimed at winning trust and confidence of citizen is to have a credible, efficient, and responsive public grievance redressal system. It entails establishing internal and external institutional mechanisms to make police officers accountable for any misuse of authority or discretionary power and violations of fundamental human rights. Such oversight mechanism is seen as an essential element of democratic policing and it requires that the police consider themselves accountable to internal investigations and inspections as well externally to public representatives, judiciary and citizens bodies.

8.3.6.3 Tackling corruption in the police

Any measures to win the trust of community such as community policing are not likely to achieve any results without first tackling more perturbing issues such as

politicization, corruption and highhandedness of the police culture. Police reforms therefore need to move from abstraction to substance and from generality to specificity. Meeting this need requires that the police develop a more systematic process for examining and addressing the problems that the public expects them to handle. It requires identifying these problems in more precise terms, researching each problem, documenting the nature of the current police response, assessing its adequacy and the adequacy of existing authority and resources, engaging in a broad exploration of alternatives to present responses, weighing the merits of these alternatives, and choosing from among them. Future reform initiatives, to be meaningful and relevant to citizens, should focus on specific issues and tangible outcomes. One such issue can be, for instance, reducing corruption and extortion in the police. The police department should come up with a well thought out anti corruption strategy in police.

8.3.6.4   Organizational restructuring

Social and political contexts of present day *police culture* have become more challenging and demanding. Unprecedented security threat in general and to VVIP/VIP in particular in wake of war on terror confronted the police with security paradigm which was beyond the scope of more traditional policing, in which law & order seriously took precedence. The new challenges compelled police to enhance its focus on security related functions and set up dedicated units specialized in counter terrorism and VVIP security.

Moreover, improving archaic police organizational structures is urgently needed to build an efficient chain of command and effective supervision. Existing disproportionate officer-to-men ratio need to be rationalized by bringing in qualitative and quantitative improvements in supervision competence levels with well defined

274

spheres of control. Adequately trained professional officers should be assigned at the managerial levels.

8.3.6.5   Improving the quality of investigations

Unarguably, the quality of investigation constitutes an important measure of police professionalism, integrity and fairness as low quality investigations also lead to low conviction rates which defeat the basic purpose of criminal justice system. The future reform agenda must improve upon the measures envisaged for improving quality of investigation in light of lesson learned from the post 2002 experience.

8.3.6.6   Introduction of merit and performance based systems through certification from independent bodies

While a total de-politicization of the police may not be feasible in the foreseeable future, reform effort can focus on aspects of policing where the adverse affects of extraneous influences especially on internal management of organization can be neutralized or minimized. This can be done, for instance, by conducting recruitments and promotional examinations by an independent body through selection, and not by routine promotions. This will bring at least a semblance of merit and professionalism in the department. There should be tenure security for officers and the criteria for transfers and performance appraisal system should be clear and well-defined.

8.3.6.7   Training and capacity building

The Police needs to invest heavily in reorientation and capacity building of its personnel. The emphasis on infrastructure needs to be realigned with the training and professional requirements of police personnel. Training itself needs to be modernized and better still take the shape of a certification. The whole training paradigm, therefore, requires a fundamental shift to equip policemen with the necessary knowledge and skills to meet new challenges. Policy makers also need to take note of

the fact that capacity development is not possible without standard setting cognizant of human rights; gender issues and international best practices and provision of parameters for police decision making. The scope for continuous training of junior police officers with expanded training facilities is needed.

8.3.6.8 Mainstreaming female officers in *Thana*

With only less than 2% of the total police force, the number of women officers is abysmally low. Only few of them are in meaningful command and operational roles. Enhancing the present day nominal representation of women police officers is critical not only for changing the face of the police but also for changing 'Macho' *police culture*. To begin with the number of women police officer should be, at least, raised up to 10% which is already reserved by the government for women in all departments. Moreover, to encourage more women it is critical to ensure conducive working environment for them in highly male dominated environment; such environment includes putting in place strict measures to guard against sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse.

8.3.6.9 Formulating a more progressive criminal justice policy

Police is only one component of the criminal justice system. Police reforms have to be supplemented by a range of measures in other areas such as legislation, penal policy, judiciary, prosecution, prisons, probation, rehabilitation and ADR. There has to be a criminal justice policy in the first place, which is non-existent at the moment. Some policy measures may help in improving police performance; such measures include introduction of separate policing models for urban and rural areas, reclassification of crime, formulation of an arrest policy and introduction of fines as opposed to arrest and incarceration.

8.3.6.10 Improving public image & perception of police

The police in Pakistan have always been negatively perceived. Resultantly, citizens feel inhibited to voluntarily share any vital information with the police. Adopting measures which portray the police in a positive light, and proactively address the causes of negative public perception are, therefore, imperative for successfully pushing forward a comprehensive police reform strategy.

It is important to understand that the image crisis of the police is not merely the result of bad publicity which can be addressed through a robust media or public relations campaign. Such efforts often backfire unless supplemented by structural changes to address the issues which, in first instance, cause a negative perception of the police. For this purpose, the police have to initiate a range of reform measures, more importantly improve police behavior towards citizens, improving handling of juvenile offenders, showing respect for human rights, promoting community policing as an organizational philosophy and eliminating discrimination against minority groups.

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Appendix I

Case Study of Police Practices

This case study relates to FIR No 56 which was registered on 28th January, 2010 under section 392/397/411 PPC in Police Station *Shahpur* Saddar. The case pertains to an incident which occurred on the mid night of 1st and 2nd January of 2012. The complainant of the case was Mr. Ramzan caste Muslim Sheikh resident of Shah Waali a neighborhood of village *Jahanabad*[115]. The complainant reported to the police that while he was sleeping at his Dera two armed persons (whom he named) came there and forcefully took way his cow.

The police registered the case and subsequently arrested two persons Mr. Asif and Mr. Tariq. They admitted that they have committed this crime and cooperated with the police in recovery of weapons (rifles) and stolen property (the cow). After recovery of required items the police challaned (sending the case file for trial) the case to the court where it is under trial.

Apparently, it was good work done by the police where the complaint of the complainant was registered as FIR, the accused person was arrested and stolen property as well as weapons of offence was recovered efficiently.

However, the detailed examination of the case and background interviews with complainant, police officials and relatives of the accused persons revealed a different story and provided valuable insights into practical police working.

The complainant when interviewed that when he initially went to the police they declined to register his case. He had to pressurize the local police through his

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[115] . For the purposes of privacy of individuals involved and confidentiality of police record the original names of persons and places as well actual dates have been changed.

Lamabardar and MNA from his constituency. The police still dilly dallied and advised the complainant to search for the stolen cow through informal means using the influence of local politicians and other influential persons of the area. In the meantime the police arrested two persons, who had been involved in different cases in past, on some other suspicion. However, during police interrogation they confessed that they have stolen the cow of the complainant. The police accordingly located his cow. The police asked the complainant to now get the case registered against the accused persons but after giving some twists to his story. They convinced the complainant to make it a case of robbery and not that of theft. The complainant agreed. Accordingly, a case under section 392 and 397 of the PPC was registered instead of Section 379. Due to this police had to prove that the accused persons possessed weapons. Hence, according to relatives of the accused persons fake recovery of arms was made from the accused persons and an additional case under Arms Ordinance 1965was also registered against them.

The complainant was of the view that had not the accused persons themselves revealed about cow theft, the police would have probably not registered this case.

The police officer defended their action of of manipulating the case to turn a theft case into a robbery case by saying that it was done so that accused persons, who are habitual thieves could not be easily released by the courts.

It was observed that the FIR was written in a very typical and technical manner. For example when the FIR mentions the description of accused persons by the complainant, it provides full particular of the accused in following manner:

"Allah Ditta son of Piran Ditta alias Gugo caste Muslim Sheikh resident of village Kullo armed with 12 bore loaded rifle".

One experienced police officer explained that when the complainant gives his original application he does not provide complete details. However, before the registration of a FIR, the police ask him to provide full name of the accused, his father's name, his caste, aliases, place of residence and type of weapon he was holding at time commission of crime. This is done, as per the explanation of the police officer to ward off any doubt about the identity of the accused persons at the trial stage. Similarly, the complainant has to also provide the complete details and full description of the stolen property (in cases of pick pocketing, theft, burglary or robbery. For instance the complainant in the present case described the stolen cow in the following manner:

> "Aik Rass Gayey ba umer jawan sufaid dubi seeng teen unglian lumbi." (The stolen cow was young in age with white spots on its skin and its horns were three fingers long.)

Another police officer informed that an important requirement of a 'good FIR' is to include in it mention of certain "eye witnesses" so that they can subsequently, support the prosecution case. During course of study it was observed that in many cases actually there are no witnesses at all. While in some cases there are actually some eye witnesses but the police and complainant consider them as unreliable as they might retract at a subsequent stage. In such cases the police with the assistance of the complainant create what it calls "Wuj tukar dey Gawa" or highly dependable witnesses. In the instant case, for example, two such witnesses i.e. Muhammad Ali and Mian Ali were created who were shown to be present at the time of commission of this offence in flowing manner:

> "The armed accused persons tied me with ropes and started commission of crime (i.e. forcible snatching of cow). As I raised a hue and cry Muhammad Ali son of Akbar Ali caste Jat resident of village

Jhawarian and Mian Ali son of Sain Ditta caste Kashmiri alias Dittu

resident of *Jahanabad* came there and tried to resist the accused person

from commission of this crime but as they were armed they forced did

not bother and took away my cow."

The complainant admitted that actually there was no witness to this crime and as

matter of fact he himself was not there. After the theft of his cow when he reported

the case to police he had no idea about the actual culprits. However, when the police

subsequently got the persons arrested and who confessed this theft also, police asked

the complainant to become himself an eye witness as well as give police names of two

other reliable persons who could be mentioned as "eye witnesses" in the FIR and

subsequent investigation. He told that police asked him to do so because they wanted

to make it a case of an armed robbery instead of a simple theft case. One police

officer explained that when police wants to implicate that accused persons in serious

cases so that they cannot be easily bailed out out or acquitted they do this. For this

reason the police create 'eye witnesses' who can identify the accused persons and thus

make the prosecution's case strong. The police officers interviewed defended this

practice by saying that it is done only in case of habitual, serious and known

offenders.

It was observed that how the police tried to cover the delay in registration of the case.

It made the complainant say that first he tried to persuade the accused persons to

return his cow to which they initially agreed to. As he was hopeful that they would do

so he avoided reporting the matter to the police. However, as the accused persons did

not return his cow so far he was forced to get the FIR registered. While in this case

such a statement from the complainant was obtained in the FIR to cover up the time

gap between incidence of crime and its registration to justify the delay to courts at

trial stage, it is also fact that many a times the complainants either themselves don't prefer to involve the police or the police themselves encourage them to try to trace the criminals and solve the crime through informal means. When the citizens were asked they replied that in some cases people hesitate to come to police as they don't trust the police and think that they would be further vulnerable to police corruption and extortion. They also think sometimes that police might be ands in gloves with criminals and also they perceive police lacking professional skills to perform efficient investigation. When asked from police officers as to why they encourage the complainants to first exhaust informal means to trace out the crimes, they contended that the police are overburdened with cases and it is additional burden especially in property cases where it is difficult to trace and arrest the criminals and recover stolen property from them.

When the FIR is registered it is followed up by other steps in the investigation process. Usually the first thing the IO does is to visit the crime scene and prepare a map of the place where the crime had taken place called a site map of crime (or called Naqsha Muaina Muaqa). Ordinarily it is prepared by the investigating Officer at the time of their visit to the crime scene. It is basically meant to show different dimensions of the crime scene and it is particularly important during trial stage when the defense lawyers try to pick holes in this map and linked description of the commission of crime by the Investigating Officer. The map shows location of the complainant/victim, accused persons, the property/items, location of witnesses, entry and exit point of the premises and location of surrounding buildings etc. This map is also prepared when police recovers the dead body or a stolen property or a any weapon used in a crime. This map is called 'naqsha mauqa jayay baramdgi' or site map of place of recovery of item/object. This map shows the location and surrounding

302

where particular item/object is recovered during the course of investigation. It was, however, observed that this map is not prepared professionally and is mainly done to fulfill a legal formality. In the instant case the Investigation Officer prepared the maps without even visiting those places and used the information provided by the complainant and the victim.

When the cow was recovered the Investigating officer prepared another document called 'fard maqboozgi' or Memo of Possession. This memo is prepared whenever police takes into position some items/objects either during inspection of crime scene such as pieces of evidence or whenever it recovers anything from the accused persons such as money, weapon of offence, body of a victim or any other item related to the investigation of case. Such memos are signed by at least two witnesses who are some times police officers themselves. In other cases the witnesses are selected to ensure that they support police version. The police also documents the statement of witnesses in a manner prescribed under Section 161 of the Criminal Procedure Code (Cr. P.C.). In some cases police also gets the statements of accused or complainant recorded before a a magistrate under Section 164 of Cr. P.C. Police officers informed that such a statement carries lot of weightage in trial of a case.

It was seen in this case study that each step of the investigation, even it is merely a formality or a fabrication, is well documented in shape of a case diary in a very traditional and in a peculiar fashion. For example most of case dairies in the present case this wording is repeatedly used:

> *Guzarish hey key iss waqat main humrah mulazman ……aur ……ba*
>
> *gharz talash o griftari mulzaman……aur …. Mutalaqa muqma haza*
>
> *rawana illaqa hota hoon.*

(It is submitted that I so and so Investigatiing officer of this case alnowith so and so police officuials proceed to such and such place for tracing and arresting the accused persons so and so who are wanted in this particular case.) After his return to the police station he writes like this..

mun   musami....nain   ba   humra   mulazman....aur.....
mulzman...aur ....jo iss muqadmay main mutloob hain key
ghroon pey waqahiha muazah ...main alag alag raid kiyay, jo
dustyab na hoyay aur mulzman ki maujodgi key baray main
kuch pata na chul saka. Mulzman key baray main itlah dainay
key liyay mukhbaran ie khas tainat kiyay gayay hain. Jaisay hi
mulzman key baray main koi itlah milti hey mulzman ko griftar
kur key muqdama haaza ko yuksu kiya jaiay ga.

 (I so and so Investigating officer of this case along with police officials so and so went to village so and so to arrest the accused persons so and so wanted in this case. The known residences of the accused persons were separately raided but they were not found there. I have deputed some special informers to alert me about the presence of accused. As soon as these special informers provide any information necessary action will be taken against the accused persons.)

Now the next step is arrest of the accused persons. Usually, it is done with the help of those 'special informers' who were planted by the Investigation Officer. So the case diary mentioning the arrest of the accused persons in this case, a very typical one, reads like this:

Iss waqt main ba humra .... aur.......malazaman key saath
......muqam per ba silsla gash moojood thah key mukhbar ie

304

khas nain khufia itlah di ki falan falan mulzman flan jagah per

moojood hain aur kahin wardat karnay ki tiyari kur rahahy

hain. agar barwaqt karwai ki jayay to griftar kiya ja sakta

chunanchey main ba hmra malazman mutalaqa jaga per

poooncha aur mulzman key ird gird ghera dal ker unn pey

qaboo kur liyay. Doran ie driaft mulzman nain apney naam yeh

yeh batay jo key muqdama haaza main mutloob they..

(At this time I along with my fellow police officials namely so and so was performing duty at such and such place when the special informer alerted me confidentially to the presence of accused persons so and so, wanted in case FIR No … at such and such place. Accordingly I along with my fellow police officials reached at that place and found those persons armed with such and weapons. We encircled them overpowered them.)

If during the interrogation of the accused, he reveals about any weapon he used in commission of crime or property he stole or about any other object relating to investigation of the case it is documented in the case diary accordingly. However, it was observed that mostly case diaries are concocted to make up for the flaws in investigation process and chain of custody and events. Apparently it is done to make the case strong for successful prosecution, in light of previous judgments, ruling or observation of the courts. However, one police officer confided that it actually damages the police professionalism as well as the cause of justice. The manipulation and padding of the case is cleverly exposed by the defense lawyers at the time of trial they cross examine the witnesses including the police officers. This ultimately benefits the accused person who gets the benefit of doubt from courts and is ultimately acquitted of charges against them. This, in the long run, encourages the

305

criminals and discourages the victims/complainants. Defective, unfair and unprofessional crime registration and investigation process has thus serious repercussions for the community who loose trust in the fairness, effectiveness and efficiency of the police and criminal justice system.

Case study of police practices (2)

This case study refers to FIR No 281 of 21st May, 2009. In this case Mrs. Shazia complained that while she was going to respond to call of nature to fields (in villages where there are no toilets in houses people use fields for this purposes) two unknown armed persons dragged her forcefully into a car and drove straight towards Sargodha city. The two persons, whose names were later revealed as Akhtar and Akram raped her. She was, however, able to escape from their custody next morning.

The relative of the complainant when approached informed that when they initially approached the police they refused to register a FIR and doubted the version of the complainant. However, later on they approached the court District and Session Judge which directed the police under section 22A of the Cr.P.C. to register a FIR.

The police accordingly registered the case after four days of the alleged incident of rape. The victim was got medically examined after registration of the case and accused person Akhtar and Azmat were arrested in the case. The accused denied the charges during the investigation, however they were sent to judicial custody for trial. In the meantime the result 0f medical examination was received which did not substantiate the allegation that the victim was raped. In absence of any concrete evidence the court ultimately acquitted the accused persons.

When the police officers were asked as to why they initially refused to register the case. They argued that such complaints are very common in rural area where girls develop illicit relations with boys and when their relationship is discovered by the family or boys refuse to marry them, they allege that they have been raped. The police officers were adamant that such cases only waste their time.

However, the lawyer of the accused noted that in genuine cases such attitude could be very harmful for the victims as well as the accused persons. He said that if the police

entertain such complaints at very early stage and immediately get the victim medically examined and send the samples for DNA tests it would be clear if the complaint is true or false. In case it turns out to be true then the accused persons should get maximum punishment and if it is false they should not unnecessarily languish in jails. Now, when the police gets the victim medically examined after so much delay, as happened in this case, it is hard to decide whether or not the allegation is true. So while the victim complains against police, so does the accused. Both parties blamed police for extorting huge sums from them as bribe in name of investigation and transport charges. They also alleged that police adopted a very abusive and insulting behaviour with them.

It was noted that timely medical examination could have helped determine the veracity of the complaint and it could have been important evidence if the complaint of the victim was true. The police also did not collect other circumstance evidence such as bed sheets etc from the house where alleged rape accord. The registration of case and subsequent investigation was conducted mainly to satisfy the courts directions without any real professional committed to sprit of justice.

The case study confirms the general perception that police do not willingly register a case on the complaint of ordinary citizens. It also shows the police lack of understanding of citizens perceptions and rights, gender insensitivity and defective investigation practices.

Questionnaire No. 1

(For General Public)

Police Culture and Its Impact on Associated Communities: A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur Saddar*, District Sargodha.

Section A: Informed consent

Dear respondent,

My name is _____ and I am student of Ph.D in Quaid-i-Azam University. I am conducting a research on Police Culture and Its Impact on Associated Communities: A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar), District Sargodha. For this anthropological study, I am focusing on *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar) District Sargodha as locale. In this connection, I want to ask you a few questions about your life and experiences. I assure you that your identity will be kept confidential and the information provided by you will be only used for research purpose. Your participation is completely voluntary and you can refuse to answer any or all questions at any time during interview.

If you agree for interview, may I start?

- Yes
- No
-

      Signatures of interviewer: _____
           (Optional)
      Signatures of Respondent: _____

      Interview Number: _____

Date: _____   Interview number: _____

Section B: Profile of person interviewed

Q.No							
01.	Name (Optional)						
02.	Gender	Male		Female			
03.	Age						
04.	Address (Optional)						
05.	Education	Never went to school	Below primary	Primary		Middle	Matriculate
		Intermediate	Graduate	Postgraduate		Any other (Specify)	
06.	Profession/ Post						
07.	Years of experience (Current job)						
08.	Family Size	Parents	Brothers	Sisters	Children	Grand parents	Others (Specify)
09.	Parents Profession	Father			Mother		
10.	Any Family member in Police?	Yes (Details)			No		
11.	Monthly Income?	Personal			Family		

Section C: Views about police

Q. No.	Questions	Descriptive Answer
1.	How do you view police?	
2.	What are reasons of your opinion?	
3.	What is the basis of your opinion about police behaviour?	
4.	Did you ever hear the term "*Thana* culture or police culture"?	

5.	In your opinion is it same for police ranks? Please tell in details	
6.	What are causes/ determinants of *Thana*/ police culture?	
7.	It is common perception that police is a corrupt organization? Do you agree?	
8.	In your opinion, what are the major reasons behind different types of corruption?	
9.	If you have to go to a police station to lodge a complaint, would you like to go there alone or with someone else. If yes, with whom and why?	
10.	Do you feel any problem in interacting with police? If yes, why?	
11.	Is interaction in *Thana*s/ police station different from society outside?	
12.	What are main problems usually faced in approaching to police to report an incident?	
13.	In your opinion does police physically torture detainees? If yes, why?	
14.	In your opinion, what are major flaws in police system? Please tell in detail..	
15.	Do you think that the police culture should be changed? If yes What? Why? How?	
16.	Did you ever have an experience of reporting a case to police as a complainant?	
17.	Did you go alone or with someone? Who?	
18.	Why did you take the particular person with you?	
19.	What type of treatment did you receive? Bribe? Used any influence? Was investigations done on merit? Violence…	
20.	Did you ever face police being an accused of some offence or as an offender? Yes No Details	
21.	How a person is viewed by the public who is close to police?	
22.	How police is used to enhanced personal, social, practical and	

	economic influence?	
23.	Why police get co opted?	
24.	Is political influence over *Thana* a constant phenomenon or it changes over time, please explain?	
25.	Is it the person from (particular caste, family, tribe, a power personality, a political office holder like MNA, MPA or Minister that is more influential)?	
26.	a. How police shapes its response to local social structure (different castes, influential rich) b. Who are the vested interest in context of influencing police? c. How police get obliged by them? d. What are their interest and why?	
27.	How they cultivated relationship with police ?	
28.	When and how fluctuations take place in the relationship with police and entails vested interest and what are the implications for common man?	
29.	Why do people join police?	

Questionnaire No. 2

(For Police)

Police Culture and Its Impact on Associated Communities: A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar), District Sargodha.

Informed consent

Dear respondent,

My name is _____ and I am student of Ph.D in Quaid-i-Azam University. I am conducting a research on Police Culture and Its Impact on Associated Communities: A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar), District Sargodha. For this anthropological study, I am focusing on *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar) District Sargodha as locale. In this connection, I want to ask you a few questions about your life and experiences. I assure you that your identity will be kept confidential and the information provided by you will be only used for research purpose. Your participation is completely voluntary and you can refuse to answer any or all questions at any time during interview.

If you agree for interview, may I start?

- Yes
- No
-

     Signatures of interviewer: _____

         (Optional)

     Signatures of Respondent: _____

     Interview Number: _____

ate: _____   Interview number: _____

Part-I.   Profile of person interviewed

Q.No							
01.	Name (Optional)						
02.	Gender	Male		Female			
03.	Age						
04.	Address (Optional)						
05.	Education	Never went to school	Below primary	Primary		Middle	Matric
		Intermediate	Graduate	Postgraduate		Any other (Specify)	
06.	Profession/ Post						
07.	Years of experience (Current job)						
08.	Family Size	Parents	Brothers	Sisters	Children	Grand parents	Others (Specify)
09.	Parents Profession	Father			Mother		
10.	Any Family member in Police?	Yes (Details)			No		
11.	Monthly Income?	Personal			Family		

Part-II

1.	Why did you join Police	(Observations)
2.	What are privileges/ benefits of being in police service?	
3.	What is your opinion about police image in public?	
4.	What are reasons for this image?	
5.	Did you ever hear the term "*Thana* culture"? If yes. Please tell me in detail that in your opinion, what is police "*Thana* culture"?	
6.	In your opinion, is it same in different police ranks? Please tell in detail.	
7.	What ar determinants of *Thana* culture? (In-depth answer required)	
8.	It is common perception that police is a corrupt organization? Do you agree? If yes what is your opinion are different types of corruption most widely prevalent in a *Thana*?	
9.	In your opinion, what are the major reasons behind different types of corruption?	

10.	Is corruption generally considered a bad thing within *Thana*/department? If not how it is justified/rationalized as not something bad?	
11.	What are general methods of investigation by police? Why police opt for these methods?	
12.	In your opinion does police physically torture detainees? If yes, why?	
13.	What other methods are normally used with the detainees to reach out the facts?	
14.	Who are three most important people within *Thana*?	
15.	Who are three most important people outside *Thana*?	
16.	Do you think police often investigates cases on merit? If not why?	
17.	Which is on your opinion most influential in shaping police attitudes? Police training institutions or practical exposure in *Thana*?	
18.	Do you think police treats everybody equally or according to his status?	
19.	Why police use abusive language and slapping etc while arresting or stopping an ordinary person?	
20.	Which types of people most often visit the police station as sifarshis?	
21.	Are transfers postings of SHOs are generally made as a routine matter? If not how and why?	
22.	Do you have any complaint against public/ complainants? If yes, what?	
23.	If you have to you get leave, promotion, reward or cancellation of punishment whom u would approach outside the police?	
24 .	Are you happy with your job as a policeman if not why?	
25.	Would you like your son to join the police department?	
26.	Is the world inside *Thana*s/ police station different from world outside/ other departments?If yes, why?	
27.	Do you think as police man you are respected by the community? If not why and whom you think responsible for this?	
28.	Do you think police always acts in a lawful manner? If not what are reasons for this?	
29.	Who are most influential sections of people in your area who wields great influence on the working of your *Thana*?	
30.	Have you ever witnessed an influential man arrested in your police station?	
31.	Do you feel any difference in your feelings and behavior when wearing uniform?	
32.	Is it considered good to complaint about your colleague who has done something bad?	
33.	In your opinion why different kind of illegal activities go on in jurisdiction of a *Thana*	
34.	Why police exercises a specific culture?	
35.	In your opinion, what are major flaws in Police system? Please tell in detail.	
36.	Do you think that the *Thana* culture should be changed? If yes WhyWhat to change? How	

Questionnaire No. 3

(General Public)

Police Culture and Its Impact on Associated Communities: A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar), District Sargodha.

Informed consent

Dear respondent,

My name is _____ and I am student of Ph.D in Quaid-i-Azam University. I am conducting a research on Police Culture and Its Impact on Associated Communities: A Case Study of *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar), District Sargodha. For this anthropological study, I am focusing on *Thana Shahpur* (Saddar) District Sargodha as locale. In this connection, I want to ask you a few questions about your life and experiences. I assure you that your identity will be kept confidential and the information provided by you will be only used for research purpose. Your participation is completely voluntary and you can refuse to answer any or all questions at any time during interview.

If you agree for interview, may I start?

- Yes
- No
-

    Signatures of interviewer: _____
       (Optional)
    Signatures of Respondent: _____

    Interview Number: _____

Date: _____   Interview number: _____

Section B: Profile of person interviewed

Q.No							
01.	Name (Optional)						
02.	Gender	Male		Female			
03.	Age						
04.	Address (Optional)						
05.	Education	Never went to school	Below primary	Primary		Middle	Matriculate
		Intermediate	Graduate	Postgraduate		Any other (Specify)	
06.	Profession/ Post						
07.	Years of experience (Current job)						
08.	Family Size	Parents	Brothers	Sisters	Children	Grand parents	Others (Specify)
09.	Parents Profession	Father		Mother			
10.	Any Family member in Police?	Yes (Details)		No			
		Personal		Family			

317

Section C: Views about Police

Q. No 1   **What is your opinion about police?**

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very Bad	No opinion

Q. No. 1 (a)   Please respond to following questions.

Sr. No	Question	SA	A	UNC	DA	SDA
1	Police is corrupt					
2	Police takes bribe					
3	Police use torture against others					
4	Police Use abusive Language					
5	Police behaves in insulting ways towards others					
6	Police works under pressure/influence of politicians					
7	Police works under pressure of their high officers					
8	Police mostly sides with powerful and rich					
9	Police do not come hard on criminals					
10	Police mostly knows the criminals but does not arrest them					
11	Police do not easily register your complaint					
12	Police is often reluctant to lodge and FIR					
13	Police ensures the safety of individuals in Pakistan					
14	Police do unnecessary policing and interference into civic life					

Q. No. 2   What is basis of your opinion?

Personal Experience	Experience of family member or friend	Public Opinion	Media

Q. No. 3   In case you have any previous experience of interaction with Police what was the nature of interaction?

As a victim	As an accused	As relative of victim	As relative of accused	As witness	Any other

Q. No. 4   Did police do any of following in that case?

Took bribe	Was Influenced by someone in authority	Used abusive language	Distorted evidence	Use torture	Remain partial	Any other

Q. No. 5   Have you ever been stopped or searched by police?

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 6   **Have any one from your family or friend was ever stopped or searched by the police?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 7   **Have the police ever used insulting language against you or in front of you?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 8   **Did the police ever use physical violence against you?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 9   **Did the police ever use physical violence against your anyone you know?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 10   **Did the police ever demand bribe from you?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 11   **Did the police ever demand bribe from anyone you know?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 12   **How often do you hear / watch / read about incidents of police misconduct or corruption in the media?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 13   **Have you ever been a victim of crime or any injustice?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 14   **Did you go to a police station to register a complaint?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 15   **Was police response sympathetic?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 16   **Can you go to police to register on your own / easily / without any reference?**

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 17   Did police ever arrest you?

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 19   Does any interaction with police scare you?

Yes	No	No response

Q. No. 20   You prefer which person to take along with you?

MNA	MPA	Nazim	Namberdar	Journalist	officer

Q. No. 21   Who is the most dominating personality on Police?

Govt. Officer	Judge	Lawyer	Journalist	Politician	Land Lord

Q. No. 22   What is the biggest complaint against Police

Safarish	Injustice	Torture	Bribery	Abusive language