Changing Relationships between Police and Society:
A Case Study of Sikkim

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By

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Declaration

I, Ushnata Priya Thapa, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the thesis entitled **"Changing Relationships between Police and Society: A Case Study of Sikkim"** submitted to Sikkim University for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology is my original work. Any content or any part of this thesis has not been submitted to any other institutions or for any academic purposes.

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"Changing Relationships between Police and Society: A Case Study of Sikkim"

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Abbreviations

ADGP	Additional Director General of Police
ASI	Assistant Sub Inspector
ASP	Additional Superintendent of Police
BCOPS	Buffalo Cardio Metabolic Occupational Police Stress
BPRD	Bureau of Police Research and Development
BWT	Broken Window Theory
CCTV	Close Circuit Television
CHRI	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative
COI	Certificate of Identification
CP	Commissioner of Police
CrPC	Code of Criminal Procedure
CTs	Constables
DGP	Director General of Police
DIGP	Deputy Inspector General of Police
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
Dy. SP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
EIC	British East India Company
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIR	First Information Report
GPS	Global Positioning System
H.H	His Highness
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IGNOU	Indira Gandhi National Open University
IGP	Inspector General of Police
IPA	Insolvency Professional Agencies
IPC	Indian Penal Code
IPS	Indian Police Service
LEED	Listen and Explain with Equity and Dignity
LN	Lance Naik
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIMHANS	National Institute of Mental Health & Neuro Science
NK	Naik
NPC	National Police Commission
PI	Police Inspector
PO	Policing by Objective
POSCO	Protection of Children from Sexual Offences
RSA	Repressive State Apparatus
SADA	Sikkim Anti Drugs Act
SHG	Self Health Group
SHO	Station House Officer
SI	Sub Inspector
SKM	Sikkim Krantikari Morcha
SP	Superintendent of Police
SPBF	Sikkim Police Benevolent Fund
SPM	Sikkim Police Manual
SPSC	Sikkim Public Service Commission
UEE	Universalisation of Elementary Education
UTI	Urinary Tract Infection

Executive Summary

The present research attempts to analyse the changing relationship between police and the general public in Sikkimese society. On the one hand, police are considered as guardians of society who vowed to maintain 'law and order', proactive towards welfare of people. On the other hand as agents of state who do not shy away from using coercive forces in protecting the interest of the elites. Hence, it intrigues the researcher for a detailed study on the topic. For this purpose, important concepts such as social relationships and social change have been referred to and integrated with the empirical findings in order to understand the significant changes that have occurred over the years in the society. The thesis is an outcome of an intensive fieldwork that was carried out in various police stations and police outposts located in the East district of Sikkim. East district is taken because of higher density of population, availability of more police stations and police outposts. The state capital Gangtok is located in the district leading to a faster trend of urbanization. The main institutions including police headquarters, various administrative departments and others are based here.

The main objective of the research is to study the changing dynamics of police-public relationships that have occurred over the years in the state. To achieve the aim of the research, the perception of police and public were taken into consideration by using purposive, snowball and quota sampling methods. Extensive review of literature was done in order to supplement the field findings. The thesis is divided into seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. The first three chapters are mainly based on secondary sources, while the rest of the chapters are the result of extensive

empirical study. The field findings are interwoven and interpreted thematically with the relevant conceptual and theoretical framework.

Chapter two discusses the historical background and organisational structure of police in India. It traces the evolution of the police and policing system in various phases, namely ancient, medieval, colonial and modern India. In earlier periods, the village was the smallest administrative unit; the headman was responsible for maintaining cooperation and peace in the area. During the colonial era, the British had a clear intention of establishing an organised police institution for guarding and protecting their own self-interest. At the time of freedom struggle, with growing national consciousness, a new dimension in the relationship between police and public as well as between police and government was developed. The unforgettable attack on Chauri-Chaura police station in Gorakhpur District depicts the uncomfortable relation between police and public, the undesired behaviour of the police-public that led to the burning of the police station martyring 22 police personnel. In post independent India, police and policing is still carried out following the Police Act of 1861. Although, there has been tremendous increase in the strength of police personnel as well as in police stations and outposts, yet police are mired with controversy. In contemporary society also, police are perceived to play a partisan role at the behest of wealthy, vested interest groups, and politicians and are known for exploiting the marginalized, poorer sections of the society. The committees like Shah Commission of 1977 highly recommended the exclusion of police from political interference. The National Police Commission (1979-81) recommended setting up a state security commission in every state and recommended appropriate recruitment procedures and to curb the misuse of power by the police. However, the recommendations made by various committees have not brought an overall institutional reform. For example, instances of police

biasness, mishandling in crime investigations, and corrupt working attitudes based on their socio-cultural affiliations are still widely prevalent.

Chapter three discusses the historical overview of police and society in Sikkim from an evolutionary perspective. The history of Sikkim is divided into three phases. In the pre-theocratic period, the study provides a glimpse about the historical background of the Lepchas who are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of the state. It was found that the earliest form of policing was in relation to safeguarding and worshiping the Lepchas totemic deity. The archaic Lepcha society was organised in terms of clan and affinity. In the medieval theocracy period with the consecration of Namgyal dynasty and later under the yoke of British Raj, the organised uniform police organisation was established as an effective institutionalisation of state's power. However, during the merger era (1973-1975) of Sikkim with India was marked with political turmoil in the history of Sikkim with a visible shift in the social system. The period also shows the significance of the police who played a vital role in maintaining peace and order, as well as in trying to preserve the status quo of the system. In fact, they were trapped in the rising tension between the state and society. The majority of the population and popular political parties were revolting against the prevailing authoritarian and monarchical rule, conversely the police were asked to defend and guard the system through adoption of appropriate means to repress the voices of the people. However, with the merger of Sikkim to the Indian Union, the democratic form of government ruled the state and consequently, the Police Act 1861 were extended to Sikkim. The chapter ends by recapitulating the evolution of police structure and organisation, explains the roles and general guidelines of Sikkim police and also the categorisation of police stations in Sikkim.

Chapter four examines the profile of the police, their aspirations and dreams of being a police officer and the challenges and issues they face in day to day policing. As informed by the police respondents, maintaining a desirable level of class, status and financial security were the core reasons for choosing the police profession as it is a government job. The cordial interactional relationships between colleagues were observed in swapping duties during festivals, co-assisting in investigations and raids and also in emergency situations. However, between the superior and subordinate officers, their interactions depend on a situational or circumstantial basis as police organization follows a strict hierarchical structure based on ranks and designations. Nonetheless, the functional dependency between the superior and subordinate staff persists and in many cases the subordinate staffs were pleased with their superior officers for understanding their issues and concerns, be it professional or personal.

The study observed that the middle and bottom level officers are compressed as they have to obey the order of the superiors and execute commands from the subordinate officers in order to perform their everyday activities of dealing with the public and properly handling law and order situations. Many of them informed the researcher about their high stress level, health and family issues, role conflict and isolation from social functions. Further, it is observed that many women police expressed about the challenges and over taxing burdens they encountered in managing work and family. Nonetheless, the majority of the women police opined that they get similar treatment as their male colleagues. However, the study found the contradictory notion of discriminatory policy. For instance, when women police are assigned with fewer tasks, they believe that they are discriminated against on the basis of gender whereas policemen feel that they are overburdened with work and complain of giving more tasks. Interestingly, male respondents are demanding equal tasks to be distributed and

opined that in each police station there should be a separate women cell so that the concern and issues of the citizens can be heard by women police. They also complained about the delay in promotion, the need for basic human rights to police personnel in order to protect them from physical abuse and attacks by the public. Surprisingly, the respondents were not favourable in the formation of the police association as they believed that it could get politicised with vested interest.

Chapter five presents the opinions given by the public about police and cross checks each other's opinions in order to avoid bias and subjective opinions. The negative images of police still persist among the people which is resulted from persistent encounters of use of unparliamentary languages and exhibition of authoritarian arrogance. It is interesting to note that, at least in the context of Sikkim, 78 percent of respondents who are residents of various areas —-urban, semi-urban and rural areas of Sikkim reported that they have easy access to police stations. However, it was found that those who have visited police stations are very less in number as the need for such visits didn't arise. The colonial legacies of 'police fear' are still instilled in the mind of the public and due to this public distrust towards police are predominant.

Among the respondents, those who belong to the higher class and inhabitants of Sikkim do not have much complaint against the police. However, those in the lower class such as vendors, farmers, petty businesspersons, and non-local people expressed that the police in Sikkim are harassing the public unnecessarily, dragging innocent people to court with no evidence, and mercilessly abusing the street vendors and taxi drivers. Further, a few respondents residing in sparsely populated areas informed that they preferred to approach the panchayat of the village rather than going to the police station. The present study revealed that since the early days, the local panchayats have

been dealing with several offences like family disputes, domestic violence, theft and any other minor crimes, although the power and authority of panchayats and police are not the same. Interestingly, many of the respondents expressed their desire to join the police organisation but only in the higher position, to serve the people with sincerity and maintain law and order in society.

Sikkim is considered to be one of the most peaceful states in North East India as less number of crimes are reported. The study found that on many occasions, the police in Sikkim are not able to prevent or solve even the smallest problems related to petty crimes. For example, they are unable to recover stolen goods like mobile phones, laptops or parts of the vehicle. The respondents expressed that in recent times, petty theft has been an emerging issue because of the increasing population, subsequently contributing in rising the delinquency level in the state. To curb the crime rate, the state must come up with innovative techniques and equip the workforce with proper training to skilfully handle any situation. In addition, it needs to increase the awareness level of the public by expanding various sensitisation programmes.

Chapter Six shows that the relationship between the police and public is not a stagnant one; rather it is a dynamic process. Police as a social institution has undergone drastic changes both in terms of infrastructural and structural (re)organisation, and also in relation to the modus operandi, particularly with the people. As evident in the historical study of police, in Indian as well as in Sikkimese context, police forces as an institution were established to protect and serve the interest of the monarch or imperial authorities. However, with the transition from monarchy to democratic government, the institution has evolved itself in working for the welfare of the society at large and the citizens in general. The study brought to light that police-public

interactions are under circumstantial basis and often make them non-relation partners with the absence of social attraction. Factors like demography, updated technology, police training and transportation, media, and education have brought changes in police organisations which have directly or indirectly brought changes in the interaction and relationship between police and public. The study observed the need for the allotment of more vehicles, updated technology like internet facilities, forensic laboratories, cyber crime experts to catch up the fastly growing technological changes and demands of modern day life. Interaction and relationships between the police with the public depends on the class, power and status positions of both the parties. The study reflects the evolving strategy like community policing that derives from broken window theory. The theory theorised that visible signs of petty crimes occurring around encourages further criminal activities including serious heinous crime in society. Therefore, it propounded the idea that targeting small crimes itself helps and instill a sense of order and lawfulness among its citizens. By citing the narrations given by the respondents, the study demonstrated how the public and police come together to tackle the troubling issues that disturbed the normal functioning of the community before it turns to a larger issue.

Some of the respondents also informed about the distrust the public have towards the police because of the non-transparent working style of the police, and a larger section of society being unaware about the internal functioning of the police organisation. However, in the present time, the discourse on transparency about their day-to-day policing through media and press make police jobs somewhat accountable to people.

In Chapter seven, the discussion is surrounding the intricacies involved in a dynamically evolving society as it is very complex, making the task of researchers

challenging to theoretically contextualise the police-public relationship within one particular sociological tradition. The findings are embedded within the sociological theoretical framework of social change and exchange theory. Analysis of the day-to-day activities of police-police and police-public relationships reflects a high correlation with power-status structure in determining the exchange of interaction. Discussing the pattern of changes in the form of exchange of interaction, the study observed that it has changed only to some extent meaning that during the time of feudal theocracy, police were symbolised as an agent of elite classes who have to follow the orders commanded by the King. Further, escorting king and kazis, collecting revenues from the villagers always made police aloof from the general public which indicate the power inequality between the police and public. At the same time, in front of the elite classes and kings, police remained subdued as they had to obey the orders. In the present scenario, as the field observation suggests, the exchange of interaction among colleagues is in terms of favourable reciprocity, the interaction between superior officials and subordinates depicted within the control line of power, class and status. Therefore, the flow of exchange of interaction was limited and represented the power inequality between the state, police and society. Nonetheless, in recent times, the gap of interaction between police and public is changing for the better as the police initiated organising awareness programmes and trying to come nearer to the public. Both the police and public have to work for the betterment of society, cooperation and support of each other is essential which also is evident through community policing and community friendly programs. Though 'social attraction' determines the types of interaction which we engage with others, one's class, power, and status position in the society determines and evaluates one's

valuation of the 'social attraction'. With these findings, the thesis concludes with a few recommendations for future policy decision making.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Introduction

The thesis is an attempt to analyse the dynamic relationship between police and the general public in Sikkimese society and also to bring forth the changing relationship that has been taking place over the years. To do so, it becomes essential to discuss the concept of social relationships and how social change has altered the course of Sikkimese society in general and aspects of police-public relationships in particular. For any society, social relationship has a paramount importance and to this note sociology has often been defined as a science of social relations. Weber gave emphasis on social relations by highlighting the significance of social conduct, which is essentially viewed as actions oriented towards the conduct of others. On the basis of this idea of social conduct, Weber stated that the term social relationships constitute to behave in some meaningfully determinable ways between two or more persons (Timms, 1967).

To Rex (1961), existence of social relations are observable and listed as the actor's intention or interest vis-a-vis his expectation of the 'other's behaviour' and purpose. Although, these facets of social relationships cannot be taken for granted as in most cases there is not always positive reciprocity between the actor and the other. Weber reiterated that, "a social relationship in which the attitudes are completely and fully oriented towards each other is really a marginal case" (1962, p. 65).

Social relations can take place between pluralities of people for any social actions. Social relation entails duality of social actions between the interacting entities, such that cooperation embodies conflict and vice versa. The model gives scope for the possible analysis of relationships between states, political parties, economic organisations and churches (Mucha, 2006).

In this sense, we can make out from the above discussion that the continuity and existence of social relationships is largely based on the relation of exchanges of behaviour between the individuals whether positive or negative.

Throughout the history of human progress, we as a society have been encountering a series of transformations including crises emanating from contradictory relations between archaic and modern, savage and civilised, oppressed or oppressor, etc. The dialectical relation and variations between the various social entities within a system made the transition or evolution of society possible. Social change, which basically is the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure characterised by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organisation or value systems. Sociologically, such a change of social order and relation has been theorised in terms of linear or cyclical changes.

Bussmann *et al.* (2000) pointed out that social change affects the social relationships and the institutional structure which eventually alters the total system of social control. The concept of social control encompasses a broad subject to discuss but Cohen restricted the use of this term to the organised ways in which society aims to produce a particular social order (Button, 2002).

This has captivated the attention of scholarly interest to make an effort to understand the phenomenon from a sociological approach, to comprehend the nature of change in social relations particularly in the system of social control. In this regard, police are a part of the apparatus of social control and the concept of the social relationship and social change directs the attention to study the relationship between police and society.

Understanding Police and Policing

Conceptual definition of police and policing has been altered and (re)defined throughout history, due to shifts in social structure and system as well as due to the impact of interaction between state, police, and public (Wright, 2002).

Policing denotes different sets of social control processes that have existed in some form or other in all societies. Reiner (1994, p. 722) defined policing as

> … an aspect of social control processes which occurs universally in all social situations where there is potential for conflict, deviance, or disorder. It involves surveillance to discover actual or anticipated breaches and the threat or mobilisation of sanctions and ensures the security of social order. The order in question may be based upon consensus, or conflict and oppression, or an ambiguous amalgam of the two, which is usually the case in modern societies.

Thus, policing is perceived as universal and carried out for specific social functions in different processes and institutional arrangements involving surveillance and sanctions which are intended to ensure social order and security.

 Manning and Martin (2015) analysed that the definition of police and policing was contested whereby it must include public and private police, secret surveillance,

tracking and intelligence gathering which is seen as essential for national security. According to the authors there are four types of policing practices prevalent around the world, which are:

1. *Private policing:* are subjected to preventions who are paid for action to maintain or expand private interest.

2. *Police carrying out traditional public-police functions:* are subjected to protecting boundaries; they are the agents who are paid from the public funds to carry out functions connected to public goods such as, traffic tickets, order maintenance, regulation that does not entail arrest in excess of everyday citizen powers.

3. *Hybrid policing:* are subjected for service and consists of a variety of policing i.e., noticing, responding to and sanctioning behaviour with a quasi-public mandate.

4. *Public policing:* are subjected to responsiveness and service; this police organisation includes warranted officers with the power to arrest.

However, considering this definition of police in the modern nation-state with common law, police and the task of policing consist of multiple functions who are 'authoritatively coordinated, legitimate organisations', and readily stand to apply any kind of brute force in legally defined territories. They seek to perform their roles through legally defined order via tracking, surveillance, and arrest. As such, they require compliance not only from higher authority but also from lower participants and citizens. Given their wide mandate, they have the ability to proceed by exception.

Further, Button (2002) explored the understanding of police and policing as essentially a function of society that does not consist of a total system of social control rather it contributes to a particular social order that is carried out by different agents which includes the regulation of government, morals and economy. Policing refers to a social process wherein many other organisations are engaged in this process. For instance, some people form vigilant groups that patrol streets and often apprehend offenders to initiate their own 'justice' or hand suspects over to the authorities. The executives inspect the workplace, investigate accidents and pursue criminal prosecution.

Other forms of policing are through Close Circuit Television (CCTV) where recording can be easily accessed to deter deviant behaviour and the private security guards look after the specific premises in order to prevent the trespass by any offenders. In the Indian context, in the state of Haryana, *Khap Panchayat* can be cited as one of the examples which operates as a parallel law enforcement agency at village level. Similarly, forms of policing in the Sikkimese society are also observed in the form of *samaj* (local associations) in caste or ethnic lines. Likewise, the panchayat also acts as one the efficient agencies of moral policing as well as solving and handling the disputes and settlement of the citizens.

The term 'police' is relatively easy to define in comparison to 'policing'. 'Police' refers to a particular organisation who are engaged in the process of policing and are associated with the maintenance of order and the prevention of crime. The police are the body of men and women employed by the state who patrol the streets, deal with crime, ensure order and undertake a range of other social service type functions. Etymologically, the word 'police' is derived from the Greek words *'politeuein'* which

means to be a citizen or to engage in political activity and *'polis'* which means a city or a state (Fitzgerald, 2000).

Oxford Dictionary (2006, p. 812) defines the term police as 'a system of regulation for the preservation of law and enforcement of order'. In administrative terminology police are considered as an executive civil force of a state who are assigned to perform the duty to maintain public order and enforce regulations for prevention and detection of crime. According to the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure 1929, a policeman is a person paid to perform, as a matter of duty, acts, which, if he were so minded, he might have done voluntarily (Sharma, 2004).

The alternative name of police as an organisation comprises constabulary, gendarmerie, police department, police service, crime prevention, protective services, and law enforcement agency, civil or civic guard. Likewise, the members may be referred to as police officers, troopers, sheriffs, constables, rangers, peace officers or other civic or civil guards (Buttola, 2016).

Considering the legacy of work ethic and culture of police, police authority is fundamentally bureaucratic constituting rational legal dominance. Weber viewed that police are hierarchically organised, they are chosen on the basis of examination and other specified qualifications, they are paid fixed salaries, their employment is the career with promotion according to the achievement or seniority, their conduct is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control (Weber, 1966). Thus, police are described as law enforcers with bureaucratic 'dominance of the spirit of formalistic impersonality'. Further, Weber observed that to define the quality of a state was its monopoly over the legitimate use of force (Weber, 1958).

In doing so, he put police administration at the centre of public administration, since through the operation of police the state enacts this defining quality (Bittner, 1980). The badge, nightstick, guns are the symbols and the tools of state authority (Allison, 1987). At the same time, it cannot be denied the fact that police require confidence, co-operation and support from the community to prevent crime and disorder. For this, healthy police-public relationship is an important concern in effective policing.

The creation of modern police offers an excellent illustration of the process of legitimation. Overall, the legitimacy is based on the principle of the 'rule of laws, not of men', that is, formal rules define their authority and govern their conduct. Police are an organised body of people with a specific set of duties and responsibilities; they are identified as the agent of the state and an institution of social control whose job is to prevent crime and maintain social orders and preserve peace in society. Police make an effort to protect property, personal liberty and the life of an individual. However, modern police as we know it today is a product of the industrial revolution and dates back from the Peelian Reforms of 1829. Prior to the 19th century protection was carried out through the 'folk police' as exemplified by the old 'hue and cry' and 'watch and ward' systems (Germann, 1969).

Chalcraft *et al.* (2008) cited that, the modern police organisation is characterised as a specialised law enforcement agency of the state and is a fundamental component of rational/legal states that stands at the frontline in all the transformation of society. Thus, these definitions of police emphasised that police are employed by the state to keep the surveillance of the activities of the citizen considering the importance of an individual, the state and political process. Police are the most visible frontline workers who come face to face with the public whenever any chaotic situation happens in

society. They are enforced to maintain law and order and are authorised to protect citizens. For ordinary citizens, the police are the most conspicuous agency of the state and perceive them as a benchmark by which they measure authority and are considered as a paramount state institution globally.

Statement of the Problem

Generally, it is argued that police were originally created as targeted responses to the problems of the social changes taking place in any society and their presence determines the symbolic power of the state. Yet from another dimension it can be seen that any given society has developed and instituted various mechanisms of 'bio power', in the Foucauldian sense, where he discussed how the state devised various techniques of regulation for "achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault, 1976, p. 140).

In this context, it can be argued that such power relations between the state and subject, where exercise of political power by the state over its subject is morally and legitimately derived. This remains as one of the prerequisite factors leading to the birth of the police organisation, particularly for maintaining the status quo of the state's power. As a law enforcing agency, police as one of the mechanisms of social control have existed in some form or other regardless of the type of society for preservation of law and order (Mathur, 1991).

Introspectively, steaming from these two paradigms, police are viewed as guardians who ensure orderly functioning of society, keeping track whether the people are following the law and order on one hand; while on the other, they are also viewed as agent of the state who favours and works for the interest of the elites.

In recent years, remarkable series of transformations have taken place in the structure and functioning of police and this has impacted profound changes in the relationship between police and society. Now, in contemporary societies, due to the shift from a homogeneous to a heterogeneous population and the increasing level of education and rising awareness of rights and obligations of the citizens, growth of technology and social media, police accountability is always under constant scrutiny. A healthy police-public relationship is necessary for the success of police organisations in a welfare state, to maintain social order or detection of crime.

 In this regard, the primary concern for the researcher is to understand the nature of changes that have taken place over the years in organisational set up and the ways of policing in Sikkim. Most importantly, the research intended to focus on choosing police as a career option by individuals, and perception of police and public towards each other.

Review of Literature

In recent times, there has been considerable increase in the study of the police profession and its behaviour and relation with the larger society which is being reflected in the corresponding growth in the number of academic research, publication and academic courses.

The study of police is no longer only concerned with administrative and law but it has been explored by several social science disciplines. The following literatures have been reviewed from various books, articles and journals in order to understand the various perspectives. Broadly, the literature is organised into four sub-themes, which

are a) police professionalism in changing society, b) beyond masculine police culture, c) police-public relation, and d) community policing.

Police Professionalism in Changing Society

It is being argued that a profession is the major bearer and transmitters of rational values. Professional man in any occupation is a prototype of rational society sensing the affective neutrality and universalism who has knowledge of new technology which promotes economy (Parson, 1964).

In sociology, the study of the profession is illustrated by two dominant theories that are functionalism and neo-Weberian or cynical. It claims that the nature of profession is universalistic and is an outcome of professionals' own self-image during specific and limited social and historical circumstances which eventually leads to sociology of profession turning out as ideologies of professions. However, profession does not necessarily maintain the stratification of specialisation by distributing work. It is an organisational mechanism of strategy and control (Brante, 1988).

Defining profession, Johnson opined that professionalism should be redefined as "a peculiar type of occupational control rather than an expression of the inherent nature of particular occupations" (1972, p. 45). There has always been confusion between profession and occupation. The author further clarified that profession seeks to acquire knowledge and occupational monopoly and therefore profession cannot be determined to be an occupation rather it is a means of controlling occupation.

 Extending the definition further, Parkin (1979) argued that professionalism as "a strategy designed, amongst other things, to limit and control the supply of entrants to an occupation in order to safeguard or enhance its market value" (p. 54). The

characteristic of a professional includes having a broad exercise of discretion with respect and importance which is based on a status granted by an organised profession. It certifies that the members have acquired certain educational criteria and have the arts and skills that make them competent to handle emergency situations, to make rational decisions and to be subjected towards a code of ethics and sense of duty (Wilson, 1968).

Thus from this understanding, a profession can be perceived as an activity that requires specialised training, a high degree of knowledge, qualification and expertise in the specific field. It implies membership of a professional body and certificate of practice. The individuals who are professionals are guided by a certain code of conduct and who are set up by the respective body whereas the regular activity performed by a person to earn his living is referred to as occupational man. However, in the course of the historic situation, although the study of the profession has been a neglected area, a good deal of attention is given to thinking and writing about the police professionalisation at large by the social scientists.

Blumberg and Neiderhoffer (1970) said that the sociology of police systems is concerned with the professional norms that must be internalised by police personnel because professionalism in policing necessitates viewing the position of police officer as a profession rather than viewing it as a job. Reiss (1967) has emphasised on how the police administrators are taking initiative in professionalising for its own benefit that can have on the quality of police work in terms of rank and file patrolmen. The entry of police into the professional discourse has often been a great challenge from every nook of sphere, from academic discipline to the administrative level. The

profession of police is not perceived as professionals like that of doctors, lawyers or teachers.

Buttola (2016) says that the reason for this notion is because historically policing was a craft or trade, and the specific educational degree was overlooked. The opportunities for the police personnel to learn and develop the skill were based on the job, often from other officers. However, in the present form of policing, police education is a commonplace. But still, in the course of selection for new police officers, an immediate question arises regarding the grade of education. This has been a subject of great debate which advocates whether college education should be required or not.

Sloane (1954) has said that very few people in the police field are considering evaluating police work versus profession and educating themselves. Further, the author suggests monetary investment, time and effort to secure the knowledge necessary to gain admittance and interest to the profession. Ashenhust (1959) explains that to attain a professional status in police, a state licence and public education should be described in state statutes in order to secure support from the public.

However, the report on the *Recommendation on Policing in Multi-Ethnic Societies, 2006* suggests that, in order to define police professional standards, codes of conduct need to be drawn up and competences that enable the professional to achieve those standards have to be identified. This principle should be applied in the context of police training particularly working in multi-ethnic communities (Cordner *et al.*, 2010).

Coping up the emerging challenges in the changing scenario and to build a positive relationship with the community members, various strategies are applied by the police

to obtain their legitimacy across many countries. Several countries have adopted different methods to achieve legitimacy. In Britain, police legitimacy is obtained on the basis of public consent sticking to local structures, norms and beliefs (Mawby, 1999).

In the United States, to improve police management and to allow the degree of decentralised decision, the Policing by Objective (PO) model is being followed. The PO model was developed by Val Luban and James Edward following a review of the use of management by objectives. It is a process built upon three basic management concepts which are planning or organising, implementation, and evaluation (Luban & Edgar, 1979).

In Japan, Management Theory 'Z' organisational framework[1] is applied by the Japanese National Police Agency and discards Weberian-Fayolian paramilitary bureaucracy. It allows a national police force to be decentralised into a semi-autonomous neighbourhood centred system of fixed posts, referred to as '*Kobans*' in urban areas and '*Chuzaisho*' in rural areas. This structure positively fosters a high degree of interaction and cooperation between police and community and recognizes that workers are part of the socio-economic matrix of influences (Bayley, 1976).

Both police and the public demand accountability from each other. If police perform their duty without any biased discretion policy and give time to the public to come out with their grievances, then, it is being argued that, police will instantly gain trust and enhance higher level of legitimacy from the public. This will also establish good

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[1]Management theory Z is an organisational management model propounded by Archambeault and Fenwick (1983) blended with modern human organisational management technology and termed as Japanese management approaches which produces a highly efficient, flexible and cost effective organisation (Ouchi, 1982).

relations between police and the public. In this context, in order to maintain the specific behaviour of police to do the right things, the LEED (Listen and Explain with Equity and Dignity) model was developed in 2011 propagated by the theory of procedural justice. In the LEED model, officers are trained to take time and listen to people; the in charge officer explains the work process, why certain decisions are made so the equity of decision is transparent and leaves the participants with their dignity intact (Rahr & Rice, 2015).

In the contemporary age, police functions are conceiving new concepts and strategies for the efficient management of policing. New conceptual names, such as, strategic policing, problem solving policing, neighbourhood-oriented policing, community policing, zero tolerance policing, and many others are given by the police organisations across the globe, but essentially with the central idea to improve how effectively police organisations serve the people. Indeed, the success of new policing strategies depends largely on the ability of a police agency to recruit, develop and be filled by a group of officers who understand the roles and recognise the responsibility for community that peacekeeping is also equally important along with law enforcement and crime suppression.

Meese (1993) pointed out that such a requirement will give new meaning to the notion of professional police officers in the modern era. Community policing, off lately, has been gaining importance and most likely a strategy implemented by the police across the globe. The most effective community policing strategies are foot patrol, storefront ministration, community meetings, and door to door visit (Buttola, 2016).

Beyond Masculine Police Culture: Gendered Police

More than a century ago, women entered the field of police service, but still the profession is portrayed as masculine and male dominated. This resulted in women struggling harder to get into police service. Even today, women police are not considered equal to male counterparts and in many vital areas of police work, women police remain underutilised and underestimated. For such reasons, scholarly work on women in police has immensely gained attention in recent times.

The traces of women in law enforcement activities are as old as recorded in Kautilya's Arthashastra written about 310 BC which gives the vivid account of women as spies (Sharma, 1977). Likewise, the Ashokan edicts also depict women guards, known as *Prativedikas*, who protected the Royal Chamber from intruders and often escorted important cellars (Roy, 1999). The history of women's entry in police organisations has not only impacted the discourse and direction of police reform but it has also incorporated the gendered police operation and organisation as well (Appier, 1998).

Price and Gavin (1982) emphasised that when women were first accepted into police departments, their roles were restricted to what were thought to be feminine tasks, basically dealing with juveniles, female offenders, and providing clerical support to the male officers. Earlier, police administrators, patrol officers, and the public believed that women in police are unsuited physically and temperamentally for the rigour of 'real police' tasks (Martin, 1980; Flynn, 1982).

Krishnamurti (1995) revealed that the status of women in policing is undermined and the use of their potentialities is yet inadequate, side-lined and stagnant. Sahgal (2007) highlighted that, in the context of Delhi police, the socio-economic status of women

in the society played a vital role for their entry into the police force. Although some young educated women are seeking to develop and grow professionally, the study revealed the biased nature of male colleagues and hurdles in regard to their promotion. The author suggested gender neutral facilities would be beneficial to develop competencies. Similar study in Delhi by Bhardwaj (1999) reported dissatisfaction among the young educated women police with their assigned status and role in the police force. They charged that they often have to face confrontation with the low ranking male officers rather than the senior officer. Nonetheless, women police had the confidence in their ability to perform in all police tasks. Aleem's (1991) study in Andhra Pradesh exposed that women police are not given independent charge for investigating crimes and in most cases their function was to assist men police.

Ali (2006) presented a deeper nuance of the competence and challenges faced by women in the police service. Through the examination of 96 women police officers, ranging from constable to police inspector; and the perception of 236 victim/complainant, witnesses and accused in the State of Tamil Nadu from the districts of Chennai, Villupurum, Kancheepuram, and Vellore observed that many women opted police service because of job security and monetary benefits. Although, they are satisfied with their job but not with the working condition, which entails long working hours and insufficient facilities. For instance, inadequate medical facilities in cases of emergency, negative response from the superior while discharging duties, etc. Their study found that women police satisfied victims/complainants and showed care; comfort and sympathy to the victim when lodging a complaint vis-à-vis positive response was received from the latter. From the narration of the accused, the study

finds out that the Tamil Nadu women police perform their duty in order to protect the rights and interest of victims as the primary objects.

Nonetheless, with coming age, women have come at par in this profession with men breaking the stereotypes and prejudices to enter into police departments. Police organisation has now become more demographically heterogeneous with the inclusion of women, college educated officers and minorities who were previously excluded in police organisations. As a result this has distinctly increased the size and structure of police organisations, changing the occupational basis of policing. This was made possible through the constitutional granting of equal opportunity in many countries in the last half of the century which has opened the avenues to minorities and women groups to serve in the police department (Reiss, 1992).

Also with the passage of time, new avenues opened up where women police were better suited (Natarajan, 2008). Even though male-female police ratio is still low yet a number of women have successfully completed unisex training and have been accepted by the Indian police force to serve in supervisory capacities.

Several research studies such as Bloch and Anderson (1974); Price (1974); Sherman (1975); Townsey (1982) revealed that despite scepticism and hostility, women police demonstrated that their capability in handling routine tasks without any consistent difference in the quality of men and women's performance in the street. Presently, women in police organisations have entered in large numbers, as a result of the strong-minded pioneers who have served the organisation (Brown, 1999; Hazenberg & Ormiston, 1999).

For Mahajan (1982) women in law enforcement are no longer a matter of controversy. His study in Himachal Pradesh and Punjab concluded that the ineffective performance of women was generally newness of their role, lack of training, unsupportive behaviour of police organisation, lack of commitment of older police women and the negative attitude of society at large. Janus *et al.* (1988) study shed light that most women officers were found to be comfortable with their role working beside male officers. The feminine identity was seen as an asset in police work and additionally family support was their major source of inspiration. Indeed, Hester *et al.* (1988) study emphasised that women police perceive themselves as more masculine and less feminine. Sabat and Mishra (2010) highlighted that the incidences of gender abuse and custodial violence are likely to decrease and women victims find it easier to come forward to police with their problems because of the inclusion of women in the workforce. Kennedy and Homant's (1983) study found that women police have the ability to show concern and are able to calm down angry people, make them understand and prevent violence.

Police-Public Relationship

Enduring concern in police-public relationships research is associated with the perceptions of the parties involved. Police and society have a dynamic and interlocking relationship which may either be positive or negative. For instance, misuse of power and authority reflects the negative aspects, while their attempts to curb the crime and to protect and serve the community reflect the positive accountability of police towards the public. However, encountering various aspects of external and internal changes within the police organisation as well as with broader

society, social relationships are in the process of a dynamic continuum, evolving in the pattern of interaction and interrelation.

According to Stevens (2003) the changes in relation to community can be demonstrated in four eras of policing. During the political era (1840s-1930s) the police-public had a face-to-face personal relation, in the reform era (1930s-1980s) it could be traced as a professionally remote relation, in the community policing era (1980s-1990s) police defended values of law and professionalism and encouraged listening to community concerns. Finally, in the twenty first century community policing is about partnerships between police and community.

Analysing the perception about the performances and behaviour of police, the study by Choudhary (2009) observed that the present police-public relationships are in a very unsatisfactory state. Some of the important factors which contribute to the poor image of police is the 'political interference' which manifests in the misuse and abuse of police power and disregard of law by the law enforcement agencies themselves. The sad state of affairs observed in relation to why the public doubt their efficiency are related to the practice of partiality, corruption, brutality, harassment, and failure to register cognisable offences. Nonetheless, as the study suggested, the public who have interacted with the police have slightly better opinions than those whose opinion is based on hearsay.

The author conceptualised that at present, police no longer work in vertical orientation but in horizontal orientation, i.e. the authority they embody does not derive from competent authority but have developed and expanded through their contact with the community which they serve. The author presented a tripartite empowerment cycle

solution through which the professional force can gain trust and enjoy confidence from the public.

Mishra and Mohanty (1992), selecting two urban townships of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar, conducted the study in the state of Orissa where the authors explored the causality of changes in attitudinal disposition and interpersonal relation of both police and public at the individual level impacting their role. The study indicated that the antagonistic attitude of the public towards police is evidently due to political intervention and also a negative image created by the press and media. However, those who have come in contact with police have a better image of their behaviour than those who have no contact. The authors suggested that the mass media play an important role in improving police-public relationships. Timely appraisal should be made in police structure, role, and equipment and accountability procedure so that police can effectively adapt the role- performance in a changing society.

On the other hand, Marwah (1999) states that politicians and bureaucrats make police as a mediocre agency of the state and parts away from their basic function to serve the society. This has eventually led to police and society's relation to fear and incompatibility. Devlin (1966) emancipates his view by discussing the various factors of changes and complexities in society, the permanent shortage of manpower in police and at the same time enforcing the various social regulations that affect the role of police. The argument in the article relies on the criminal law and its administration has affected the police public relation. The author explains the detailed procedure of court room, witness and investigator's role and has emphasised the difficulties police have to face in order to enforce it and how often police are discouraged by frequent failure which have ultimately made the public suspicious of police integrity.

According to Hills (2000) the police force is labelled for corruption, greed, weakness, brutal or partial which is viewed as part of the security problem by most of the population and as a result such a police system is bypassed by those who want security. Meares and Tracy (2012) have claimed that people are not concerned about the rise and fall of crime rates in society; rather they are concerned about how they are treated by police. Tyler (2011) cites that despite the effort of police combating crime and the evidence of the fall in crime rate and the improved training and tactics, the trust of the public towards police has not improved.

But, it cannot be wrong to highlight that the abusive and discriminatory nature of police towards the minority communities have always been an issue of discussion. Discrimination by the police on the basis of race falls collectively on the account by not providing appropriate service and because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin institutional racism could be seen in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudices, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping (Phillips, 2005).

Indeed police officers are not only confronted with different races but with different ethnic and economic backgrounds. These social factors coupled with the nature of police work promote the sensation of racial prejudice and cultural misunderstanding (Bender 1991). Police relationships with race (ethnic) minorities are often complicated with respect to security questions. The war on drugs, gangs and terrors has often been connected with minority societies, which complicate the job of police and inter citizen relationships. On one hand, police has to be efficient in fighting against criminality especially drugs and terrorism and on the other hand, they have to

render police services justifiably relating to equality to citizens with fair treatment as well as respecting human rights (Corder *et. al* 2010).

Brunson and Miller (2006) highlighted the disgraceful quality of interaction with the poor minority community and found out that minorities were twice as likely to receive disrespect from the police in the United States. The authors argued that the disproportionate targeting of minority and poor citizens has led policing strategies to be harmful and aggressive. However, the basic cause of discrimination with the minority groups figured out that they have very few avenues for equal competitions in compare with majority population and thus unemployment, low living standards in most diverse communities are the factors for committing crimes. Likewise, Weckler and McEntire (1946) said that among the Negros, Filipinos and Mexican population, the biological factors, poverty, segregation and discrimination are the strong factors of perpetrating crime.

Community Policing: A Chance for Improving Police-Public Relationship

The traditional style of police work did not focus much on building a positive and healthy relationship with the community. Police forces were perceived as occupying forces, racist or even fascist whose presence and practice threaten citizens in the community (Huttermann, 2003). Blender (1991) explains the concepts of traditional policing which was basically bureaucratised in a rigid hierarchical system, often claimed as a system working in isolation. It is also marked with the inability to be conventional to the circumstances of a particular community which resulted in labelling the organisation as closed culture and almost monastic.

Marks (2003) highlighted that the shift from repressive policing to a provider of impartial service putting forth high value for human rights principles requires an instant demand for change of the structure, behaviour and attitude. Today, with the course of social change with increased rural-urban migration, unemployment, technological up gradations, increased versatility in crime has led to the search of new philosophy and meaning in policing. The way of policing has much been altered and have approached the target to focus with direct or representative citizens on policing issues.

A new philosophy of police work known as 'community policing', which is derived from the 'Broken Window theory' was popularised by implementing it in the 1990s by New York police Commissioner Bratton and Giuliani. The adoption of community policing methods gives new meaning to the profession of police. For its effective implementation, specific skills are taught to the police officers such as communication skills, public speaking, and problem solving techniques, conflict resolution, and negotiation. Likewise, having the knowledge about the social, economic, and demographic condition of the community and the supporting agencies in the community that can be used for referral of citizens and support for officers in their work are also taken into consideration.

Malcolm (1998) pointed out that the concept of community policing perceives community as an agent and partner in promoting security rather than as a passive audience. Further, it foresees the police department striving for an absence of crime and disorder and to be concerned and sensitive to the quality of life in the community. In this view, Ryan (2011) has rightly noted and said that the police are the vehicle of moral progress and as a force of change and enlightenment. Collin (1992) emphasised

that the best method of policing can be executed only when people in an area and the local police act together to prevent crime and disorder. For instance, as a part of community policing with the intention to connect with the day-to-day affairs of the people, particularly among the youths, constructive images of police are reinforced in the eyes of youth (Cox & Fitzgerald, 1983). Subsequently, programmes such as "Officer Friendly' and "Junior Police'' in Britain and the United States are undertaken by visiting school classrooms which are sponsored by police departments.

However, the universal effective implication of community policing is still yet to be grasped. For instance, in many parts of Africa, policing has a hierarchical structure with layers of bureaucracy that lead to severe inefficiency and dissatisfaction. Whereas, community policing is a bottom-up approach, thus it becomes sceptical to implement many aspects of community policing (Francis, 2012).

 In the case of the Uganda Police force, though it has been transformed from repressive policing to community policing, especially through a deliberate institutional change. But Police work is still characterised by illegal and unlawful arrests, detentions, releases, and prosecutions. Crime rate remains the same and the image of the police is perceived as corrupted and a major abuser of human rights. The reason for the little impact of community policing was regarded as disparity in education, gender aspects, poor designs and no documented strategy or policy guidelines. The author believes that community policing organisational strategy should translate community policing philosophy into practice by training all police officers to establish and cultivate a good relationship with the communities they serve. The author further suggested that police forces should incorporate community policing in the police training syllabi in all police training schools. Mkutu and Sabala

(2007) suggest that rather than looking to community policing for transformation, the police ought to initiate processes of professionalisation and institutional reform as a "prerequisite" for community policing.

Rationale of the Study

Academic endeavours related to understanding the police organisation, their performances, and the ambivalent relationships with the citizens across the world and in India are extensive and widely available. For years, it has caught the attention of scholars from far and wide across the societies and also from various disciplines, particularly in social sciences.

Police are indeed one of the most visible public administrators and specialised agents of state which come face-to-face with society. The khaki agents' multifarious roles and their visibility to public affairs make them more questionable on their accountability. On a day to day basis, police encounter numerous complaints related to crime, theft, protest, and appeals for protection of powerful political personalities and the society at large. As an institution of social control and maintenance of law and order, police as an occupation is considered to be a risky and both physically and mentally demanding profession with multiple challenges. However, police and public hold sharply different views about the key aspects of policing as well as the intersecting relationships between each other.

Often, the nature of policing and its tangled relationship with societies have been viewed as a problem confronting distrust and questioning police legitimacy. For instance, it is generally observed that citizens do not wish to go to a police station for lodging complaints even in genuine cases, which reflects the sad state of affairs of

contemporary policing in the country. Police are often blamed for whatever ill is happening in the society as they are expected to perform the function of social control efficiently. Yet, it remains as one of the most sought-after career options due to its inherent embodiment of power in both rudimentary and refined sense of authority.

Likewise, most police officers say more deployment of manpower in police organisations is needed to adequately patrol the communities while the majority of the public does not think more officers are necessary. In terms of handling law and order, the majority of police personnel oppose a ban on assault-style weapons, while a majority of the public favours a ban on these weapons. This contradiction intrigues the researcher to explore further the changing relationships between police and society. Thus, the study attempts to find out the new feeling of comradeship between the people and the police.

In the context of Sikkim, there is paucity of literature when it comes to the study of police, and its relation with the public. The available literature in the state mostly focuses on custom, culture, religion, economy, political history, and general administration (Basnet, 1974; Sinha, 1975; Gurung, 2011).

There has not been any systematic study on police and public relationships therefore the present research attempts to fill this existing gap from a sociological frame of analysis. The study explored the bureaucratic organisation of Sikkim police and how they interact and establish relations with the society. It also intersects with sociology of profession in understanding the profession of police, and how Sikkim police are nurturing their organisation and carrying out their multiple roles and maintaining their relation with the members of the society needs to be studied in detail. It attempts to

provide useful suggestions for improvement or better policing in a constantly changing multi-ethnic-heterogeneous society.

Theoretical Framework

To study changes in any pattern of relationship, there is an essentiality in revisiting and redefining the concept of social change as a whole. Social change affects the systematic balance of society at macro or structural level, as evident in the process of industrialisation and urbanisation. However, it is also important to understand how such structural changes have impacted at micro level such as disintegration of joint family, changes in habits and lifestyles of an individual and most importantly our way of interaction and behaviour pattern towards one another which eventually altered forms of social relationships.

Different sociological perspectives are employed to comprehend social change theoretically, but mostly viewed from a macro perspective (at structural or institutional level), such as functionalist and conflict theories. Newer strands of these theories, such as neo-functionalism or the neo-conflict frame also discussed social change. However, these theories "tend to explain the dynamic interaction of a system without providing one clue to the identification of strategic leverages for alteration. *Therefore, it is* not suitable for practitioners" who are studying social change from an empirical analytical framework (Mann, 1988, p. 28; *emphasis added*).

Social change, from a sociological perspective, occurs as a result of social transactions between individuals and society, both in terms of interaction and conflict. Where conflict can arise due to differential value systems between the literate and the illiterate, rich and poor, men and women, old and young, employed and unemployed,

ruler and ruled, urban and rural folk. Broadly, social change has been explained from linear or evolutionary, cyclical, or revolutionary theoretical perspectives, which to an extent are cross-disciplinary in nature. There are also theories which emphasise on single factors, such as economic theory, technological theory, conflict theory, adaptation theory, cultural interaction theory, ideational theory, malintegration theory, etc. Linear theorists like Auguste Comte explained social change "as the outcome of man's intellectual development, which is formulated in the 'law of three stages'" (Bottomore, 1971, p. 292).

While cyclical theorists like Pareto in his theory of the circulation of elites argued that "social change is brought about by the struggle between groups for political power, and there are alternating periods of harsh rule by a vigorous and newly triumphant elite, and of mild, humanitarian rule by a declining elite" (ibid. p. 295). Bottomore (1971) pointed out that Pareto's theory "rests upon the assertion of biological difference between groups within society" (ibid).

Social change in any society is dynamic in nature. While viewed from the micro perspective in particular, social change can also largely be contributed when there is an infrequent exchange of network systems or reciprocal relationships between the actors or parties. This may be in terms of economical or social sense. Modern exchange theorists assert that humans always attempt to make social transactions on the basis of cost and benefits assessment. Indeed, "humans pursue material goals in exchange, but they also mobilise and exchange non-material resources, such as sentiments, services, and symbols" (Turner, 1987, p. 217).

Social exchange theory mainly emphasises the relation of dependency between an individual and group to another. Social structure in equilibrium is the result of a

process exchanging behaviour and reward in which the increment for the same varies according to the frequency of interaction and what he gives and gets. A person that gives much to others tries to get much from them. This process of influence tends to work out at equilibrium to a balance in the exchanges. If this process does not function smoothly then the chances may take another form which is more likely to happen in a weak power network. For instance, in a group of individuals if one individual has a different ideology then each person has a different social partner that he/she can seek support from, thus having less opportunity for exploitation to occur. However, Festinger showed that in more cohesive group members exchange highly valuable sentiment or activity (Back, 1950).

Schachter (1951) in the study of behaviour of members of a group identified two kinds of members, 'conformers' and 'deviates'. The activities of conformers are considered to be valuable and that of deviates' behaviour as non-valuable. The interaction between conformers and deviates is more cohesive because the latter are relatively satisfied with the former's behaviour. However, if the deviates fail to change their behaviour they are denied any social approval from the former, which results in occupying a lower social position. This particular theorisation of the individual's behaviour in the group, as propounded by Schachter, reflects the everyday experiences of the people. This suggests contextualising the exchange of interaction from a power relationships perspective also. The web of social interaction in society is a continuous process of struggle for power in every society as Weber emphasised. In this context, the authority which wields the power to manipulate the wills of others derives from the legitimate system of authority, which is largely applicable to the large-scale bureaucracies prevalent in modern society (Morrision, 2006).

Likewise, Turner *et al.* (1995) cites that those who are subjected to accept the legitimacy is because of their economic or political dependency on those who have power or under the yoke of administrative apparatus. The wielder of domination exercises its discretionary power through various chains of command to enforce the authority, such chains serve the link between leader and the masses. Therefore, in this sense, the bureaucratic police organisation which is a law enforcement agency and the mechanism of social control creates a structural condition that favours the state monopoly or as one of the agents or mediators between the state and the society. But when threat to the dominant order increases the state turns to physical and severe measures wherein the 'police force' plays a critical role and is used as a tool to suppress the ruled class.

However, in contemporary times, with the increasing instances of violence as new forms of political and social demonstration occur, the task of the police assumes a critical importance for both control and protection of the public, for which as according to Klockars (1985) police are given the general right to use coercive force by the state within the states' domestic territory. For such reasons, the frequency of exchange in terms of interaction and behaviour is often restricted or limited between police and public.

Based on this theoretical and conceptual framework, the present study had analysed the changing relationship between police-public relationships in Sikkimese society from the sociological lens. It used various sociological concepts mainly revolving around the conceptual and theoretical perspectives of social change, particularly social exchange of behaviours and the reproduction of the phenomenological experience of everyday life. The study has attempted to make a connection between

changes in the relationship between police and public, firstly because of the change in social system and secondly the variation of frequency of social behaviour as exchange.

Research Questions

What are the various historical contexts in which police organisations emerge in Sikkim and with what purpose they were instituted? How has it evolved since its inception to present time, particularly in relation to its organisational structure, inclusion of women and modalities of operation and function? What were the determining factors for such changes and how it has (re)shaped the relationship between the police and the public? What are the main issues and challenges they come across in the course of performing their duty?

Objectives of the Study

1. To trace the historical progression of the police system in India and Sikkim in consonance with the socio-political undercurrent.
2. To examine the role and performances of Sikkim Police as a law enforcement agency along with the dreams and aspirations of the police personnel.
3. To analyse the changing dynamics of police-public relationships that have taken place over the years.
4. To find out the perception of the community members on Police and Policing.
5. To identify the challenges and issues encountered by Sikkim Police in the process of maintaining law and order.

6. To present a macro view on how police as an institution functions both as an apparatus of social control on the one hand and as an agent of social change on the other.

Field and Methods

For empirical assessment and to provide a reliable and accurate account of the study, adopting a certain methodology which is a system of rules, principles and procedures that guides scientific investigation is essential. The study is exploratory in nature and aims at finding patterns and ideas of relationship between police and public.

The study was conducted within the administrative boundaries in the East District of Sikkim, which is the 22nd State of the Indian Union. Sikkim is one of the smallest and least populated states in India covering a total 7,096 square km with a total population size of 6,10,577 (2011 Census).

It comprises four districts namely East, West, North and South. With an area of 954 square km, the population and literacy rate of the East district occupies a higher position in comparison with other districts of the state. The district has 2,83,583 individuals constituting 46.45 percent of the total population of Sikkim with a population density of 297 people per square km, The literacy rate in the district is 83.85 percent. In terms of rural-urban population, 43.19 percent reside in urban areas, while the remaining 56.81 percent in rural areas. The state capital, Gangtok being located in the East district, is inhabited by people belonging to several ethnic groups, occupational and professional fields. The selection of East district is primarily because of the higher trend of urbanisation and modernisation process vividly evident in the Gangtok area with faster changing socio-cultural and economic conditions.

Population and Sample

The population of the study consists of two groups, one being the police themselves and the other being the people from the general populace. Firstly, in relation to the targeted police population for the study, all the nine police stations of the East district were visited to collect the relevant data. The nine police stations are namely Sadar Police Station (PS), Ranipool PS, Pakyong PS, Singtam PS, Rangpo PS, Rhenock PS, Kupup PS, Rongli PS, and Sherathang PS and another 12 police outposts are also present in the area. At the time of conducting the fieldwork, the total strength of police personnel in the district was 424, out of which 100 samples were drawn using snowball sampling methods. The study had a clear intention to employ a purposive method because this method is usually used when there are only a limited number of primary data sources due to the nature of research design and aims and objectives. Police numerically hold less population as compared to the general population of society. BPRD (2020) reports pointed out that the total police per lakh population in Sikkim is 371.06.

The samples studied were taken purposely to reflect on the experiences in bringing out various issues and challenges the police encounter on both personal and professional fronts. As stated, the snowball sampling method became the most appropriate for the research because while the researcher approached the police in the police station, the respondents further introduced the researcher to his/her colleagues, superior and subordinate officers.

Secondly, in relation to the general population, Sikkim being a diversely heterogeneous society with varying ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, categorising the population into various parameters and characteristics was not

feasible considering both financial and time constraints. Therefore, the population of the study for the general public was categorised into two main groups as male and female respondents keeping a sample bracket of 50 percent each of the total 100 samples selected using the quota method. However, fixed portion of quota was not assigned to other parameters. Nonetheless, to have a heterogeneous response, during the fieldwork, it was made sure that people from diverse educational and occupational backgrounds are adequately represented. The quota method was used to observe the variance in opinions and views of the people.

Tools and techniques of data analysis

Primary data was collected using both direct face-to-face contact with the respondents and also using telephonic interviews by means of employing semi-structured interviews. For the purpose, two sets of interview schedules were administered, one is for the police personnel and the other for the public. Using semi-structured interviews gives the researcher the scope for moderation of the questions being framed to the respondents. Besides the semi-structured interviews, few of the women respondents (police as well as public) were closely observed in their home as well as office environments to get a glimpse of their daily tasks and challenges.

Through observation one can assess the mannerisms, speech and behaviour, acceptance of police legitimacy from the public respondents and gaining trust and confidence from the police respondents. Such interviews and observations were supplemented further through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with various groups. Separate FGD were carried out based on occupational hierarchy, gender, and income group. As it has been often observed that class, status, and gender have significant impact on the way we view our society. The study has extensively used secondary

data in the process of presenting a holistic view and development of police in India and Sikkim. The secondary data for the study have been collected from various books, reports, journals, articles, internet sources etc.

The administrative literature was thoroughly reviewed and existing literature and reports on police organisations have also been taken into important account for the study. The study brings valuable insight since it supplements the findings from police personnel and cross-check their views with that of the community members with an attempt to avoid the subjective views of the police personnel and organisation. For the data presentation and analysis, simple statistical tools were used, which are calculated and represented in the form of charts and tables using an excel sheet.

Chapterisation

Chapter I: Introduction

The first chapter introduces the topic by presenting a clear case for carrying out this study after thoroughly reviewing the literature and spells out the research questions, main objectives and rationale of the study. The chapter also clearly states the methodology and tools employed for fieldwork and analysis.

Chapter II: Historical Background and Organisational Structure of Police in India

The chapter presents an overview of police in India, tracing its historical evolution from ancient to contemporary time, reflecting the organisational structure, background on the induction of women in the organisation, its hierarchical structure, and adoption of various policy measures for the overall improvement of the organisation.

Chapter III: Police and Society: A Historical Overview of Sikkim

The third chapter details the historical background of Sikkim in general and police in particular by inter-relating with the social, economic and political status. Using secondary sources, the chapter emphasises how the evolution of Sikkimese society has shaped the backdrop of modern police organisation. Relevant recorded documentation on the law and administration, history of police organisations in the state, strength of police, and number of police stations are elaborately discussed. Field accounts are also used to supplement the existing literature.

Chapter IV: Sikkim Police: Duty, Aspiration, and Challenges

In this chapter, the researcher unfurled on why the police respondents chose police service as a career. It explores the various factors that influence the role, function, and performance of police personnel. The chapter emphasises on the basic amenities provided to police such as accommodation, uniform and general working environment. It also talks about the daily challenges they come across, health and stress related issues, and balancing of work and family especially by women police. Lastly, the chapter discusses the problems they face in relation to position and ranking, satisfaction of their job, and grievances they have as shared by the respondents.

Chapter V: Perspective from Periphery: Public Perception of Police

This chapter entails the attitude of the public towards the police. The chapter also reflects the evolving strategy and changes that have taken place over the years in policing. It has narrated the opinion of the public on their experiences with police and policing. It provides a detailed account of how police-public relations are shaped by

one's class, status and power. It questions partiality and favouritism. Part of the chapter also cross-examined the opinion of the police with the views expressed by the police on certain important aspects.

Chapter VI: Dynamics of Police-Public Relationship

This chapter represents the macro view on how the factors of social changes have brought changes in police organisations and to the general public as a whole. It discusses the factors like influx and rise of population, advanced technology and transportations, media, education and training that causes the alteration of the policing methods. It also gives detailed accounts on how police and the public are making an effort to build a healthy relationship through communication by organising community programmes and awareness campaigns. In which direction, the relationship between the police and the public can be improved in the near future is also highlighted.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

The chapter provides conclusion by blending the major findings of the study with appropriate theoretical perspectives especially from the standpoint of exchange theory which is deemed to be the most suitable. It ends by giving a few recommendations and suggestions for future policy making.

Chapter II

Historical Background and Organisational Structure of Police in India

Introduction

India is known for its cultural diversity. Its history is marked by numerous encounters with foreign invaders which has tremendously impacted in (re)shaping its social composition. At various historical epochs, the nation has undergone institutional and structural re-organisation. The present chapter seeks to highlight the changes that have taken place in the institution of police by tracing its historical origin from ancient to contemporary time, particularly in relation to its formation and transformation which in turn has redefined its relationship with the public.

Historical understanding of police is essential in order to comprehend how the alteration of roles and structure of police organisation have allowed the profession to evolve from an ineffective watch group to an institutional agency for upholding law and order in society. In this context, Verma (2011) argued that prerequisite for understanding any police organisation entails analysis of its historical evolution, prevailing socio-political conditions, and the state of development of society. Besides, for an overall comprehension of the institution, the chapter also endeavours to bring out the roles, functions, legitimacy of control and authority, and the way they carry out their charter.

The chapter is also an exertion of the vocation on why historical exposition of the institution is a necessity, particularly in Indian context. Society in India is

characterised with diverse socio-economic positions along with cultural, religious, linguistic, and racial diversity. In such assortments, the role and relationship of the police with the mass become extremely broad and differentiated, at times presented as a dual faceted institution. On one hand, it is seen as a significant institution for providing security and dignity to the citizens, upholding the democratic rule of the people. While, on the other hand, due to instances of abuse of power and authority, and misconducts, it is being deemed as concierges of the elites, in serving both their own interest as well as that of the privileged (Kapur & Mehta, 2005). Dhillon (1998) in fact, maintained that police in India was never created to be a people-friendly force; rather its primary role was to serve the ruler and not the people.

Brief Historical Note on the Police System around the World

The concept of police is not the same throughout the world. Its conceptual origin and development are treated as gradual. Nonetheless, 'police' as an organised force in its modern connotation was used in 1829 in London by Robert Peel[2] which primarily focuses on crime prevention (Moylan, 1929). Globally, different reasons are drawn on the origin of the police organisation. However, the consensus is that it sprouted due to law-and-order crisis and emergent social unrest in the society.

It is also to be noted that due to the ambiguous nature of its origin, it is important to conceptually define who police are and why they were created in the first place. Bittner (1967) argued that the police organisation, talking in the context of the Metropolitan Police of London, "was created to replace an antiquated and corrupt system of law enforcement" (p. 699).

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[2] Robert Peel is regarded as the father of modern British policing and as one of the founders of the modern conservative party and served twice as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1834-35 and 1841-46).

He further defined police through the role assigned to them which is "a mechanism for the distribution of non-negotiably coercive remedie**s** entails the priority of crime control by direct inference" (Bittner, 1990, p. 126). In purview of the above definition, therefore, it can be argued that historically in Australia the first police force was created in 1810, with the addition of criminal investigation in 1827. A dual system of policing organisation existed namely, centralised commonwealth force and various state police forces. In Britain, during the 1820s and 1830s, police organisations originated due to the rising crime rate all over. In the United States (US), development of policing activities accounted in the complex features of the urbanisation and migration process (Mathur, 1991) where the requirement of police force was necessitated leading to its establishment in 1845 in New York City, which was consciously patterned with the new Metropolitan police of London (Fleming, 1970). In Japan, the modern police force was created in 1871 (Brogden, 1987).

Policing system in early period employed more traditional methods and techniques in the form of Random Routine Patrol,[3] Emergency Response[4] and Retroactive Investigation[5] to fight criminal activities. This method was reactive to serious crime alone and crime rate was inferred only on the number of arrests. Buttola (2016) citing Wilson also pointed about similar form of traditional method of policing which are watchmen,[6] legalistic,[7] and service[8] style of policing that defines police mission.

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[3] Random routine patrol is also known as the beat cops patrolmen who patrol around a designated geographical area and creates a sense of security for the community as well as prevention for probable crime.

[4] Emergency response system was to catch the perpetrators red handed while they were fleeing the scene of crime.

[5] Retroactive investigation is used for complex or unsolved felonies in which the patrolman conducts a preliminary investigation before referring the case to the detective who takes over to crack the case.

[6] 'Watchman' style involves informal police intervention in which the officer uses persuasion rather than arrest to maintain order.

[7] 'Legalistic' style emphasises arrests but does not meddle in community problems that are not crime.

In the wake of industrialisation and urbanisation, the traditional form of policing proved to be inefficient in dealing with rising crime and disorder due to many forces of change (Esmley, 1999). They were often criticised for sleeping and running from real danger (Peterson & Edwards, 1967).

However, as delineated by Monkkenen (1992), with the restructuring of the organisation through four innovative modules in the US, modern police organisation was born. These four innovative methods are, firstly, the modern police had a hierarchical organisation with commands and communication structure resembling a military system. Secondly, rapid increase in functional differentiation paved the role of police to be more specialized. Thirdly, the police were made visible by uniform and fourthly, police were conceived to be active that entailed patrol with regular salaries.

History of Indian Police System

No doubt, modern Indian police is said to be the creation of British rule but the origin of police in India can be traced back to the early days in Indian history. Bayley (1971) pointed out that police are not the product of industrial revolution. It has been argued that a similar form of institution was prevalent in India since ancient times in the form of village police, which is considered as the bedrock of all police systems in India. Likewise, the depiction of *daroga* (police in-charge) clearly marked the presence and continuation of policing and police system during the medieval period. The following section entails the history of the Indian police system.

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[8] 'Service' style emphasises community policing where law enforcement works hand-in-hand with social service agencies to prevent crimes rather than directly confront perpetrators.

In Ancient India

In Indian mythologies, especially in the epics of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, mentioned of watchmen, spies, and guards who functioned as agents of the State in enforcing codified laws was found. Mahabharata speaks of *gramadhipati,* [9] while Ramayana gives a vivid description about how Sita was put under the surveillance of women guards marking the presence of women in the law enforcement agency (Ali, 2006). Saxena (1983) discussed Ashokan edicts which depict a theocratic state with well organised bureaucratic establishment. The edict conferred of a new class of officials who were known as *dharma mahamatras*, meaning "inspectors of the dharma" or roughly translated as 'officer of morality' who encouraged path of dharma and delivered justice to people belonging from all religions and ranks, including members of the royal family. It also portrays *prativedikas* as thosewho protect the royal chamber from the intruder and often escort cellars.

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* [10] mentioned about how the village headmen were entrusted with the responsibility for prevention of crime and upholding security and peace. It also discussed three types of officers namely *dandapala* (door keeper), *durgapala* (Superintendent or the governor of the fortress)and *antpala* (military officer).The officers who operated in forest areas were called as *atavikas* (Singh, 2009). As far as women police were concerned, they were referred to as danvarika(warden of police) and *antervansika* (lady officer). Their duties were to bear the responsibility for strict

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[9] Gramadhipati is a Sanskrit compound which refers to a type of profession such as superintendent, head, chief of the village consisting of many officers and employees for the duties of the royal princes.

[10] Arthashastra is regarded as a treatise on the criminal justice system and reads like a manual for the police in modern times and stated the detail analysis of police organisation referring as '*sangrahana*' for 10 villages, '*kharvatika*' for 200 villages, '*dronamukha*' for 400 villages and '*sthaniya*' for 800 villages (National Police Commission, 1979).

maintenance and vigilance on the management of the royal palace and ladies of the royal household (Mathur, 1991).

The Mauryan administrative system can be argued to be a true representation of a police state. Modern day Patna, Bihar was the capital city of the Mauryan Empire known as Pataliputra. Other cities like Taxila, Ujjain, and Mathura were the important centres for trade and commerce activities. Each of these cities was headed by an officer known as *sthanik.* Further, it was divided into units consisting of 10 to 40 houses. Security as well as surveillance of activities of each unit was under an officer in charge known as *gop. Chaurrajjuka* and *vivitardhyaksha* (officer in-charge of the pastureland) was considered as an expert in apprehending thieves. Guards known as *rakshak* used to patrol the lane and bi-lane of the cities. Criminal cases were handled by courts of judges (*dharmasthia*) and police magistrates or prosecutors (*kantaksodhana*) in accordance with the sacred law and Royal Ordinances (Sharma, 2004).

During that period the village was the smallest administrative unit of the police which was entirely based on mutual cooperation and shouldering of responsibilities with the locals. The main responsibility of police was in catching and confinement of culprits who were charged with cattle theft, murder, and adultery, along with their accountability towards the society. They had to perform *prahara*[11] for three hours at a time. Other duties included collection of tolls at *gulmas.*[12] Police outposts during that

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[11] P*rahara* are those who did guard duty for a fixed period and are presently known as *pahari wala*.

[12]*Gulma* is a Sanskrit word, which is a little place having a few policemen who would collect *dana* (tolls) from the vendors going out to sell certain goods located at important placesin the highway. *Gulma* later became *gumma* in prakrit and was extended to affix *gumti which* is still in use to mean the round like station with some officers and guardsmen to look after movements of people or goods.

period were known as *chatushka*.[13] Police were expected to make extensive searches, arrest the criminals and also recover stolen articles.

In regard with the detection of crime two methods were usually employed, one by setting up a thief to catch another thief, and secondly by resorting to the tracking system. The tracking system uses a dog squad to track the criminals who had run off to or hiding in forests. Under the Gupta administration, a new officer known as *rabasika* or *rahasagawas* was introduced who appeared to be in-charge of the secret and confidential matter (Shrivastava, 1999).

Chaterjee (1961), discussed that in southern India, although the organised form of criminal laws is not known much as a result of the absence in recorded historical documentation, justice was largely a matter of local concern. He further mentioned that it is astonishing to know that the criminal procedure approximated modern standards which were on the basis of three modes of evidence that is, usage (*atci*), document (*avanam*) and eyewitness (*ayalar-tangal-katchi*) were prevalent during that period. However, throughout ancient and medieval times the *paharawala* or *chaukidar* (watchman) commonly wore turban.[14]

In Medieval India

Medieval period in India comprises a long period spanning from the fall of Gupta Empire to the rise of colonial legacy accounting from 6th century to the 18th century. The onset of the Mughal dynasty brought several structural changes in traditional Indian society. The main objective of the Mughal was the sustenance of the empire

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[13]*Chatushka* is a little place at a crossroad. The modern words *chauk* and *chauki* have come from this, the policemen in charge of a chauki were known as *chaukidars* in post Muslim times. The word chaukidar is still in use in certain parts of the country to mean the rural police.
[14]A form of long piece of cloth wrapped around the head of a man.

and expanding their sphere of authority and control. Conditionally, multiple reforms were undertaken to fulfil their objectives. The Mughal governance was both authoritative and militaristic in nature and the *Sultan* (emperor) represented the central power where all socio-political and economic activities revolved around his wishes.

Initially, during the administrative reform under the Akbar regime, the Mughal Empire was divided into 12 *subahs* also known as (province). Later, after the conquest of Deccan and at the end of Akbar's reign, the number of *subahs* was 15. It was increased to 17 during the reign of Jahangir while at Shah Jahan's times it was increased to 22 (Mahajan, 1991). Provincial administration was enhanced under Akbar. The boundaries of the provincial units were made fixed with a uniform administrative pattern. However, slight modification to go well with the local conditions was developed for all parts of the empire. Further, drawing upon the experiment introduced by Sher Shah each province was provided with a set of officials representing all branches of state activity which made the control over the province more effective.[15]

The provinces were under the surveillance of a subedaror governor who was responsible for administration including criminal justice and keeping peace and order in his jurisdiction. The period also marked the prevalence of a vast network of spies to report to the daroga of a *chowki* (a police station) (Singh, 2009). The Mughals implanted the police system in line with prevailing Indian social settings. *Kotwal*

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[15]Retrieved from http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/ikram/part2_16.html on 09/08/2021.

(chief of the city police) had multi designations such as magistrate, head of the police, and municipal officer. Chaukidar was responsible for the village administration.

Both the justice delivery system and police organisations were weak during this period. The system of administering justice, punishment and policing had to be followed under the Islamic law which was based on the Holy Quran. Punishment was very cruel such as flaying alive, cutting of nose, ears or forearms, trampling by elephants, and mutilation which was believed that all these forms of punishment have generated deep rooted hatred for the police functionaries by the people at large.

Following the Durkheimian concept of mechanical solidarity found in archaic society, we can say that the form of punishments meted out to the wrongdoer during that time was harsh and repressive in nature as the offenders were punished directly on the body without mediation by law (Morrision, 2006). However, during the Sultanate period, the Hindu population was subjected to a different law and the Pandits were associated to interpret the Hindu law and to give their opinion on it (Garg, 2020). Mishra and Mohanty (1992) pointed that the police system during Mughal era was usually for the continuance of feudal society in India.

At the village level, both the Mughals and Marathas adopted the traditional village administration system where the village headman was given the responsibility for enforcement of law and order making the village community an autonomous region and yet accountable to the monarch.The chaukidars were responsible for the prevention of crimes in the village. Under Maratha rule, village headman (*patil*) discharge the duties of policing with the help of watchmen (*zaglas*) assisted by the tribes namely Ramoshis, Bhils and the Kolis (Sarkar, 1961).

However, in urban centres, according to *Ain-i-Akbari,* kotwal was responsible for maintenance of security, control of market and prices, care and disposal of interstate property. Further, the Kotwal is also entrusted with maintaining the record of the number of houses and its inhabitants under his jurisdiction. However, in the absence or on behalf of the Kotwal, the duties are discharged by *amilot* (revenue collector). Singh (2009) delineated that during the period crimes such as, murder, robberies and violence were rare cases, therefore, the conduct and performances of the police were considered to be good.

Under the district administration, the *faujdar*[16] whose office has the combined function of military commandeer along with judicial and land revenue functions, head the criminal justice delivery system. At provincial level they had 500 to 1,500 sepoys depending on the size of the district. These sepoys were entrusted with the power to maintain peace and security, guarding the dispersing or arresting robber gangs, suppressing disorders and smaller rebellions which was similar to the military characteristics.

Under Colonialism

The transition period between the disintegration of Mughal Empire and subsequent colonisation of India by the British East India Company (EIC) gave the right to control of the latter under the British Empire. As a result, it caused the breakdown of law-and-order situation in India with consequential rise in criminal activities. The outcome was development of an effective and efficient law enforcement mechanism which was essential for the protection of colonial interest in trade and commerce, and further expansion and establishment of strongholds for the Empire. Resultantly, the

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[16] Faujdar was a title awarded by Mughal and Muslim rulers to battalion commanders in South Asia.

origin of police organisation in India is traced from the endeavours of colonial administration.

Around 1700 AD, the colonial administrators acknowledged the need for reorganisation of the growing settlements and the protection of the citizens. Besides the protection of the citizens, the British also had a clear intention of establishing an organised police institution in guarding and protecting for their self-interest. Therefore, with the administrative and commercial experience which the EIC have, the responsibility for police duties were taken upon by them (Rao, 1961).

Following which, *peddanaik* (chief police officer) also known as *poligar* was appointed with the responsibility for recruitment of sufficient number of watchmen for the security of the town. They were also responsible for providing necessary protection to the governors. The *darogas* (police superintendent) were responsible for the prevention of crime and disorder. Thus, it was observed that unlike the modern police organisation, the structure of this colonial police was militaristic in nature with recruitment based on physically intimidating presence. This was where it failed to produce an efficient, professional, and accountable police force.

However, it can be pointed out that the reform and reorganisation of the police forces culminated in the Police Act of 1861. Section 4 of the Act states that:

> The administration of the police throughout the general police district shall be vested in an officer to be styled the Inspector-General of Police followed by Deputy Inspector General of Police and Assistant Inspectors General as the State Government shall deem fit. The administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the Magistrate of the district shall, under the general control and direction

of such Magistrate, be vested in a District Superintendent and such Assistant District Superintendents as the State Government shall consider necessary.

The Act mentioned that the discipline of police should be framed in more militaristic features. Discharge of their duties are subjected to the civil executive government under the control of District Magistrate, suggesting that police is a mere instrument of Government and not as a servant of law (National Police Commission, 1913). The Act served as the backbone for reorganisation of the police institution in India for its further development and expansion. In fact it helped in the modernisation of police in India and in neighbouring sub-continents. Further, the systematisation of the police force was also realised through various Police Manuals. For instance, in the newly constituted Central Provinces a Constable's Manual was prepared for the first time in 1865, which was issued in 1884. The objective of such manuals was to unify police working throughout the province and to start regular technical training of subordinate police officers. The pioneering state to bring out a first Police Manual was North-Western Provinces (U.P.) in 1863, followed by Bengal in 1884 which was republished in 1913, and Assam Police Manual in 1895 (Hooja, 1961).

However, later with the gradual growth of national consciousness, which later paved the way for the freedom movement, the 20th century threw new challenges and burdens on the police forces in India. A new dimension in the relationship between police and public as well as between police and government was unlocked. Numerous agitations, movements, and reforms, such as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, Khilafat Agitation, Non-Cooperation Movement, Dandi March, Civil Disobedience Movement, made police difficult to successfully maintain law and order where the situation mostly spun out of the control and often resorted in usages of repressive forces. They also became

one of the most important instruments of security and protection for the colonial authority in the situation (Choudhary, 2010). Their duties and responsibilities grew many folds with complexity as they had to face the sullen mood of rising indignation of people (Hooja, 1961).

For a larger part of the population, police had become an obstacle in achieving the goal towards nationalism. Throughout the period, police remained the most important link between the Europeans and the Indians, acting as a pivot for social exchange as well as a point of bitter conflict (Champion, 2003). For instance, the unforgettable attack on Chauri-Chaura police station in Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh in 1922 portrayed the complete breakdown in police-public relations where 23 Indian policemen were burnt alive or beaten to death by the nationalist public (Amin, 1995). Further administrative disorganisation and mismanagement of police system in India was encountered at the wake of independence with the sudden withdrawal of senior British and Muslim officers who opted to retire or serve in the newly formed nation (Prasad, 1961).

After independence, following the Nehruvian model, the Indian economy began structural transformation. However, in relation to the Police System, it continued to function according to the 1861 Police Act. As a result, the legacy of the colonial police system continues and persists in India even today (Dhillon, 1998).

Organisational Hierarchy and Structure in the Post-Independence Era

Police organisation remained one of the important executioner branches of the State in safeguarding the civil rights and obligations. Raghavan (2003) argued that looking into the structural composition of Indian Police, it reflects the centralised federalism.

It is federal because it is organised by the state which manages a large police force and constitutionally responsible for upholding law and order and is centralised because the Home Ministry controls the entire police force. This indicates that few reforms have undergone in the structure and organisation of Indian Police since independence, though it has become more civil than militaristic in nature.

Being a State's machinery the rules and regulation of police are subjected to the ruling government of each State of India. Therefore, the structural arrangement of police in each of these states may slightly vary, particularly in the matters related to how they conduct their operations. Nonetheless, the overall general hierarchical structure of the police force in India remains the same. Every state police are empowered with the responsibility of maintaining law and order situation with roles to protect and safeguard the public and repress any type of criminal activities.

Raghvan (1986) highlighted that the Indian police system follows a three-tier structure as recommended in the 1902 Police Commission. The system comprises senior officers (Deputy Superintendent and District Superintendent), the supervisory ranks (Sub-Inspector and Inspector) and the constabulary which constitute 95 percent of any state police force in India. State police force basically has two arms namely civil and armed police. Civil police are responsible for day-to-day law and order situations, and crime control in which police stations remain the fundamental unit of administration and all preventive and detective work emanates from the station.

Whereas armed police are kept in reserve for severe law and order situations which require additional support as well as armed expertise than normal, such as situations like riots. These armed police forces are also referred as paramilitary forces, they are also known by different names in different states. For instance, in Sikkim they are

called as Sikkim Armed Police, whereas in other parts of India, such as in Kerala they are called as Armed Police, Malabar Special Police, and Special Armed Police, in Manipur they are known as Manipur Rifles and Indian Reserve Battalions.

Figure 2.1 presents the hierarchical order of civil police organisation which indicates that the Indian police service hierarchy is constituted in vertical alignment where there are three levels of police service consisting of senior officers, upper subordinates, and police constabulary.

Figure 2.1: Hierarchy of Police Organisation in India
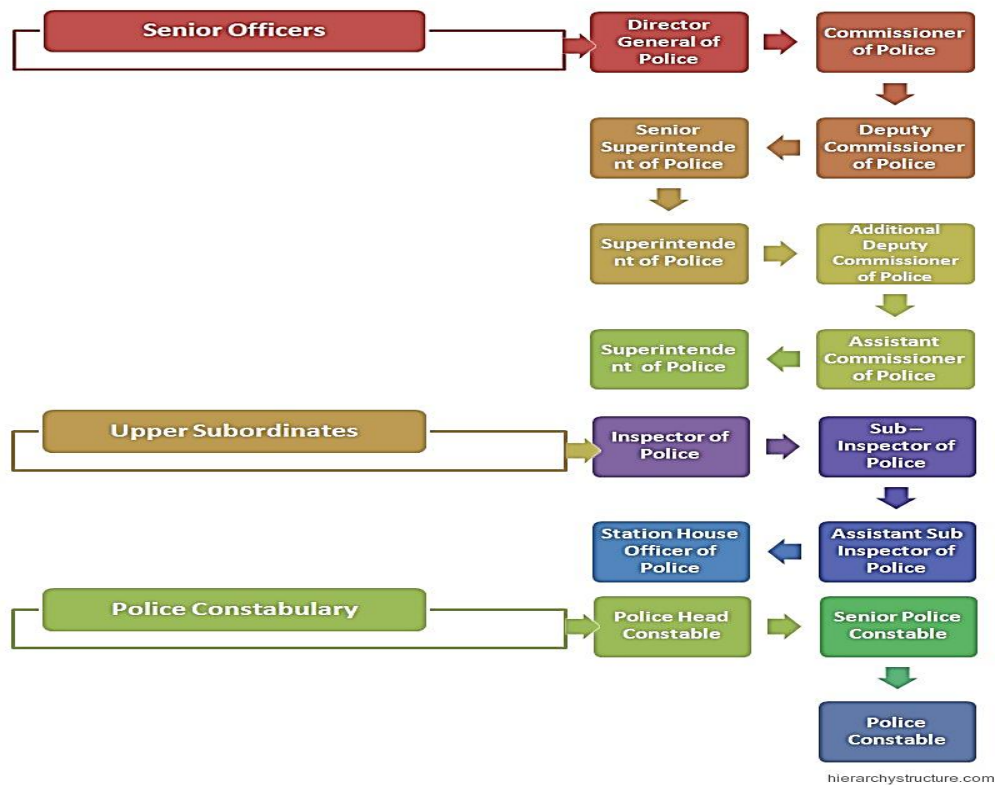
Source: Hierarchy structure.com[17]

The senior officers are the first level officers in the three-tier system. The senior police officers are recruited nationally as members of Indian Police Service (IPS) and also recruited or promoted from the state according to the state police guidelines. At

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[17]Retrieved from https://www.hierarchystructure.com//wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Indian-Police-Service-Hierarchy.jpg-re on 11/01/2021.

the top hierarchical order of civil police organisation, in the first tier sits the Director General of Police (DGP). DGP is responsible for administration of the police force in the state, the officer also provides the required advisory to the government on matters related to law-and-order situation, criminal activities, and police related issues.

Next to the DGP, in descending order, is the Commissioner of Police which is equivalent to the rank of Additional Director General of Police (ADGP) or Inspector General of Police (IGP). Deputy Commissioner of Police occupies the similar rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIGP) and guides, advises, assists the Superintendent of Police through regular visits and inspections which are under the charge of an officer of the rank of an Inspector General of Police (IGP). Senior Superintendent of Police and Superintendent of Police heads the district police force.

Additional Deputy Commissioner of Police and Assistant Commissioner of Police who are in the rank of Additional or Deputy Superintendent of Police (ASP/Dy. SP) are given responsibility of a sub-division and Superintendent of Police (SP). The SP is responsible for maintenance of law and order in the district and accountable to range in-charge, the DIG and to the IGP/DGP at the State Headquarters and has to monitor the proper performance of subordinate officers of all preventive and executive duties.

Upper subordinate officers consists of Police Inspector (PI), Sub-Inspector of Police (SI), Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police (ASI) and Station House Officer (SHO) who are assigned to work in the police stations and are responsible for managing day to day policing and giving assistance to the senior officers. Every sub-division is divided into a number of police stations depending on its area, population, and prevalence of crime where Inspector and Sub-Inspector are responsible to look after. Each police

station is divided into a number of police beats assigned for patrolling, surveillance, and collection of intelligence (CHRI, 2005).

The third level in the three-tier hierarchy is the Police constabulary which are reserved for the police constabulary staff. These personnel work to maintain law and order in their designated areas and are also responsible for other police activities like guard duties, surveillance, and patrolling. As stated earlier, the personnel at this level account for more than 95 per cent of the total police force of India.

Police Stations in India

Police stations are the nucleus of all preventive, detective, and supervisory work of the police forces. It is considered the most effective and popular unit of the police administration by making it manageable, providing adequate and qualified staff and by raising the status and calibre of the officer-in-charge of the police station. The officer-in-charge of the police station is usually a Sub-Inspector. In big police stations, an inspector is the officer in charge, consisting of Assistant Sub-Inspectors followed by the subordinates such as Head constables and constables.

Table 2.1 provides the number of police stations and outposts in India from 2006 to 2016 from the data generated by Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD).

Table 2.1: Number of police stations and police outposts

Sl. No	Year	No of police station		No of police outpost	
		Absolute	**Percentage**	**Absolute**	**Percentage**
1	2006	12,833	-	7,425	-
2	2008	13,421	4.58	7,826	5.37
3	2010	13,984	4.19	7,742	-1.07
4	2012	14,360	2.69	8,583	10.86
5	2014	15,090	5.08	8,689	1.23
6	2016	15,579	3.24	9,087	4.58

Source: BPRD (2017, p. 9)

Table 2.2: Number of sanctioned and actual police stations and outposts as on the year 2016

Types	Sanctioned				Actual			
	Rural	**Urban**	**Railway**	**Total**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Railway**	**Total**
Police Station	10,052	4,998	529	15,579	9,932	5,036	520	15,488
Police Outpost	5,770	3,317	-	9,087	5,718	3,346	-	9,064

Source: BPRD (2017, pp. 26-27)

Table 2.1 shows how the number of police stations and police outposts has increased over the years. On an average police station in India increases by 3.96 percent in every two years period while police outposts increased by 4.19 percent. Table 2.2 shows the detailed breakup of sanctioned and actual number of police stations and outposts in urban and rural areas.

The data presented in Table 2.1 shows that in the year 2006 there were a total of 12,833 police stations in India which had increased by approximately 21.4 percent in 2016 accounting to 15,579. Of the total police stations, 64.5 percent are located in

rural areas, 32.1 percent in urban areas and the remaining 3.4 percent are Government Railway Police Stations. Table 2.2 shows a small gap between the actual number of police stations and the sanctioned ones.

For instance, in rural areas, actual police stations form 98.8 percent of the targeted sanctioned posts. The recent most data (as on 1st January 2020) shows that the number of sanctioned police stations has increased to 16,955 of which 9,705 are in rural areas, whereas 4,725 are located in urban areas and the remaining 2,525 are the Special Purpose Police Stations (BPRD, 2020).

At the same time, the number of sanctioned police outposts has also increased in 2016 as compared to 2006 by 22.4 percent. Out of the total 9,087 police outposts, 5,770 are sanctioned in rural areas while 3,317 for urban areas. Whereas the actual number of total police outposts indicates 9,064 where 5,718 are located in rural areas and 3,346 in urban areas. Highest number of police stations are located in Tamil Nadu with 1,541 police stations followed by Uttar Pradesh (1,528) and Maharashtra (1,162). On the other hand, the least number of police stations are in Dadra and Nagar Haveli with only 2 police stations followed by Daman and Diu with 5 police stations (BPRD, 2017).

All Women Police Stations in India

Rapid changes in the socio-economic and political fronts have led to the involvement and increase in the participation of women in various political agitations, riots, and student's demonstration, which have become an ongoing phenomenon. This has captivated the view that there should be women law enforcing agencies to handle the situation. Along with it, the need for all women police stations has been felt and

valued. The availability of adequate women in the police force has also been essentially to reduce the vulnerability of women becoming victims to crime.

Rao *et al.* (1975) has also stressed on the requirement of suitably trained women police which are necessary to be deployed in cases where women are involved. Women police stations are established to focus on these aspects and as well as to instil confidence in women victims. The growing number of all women police stations has implanted a sense of empowerment among women police and becoming more valued as a distinct law enforcement agency within the police departments (Santos, 2005).

However, unless they are assigned mainstream duties in the police stations, the impact at community level will not be adequate. In India, as per the data derived from BPRD (2017) the total number of all women police stations functioning as on 1st January 2017 is 613 of which 33.1 percent (203) is in Tamil Nadu followed by Uttar Pradesh with 11.5 percent and 40 all women police stations each in West Bengal, Rajasthan, and Bihar. However, there are as many as 10 states/UTs where the separate women police stations have not been established till date (BPRD, 2017).

Strength of Police Personnel in India

As pointed before, not much structural reform has been observed in the Indian Police since independence. Nonetheless, there has been a remarkable enlargement in the number of police personnel after achieving freedom from colonial subjugation. This primarily is resultant of the ongoing social changes which the country is encountering. India's rapidly rising population also caused multiple social problems. Upsurge in the rate of criminal activities has hugely impacted the modus operandi of the police and have amplified their workload. Therefore, population explosion necessitates

recruitment and deployment of more police personnel. BPRD (2020) report reveals that during the year 2019 the police-population ratio (per lakh of population) is 195.39 and the population per police person is 511.81, which can be further improved to reduce the disparity between police-population ratios.

The number of police personnel in the year 1993 was 9.37 lakhs, of which the highest contingent was found in Uttar Pradesh with 1.20 lakhs, followed by Maharashtra with 1.15 lakhs and among the Union Territories Delhi had 37,682 civil police personnel (Ahuja, 1996). Over the years, there has been a steep increase in the total number of police personnel. In 2017, the total number of civil police force was counted to be 19, 89,295 (BPRD, 2017). Among the Indian states, the growth, both in terms of the number of police personnel as well as number of police stations, Tamil Nadu Police has been phenomenal and is normally looked upon as one of the most efficient states in the country from the point of view of police administration (Raghavan, 2003).

BPRD report for the year 2020 on the actual strength of state police forces indicates that out of 20.91 lakh total police forces in the country, 13.34 lakh are Civil Police, District Armed Police 2.25 lakh and the remaining 3.99 including 1.34(IRB) lakh are the State Special Armed Police. Uttar Pradesh comprises the highest number of actual strengths of the Civil Police (2.07 lakh), followed by Maharashtra (1.79 lakh). The actual strength of the District Armed Reserve Police is highest in Bihar (44,341), followed by Jharkhand (33,966). The actual strength of the State Special Armed Police is the highest in Uttar Pradesh (96,160), followed by Assam (36,546) (BPRD, 2020).

Women Police Personnel Strength

Representation of women in various fields has been a widely discussed issue. In relation to women in active services, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) reports a dismal picture of women in the police force. Women make up only 6.11 percent of the total police force in India. Historically, the first woman police officer was appointed in Travancore Royal Police, Kerala in 1933, and the first woman IPS officer was appointed in 1972 (Rao, 2015).

In relation to the strength of women police personnel, there were 14,443 in 1993 (BPRD, 2017).Later, in the year 2009, the total number of women police force was increased to 56,667. However, the figure is marked as a marginal decrease of 1.4 percent from the previous year of 57,466 personnel (BPRD, 2009). Due to dismal representation of women in the Indian police force, the Home Ministry advised the state governments to increase the intake of women in the police force by 33 percent starting from 2009, and again in 2013 and 2014.

In 2015, the cabinet approved 33 percent reservation for women in non-gazette posts from constable to sub-inspector for Union Territories (Express News Service, 2019).The reservation facility initiated by the government marked the rise of women in police. Table 2.3 presents the decadal data (from 2010 to 2019) of annual increment in the number of women inducted in the police force. As shown in the table, there has been remarkable growth in the number of women police with an overall decadal growth of 225.8 percent from 2010 to 2019, with highest recorded increase in the year 2012 with 35.9 percent, followed by 21 percent (approximation) in the year 2017(Rao, 2015).

The year 2012 was marked as a significant rise in women police as many new laws relating to sexual crimes against children and women were passed which gave exclusive entry of more women in police, giving exclusive function to women police in the registration of complaints and recording of victim statements. Likewise, Meghalaya Police saw a Transparent Recruitment Process in 2012 based on computerized tests in a completely gender neutral manner which encouraged a massive number of women to enter in the police force (Rao, 2015).

Table 2.3: Total strength of women police force in India (2010-2019)

Year	No. of women police force	Percentage
2010	66,153	-
2011	71,756	8.47
2012	97,518	35.90
2013	1,05,325	8.01
2014	1,10,872	5.27
2015	1,22,912	10.86
2016	1,40,184	14.05
2017	1,69,550	20.95
2018	1,85,696	9.52
2019	2,15,504	16.05

Source: BPRD (2017, p.145), BPRD (2020, p. 40)

Police Reforms and the Socio-Political Climate in India

Arguably the present police organisation in India has transformed its structure and functions from what the British has left behind. However, a path for better policing has always remained vacuum fuelling dynamic discourses among various

stakeholders of society. Thereby, the need for police reform in India till date holds a prominent concern.

From a historical standpoint, an organised police system called Daroga System (DS) appeared in West Bengal in 1792, which later was extended to Bombay province in 1793. Yet the system failed to exercise control over the village due to shortage of manpower. Nonetheless, this paved the way for transformation of the previous method of village policing, as a result, a uniform pattern of village police was introduced throughout the presidency of Madras in 1814.

However, the then British Government attempted to make use of the police to propagate their vested interest but failed miserably and the political and administrative situation worsened with the Revolt of 1857. In the process of curbing the shortcomings, the government undertook many hasty decisions by means of enacting several legal measures, such as Code of Civil Procedure (1859), Indian Penal Code (1860) and Code of Criminal Procedure (1861). In the year 1860, the British Government appointed a Police Commission under the chairmanship of M.H. Courts to study the Indian Police System and suggest measures to tune the police system with the needs of the hours. All these efforts culminated in the introduction of the famous Police Act of 1861 (Kumari & Sharma, 2016).

Originally when the professionalised police bureaucracy was created by the British in India with the introduction of Indian Councils Act, 1861 it was designed to subdue people to maintain the sphere of rule of the British Raj. Later with the establishment of a police commission for police reform under Sir Andrew Frazer and Lord Curzon, which popularly came to be known as Frazer Commission, certain recommendations were made with identification of flaws in the existing system. The commission's

finding revealed that the existing system was far from its efficiency. It further pointed out that the training process was defective and unorganised.

Bayley (1969) in this context delineated that the system was generally recorded as corrupt and oppressive and had failed to secure the confidence and cooperation of the public. The commission recommended the appointment of Indians in the officers' rank. The need for reformation in police organisation was also recommended by the Islington Commission (1912) and Lee Commission (1920). However, most of such recommendations were not able to fully materialise and the police administration in the country remained slow and ineffective. Nonetheless, to engineer the changes in the structure and hierarchy a new rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police was created to accommodate Indians in officers' rank but were not made part of Indian Imperial Police. It was only in 1920 that the Indian Imperial Police was open to Indians and the entrance examination for the service was conducted both in India as well as in England (Alexander, 2006).

After independence the subject of 'Police' has been placed in Seventh Schedule, State List (2) of the Indian Constitution through which the central government can persuade the state governments to bring the requisite reforms in the Police Administration to meet the expectations of the people. Unfortunately, the police system remained unchanged even after the change of hand from the British Raj to the government of independent India.

Even today the Indian police system continues to operate and govern by the archaic and colonial law passed in 1861. The government also did not feel the need to bring reform in the police system as they viewed police as a symbol for protecting state and nation's resources. Ineffective supervision, poor performance of basic functions and a

growing sense of insecurity are the hallmarks of the Indian police system today. Therefore, the need to reform the police laws has long been recognised.

In contemporary society police are perceived to play a partisan role at the behest of wealthy, vested interest groups, and politicians. Verma (2011) argued that police organisation is heavily politicised and follows political directives even in matters of law enforcement and operates on the wishes of politicians and serves the ruling elites. Instances of police serving for the ruling party and political elites were explicitly documented during the emergency period in the form of police brutality directed toward the opposition party and public. This has gravened the distrust which the public had against the police.

The modalities of operation of the police for specified vested interest groups, political parties and politicians, and bureaucratic interest using brute force are not only evident in India but also remained similar across the world. Our social history presents ample historical accounts of such nepotistic disposition. For instance, South Korean police have a history of power abuse for political purposes, particularly for the protection and maintenance of authoritarian regimes. They have suppressed freedom, violated civil rights, intervened in the election process, and served the interest of few selected people. Therefore, until now, the Korean public has had a deep hostility and suspicion towards the police (Choudhary, 2010).

According to Verma (2005), forms of political interference can be distinguished into three typologies, which are public, general, and special forms. The public form is seen when the citizens seek political help to get some police action taken, which is neglected due to organisational mismanagement and police indifference to the legitimate concerns of the citizens. The general form is seen when the politician seeks

to elicit the public support essential to win the next election or protect criminals and power brokers from police action or seeks to influence the internal management policies of the police organisation. The special form is seen when the politician, with a vested interest or while seeking to make money, intervenes with the police for some favour or the other on behalf of his client.

In continuation with the argument, Subramanian (2006) argued that such interference of the political boss occurs because of weaknesses and shortcomings of the police leadership. However, there are also views which argue that elitist nature of police leadership, politicisation of police departments, its unaccountability to the people, and its outdated managerial practices have made corruption and police brutality endemic making the intervention of politicians in police matters a necessary evil. Political leaders are often heard saying that police organisation requires massive clean-up (Verma, 2011).

In the aftermath of the emergency period the pressing need for police reform was felt, which was presented in many commissions. For instance, the Shah Commission of 1977 highly recommended the exclusion of police from political interference. The National Police Commission (NPC) (1979-81) came up with eight reports which comprehensively examine the police system. The commission recommended setting up a state security commission in every state which will scrutinise the misuse of power by following appropriate recruitment procedures. It also suggested that in the recruitment process half of the vacancy should be filled from civil society and another half from the state. The commission also made the suggestion to separate the investigation process completely independent of any outside influences and also to

have a fixed tenure of police chief and to frame and formulate New Police Act (CHRI, 2011).

 The Ribeiro Committee (1998) had a wider term of reference to review the action taken to implement the recommendations of the NPC, the National Human Right Commission, and Vohra Committee. The Ribeiro Committee came out with two reports and suggested to create a Police Performance & Accountability Commission with advisory and recommendatory roles. It was also recommended for District Police Complaint Authority and Police Establishment Board including other important aspects of Police Administration.[18]Another instance for the need of police reform, which became a national issue, was highlighted in the Prakash Singh v/s Union of India in 2006. The petition which was filed in the year 1996 raised numerous instances of police abuse and alleged that police perform their duty in a politically partisan manner. As an outcome of the petition, the honourable Supreme Court directed for an effective reformation of the police system.[19] Even the Second Administrative Reforms Commission (2005) has noted that politically affiliated members i.e., Central and State Ministers have been using police force for personal and political reasons. Hence, experts have recommended that the power to these political members must be limited under law (Chaturvedi, 2017).

However, the recommendations made by various committees have not brought an overall institutional reform thus making it obsolete, though certain infrastructural and

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[18]Retrieved from http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/programs/aj/police/india/ initiatives/analysis_ribeiro.pdf on 21/12/2019.

[19] Verdict in Prakash Singh v/s Union of India: In September 2006, the court issued various directions to the centre and state ordering to set up authorities to lay down guidelines for police functioning, evaluate police performance, decide posting and transfers and receive police complaints of police misconduct. The court also required that minimum tenure of service be guaranteed to key police officers to protect from authority transfer and posting (Chaturvedi, 2017).

organisational reforms have been adopted for an effective execution and management of the system in executing their power, such as adaptation of modern arm and amenities, unprecedented increase in the deployment of manpower, inclusion of post and hierarchy in police force. The rise of man powers in the police force has indirectly boosted many employment opportunities but with the growing concern for social problems with different forms of crime have made the job of police a tedious task. It is also worth mentioning that from time-to-time politicians, bureaucrats (IAS) and significant part of IPS leaderships who have vested interest often bypass the authority structure of the police organisation and interfere. With such practices and interference, the options to bring reform in the Indian police organisation becomes limited.

Bayley (1971) views that in rural India, the crisis of police and policing is not because of shortage of police but due to modalities of how they are functioning and deployed. In the villages, police and political parties work in nexus and supplement each other in matters of delivering justice or even in carrying out illegal activities. Also India being a home for more than 1.3 billion people, the shortage of manpower in police is debatable and yet concerning. For this, some might blame politicians while others may blame the police for opportunism, but the responsibility lies with those who can mould public opinion (the intelligentsia) as they have not been able to articulate these problems before the people and build up public opinion against them (Bhomick, 1986).

The self-seeking behaviour of elected representatives and their direct interference in the function of police have reduced the officers to being mere tools in the hands of the political class.

This kind of situation affects the authority system of the internal organisation. Further, not only the political intervention is making the police system dysfunctional. The hierarchical system in police organisation in itself at times contributes to major interferences in the smooth functioning of the system.

For this, the social environment also largely shapes the role and institution of police. Particularly in India which represents incredible variety in every aspect of social life is believed that hierarchy in Indian society is evident, in caste groups, amongst individuals and in family and kinship groups, patriarchy, polity, religion etc.

Even in this 21st century where secularism and equality for all is the basic need and necessity, there are instances of police biasness, mishandling in crime investigations, and their corrupt working attitude for their own interests based on their socio-cultural affiliations. To name a few, Hathras gang rape and murder case in Uttar Pradesh,[20] Kachanatham temple incident in Tamil Nadu where on 28th May 2018, dominant caste Hindus were enraged when Dalits celebrated their festival in the temple, protested the sale of marijuana in the village and did not obey the words of dominant castes in the village. According to the Dalit's, the local police did not take the action complained by them on time which led to the killing of many of them by the members of the dominant Hindu caste.[21]

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[20]In September 2020, a Dalit girl in Hathras district of Uttar Pradesh was allegedly murdered by 4 Thakur men. The girl reported that she was gang raped by the Thakurs of the village and in order to eliminate the evidence her backbone was broken and tongue was cut off. When the victim's family approached the police station, the police did not bother to register the FIR, instead they secretly burnt her corpse at midnight without conducting any Post Mortem Test (Kumar & Suresh 2020).

[21]Retrieved from Upper-Caste Men Attack Dalits in Tamil Nadu Village, Killing Two - The Wire". and "Kachanatham caste clash death toll touches three". *The New Indian Express* on 4/06/2019.

In this regard, Choudhary (2010) views the police role as biased favouring the major religious groups since most of the constables and superior officers are Hindu. In North India, reports suggest police partiality towards minorities. At the same time, there is a proven bias in policing against the poor, disadvantaged, women and Muslims which comes to no surprise that easy brutality towards the economically weak and vulnerable. In this situation, it is essential to understand the variables that influence the differential handling of the cases by the police by focusing on how they actually operate in society. It is worth mentioning that the much-needed reform in relation to state executioner mechanism is not yet fulfilled, therefore police remain handicapped under the executive control. Verma (2011) suggests that for police reformation, an initiation must be taken based on the bottom-up approach and more facilities and advantage should be given to the constables who work at the field.

Ahuja (1996) argued that most of police and community relations are focused on the good works done by the police which are also often given prominence in the media. Cordner *et al.* (2010) emphasised that in contemporary time, the only promising alternative is the concept of community policing, as the method gives a chance for reforming the police role from 'police force' to 'police service' unlike the traditional system where the police distanced themselves from the community. Community policing aims at the improvement of positive relations with the community.

The ultimate objective and the role of police are to ensure safety and security of the public, which is largely determined by the forms of relationship between state and society. For example, the role of police in an authoritarian police state would merely support the power structure. On the contrary, in democratic state, the crucial task of

the police is reconciliation of authority with liberty. In a welfare state, they are expected to assume the role of social service (Srivastava, 1999).

Chapter III

Police and Society: A Historical Overview of Sikkim

Introduction

A comprehensive knowledge on the historical backdrop of police organisation in Sikkim necessitates an understanding of Sikkimese society at large. Historical studies of Sikkimese society frequently portray invasion, raids, military exploits, and of Bhutia rulers (Sinha, 1975). Recent scholarships started looking into agrarian structure, organic farming, education, dam and development, religion, community studies etc. Contextual to historical study, Das (1983) classified the history of Sikkim into two phases. The first phase is linked to the signing of the blood-brotherhood treaty between Lepchas and Bhutias. In this phase, the new ruler[22] promoted the growth of Buddhism, which was a new religion in the land. The second phase dates back to the 18th century with the arrival of the Nepali communities and British.

However, according to Subba (2011), Sikkim was not politically consolidated or unified as a single political unit until 1642. It has been argued that modern history of Sikkim, in terms of its historicity, began with the consecration of Phuntso Namgyal as the first *Chogyal* (Dharmaraja or King of Righteousness) of Sikkim. It can be stated that much of Sikkimese history has disappeared in the absence of recorded historical documentations. Prior to this, there were numerous autonomous chieftains belonging to the Lepcha, Tsongs (Limboos) and Manger communities. Later, when the tripartite treaty of *Lho- Mon- So -Tsong- Sum* wassigned with the migrant Bhutias the Lepcha,

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[22] Sikkim's ruler was conferred with the title of Maharaja by the British like the rulers of other princely states.

Tsong and Manger chieftains accepted the supremacy of the Namgyal Dynasty. The territory was called *Mayel* (Hidden Land) by the Lepchas, *Yuksom* (fort or a fortified place) by the Limboos and *Deyjong* (valley of rice) by the Bhutias which was later renamed as *Song Khim* (New home or palace) by the Limboo queen Thungwamukma who was the wife of Tensung Namgyal, the second Chogyal of Namgyal dynasty and then came to be known as Sukhim after which it is popularly called Sikkim (Namgyal & Doma, 1908).

The establishment of an independent princely state under Namgyal dynasty initiated the process of state formations with defined geographical boundaries, administrative set up, and military institution. However, like any monarchical regime coupled with theocracy, the rule of governance was feudal in nature. The Chogyal was the sovereign body in the kingdom with authoritarian disposition backed by Lasha, Tibet (Gazetteer of Sikkim, 2013). With the invasion of the colonial forces, Sikkim became the protectorate kingdom of the British Empire; later the protector ship was transferred to India with its subsequent independence.

Later, during the 1970s, with growing widespread protest led to abolish the monarchical system. The kingdom conceded to merge with India on 16th May 1975 becoming the 22nd state of the Indian Union, which paved the transition from monarchy to liberal democracy. In all these years of historical encounters, no doubt, Sikkim has experienced various waves of changes in the socio-economic, political, and cultural front through its social intercourse with various nations and empires. These encounters have affected and deeply influenced the administrative system as well as the social organisation, which directly or indirectly has shaped the institution of the police system.

The present chapter focuses on illustrating the various stages of development of police in Sikkim. For this purpose, the study attempted to divide the history of Sikkim into three distinct phases, which are Pre-theocratic era, medieval theocratic era under the yoke of British Raj, and phase of evolution from monarchy to democracy.

However, it is also to be taken into consideration that in-depth exploration of the development of police during the pre-theocratic period, as mentioned before, is a challenging task. In this regard, Subba (2011) had mentioned about the lack of scholarly studies by the researchers about the ancient history of Sikkim. Nonetheless, like many anthropologists, sociologists and even historians often resort to using various oral accounts reflected in myth, legends, folklore as sources for establishing historicity. Therefore, narrations from the local respondents had been an important tool for the study to grasp the knowledge about earlier police systems in Sikkim.

Pre-Theocratic Era: The Lepcha World

Besides the historical accounts of the colonial administrators, Sikkim still today is considered a pristine land untouched by the intricacies of modernity. Wangchuk and Zulca (2007) pointed out that the reason to be due to its unique geo-topography. The land is surrounded by various mountain ranges which provide a petrifying protection. Prior to establishment of the Namgyal dynasty, the land was inhabited by Lepchas, Limboos, Magars, and minor Kirati sub-stocks who shared their socio-cultural affiliation with other adjacent tribes and nations. However, apart from the knowledge that the Lepchas are the original inhabitant of Sikkim, not much is known and traceable about the ancient or pre-theocratic period of Sikkim (Arha & Singh, 2008).

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The Lepchas call themselves *Rong-pa* or *Rong* which means the 'squatter in' or the 'caretaker of the caves' (Sengupta, 1985). According to Mainwaring (1898), the etymological origin of the word Lepcha is believed to be of given by the Nepalese referring to the word Lepcha is given by their Nepali neighbours but they called themselves as Rong.

White (1909) mentioned that, "they seem to have migrated from the hills of Assam, but there is no means of ascertaining. At all events, they were in Sikhim as early as the thirteenth century" (p. 16). According to Das (1986) before the Lepcha came to Sikkim, the three tribes namely Na-ang or Na-ong, Chang and Mon were already in possession of the country. The word Na-ang or Na-ong means the foolish class of Lepchas.The Chang probably meant Chongs or Tsongs referred to the Limboos and the word Mon were known to be the Lepchas (Mainwaring, 1898). Mon is a general term used for the inhabitants of the lower Himalayas. The Tibetans who are basically highlanders must have used the word Mon for the Lepchas who are, in general, lowlanders (Subba, 1985). The Lepchas had their own kings, ministers and the subjects. Even after Phuntosog Namgyal started ruling the country there were twelve Lepcha heads of Jongs or castles. However, Tibetan rule unfortunately wiped out the political apex of the Lepcha Community and left them with only two classes' i.e ministers and kazis at the top and the rayats at the bottom (Subba, 1985).

According to Wangchuk and Zulca (2007) Lepchas have probably lived in the shadow of the mountains for the longest time, making them have a more direct and intimate connection with the mountains. Lepchas had a simple material culture and relied on hunting and collecting fish for their livelihood and sustenance. Few of them had a primitive form of slash and burn type of rotational cultivation of rice, maize, and

millet (Thapa, 1966). Lepchas are a peace-loving community who try to live in harmony with their environment and avoid any kind of inter-tribe feuds. But they had to frequently encounter with the Kirats of Eastern Nepal, who are the forebears of modern Rais and Limboos (Basnet, 1974).

In terms of governance and administration, the Lepcha had a Chieftain/King known as *Punu* who was selected through an open competition from time to time and the successor to the throne was required to possess a master in the fields of religion, administration, military tactics etc. The chieftain was expected to be polite, humble and a sociable person who would remain bachelor and possess no property (Gurung, 2011). Lepcha legends describe Pohartak Panu- a contemporary of Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, to be the first important Lepcha ruler of the *Mayel* country (now called Sikkim). Although, there is no record of his immediate successor but sometime during 1230-1316 Turvey Panu, another Lepcha king, used to rule Sikkim with his capital near Kurseong, now a town in Darjeeling district. According to Dahal, he had Tsongs (Limboos) and Mangars among his courtiers (Dahal, 1984).

Therefore, according to the above sources and literature it is observed and found that society during the period was more or less homogeneous in nature. Religion and social code were the twin forces which guided the thoughts and actions of individuals. Village was both an important social and territorial unit, and the village headman was responsible for maintaining peace and solidarity among the villagers and for resolving any kind of disputes. During the course of fieldwork, Lepcha respondents stated that archaic Lepcha society was organised in terms of clan and tribe affinity. Homogeneous lineage system with close kin groups helped in maintaining a valued cultural life, and for protection and safeguarding of themselves and their family.

Lepchas had specified territorial boundaries; their earlier form of policing was in relation to safeguarding and worshiping their totemic deity – *Kanchenjunga*. Apart from this, the narrations gathered from the study area mentioned that the head kinsman functioned as police in terms of maintaining the set of social rules and regulations.

The first half of the 17th century saw the arrival of three monks of the Nyingmapa sect (Red Hats) of Tibetan Lamaism. They came to Sikkim for propagation and sustenance of the Nyingmapa faith when it was under distress in Tibet (Sinha, 1975). These monks were persuaded to rule the country religiously and needed an icon that would ease the conversion of the land and its people to this new faith, which later became the localised new religion of Sikkim predominantly followed by the Bhutias as well as the animist Lepchas.

Gurung (2011) has argued that this was possible due to weak leadership of the Lepcha chieftain. It has been noted that the Rong people began to elect vulnerable old men as their chieftain who had mild authoritative temperament in the matters related to exercise of their functionary role of statecraft. The elders, in Lepcha society, are respected and revered, and often looked upon as a teacher and guide and also performed the functions of a priest. The last Lepcha Punu was Tubhathak. Lepchas believed that, as part of their oral mythology, their animist priests were tricked in to bringing all their writings to the Budhist Lamas, who mercilessly burnt the manuscript and poisoned them (Mainwaring, 1876).This shows that, how simple, native, and animist Lepcha were treated harshly by the Lamas, which was then succeeded in establishing Namgyal Dynasty and ruled over for hundred years till the merger of Sikkim with India.

Medieval Theocracy: Consecration of Namgyal Dynasty and British Raj

Medieval theocratic era can be argued to have begun from 1642. However, despite the principality of the Bhutias under the Namgyal dynasty they had to suffer a rebellion possibly in the year 1649 by the Lepchas and Limboos (Mullard, 2005). Later when the pragmatic Bhutia ruler realised that the entire land was in the hands of Lepchas and Limboos, he decided to make a friendly relation with them. This led to the solemnisation of the 'blood brotherhood treaty' without causing conflict in the then existing social order or disturbing the prevalent system of land tenure (Sinha, 1975). With the establishment of Bhutia hegemony under Tibetan theocracy, the lamas (spiritual leaders) who often belonged to the Tibetan noble families exercise significant influence as advisors to the Chogyal in matters related to political and administrative affairs of the State and were also the custodian of important monasteries of Sikkim such as Dubdi, Tashiding, Pemayangtse, etc. Bhutia rulers implemented a decisive mechanism for courting the loyalty of Lepcha to the Namgyal dynasty for which they created 12 districts as administrative units known as *dzongs* and appointed 12 *kalons* (ministers). These 12 dzongs were placed under 12 Lepcha *dzongpens* (the district governors). This marked the beginning of a dual administrative mechanism in which a limited bureaucracy and a half-bred aristocracy ruled over Sikkim (Gyershapa, 1970). This also signifies that Bhutia and Lepcha had a special political class position and control over the administrative affairs of the state. The class position is still reflected in the present political scenario of Sikkim as both Bhutia and Lepcha enjoy special reservation facilities in the state. In context to such special provision and practices, Gurung (2011) delineated that recruitments of civil servants at higher level are often carried out on personal consideration through both political and bureaucratic influence. During the period, even though the King held the

sovereign power, however under his tutelage the landlords were given both administrative and judicial powers for maintenance of law and order in their respective prefectures. With the vested judicial power they function as police officers who will have the authority for maintaining peace and order, shunning of criminal activities, and prosecution and execution of criminals under their jurisdiction.[23] As accounted from local narratives, during the period, there were no autonomous wings for maintaining law and order, as the dzongpen themselves handles all.

The British arrived at a later phase with primary intention to consolidate their position in the Northern side of India, however, with the culmination of Anglo-Gorkha War of 1814 their attention shifted toward Sikkim (Arka & Sign, 2008). The colonial power formed an alliance with Sikkim to bring an end to incessant Gorkha invasion and control the eastern frontier, also with foremost intention to involve Sikkim in their trade with Tibet as Sikkim was one of the possible trade routes to Tibet (Basnet, 1974). Since, Sikkim was also facing territorial disputes and contested jurisdiction with Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet, and the consequent geo-political challenges, the Chogyal resolute to enmesh the British and believed that their involvement into Himalayan geo-politics as mediator would prove to be helpful for the kingdom. Thus, with the victory of British in the war, Treaty of Segouli was signed in 1815[24] followed by the Treaty of Titaliya in 1817.[25] The treaty largely focused on the aids and facilities which Sikkim had to provide to the British along with troops deployment. In

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[23]Retrieved from https://sikkim.gov.in/departments/police-department/history on 01/11/2020.

[24] The political boundaries of Nepal and Sikkim had not been similar throughout history.In the past when Gorkhas were extending their kingdom in the Himalayan hills the security of Sikkim was at stake. Therefore, the Treaty of Segouli was signed so that there would be no interference from the Raja of Nepal to Raja of Sikkim.

[25] By this Treaty of Titaliya, the British restored to Sikkim rulers only part of its lost territories including the small tract of the *Terai* (a belt of marshy jungle lying between the lower foothills of the Himalayas and the plains).

the Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings (1858) it is being pointed out that knowledgeably the treaty reflects indirect pass of power into the hands of the British, and gradually yet ultimately Sikkim came under the influence and control of the British empire. However, the main colonial influence was manifested only after the appointment of J.C. White as the Political Officer of Sikkim. White promoted the migration of Nepali for various plantation and development activities. During the era, the Feudal lord known as *Kazi* functioned as a police in terms of taking fines and giving punishment to the culprits. Though the police organisation was not yet established, there were guards with special military tactics who were projected similar to police for guarding the king as well as the kingdom. These military groups were the Dzonga's soldiers (Lepcha soldiers) who played a vital role in fighting against the foreign invasion and guarding the society which reflects the feeling of patriotism towards the nation. Later, Chagdor Namgyal the third king of Sikkim became the first king to realise the importance of nationalism and introduced '*Pangtoed Chaam*' (the warrior Dance). By this he tactfully incorporated all the Dzonga's soldiers as Sikkim's defenders who would lead battles against those who threatened Sikkim (Wangchuk & Zulca, 2007). Thus, it marked the beginning of employment of police/soldiers for the greater purpose of protecting the kingdom and maintaining peace and order among the people.

Development of Legal and Judicial Processes in Sikkim

A common assumption is that there was absence of codified laws in Sikkim until the British established its control and made it a protectorate kingdom in 1890. However, Risley (1928) highlighted that Raja Me-Long Don opined about the prevalence of laws in Sikkim before the time of Buddha around 914 B.C. These laws were later

written by *Kun-ga-gyal-tsan* of *Sa-kya-pa* who was born in 1182. He was the king of 13 provinces and called the laws *Tim-yik-shal-che-chu-sum*, known as 13 laws of cases and *Chu-dug*– the 16 laws of cases. Both the laws were practically the same dealing with duties of the king, government services, and offences in general. Later, these laws were again written by the viceroy of Tibet, *De-Si-Sangye Gya-Tshom* born in 1653. The viceroy simplified the laws into 16 laws known as *Tsang-shel-me-long-nyer-chik-pa*. These laws dealt with offences in general and with the duties of the King and of the government servants. The laws also postulated about the general rules which were to be followed at the time of war, [26] a rule for those who are defeated and cannot fight,[27] and rules for the behaviour of officers and government servants.[28] Further, it was pointed out that for the laws of evidence, the judge is expected to provide a proper hearing to both the parties and if the evidence is false then both the parties were fined according to the degree of false evidence delivered. Murdering the mother, father, and holy man, and making mischief amongst the lama and causing hurt to good men were considered as severe crimes under the law of grave offence**s.** The punishments were lethal such as cutting the throat, tongue, gouging the eyes out, etc. Certain crimes were also punishable through levying of fines according to the gravity of the offence. The law of imprisonment is related to charges against anyone who participates in riots, using arms, and for disputing criminal procedures in the court. According to this law, those who give bad advice, destroy property, abuse their spouse, and not obeying village headman were also fined and were only released if it

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[26]Before going to war, the strength of the enemy should be ascertained carefully and no loss should be sustained by the government. The experienced men, who had no self-interest, obeyed the laws and orders of the General were sent to the war.

[27] This rule was for those who were defeated, they must give up their arms and for that they were not killed.

[28] For officers and government service holders, they must obey the Viceroy and they were not allowed to change the hat and religious sects. In the fifth month they were not allowed to kill animals and they were directed to repair temples, books, roads etc.

was petitioned by someone in authority. In case of murder, heavy fines were charged even amounting up to thousands of gold pieces. Likewise, there was a provision for bloodshed,[29] theft,[30] disputes[31] and contract.[32] Lastly, for those who were uneducated or who do not understand laws, a government messenger was provided for them.

However, it is difficult to ascertain whether such laws were uniformly applied all over Sikkim or not, because different communities and ethnic groups had their own usage and customs. For instance, Lepchas and the early Nepali settlers like Limbus and Magar had their own customs and usage (Sengupta, 1985). According to the observation, Sikkim did not require nor had any complicated forms of rules of judicial procedures, since primitive Sikkimese people were guarded with religious belief. The rule of laws was engraved in the religious customs and King's dictates have the legal and judicial authority. The people were bound to follow the orders of the sovereign head of the Kingdom regardless of class or community followed by persuasive repressive law.

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[29] In old law it was written that for any bloodshed there was a variation in price and the fines were payable in money or kinds. A man may even be headed for wounding a superior. For wounding his own servant, a man is not fined, but he must tend the wounded man. When in a fight between two men and one wounds the other, the man who drew his knife first is fined and the man who is wounded must be tended till his wound is recovered. Any person who harms another person without any fight is fined according to the law of murder. If in a fight any body parts are injured for instance a limb or an eye the compensation to be given is fixed by the government.

[30] In terms of theft, for stealing or taking the belongings of Lama, 80 times their value has to be given, a neighbour's thing nine times, villager's seven times and for taking a stranger's things four times. If a thief while running was killed a small fine was taken. However, if anyone had caught a thief and killed him, he was fined according to the law of murder.

[31] The rule of disputes between near relatives, between man and wife, and between neighbours was formulated under the specific condition. For instance, taking another's wife or adultery is punishable by banishment from the village or has his hand cut-off and pay fines. However, if a woman is found attracted to another married man then she has to pay seven things in kind to her previous husband and if man and women cohabit on a journey there is no fine.

[32] As for a law of contract, if a person takes a loan in terms of cattle such as yak, sheep, etc. and if they die in his custody, he must pay for them to the owner. However, if the cattle die one night after being returned then it becomes the owner's loss.

When Sikkim was brought under the superintendence of the British Political Officer, the new laws of Sikkim were codified. According to the Administration Report of Sikkim for the year 1908-1909, to bring uniformity in judgment delivered by the court and to safeguard the Ryots interest, the Sikkim Debt Law[33] was passed in the Council on 7th November 1910 because the earlier form of judgment delivered by Kazis did not have uniformity. By 1916, Sikkim had two Laws of its own i.e. Sikkim Debt Law and Sikkim Game Law. Apart from these, three British Indian Acts were also adopted which were Foreign Registration Ordinance 1914, Sikkim Naval and Military News (Emergency) Ordinance 1914, and an order extending the Government of India's Ordinance VI of 1914 to all Sikkim subjects in 1914.

For the working of court cases, the judiciary system had four types of courts depending on the nature of the crime which has been mentioned in Gazetteer of Sikkim (2013). The four types of court were namely H.H. Maharaja in Council, Political Officer's Court, H.H. Maharaja Court, and the Landlord's Court.

H.H. Maharaja in Council and the Landlord's Court had similar functions to perform; they were defined to resolve petty cases related to cattle theft, trespass, petty land disputes and debt cases of value not more than Rs. 10 with power to fine up to Rs. 5. Political Officer's court was considered as an Appellate court and Political Officer himself handled the cases. But if the appeal arose against the decision of Maharaja including the cases of murder then both Maharaja and Political Officer would hear the case together. H.H. Maharaja Court was the last court of appeal without any original

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[33] Sikkim Debt Law was the first major governmental issue to resist the demerits of rural indebtedness whereby the rate of interest to be charged on the peasant was limited and money lenderswere prohibited from lending money to be repaid in grain. After the Sikkim Debt law was passed, no creditor was allowed to charge as interest more than 12 percent of the principal per annum (State Bank of Sikkim, 2018).

jurisdiction, and can be considered as a modern-day supreme court. In such cases, a Board, on the lines of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, heard the cases and tendered its opinion to the Maharaja.

The Administration Report of 1929-1930 mentioned the existence of 57 Adda Courts in Sikkim. These courts were invested with judicial power on both civil and criminal cases.[34] However, in 1949 on the recommendation of the Judicial Proposal committee, the Adda courts were abolished. In 1950, six Honorary Courts were established in Gangtok, Rhenock, Namchi, Rangpo, Soreng and Gyalsing.[35] On 17th April 1955, through the proclamation of the then Maharaja of Sikkim, Sir Tashi Namgyal, established the high court of Judicature consisting of one or more judges with jurisdiction on all judicial matters, civil or criminal.[36]

In the matters of judicial administration, Chogyal was the controller and fountain of justice in the state. Before merger with India, the Courts of Sikkim had distinctive trends of administering justice in accordance with the local customary practices.[37] However, expression about the insufficiency of local laws was felt, which had a detrimental effect to the security of life and property of Sikkimese. Therefore, demands for reformulation of Sikkim's own law and reorientation of judiciary were desirable. After merger, new laws and ordinances were incorporated as per the provisions given under the Constitution of India and attempts have been made to

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[34]The Adda courts were neither honorary nor stipendiary since they kept half of the court fees and half of the fines imposed by them.

[35]The courts were vested with magisterial power. No state prosecution was to be transferred to the honorary court. The Honorary court would sit once a week or two days running once a fortnight. However, these honorarycourts were later abolished on 20th September 1970.

[36]High court became the final authority in all judicial, criminal, and civil matters. All other courts and tribunal in Sikkim became subordinate to the High Court. However, Maharaja had a prerogative power to exercise mercy in case of convictions under criminal law and in the number of judges in the High court was more than one, and then Maharaja would designate one of them.

[37] Proceedings of the State Council, 4th December 1957.

reorient the structure of the judiciary and its functions to fulfil the need and demand of the people of Sikkim.

Development of Police System in Sikkim and their Roles

Structural organisation and uniformity in administration and the role and function of police in Sikkim in terms of contemporary understanding of police began towards the latter half of 19th century under British administration. John Claude White felt the necessity to establish police outposts at strategic locations, such as the Kalimpong-Rhenock-Jelepla-Lhasa trade route. On 27th November 1897 the first organised uniform police with one Head constable and five constables were posted at Aritar near Rhenock on the authority of a resolution passed by the King in the council. The reason, which was primarily foretold, was the occupying of Lingto village below the Jelepla pass on the Eastern border of Sikkim by some Tibetan militia in 1886. There had been such disturbances and territorial disputes between Sikkim and Tibet, which were posing a serious threat to the security of the kingdom. In addition, in September 1899 two policemen were deployed to protect the bank opened by Messers Jetmull and Bhojraj at Gangtok.[38] M/s Jetmull and Bhojraj were responsible for collection of taxes and revenues on behalf of the government of Sikkim. The bank also carries out disbursement of salaries to the government employees. In this context, the role of the police was assigned to escort and assist the tax collectors.

In the year 1901-02, three outposts namely Gangtok, Aritar and Gnatong were established with 20 numbers of police force. In Gangtok outpost, one havildar, two

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[38]During that time, the formal banking institutions in remote places like Darjeeling and Sikkim were not preferred. It was only in 1898, when John. C. White the then British Political Officer invited the firm registered in Calcutta to open a bank branch in Sikkim. Thus, after the execution of an agreement between the firm and the government of Sikkim, M/s Jetmull and Bhojraj were officially made bankers to the Government of Sikkim.

head constables and 14 constables were recruited. Likewise, one head constable was posted in Aritar and two constables in Gnatong (Gazetteer of Sikkim, 2013). Aftermath, there has been a subsequent rise in the strength of police. According to the Administrative Report of 1905-06 there were two havildars, six head constables and 32 constables making a total of 40 police personnel in erstwhile kingdom of Sikkim. Gangtok was chosen for the police headquarters with few other outposts at Rangpo, Gnatong, Rhenock and Singhik.

By the year 1922, Sikkim police was divided into two police ranges which were the Eastern range headquartered at Gangtok, and controlled Rangpo, Rhenock, Gnathang and the Western range headquartered at Damthanng controls Soreng, Dentam, Melli and Majitar outposts. The police strength during that time was two Sub Inspectors (SI), eight Havaldars, 14 Naiks and Lance Naiks, and 44 constables. Later, 1930-31 Administrative Report indicates the strength of the police force to be of two officers and 66 men. Till the early thirties, the highest post in the police hierarchy was that of Senior Sub Inspector. A post of Police Inspector was created in 1934. It was only in 1949 that the force came to be looked after by officers from India on deputation.

In January 1935, Makkha patrol post in East Sikkim was established, and on 7th June 1936 it was made a permanent patrol post vide His Highness (H.H.'s) order where Naik Dan Lepcha and Constable Bal Bahadur Gurung were deputed to patrol post. Living quarters with supplies were arranged and two blank registers, diaries and one handcuff were also provisioned.[39] The establishment of the patrol post was particularly for the protection and surveillance of the bazar also happens to be one of

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[39]Sikkim State General Department File no 1 of 1935, Serial no.1; Establishment of police patrol at Makha. Archive of Sikkim.

the important trade routes which fall between Chungthang and Singtam with a distance of over 40 miles. The place often gets crowded during winter times causing inconveniences and occasional criminal activities. Initially, the bazaar was looked after by the Singtam police. However, on the appeal of the local people to set up an outpost in the bazaar area with the complaint about frequent nuisance and disturbances by people travelling from Lachen and Lachung, the patrol post was established so that the police can easily attend to public calls.

At this time, the necessity to establish or to have a regular police force for matters related to internal affairs at national or sub-national level was not felt. As discussed, much of the local affairs were looked after by the landlords themselves, who were locally known as the Thikadars and the Kazis, who to an extent functions as custodians of law and order at the village level. However, during the period, police were assigned by the Political Officer to collect land revenue and rent, to guard the treasure, to arrest and deliver the criminals in court, to carry out orders of Durbar, and to secure the border areas following the withdrawal of the British troops from Gnathang. Archival data of the police organisation shows how the Yangthang Kazi, in 1937, requested deputy policemen to help him to release *Khazana* (treasure) from Bustis (villages). Records from 1935 to 1937 also show how police were assigned to escort Kazi of Yangthang assisting him in the collection of rent and tax arrears from 241 *Bustiwalas* (villagers). Further, narrative accounts from the field too revealed how the police were assigned to escort H.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim and the *Rani* (Queen) on various foreign tours. The police also escort other VIPs and dignitaries, such as when the governor pays a visit to foreign country or travels within the state. During such visits, the armed police and the Kazis were instructed to look after the traffic and stop movements of bullock carts. Performances of police personnel during

such tours also incurred rewards and perks from the visiting authorities. For instance, in 1932, a constable named Chiring Lepcha while escorting Maharaja to Kalimpong was rewarded travel allowance for his excellent work and dutifulness throughout the tour. He was rewarded with the equal rate of Havaldar's travel allowance which was twelve anna per day.

Apart from this, police personnel's requests and demands were taken into serious consideration, such as, the request of policemen for ration supply during escort duty and the request from the constabulary staff for new boots while accompanying the highness towards Tibet were sanctioned accordingly.[40]

Police were also assigned in checking the flow of migration, especially concerning the Nepalese. This was carried out as per the instruction laid down in the new system established by Chogyal whereby Nepalese had to seek permission while entering Sikkim and also from local police outposts for travelling within Sikkim (Sidhu, 2018). Historically, Nepalese entries in Sikkim were introduced by the British for the purpose of various construction activities, such as roads and bridges; they were also hired for other manual works and agriculture purposes (Das, 1983). The British also indulged the Nepalese for development of transportation and communication networks for access to Tibet, which brought a rapid change in the ethnic scene (Kazi, 2009). The status of Nepali was primarily absorbed in the bottom of occupational hierarchy as sharecroppers and agriculture labourers with no security of tenure and with limited land rights (Subba, 1989). The Kazis used the Limboos and Mangers constantly as the unpaid labourers for various works of construction and fortification, and for household chores. At the same time, land revenues imposed on the Nepali

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[40]Sikkim state General Department File no 1 of 1932 serial no 5 Police Escort for the H.H the Maharaja of Sikkim when going on Foreign Countries. Archive of Sikkim.

were higher as compared to Lepchas and Bhutias, as they had to pay almost double the amount for the same area and quality of land. The partiality in the revenue system remained operative until 1966. Nepalese were also prohibited from buying land from Lepcha and Bhutia under the regulation set down in Revenue Order No. 1, dated May 17, 1917 introduced by the Maharaja (Gurung, 2011). The Nepalese mostly obtained waste land in lease from the Lepchas and Bhutias, while the latter confined themselves with fertile land. Further, if the Nepalese did not pay the revenues or rent on time to the Kazi, they were exiled from the kingdom and their land seized and sold to other bustiwalas (Chopra, 1979). Nepali settlers were also debarred from citizenship, thus entitlements as citizenship was not granted. This basically indicates that the Nepalese were put under strict surveillance, particularly those who are at the lower socio-economic strata, by means of using the prevalent police system of the period. Sinha (1975) has also pointed out that, to make the situation compelling, the police personnel was also recruited from the well to do families belonging to the upper ladder of hierarchical profile, such as those belonging to Kazi's family. However, in 1961 when the Sikkim Subject Regulation came into force Nepali settlers were given citizenship (Debnath, 2009).

Expenditures of the police forces were met from the imperial and state revenue. Pay-out from the imperial revenue was limited to maintenance of the police force and supply of warm clothing in the outpost in the border areas of Chambi and Yatung. It had been accounted that in the year 1919-1920 the total budget of the Police Department was Rs. 10,000, and in the year 1936-1937 the total budget rose to Rs. 24,000 and Rs. 27,500 in 1937-1938. From the year 1949 onward, the police force

was looked after by officers from India on deputation. Many officers from the Eastern Frontier Rifles were also brought on deputation to Sikkim Police.[41]

Aftermath of India's Independence

Politically, Sikkim was subjected to the rule by the minority ethnic community and the artificial parity system was formulated between the dominant minorities and subjugated major community. Sikkim followed the theocratic political structure, religious and aristocratic bureaucracy based on the Tibetan political system by the monk-incarnate ruler. But the feudal system was slowed down and reduced to the status of an ordinary zamindari of a North Indian state under colonialism (Joshi, 2004). Certain aspects of secularism and liberal democracy along with participation of people in the decision-making process were encouraged by Nepali community due to the suppression by the minority ruling class. The emergence of liberal democracy as an alternative political model in Sikkim might be traced to the anti-colonial movements of the 1940s. The acceptance of liberal democratic ideology introduced the institution of party system, local self-government, universal suffrage, and responsible government (ibid).

The Sikkim State Congress party demanded for abolition of landlordism, which they realised to be attainable only through accession with India, and an Interim Ministry as a prelude to the introduction of fully responsible government in Sikkim was founded (Pradhan, 1960). In the year 1949 Maharaja hosted an election in which Tashi Tshering Lepcha became the First Prime Minister of Sikkim. It was believed that the first elected Prime Minister of Sikkim had a liberal ideology and was against the

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[41]Retrieved from https://sikkim.gov.in/departments/police-department/history on 12/10/2020.

feudal system. In his regime an effort was made to eradicate the feudal system which was popularly known as *Khurwa, Jharlingi, Kalo Bari.*

However, the government was able to operate only for 49 days as most of its agenda and policies were against the feudal and monarchical system of governance. Shortly, after the Indo-Sikkimese Treaty of 1950, India took up the sole responsibility for the defence and security of Sikkim that had previously been a British prerogative. When Jawaharlal Nehru visited Sikkim in April 1952 he became more determined to make Sikkim as a protectorate Kingdom of India.

By the second half of 1949, a small Indian army detachment was stationed in Sikkim in response to internal disorder within the kingdom rather than any external threat. During the same time, the police department also started setting up various allied departments and implementations of various policies concerning police personnel. Numerous departments, such as Traffic Branch, Check Post Branch, Intelligence Branch, and the Fire Brigade Branch were set up by the first Commissioner of Police and the budgetary head was sanctioned from the Imperial revenues with the approval from Maharaja. The entire check posts in the surrounding areas of the border were under the charge of Sikkim police until 1960. However, the duties were shared with the Indian army units under the direct jurisdiction of the Indian commander in the areas.

Simultaneously, as per the Notification No. 8887/05903, dated 24th March 1955 published in Sikkim Durbar Gazette, Sikkim Police Benevolent Fund (SPBF) was instituted for the benefit of the dependents of police personnel if they died during their service tenure. The fund was constituted with the approval of Chogyal and certain rules and regulations were framed for the management of the fund, which was

handled by Mohinder Singh, the then Superintendent of Police.[42]Later the fund accounts were operated by the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman of the SPBF. The entitlement of SPBF was restricted only to the dependent family members.[43]SPBF was generated through the annual contribution of one day's salary from each police personnel, which was directly deducted from their salary after obtaining consent. The fund was then deposited to the State Bank of Sikkim under the account entitled 'Sikkim Police Benevolent Fund' (The Sikkim Code Volume III, 1984).

Earlier, Maharaja was the ultimate head of the state. The order and decision used to directly come through him. However, with the constitution of Sikkim Police Rule, 1959 and Sikkim Police Act, 1969 the police organisation evolved into an autonomous wing which was uniformly organised under bureaucratic setup. Its autonomy, for instance, was reflected in the Notification No. 731/H.P. dated 15th June 1969, Gangtok. The Act emphasised that with prior consent of Maharaja, the head and authority of the police force shall be rested on the police commissioner, which was the highest post in police hierarchy till 1977. Later, it was re-designated as Inspector General of Police and in 1986 the Director General of Police (DGP) took the charge as the head of the police hierarchy. The DGP was responsible for the efficiency and discipline of the police force, organisation, classification, and distribution of police force and the inherent power of appointment of all police personnel. Likewise, Sikkim Police Uniform Act, 1969 also brought many changes in

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[42]There were five members of the Executive Committee to form a quorum and every year general meetings were held to elect the office bearer and members of the Executive committee. In order to check the working Fund, accounts and to decide the claims of beneficiaries' Annual meetings of the Committee were conducted by the Chairman.

[43] The dependent members included sons and daughters of the police personnel, widows of the police personnel, father, and mother of the deceased police personnel if their ages are above 60 years and widow mother if her age is above 50 years. The dependents of the beneficiaries were stipend ranging from Rs 3/- to Rs 10/- per month as decided upon by the Executive committee about the particular beneficiary. However, the rules may be amended as when found necessary. Even today the benevolent fund system is retained.

relation to the uniform of police personnel. According to vide notification no.699/H.P., dated 6ᵗʰ June 1969, Gangtok as ordered by D. Dhadul, the then Chief Secretary, Government of Sikkim, mentioned that every uniform wearing gazette and non-gazette police personnel were entitled to receive free uniform and periodical renewal from the government which were categorized under Schedule 'A' for gazette officers and Schedule 'B' for non-gazetted officers. Overall, prior to the merger of Sikkim, the structural organisation of Sikkim Police was evident through the enactment of various acts and policies which helped in the growth and management of the police organisation.

The Merger Era of Sikkim (1973-1975)

The waves of democratic movement in Sikkim took roots in 1973 when numbers of political parties supported by the majority Nepali population emerged favouring merger with India through a referendum to bring revolutionary change from monarchy to democracy (Chakravarthi, 1993). The political disturbance erupted almost immediately between Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim National Party, where the former demanded for abolition of monarchy to bring democratic change while the latter opted to retain the prevailing status quo. The era was marked with political turmoil in the history of Sikkim with a pattern shift in the social system. The period also shows the significance of the police, who played a vital role in maintaining peace and order, as well as in trying to preserve the status quo of the system. In fact, they were trapped in the tension between the state and society as on the one hand the majority of the population and popular political parties were revolting against the prevailing hegemonic system and yet the police were asked to defend and guard the system through adoption of appropriate means to repress the

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voices of the people. In such a context, in any given society, the role of the police remained vital for social control as they possessed a permanent monopoly on coercive force and legally sanctioned violence against members of the society. In this sense, it is contextually aligned with Althusserian conceptualisation of Repressive State Apparatus (RSA), where the police are seen as a state apparatus to propagate and preserve capitalist ruling ideology by means of using insidious machinations of brute forces. Hence, the State invokes RSA, which functions as a unified body, predominantly by means of repression when society is posing threat to the dominant order. According to Althuser, the state is a repressive apparatus, and their basic function is to intervene and repress the ruled class by coercive means which is controlled by the ruling class (Althuser, 1970). The state dictates over the working of the police and is used as the convenient institutionalised agency to execute and control the population over a specified territory. As law enforcing agency, police become the weapons for those in power to keep the powerless in check and to suppress and rule over them by the ruling elites. However, in the context of the uprising of the public in Sikkim's context during the period, they eventually had to fall in the hands of masses marking the victory of society against the state. From the field account, one retired police officer who had lived through the period of political upheaval and agitations shared his experience by narrating that,

> Majority of the population were frustrated with the then existing political arrangements and were also condemning the legal setup. They demanded for *janta raj* (public rule) – a democratic arrangement, in line with what was evident in India after the departure of the British. During the agitation, when the public saw police personnel in uniform they were chased and beaten up severely. We had to withdraw ourselves from the public gathering areas. However, the head of the police

department ordered us and other staff to wear black ribbons on our left arm instead of wearing uniform in any public gathering. We had to be present in any public gathering and agitations even if it was out of control as we were the eyes and ears of the State. The agitation also took away my father, who was also in the police force. He died during the public agitation.

Besides the regular police, there was also prevalence of Sikkimese military force known as 'Sikkim Guards', traditionally recruited from the Bhutia and Lepcha, later with the extension of Sikkim Subject to Nepalese they were entitled and were also recruited (Rose, 1968). Sikkim guards were formed as a Sikkimese paramilitary unit on the understanding that they would be attached to the Indian army units in case of need as a symbolic gesture of Sikkim's participation in the defence efforts. However, the Sikkim guards were not under the command of the Indian army nor were it used as a security force on the border. But in times of emergency, such as border cross firing, the guards were utilised for defence purposes presumably under the command of the Indian Army commander. However, gradually, their role was restricted to palace guard and of Chogyal. The Sikkim guards also played a crucial role in defending and protecting the Chogyal during the period of agitation. With less than 250 members under the direct control of the Chogyal to whom they were loyal to took pride in themselves exhibiting as a mini army (Sinha, 1985). This personal guard of Chogyal of Sikkim was ultimately disbanded by the Indian troops without any resistance from the guards. On the other hand, it was also reported that the Sikkim guards opened fire against the demonstrators opposing the Choygal outside the palace without anyone being killed or injured.

Nonetheless, ultimately, it was disbanded in 1975 when Sikkim became the 22nd state of India and Sikkim guards were merged with Sikkim Police. With the merger of the

kingdom as an Indian state, monarchy was abolished as per the 36th Amendment Act which was passed by the Indian parliament on May 16, 1975 (Syanbo, 2012). After the merger, Sikkim adopted a unicameral legislative system in the name of Sikkim Legislative Assembly and has one seat each in Lok Sabha and in Rajya Sabha (Kazi, 1989).

It can be pointed out that the road to democracy in Sikkim was achieved through many hardships, and even soreness of ethnic sentiments occurred. However, the Nepalese involved in the revolt were able to accomplish a fairer deal. The Government of India hold over Sikkim has gained enormously and has become firmer. The internal administration of Sikkim was also taken over by India (Basnet, 1974). Further, Sikkim guards were absorbed under Sikkim police and the Police Act of 1861 was extended to Sikkim.

Sikkim Police: Its Present Structure and Organisation

With an area of 7,096 square kilometre, Sikkim has a total population of 6, 10,577, where 3, 23,070 are males while the remaining 2, 87,507 are females, with an average sex ratio of 890, as per 2011 census report. The police service of the state is referred to as 'Sikkim Police'. It has 29 police stations, one police zone, one police range,[44] four police districts,[45] 11 police sub-divisions and four number of state Armed Police Battalions[46] (BPRD, 2017). The armed police and the civil police are the branches of

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[44] The state government in consultation with the Director General of Police creates a police range for its effective, efficient and competent policing in its respective areas.

[45] The range which may consist of two or more police districts will be headed by the Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIGP) who supervise police administration of the range and reports to Additional Director General of Police (ADGP)/ Inspector General of Police (IGP) (law and order) (SPM Vol. I, 2013).

[46] The state armed police forces are established for dealing with serious law and order situations requiring a higher level of arm expertise than normal. The state armed police act as a mobile armed reserve activated only on the orders from the Additional Commissioner of police or above. They are

District police, which supply material and officers to the other branches. Therefore, they constitute the most visible part of the force. In addition to civil and armed forces there are departments like detective police,[47] traffic police,[48] mounted police,[49] fire police,[50] and technical branches like radio branch[51] and intelligence police.[52]

At present in Sikkim, there are District Police (East, West, North and South), Police Headquarters, Special Branch, Crime Branch, Home Guards and Civil Defence, Communication & Computers, Fire, Armed Police, Training, Lines and Check posts.

The organisational and hierarchical structure of police is moderately uniform in all the states of India. States are responsible to draw the guidelines, rules and regulation for their police force which is instituted in State Police Manuals mentioned in article 246 of the Indian Constitution and Section 3 of the Insolvency Professional Agencies (IPA).

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not usually in contact with the public except during public events, civil unrest and natural disasters. They maintain key post and participate in anti-terrorist operations depending on the type of assignment.

[47] A detective is an investigator, usually a member of a law enforcement agency. They often collect information to solve crimes by talking to witnesses and informants, collecting physical evidence, or searching records in databases. This leads them to arrest criminals and enable them to be convicted in court.

[48] The function of the traffic police in the state generally pertains to traffic management, enforcement of traffic rules and road safety education. The traffic unit of Sikkim police is bifurcated into two wings i.e. East/North and South/West.

[49] Mounted police are the police who patrol on the horseback and keep the horses in their unit. In Sikkim, the horses are purchased and taken care of by the check post branch which is located at the state armed police camp, Pangthang (SPM Vol.1, 2013).

[50] Fire police are volunteer fire brigade/company members who are based upon their jurisdictional authority. In some instances, fire police are exterior firefighter and may be called upon at fire scenes to perform any of the duties of an interior firefighter except those that require a self-contained breathing apparatus. On occasion, fire police also assist regular police and performs traffic and crowd control at public events, missing person searches, security and other miscellaneous tasks as requested.

[51] Police Radio comes under the Sikkim police communication branch which came into existence during the early 1970s. The officers entitled to use police communication should only send the message pertaining to law-and-order cases.

[52] The intelligence police come under the state intelligence department comprising the special branch and security wings. This is considered as one of the integral wings in police headquarters. It is primarily responsible for collection, collation, and dissimilation of intelligence on various aspects, issues and subjects.

Roles and General Guidelines of Sikkim Police

From Aristotelian 'rules of law' to Montesquieu's elaboration on 'doctrine of rule of law' shows how any democratically established set of laws are always in contrast to the legitimised traditional authority of the caprice despots i.e a ruler or person who holds absolute power. Establishment and implementations of general set of rules and regulation has always been a central focus as well as an inspiration to the liberal democratic thoughts and discourses. The rules and regulation basically implies the creation of laws itself and its enforcement. It also shows the relationships that the legal rulers themselves are regulated under the same set of principles, emphasising that no one is above the law, including the most highly placed officials (Choi, 2010). In any institutionalised bureaucracy, such as in a police organisation, the guidelines or the rules and regulation for the organisation become essential for its effective functioning. Police system is one of the important functionary institutions of governance, which has become synonymous to maintenance of law and order in society. The system is expected to be readily accessible, communicative, and dynamic in its organisations for the public

Accordingly, the Sikkim Police Manual (SPM), Volume I, chartered out the following role and functions of Sikkim Police as guidelines which every police personnel are expected to perform. The instruction read as (SPM Vol. 1, 2013, p.5)

1. To uphold and enhance the law impartially, to protect life, liberty, public and government property, human rights and dignity of the members of the public.

2. To promote and preserve public order and to prevent nuisance in public places.

3. To protect internal security, such as from terrorist activity, breaches of communal harmony, militant activities and other situations affecting internal security, and to create and maintain a feeling of security in society by preventing conflict.

4. To prevent crimes through preventive measures and actions, such as by gathering intelligence information relating to matter affecting public peace and all kinds of crimes including communalism, terrorism and matters affecting national security. They also seek cooperation from community members and other relevant agencies in implementing due measures for prevention of crimes.

5. To accurately register all complaints brought by the complainants by way of First Information Report and to register and investigate all cognizable offences.

6. To provide help to people and give assistance to other agencies in situations arising of natural or manmade disasters and to aid and help individuals who are in danger.

7. To facilitate orderly movement of people in public places and ensure their general safety and security and regulate fairs, procession and events.

8. To control and regulate traffic on streets, roads, highways, in public places and prevent obstructions.

9. To take charge, as police officers on duty, of all unclaimed property and take action for their safe custody and disposal in accordance with the prescribed procedure.

10. To provide guard in accordance with the standing orders issued by the government for treasuries, lock up and other locations from time to time.

11. To provide escort for prisoners in accordance with standing orders periodically issued by the Director General of Police.

12. To train, motivate and ensure welfare to the police personnel.

13. To perform such other functions as may be required in accordance with the Sikkim Police Act, 2008 and other laws.

From the above-mentioned roles, it clearly indicates that a police organisation is one of the wings who have to perform the duties of taking the social responsibility of society. Nonetheless, in terms of whether police are performing accordingly or not, the detailed discussion is presented in the subsequent chapter.

Categorization of Police Stations in Sikkim

The creation of police stations and outposts are carried out through notification from the State in consultation with the Director General of Police (DGP). Police station is an important hub for all activities related to police organisation. In most cases, it is also the first point of contact for people who come seeking the help from police. Section 2(s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, commonly referred as Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) have also highlighted the importance of police stations expecting it to be alert, active, and vigilant throughout day and night. Each police

station has a Station House Officers (SHO), who allocates various tasks to the police personnel, keeping view with the magnitude, gravity, frequency, and recurrence of various activities of work. The function of SHO plays a vital role in maintaining a positive work environment in police stations. SHO has to be impartial and rational, along with assigning appropriate rotation of various duties among the staff in the police station. The other category consists of Second Officer, Duty Officer, Investigative Officer, In-charge of *Malkhana*[53] and store, sweeper, gardeners, Beat Officer/in-charge, Patrol Officer, Driver, Computer and Wireless Operator. Another important facet of a police station is to maintain crime and criminal record, law and order record, administrative record, procedural record etc (SPM Vol. II, 2013). Police stations in Sikkim are established under the following mentioned categories. Gangtok, which is the capital of Sikkim, has one police station named as Sadar Police Station. Under the demarcation of urban categories it has been classified as Semi Urban Category 'A' and Semi Urban Category 'B'. In semi-urban category 'A' the following small town consists of police stations namely Rangpo, Melli, Singtam, Rhenock, Ranipool,Namchi, Jorethang. In Semi-Urban category 'B' namely Gaysing, Soreng, Nayabazar, Pakyong, Mangan have police stations. In rural areas following villages have been demarcated where police station have been functioning namely Rongli, Phodong, Ravangla, Temi, Hingdam, Kaluk, Sombaria, Kupuk, Sherathang, Lachung, Lachen, Chungthang, Uttary (SPM Vol. II, 2013).

To conclude, the overall chapter throws light upon the concern that in spite of some structural similarities such as recruitment of individuals on personal consideration

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[53] The word Malkhana originated from the Persian word *'Mal'* (property) and *'Khana'* (space). In the context of a police station it specifies the designated place to store the property seized by the police during the course of investigation under Criminal Procedure Code.

through certain levels of influence at the highest level and the expectation to have loyalty first to the ruler, the system relatively remains the same.

Contemporary systems of government and function of society have proceeded towards much change towards liberal and professional ethics. The uniformed police introduced by the British was only with the purpose to guard and protect the territories. Police had a limited and secondary connection with the society. It was only after the abolition of feudalism, police came forward to serve the society. Police are an arm of the state and to explain the concept it is viewed from two ideas which are police as a repressive coercive organ and police as a proactive and people friendly force. It is certainly that the set of changes taking place within police can profit in a wider context. But making a transition of policing style to a more contemporary approach requires a long-term institutional change.

Chapter IV

Sikkim Police: Duty, Aspiration, and Challenges

Introduction

Sikkim, like many societies, is largely instituted on patriarchal social structure with emphasis given on both patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. More than 20 ethnic groups inhabit the land with distinctive belief systems and religious practices, and a unique cultural history shaped the socio-economic and political realities of the state. After becoming part of the Indian Union, there has been massive transformation in the social, political, and economic spheres of Sikkimese society. This to an extent was backed by the changing dynamics in the global front through the process of globalisation. Globalisation has not only expanded the global market economy, but it has also amended in the way we live our life, our ideologies, the way we share information and knowledge, in fact it has revolutionised in all the five 'scapes' of our daily affairs, as propounded by Appadurai. The transition and growth in the finance scapes which had opened the Indian economy to the world market with economic liberalisation and privatisation paved the way for development of new job markets, particularly in the private sectors. However, despite the growth of job markets in the private sectors, many of the Sikkimese youths still prefer government jobs, and considered securing a government job as their main priority. Further, as per the Sikkim Subject Regulation 1961, Government of Sikkim, only the Certificate of Identification (CoI) holders are eligible to be employed in government departments either on a regular or an adhoc basis. Subsequently, only Sikkimese people with valid

local employment card and domicile are eligible for employment in government jobs. This encourages the people of Sikkim to apply for any government jobs.

In earlier times, due to limited human resources, many people from outside the state, especially from West Bengal, who belonged to different ethnic and community backgrounds were recruited in the government jobs either on the invitation of the state government or came themselves in search of jobs. However, with the improvement of socio-economic, development of its human resources in terms of education, employment along with changes to democratic politics, presently only the local people are made eligible for employment as state government employees in Sikkim.

Securing a government job in Sikkim Police is regarded as a matter of pride and prestige among the Sikkimese youths. To cater the upliftment of the marginalised section of society, the recruitment process in the police organisation in Sikkim is undertaken on reservation basis. Direct recruitment to the police organisation is carried out by Sikkim Public Service Commission (SPSC) at three levels, which are at Constable (CTs), Sub-Inspector (SI), and Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP). Those who are selected for these posts can further be appointed to higher posts through promotion. However, securing such a job is not an easy task due to cutthroat competition among the numerous aspiring candidates who compete with each other for limited posts. Besides sound physical and mental health, one also needs to be dedicated and keep oneself motivated to sit and prepare for months if not years in order to clear the examination which tests various aptitudes of the aspiring candidate. Usually, the employees in the police organisation require clearing three stages of examination. The first stage consists of a written examination which is divided into preliminary and main examinations. If a candidate clears the main examination, then

he/she has to go through physical fitness tests followed by the personal interview by a selection committee. Sikkim police, in recent times is experiencing profound changes with growing range of development in its organisational structure, such as expansion in manpower, incorporation of new technologies for enhancement of policing activities, the growing concern of employees' self-achievement and priorities and most importantly, police outlook towards society. Such changes crucially captivate the attention of police personnel nuances of work in police culture.

As the study focuses on the changing relationship between police and society, it becomes essential to examine and scrutinise the behaviours of police personnel and their outlook towards the society. Therefore, attempts have been made to sociologically understand the broader views of the police personnel regarding their experiences and the challenges they face within the organisation in the execution and discharge of their duties. To do so, a total number of 100 police staff was taken as samples representing the population/universe of the study area. For the study, a mixture of both purposive and snowball sampling techniques were utilised. The information was collected using an interview schedule, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was also carried out with various groups which were categorised on the basis of occupational hierarchy, gender, and income. Further, in depth interviews were also undertaken from few of the respondents to bring out the day-to-day challenges, particularly from the women police personnel.

Demographic Profile of the Respondents

The respondents, who are selected for the study are deputed at nine police stations and 12 outposts in the East district of Sikkim. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the respondents according to the designation they held in the police department, as police

organisation is based on hierarchical authority and the ranks and designation are distributed accordingly. Therefore, the hierarchical distribution was necessary so that the study can analyse the problems and prospects of police personnel belonging from each stratum of the ranks.

As presented in Table 4.1, out of 100 respondents, 60 per cent is male while 40 per cent is female. In every bureaucratic organisation, the deployment of manpower is more in lower division grade as compared to the upper division grade. Thus, the police department as a bureaucratic organisation is based on hierarchical authority, the ranks and designation are distributed against the vacant positions for which the aspiring candidates were recruited or promoted. The number of sample population is distributed in a pyramid structure consisting of 5 PI who are gazetted officers and are the overall in-charge of certain police stations, 16 SI which is ranked as a highest non gazette officer who follow up the duties assigned by the superior officer. The sample population also consist of 6 Assistant Sub-Inspector (ASI), 17 Head Constable (HC), 13 Naik (NK) and 12 Lance Naik (LNK) who are labelled as middle rank officials and lastly, 22 constables who belong to the bottom hierarchy and are the backbone of police organisation. Further, to collect the past history of the organisation, seven retired police personnel are also taken into consideration and interviewed.

Table 4.1: Sample distribution of the respondents according to their designation

Designation	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total
PI	3 (5.00)	2 (5.00)	5
SI	10 (16.67)	6 (15.00)	16
ASI	6 (10.00)	-	6
HC	11 (18.33)	6 (15.00)	17
NK	6 (10.00)	7 (17.50)	13
LNK	7 (11.67)	5 (12.50)	12
CTS	12 (20.00)	12 (30.00)	22
Retired police personnel	5 (8.33)	2 (5.00)	7
Total	60 (100.00)	40 (100.00)	100

Source: Fieldwork December 2018-April 2019

Ethnic, Religious and Caste Composition of the Respondents

Three predominant ethnic communities namely Lepcha, Bhutia, and Nepali inhabit Sikkim. In terms of religious affiliation and community/caste categorisation, majority of the Lepchas and Bhutias practice Buddhism and are categorised as Primitive Tribe (PT) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) respectively, while majority of the Nepalese are Hindus and are categorised as Other Backward Class (OBC) and Scheduled Caste (SC). Among all these groups a very small, sizable portion professes Christianity and a few of the inhabitants follow shamanistic practices.

In India, for the upliftment of the socially and economically weaker sections of the society there is reservation and allocation of seats based on population and caste categorisation following the laws stated in the Constitution of India. This inclusive policy attempts to represent various ethnic communities and caste groups in different departments including the police organisation. Based on the *Data on Police*

Organization (2020) published by the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPRD), the total number of police officials ranking from DSP to CTs belonging to ST category is 2,42,343. Further, it was found that the highest reservation for ST is 100 percent in the state of Nagaland, followed by 80 percent in Meghalaya. However, it is important to point out that in both of these states; the majority of the population constitute ST, Nagaland (90%) while Meghalaya constitute 86.15 percent, as per 2011 census report. Whereas total strength of OBC police personnel is 5, 19,622; the highest reservation is found in Tamil Nadu with 50 percent followed by Sikkim (43%). In relation to SC, a total of 3, 01,648 personnel are there, with the highest seat reservation found in Punjab with 25 percent followed by 22 percent each in Himachal Pradesh and West Bengal (BPRD, 2017).

In Sikkim, the reservation of seats approved by the state government in the police organisation is 43 percent for OBC, 38 percent for ST, and 4 percent for SC. On the basis of reservation status of OBC, SC, the study has identified the castes of the respondents which are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Ethnic and caste composition of the respondents

Sl. No	Caste	Community	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	Total n (%)
1.	OBC (State List)	Chettri/Bahun/Pradhan	13 (21.67)	8 (20.00)	21 (21.00)
2.	OBC (both in central and state List)	Rai/Gurung/Magar/Sunwar	26 (43.33)	15 (37.50)	41 (41.00)
3.	ST	Limbu/Tamang	5 (8.33)	7 (17.50)	12 (12.00)
4.	ST (BL)	Bhutia/Lepcha	13 (21.67)	8 (20.00)	21 (21.00)
5.	SC	Damai/Kami/Sarki	3 (5.00)	2 (5.00)	5 (5.00)
		Total	60 (100.00)	40(100.00)	100(100.00)

Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019.

Ethnic and caste wise composition as given in Table 4.2 indicates that the maximum number of respondents belongs to Nepali ethnicity, which can be argued to be because of their higher population composition in Sikkim, as evident in the fact that presently Nepali population constitutes 3,38,603 i.e. 55.46 percent of the total population of Sikkim (Census 2011).

The study found that 41 percent of the respondents belonging to both central and state OBC lists (communities like Rai, Gurung, Magar, and Sunwar) had the highest representation in the study (Table 4.2). In this category, 43.33 percent are male while 37.5 percent are female in terms of caste-based representativeness, followed by those communities who are OBC in state list only with total representation of 21 percent of which 21.67 percent are male and 20 percent are female. The least representation was observed among the SC communities with only 5 percent representation which includes Damai, Kami, and Sarki communities. Among the STs, the Bhutia and Lepcha communities represent 21 percent with 21.67 percent male and 20 percent female, while Limbu and Tamang constitute 12 percent of which 8.33 percent are male and 17.5 percent are female. The division in the ST groups in Sikkim has increased after Limbus and Tamangs were granted ST status in 2002, and also due to their enumeration as Nepali population in the census (Arora, 2006).

In terms of religion, as shown in Figure 4.1, 58 percent of the total respondents are Hindus, while Buddhists consist of 37 percent, and the remaining 5 percent belong to Christian faith. During the field work, it was observed that the police who belong to different religious groups help each other in times of need and also during the religious festivals with exchange of gifts. For instance, during *Dasai* (Dussehera festival), which is a major festival of Nepalis and during the Losar festival of the

Bhutias and Lepchas, it was found that those police personnel belonging to Bhutia and Lepcha help their Nepali colleagues by voluntarily swapping themselves in their duty assignments. Further enquiry revealed that such arrangement and exchanging of duties are rather an informal mutual arrangement than official dictations. The subordinate staff also mentioned that in many cases, Station Head Officers (SHO) who have to grant their leave of absence are considerate regarding such exchanges.

Figure 4.1: Religious distribution of police personnel
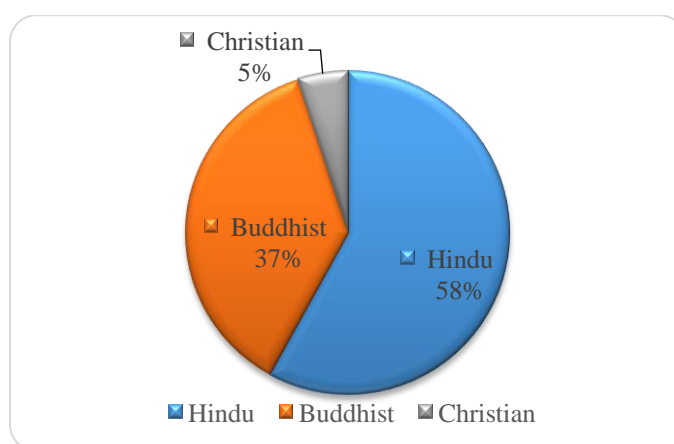
Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019

Marital Status

Marriage is one of the important institutions for the survival and sustenance of human life and society. The institution normally helps in the procreation of children, who as a social individual can legally inherit family's name and property. The congenial relation between spouses also leads to a healthy family and stable society. Figure 4.2 represents the marital status of the respondents. The study found that 58 percent of the respondents are married, of which 36 percent are male while 22 percent are female. These respondents believed that marriage is a sacred institution where husband and wife equally participate and contribute for a healthy and harmonious family

environment. In the FGD, the study observed significant differences in the opinion between the married male and female respondents in terms of management of work and family. A male respondent articulated that "no matter what kind of duty in what situation and time I perform, I always expect a healthy and happy environment when I return home. My wife, who is also a working woman, plays a very important role in maintaining the household and disciplining the family apart from her own daily office routine. She tries her best in keeping my family happy." Another male respondent claimed that "my wife and I equally distribute the household chores but many times she does more work than me in terms of serving food, cleaning and washing dishes, buying groceries and vegetables, etc." They also expressed that their wives are supportive in aspects related to social, economic, and family life and have proven to be dependable and reliable support systems both on emotional and moral fronts. In a sense the affinal relationship between a husband and wife has benefited each other.

Likewise, some of the women respondents reported the support they have been getting from their husbands and in-laws who helped in sharing the household chores, upbringing of children and attending social functions.

Figure 4.2: Marital status of the respondents
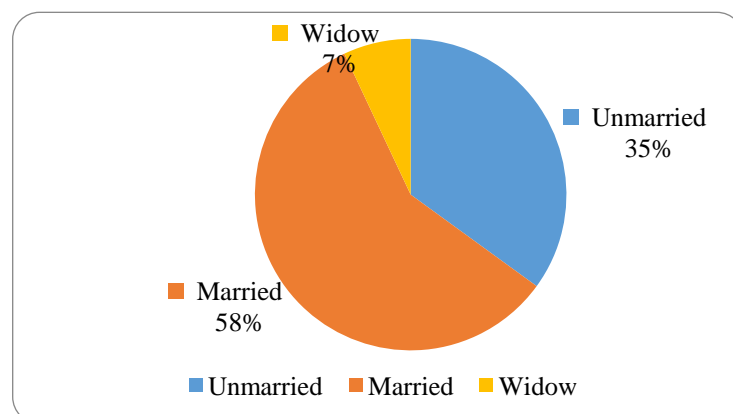
Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019.

The single/unmarried respondent consists of 35 percent, which are in the age group between 20 to 35 years. Among these 20 percent were male and 15 percent were female. The respondents articulated that their priority is securing a stable job at higher rank with stable income before they marry and settle down. They also expressed their desire to find their own life partner rather than arrange marriage. One of the respondents argued that"…unlike the previous generation, our generation faces more thriving competition, therefore, in order to survive and have a better future for myself and my children, I will marry only after successfully establishing myself in the present job." Another respondent who is a 22-year-old lady constable shared her view that before she marries, she wants to support her parents as they are unemployed and also her siblings to get hold of some government jobs. At the same time she also emphasised that she wants to enjoy her life before tying the knot. Further, a 38-year-old SI deliberated that at present he wants to focus on his career and is committed toward his job and has no intention to marry soon. In a similar line of thought, two female respondents expressed their anxiety about getting married particularly in relation to finding a suitable partner, as they believe that their prospective husband will not be able to understand their present job profile which might turn their marital relation sour.

Many of the unmarried respondents argued that marriage as an institution is associated with the status which is determined by economic conditions. In this connection, few of the young respondents between the age group of 20-27 years, who are in constable rank pointed out that to become both self-reliant, and economically and socially stable, their present position is a preliminary step to be in the higher hierarchy of police organisation. Further, they added that the salary and the amenities they are entitled to are not yet sufficient enough to provide a reasonable livelihood

and to have a comfortable standard of living due to the rising cost and higher aspirations for consumer goods. Thereby, many of them expressed that they are waiting for the right time to get married even if they cross 30 years of age. They also expressed their preference for an employed partner who is economically independent so that they can maintain their higher status-quo in society.

Whereas remaining 7 percent were widow/widower and the case of divorce was found to be absent. When asked further, about their marital life when their spouse was alive the respondents calmly said they never had any marital problem and had compatible relations.

Age Composition of the Respondents

As per the existing recruitment norms as given in the Sikkim Police Manual (SPM), Volume III (2013) the age of direct recruitment of police constables should not be less than 18 years and not more than 22 years, except in the communication branch where the age bracket is given between 18-24 years. For the post of Sub-Inspector, the age limit should not exceed more than 25 years (in case of departmental candidates the age limit should not be more than 30 years). However, the relaxations of age are to be taken into consideration against the reservation of different categories such as OBC, SC, and ST seats as per the prescribed norms. Table 4.3 shows a brief analysis of the age composition of the sample population.

Table 4.3: Age distribution of the respondents

Age	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	Comparison in the given age group		Total n (%)
			Male %	Female %	
20-30	14 (23.33)	18 (45.00)	43.75%	56.25%	32 (32.00)
31-40	18 (30.00)	11 (27.50)	62.07%	37.93%	29 (29.00)
41-50	19 (31.67)	8 (20.00)	70.37%	29.63%	27 (27.00)
51-60	9 (15.00)	3 (7.50)	75.00%	25.00%	12 (12.00)
Total	60 (100.00)	40 (100.00)	60.00%	40.00%	100 (100.00)

Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019.

As shown in Table 4.3, a higher number of representations is observed among the age group of 20-30 years with 32 percent; in this age category the overall representation in terms of gender is 23.33 percent male and 45 percent female. While, in the age group of 31-40 years there is a total of 29 respondents (29%), which is closely followed by 27 percent in the age group of 41-50 years. Gender distribution and differences within each age category was observed highest among the age group of 51-60, where 75 percent are male and 25 percent are female. The observation of the overall gender representation revealed that in the age bracket of 31-60 years the representation of women police is much lower as compared to their male counterpart. However, between the age group of 20-30 years an improved gender gap becomes more pronounced as women police representation is higher with 56.25 percent showing a positive turn. This reflects the changing attitude of young women in particular and society's perception in general toward the police as a masculine profession as well as a career choice.

The respondents presented their views on the improving gender gap in the representation of women in Sikkim police. They narrated, in earlier times, a police job

was not considered to be the preferable job for women. Moreover, traditionally, women were preoccupied with their primary duty of caring and nurturing children and other family members, and doing household chores. However, with the rapid change and the development of human resources in the society, women are given a chance to take the advantage of education and reservation facilities. They are empowered to take the decision in entering the masculine job profile like police, which was earlier considered as not suitable for women. As a result, in recent years there is a surge of women police in the police department.

Educational Qualification of the Respondents

SPM Vol. III, 2013, essentialised the minimum educational qualification for recruitment of police constable to be at least class X pass from a recognised board. However, for communication and computer branch at constable level, the candidate should have a minimum qualification of class XII from science stream having the subject combination of Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics as compulsory subjects. For subordinate level posts in other technical wings the educational qualification is as per rules prescribed by the state government and the educational qualification for Sub-Inspector of Police and above should be a graduate from a recognised university.

Table 4.4: Educational qualifications of the respondents

Educational Qualification	Male n (%)	Female n (%)	Total
Below 10	5 (8.33)	8 (20.00)	13
Class 10	12 (20.00)	13 (32.50)	25
Class 12	18 (30.00)	4 (10.00)	22
Graduate	18 (30.00)	12 (30.00)	30
Post-graduate	7 (11.67)	3 (7.50)	10
Total	60 (100.00)	40 (100.00)	100

Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019.

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Table 4.4 represents the educational qualification of the respondents. The data indicated that, 8.33 percent male and 20 percent female are below class X (class VIII pass) and majority of them were found to be working in the rank of Head Constables. They were above the age of 45 years and had more than 20 years of service in the police organisation. Initially they were appointed as constables but were promoted in their present designation based on seniority. The lack of awareness about higher education, poor economic conditions, and unavailability of facilities for higher education was one of the reasons for their low educational status. They informed the researcher that three to four decades ago educational qualification as a prerequisite for recruitment in the lower post in police organisations did not exist. In fact, people with intimidating personalities with well-built physiques were considered suitable and given preference to work as police.

One female respondent pointed out that she was given appointment in 'die-harness case', in place of her deceased husband's post. She had no other choice but to join the police force as she has responsibility towards bringing up her children and to meet the financial requirements. Initially, she had difficulties in adjusting with the modus operandi of police culture which was reflected in her performance due to her lack of education as she was only class VII pass. However, with the support and guidance from her superiors and colleagues, she was able to positively overcome the hurdles and well-adjusted with the work mechanism and organisation of the police. During the time of interview, she expressed her satisfaction with her work.

Majority of the respondents, 20 percent male and 32.5 percent female, have passed class X, and another 30 per cent male and 10 per cent female have completed class 12. Most of the respondents who are class 12 pass and below belong to the older

generation. Few among the youths have articulated their desire and aspirations for further education which will help in their promotion and other personal attainment. In fact, few of them communicated that they are pursuing higher studies under distance mode from Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU).

The data revealed that 30 percent of both male and female respondents are graduates while another 11.6 percent male and 7.5 per cent female are postgraduates. Among those who were graduates, the majority of them were in the gazetted post, and a very few of them were in the subordinate posts. Those respondents who are in lower ranks with higher qualification of either graduate or postgraduate degree feel that they are fortunate enough to secure a regular government job in the present employment crisis in the state. In a more justificatory tone, they argued that many educated youths with university degrees can be seen working in informal low profile jobs with low payment for their livelihood and survival. Besides, securing a government job has become very difficult as per one's educational qualification. Nonetheless, if opportunity comes for other high-end jobs and even promotion within the organisation they are willing to apply as it will help them both financially as well as raising themselves in the social hierarchy. But they also complained about not getting enough time for preparation, therefore, expressed their reluctance in taking up challenges for another job due to lack of preparedness. However, a few of them were satisfied with the present designation and the job profile and do not have any issues to follow the command of the superior officers and are not willing to move out from the police organisation. Moreover, police organisations accept those who are mentally and physically stable and for this the satisfaction towards their job becomes the crucial factor regardless of their other wants.

Accommodation of the Police Personnel

Like many other government jobs, the police occupation is transferable especially for those personnel who are deputed in police stations to minimise the misuse of power. They are preferably transferred within a period of six months from one police station or outpost to another. Police stations are notified by the Government under section 2(s) of CrPC, such notification confers certain powers and responsibilities of the police in respect to the notified area (SPM Vol. II, 2013). As the nature of the job is transferable, family quarters or house rent allowances are provided by the government for the welfare of the police personnel. But providing family quarters to all the police personnel is difficult as the numbers of quarters are limited.

In India, the total number of family quarters available with police force in State/UT from the year 2015 to 2019 is shown in table no 4.5.

Table 4.5: No. of family quarters in India available (2015-2019)

Sl. No.	Year	Family Quarters
1.	2015	5,56,539
2.	2016	5,85,328
3.	2017	6,05,477
4.	2018	7,05,895
5.	2019	6,47,977

Source: BPRD (2020) Table no 5.1.10 p.52

Table 4.6: Types of accommodation

Types of Accommodation	Percentage
Government family quarter	25 %
Rented house	45 %
Own house	30 %
Total	100 %

Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019.

To have a fair idea about the present accommodation status of police personnel in the study area, we have identified the types of accommodation presently occupied at the time of the interview, which is presented in Table 4.6. The study found that out of the total 100 respondents, only 25 percent are living in family quarters provided by the state. It has been indicated that the entitlement of family quarters provided by the Police Department are on the basis of ranks. It was observed that the quarters are allotted on seniority basis, date of application, and considering the vacancy of quarters. Moreover, due to limited availability of accommodation provided by the government only few of the respondents are staying in family quarters. Whereas 45 percent are living in a rented house, while the remaining 30 percent are living in their own house. The study found that many of the respondents' ancestral homes were located in rural areas of Sikkim so they have constructed new houses as they prefer to stay in the city area, as the education facilities, amenities and infrastructure are easily accessible to them and their children. From time to time, they pay visits to their ancestral home in rituals, ceremonies and other occasions. The occupational mobility to an extent reflects the disintegration of the joint family system in Sikkim as more and more people are moving to urban areas in search of jobs and education.

In this context, a 55-year-old Naik who has been living in a rented house throughout his career expressed that after his retirement he is planning to return to his ancestral home at village. Although, staying at a rented house near the city is convenient for any official work and in medical emergencies, he prefers to stay together with his family and re-establish connection with his community at native village. To maintain communal ties and also to look after ancestral property it is essential for him and his family to stay at his native place. According to him, though the police job gives him respect and means for survival, maintaining social relations is equally important as people will help in times of crisis.

Satisfaction of Arranged Accommodation

Both the central and state governments are making an effort to provide more accommodations to police personnel by constructing family quarters. However, the level of satisfaction for such accommodation has decreased over the past few years. Bureau of Police Research and Development report stated that (BPRD, 2017, pp. 102-103)

> The percentage satisfaction of family accommodation for Gazette Officers has marginally decreased from 30.73 percent in 2015 to 28.47 percent in 2016 while the percentage satisfaction level of Upper Subordinate has marginally decreased from 24.95 percent in 2015 to 22.22 percent in 2016. The percentage level satisfaction of Lower Subordinates level has decreased from 28.30 percent in 2015 to 24.30 percent in 2016.

In the context of Sikkim, the same report pointed out that family accommodation satisfaction levels for the Gazetted Officer were 20 percent and 40 percent each for upper and lower subordinates (BPRD, 2017). The study has analysed the level of

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satisfaction for family accommodation from the respondents which is presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Accommodation arrangement satisfaction

Accommodation Arrangement	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Cannot say	Total
Respondents residing in Family Quarter				
Family quarter is better than rented house	52%	28%	20%	25%
Government timely renovates the quarter	7%	18%	-	25%
Respondents residing in rented house				
Frequent interference of house owner	22%	16%	7%	45%
Frequent increase in rent	17%	28%	-	45%
Respondents residing in own house				
Serving duty from own house	23%	7%	-	30%

Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019

The responses provided by the respondents during the fieldwork are separately analysed for each category of residence. The data revealed the variation of satisfaction level which is largely dependent upon individual's perception about their home, surrounding environment and the facilities they availed in the area. It is evident that the respondents had a mixed response about their satisfaction for accommodation.

In relation to those respondents who are residing in the family quarters provided by the police department, 52 percent were satisfied and felt that it is better than a rented house. The respondents preferred staying in the family quarter rather than in a rented house which according to them is expensive and difficult to get especially in a

mountainous capital city like Gangtok. Akin to any government accommodation, the housing provided to the police personnel is based according to the classification of ranks. The officials get better, spacious, and larger quarters whereas those in the lower ranks get smaller accommodation. The quarters are limited in number and are allotted to the individual by the approval of the competent authority, which again must go through the long queue of applications. Because of such factors, those in the lower rank expressed their dissatisfaction (28%) due to the small structure of the family quarter. Among them, one constable narrated that the quarter which was allotted to him is not spacious enough to accommodate his family. He further noted that he cannot complain also as he is entitled to only get class IV quarters because of his designation. His wife and children are staying together because he wants to provide a good educational facility to his children in Gangtok and he believes that staying with family provides strength, security, and support. His native place is 60 Km away from the posting and does not get time to go often to his native place. But they invite their extended kin occasionally. In that case, the space becomes small, crowded and unmanageable for them due to its compact structure. But, on the other hand, one young unmarried constable viewed that for a single person or two persons it is not a problem. 20 percent of the respondents were unable to say whether a family quarter is better than a rented house although as compared to the expenses between a rented house, family quarters are cheaper.

In terms of timely renovations of quarters by the government, 7 percent expressed satisfaction and cited that for this they do not have to pay anything extra from their income. But 18 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied by the ignorance of the authority for renovations and low maintenance and disliked the work of engineers and contractors for constructing quarters with poor quality materials.

The response from the respondents living in rented houses had a different perspective. The study found that almost one-fourth of the respondents were not married and belonged to the age group between 20 to 40 years. Their native places are far from their postings and many of them belonged to other districts of the state. 22 percent of the respondents expressed that their house owners have a favourable attitude and shared a good bond with each other. They expressed that if the rents are given to the house owner on time and maintain hygiene in the surrounding areas by maintaining healthy and cordial social relationships with the neighbours then the chances of frequent interference or disruption of liberty by the house owners will be few. Whereas 16 percent of the respondents claimed that in many instances, the interference of house owners is frequent and the liberty to celebrate private space is limited. This indicated that the respondents were not satisfied living in a rented house. Remaining 7 percent muted their views and preferred to say that interference depends on a situational and circumstantial basis. At the same time, 17 percent of the respondents agreed that the hike in rental payment increased annually up to 5-10 percent which was for the maintenance and security of the house. So, even if there is an increase in the rent they were satisfied while 28 percent of the respondents were not satisfied with the hike in rental payment. They expressed that increasing rent on a yearly basis by the house owner makes tenants suffer to sustain their livelihood and the rent is too high whereas the housing allowance they get from the government is too less.

After careful analysis, the study finds that due to the growing influx of migration, urbanization, and inflation, it is very difficult to sustain and find a suitable rented house with good water facilities, spacious rooms, proper toilet and bathroom, road connectivity, sunlight and market facility. Also, it becomes more complex with a

limited budget. Although, according to the provision provided by the department, police personnel are provided house rent allowances, but the house rent in Gangtok and in other urban locations of the state is very expensive so the allowance is not sufficient enough.

On the other hand, 23 percent of the respondents who were living in their own house and serving the duty narrated that they got the opportunity of home posting after many years. Many of them were the only earning members of the family. In the beginning of their career, they were posted in different parts of Sikkim and mostly they used to live in rented houses. The female respondents said that serving duty from home posting is helpful as they can take better care of their children and other family members. Therefore, they were happy and satisfied and expressed that serving duty from their own house gives convenience to themselves as well as to the family members.

On the contrary, 7 percent of those who are serving duty from home posting opined that they became more stressful as they must balance both work and family. The job of a police officer is to be alert most of the time and when they are serving from home the chances might be that they indulge with family matters which may hamper the performance in their job. But, the mobility and the distance covered from home to the police station must also be considered because it was found that in many cases the respondents have to commute long distances which make them tired.

A young woman constable, 27 years old, a mother of three years old son commutes from her house from Singtam which takes her an hour to reach the station. According to her, she has to complete her household chores, look after her child and has to walk 20 minutes down to reach the road to get a vehicle as her house is not located on the

roadside and while coming back also, she has to follow the same route. In fact, she must climb up the stairs, so she gets tired and sometimes she must wait for a long hour to get a taxi especially during tourist season. Two Head Constables supplemented that, to get a home posting benefit the family but it becomes tiresome to travel when the house is located far away from the place of duty. However, the respondents whose homes were located nearby to their duty place were satisfied with their present posting.

Reason to be in Police Profession

Good deal of speculation is flaunted about the reason why people want to become a police officer. Preliminary view suggests either people have intense desire to be a law enforcement officer or some join the force primarily to be of service to people in the community (Cumming *et al.*, 1965). However, this factor alone does not completely determine, as there are many other reasons on why people are in police service. This dimension has been explored, as to why those who are already in the police force have chosen this profession as a career, which is presented in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Respondents reasons for choosing police job as a career

Source: Fieldwork December 2018-April 2019

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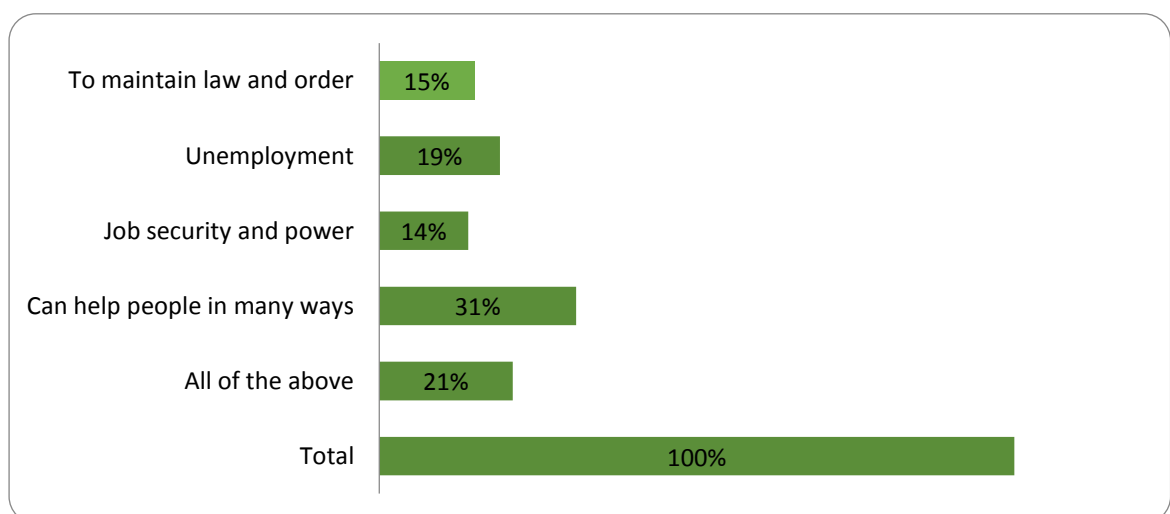
For most of us, the crucial turning point in our life is becoming an earning member of society, which subsequently determines both our livelihood and social status. It also enables an individual to support family and fulfil social obligations and a possibility to achieve power (Ahuja, 2007). If a person, even after gaining a certain degree of educational qualification, is deprived of employment in any department or institution, it severely affects his/her psychological state and leads to numerous social disturbances.

No wonder, unemployment among the educated youth has become the most significant social problem of our time. From the study, it was found that 19 percent of the respondents reported that before joining the profession they were unemployed. For them, becoming a police officer was not their first choice of career, rather it was to overcome their unemployment situation and also due to lack of alternative jobs. Nonetheless, like any competitive examination, they claimed that to get into the police, they had to study for a written examination, prepare for viva-voice and had to maintain their physique for clearing the physical fitness test, which all was not an easy process.

Being a state's machinery, employment in police means regular salary, therefore, the job security in terms of regular salary for day-to-day survival was one of the important reasons for 14 percent of the respondents. Further, they expressed that the power and aura which the profession symbolises was also yet another factor that made the profession attractive to youths. They feel that police especially at the higher ranks have enormous power and authority with good salary. Such conceptualisation of power in the mind of the respondents reflects the Weberian notion of power. Weber defined power as "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in

a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (Giddens, 2009, p. 989).

Further, 15 percent of the respondents gave the reason for joining the police force to help the state in maintaining law and order in society. They stated that as citizens as well as agents of state, it is their moral obligation and duty to maintain law and order in society to which they are committed as law enforcing agencies. One of the respondents expressed that as a concerned citizen, "I understand the emotional distress that people are going through due to the growing crime rate in the state. Police are the agents who are deployed to prevent and detect crime. As a police officer, I would be able to use my authority to make people feel safe where they live. Therefore, I have taken up this as a challenge to fight." Many of the respondents explained how they were drawn to work in a police department that fits with their personality.

For example, the captivating and charismatic personality of the police officers, uniform, discipline, and law as being portrayed in television and movies has influenced their choice. In the media, police are dramatically picturised as heroic figures who have the power and authority to enforce law for the betterment of society, fighting against corrupt individuals and criminals.

Whereas 31 per cent of the respondents reasoned their joining to police as to be able to help people in whatever way they can and not just what a police officer can or cannot do. In this context, Jermier and Berkes (1979) argued that police activity is an important instrument of social work and service. The respondents narrated that when the public encounters knotty situations where they are not able to handle, they approach the police station and seek help from police which reflects that the public

value police and have faith in them. This instils a sense of responsibility among them toward the people and society. Therefore, as a responsible department, they have undertaken lots of awareness programs related to alcoholism, drug addiction, domestic violence, crime against women in the workplace, schools, colleges, etc. The department also conducts conferences and workshops to find out the causes of social disorders prevailing in the society. They also help in tracking down missing persons, search for lost valuables, and perform background checks of individuals.

On a similar ground, Bayley (1994) highlighted that people expect the police to do miscellaneous tasks other than their assigned duties. In short, police often perform a host of ancillary tasks for the convenience of the public. In this regard, respondents expressed that carrying out such tasks help them to be directly in contact with the public, making their job grounded and community oriented. Lastly, 21 percent of the respondents mentioned an assortment of reasons for choosing a police job, particularly aligned toward most of the reasons discussed above. They expounded that the police profession carries a symbol of authority which gives them access to power, status, and prestige. Besides, being a government job makes them financially stable as well as feels secure. Working in a police organisation is becoming a more appealing professional option for those who seek government jobs as it provides other benefits and economic stability.

After examining the socio-demographic profile of the respondents in terms of ethnic, religion, marital status, age, education, accommodation, and the reason for opting police service as occupational choice, the study explored the variation in the responses of the respondents who belonged to diverse ethnic backgrounds. It can be argued that as an organisation, the police personnel are observed to be working

together harmoniously regardless of their ethnic and religious background. Recruitment is done on the basis of reservation policy. However, due to the growing competition for jobs especially in the government sector few respondents can be considered as 'under-employed', as their educational qualifications are above the requirement of the job profile of a constable.

It has been observed that the respondents immediately paid attention to their occupation status, as occupational status can be argued to have direct contribution towards social honour and prestige of a person and also reflects the economic position, in a way a fair index of a person's class position (Peer, 1991).Besides, being in a government job also gives them related perks, such as ease in availability of housing loans and loans for buying vehicles.

In earlier times, the profession was viewed as an instrument for enforcing authoritarian regimes. For such a reason, many people deferred from joining police which could also be primarily due to their engagement in agricultural activities as previously Sikkim, like any traditional society, was an agrarian economy. Further, people thought of the profession of police to be more befitting for individuals with intimidating personalities.

But in recent times with growing developmental activities in the state, raising awareness and also with shrinking career opportunities in public sector jobs, people have started opting for the profession. A shift in the professional attitude of police is observed as it becomes a community-oriented service rather than a force. This can be seen in each respondent's diverse backgrounds in terms of education, caste, religion, age in joining police. They viewed that a police job provides service to the citizens in a democratic way and that is their substantial reward. This view can be rightly related

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with Lester's (1983) findings who have pointed out that law enforcement officers have repeatedly indicated that providing service to the community or fighting crime are important motivations for joining police.

Day to Day Policing: What do they do?

The traditional methods of policing have undergone sea changes. Police are assigned to enforce law and order and also to maintain peace and harmony among the various ethnic communities of Sikkim, and most importantly to protect people and property. According to Ahuja (1996), two main roles are played by police who are related to investigation and prevention of criminal activities. In contemporary times, police jobs have become multifarious for which they have to possess a wide variety of skills. At the same time, in the day-to-day policing tasks they also encounter numerous stress inducing challenges. Such challenges are emanating from the raising awareness among the people for their legitimate demand as citizens and also with increasing participation in the process of governance, which resulted in various civil right movements.

Likewise, the feedback mechanisms, like citizen's satisfaction poll has also resulted in a better understanding of police performance and police-public relations. Police as one of the agents of social control are considered as visual representatives of the State and therefore are more prone to facing criticisms from all the sections of society. They are criticised for their corrupt attitude, misbehaviour, poor performance, inability to deliver services, and its failure to develop a functional relationship with the public. For such reasons, they have been subjected to scrutiny under public, media, and different external agencies.

At the outset, it must be understood that in contemporary society the reality of police should be analysed on what they do on a day-to-day basis and what kind of roles they play. Police organisations have a typical bureaucratic structure for systematic management and efficient functioning of the numerous tasks. It has a hierarchical authority within the organisation from the higher to the lower-level rank and accordingly the tasks are distributed so it becomes imperative for the subordinates to obey the orders of their superior officers.

Sociologically, such organisational structure and hierarchy of authority can be best understood through Weberian Heuristic ideal type conceptualisation of bureaucracy, which is "concerned with rational and efficient organization, comprising specific attributes for both positions and personnel," which also is part of the broader process of rationalisation (Marshall, 2004, p. 48). The conceptualisation of the bureaucratic organisation includes office hierarchy including the various chain of command based on authority where there is a constant supervision of the subordinate staff by the superior officers.

Thus an attempt has been made to identify and illustrate the factors about the police hardship while performing the job. In fact there is a growing concern on what actually police do or rather what they don't do. To explore the police work in Sikkim, it is essential to bring out the crime rate of the state. Indian Penal Code (IPC) crime rate in Sikkim is relatively low as compared to the rest of the country. In India during the year 2016 the data reported on the agitation indicates 1,15,837 agitations which are categorized as communal 5.69 percent, student 8.81 percent, labour 11.21 percent, government employee 19.92 percent, political 25.38 per cent, and others is 28.99 percent. At state level, Uttarakhand reported a maximum number of 21,966 agitations,

followed by 17,043 in Tamil Nadu and 11,876 in Punjab. As compared to the year 2015 there has been a 5.86 percent increase in the number of agitations in the year 2016 (BPRD, 2017, p. 141).

Table 4.8 presents the overall crime rate of Sikkim and India from 2014 to 2019 and the annual growth rate in criminal activities. Unlike the rest of the country, the crime rate in Sikkim is decreasing over the last few years as shown in the table. However, on the other hand, when you look at the crime rate of India, it has been increasing gradually. Furthermore, unlike many other states in India, Sikkim is less prone to insurgency or agitation.[54]

Table 4.8: Six years crime rate in Sikkim and India (2014-2019)

Sl. No	Year	Sikkim n (% growth)	India n (% growth)
1.	2014	1,065	26,87,767
2.	2015	766 (-39.03)	27,49,852 (2.26)
3.	2016	809 (5.32)	27,57,757 (0.29)
4.	2017	719 (-12.52)	28,22,041 (2.28)
5.	2018	620 (-15.97)	28,75,937 (1.87)
6.	2019	632 (1.90)	29,19,005 (1.48)

Source: Crime in India (2016), Table 1A.1, p.9 and (2019) Table 1A.1, p. 9.

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[54]Agitations are collective expressions of dissatisfaction with the state authorities and others on a variety of issues like education, essential services, transport facilities, wages etc. In a democratic system expression of protest by different groups/subgroups of the public is a common feature.

The study observed that during the training period, many of the police personnel were compulsorily trained in using firearms, but in service period almost one-fourth of the respondent have never fired a weapon in his or her entire career and have rarely made a felony arrest. But this should not consider police in Sikkim as idle or non-performing. The study established that the situation for using arms did not occur for many of them. The reason for low crimes and agitation in Sikkim is not only due to the effort of police but the different ethnic communities have tried to maintain harmony among themselves by abiding the law of the land.

The routine work of the police personnel is to prevent or slow down the crime rates and maintain order in the society. To find out more, the study has distinguished the types of work those police personnel are carrying out on a day-to-day basis. As presented in Figure 4.4, the majority of the police tasks are divided into three sub-categories, which are patrolling, criminal investigation, and other miscellaneous tasks.

Figure 4.4: Types of duties performed by the sample population
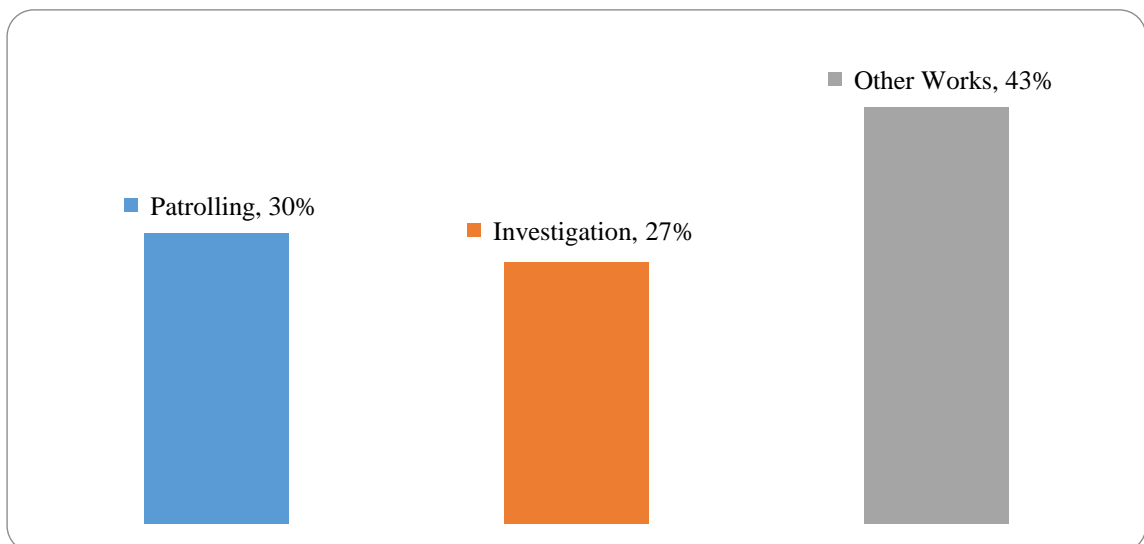
Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019

During the study, it was found that 30 percent of the workload of the respondents was related to patrolling work. In every beat, [55] patrolling duty is allotted to groups of police individuals for a certain period on a rotational basis. As per the SPM Vol. II (2013) "two police officers either two constables or one constable and one head constable should be allotted to each beat of rural area" (p. 6).Whereas, for urban areas three or four constables and one or two head constables are allotted to each beat under the supervision of SI or ASI. The study observed that patrolling duty is one of their major roles and are assigned especially to make preventive measures to curb possible occurrence of crime where they have to deal with family disputes and street fights.

However, the police claimed that in most cases the fight stops the moment the police arrive at the scene so they rarely have to intervene physically. They also have to deal with crime related to property such as burglary or theft. It also found that in patrolling duty they have to do surveillance, checking of rowdies and hooligans such as young men and women drinking liquor and consuming other chemical substances in the street and making rude remarks.

Another overwhelmingly reactive role which police have to perform is the investigation job. Under the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPc) investigation has been defined as the step taken by the police officer or a person authorised by a magistrate towards the collection of evidence in regard to an offence. According to Deb:

> Investigation generally consists of proceeding to the spot; ascertainment of the facts and circumstances of the case, discovery and arrest of the suspected offender, collection of evidence relating to the commission of the offence which may consists

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[55]Beat refers to a part of the jurisdiction of a police station consisting of a village or group of villages or a locality in a town.

of examining various persons including accused if the officer thinks fit and to search places or seizure which is considered necessary for the investigation and to be produced at trial and formation of the opinion as to whether the case and the accused should be placed before the magistrate trial and if so, necessary steps for the same should take by filing charge-sheet under section 173, CrPc (1997, p. 260).

The study found that 27 percent of the police workload are involved in investigating tasks. While undertaking investigation, the respondents pointed out that they often encounter unexpected circumstances where they have to utilise their knowledge, skills learned during their training in the academy, and past experiences related to problem solving and also need to have presence of mind.

In the words of one male respondent, *'In the middle of cold winter, I was on duty doing some paperwork, an intense situation arose from a telephonic call that an unidentified dead body was found in a gutter. Along with two of my subordinates, we immediately rushed to the scene. From preliminary investigation, we came to the conclusion that the dead body was lying there for not less than two to three days as it had started decomposing. For the purpose of investigation we had to take the corpse out from the gutter. As a part of our duty, expecting the most unexpected is relevant. Three of us was not sufficient enough to take the corpse out of the gutter, in such circumstances we expected the public to support the police by rendering help in removing the corpse, but none was willing to come forward.'* The respondent argued that such situations have taught him that it is not only the police who have to perform the mammoth task of maintaining law and order in society but it is also the people who should come forward to help police in maintaining peace and harmony.

Another respondent cited that during interrogation, in order to avoid manipulation and to extract truth and evidence from both the parties, they have to listen carefully to the victim as well as accused so that both the accused and victim gets fair trial and justice. The prime duty of police is to see the case objectively without any unbiased attitude. Police cannot manipulate the evidence during the process of interrogations or when the case is going on. They said that even if the accused that belonged to the elite class or had a political background committed crime or violated laws, the charges are equally applied, and the culprit is treated under the prevailing law of the country. This kind of investigation process brings the police personnel innumerable kinds of psychological and emotional stress as they have to collect data from the crime scene and have to prepare a case report in order to file a charge sheet and do the follow up.

The process of investigation is done by interrogating the accused, victims, and witness which generally deals with the psychoanalytical process. This devolves heavy responsibility on police to find out the truth and deliver justice to the victim. The study found that the respondents employ a number of techniques and methods developed by ethno-methodologists.[56]

For instance, one respondent informed that during interrogation, in order to take out information from the victim, accused or any witnesses who does not reveal much and left unsaid, they constantly 'fill in' or 'wait for' information. They do not want to disrupt the interaction by asking for the needed information rather they are willing to

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[56]Ethno-methodologists are those scholars who study "the body of common-sense knowledge and the range of procedure and consideration (the methods) by means of which the ordinary members of society make sense of, find their way about in and act on the circumstances in which they find themselves" (Gupta, 2012, p. 305).

wait for more information. By doing this, it is assumed that they are using the etcetera principle.[57]

Another important sensitive facet revealed by the respondents was the process of contextualising and framing the question in a moderate tone as they have to understand the different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the individuals who are directly or indirectly related to the case. Here the concept of indexicality is put into emphasis that is the fact that members' accounts are tied to particular context and situations. "As gestures, cues, words, and other information sent and received by interacting parties should have meaning in a particular context" (Turner 1987, p. 395).

Apart from this, police are called upon to perform many roles they are expected to and act as community friendly. Most importantly police service is available 24x7 and is assigned to serve the public round the clock. The primary reason for the expectation to perform these roles by the community is because there are no other agencies available for twenty-four hours especially for the prevention and detention of crime and protection of property. At the same time, they have to maintain the protocol and fulfil the organisational demands in exercising the discretionary power. Beside this they also have their own personal and family responsibilities. Overall what the public actually expects from the police is to do 'everything.' Thus, they are perceived by the public as primary crime fighters, devoting their time on enforcing criminal law, investigating crimes, patrolling, arresting criminals, and many other miscellaneous tasks. The concept of law and order is multi-faceted and multi-dimensional in nature. As mentioned in the police manual, police should always keep a close watch on

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[57] A method for dealing with practical situations though not fully covered by a general principle. The following of an instruction or the application of a social rule cannot cover every eventuality practically encountered. On such occasions, persons interpret the instruction or rule as containing an implicit et*cetera,* principle which brings within the rule's remit those circumstances not explicitly covered by it.

various social, economic, political, cultural, religious and other activities and issues so that these might not take an ugly turn and convert themselves into situations of law and order (SPM Vol. II, 2013).

Majority of the tasks, which is 43 percent of the workload, is engaged in various other works such as, providing security to VIPs, maintaining traffic, concerts, sports matches, and protests of various kinds, etc. It was found that the majority of the respondents above 45 years who are in police service for more than 15-20 years are mainly engaged in administrative work. They have to do official work such as maintaining and documenting records vis-à-vis revising and modifying the records.

The study revealed that day-to-day policing does not have a fixed schedule and cannot be called a monotonous job. As a frontline worker, they have to deal with various kinds of situations. Describing police work in terms of one specific dimension is not completely satisfactory because patrol officers may not exclusively patrol, they may also do crime preventive duty or vice-versa. Therefore, in this regard, calculating or evaluating the number of incidents handled by police personnel is difficult.

Stress Inducing Role Conflicts

The forces of change, such as population growth, unprecedented flow of migration, urbanisation, high end technological advancement, division of labour, etc. has impacted the working pattern and lifestyle of individuals. These changes have also brought severe changes in the types of crime and modalities on how criminal activities are carried out. Numerous types of emerging criminal activities have made police and other law enforcing agencies being exposed to intense security challenges and also opened for scrutiny. It is becoming more evident that unlike the traditional

society, the present society has more expectations from the police. Resultantly, Mathur (1991) has rightly pointed out that the various acts and laws, which were instituted years before have to be re-modified and re-formulate because the parameters of crime and violence have now turned into a new level, and in contemporary time the police have to deal with the population who are aware of its civil rights.

The study gives a clear picture of day-to-day policing work, which is tedious and stressful, and the demand to fulfil the expectations of the public often results in role conflict. On the occupational ground, shouldering the responsibility of others, complexity in work, low salaries, and lack of participation in decision making process were thought to be particularly stressful aspect of a police officer's job (French, 1975).

Evetts (2012) delineated that sociologist have rightly pointed out that the occupation largely shapes and influences individuals working behaviour. In this matter, the nature of police occupation does not give the opportunity to strike friendship, which largely affects the working personality of policemen. According to Jerome Skolnick, "the features of the working personality of policemen includes suspiciousness, conservatism cynicism, prejudices, defenders of status quo, lack of desire for rapid social change and social isolation from others" (as cited in Ahuja 1996, p. 308). These characteristics lead them to develop police solidarity and subculture of their own which has a positive aspect that should not be understated such as the collectiveness in police organisation helps to buffer the strains that officers and subordinates face on a daily basis. This solidarity of policemen is often visible in times of crisis when police forces have to face while discharging their duty.

On the other hand, Chan (1997) argued that the so-called 'siege mentality' and 'code of silence' among the police personnel has often been linked with concealment and proliferation of police misconduct. However, Balch (1972) is of the opinion that there is a lack of empirical evidence which can distinguish police from having a particular personality type.

The profession of police in modern times has to possess various skill sets and characteristics suitable for the profession, managing through which is often stressful and anxiety stimulating for the police personnel. In many instances, police officers are prone to episodic stressors which are very prevalent in the profession.[58]

According to Paoline (2003) the increased stress has led to a rise in the number of employees who have considered leaving their jobs. The work pressures also arise due to the divergent roles they have to play. For instance, they cannot show their weakness as it will have a significant impact on society from emboldening criminals to raising questions about the ability of the police to protect the public, maintain social order, and fight crime (Wong, 2012). The job pressure for police include the responsibility of protecting the public, constant exposure to other people's problems, emotional distancing from others, the inactivity/crisis see-saw, maintenance of macho defences, bipolar thinking, negative public image of police, a web of personal puzzles and ceaseless on the job catastrophes (Mathur, 1994).

Police as a profession is also associated with the tasks of compelling others to obey law coupled with the element of danger and authority where mental and physical stability is required. However, the evidence of stress is reflected more in common

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[58] The term episodic implies short term infrequent occurrences. When episodic stressors occur, the officers display the 'John Wayne Syndrome' by seeking to preserve a macho ego image and avoid appearing weak by denying personal impacts of traumatic events (Reiner, 1985).

types of front-line duties. For instance, delivering death notices, dealing with domestic violence, responding to sudden death, murder, bomb blast, rape, etc. In relation to which, Sen (2000) lamented about police personnel being not accorded properly with esteem while dealing with situations such as deaths and injury of policemen and many times their achievements remain unheard. In India, there are reports where police officers are killed by militants. For instance, between 1990 and April 2016, 931 security personnel including army, paramilitary, and state police have been killed in Assam while fighting militants, of which 480 belonged to Assam police.[59]

Death of policemen is considered an occupational hazard often prompting colleagues to question the quality of bullet proof jackets provided by the office if their colleagues died during attacks. The crime statistics of 2011 reveal the death of 4,881 police personnel (comprising 3,822 natural deaths, 867 deaths on duty, and 192 suicidal deaths) as compared to 3,988 deaths in the year 2009 showing an increase of 8.17 percent over the previous year. In addition to it, police casualties due to suicide are also increasing steadily over the years. In 2008, 139 police personnel committed suicide, 162 in 2009, and 189 in 2010, while 192 suicidal deaths were reported in 2011. It was reported that the highest number of police casualties occurred in Punjab (110) followed by Uttar Pradesh (105). Crime statistics further revealed that a total of 3,299 police personnel of various ranks sustained injuries while performing their duties in the year 2011. The trend analysis shows that there is a continuous increase in death and injuries of police personnel over the years (NCRB, 2012). As compared with other countries the number of killings of police personnel is high in India and

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[59]The Telegraph, '485 cops killed in rebel operations in 18yrs' May 7, 2018. Retrieved from https://www.telegraphindia.com/north-east/485-cops-killed-in-rebel-operations-in-18yrs/cid/1448298 5/8/21

surprisingly it does not produce a sense of shock and revulsion among the masses. For instance, in the year 2001, China accounts for approximately 450 police officers being killed in the front-line duties. Japan has reported that only two officers were killed and three injured (Wong, 2012).

The study revealed various aspects of role conflict resulting in stress among the police personnel which is commensurate with Merton's conceptualisation of role conflict where he argued that role conflict arises when a person must perform two or more incompatible roles with different status. According to the observation from the field, the study found that married women police respondents were vulnerable to these situations as compared with male police respondents. Women respondents had to give time to care for her child and household chores and as well as she has to work what her job demands, which is discussed much in detail in the women and work section later in the chapter.

Secondly, when a person defines his role in one way while others see it in another way. In this context, the hierarchical profile of a police organisation largely determines the role of an individual. A group of four respondents who belonged to ASI and SI ranks expressed that in the police organisation they are often compressed in organisational hierarchy by obeying the orders given by superior officers on one hand and commanding and coordinating with their subordinates on the other hand. In some cases, they are often overburdened with work with limited diffusion of responsibility among the other staff which indicates shortage of manpower resulting in workload and poor decision making. In other cases, superior officers do not tend to understand their personal problem when they wish to apply for casual leave or any other kind of leave pertaining to medical or earn leave. This certainly indicates the

communication gap and lack of empathy between the police authority. When inquired further as compared with sub-ordinate staff, the higher rank officers have many subordinate staff to support and carry out their functions including domestic affairs although they have greater responsibility.

A 30-year-old SI expressed about the impact of role conflict in both professional and personal front, narrating that the pressure to solve the cases and submit the report to the higher authority on time stresses him mainly. He further stretched that although *'recently I got married however I am not able to spend much time with my wife as many times my duty extends beyond the normal working hour and also I have to do night shifts. My wife complains that I have to be a socially responsible person and give time for friends and family.'* The study observed that the pressure to handle and maintain both work and family is affecting his physical health and mental stability. He mentioned that he is suffering from high blood pressure, gastritis, and insomnia because of these kinds of stress leading him to be dependent on alcohol and sleeping pills. While interrelating with this narrative, it becomes relevant to mention that a recent study of occupational stress and mental health of police personnel in India conducted by the National Institute of Mental Health and Neuro Science (NIMHANS), Bangalore, has revealed high prevalence of mental health problem among police personnel (Sen, 2000).

In China, the study conducted by the Chinese Health Association Beijing and Liaoning in 1999 found that police officers particularly in the age group of 45 and above are facing a high rate of health issues, injuries, and death because of the shortage of police deployment and increase in work pressure. According to the study,

the factor that contributed the poor health condition of police officers was the high expectation of them at work which endure a high level of stress (Wong, 2012).

Thirdly, role conflict arises when the related roles have incompatible expectations of the crucial role in a role set. Superior officers and the public may have conflicting expectations from police personnel, and they both demand instant outcome. The study found that as many as 53 percent of the respondents claimed that they became emotionally vulnerable and disturbed in many circumstances when they listened to the grievances of the public and especially while dealing with sensitive cases related with Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POSCO), Sikkim Anti-Drugs Act (SADA) 2006 etc.

As a frontline worker their job is physically and mentally challenging. They have to come face to face with people that come from various socio-economic backgrounds, deal with crime, solve cases, investigate, interrogate, and provide peace and security to the public which is always scrutinised by the media. In this regard, to deliver the instant outcome and be accountable to the superior officers and public, they become psychologically stressed. However, 47 percent of the respondents opined that policing society every day and maintaining social and personal life are two different things and the standard of role conflict inducing stress cannot be accounted for on a numerical basis because it largely depends upon the individual person. Moreover, as a professional, the influence of emotional matters should not affect the working calibre.

Decoding Police Uniform

Any uniform carries a symbolic value which differentiates and identifies a particular group from the rest. Police uniforms represent a law enforcing agent of state who is

responsible for protection of citizens and their property. The uniform worn by them makes them highly visible and identifiable and commands high respect from the civilians. The notion of uniform in the police emerged as a prerequisite so that it could be easy to segregate and identify them from the public or the ones who are violating laws. Police officers wear uniform as a statement of authority and responsibility (Kumar, 1961). The uniform of police also represents and identifies the branch of the service, designation, authority and ranks of police personnel.

The study found that 95.1 percent of the police personnel were satisfied with their existing khaki uniform and felt dignified donning the uniform as it symbolises legitimised pride and dignity for them. Police personnel are unvaryingly conditioned and trained for discipline in order to perform their duty at optimum level. They are directed to wear clean and well ironed uniforms during the duty hour reflecting their charismatic power for which the officer-in-charge is responsible for time to time checking and supervision. Whereas 4.9 percent of the respondents feel that they are tied in uniform for the maximum period of time and their participation in social and recreation functions is limited. In a few cases, they narrated that when they have to attend marriage, funerals or even parent-teachers meeting, etc. after/before duty or during office hours, they feel secluded from the others because of their uniform. A sub-inspector, a mother of a seven-year-old child, narrated that once *'I attended a parent-teacher meeting at my daughter's school as my husband could not attend due to some reasons which I could not remember now. As I did not get time to change the dress, I happened to attend the meeting in uniform. During the entire meeting, I could not focus as I was feeling so awkward because the rest of the students, parents and teachers were constantly looking at me. They were staring at me not as a parent but rather as an officer in uniform.'*

In another case, a group of five respondents, which includes both male and female, narrated that they do not get enough time to wear and display new fashion trends like jewelleries, sarees, jeans, and colourful outfits which alienates them from fashion culture. A group of male respondents adding on the views also cited that, often in marriage functions when they attend in uniform, they have to keep distance from certain things such as, consuming alcohols, passing casual comments, etc. so that the discipline and uniform of the force does not get stigmatised.

The narratives by the police show that while in uniform they carry lots of responsibilities bestowed on them by the state. It can be observed that due to their responsibilities toward the uniform, they avoid most casual social interaction while participating in socio-cultural events which could tarnish the reputation of the uniform. It can be pointed here that the rank badges in the uniform standardise and differentiates the officers with that of low rank personnel.

The rank badges in the uniform are correspondingly understood by the public and act accordingly. A 43-year-old, Naik by designation, pointed out that *'the respect we get from the public are based on the number of stars on our shoulders which they count while interacting. Many a time we can see that people don't give us enough respect seeing those of us who are in lower rank.'* He further added that the public prefer to approach the superior officers for petty cases which ultimately are given to the subordinate staff to carry out the task, reflecting the position and status of sub-ordinate staff are not valued.

In relation to the quality of uniform and suitability of the design according to the climatic condition and seasonal variation of the state, 77 percent of the respondents expressed their satisfaction. The satisfaction about the uniform was more in relation to

the newly designed and quality boots and *Dungarees* (one piece garment consisting of trousers, a piece of cloth which covers the chest, and straps that go over shoulders). The uniform worn by the police holds a sense of identity and belonging that is intended to identify the person as an employee who works in the police organisation. This gives the public certain assurance that a person in uniform knows how to maintain the discipline in a safe, legal, and proficient manner. To Weber, discipline is consistently rationalised, methodologically trained and exact execution of the actor in which all personal criticism is unconditionally suspended and the actor is reliably and exclusively set for carrying out the command (Gerth & Mills, 2015).

Hence, police are considered as trustworthy, competent authority who would likely accomplish the assigned task. Remaining 23 percent of the respondents are not satisfied with the quality of the uniform. The uniform of police is dispersed from the store to the police personnel who are from the ranks of SI and below. The superior official from the ranks of PI and above gets the allowance for uniform. According to these respondents, police have to wear uniform daily that must be clean but the fabrics of uniform are very low in quality which gets bubbles and quickly fades away and boots are also not of good quality and they have to mend or buy the boots personally from their own expense. They expressed that it would be better if they also get the allowances for the uniform in cash.

Women in Police Force

Police as a profession is considered as a male dominated and demanding job, for which women are deemed to be unsuitable for the profession. In patriarchal society women are socially constructed as soft and vulnerable sex needing protection from their male counterpart. Consequently, the law enforcement profession is one such job

where career opportunities were not open to women (Natarajan, 2008). However, recently, new employment opportunities have opened up for women. The history of women's entry into the police force has impacted not only the discourse and direction of police reform but also the incorporation of gender into police operation and organisation (Appier, 1998).

In the initial stage of induction of women in the police department, breaking all the legal and practical barriers, they were found to be often untrained, without police power and with limited roles. At the same time men were also neither prepared while introducing women into the police force nor did they want to share power with them (Barbara, 1985). However, despite such scepticism and hostility, women police demonstrated that they are as capable as men in maintaining and handling law and order. Therefore, over the last few decades' drastic and positive changes in both the attitude and work are observed where the importance of women's role in the organisation is felt, thus deconstructing the primordial ideology of gendered society.

In India, there are 613 women police stations and the majority of these police stations, i.e. 33.11 percent are in Tamil Nadu, followed by Uttar Pradesh with 11.5 percent. The actual strength of police women of all ranks in India is 1, 40,184 and the maximum number of 26,208 women police personnel are working in Maharashtra, followed by Tamil Nadu i.e. 16,553.

In Sikkim, there are two women police stations i.e. in Temi (urban) in South district and in Ranipool (urban) in the East district. The actual number of women police in the state of Sikkim is 369 (BPRD, 2017, p. 145). It was observed that a women police station was exclusively established in the year 2016 through the initiative of both central and state governments. Prior to that, according to one retired police personnel,

during his service tenure in the 1970s there were a limited number of women in police occupying mostly the subordinate position with limited achievements and performance and limited visibility in mainstream police activities. The respondent further added that in the police station where he was deputed there were only two women police.

The significant aspect of gender inclusive policy in Sikkim police is the establishment of women police stations; it has clearly embarked on the policy of gender neutrality in the workforce. The integration of women police into the mainstream policing made the role and duties of women police indistinguishable from the male police. In present time large numbers of young women are recruited in police force and the duties are assigned with gender neutral approach by virtue of gaining equal opportunity in the workforce through reservation quotas.

The roles, functions, and duties of both men and women police are the same. SPM Vol. III (2013) mentioned that women police should remain at all times impartial, honest, and dedicated and should strictly observe the precaution, limitations, and other procedure in relation to following categories which is classified as (p. 2):

1. To arrest, search, seizures, investigation, guard and escort of women accused and convicts.
2. To enquire and verify passport application of women, handling of agitations and also maintain order for women who are making processions and public meetings.
3. To help and guide women and children by providing appropriate arrangement in fairs, festivals, along with evacuation of and assistance to women and children during natural calamities and in troubled areas.

4. Interrogation of female juveniles, women offenders, under trails, witness and victim of sexual offences in cases related with dowry harassment, cruelty, rapes, tracing of missing women and children, keeping watch over the places of ill repute, escorting them to protective homes, hospitals and to court, recovery and rescue of women and girls from prostitution, victims in abduction and kidnapping cases

In short, Ali (2006) has highlighted that the function of women police in Sikkim consists of making general diary entries, receiving and dispatching files and letters, controlling traffic, and performing law and order duty.

Service Condition for Women Posted in Police Stations

The need for women police stations has been valued as important when society turned the path into a new dimension. The rapid changes in socio-economic and political conditions have led to the involvement and increase in participation of women in various political agitations, riots, and student's demonstration. These aspects have become an ongoing phenomenon and have captivated the view that during the law enforcement process women should be handled by only women police due to raising concern over gender sensitivity. At the same time, the availability of adequate women in police is essential to reduce the vulnerability of women becoming victims to crime.

Rao *et.al* (1975) has stressed the requirement of suitably trained women police that need to be deployed in criminal cases where women are involved and in minor cases of delinquency, deviance, and maladjustment. Women police stations are established to focus on these aspects and as well as to inspire confidence in the victims especially if the victim is a woman. The growing number of women police stations has empowered women police as distinct gendered actors within the police departments (Santos, 2005).

The duties, posting, and ranking of women police officers are the same to all police officers and all the instructions and obligations, code of conduct, discipline, qualification, age, recruitment, and training procedures are applied to them except the physical measurements and physical efficiency tests are separately prescribed for women. Additionally, there are common seniority and promotion panels of all ranks for all police officers irrespective of sex and like any other regular employee of the department, women police are benefitted of getting maternal leave, medical facilities, and all other amenities. The uniform rules are also applicable to them, except for those police personnel who are in an advanced stage of pregnancy. For such personnel khaki colour saree and blouse or khaki colour salwar-kameez are consented to be worn. In relation to "privacy and other personnel inconveniences peculiar to women are respected and necessary relief and amenities *are* provided by the officers incharge" (SPM Vol. III, 2013, p. 4, emphasis added).

Women police officers are bound by the legal requirement of being considered to work in any post or duty entrusted to them like other police officers and for this they are not entitled to claim any exemptions and if malingered it may be dealt in the same manner as done for others (ibid). Indeed, it clearly highlights that gender discrimination in police organisation should not exist while performing duty.

SPM Vol. III (2013, p. 3), emphasis on certain guidelines that has to be observed in posting of women police officers to mainstream position particularly in police station which are categorise as follows:

a. When posting in any police station it should be ensured that there is a contingent of at least two women police officers in the police station. In other posts there need not be any such requirement.

b. Sentry duty should be allotted or while dealing with agitations and processions women and men police should be sent together.

c. At least two women police officers should be present when women prisoners are being escorted. If the number of women police officers is not adequate to escort as per scale the shortage may be made good by other policemen.

d. A separate facility for rest and other amenities should be provided for women police in police stations or other places of duty.

Treatment to the Women Police

Considering the importance of diversity at every level, it is important to identify the behavioural, organisational, and external issues impacting professional work of women police and how do they overcome these challenges. There are many aspects which play a role in limiting the number of women police to perform well, which can be characterised as internal or external factors.

In relation to external factors, sex role stereotype is one of the most prevalent challenges that women in the police force often encounters as many men still assume that women are less competent or less suitable for leadership position than themselves (Sabat & Mishra, 2010). The concept of sex role stereotype is based on the division of labour on the basis of sex which installs a preconceived idea about how someone should be, act or behave on the basis of that person's sex. This role demands women to be primarily responsible for socializing the young. Parsons expressed his opinion that, "'the fundamental explanation of the allocation of roles between the biological sexes lies in the fact that bearing and nursing of children establish a strong presumptive primacy of the relation of mother to the small child" (Haralambos, 1980, p. 372).

Parsons further characterises the women's role in the family as 'expressive' which means she provided warmth, security, and emotional support. It is true that women are biologically and culturally different from men as they undergo pregnancy and give birth to a child. Women serve as the primary caregiver for children often more than men but equality for women in the workplace, home and in society should not be overshadowed.

The notion of sex role stereotype becomes problematic when in contextually looked at gendered based organisations such as police, where commendation of male is often practice. Table 4.9 presents the treatment meted out to the women police in their respective department as compared to male colleagues.

Table 4.9: Opinions of women police on how they are treated

Sl. No.	Opinions	Response n (%)
1.	Women police are treated same as male police	23 (57.50)
2.	Men police are treated better than women police	9 (22.50)
3.	Women police are treated better than male police	8 (20.00)
	Total	40 (100.00)

Source: Fieldwork December 2018- April 2019.

As given in Table 4.8, 57.5 percent of the women police, which consisted majority of the sampled respondents reported that they are relatively treated same as male police and held no discrimination on the basis of sex. Police organisations characterized both populations as one force to look after the society. Training and academy of police organisation played a vital role in shaping the mindset of an individual. They were trained in such a manner that they are mentally and physically prepared for any tasks

and posting in any location and were not sceptical in displaying and executing the tasks allotted to them.

Respondents, who are deputed in all women police stations, expressed cordial relationships with the superior officer and also with other staff. For them, the questions of gender discrimination or sex role stereotype did not exist. However, when enquiring further few of them, narrated reflection of status and power inequality between women respondents is visible in terms of ranks and experience. For instance, there has been an inferior and superior complex between the superior and subordinate employees. Even if the subordinates have more experience with sound knowledge in any given case, they nonetheless have to obey the command and orders of their superiors who at times are less experienced in the workforce.

Women police are equally performing at par with their male counterparts without having superior/inferior complex, uneasiness, and shyness. One of the female respondents highlighted that in police station, in a day, many cases and complaints are registered related to rape, molestation, assaults, and also POSCO (Protection of Children from of Sexual Offences) related cases where they have to sit together with their male counterparts, listen and analyse the narration of the victims and accused. In these kinds of intense situations, the narration and interactions are often lucidly elucidated with sexual, intimate, and graphic details. While interrogating the culprit, they also have to ask many questions without hesitation and shame to get out the real answers as part of their duty. The respondents articulated that initially they were not comfortable to sit with their male counterparts, however, they realised that it is part of their profession to maintain a neutral position with both their male colleague as well as with the victims or accused.

However, 22.5 percent of the respondents reported that men police are treated better than women police by the superior officer. A number of respondents reported that they are looked at firstly as women and secondly as police personnel. They complained that when important decisions are taken to handle an important case involving powerful people or to put up and process the file, women police are often marginalised and not considered as equivalent to men working in one organisational unit. The tasks and other workloads are not distributed equally. In many instances, a group of male colleagues works separately and sometimes they do not know which cases their counterparts are handling. The study found that more than mental ability, the physical strength was given priority while assigning a task in the job

The police organisation being a bureaucratic organisation has hierarchical arrangements of positions. The role of the superior officers plays a key part in promoting or discouraging or changing the stereotypes related to sex role in police organisation. Therefore, the choice to remove gender based preferential treatments depends upon the superior officers. In this connection, the superior level officers reported that, to handle mainstream duties such as solving cases, raids etc. best police personnel are selected regardless of their gender.

A small section of the respondents did not find any problem in the organisation and supported the decisions made by their superior officers while distributing the workload, assignments, and tasks. They believed that their superiors would understand the capacities of each personnel posted in the station and would not burden them with overwork. One respondent cited that it largely depends upon the understanding level and trust of the superiors irrespective of caste, class, and sex.

Regardless of the decisions, the respondent further added that, they successfully complete every task assigned to them by their superiors. For them, the attitude of superior officers plays an important role in handling the situation and understanding the capabilities of their subordinates. They also argued that the relationship between the boss and staff has to be positive in nature oriented toward progressive direction. In this relation, 20 percent of women claimed that they are treated better than male police. They cited that they are given preference in choosing the assignments and tasks according to their ability.

However, in response to the sexiest attitude that prevails in the organisation, the policemen informed that, the policy of the government to recruit both male and female in the police force is to prevent biases and inequality. In police academy training gender disparity was not observed but during their service period women police were found to be not assigned with difficult tasks such as investigating cases, raids, etc. with the excuse of physical incapability and other health issues. In this regard, male respondents were found to be dissatisfied with the superior officer's level of imparting and assigning the task.

The study found out the contradictory notion of discriminatory policy. For instance, when women police are assigned with fewer tasks, they believe that they are discriminated against on the basis of gender. On the other hand, when policemen are assigned with more tasks, they feel that they are overburdened. In this connection, a male respondent expressed that they too have their social, personal, and family life. By virtue of being a male, they are not spared in any task which is one of the significant factors of stress among policemen. Interestingly, male respondents are demanding equal tasks to be distributed and in each police station there should be a

separate women cell so that the concern and issues of the citizens can be heard by women police. This brings another recent development and the fundamental point of social change which ensures that both male and female are being gender sensitised.

Policewomen: Balancing Work and Family

It is valuable to know that women police give more human face to the organisation and if women are equally given their space in the organisation it would not be treated as a masculine organisation. The incidents of gender-based abuses and custodial violence are likely to decrease, and women victims would find it easy to come forward to police with their problems. The increasing representation of women in the police force, as according to Mishra and Sabat (2010) will contribute a lot to make police as missionaries to the cause of secularism, humanism, and integrity in pluralistic society. Establishing an exclusive women police station in Sikkim was one of the visionary steps towards women empowerment for the state as well as for the organisation. The respondents delineated that when it was first set up they were treated with suspicion and even ridiculed. They were also not confident as they are experiencing for the first-time to operate an all-women police station by themselves, which could also be due to fewer number of women officers in the higher ranks in Sikkim police to guide them. Having said so with time they gained confidence and realised it to be no different from any police station. The importance and function of all-women police stations also became widely understood and began to receive attention and acceptance from the public.

The study has further shown that training in the police academy played a vital source for women police to adapt police culture and to handle day to day policing with power and pride. The respondents said that they have gained confidence by the way they

were trained bringing transformation in their overall perception and personality. The pre-service training not only changed their personality of how they are as an individual but also changed their thinking and worldview to fit into organisational demands and societal expectations.

During the course of interaction with the respondents, young women constables narrated that, after their duty hours, when they return home late at night they are not as scared as before on their way home. They reason out acknowledging the change in their perception as well as to the profession and uniform which they have donned. This reflects two aspects of society, as on the one hand it can be seen as how the society respects police personnel and the uniform. On the other hand, the profession and the uniform represents the authority and the power for which a women officer wearing the uniform is looked upon as a representation of that power structure even if the gender reality of society is contradictory. Few of the women respondents eloquently pointed out that in a gendered society police as a profession is best suited for women to counter the existing gender imbalance.

Women being in the police have broken the traditional gender norm of being submissive and looking after only household related chores, and rearing and caring of children and family members. Women in police have to come in the forefront and perform their diverse tasks and have been continuously performing at par with their male counterparts. However, the lack of support, both in the personal and societal front, from the significant other often becomes a major hindrance to women police while performing their duty. Almost 80 percent of the women respondents expressed their opinions related to multiple role-sets they occupy as a homemaker, police personnel, mother, daughter-in-law, and wife. These role-sets in turn create role

conflict and strain which induces difficulties in balancing between the demands of career and family.

Policewomen often have to face challenging situations between the expectations from family as well as organisational demands. A group of married women respondents narrated that their daily routine starts between 5 in the morning, where they cook food for the family, finish other household chores, check children's homework, ensure husband's and children's clothes are washed and pressed, etc. then finally leave for work. At the workplace, they often get to know what their assigned duty for the day is only after reaching the station.

One of the respondents narrated that there were many instances where they had to pick up the accused from far flung villages requiring long distance travelling. Policewomen working in the lower rank generally do not have access to official vehicles and mostly rely on public transportations on their own expenses. A 32-year-old SI, a mother of three years old son, narrated that '*I never get time to spend with my son. In the morning I was occupied with household work and by the time I returned from work he was already asleep.*' She further expressed that she gets very little time to spend with her family and children and also participates less in any religious occasions and celebrations as being in the police means on active duty call on such occasions. In any family such schedules of women are not accepted positively.

It was found that in most cases those women police whose husbands are in other professions often failed to understand the exigency of their work frequently causing ego clashes. Being in active service means at times working late night with male counterparts or even going for night shift and coming back in the morning. According

to a respondent, who is married for eight years with a five-year-old son, grieved how she faces her husband's verbal abuses by linking up affairs with her male colleagues. While another respondent said that though her husband is also a government employee with sufficient salary, he expects her to take all the financial burden of meeting the daily needs. Majority of the respondents added that their in-laws expect them to play a predominant role in taking care of family which stands in contrast to the job profile giving them less opportunity to cope up with the expectations of in-laws with no sign of acceptance of the reality. The unsupportive nature of the in-laws is possibly attributed to their conservative and narrow-minded attitude which any traditional society dearly holds onto.

Some of the newly recruited single women are worried about their future ability to meet the demands between work and family. They are concerned even about the difficulties they might encounter in finding a suitable partner who will understand their work. It was observed that the maximum number of respondents belong to nuclear families and due to the busy schedule of both husband and wife they are unable to readily spend time with their children and to socialise them. They are also unable to help the children in their studies for which a few of the respondents preferred to send the children to boarding schools within and outside Sikkim. However, some women held their view that they were interested in making a career in law enforcement and intended to remain in the police force. For them, their family members were overwhelmingly supportive, they asserted that whenever they have night duties or any emergency call of duty their family members share the household chores so that they could go to duty on time.

Work and Health Issues

For any individual good health represents sound investment. A healthy individual in a work force represents less absenteeism as compared with a person related with a health problem. The job of police often involves them with repeated and long-term exposure to heavy work which negatively hampers their physical and mental health.

In a study conducted in the USA by Violanti *et al.* (1998) found that, as an occupational group, law enforcement officers have a high risk of health problems and diseases with greater morbidity and mortality rates primarily due to cancer and cardiovascular diseases. Likewise in a study conducted in Korea by Han *et al.* (2017) among men police officers, heart disease specifically known as angina pectoris, cardiovascular diseases (acute myocardial infarction) and cerebro vascular diseases were common while women police officers had the highest incidences of the former two and the later was recorded as second highest incidence.

Walter (2012) sharing the finding conducted by the Buffalo Cardio-Metabolic Occupational Police Stress (BCOPS) point out that because of the psychological stress that they experience on a daily basis puts the police at an increased risk of various long-term health effects that may include cardiovascular disease, obesity, suicide, sleeplessness, and cancer.

Nonetheless, the study observed that in general, regardless of the gender, most of the police personnel have a common health concern related to gastritis, digestive issues, and ulcer problem.

During the interaction, it was revealed that while performing certain unexpected emergency calls such as tracking of culprits, raiding, pick up of accused from distant

villages, etc. the personnel often skipped their meal and at times landed up eating out at canteens or hotels as the situation demands. Many times it happened to most of the respondents that they failed to take proper homemade food. Regularly eating out, which most of them happen to do, is acknowledged by them as creating the health issues which they are facing. They considered outside food to be mostly unhygienic, unhealthy, and stale, therefore inferior in quality. However, they argue that they do not have alternative choices, so they end up eating food from outside in spite of the knowledge. A respondent lamented by pointing out that *'even those culprits who are put behind the bar get hygienic food on time that too two meals in a day with separate breakfast and evening tea unlike us.'*

Gender specific health issues are also observed in the study. One of the major challenges for women police was related to finding proper hygienic toilets during their patrolling. They often had to use public toilets or in shops, which increases the chances of acquiring Urinary Tract Infection (UTI). Furthermore, they cited that during their monthly cycle (menstruation) they face difficulties in finding a proper place to change the sanitary pads. Surprisingly, during the study, it was found that one police outpost in Deorali does not have toilets and the staffs have to use toilets located in nearby shops. Whereas respondents from other police stations did not complain pertaining to the issue and added that they have a hygienic toilet facility separately for male and women. Although a few respondents informed the researcher that they undertake regular exercise, meditation, and perform yoga and also immediately seek medical attention when health issues arise, however, many of them were not able to find time for doing exercise as they spent most of their time taking care of family and work.

Overall, it may be seen from the nuances of the majority of the women respondents that why the profession of police and policing remains unattractive for women. Policing requires working at unwanted hours, often socially isolated. It is generally not perceived as a job engaging pleasant social interaction rather requiring a hard-line job with physical strength. Due to this characteristic, many a time women are reluctant to join the police force and for some of those women who are in the profession are considering taking voluntary retirement even without compensation. In order to make them have a sense of belonging and commitment to their work, training in diversity, motivational, sensitization and management programs should be imparted on a timely basis so that police personnel irrespective of sex may feel more motivated to perform their duties and maintain the healthy relation between profession and personal life.

Problems in Relation to Positional Ranking of Police

The study also has come across cases where problems in relation to positional ranking of the police were highly vivid. For instance, problems in family are more encountered by those in lower position hierarchy where marital discord and familial conflict emerged consequently as a silt of juxtaposition between work stress and familial expectations. A respondent who works as a constable has expressed that his wife insists him to handover all his earnings to her and also stay separately from his parental home and his aged parents. As he was not able to fulfil the demand of his wife, they have separated mutually without legal formalities for divorce. He pointed out that his wife is staying in her parental home along with his five years old son. Like many families, he also expects to have a healthy married life where both husband and wife constantly support each other.

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The respondent described the problem to be consequences of role conflicts. Female respondents expressed more in terms of the challenges and over taxing burdens they encountered in managing between work and family. Although contemporary working-class women contribute at par with men in the economic front, their contribution has always been considered as supplementary. The principality of such institutionalisation of social roles and functions of women as primary caregiver and caretaker of both family and household is resultant of patriarchal structuration of society.

Respondents who belonged to the lower ranks in the organisational hierarchy of police stressed on the challenges they encountered in the performance of their duties. They argued that holding a subordinate position means they are bound to follow the orders and command of their superiors, their authority in handling cases are also limited. Being from socio-economically weaker sections with less education they often lacked the skills required for handling certain cases assigned to them.

 To deal with any kind of emerging situation, the police have to consciously strive for upgrading their professional and behavioural skill in order to manage crowds agitated over any perceived, real or imaginary, cause of injustice/dissatisfaction against the authorities or some other sections of the society without use of force as far as possible. For instance, in order to handle and stabilize mobs, they are ordered by the superior officers to impose strict laws/rules. But on the other hand, when they are unable to get cooperation from the public, police are located in a vulnerable position and often get verbal abuse and sometimes physical abuse from the public.

A young constable in a moderate voice expressed that *'Once, I was assigned for a task to manage the crowd in a musical concert in Gangtok. My superiors strictly ordered not to allow people to enter the concert hall from the exit gate so that the*

crowd can be controlled. So, I was allowed only to those people who were going out of the stadium from the checkpoint which I was handling. But after a while, the public started violating the instruction and forcefully opened the gate and started entering from the exit gate, suddenly leading to disorder and chaos. Since the crowd was huge, I alone was not equipped enough to handle the situation. Besides forcefully entering, the crowd were also verbally abusing me for the obstruction. In that situation what was I supposed to do? I got so much abuse from the public which affected me mentally and emotionally. That was one of the most unforgettable experiences I had faced in my duty.'

Job Satisfaction and Grievances of the Police Personnel

Satisfaction of a job depends upon an individual's attitude towards the work (Robbins, 2003). A positive relationship is noted between emotional intelligence, job performance, and job satisfaction (Sy *et.al*, 2006). Studies have found that the relationship between colleagues within the department plays a crucial role when it comes to job satisfaction (Messe, 1993). However, there are many facets of job satisfaction such as Spector (1997) have highlighted upon appreciation, communication, co-workers, benefits, job conditions, nature of work itself, organization itself, organization's policies and procedures, pay, personal growth, promotional opportunities, recognition, security, and supervision. Similar emphasis has also been given by Howard *et al.* (2004) which is measured on the basis of pay, promotion, benefits, policies and procedures, and relationship with higher authority, work timings, work-family conflict, and the job itself.

 In the police organisation, Dhillon (1989) discerned that the higher-ranking officers have more responsibility but they are more satisfied with their job and have less

occupational stress than personnel in the lower ranks. The lower ranks police personnel are more occupied with work pertaining from the ground level and less satisfied with their pay. Dantzker and Surrette (1996) highlights that police officers have been found to be more satisfied with their job when they get support from their immediate supervisor and less satisfied with their pay and access to in-service training.

The study found that the respondents' level of satisfaction with his/her job is multidimensional. The study also confirms that job satisfactions among the respondents are observed when they get support from their immediate supervisor, diffusion of tasks equally among the staff, maintaining transparency and treating impartially to every staff in the workforce, retirement benefits, pay and financial security, understanding and allowing leave during personal emergencies.

According to SPM Vol. II (2013), the Station House Officer (SHO) has to announce every evening regarding the number of personnel who will be on leave the next day. The respondents also expressed the importance of maintaining a reciprocal relation with friends, relatives, and colleagues for exchange of interaction such as attending funerals, marriage, and other rites of passage, which will simultaneously increase the level of job satisfaction among them for which they should be given leave. In this regard, during such occasions or other personal emergencies, they internally arrange and shuffle the shift with their colleagues, of course with the consent of their superiors. Such mutual arrangement and cordial relation reflects the solidarity among the police personnel.

However, on the grimmer side, dissatisfaction also arises among the personnel which adversely affect the effective functioning of police organisation. Firstly, no matter

how much leaves are made available to the personnel they still did not find it enough to give time for family and social life.

There were few respondents who expressed that due to their busy schedule they are unable to attend any of the occasions or have any social life.A48-year-old male, who works as Lance Naik expressed that *'In my family only my wife and two children are there, one is studying in college and another one in school. It is my wife, who is a homemaker, who attends most of the invitation calls for marriage, birthday, or any other social gatherings of friends and relatives. I never get time to attend all these functions myself due to my duty.* Whereas a 56-year-old ASI said, *'after working for more than two decades my life have become monotonous and I don't have much social life.'* Another lady officer expressed her fear that *'in times, when I could not attend funeral of near ones, I fear that other might also not attend if sudden demise happens in my family.'* Although the family members of the respondents represent on their behalf, they feel that sometimes they themselves need to represent the family on such occasions. This reflects how the uncertainties of working time involved in the profession makes some of the respondents less satisfied with the job with the fear of being socially isolated.

Secondly, 13 percent expressed their dissatisfaction in terms of delay in their promotion. Promotion is an essential part of career development and is vital for the motivation of the personnel. The parameters of promotions are seniority cum merit basis. The promotions are made in order of seniority and as and when vacancies arise in the rank for which promotion panel is prepared. A course of training or examination is prescribed by the state government for promotion. The requirements for eligibility for promotions is that the police personnel should be an approved

probationer, should not be facing any departmental enquiry for grave charges or involved in any investigation/enquiry or trial in a criminal case and should not be under suspension at the time of consideration for promotion (SPM Vol. III, 2013).

A 54-year-old male, who works as head constable, expressed his disappointment regarding his promotion which according to him was overdue. Another lady head constable added that it has been more than eight years serving in the same rank, as to her *'serving in the same rank for an extended period of time is adversely affecting the quality of service.'* Many respondents claimed that, after the rank of head constable the promotion is very difficult to achieve. Delay in promotion had also infused indolent attitude among young constables. Besides the promotion, 33 percent of the respondents conveyed their dissatisfaction in relation to salary and other allowances. With increasing competitiveness and job scarcity people are working in low-ranking jobs with meagre salaries in spite of having higher qualifications. Age, rank, and qualification came out to be an effective factor among this percent of respondents.

A group of 8 constables between 20-35 years who were graduate and post-graduate said they had appeared in many competitive examinations for the gazette posts but failed to secure the job. When comparing themselves with other friends who are in higher post with high salary and allowances makes them sad. Another group of four subordinate ranks possessed satisfaction with their job. But when enquired, they were not overqualified for their rank and for their basic needs and desires they expressed satisfaction. The findings suggest that educational qualification plays an important factor in relation to job satisfaction.

Thirdly, the support from the external agencies to the police determines the satisfaction of police personnel towards their job. But the study highlighted the lack of

support and concern from the external agencies. For instance, one respondent said that many times the courts keep delaying the dates of hearing a particular case and the police and the individual involved in the case come to know about it at last. Another major issue they often come across is when the cases filed by the complainant are subsequently being withdrawn which gives them a bitter experience to police as their efforts of solving the problem goes in vain.

Fourthly, no doubt police are labelled as protector and guardian but on the humanitarian ground the police personnel too should be taken into consideration for human rights. An officer in charge of one police station argued that during any breakout of violence police are at the centre, however, their safety is often overshadowed. Another respondent added, in some cases, police are beaten up by the public when the protest turns radical. A constable narrated that *'back in July 2016, I was assigned to escort a criminal for medical check up to the nearest hospital. However, the criminal had pre-planned to escape. When he started running away, I chased him meandering the busy streets. When I finally got hold of him, the criminal turned out to be violent. At that point, instead of worrying about my own safety, I tried overpowering the criminal at my best to safely take him back to custody. During the event, to my surprise the public instead of helping me out they just stood there and watch, which was shocking to me.'*

A female constable also narrated that once she was chasing a thief at night along with her colleagues, she had grabbed the thief, however, the nearby resident owner turned off the light. Although they managed to nab the thief, she felt helpless about how the people whom they were trying to protect did not cooperate with the police. In this respect, police organisations must ensure the code of practice to police personnel,

their rights in dealing with criminals to the concise reference to the power of police

which can boost their performance and satisfaction in their job.

Chapter V

Perspective from Periphery: Public Perception of Police

Introduction

Understanding people's perception of police is very pertinent for the present study since it aims to bring out the dynamic relationship between the police and the public. Although the perspective from the police has partly been discussed in the previous chapter, the present chapter is solely focused on bringing out the public perception of police as an institution instrumental in the enactment and enforcement of law and order. For clarity, we first need to conceptually define what 'public perception is all about'. The lexical definition, as given in Oxford Dictionary, defined perception as an "act, faculty of perceiving or apprehending with the mind"(1938, p. 984).Therefore, public perception is about how people, that is the general population perceive the police and act accordingly depending on their mental faculty which are relative to their socio-economic position in the society.

The chapter presents public views of police attitude and also tries to cross examine both police and public view with an attempt to avoid one-sided opinionated subjective views. The public perception about the role and performance of police will give valuable insight on the long journey of police in maintaining peace and harmony in Sikkim. The picture that emerged from the responses of community members captures both negative and positive aspects. The positive views gave fascinating insights debunking the myths that policing is still insulated within the imperialist attitude but the negative views include the continuation of prejudices and stereotypical attitudes of police towards the public.

Global Outlook: Public Perception towards Police

Globally, varied differences in public perception towards police and policing can be observed. Merry *et al.* (2012) work discussed various demographic factors, such as gender, age, and ethnicity. In relation to gender, Myhill and Beak (2008) shows that women have more positive attitudes towards police, while Cao *et al.* (1998) and Hurst and Frank (2000) work found men to be more confident.

Research into the age variable suggests that the level of confidence of people toward police increases with age, with older generations showing more favourable (Jang *et al.*, 2010; Murphy, 2009; Weitzer & Touch, 2004; Hurst & Frank, 2000). Extending which, Bradford *et al.* (2009) argued that younger generations tend to exhibit extreme negative attitudes and hostility. In the context of ethnicity as predictor of confidence, which are prevalent in multi-ethnic societies, in studies by Chan (1997) and Reisig and Parks (2000) showed that unfavourable attitudes towards police is observed among the racial minorities in USA and Australia, while in UK, Jansson found that, white citizens hold less confidence towards police as compared to other non-White groups.

In Japan, police get the best support from the public to maintain law and order justice. In addition, the morality of police officers is high in Japan, and they protect constitutional rights and become highly accountable to local communities. Japanese police maintain a non-authoritarian manner and are highly responsive to public opinion. It was observed that married, more religious, more conservative and happier people have high confidence in Japanese police (Norton, 2007).

In the case of America, based on police work in the USA, it was found that from the last hundred years there has been a positive shift towards public perception. Public tends to be in favour of the police and rely on police functions for ensuring social justice. For instance, at present, the complex racism view is minor in the USA since USA police services are maintained effectively through equality, justice, fairness, and minimal government intrusion (Renauer & Covelli, 2011). However, although the cases of injustice have become low, police atrocity, misconduct, and other types of haziness persists in America. Further, African Americans, particularly Hispanic and Asian Americans, were found to have less favourable views of police than whites (Nix *et al.*, 2015). Likewise, the Canadian public thinks police work is fair and visible in the community. However, youths viewed police jobs negatively because youth have a tendency to break the law but as they gain maturity their perception towards police changes and their reliability on police becomes high (Nickels & Verma, 2008).

Demographic Profile of the Sampled Community Members

The state of Sikkim at present time and space is not only contained with three major ethnic communities i.e. Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepali. The growing global opportunities for economic, socio-cultural and political expansion have brought a large number of people belonging to different ethnic groups to the state.

As mentioned earlier, the government jobs and license to run the business are benefitted to only local Sikkimese domicile holders. In this case, many people who come for business and trade purposes are seen to be leasing the license from the local Sikkimese. Therefore, the general population of Sikkim on the basis of community and ethnic category is heterogeneous and diverse in nature. However, for the study, from the general population, a total of 100 respondents were studied with equal

gender representation i.e. 50 percent male respondents and 50 percent female respondents, belonging to different strata of Sikkimese society hailing from different regions of the district.

The study cross-checked and gathered the view from these community members about the relationship and perception they hold for police. It is expected that their views on police, policing and police organisation will be different from each other as they belong to different age groups, gender, occupation, communities. Additionally, different people might look at the issue of police-public relations differently owing to their varied socio-economic background but as Vadackumchery (1997) said that in democracy, the voice of everyone counts.

Age Distribution

Age distribution of the respondents is given in Table 5.1 with an age interval period of 10 years. As shown in the table, the majority of the respondents are concentrated in the middle-aged group of 29-38 years old with 27 percent and 22 percent of 39-48 years old. These age groups are followed by 49-58 years old with 20 percent, 17 percent of 18-28 age group while 14 percent respondents represent above 58 years. Interestingly, the majority of the respondents who are above the age of 49 years were able to share the politics and cultural experiences of the police and public relationship of the contemporary as well as the earlier times.

Table 5.1: Sample distribution of the respondents according to their age

Sl. No	Age interval	Percentage
1.	18–28	17.00
2.	29–38	27.00
3.	39–48	22.00
4.	49–58	20.00
5.	Above 58	14.00
	Total	100.00

Source: Field work March–May 2019

Educational Qualification of the Respondents

Table 5.2: Sample distribution of the respondents according to their educational qualification

Sl. No.	Educational qualification	Percentage
1.	Below VIII	13.00
2.	Class X	11.00
3.	Class XII	20.00
4.	Graduation	29.00
5.	Post-graduate and above	27.00
	Total	100.00

Source: Field work March–May 2019

Education is an important parameter which shapes the worldview and opinions of the citizens of any given society. It encourages individuals to be more reflective and to an extent critical with logical justification of the way a society should be and the institutions involved and the obligations toward its citizens. Education largely determines the level of interaction and relation between individuals. Therefore, in order to evaluate the police-public relation, education plays a vital role, such as an educated and well-informed citizen who is aware of the rules, regulation and legal rights can confront the police easily unlike those individuals who are irrationally afraid of encountering police in day-to-day affairs.

As presented in Table 5.2, 27 percent of the respondents are post-graduate and above, while 29 percent which consist of the majority of the respondents are graduates and the rest 44 percent are intermediate and below.

Religion

Table 5.3: Sample distribution of the respondents according to their religion

Sl. No.	Religion	Percentage
1.	Hindu	41.00
2.	Buddhist	36.00
3.	Christian	15.00
4.	Muslim	8.00
	Total	100.00

Source: Field work March–May 2019

"Democracy has proved to be the best framework for freedom of conscience, the exercise of faith and religious pluralism."[60] In a democratic society like Sikkim, people are found to be professing various forms of religion. Among the respondents who follow various faiths, Hinduism was found to be the most practiced religion with 41 percent, as shown in Table 5.3. It was followed by Buddhism with 36 percent and Christians (15%) and the remaining 8 percent belonged to the Muslim community.

Occupational Status and Income Distribution

Occupational status of individuals reflects the social position they occupy in society. Occupational status indicates an individual's powerful and reliable character and substantially correlates with other economic variables (Zimmerman, 1992).

Table 5.4: Sample distribution of the respondents according to their occupational status and annual income

Sl. No.	Annual Income	Occupational Status					(%)
		Students	Unemployed Youth	Employed (Public/ Private Sector)	Self Employed	Home Makers	
1.	No income	10	6	-	-	7	23.00
2.	Below 1,20,000	-	4	-	4	3	11.00
3.	1,20,000-2,40,000	4	9	9	6	2	30.00
4.	2,40,000-3,60,000	-	-	8	9	-	17.00
5.	3,60,000-4,80,000	-	-	7	4	-	11.00
6.	Above 4,80,000	-	-	5	3	-	8.00
	Total	14	19	29	26	12	100.00

Source: Field work March–May 2019

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[60] Report on *Religion and Democracy* by Committee on Culture and Education, Retrieved from https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=8426&lang=en on 8/8/ 2021

Occupational status of the respondents largely influences the way they relate with the police. There is a prevalent perception among the people that police show favourable attitude to influential people and often disregard and use harsh words to people who hold low occupational status such as petty shop owner, agriculturist, labour etc. In this relation, to find out whether occupational status of the public determines the attitude of police, the study focused on analysing the inter relationship between occupational status and economic condition of the respondents.

Table 5.4 represents the sample distribution of the respondents according to their occupational status and income. The income of the respondents has been given annually with a regular interval of Rs. 10,000 per month.

As shown in Table 5.4, the respondents' occupations were represented by different categories, where 14 percent are students studying in various colleges and universities. 19 percent of the respondents are unemployed educated youths who aspire to get employment in any government or private sectors, 29 percent are employed in various private and public sectors, representing different professions such as teachers, lawyers, and clerical job holders including government drivers. 26 percent are self-employed, such as registered traders, businessmen, shop vendors, commercial taxi drivers, farmers, etc. while 12 percent of the respondents are homemakers who are mostly women.

In relation to income of the respondents, the statistical representation revealed that 23 percent of the respondents have no personal income, among which 10 percent are students, 6 percent unemployed youths and 7 percent are home makers. In the annual income bracket of Rs. 1, 20,000 and below, 11 percent of respondents were found to be representing this income category. Out of which, 4 percent are unemployed youths

who occasionally manages to earn by doing petty jobs, another 4 percent are self-employed who were helper or sale assistants in grocery shops, drug stores, etc. and 3 percent are home makers who expressed that they try to earn money by marketing beauty products, knitting etc. Next, 30 percent of respondents belonged to the annual income group of Rs. 1, 20,000 to 2, 40,000, among these 4 percent are students who were availing benefits through stipends or scholarships either from the central or state government, 9 percent are unemployed educated youths who have some source of income from the rents of tenants, others gets some form of honorarium being youth convenor and party members of political party.

Further, 9 percent are employed in private or government sector who were mostly recruited in ad hoc, muster roll or in contractual basis, 6 percent are self-employed who runs business such as liquor shops, retail shops, fish and chicken shops, etc., and the remaining 2 percent are home makers who makes an effort to earn an income by selling crops and vegetables in association with local Self-Help Group (SHG). The percentage of respondents who have an annual income between Rs. 2, 40,000-3, 60,000 is 17 percent, of which 8 percent of the respondents are employed in the public or private sector, and 9 percent are from the self-employed category. 11 percent of the respondents who earned between Rs. 3, 60,000-4, 80,000 consist of 7 percent respondents who were mainly employed in the government sector and 4 percent self-employed. Lastly, 8 percent of the respondents have an annual income of more than Rs. 4,80,000 amongst which 5 percent are in gazetted positions and 3 percent are self-employed who are mostly contractor and commercial suppliers to various private firms and government departments.

Public Interest in Joining Police Service

Scholarly discussion on the reason why people want to join the police force as a preferred career option presents itself as a multiple factor. However, a common component visible in all these studies, as pointed out by Lester (1983) are, pay and security, service, and power and status, which he has deduced from a total of 15 reasons which he had posed during his interaction with trainee in police training academy. This section explores the general view on what people expect from the police which is also related to why they want to join the service and vice versa. The expectation of the people is limitless, yet when they have to put into the shoes of the police, how would they handle it? Importantly, what are the real reasons behind their interest in joining a police job?

The existence of police in society depicts the reality that the police will help prevent crime, help people who are in danger, check the offences, maintain law and order, investigate criminal activities, and protect people in the society. But the bold statement of Bayley (1994) gives the pessimist view that police do not prevent crime which is the best kept secret in contemporary times. Yet, police are pretentious enough in stating that they are society's best defence and consistently argue that if they are given more resources, especially personnel, they will be able to protect communities against crime, which is a myth. However, the public expectation towards police image largely depends upon its ability to solve problems. But for police, this becomes a massive challenge to stand up parallel according to public expectation.

Tewari (2007) says that expectation of public changes over a period of time and for this, police should have the capacity to meet up with the aspirations of the public. In this regard, efforts of community policing by external agencies such as the Media, the

fourth pillar of a democracy and time to time protest by the social activists are bearing fruitful results that spread awareness and alert the citizens about problems. But the colonial legacies of 'police fear' are still instilled in the mind of the public and due to this public distrust towards police are predominant.

As shown in Figure 5.1, 48 percent of the respondents showed their interest in joining the police. Their interest to serve in the police force is of various natures besides the desire to protect people and maintain law and order. Among these, a group of seven respondents who are educated unemployed youths showed their desire to get employment in the police service, which according to them is the only option that is left. They further delineated that it is not their preferred career choice because of the knowledge that police have a hectic schedule. However, among the students, there is a fascination to join the police force and become an officer.

The primary reason for such enthrallment is the influence made by the larger-than-life cinematic portrayal of police officers as the authority which can bring a change in society. Although they all showed their desire to be in the police service, however, the concern for the disorder and crimes happening in the society was not reflected in this section of the respondents. Nonetheless, among those respondents who are vendors, farmers, and businesspeople by profession expressed their desire to join the police organisation to serve the people with sincerity and uphold law and order in society. They further expressed that the police in Sikkim are harassing the public unnecessarily, dragging innocent people to court with no evidence, and merciless abuse of street vendors. Therefore, if given a chance to be in police service they will try to bring changes in the working style of the police organisation. This indicates that police harassment of the marginal workers is a relevant issue in Sikkimese society.

Figure 5.1: Public interest in joining police service
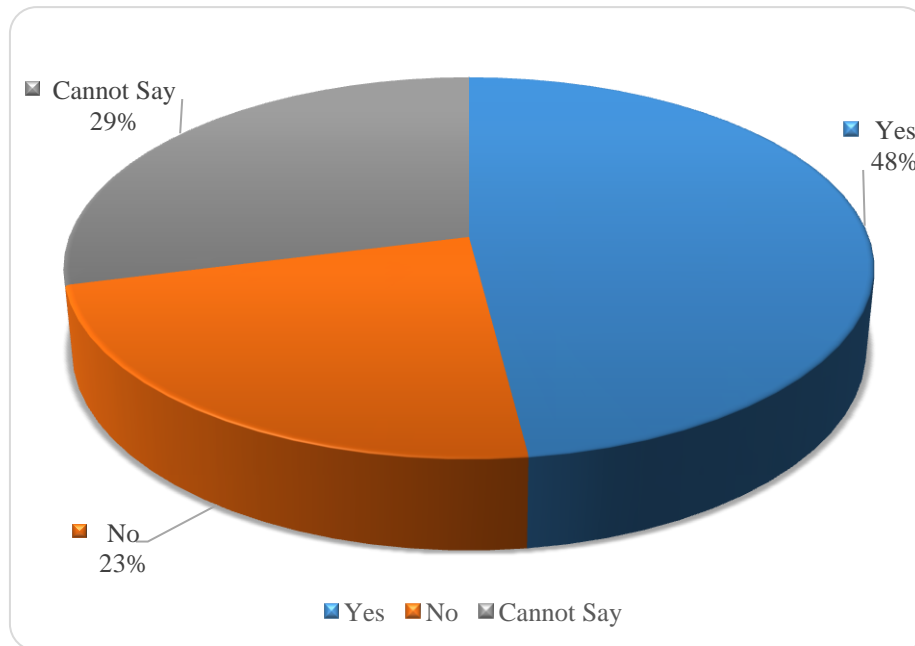
Source: Field work March–May 2019

On the other hand, 23 percent of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the police and do not wish to join the organisation as for them it represents a corrupt system and they see the police culture marked with a negative image. Moreover they claimed that it will be difficult for them to cope with the working culture of police. The remaining 29 percent of the respondents maintained a neutral position and were not able to make a rational decision on whether they are interested in joining the police or not.

As evident from these interviews, an objective consensus among the people is observed that they all intend to join the police force because of it being a government job but not as to protect and serve the people, which is the motto of Sikkim police. The job security with regular salary along with the power and aura of the uniform attracts them, which also is one of the important determining factors captivating respondents' attention in police jobs. Additionally, they also wished to motivate their

close relatives and friends to join the police service. Moreover, the respondents who were interested in joining the police preferred only for the higher ranks which marks power and authority. This clearly indicates that the job of police is visibly hierarchical as hardly anyone expressed wishing to join the police force at the lower rank.

Although, police becomes an easy target to be criticized from the masses for its inefficiency and unprofessionalism, but they emphasized that off lately police organisations are improving and have developed in various systems, such as in technology and forensic and at the same time, working culture of police are relatively being transparent due to community policing model and scrutiny by other external agencies.

Probability of Contacting Police

Bayley (1994) pointed out that police are supposed to demonstrate that they make communities safer, manage their affairs efficiently and treat the public fairly. Relatively, the expectations of the citizens from the police are fulfilled if people are satisfied with the integrity, professionalism, impartiality, and promptness in services rendered by the police. However, there is a general impression among the people that police are unable to offer proper security and protection to its citizens as a result of the declining credibility due to raising cases of misuse of power and covering up crimes of those in power.

In India, there are accusations that police are puppets for influential leaders or bureaucrats. Echoing from the words of Sen (2000) there is a sense of crisis about public security and at the centre of the crisis are the police who enforce law and maintain order. Hence, police play a crucial role in maintaining the security to the

public which is possible if police are accessible in reaching the scene or public coming to police for seeking their problem to be solved.

In this context, the response from the respondents largely revealed that in order to approach police there has to be an easy access. Thus, the basic requirement is to have a police station and outpost within the reach of the public. Police station is one of the most predominant unit of police work and a frequent point of contact where people approach police with their problems, grievances, and complaints.

It is assumed that the easy access to police stations or outpost can result in fulfilling the public expectations and the feasibility of delivering quick response to the public. Singh (1966) has defined accessibility as "easiness of contact, contact with relatively little friction that is less wastage in time and energy" (p. 59). Based on this discussion, Figure 5.2 and 5.3 presents the accessibility to police and availability of a police station or outpost within the vicinity of respondents.

Figure 5.2: Availability of police station/outpost within 5 km
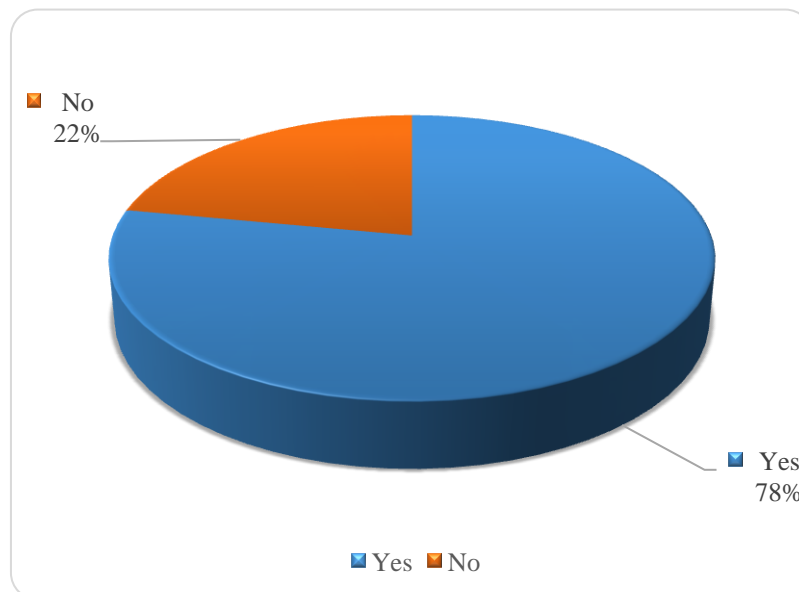
Source: Field work March–May 2019

It is interesting to note that, at least in the context of Sikkim, 78 percent of respondents who are residents of various areas of Sikkim covering urban, semi-urban and rural areas reported that they have easy access to police stations. They are able to reach out to police stations and do not have to travel long distances to lodge complaints for any reason or when they fall in any legal-related issues and non-tactical trouble. One respondent narrated that, as compared to earlier days, along with the rise of population and expansion of urban areas, the number of police stations and outposts have increased a lot.

The respondents stated that they often see police personnel in their locality performing duty, either foot patrolling or investigating crime. In their opinion, seeing police personnel on duty gives them an immense sense of security. Whereas 22 percent, especially those who are from the rural area, stated their difficulties in going to police stations. Most of these respondents reside in sparsely populated areas where vehicular accessible roads are limited, on top of that being a hilly terrain makes it more difficult.

The researcher was informed that they preferred to approach the panchayat of the village rather than going to the police station. Although the power and authority of panchayats and police are not the same, since ages it is a common practice where the local bodies such as panchayats have been functioning as a judicial system at local level, particularly in rural areas. They have the power to call the witnesses and the parties for recording their evidence or producing any relevant document or fact. They also have the power to investigate the facts to find out the truth and punish for its contempt (Shekhar, 2016). The present study revealed that since the early days, the panchayats of the local areas are dealing with several offences like family disputes,

domestic violence, theft, any other minor crimes, etc. and have been successfully resolving the cases by punishing the accused to pay fine or giving warnings.

Figure 5.3: Satisfaction of having police station/outpost within particular area
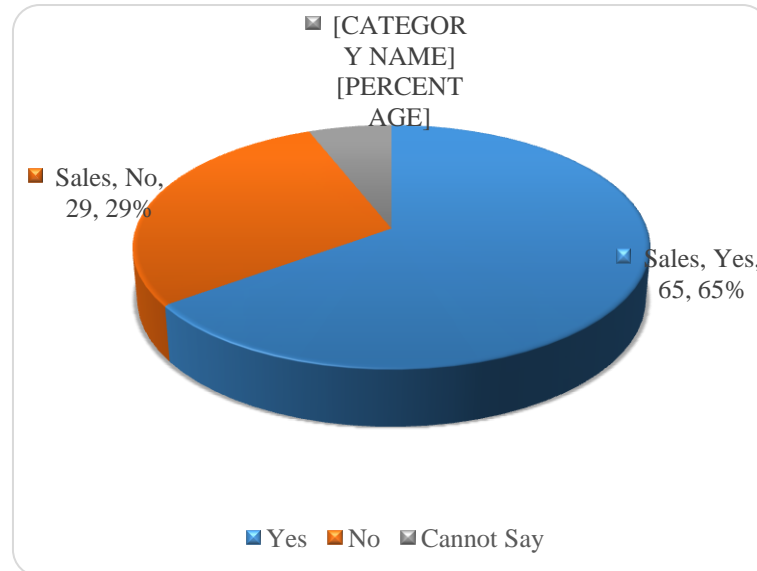
Source: Field work March–May 2019

Further, the study attempted to find out the general demands of the public such as the need of police stations or outposts within the particular area. In this regard, 65 percent of the respondents were happy and satisfied with the decision of the government for instituting police stations within their reach for the maximum number of populations. General acceptability of police among the public with signs of positive relation was observed. But 29 percent of the respondents from both the rural and urban areas expressed that they did not wish to have police station or outpost near their locality because for them, if any issues arise, they prefer handling and solving the matter within the community or else seeking help from the panchayat rather than dealing with police personnel, expressing their distrust with the system. Nonetheless, they prefer contacting police only if the cases cannot be resolved by them entirely such as murder, rape, etc.

The respondents believed that the panchayat provides an inexpensive and quick mechanism to settle disputes and render justice or solution much faster than the courts. One respondent said that to help a stranger is a matter of choice but to help closed ones or known persons who are in trouble or are into serious incidents or petty crime is a matter of necessity. Therefore, to contact police in all such cases largely correlates with the confidence that people have in police. The study examined that this group of respondents do have confidence and believe in police, but their experiences show that police are not able to prevent or solve even the smallest problems related with petty crimes.

A 43-year-old government employee who lives in the outskirt of Gangtok said that in his locality there has been number of cases where the parts of the vehicle and even music system in the car are being stolen from the parking sites and he himself is a victim of it and have personally lodged complaints about the matter to the police, but police could not trace his lost items neither catch the culprit. The respondents expressed that in recent times petty theft has been an emerging issue because of the increasing population, migrants coming from numerous backgrounds have an indirect impact on the rise in delinquency level in the state. For instance, a respondent who is a teacher by profession questioned

> *What work do police actually do? They labelled themselves with many names claiming to be the crime fighter, peace maker, law enforcer but in actuality they can't even trace a single criminal. Although, patrol officers walk the beat on the highway and roadside area, but until now it has not borne the effective result.*

Another respondent who happens to be the priest at the Shiv Mandir (temple), located in Gangtok, built by the local community members, expressed that the temple's donation box has been robbed four times. When they came to know about the theft, they instantly filed a complaint at the local police station. Though, it is understandable that tracing the thief without any clue is difficult but being robbed four times also does not make sense even after filing a complaint. Finally, the Mandir Committee procured and installed CCTV after which the stealing activity stopped. For this matter, they viewed that to have a police station or outpost within their locality or whether it is accessible or not does not matter as their perception is that police are unable to solve their problems. Further, 6 percent of the respondents did not express their opinion.

The study found that, no doubt, police stations are demarcated according to the density of population, and the majority of the people have easy access to police. The study reported that one-fourth of the respondents had a positive contact with police as they have visited police station or outpost for lodging First Information Report (FIR) for property offences, accidents, losing cell phones, wallets, laptops, etc. as well as for their official purpose, such as verification of documents and attestation in certificates. They said that they have been treated nicely by the police which indicates that in day-to-day life, police have gained their presence and importance related to matters like these. However, certain segments of the population had grievances against the lawbreakers who committed petty crimes as they believed that police are fabricated with a crime fighter image but in reality, they are smeared with hypocrisy.

On the Question of Partiality and Favouritism

For smooth functioning and legitimacy of any public services, like the police, trust and confidence of the public is a necessity, which could be achieved only when police perform their role impartially. The concept of impartiality and equality are synonyms but are explained differently. Dryzek *et al.* (2006) have highlighted equality in different contexts such as, for civil citizenship it refers to equality before law, for political citizenship it entails access to parliamentary institutions and in social citizenship it requires a guarantee of economic and social wellbeing.

In fact, For Turner (1986) it is inequality not equality which requires moral justification. Whereas Nagel (1991) highlighted that the level of impartiality is based on the two grounds that is on the level of ordinary decision making and principle selection. As a society, legal impartiality is indeed important for maintaining social harmony particularly in a diverse society like India. At the same time, at an individual level, impartial attitude in everyday life indeed contributes to having a healthy society. Impartiality can take into various forms which usually involve treating or counting everyone equally by giving similar conduct and treatment. For such reason, it is important to stress on the public opinion to assess whether police have an impartial attitude or not, especially when it comes to their accountability and promotion of faith of the system to its citizens. Police accountability involves police personnel as well as law enforcement to treat the public fairly within the bounds of law (Buttola, 2016).

The study observed that, on the one hand, because of a few police personnel's rude language, verbal abuse to the public, the whole of the organisation is blamed for this, resulting in the avoidable strain that is put on police-public relations. Many

respondents felt that there should be considerate behaviour between police and public, reciprocally both need to carry out their social interaction with humility and politeness, and grace.

Klein (1956) has highlighted that it is very essential to locate the dimension of power which includes the structural implication of decision making, and who can control or influence whom and by what means and circumstance. The relationship between police and public is often displayed in the ground of circumstances and how they execute with the level of interaction and means. However, on another hand, all the section of community members may not have direct social transaction with police. Indirectly, through friends, relatives, news and other external sources like social media, portrayals in mass media like cinemas and serials they come to know about the police. From such limited exposure, their opinion about police is inclined toward an impartial and indifferent attitude of police. Against this background, considering the various socio-economic backgrounds of the respondents, such as in relation to gender, age, occupation, education, caste, class, ethnicity, and geographical location the study observed that the high level of confidence and trust towards the police are not equally shared by all social groups. The respondents' believed that police display an indifferent attitude in public places and in police station. This attitude of police often reflects mixed feelings for the public of either being scared or secured. Based on this discussion, Table 5.5 presents the opinion of the public on police favouritisms.

Table 5.5: Public opinion on police favouritism

Sl. No.	Variables	Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Can't say	Total
1.	Favours influential person under political pressure	59.00%	12.00%	10.00%	11.00%	8.00%	100.00%
2.	Favours personal relations	19.00%	21.00%	31.00%	20.00%	9.00%	100.00%
3.	Favours to those who belong to the same caste or religion	16.00%	19.00%	29.00%	23.00%	13.00%	100.00%

Source: Field work March–May 2019

Favours influential persons under political pressure: Political leaders including those who are in government swear to represent the people bearing the responsibility to ensure justice and rights of the citizens. But the assurance and promises given become mostly daydreams about a castle in the air. It can be argued that the same goes for police when it comes to their *oath of honour* and working impartially according to the law of the land and maintaining the highest ethical standards. Adding to this, Bayley (1969) pointed out that over the years police have famously turned and came to be instrumental in assisting the self-serving elites.

The study found that majority of the respondents (59%) strongly agreed to the fact that police personnel only favour influential people mostly under political pressure. Three respondents who are government employees gave justificatory comments that police officers have to follow the orders given by the politician and their higher authorities in order to safeguard their career. Elaborating which, they pointed out that if a police officer does not work according to the will of a politician in power, he or she often becomes the political victim, where either they get transferred to some other post next day or even withhold their promotions or even suspended from the job, which has become a common practice in Sikkim.

Corresponding Bhowmick (1986) highlighted that policemen have to deal with two bosses, one is a politician and the other is his own boss. In tandem, one respondent opined that police personnel work in favour of those who are rich and influential in expectation of reciprocal relations where they too will get some favour to their benefit, such as for transfer to their preferred location, for promotion, or for any other gifts or kinds. Likewise, 12 percent of the respondents also agreed with the same belief and corroborate the expression given by Raghavan that, "police will continue to be assailed for acting as the handmaiden of politicians" (2003, p. 133).

On the contrary, 10 percent of the respondents expressed that police are the agent of state who are assigned to perform their duty according to the rules of law and should not entertain to be dictated by the elected representatives or any other high-profile person. Another 11 percent of the respondents also held similar view and disagreed the view, while remaining eight percent of the respondents muted their views. However, over the ages police has always been an instrument of political parties and cannot deny to the fact that, police remains submissive to the state and politician because the power and authority vested to the legislature is idealized, much superior in position than police.

Favours that have personal relations or friendship with police: Social ties between individuals are part of the natural process in any society, where one helps others, particularly the near and dear ones. However, in the institution of police, the personnel are trained to work in accordance with the law and deliver their role impartially regardless of their friends or foe. In this context, the study found that 19 percent of the respondents strongly feel that police show a favourable attitude only to those who are friends or have personal contact with them.

Similarly, 21 percent maintained a similar position with the addition that some police personnel also at times extended their favourable attitude to others as well. They believe that police are biased when police catch their friends or known persons breaching law, they try to ignore the situation and instead talk with them as nothing has happened and if the same is committed by the unknown person, then they will be abusive and be in a hurry to file a charge sheet or challan. On the other hand, 31 percent of the respondents stated that police as a law enforcement agency does not have any impartial behaviour or attitudes in their eyes everyone is equal and thus treated accordingly.

Supplementing it, a 33-year-old government employee narrated that he once went to a police station to complain about vandalism which is occurring in his locality often at night. When he approached the police personnel, they showed their concern and were immediately alerted to deploy patrol officers in the area. Another 20 percent consented, arguing that police in general deal with all the public equally. They further pointed out that it is only a few of them who dance to the tune of those who have power and money. For the police, the public are neither friend nor enemy. However, 9 percent remained calmed and did not express their view.

Favours on the basis of same caste or religion: In Indian society caste and religion had always played an important role in all the spheres of socio-economic and political life of the citizens, which also remains true even for Sikkimese society. However, in the context of this study, police favouritism on the basis of caste and religion does not have any significant correlation. The findings indicate that only 16 percent strongly agreed, while 19 percent slightly agreed on the existence of police favouritism towards those belonging to the same caste and religion. However, a few respondents

believed that even now there are feelings of *jaat-bhai* (caste or ethnic brotherhood) even if they are not related to each other.

Refuting the statement 29 percent perceived that, in liberal democratic nation's caste and religion should be separate entities while dealing with law enforcement situations. Moreover, when people break norms or commit crimes, police do enquire about their caste or religion first. Likewise, 23 percent view police as the mechanism of social control who perform their functions according to their code of ethics and moreover police are now being more professional which resist them to be biased and favour those who belong to the same caste or religion while 13 percent of the respondents were not able to express their views.

A Corruption System: Mistrust and Doubtful

People generally perceive the police system as a corrupt organisation. Indeed, the nature of police corruption is viewed as a vested interest of police personnel. Police corruption can be viewed as misuse and abuse of power and authority with a self-profiteering objective by means of extortion and bribery. Ahuja pointed out that corruption may be described as "an act of bribery" or "the use of public power for private profit in a way that constitutes a breach of law or a deviation from the norms of society" (2007, p.449).

Various Commission reports have brought out corruption in the police organization and have also been criticized for it. The police Commission of 1902-03 found strong evidence of corruption among policemen, particularly among the station house officers throughout India (Bayley, 1969). Likewise, Quadri (1986) have also highlighted the fact that in various police commissions appointed in the states of

Kerala (1960), West Bengal (1960-61), Bihar (1951), Delhi (1967-68), Uttar Pradesh (1990-71), Punjab (1961-62), etc. had an unanimous finding of widespread corruption in police force.

In Nigeria police corruption is atrociously depicted in the form of police officers usually demanding bribes to taxi drivers, market traders, and shopkeepers, from which senior officers take a cut from the money extorted by the junior officers. Police deny investigating unless victims offer them with cash or a kind and to an extent criminal with thick wallets bribe the police to avoid arrest or prosecution, to influence the outcome of a criminal investigation, or even to turn the investigation against the victim (Kaplan, 2013).

Another example of police officers flouting the police code of conduct is using falsified evidence to secure convictions of suspects. Sadly, many police officers may deliberately and systematically participate in organized crime themselves. Hope (2016) citing Verma pointed out that the reason for police corruption in India is due to the colonial model of policing and the lack of unaccountability in the Indian political and policing system and another significant reason for pervasive corruption the author viewed was the poor management of police department (Hope, 2016).

Newburn (1999, p. 4) study provided the types and dimensions of police corruption, as discussed in the police research series, which are given as: a) corruption of authority, b) kickbacks, c) opportunistic theft, d) shakedowns, e) protection of illegal activities, f) the fix, g) direct criminal activities, h) internal payoffs, and i) flaking or padding. The nine points given above are the typology of police corruptions, accordingly the dimension of each type are further discussed respectively as

a) When an officer receives some form of material gain by virtue of their position as a police officer without violating the law per se (e.g. free drinks, meals, services),

b) Receipt of goods, services or money for referring business to particular individuals or companies,

c) Stealing from arrestees (sometimes referred to as 'rolling'), from traffic accident victims, crime victims and the bodies or property of dead citizens,

d) Acceptance of a bribe for not following through a criminal violation i.e. not making an arrest, filing a complaint or impounding property,

e) Police protection of those engaged in illegal activities (prostitution, drugs, pornography) enabling the business to continue operating,

f) Undermining of criminal investigations or proceedings, or the loss of traffic tickets,

g) a police officer committing a crime against person or property for personal gain 'in clear violation of both departmental and criminal norms',

h) Prerogatives available to police officers (holidays, shifts, allocation, promotion) are bought, bartered and sold, and

i) Planting of or adding to evidence (argued by Punch (1985) to be particularly evident in drugs cases).

Nonetheless, any organisation or system can be provisioned to minimise corruption. Lamani and Venumadhava (2013) suggestion for controlling police corruption was to monitor police performance, curtail political interference and endorse greater functional independence with more accountability, transparency in promotions and transfer of police personnel.

Figure 5.4: Public perceiving police as corrupted officers
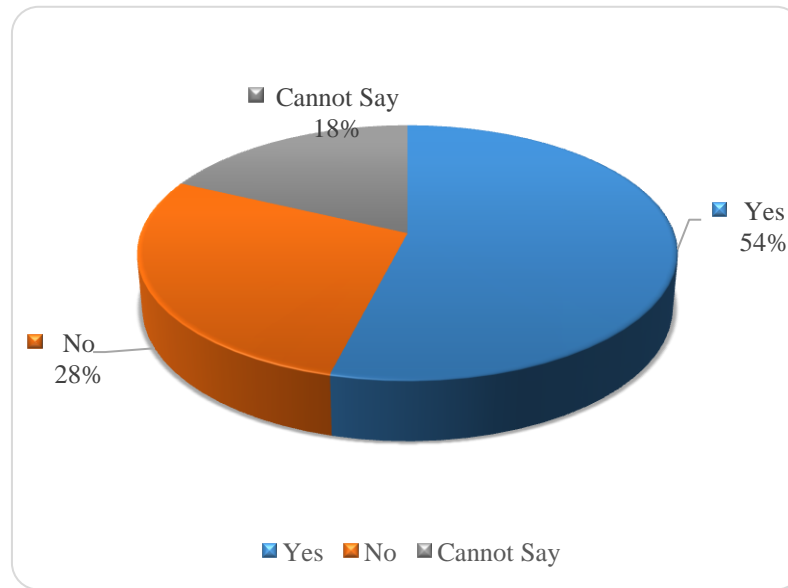
Source: Field work March–May 2019

Against this backdrop, the perception of Sikkimese people in relation to police corruption is being probed. Figure 5.4 presents the graphical representation in percentage of the public perceiving police as corrupt officials. It was found that the majority of the respondents, which is 54 percent, view the entire police organisation as corrupt. This section of the respondents argued that everyone in the system is vulnerable to accepting bribes. The respondents claimed that the range of corruption varies according to the hierarchical ranks, but overall bribes are taken by constables up to the higher-ranking officials. A 37-year-old respondent who runs a business said that the subordinate ranks extort bribes from commercial taxis, small shops, even from those who do not carry requisite documents for their vehicle.

The respondents also further pointed out that the senior officers take bribes from vendors while approving and sanctioning supplies and contracts. This view substantiates an earlier study by Hope (2016) that patrolling units extort money from the shop vendor and drivers and then the collection is shared among all personnel who

are serving in the concerned police station and sometimes with supervisors also. Similar view was also expressed in the FGD with a group of 10 respondents, where they shared that bribes are paid to police for getting things done on time such as when they do not take the case seriously or are reluctant to register the case or FIR. They are in fact told that if the police are reluctant in doing their work, then the public should know that they are indirectly demanding bribes for getting the work done and if one understands and gives bribe to police then they gear up with the work.

A 48-year-old housewife said that police are highly corrupt in nature. They take bribes from both the complainants and the accused and enjoy that money by consuming alcohol, buying vehicles and assets. She also added that taking bribes is not a new phenomenon, many police personnel who are not committed to the profession fall to the temptation of bribes and consider it as their side income. The respondents commented that the reason police accept bribes are because of their salary as it does not commensurate with their working condition. A group of four respondents gave a witty response citing that, as compared to women police officers, their male counterparts are more corrupted and vulnerable in taking bribes as they wished to fulfil their wife or girlfriend's demands in terms of buying accessories or other items. Nonetheless, the majority of the respondents opined that it largely depends upon the posting and situations of police personnel and said that those who are deployed to traffic duties, patrolling duties, and in check posts are vulnerable for having a corrupt nature.

On the contrary, 28 percent of the respondents viewed that, in recent times public have become more conscious about the laws and Acts and do not encourage giving bribes to police and at the same time the role of social media, human rights, Right to

Information Act are also bringing transparency and have generated fear to police that if police official are caught and charged under the Prevention of Money Laundering Act 2002 then the property of corrupt police officials shall be confiscated.

According to these groups of respondents, sometimes people give gifts or give perks to police if their work is done then it cannot be considered as a bribe since police are not forcing them to bring those tokens. They further said that the public brings those gifts out of respect as they also desire to develop good social networking with the police personnel. Remaining 18 percent did not respond to the question and preferred to remain silent.

Nonetheless, corruption is a fluid subject and is one of the major burning problems in every country which unfortunately blocks the path of development and prosperity of any nation. From the recruitment of the candidates in any department or through processing a file for official purpose, to the top-level bureaucrats and politicians, corruption is widely celebrated. But as a frontline worker with codified uniform police, they are visibly displayed and are more likely labelled as a corrupted personality and easily targeted under the corruption charges.

Views on Women Police and the Creation of All Women Police Stations

As already discussed about the inclusion of women in police organisations and the need for the formation of exclusive women police stations in the previous chapter. In this section, the study explores the perception and opinion of people on women police and women police stations.

The study found that 60 percent of the respondents appreciated the entry of women in the police service and establishment of exclusive all women police stations. Many

respondents expressed that the state has played a key role in taking measures for gender inclusive policy, tendering routes to gender equality in policing. Conversely, 40 percent of the respondents viewed that establishing woman police stations are yet again reinforcing segregation and discrimination against women and women police. Although having separate women police stations is the policy of Centre and State Governments, yet the respondents believed that women police can perform better if they are posted alongside male colleagues in various police stations. This would have indeed been the authentic way to integrate policewomen in the police force and promote gender inclusive policy. In this connection, they want the state to necessitate trained policewomen in every police station in Sikkim rather than introducing separate women police stations.

However, the study finds that the observation made by the respondents is also a one-sided view, as establishing an all women police station is not just about bringing equality and empowering women police, but it is also about the public approachability of police stations, especially the women victims.

Strengthening Women in Police

No doubt that the government has been framing policies to give equal opportunity to both the sexes and reduce gender segregation of the workforce. Women police who are inducted in the service are exposed to the same work-culture as that of male counterparts. Additionally, by involving more women in policing the notion was to promote specific measures to help women. However, from the general observation of the public, the study has brought out a significant aspect about the presence of women in police. Women are increasingly becoming visible and gaining attention in the eyes of the public for their work because many of them are placed on traffic duty, escorting

VIPs and women constables are often deployed to maintain law and order duties. With the increasing visibility of women police, a group of four working women in the private sector between the age of 30-35 years stated that it is inspiring for them to see women in uniform and feels much safer watching them marching down the streets performing patrolling duties, controlling traffic, and maintaining law and order. This makes them wish to join the police service. Quite a few, a little above 10 percent of the respondents, especially students between the age group of 20-25 years emphasized that in movies and television programs police women are portrayed heroically showing their sincerity and commitment. So, for these students, the presence of women police epitomises and expresses the true sense of modernity, where women take their rightful place in society, performing challenging tasks and making a vital contribution to social welfare.

Whereas, in contradiction, two women respondents who are employees of the state government argued that being in the police, especially those serving in the lower rank, largely depends on chances and not necessarily by choice. For them, if given a chance or choice they would not opt for the police profession because they find it difficult to manage and cope with different and sometimes difficult situations in terms of escorting VIPs, handling law and order, dealing with criminal cases, emergency situations and frequent transfers. Further, the study has presented the concern of the public to have an opinion regarding not only the recruitment of women in police organisations but whether to increase their number or not.

Figure 5.5: Do you think women police force should be increased or not?
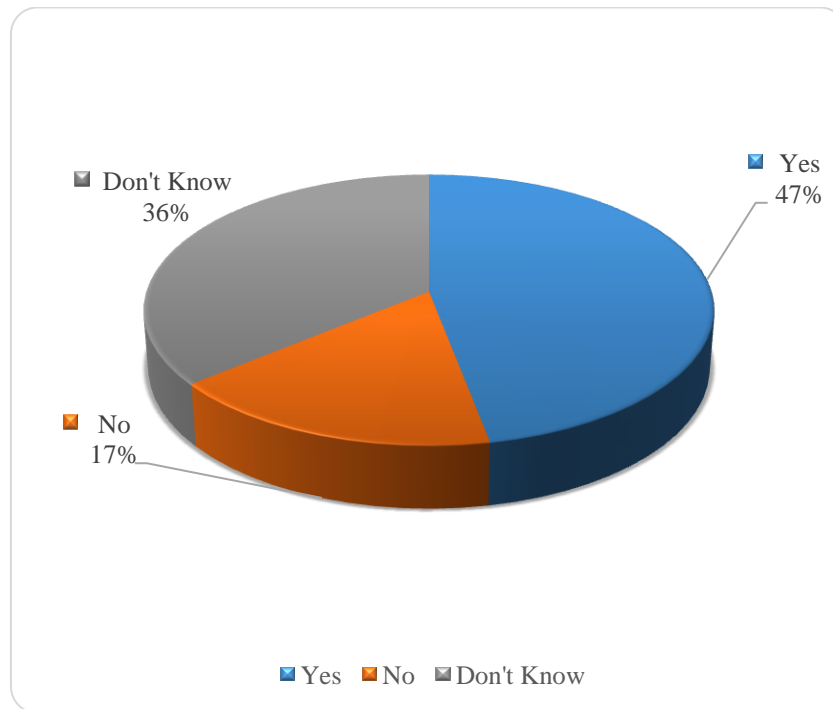
Source: Field work March–May 2019

As shown in Figure 5.5, the majority of the respondents, that is 47 percent, opined that the strength of the women police needs to be increased. They reasoned that more representation of women in police jobs will slowly remove the stereotypical notion that women are unfit for handling serious job profiles, which patriarchal society holds dearly.

Simultaneously, it will benefit the society when both men and women equally contribute in bringing peace and order by equally sharing the responsibilities and power as law enforcement agents. It can be contextually emphasised that culture defines and evaluates gender roles in society, where men are assigned with masculine jobs while females with nurturing and caring of the weak and children. Relatively, Sherry B. Ortner argued that "culture is the means by which man controls and regulates nature and is seen as superior to nature. Women are defined as closer to nature because women are concerned with childcare and primary socialisation, they

develop more personal, intimate, and particular relationships with others" (Haralambos, 1980, p. 378).

Due to the socio-cultural conditioning of women, this section of respondents believed that women police show more concern and are humble with the victims. Whereas policemen tend to have a bossy attitude who thinks that they have power to regulate law. Another 30-year-old respondent who is a government employee expressed that she is very much pleased about women police handling sensitive matters like solving the bitter dispute between husband and wife. In relation to one of her friends, the respondent narrated that;

'My friend and her husband, who is a police officer, have consented to mutually separate as a result of their marital discord. They have a six-year-old son who is staying with her in her maternal house. Previously, her husband used to provide maintenance for raising their son. However, due to some reason, he stopped paying. Therefore, she had to knock on the court's door, for further procedures, she needed the salary certificate of her husband for which we visited the police station. At the station, we met the senior officer by luck, the officer happened to be a lady. Throughout the talk, the lady officer patiently listened to my friend's grievances after which, the officer immediately called my friend's husband who was also working in the same station. After listening to both parties, the officer consoled my friend like an elderly sister and advised that they (my friend and her husband) should sort out their personal differences and stay together as couples taking care of their son's future. Initially I was shocked to observe such generous help from a police officer, but later I realised that only a woman officer can deal with and sort out sensitive matters like this.'

While 17 percent of the respondents presented an alternate view. They stated that, initially when the women police were setting up their presence, people were sceptical about their effective performance of assigned roles and tasks. Later, with gradual public acceptance many police women began to take pride in their duty and achievement. This gradually turned some of the women police to assume an authoritarian position.

Although, it is not possible to generalise about every women police to be acquiring these characteristics of reliability and responsiveness, that is client-centred service, competence, good manners as attitude and behaviour are different from person to person. Hence, according to them, the individual personality regardless of gender largely determines their way of execution in handling any sensitive cases. In many instances, the necessary demands of women police to attend to petitioners for help with their problems are frequently not met and the cases are not speedily resolved which results in public frustration with the service of police. For them, many women police are dominating and more authoritarian than male police officers.

There are reports which underline that even women police are not spared from corruption. This expression was clear from the responses of government employees and entrepreneurs who stressed that some of the women officers accept bribes from them; at the same time women police officers often try to escape from excessive workload and are capable of making excuses citing their health and family problems. Supplementing to which, Vadackumchery (2000) highlighted that in many instances women victims handled by women police personnel do not get proper justice, the author added that "if media reports are true, there is custodial violence even in women police stations" (p. 5).

In cross examination, many women police personnel denied such practices and argued it to be baseless accusation without evidence. Generally, with such multiple views of the people, an analytical observation suggests that the increase in the strength of women in the police force still puts a big question mark on how significant changes it is going to bring in society.

Remaining 36 percent of the respondents deferred to express their view because they feel that crime is an ongoing phenomenon and is dynamic in nature. To curb the crime rate or find the solution to prevent the crime, the state must come out with innovative expert tools and techniques to overcome the situations.

]In addition, as a supplementary requirement it needs to increase the awareness level of the public by conducting various campaigning programmes. The state should focus more on equipping the workforce with proper training on how to skilfully handle any rising emergency situations rather than focusing only on recruitments and unnecessary increase of manpower giving pressure on the state's resources. The respondents reported that if the increase in the number of women police is just for namesake, then there will not be any change either in helping women victims or curbing the crime. To avoid this, the state must take an extra effort to train the women in every aspect of policing from interpersonal and communication skills to combating crime and criminals.

Understanding the Attitude of Public toward Police

No doubt, the joint partnership between police and community leads to better handling in addressing the issues and causes of social problems and crimes. The study unearthed that such partnership for certain causes with police puts pressure on the

partnering participants causing anxiety and stress, and also costly in terms of time and money as they have to go around many trips to police station and court especially during serious crime and investigations.

Munn and Renner (1978) argued that the problem in the relationship between police and public consists of three different issues, which are, *public differentiation, nature of differences,* and *evaluations.* This issue refers to…

> *Firstly,* whether there are different groups within the public which have contrary expectations that are impossible for the police to satisfy simultaneously or whether the disagreements are between the police and the non-police in general; second, whether the content and psychological significance of the disagreements can be specified; and third, whether negative evaluations of the police represent conflicting beliefs about what are proper police functions and services or emotional reactions arising from contact with regulatory power of the police(emphasis added, p. 165).

The assessment from the study revealed that there are various reasons for the public in terms of its uncooperative attitude towards police. Even if the public extends their support to the police they have to spend time and money which they are not compensated for later.

The study explored that almost 68 percent of the public respondent mostly belonging to students, clerical level working group, and private employees who mostly were the vendors had police fear that they will be harassed and humiliated during various stages of investigation. In some instances, the respondents perceived that police often show that they are performing their duty diligently. In this regard they tend to habitually involve even those individuals as witnesses who are not involved in crime. A college student narrated that once he was dragged by the police as he happened to

witness a street fight between a gang of boys. He recounted that *'I was watching those boys fighting with one another from the sidewalk. However, as soon as the police arrived, they all ran away. Since I was just a passer-by, I just stood there thinking to give an account of the event if the police enquired so. However, the moment they arrived without any enquiry they started dragging some of us who were standing there. Later, at the police station, after narrating the whole scene along with the reason for my presence in the scene they eventually released me.'* Such incidents depict how innocent people are being harassed by the police. In the long run, a frequency of such occurrence creates a gap between the police-public relations and further constrains the due legal process resulting from the lack of witnesses resulting consequently delay in justice.

One respondent said that 'even though in his busy schedule thinking of humanity first he helped one young man who was hit by a car. He took him to the hospital and informed police about the situation. The car which hit the young man fled away from the spot so they could not trace the vehicle number or identify the colour and model of the car. In these circumstances, police showed an arrogant attitude and scolded him for not being a helpful citizen to notice the vehicle number. Instead, he was made to be an eye witness and had to spend long hours at a police station involving lengthy legal processes and formalities for which he was not compensated'.

A 24 years old fish seller has a bad experience with the police. He feels that police show the authoritative power unnecessarily. In his words, "*I have a small business, there are few patrol officers who come to my shop and take the items in credit. But, they do not pay the amount and I cannot ask or argue with them.*"

Not only this, two respondents who were social workers expressed that they have helped many people who belonged to lower socio-economic strata on humanitarian ground. They spent long hours involved in the case and largely extended support to police for making chart sheets, tracing the accused by providing information and becoming witnesses.

In the end, due to the police negligence, justice is denied in the court. This view was also supported by public prosecutors citing the reason for their inability to bring authentic evidence. In many cases, police bring the similar charge sheet of previous victims with minor corrections which shows the lack of professionalism and commitment towards their role and duties. Similarly, one lawyer said that when police do not bring the evidence on time, the whole procedure gets delayed which leads to harassing the public.

Remaining 32 percent of the respondents said that since they did not have any work related with the police or court procedure, they were neither in favour of cooperating with police nor had any suggestions to improve the quality of police role. However, 5 respondents suggested that police should maintain a good standard of verbal interaction irrespective of class and creed so that the public will not have the fear and will willingly extend support to police.

Debunking Police Misconduct: Use of Excessive Force

Police misconduct is not an unheard phenomenon globally as well as in India – a country which is celebrated for being the largest democratic nation. Instances of police misconduct are pervasive and well documented giving the impression that seemingly it has become a norm rather than an exception. Prenzler (2009) focuses on

two main areas in terms of structure and cultural factors which patronise the formulation of police misconduct.

A structural perspective focuses on the nature of police work and the ways in which police are structured into larger social systems and institutional roles. Police misconduct has highly variable effects and the causes of police misconduct are also diverse and complex. Police have the authority to exercise force and enforce law and order, but this power may be misused in several ways. In India various kinds of complaints are made against police including complaints of unwarranted arrests, unlawful searches, tortures, and custodial rapes. Police brutality[61] and torture[62] in India is widespread and is considered as a routine strategy of police control. It includes custodial violence, physical and mental abuse, rape, threats, humiliations, and deprivations of food and water and medicines. Citizens feel helpless to report on police torture as they perceive that government are granting police legitimacy to use force and it is often met with the consent of their superior officers (Shinar, 2009).

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[61] The word 'brutality' has several meanings, the sense used here (savage cruelty) was first used in 1633. The term police brutality was used in the American press when the Chicago Tribune reported on the beating of a civilian under arrest at the Harrison Street Police Station. Brutality is a deliberate use of excessive force, usually physical, carried out during law enforcement activities with the public. This type of behaviour also included verbal attacks and psychological intimidation by the police (Buttola, 2016).

[62] The Torture Commission Report 1850 highlighted that police torture was prevalent in the then Madras Presidency. Article-1 of the convention defines torture as', "the term torture means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person purposes as obtaining from him or third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, for any act, or for any reason based on discrimination when such person or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions'' (Sen, 2000).

Numerous cases of custodial death and the use of third degree[63] torture method have been well documented by various reports. People's Union of Democratic Rights (PUDR) report of 1994 looked into custodial cases of violence from November 1989 to February 1994 which revealed 12 custodial rapes by 24 policemen and surprisingly not even one case was convicted (The Hindustan Times, May 27, 1994). Whereas, in a report submitted by the central government to the Justice Verma Committee, revealed that between 2002 and 2010, 45 custodial rapes took place (Dhar, 2012).

Asian Centre for Human Rights estimated that from2002-2008 over four people per day died while in police custody, with hundreds of those deaths being due to torture by the police and according to a report of Institution of Correctional Administration, in Punjab up to 50 percent police officers in India have used physical or mental abuse on prisoners (Buttola, 2016).

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) statistical report indicates that in India between 2003 and 2008 a total of 7,468 persons died in police custody, making an average mortality rate of 1,494 persons per year or 4 persons per day. However, the real figure may be much higher, as cases of persons whose torture did not lead to death are not recorded. On the hindsight, such custodial death does not distinguish between 'normal' death due to old age or other existing ailments from that of torture. Further, it has been observed that there are 1.8 million cases of torture, ill treatment, and inhuman behaviour in India every year. The number of actual prosecutions from these numbers is staggeringly low. Despite having about 1,500 cases of reported custodial death per year, only 4 police officers were convicted in 2004, and 3 in 2005. The number of indictments was equally low as only 37 officers in 2004 and 25

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[63] Third degree is a euphemism for torture inflicting of pain, physical or mental, to extract confession or statement (Skolnick, 1994).

officers in 2005. This presents the picture of immunity endowed to police personnel in India for custodial death due to torture or negligence (Shinar, 2009).

Maharashtra reports highest number of custodial deaths with 192 deaths followed by Uttar Pradesh with 128 deaths and Gujarat with 113 deaths. However, the hot discussion on controlling the issues of police brutality and misconduct has always been a centre of attention in the public and mass media, we get to hear the custodial death of one or the other person. Between the years 2016-2019 it was reported that 427 people died in police custody (Subramanian, 2019). While on the other hand, on the estimation of public perception towards police brutality or use of excessive force. States like Tamil Nadu and Gujarat public believed that "there is nothing wrong when police are violent towards criminals". But when compared from the basis of class dimension it was reported that the poor were likely to reprove police violence as compared to the upper class (Report of Status of Policing in India, 2008, p. 100).

Nonetheless, many steps have been taken up by the government and police organisation itself, to curb the practices of police brutality and to protect the fundamental and human rights of individuals. To remind that violation of basic human rights by those in power cannot be let scot-free, the state of Kerala set an example by sentencing death penalty of two police personnel on 18th July 2018 by a special court of CBI for torturing to death of a 26-year-old accused named Udayakumar.[64]

Conversely, in the state of Sikkim, till now a single case of custodial death has not been reported. But the views from the respondents grabbed the attention that it cannot be ascertained that Sikkim police has never used any form of excessive force or will

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[64]*The Hindu,* 25th July 2018. Retrieved from https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kerala/two-policemen-sentenced-to-death-in-udayakumar-custodial-death-case/article24510604.ece on 20/08/2021.

not use it in the future. Further, defining use of excessive force from the point of view of the public is difficult as it also requires outlining for different cases such as criminal or civil where different decisions are involved on the part of the police. The appropriate use of force by the police typically starts with a comparison of the events in question with the use of force continuum (Desmedt & Marsh, 1990).

However, majority of the respondents recalled that after the agitation of 1973 only few incidents have been reported where police deliberately used excessive force and seen using *lathi* (stick) charged to certain public or to curtail further riots. In recent times, police brutality was visible when Sikkim Krantikari Morcha (SKM) supporters and party members were 'lathi' charged during the inaugural function of their party head office on 11th February 2013. In the following year, the students of Sikkim government, while protesting against the fee hike, were also lathi charged in front of the college gate on 16th July 2014. In both the cases, police had their own reasons for excessive use of force. However, from the point of view of the people, these incidents were labelled as a black day in the political history of Sikkim. To the respondents, such acts should be criticised and considered as barbaric acts obstructing the democratic process.

In another case, two respondents narrated the incident about how their brother was beaten up by police over a petty issue. The respondents exclaimed that the police person was known to them and had a friendly relation since they all stayed in the same colony. One evening, their brother and the police person who was on duty had a dispute over a minor issue. Later, their brother was dragged to the police station and was severely beaten up, which was a sheer misuse of power. Instead of solving the matter at personal level as they have known each other for long, he took the matter to

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an extreme and abused the power conferred to him for protection of the people. In a similar context, Reisig and Kane (2014), from a sociological perspective, have argued that police are more likely to use excessive force in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Unlike, in many cases police presence and verbal commands were seen as the part of the continuum. While 66 percent of the respondents did not hesitate to express that they did not find any problem when police use excessive force, such as bashing of criminals and burglars. The views from the respondents brought to the fact that the police use of excessive force could be determined from different standards. Thus, it reflects what Klockars (1995) wrote about ways to define excessive force and to separate legitimate force from excessive force. He delineated three standards of defining excessive force – force that creates criminal responsibility, force that results in civil liability and force that results in a scandal. The problem with this standard is that skilled police officers could have heterogeneous views about what level of force they need to use in a particular situation which was vividly seen while cross examining with the police respondents.

Although, the study reported that police respondents agreed that in a few instances, they physically hit the accused but only in those cases where the accused does not accept their wrongdoing even after evidence was provided. Few police respondents said, nowadays police stations are under camera surveillance so they beat the accused away from the cameras. Refuting this statement, many police respondents said that they do not use excessive force but rather make them sit up-down by holding their ears or keep them in a corner raising their hands as a form of punishment. In terms of

police using excessive force in the street or in public domain, it usually provokes the opinion of the public to be critical.

Police as a hierarchical organisation largely act as a mediator between the state and society. They have to follow the command and obey the order imposed by the superior which is often directed from the political authority. When they are ordered by the superior level to lathi charge they are obliged to do so but when they use excessive force they are visualized by the society as a repressive force and in order not to defame the whole of the police organisation as a punishment, a few police officials get suspended, some get transferred. Furthermore, the study encapsulated the general view from the respondents both (police and public) that police and society maintain cordial relations in situations like demonstrating protest, hunger strike, peace rally, mass rally, parade etc. On the other side, it could be seen as broadcasted by many media and electronic platform how police are advising their own police fellow to behave decently with the public and initiate stern action against policemen who use third degree methods to the accused who are being taken to the custody and highlighted those policemen with bad behaviour which damage the reputation of the police force as a whole. Further, police personnel with bad behaviour must be spotted out and special training should be given to them and the policemen with good behaviour must be rewarded. Thus, it is clear to note that every individual has the right to equality before the law and to peaceful protest. When communities raise concerns about abuses and harm of their rights by the authorities, they should not be treated badly but follow the due course of law.

Chapter VI

Dynamics of Police-Public Relationship

Introduction

The relationship between police and public is a dynamic process involving dialectical interchange of ideas and actions. Comprehending the dynamic relationship between the police and public requires conceptual clarification at two levels. Firstly, what 'public relation' stands for and secondly the 'police-public relation' itself. The British Institute of Public-Relations explained public relations as "the process of establishing and maintaining mutual understanding and appreciation between an organization and its public, through effective two-way communication" (Black, 1970, p. 6).

Secondly, coming to the question of police-public relations, it is being defined as "the reciprocal attitude of the police and the public to the expected and performed tasks of the police, and to involve general public relations, community services and community participation" (Radelet, 1980, p. 9).

The relationship between the police and the public is identified as a close connection of co-operation and support for each other and has gained a secure level of acceptance in the law enforcement signifying a sign of progress. Public as willing participants in the law enforcement processes are likely to incline toward reporting of crimes, providing crucial intelligence, willingness to serve as witnesses, etc. Further, it should be noted that it is the community who gave birth to the police as an institution to serve the people. Therefore, it becomes the responsibility of the police to create a conducive environment where greater public cooperation can be achieved.

In this context, Mishra and Mohanty (1992) pointed out that "police as an organisation, in a democracy cannot discharge their duties, unless they enjoy support and cooperation from the public and in turn the support and cooperation of the public would be forthcoming only if the police are able to give better account of themselves in the discharge of their duties as well as in their day-to-day exposure to the public" (p. 157). In the similar line of thought Boop (1970) stated that "police cannot operate effectively without the willing cooperation and support of the public it serves" (p. 2).

As pointed out, the relationship between the police and public is not a stagnant one, rather it is dynamic in its orientation according to the need and demand from the society. As we have already discussed and observed in Chapter 2 and 3, how the police as a social institution has undergone drastic changes both in terms of infrastructural and structural (re)organisation, and also in relation to the modus operandi, particularly with the people. As evident in the historical study of police, in Indian as well as in Sikkimese context, police forces as an institution were established to protect and serve the interest of the monarch or imperial authorities.

However, with the transition from monarchy to democratic government, the institution has evolved itself in working for the welfare of the society at large and the citizens in general. There are claims by commoners where police are blamed for serving only the elites - the 'social elite'[65] and 'governing elite'[66] in Pareto's conceptualisation. Nonetheless, the reforms which have undertaken in the police organisation, such as increase in both the number of police personnel and police

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[65] By social elite, Pareto is referring to those "small numbers of individuals who, in each sphere of activity have succeeded and have arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy. The successful businessman, the successful artist, the successful demimondaine the successful politician, the successful professor" (Aron, 1967, p.159).
[66] "The small number of individuals, among those who have succeeded, who exercise ruling functions politically and socially" (op cit. ibid).

stations, recruitment of personnel from diverse socio-economic backgrounds including those from the marginalised section of society and women, has made the decentralisation of power and authority from the hands of selected few possible and minimising the power manipulation. To understand the process of changes in the police organisation as well as in police-public relationship, it is important to theoretically contextualise within the broader framework of social change and the factors of change.

Factors of Social change and its Impact on Police-Public Relationship

Social change in the broadest sense is any form of changes in social relation. The course of social change commonly assumed is not arbitrary but to a certain degree is regular or patterned. Therefore, viewed in this way social change is an ever present and ongoing phenomenon in any society. Social change can evolve from various sources which may be spurred by ideological, economic and political movements, diffusion with other societies, changes in ecosystem, technological change, population growth etc.

Discussing the factors of social change can broadly be classified into two domains related to endogenous and exogenous factors. Endogenous or internal factors refers to those aspects of change emanating from changes in infrastructural facilities and how those facilities are distributed among the various groups, which hints toward the existing contradictions within the society. Whereas, exogenous or external factors are concerned with those which are beyond the control of humans.

The study observed the result of changes in demographic trend, police training, education, transport facilities, social media and technology have largely impacted upon the relationships between police and society.

Demographic Trend

Demography concerns the study of population, giving valuable information about the biological, economic, and social aspects of population change and their consequences. Sociologists treat demography as a sub-field for understanding the social reactions and pressures (Dasgupta, 2012). As seen in Table 6.1, the demographic trend in Sikkim is observed to be in rapid acceleration in population growth since 1911, which also is above the decadal population growth rate of India till 2001 (21.5%) while Sikkim stands at 33.06 percent. In a century's time period, only once has Sikkim shown a negative growth rate of -7.05% in 1921.

Table 6.1: 11 years population growth rate of Sikkim from 1911 to 2011

Year	Population	Growth		Share (%) to India
		Net Change	Rate (%)	
2011	6,10,577	69,726	12.89	0.05
2001	5,40,851	1,34,394	33.06	0.05
1991	4,06,457	90,072	28.47	0.05
1981	3,16,385	1,06,542	50.77	0.05
1971	2,09,843	47,654	29.38	0.04
1961	1,62,189	24,464	17.76	0.04
1951	1,37,725	16,205	13.34	0.04
1941	1,21,520	11,712	10.67	0.04
1931	1,09,808	28,087	34.37	0.04
1921	81,721	-6,199	-7.05	0.03
1911	87,920	28,906	48.98	0.03
1901	59,014	-	-	0.02

Source: https://statisticstimes.com/demographics/india/sikkim-population.php

The changes in demographic size and composition in Sikkim over the years which resulted mainly from migration has had a tremendous impact on the socio-political and cultural makeup of the state, along with its transition from monarchy to democracy. As discussed in chapter three, prior to the attainment of democratic institutionalisation, the society was fragmented in various lines, such as caste, ethnicity, religion, and so on. It can be pointed out that Sikkimese society during the era had a predominant trait of an archaic society where people prefer to stay in a close-knit community with strong ethnic bonding and sentiments. However, with the institution of monarchical rule under the Namgyal dynasty, a shift in the population structure became evident. Social transactions between Lepcha and Bhutia had increased from that period. Likewise the entry of the British and Nepali community has drastically altered the population and socio-political structure of the kingdom.

Demographic changes may also have its own drawback, Mester (2017) argued that it is associated with rising social problems and decline in economic activities, consumption and investment. Economic slowdown increases the level of unemployment and poverty which directly leads to offshoot of criminal activities. Therefore, as a legally institutionalised means of social control police became necessary state machinery.

Population explosion in various phases of Sikkimese history and transformation in demographic features increased and diversified the division of labour and establishment of bureaucracy. In turn bureaucracy has impacted demographic trends and eventually altered the police and public relationship. In this context, Weberian theorisation of bureaucratic organisation as an outcome of the rationalisation processes of social actions can aptly be used in understanding such transformation in

police-public relations. As Weber argued, normative depiction of bureaucracy contains one of the core elements that bureaucrats act without regard for person or "sine ira et studio" (Weber, 1968, p. 975).

This idea has become an important legal principle that governs most of the democratic system which states that public service employees should treat all citizens as equal, irrespective of their demographic background (Peters *et al.,* 2013). Management and functioning of the police organisation in Sikkim reflects the characteristics of a bureaucratic organisation in its structural arrangement. With the shift in demographic pattern and adoption of democratic form of governance, citizens are encouraged to equally participate in the process of law and order maintenance and other public services. In this context, empirical observation from the field as discussed in chapter four, suggests that police personnel belonging from diverse backgrounds, particularly in relation to castes, ethnicity, and religion, who are held from different parts of Sikkim are serving in police organisations.

Initially only Lepcha and Bhutia were entitled for police service with the sole motive to maintain a check and balance of the Nepali immigrants. Later, with the Nepali community gaining political rights as citizens, their entry to the police force was allowed, initially although with resistance. Further, with the reservation policy in place the participation of women and other weaker and marginalised sections of society became feasible. The diversified participation of people in police organisations has minimised the practice and prevalence of police favouritism in the line of caste or religion.

Police Training

Bureaucratic institutions such as the police and military are crisis-serving organisations (Janowitz, 1960). The personnel serving in these organisations are trained and disciplined to be able to handle and react to intense situations. For such reasons, choosing an employee based on their technical skills and competencies other than education and experience becomes an important feature. For such reasons, the police organisation trains their employees to make them competent and compliant. Best way to run an organisation is acquired through training as it is structured into a rigid hierarchy of people governed by strict rules and procedure, as theorised in Weberian bureaucracy. Resultantly, the new recruits have to undergo strict training to make themselves skilful and resourceful. They are held to a high standard of discipline, deportment, and regimentation while learning how to become an officer. It is argued that training prepares the recruits for the harshest situations which they are likely to encounter during their service tenure and seeks to improve their attention, learning styles, personalities, and interpersonal skills. Over the years with the changing demands, academy training has evolved.

For instance, in 2004, the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training identified ten psychological screening dimensions separated into four groups namely, cognitive, emotional, social, and moral for agencies to consider when hiring police officers and to meet the challenges faced by police officers (Blumberg *et.al*,2019). The primary areas of training for police academies fall into the following five categories which are operations, firearms, self-defence and use of force, self-improvement, legal education and mental illness (Reaves, 2016).

In India, initially police training was patterned on military training establishments, which helped in gradually transforming it into an overall development of proper attitude among trainees.[67] Through such training, the police trainees have gained both physical and mental stability helping them in effectively executing their performance in the field as well as dealing with the public. Police training is a necessary element to bring out the requisite professional skills, competence, attitudes and behavioural orientation with a view to improve employee effectiveness through exposing them to a carefully formulated training/learning process in a proper training environment (Mathur, 1991). Police training is conducted in various training centres located in India depending on the position of the job. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Police Academy is the leading training institute which imparts both basic and in-service training to the Indian Police Service (IPS) officers which was established in 1948 at Mount Abu, Rajasthan. The academy was later shifted to Hyderabad in 1975 (Singh, 2009). The basic training for Sub-Inspector and Deputy Rank SP is conducted in the North East Police Academy located in Meghalaya or the training institution of Punjab Police.

As per BPRD (2020) report, the newly recruited police personnel from the rank of constables to Dy.SP trained during 2019 were 1, 10,710 CTs, 4,408 HC, 117 ASI, 1, 6,011 SI and 358 Dy. SP (Table 6.1.10 pp. 201-203). The same report shows no newly recruited police personnel from the state of Sikkim were trained during 2019, suggesting either there was no fresh recruitment during the period or otherwise. Sikkim has one police training centre at Yangang, South district and one-Armed

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[67]In 1971, under the chairmanship of sociologist and educationist M.S Gore, the Government of India set up the committee to re-formulate the training system of police. The Gore Committee rightly shifted the focus on training from drill and regiment to the development of proper attitude through the study of social and behavioural science and modern management norms and techniques (Sen, 2000).

Police Headquarter at Pangthang, East Sikkim which conducts basic training for constables recruited to the armed police. Specialised training for various police units such as traffic, wireless, special branch, commando training etc. are conducted at the specialised training centre of the Central Government (SPM Vol. I, 2013).

The training for the police force is divided mainly into two sections i.e. pre-service training and in-service training. In pre-service training, the candidates have to compulsorily undergo training before formally inducting them in their respective positions. The period of basic training for Dy. SP and SI is one year, for constables is nine months (SPM Vol. I, 2013).

Findings from the study suggest that academy training facilitated the police respondents to perform their job confidently. As discussed in chapter four, women respondents revealed that academy training has not only helped them to boost their self-confidence but have also empowered them to participate in the decision making process at the household domain, on social issues and at the workplace. The trained police personnel can effectively handle the sudden situation which is beneficial for maintaining the stable relationship between police and public.

However, the study also further found that as little as 12 percent of the respondents experienced the difference between the theoretical part of the academy training and the practicality of such training while executing and discharging their duty. The respondents felt that in many instances they have to cope with discretionary policy based on subjective and emotional dispositions and at times prejudices which had not been taught in training academies. For instance, cases related to political interference and to those who have a close and known connection with the police department.

In terms of refresher training during the service tenure, almost 82 percent of the respondents have attended refresher or in-service training which instilled in them more vigour while delivering their duty. While 18 percent of the respondents expressed inability to acquire the opportunity for in-service training, which is commonly observed among those respondents whose age group is more than 55 years due to lack of interest in availing such refresher courses. The primary attributed reasons being nearing retirement age and feeling that they had earned enough experiences to handle any situations while in service.

Nonetheless, they encouraged their younger colleagues to attend the training programs to update their knowledge and skill which will be fruitful for them to cope up with new challenges and consequences. The study also found that such refresher courses are oriented toward re-educating about the status quo in maintaining their intimidating attitudes and submissiveness towards their superiors. With the changes in training methods and the integration of new emerging concepts in the curriculum, like community policing and problem oriented policing, it was observed that police personnel are now trained to connect and understand the problem and concern of the public.

Education

Education is the source of rational thinking, which eventually helped people to mobilise themselves for development and change. Sociological lensing suggests education rose out of the challenges and issues met by people as a group. In a static society, education functions to transmit the cultural heritage to the new generation but in a changing society, it must not only transmit the cultural heritage but also aid in

preparing the young for adjustment to any changes that occur in them (Patil, 2012). Thus, the relationship between the educational system and society is mutual.

Sikkim, during the initial phases of Namgyal dynasty emphasised on monastic education which is devoid of rendering modern education relating to science and technology. However, with the coming of the colonial establishments, few educational institutions were established at the outset of the twentieth century at the capital town Gangtok. However, education in the premerger Sikkim was conservative and helped only the upper class in perpetuating their feudal privileges and domination in the society. The educational opportunities were not equally extended for all and apparently restricted to the few upper classes (Dewan, 2012).

The scope of government activities in terms of administration, welfare, development and other essential activities were minimal and could not create enough job opportunities for the educated in the society. It is said even many of the educated Sikkimese elites had taken up jobs elsewhere, in India, Nepal and Bhutan. It needs to be pointed out that there was no proper connection between education and occupation in the Sikkimese bureaucracy during the pre-merger Sikkim. After merging with India, the aspiration for equality and development attracted the people for better education in Sikkim. Post 1975, a systematic attempt was made to plan and improve education in the state in accordance with the National Educational Policy; the state has adopted a strategy to fulfil the dual objectives of Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) and Quality Education (Annual Report 2004-05). Now, according to the 2011 census, the literacy rate of Sikkim is 82.2 percent which represents a fairly valuable increase as compared to the previous decade i.e. 68.81 percent.

Education and its relationship with police performance has been long studied by law enforcement experts. The study observed that during the earlier times education remained secondary to good physique and intimidating presence particularly for those lower ranking jobs in police service. However, with the changing society, as observed by Trojanowicz and Nicolson (1976), as the general population becomes more aware, police officers are required to maintain or excel a higher level of intelligence to that of an average citizen they serve. Therefore, at present, rank wise qualifications are given serious thought during the recruitment process, which also have helped in professionalisation of the police department. The present study revealed that almost 40 percent of the police respondents were graduates and above. Among these, 11 numbers of respondents aged between 40-50 years and the remaining 29 percent were especially young newly recruited police personnel holding the engineering degree, masters in science, commerce and arts. This drove the major indication that now college educated youths are finding their career in police jobs and are also leading to police professionalism.

Aamodt (1997) argued that college educated officers usually start outperforming their colleagues who have only a high school certificate or diploma after a two years period. Majority of the respondents across the gender held the view that the probation period was a difficult time for them to perform their duties as it was more or less a learning phase for them. But gradually over the year they start performing efficiently. For instance, police respondents who came from the technical background had eased in handling data and records in terms of maintaining files and folders in the computer, few of them expressed that due to their educational status they maintain calm and sound behaviour in the work force and dealing with the public.

Further, as Carter *et al.* (1989) highlighted, an educated police officer has better report writing, good initiatives, and work performance and professionalism. However, on the downside, an over-qualified officer has the chance of leaving the job, questioning the orders. Nonetheless, to meet the demand and expectation of the organisation as well as that of the community, selecting the best candidate is the prerequisite, for which the aspirants have to undergo written, physical, psychological, and medical evaluation. Though there are questions pertaining to who reaps most of the benefits out of the unstated undercurrent selection process where an individual's social, economic, and political capitals plays an important role.

On the other hand, as found in the study, 56 percent of the respondents from the public are equally educated with either graduate or postgraduate degree holders. This section of respondents believed that although experience of the officers plays a vital role while performing their task, nonetheless, an officer needs to be well educated to earn respect, honour, and support from the people. Few respondents opined that an educated young officer might be handicapped in comparison to a well experienced police officer who can outperform them in handling delicate cases and situations discretionally. However, such is temporary and mostly encountered by new recruits in initial days in the workforce; but they are fast learners and can handle public dealing more proficiently and professionally. Responding to the query, a 60 years retired government employee expressed his view that experienced police officers are more likely to be engrossed in the system and office politics in comparison to the young educated officers who are more ambitious and achievement oriented. Studies have supported the need for college educated youths from the general population in the police organisation, stating that such officers inculcate personality characteristics

attributes like self-control, motivation, self-discipline, general intelligence, etc. which are desirable in police (Berg, 1992).

However, Meese (1993) contradicts the view, articulating that college educated police officers may not understand the problems and attitude of the lower and working class people. The view presented by Meese echoed the opinion of a 28 year old government employee working in the agriculture department who argued that educated newly recruited youth officers tend to exhibit their power and authority often in contrast to less educated recruits. Though such views are refuted by the police respondents.

The present study brought out the view that education is intertwined with an individual's civic sense and remains a crucial factor for emancipation of the society from the yoke of bondage and ignorance and to think and act rationally and logically. Such transformation in the thought processes of the individuals eventually results in developing cordial relationships between police and the public, forgoing the prejudicial view of atrocities and power abuse.

Transport Facilities

Modern life entails increasing dependence on improved transportation and communication facilities. Effective discharge of police services heavily rely on the availability of vehicles in the police department which help in reaching the crime spot on time. The present-day police stations are benefited with vehicles and additionally senior officials are allotted with special vehicles for commuting. There has been a tremendous rise of departmental vehicles in all police stations and head offices. Vehicles in the police department have been divided into four categories, that is heavy vehicles such as buses, trucks, and other troop carriers, etc., medium vehicles, light

vehicles (jeeps/cars etc.) and very light vehicles (three/two wheelers). Heavy, medium, and light vehicles cater to the requirements of police stations and field level supervisory police officers. Apart from these vehicles, state police have vehicles like mine proof, riot control vehicles, ambulances, mobile forensic vans, water tankers, prison vans, etc. depending on their specific needs. These vehicles have been covered under the 'other category'.

The availability of vehicles at Indian police stations during the year 2019 is presented in Table 6.2. Further, it has been recorded that the number of police vehicles has tremendously increased over the last decade that is from 2010-2019 as shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.2: Availability of Indian police vehicles

Year	Category of transportation					Total
	Heavy	Medium	Light	Two/three wheelers	Others	
2019	11,956	19,536	81,099	87,586	2,748	2,02,925

Source: BPRD (2020)

Table no 6.3: 10 years increment in Indian police vehicles

Sl. No	Year	No of vehicles
1.	2010	1,37,671
2.	2011	1,39,162
3.	2012	1,43,965
4.	2013	1,53,504
5.	2014	1,62,488
6.	2015	1,63,946
7.	2016	1,75,358
8.	2017	1,99,062
9.	2018	2,04,807
10	2019	2,02,925

Source: BPRD (2020 pp. 49)

Table 6.2 and 6.3 revealed that there has been incremental growth in the availability of police vehicles in India. In Sikkim, there are a total number of 470 vehicles, out of which only 87 are allotted in police stations and the rest are allotted in different branches within the police organisation. In terms of two wheelers, only 30 two wheelers are allotted in police stations, the rest are dispersed to the traffic branch (BPRD, 2020, p. 173).

In the context of Sikkim, it was observed that the lower-level staff complained about the scarcity in vehicles or transport facilities for police. The vehicles which are sanctioned from the state and central government are allotted either to the officers in charge of the station or to superior officers and there is no separate vehicle to be used in times of emergency by those at lower rank. They further informed that even if the office vehicles are accessible, there were many instances where fuel ration was not available. Besides, many of the allotted vehicles to police stations are limited in number and not maintained properly and are old models. Many police respondents revealed that in case of escorting the criminals for the medical check-up and the court hearing they had to often use the local transportation and even pay from their own pocket and the reimbursement is often delayed and time-consuming. Due to this, many of the police respondents pointed out that they often do not fill the reimbursement form if the costs are not significant.

Further, the police respondents mentioned that because of the state being hilly terrain and limited road connectivity in many cases they have to walk to reach the crime scene. Therefore, in this regard the majority of the police respondents suggested sanctioning more vehicles in police stations so that in an emergency they could reach the concerned spot on time.

Social Media

Media epitomises the fourth pillar in withholding democratic principles, keeping a bird's eye view providing both information and awareness among the citizens of the various social ills and wrong doings of those in power and governance. In this context, social media[68] have become an easily accessible mechanism for obtaining information and keeping a track of the world around us regardless of age and gender.

Curtis (2013) expresses that use of social media has increased tremendously with the commercialisation of smart phones and tablet computers. Although there has been rising concern over privacy issues with the increasing sharing of both personal and public information via social media sites. Nevertheless, social media continues to gain popularity which has reached to the extent that tweets are being sent by astronauts stationed at the International Space Station (ISS) to a global audience.

Contextually, increased uses and dependency on social media has its pros and cons for law enforcement agencies. On the negative side, it acts as detrimental to law enforcement. For instance, many times amateur reporters have reported unscrutinised and unverified news reports which have been circulated in social media about police work and police personnel to gain newspapers or channels' readership/viewership. Through such selective news reporting police receive public criticism making their task more difficult to execute. In other instances, some police officers have been put into difficult situations, such as losing their credibility in court, withholding promotions, etc. (Musteen, 2013).

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[68]Social media are internet sites where people share, interact and discuss information about each other's lives and day to day issues and concerns, using a multimedia mix of personal words, pictures, videos and audio. These sites have many different forms such as blogs, forums, social networks, virtual worlds, podcast portals etc.

Similarly, the media has now reincarnated into 'public court' (*Janta Adalat)* and has started interfering into court proceedings. Trial by media often leads to mob justice making police work more hurdle some in executing their job efficiently.[69] The cut-throat competition among the media houses have led to 'aggressive journalism', where crowd gathering of journalists and cameras often have obstructed the successful trials in the courts if the suspect or accused is especially a celebrity or a powerful person or their kin.[70]

However, it can also work to its advantage when treated properly. Social media can be used as one of the best tools for investigations. Sterbenz (2003) pointed out that using social media, criminal investigators can create undercover accounts to gather crucial Intel on crimes and suspects. For instance, the New York Police Department (NYPD) has a policy governing the creation of such online accounts. Media are not simply neutral conduits of information about crime, indeed the institutional arrangement that organises the media and the rhetorical form through which crime is represented can play a vital role in shaping and reflecting the deepest cultural and personal fear about crime and insecurity (Stenson & Croall, 2001).

Social media are undoubtedly altering the ways in police-public communications, in the ways police organisations respond to the tension and immediate situation that influence the nature of communication on social media.

In the study, police respondents viewed social media or electronic platforms to be helpful in gaining and expanding their knowledge horizons relating to organisational

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[69]Media trial is generally defined by constructing a widespread perception of a person's reputation of guilt or innocence before or after a verdict in a court of law through television and newspaper coverage.

[70]Retrieved from http://www.rmlnlu.ac.in/webj/devesh_article.pdfon 17/08/2021.

affairs or in terms of educating law and order to the public. The respondents'
delineated that they search materials on police websites to gather more information
related to various rules and regulation, guidance and manuals, training schedules, any
archival data, and policies related to police organisation. Such practices were found to
be more frequent with the new recruits. The study also found that social media like
Facebook, Watsapp, Twitter, etc. are often used within the police circle and
strategically used by the departments as a tool for developing community relations. It
was also found that the departmental Facebook accounts are constantly updated with
current events and issues, public notification, etc. for the benefit of the personnel
themselves as well as the public. Facebook was found to be one of the important
networking platforms where the department updates information related to hacking,
missing persons, busting of drug rackets, scams, etc.

Likewise, police respondents highlighted that (e) newspapers and journals like Sikkim
Chronicles, Voice of Sikkim, etc. are also playing a vital role in bringing transparency
between police and the public. In many cases, police respondents said that conducting
solo interviews of police personnel who have excelled in the field of policing brings
positive inspiration and motivation to the colleagues as well as to the members of
society. Further, they said these kinds of media sources have made police
accountability more intense.

From the public's view, 88 percent of respondents use mobile and internet where
social media remains their primary source of information on police jobs and the news
that they get about the crimes being committed in and around Sikkim. A 31 year old
businessman expressed social media as a strategic tool of maintaining police-public
relationships. The job of police is highly stressful and sensitive especially when it is

related to public facing communications. Through social media, it has become easy to deliver all the messages on the department's website to the masses. In this regard, he viewed that Sikkim police are professionally handling with diligence in imparting and conveying messages and awareness, keeping the importance of the overall mission.

Another 36 years old lady who worked in the private sector was an active social media user. She narrated that through social media police and the public are getting an opportunity to reciprocate and communicate with each other. She says that social media allows news to come directly from the source instantly as compared to print newspapers and television news outlets. She often shares the messages updated by police on social media to her friends and family. Further, conveying messages and comments have been easy as she congratulates police personnel for their good works and at times when she does not like the ways of certain policing she raises her voice and condemns it so that it can reach the authorities. Remaining 12 percent responded that they use mobile phones only for communication purposes with their near and dear ones, moreover they were found not to be techno-savvy and distanced away from using social media sites.

Use of social media platforms for exchange of information and communication purposes have tremendously increased in the past few years. This has also helped in shaping the relationship between police and society in terms of transparency in the flow of information. Certainly, both the availability and quality of information does play an important role in shaping the relationship. Police officers are often called by the media such as on camera interviews and press conferences to be the voice of the department. This may be in response to boosting up their morals for solving crimes or hosting community events.

Likewise, social media has helped in dissemination of information swiftly, such as uploading pictures of missing persons, exploitation of children in the form of child labour, lost property, etc. It can get circulated faster to the people and can get the help required to resolve and recover. Further, social media sites have proven to gain valuable pertinent information during investigation.

Technology

The introduction of a new technology is merely the beginning of a 'technological drama' which involves processes of normalizations, adjustment, reconstitution, and reintegration, pertinently shaping any organisation (Chan, 2003). Indeed, use of technology has changed the very nature and structure of any organisation. Processing and exchange of information in the 21st century has displaced the traditional forms and practices of police departments. For police and policing, technology is imperative for enhancing their professional status and organisational legitimacy and also gives assurance to improve police effectiveness and efficiency in controlling crime (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997).

Technological advances in policing have changed the character of policing. For instance, Winner (1997) has outlined that when different types of crime occur, advanced technologies come handy in order to tackle and combat the technological sophistication of criminals. Technical innovations imply reshaping of some of the roles, rules, and relationships that comprise our ways of living together. He further commented that the recent development in technology have not only achieved its sophistication in gathering and expanding knowledge in minimal time but there are also people who are making use of technology in a wrong way by formulating the new dimension of crime to achieve their personal end and affecting the smooth

functioning of society at large. In this regard, Manning (2008) also puts forward the views that policing remains a low technology occupation and technology is likely to be underutilised by police officers.

Apart from this, for detecting cybercrimes and for efficient surveillance, crime prevention, detection and control, the police need to equip themselves with new technologies. Therefore, use of technology has proven to be helpful in efficiently collecting and disseminating information for and with external agencies such as providing information about the road traffic and insurance companies for their own management and risk assessment needs (Manning, 1992).

Nunn (2001) have emphasised that in police organisation, information and communication technology are being incorporated broadly and have indicated into following categories, a) *biometrics:* use of biological parameters to control people and places, b) *monitoring:* observation of people, places and machines, c) *imaging:* pictures of peoples, places and evidence, d) *communications:* communication among agencies; e) decision support: systems capable of assisting decision making, f) *record keeping:* maintenance of databases, and g) *weaponry:* lethal and non-lethal weapons.

Likewise, the present study revealed that the following new technologies such as wireless mobile data or mobile computing terminals and laptops with wireless or radio communications, Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA), dragnets, fingerprints, dog squad, video camera, Global Positioning System (GPS) tracking, mobile camera, etc. are found to be available and accessible to Sikkim police. The police respondents reported that because of these new technologies they are being able to trace and follow up missing persons, kidnapping and fraud cases quickly.

Further, the researcher was informed by the police respondents that they are even making an appeal to the government as well as to people to install Close Circuit Television (CCTV) in public areas, shops, restaurants, and hotels and at homes. However, the lack of technological facilities in the police largely affects its efficiency. The researcher found that in few police stations the unavailability of internet connection or the poor connectivity of internet facilities hampers the ability to track phones of accused or criminals and missing persons.

Paralleling this, in terms of community-oriented policing and problem oriented policing, the symbolic forms of communication of the police with the public have been transformed by the advent of telephone and among the police through two-way radio communication. The use of telephones or mobile phones has become an effective and efficient tool where police are accessible to the public in just a phone call away. As per the police respondents, the quick call response teams are active 24x7 attending to the public's complaints. Quick response teams have significantly helped in protecting life and property of the people. People usually have to lodge their complaint by calling at 100 or landline numbers of the concerned police station which are provided on the police website. After receiving the complaint or FIR from the public through telephonic call, the team of police or the line duty patrol officer visits the complainants' address.

The police respondents reported that maximum numbers of calls are related to crime concomitant to property such as burglary or theft. Police respondents said that, most of the time, police are called upon to handle disputes between families or neighbours. Further, the few patrol officers pointed out that many a time responding to such telephonic complaints goes in vain due to an assortment of factors such as reporting

inaccuracy, distance, settlement of dispute before arrival of police, etc. For instance, as the respondent narrated, on New Year eve at around 2 in the morning, two young constables were sent to the Rumtek area responding to a call from a local resident regarding a gang of drunken boys creating ruckus and disturbing the entire locality with loud music and rude comments. However, by the time they reached the spot, those boys were nowhere to be found.

Likewise, when police respond to calls from concerned neighbours complaining of a drug addict son physically assaulting the parents for money, it often ends up either the family had already resolved the matter or the mother pleading the police to forgive and not to take her son to custody. So the police often become helpless in such matters, as living in a close knit society with more community solidarity and conscience, police being a member of such society are expected to address the issue and respect the local sentiments.

Further discussion with the public respondents revealed that the majority of them have not made any call to the police even when they are in challenging circumstances or emergency situations. Probing further, they accounted for their belief that police are not likely to respond to such calls, or will not come to the concerned place or take time to reach the spot. This indeed reflects the sign of not having trust and confidence towards the police. However, such beliefs are not based on personal experiences rather this are based on hearsay, lacking empirically verifiable proof. Conversely, 15 percent of the respondents observed that police are seen being reactive to the calls and are coming to the concern spot on time when called.

Nonetheless, it is obvious that the uses of new technologies in police reflect how society and policing are mutually dependent on each other. In contemporary society,

technology not only merely assists our everyday life, it has become a more powerful force which reshapes human activities and their meaning (Bijker, 2009).

Community Policing: An Evolving Strategy

Community policing is a relatively new concept in contemporary policing. Implementation of a new paradigm in police work requires the integration of traditional police duties and functions into the life and activities of communities (Francis, 2012).Adopting community policing methods requires giving new meaning to the profession. Community policing has grasped much attention in contemporary time. The concept has its origin and inclination to the Broken Windows Theory (BWT), a criminological theory which was introduced in a 1982 article by social scientist Wilson and Kelling with the same title. The theory theorised that visible signs of crimes occurring around encourages further criminal activities including serious heinous crime in society. Therefore, it propounded the idea that targeting small crimes itself helps and instill a sense of order and lawfulness among its citizens. The authors claimed that police are narrowly focused on fighting serious crime overshadowing other important community oriented problems, which they considered to be outside the scope of police responsibilities. The use of broken windows as a metaphor, analytically suggests that if police are not able to prevent small nuisance and disorder, then it is considered as an open invitation for further disorder and more serious crime. The implication of police strategy should be reoriented towards maintaining and preventing any forms of crime, small or large. Hence, police around the world can now be heard talking about fixing 'broken windows' (Kelling & Wilson, 1982). Use of broken windows metaphor also represents the deterioration of neighbourhoods that go unrepaired, reflecting the indifferent attitude where enough

care for another human being and the quality of life in the neighbourhood is depicted. While a broken window might be a small thing in itself, however, left unrepaired it becomes an open invitation for troubles reflecting negligence resulting in progressive deterioration which can expand to neighbourhoods and the entire locality.

In coherence with the statement made by Kelling and Wilson (1982) minor crimes such as public intoxication, disorderly conduct, panhandling, littering, making graffiti, public urination, or loitering which are very closely linked and may cause serious street crime if left unchecked is taken seriously by the Sikkim police. The study found the incidence of petty crimes in the outskirts of the capital town, Gangtok. A few public respondents revealed that, in their locality which is just three kilometres far away from Gangtok, there is a shortcut path that is covered with bamboo grooves, where people walk to and fro from home to the town. Unlike now, four to five years back, the environment was not safe as those places were the hub for rowdy people - smoking cigarettes and marijuana. Gradually, that place became a hub for drug consumers, peddlers and petty thieves as reports of snatching gold chains and cash from people were often heard and people who were taking the route became lesser in number because of the fear.

Then, the police and community members took an initiative to patrol the areas and monitor every movement of the suspected goons which were indeed commendable. By fixing this type of petty crime, the police helped in controlling it to become a larger uncontrollable issue as mentioned in BWT. Presently, the area has become a safe place, people have now started taking the route without any fear as the police and community members together brought control of the rowdies into a socially acceptable and desirable behaviour.

Another such case is ignoring the child's socialisation by parents as well as members of society. The researcher observed near the Sichey area that two boys around the age of 15-16 years dropped out from the school, their parents and neighbours were unable to control them. They were doing menial work, leaving home early in the morning and coming late. Smoking cigarettes, drinking, using abusive language and roaming around the colony had become their everyday routine behaviour. Nobody dared to scold or counsel them. But, at last when they started stealing vehicle parts from the parking areas, breaking the shop and taking essential things and money, everyone noticed about their deviant behaviour and feared gripping other parents as this unwanted and undesirable behaviour may influence other children.

Afterwards, the neighbours complained to their parents and then with the help of police they were sent to juvenile centre. In this way, community members and police believed that if a broken window is left unrepaired, all the rest of the window will soon be broken, thereby although a bit late, they tried to fix it before it goes out of hand. By taking crimes seriously, the police department protects the community from future harm. Not only does it prevent serious or violent encounters from occurring but it decreases fear and promotes a peaceful atmosphere, bringing order and lawfulness to citizens' lives.

However, the overall effectiveness of the theory needs to be further examined. Nonetheless, acceptance of community policing is evident in the policing policy reflected in the changes of role of law enforcement from a static, incident driven bureaucracy to a more dynamic and quality oriented partnership with the community (Buttola, 2016).

Cox and Fitzgerald defined community policing as 'a philosophy of full service personalized policing, where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems' (1992, p.159). Further, Meese (1993, p. 2) citing the views of Moore and Trojanowicz pointed out that

> In community policing, community institutions such as families, schools, neighbourhood associations, and merchant groups are seen as key partners to the police in the creation of safe, secure communities. The success of the police depends not only on the development of their own skills and capabilities, but also on the creation of competent communities. Community policing acknowledges that police cannot succeed in achieving their basic goals without both the operational assistance and political support of the community. Conversely, the community cannot succeed in constructing decent, open, and orderly communities without a professional and responsive police force.

Further, community policing encourages police officers to have larger knowledge about the social, economic and demographic condition of the community and the supporting agencies in the community that can be used for referral of citizens and support for officers in their work. Likewise, specific skills must be taught to the police officers such as communication skills, public speaking, and problem solving techniques, conflict resolution, and negotiation. Though the major question lies on the issue of how community policing has helped to put together and instil trust and confidence in the public, and in enriching the interdependence between police and society through small initiatives taken up by both police and public. Sociologists tend to portray trust as pervasive which is deeply embedded in our social relationships (Tilly, 2005).

Trust and confidence have two possible approaches as Robert and Hough (2005) mentioned - to distinguish between someone's expectation that they will personally receive effective and fair treatment from the system and their belief that overall the system is effective and fair. According to Bradford and Jackson (2010) trust captures the interpersonal relationship between citizen and individual police officers and by contrast confidence is more of a set of attitude towards the police as an institution. Thus, the authors suggested that trust in the police has three dimensions, that is, firstly, trust that the system and individual police officers will be effective, fair and will display values that are associated with one's community. Secondly, the institutional trust comprises relatively stable attitudes towards police as an institution. Thirdly, encounter based interpersonal trust is a more active process where it involves a decision to trust or not.

The findings of the thesis explored and observed considerable variation in the level of trust and confidence when traced from the past to present. During the earlier times (pre-merger phase) according to the nuances and tales gathered from both the police and public respondents, it was found that police legitimacy and authority was crippled under the monarchical authority and had to primarily follow the orders from the *Durbar* (the court of the native ruler).

The trust and confidence between the police and public was practically absent and no real friendship or cordial relationship occurred between them. The distrust was endangered on account of occasional delays in registration of cases and overbearing attitude of police. In this sense, there was generally fear for police and lacked confidence in approaching and interacting with them even in normal situations. In some instances, the police even reported the non-cooperation of the public as a few

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people had given the officers wrong addresses and when they attempted to search for the culprit or criminal to deliver the court summons to the concerned person, they could not locate the accused or the complainant.

Likewise, both respondents (police and public) agreed to the point that that there was a lack of institutional trust[71] among the masses. Distrust among the public towards the police is also related to the non-transparent working style of the police, as a larger section of society was unaware about the internal functioning of the police organisation. However, in present times there is discourse on the transparency about their day-to-day policing through media and press which makes police jobs relatable to people. At present, although there are variations in the perception of the public in regard to trust and confidence toward police.

Nonetheless, the police respondents emphasised that Sikkim police are in fact one of the most sensitive, humane, and people friendly[72] police personnel in the country. They are making an effort to club with various stakeholders including social activists, NGOs and with other governmental agencies in order to erase the stigma of fear and negative image of police and to build the close relationship between police and society.

The study found that 78 percent of public respondents were aware about their legal rights and obligations. The educated and informed respondents pointed out that their

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[71]The institutional trust can be thought of as a 'system-level' public attitude which is rooted in public understanding of the role and nature of the police organisation (Bradford & Jackson, 2010).

[72]People-friendly police is believed to be trustworthy and adopts participative approach and involves people in crime detection. Impartial treatment is meted out to all sections of society by the people-friendly police. Since people-friendly police are not frightful as they respond promptly to the citizens' complaints and come into action very swiftly people approach it without any inhibitions (Singh & Singh 2008).

knowledge empowers them about the various civic rights and laws, therefore they do not have fear of the police since they have not done anything illegal. Relatively, 14 percent of the respondents pointed out that with the increasing awareness and involvement of both state and non-state actors such as social activists, NGOs, press and media, various commissions, etc., the accountability and transparency of the police organisation has increased keeping a check and balance on police activities.

For instance, if police performances are questionable and lack satisfactory results, these external agencies come in forefront scrutinising and supplementing the voice of the public making police to perform their task accordingly. Correspondingly, they replied that police are civil servants who are employed and paid by the state to help the people. Therefore, it becomes the duty of the police officials to help the public. Resultant to the overbearing historical memories of colonial past and atrocities, the public still is learning to come out of the mistrust toward police, therefore, it is necessary for the people to build confidence in the system where they can go to the police station with their issues and problems and seek help from them. Still 22 percent of the community members perceived police to be paying special attention to elite and influential people who are politically connected, revealing their mistrust and lack of confidence towards the police. They expressed that, although it is true to say that people are welcomed by the police whenever they visit police stations and give assurance that they will get justice or register their complaints and grievances but at the end in maximum cases police do not follow up or the justice is denied. Narrating his story, a 39 years old vendor said, once he had a dispute with his neighbour where he was physically assaulted. Subsequently, he went to the police station to lodge an FIR, instead the police asked to resolve the matter personally and to forget about the incident.

Likewise, migrant workers who are in Sikkim expressed their lack of trust and confidence to the local police and cited the biased nature and repressive attitude to the outsider and preferably favouring and being polite to the local Sikkimese people only. They showed their fear and anxiety based on the perception which they hold and believe that raising their voice will still be unbearable and better to avoid any unwanted situation.

Building a healthy police public relationship is an ongoing process, where the Sikkim Police have shown their persistent effort. For this, community policing has brought a valuable result by holding awareness programmes in many areas. This reflects a mutual understanding and appreciation between police and public through communication and interaction. Without interaction, there cannot exist any patterns of social organisation. Good community police relations programmes supported by various civil society organisations such as school, college, NGOs, etc. is one of the desired ways to promote community policing as well as improving police-public relations.

 The study found that 30 percent of the respondents have participated in such programmes and meetings organised by the police and other agencies. The types of programmes vary with distinctive themes, such as issues pertaining to the problem faced by the students, traffic problems, drug abuse, domestic violence, etc. which deliberately aims to improve community policing and encourages to gain more knowledge on the role of public and police in social developments. Likewise, police are also taking initiatives for all round development to the youth such as organising football coaching camps, fitness and self-defence, career counselling etc.

Among the public respondents, students who have attended the programmes delineated that during such awareness drives police officials are invited to chair the programmes and share their experiences which have proven to be effective in communicating the message to the youths. Police officers are seen giving career guidance and counselling, especially providing them with the strategies for the civil service preparations and empowering them with the self-employability skills. As well as, discussing and sensitising about the various social problems related to youth such as drug addiction, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, etc.

A student narrated that awareness programmes organised in schools have been beneficial to her, as the objective of the programme was to understand the job of police and to know about the prevailing law and order situations. The programmes were also observed to have been extended to sharing of experiences by police personnel relating to violation of traffic rules, destruction of public property, abuse of chemical substances, etc. There are also sensitisation programme on sexual harassment, for example to differentiate a man's intention of good touch and bad touch. Two respondents who are academicians viewed that, in recent times, the reciprocal interaction between police and public has become more visible through audio-visual networks, workshops, seminars and conferences. But every programme does not convey the speaker's intention and information to the entire participant. There are many situations in which communication is restricted in one way or another. One respondent cited that, in some programmes, the public are just a mere participant where they can only see the uniformed police invited as a guest of honour, emphasising on only one flow of knowledge.

Kleins (1956) highlighted that such interaction and formal channels of communication between police is associated with power and authority. Nonetheless, there are a few interactive programmes that were observed in the field areas where the public raised their questions and the police officials provided the answer or vice versa.

Whereas, 64 percent of the respondents were neither aware nor informed about any community friendly programmes initiated by the police or any civil organisation. When asked further, especially to the group of women respondents residing in the rural areas who were 50 years and above, inferences through observation suggest that most of these women respondents are occupied with their household activities. They hardly have any concern or interest to participate in any programmes which do not entail direct benefits to them.

Nonetheless, 6 percent of respondents pointed out that even though they have not participated in any of the meetings and programmes but keep a track on such programmes through social media and newspapers, about how with the help of the public the police were able to successfully bust various crimes in the state. They also keep a track of the various criticisms and comments from the people relating to police functions.

The effort of community policing by building relations through interaction and holding programmes comes out with the solution and identification of career confusions, social problems and understanding and answering any queries from both police and public. Moreover, police active participation and giving assurance for safety and security to the public is definitely changing the perception about the stereotypical attitude of police. However, massive motivation and promotion should

be focused on these kinds of programmes and meetings so that it could reach every nook of the society.

Improving Police-Public Relations

Good police-public relationship plays an important role in any democratic society, particularly in the context of the motive of the research, for improving the delivery of police services to the people. Police need continuous support and respect from its citizens. At the same time, as Bayley has pointed out, "the public is beginning to realize that the police alone cannot deliver what they promise" (1994, p.143).

Over the years improving police-public relations have been the main concern and focus of all social scientists, policy and decision makers. Crime cannot be prevented exclusively relying on police and other law enforcement agencies. Full cooperation and support of people are equally important in coming forward and helping the police to maintain law and order and also in solving criminal cases.

The study observed that public collaboration with police helps in establishing general rules and regulations by means of maintaining and standardising ethical behaviour among the members of the society, which remains as a prerequisite for maintaining a healthy relationship.

Findings of the study suggest that in order to improve police-public relationships, the majority of the respondents both from police as well as public, emphasised on two essential points. Firstly, a cultured society should promote a cooperative environment where both the individuals who are in authority position as well as the citizens should abide by the constitutional obligations, follow the rules of the land and uphold and respect the rights of each other. Majority of the public respondents believed in

following the established rules and regulations so that they do not hamper the order and stability of society. These respondents argued that apprehension towards police is among those people who have a criminal background or who have been involved in illegal activities, or occasionally break laws.

However, those who have faith in the law of the land and diligently follow it are not sceptical about the police actions or to interact with them. They further pointed out that they always follow traffic rules, maintain traffic etiquettes and always keep in handy the official documents such as driving license, trade license, bar and restaurants license, etc. They are also not hesitant in going to the police stations, filing FIR for domestic violence, loss of goods or reporting petty crimes that occurred in the neighbourhood. Their admission reflects how the people in Sikkim work in tandem with the public authorities directly or indirectly, extending their support and cooperation.

Secondly, upholding the ethical and moral values by cooperating and interacting with each other will determine and act as the guiding force of all human behaviours.

Smith and Mackie (2007) argued that behaviour that benefits others sometimes becomes a source of motivation because it shows the way towards the care and welfare of the group. Relatively, the study found that as many as 73 percent of the public respondents, depending on the situation and circumstances, have extended their help to police in bringing justice to the needy. For instance, these respondents have helped escort victims to the police station, taking an accidental victim to hospital, being an eyewitness in the court or providing any sort of information to police.

Furthermore, they said that to maintain a healthy relationship with significant others, good verbal interaction and socialisation within the family is very important. This not only resolves conflicts and further disputes but also instils trust and confidence among each other fostering the smooth functioning of law and order. A 36 years old farmer narrated an incident related to his 10 years old son who happened to find a wallet containing Rs. 30,000 and a train ticket.

The farmer immediately informed the local police and his son handed it over. During the police enquiry, his son spoke with ease with the police personnel and described where he had found it. The police personnel were pleased by the gesture shown by his son and they treated him with sweets and other edibles. They encouraged the child to be a responsible son and a model citizen. Since that day, as the father narrated, his son always aspired to become a police officer.

After analysing the empirical data, the study found that a large number of the public consciously follow rules and regulation, promote ethical behaviour by sharing basic information, reflecting the effort in improving the relationship between police and society. Likewise, police respondents also stated that, if the public sincerely follows both the constitutionally prescribed and proscribed rules then the task of the police would be stress-free, whereby they would be able to focus more on improving the quality of life of the people, protecting property and life and preventing other heinous crimes. Further, policies related to raising awareness about the role of police and responsibilities of the masses will instil a sense of impartial attitude of police towards the people regardless of class, caste, and gender. Such measures can help in gaining acceptance and respect from each other.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

The intricacies involved in a dynamically evolving society are both perplexing and complex, making the task of researchers challenging to theoretically contextualise the police-public relationship within one particular sociological tradition. At the same time, the idea of policing also convulses into two ideational conceptualisation as guardians of society who vowed to maintain 'law and order', proactive towards welfare of people; and on the other as agents of state who does not shy away from using coercive forces in protecting the interest of the elites. These views are observable in the work of classical sociologists like Marx, Weber, and Durkheim.

For instance, the Durkheimian approach views police as a moral agency entailing the symbolic meaning of guardianship of society. On the contrary Marxists portrayed police as the oppressive machinery of the state instituted to suppress the voices of the subject class to protect the status quo of the ruling class. However, the major challenge in contextualising changing police-public relationship within such broader structural theorisation is inadequate to capture the nuances of the everyday interaction within the police organisation as well as with that of the public, as it tends to overlook the role of individuals as agents of social change.

Taking into account the behaviours of individual actors and emphasising on the mode of interaction with one another, in this case the police and public, are also observing the changes that have taken place over the years, social exchange theorisation presents itself as a favourable theoretical proposition to frame the changing relationship from a sociological perspective. On a day-to-day basis, we naturally engage in exchanges on

the social front with a wide range of actors embedded in the groups, network, organisation and institution we reside.

Thus, it is not surprising that exchange theory remains one of the major theoretical perspectives employed while discussing police-public relationships. Furthermore, one major hallmark of the study is its attention to the linkage between social exchange theory and the theory of social change.

Social change, from a sociological perspective, occurs as a result of social transactions between individuals and society, both in terms of interaction and conflict. Sociologists define social change as changes in human interactions and relationships that transform cultural and social institutions. These changes, which are inevitable in nature, occur over time and often have profound long-term consequences for society.

Comprehending social change from the macro and evolutionary model, Auguste Comte's interest in social dynamics reveals the studies of the law of succession or the pattern of changes in social system over the time. His formulation of 'laws of three stages' clearly indicates the sign of progress both in terms of 'human mind' and 'social development', in which the idea and the corresponding social structural arrangement changes and passes through three phases. As Sikkim evolved from the monarchical to democratic form of governance, the society has witnessed massive changes in its social system, on how the society is organised, how social order is structured, and various other material conditions.

The history of modern Sikkimese society before its merger with the Indian union was under the tutelage and guidance ship of the King. During the period, rules, regulations, and laws were codified under religious norms and largely reflected a

more or less repressive political authority. Gradually, with the advancement in both colonial and bureaucratic administration and the waves of transformation in political ideology influenced and sewed together by the Indian nationalist spirit largely led to the progressive change and reformation in the various social institutions and structures of the state. Present-day Sikkimese society reflects institutional adoption of rational bureaucratic setup and also raising awareness of constitutionally guaranteed fundamental duties and rights among the citizens.

The state also represents ethno-cultural diversity and heterogeneity having mixed inter-ethnic-race relationships. Befitting Comte's notion, police-public relationships have been far from ideal and have been marked with a series of progress when traced from pre-theocratic to post-merger phase. At the outset of society, policing began in the state under the guidance of the twin codes of social and religious morality. The head of the tribe or the kinsmen shared the responsibility to protect the community and tribe. Steadily, with the process of realisation of sovereignty in the Kingdom, uniformity in the police system was established as it was desirable for effective institutionalisation of state's power. Police were introduced by the state as one of their agents who are assigned to protect the state as well as society. But mostly, due to the instrumentalising nature of the state's power, police remained in the hands of the elite and ruling class. For example, their job revolved around escorting the Kings and Kazis as well as collecting revenues from the villagers. In this regard, Robinson and Scaglion traced the origin of the specialized role of police and cited that "the police are the guardians of society which later transformed to represent the interest of the dominant class" (1987, p.1). In the present course of development and progress, the purpose of police existence has been redefined and revisited.

Although, as executive organs of the government, police have the legal authority to enforce law and order and are entrusted with maintaining social order, and prevention and detection of crime. Whereas there are many other external agencies like samaj, clubs, panchayats, NGOs, are denied the privilege of legal authority, yet they work in cooperation with police and this positive partnership has led to many fruitful results.

Discussing such transformations from an evolutionary perspective certainly marks a series of progressive stages that has its own edge. Nonetheless, it is equally pertinent to analyse and view from micro sociological theorisation on how the social interaction/interrelation and individual behaviours also contribute to such changes in the structure and the system as a whole. Exchange theory provides a broad array of social processes that are central to sociological inquiry at various levels. Viewed from the micro level, the role of exchange processes often forms the bedrock of social structure and social change. Social exchange, as defined by Homans, is the "exchange of activity, tangible or intangible and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two parties" (1961, p. 13).

In terms of networks or systems of exchanges, Blau (1964) viewed that at various levels of social organisation, generic social processes and mechanisms operate which include collective action, legitimacy, opposition, conflict and cooperation. In this context, comprehending the dynamics of police-public relationship requires an understanding of the process of change from an interactionist perspective.

Understanding how exchange of interaction emerges, changes, and alters the groups and networks behaviours, in which they are embedded, are the results of exchange of resources and services of value which occur on a day-to-day basis across all societies, as social exchange explicitly deals with the interplay and relations between two

interacting agents. Exchange relations, a reciprocal one, take into consideration when the exchanges of relations routinely occurred, however, when the potential partnership within the network is never engaged with one another, it is denoted as non-relations, even if we overlook that this does not affect the predicted distribution of power. Likewise, latent relations are potential relations which also are unused but if we overlook that might affect the subsequent predicted distribution of power across positions in the network (Cook *et al.*, 2013).

The study observed that interactive exchange of relations between police and public depend upon the circumstances (a situationally defined social setting); while within the police organisation, particularly among the police personnel of similar ranks occurs on a routine basis, and between super ordinate and subordinates on a circumstantial basis. Besides, individual perceptions of the respondents are also given importance in the analysis of the relationship which have both terms – non-relations as well as potential relations.

As discussed in chapter three, during the theocratic period, relationships between police and public were highly aloof, as approaching and interacting with police in any legal issues was a challenging one for the public. Reasons contributed to their distrust and fear of police personnel which resulted from their limited interaction related to criminal encounters and also the symbolic representation of monarch or in contemporary time as state. Hesitancy in interacting with police are yet found true among some people which are related with intimidating personality and attitudinal reflection of power in the behaviour of police personnel. These reasons have not changed and still continue to exist till date.

Consequently, many of the public respondents preferred not to have a police station or outpost near their surroundings and instead relied on the decision of panchayats or solved the matter within the family or *samaj* (society). Though such decisions are because of the lengthy legal process and the concerned parties taking the procedure as the constant harassment by the police.

The nature and working style of police clearly reflects a hierarchy-based organisational structure with a bureaucratised system of administration. Good performances of police, generally, are considered when the police organisation is able to solve and curb crimes and prevent it from future occurrences.

However, the study extends and transcends beyond such generalised observations and introspects on the engagement of elementary systems of exchange. Blau's conceptualisation of elementary exchange processes occurs when people enter into social exchange on the basis of perceived possibilities of deriving rewards either in terms of material or non-material goods (*as cited in* Turner, 1987).

Blau labels such perceptions as social attraction and postulates that unless relationships involve such attraction, they are not relationships of exchange. It is at this point, in exchange relations that individuals become different and in terms of resources they possess and the kinds of reciprocal demands they make. He further conceptualised four classes of such rewards viz, money, social approval, esteem or respect, and compliance. The police personnel's reasons while choosing their career in a police job clearly indicated their attraction towards such rewards as categorised by Blau. It was observed that many of the police respondents entered into the service on such a notion of 'perceived possibilities of deriving rewards' from their work. They define their work to be valuable, firstly, in relation to the services they are

providing to the people; secondly, in securing financial security in the form of regular salary with other benefits and entitlements; and third and finally, the social compliances and status up gradation they receive from their neighbours, relatives and friends being a government employee and also the power they yield being in police.

Further, discussion in terms of exchange of relations between colleagues i.e., among police personnel, such as swapping their duty shift and exchanging gifts during festive seasons and other religious ceremonies were observed frequently and also expected from one another, which indicates reciprocity in relation to the 'social attraction'.

Moreover, due to the presence of such social attraction, opting police work as a career choice among the public was found to be desirable. The positive attributes of choosing police as a career especially among the youths to an extent are also influenced through movies and soap operas on how the police are portrayed as an all-powerful and inevitable social control agency of the society. Likewise, there were public respondents who really wanted to join the police force and serve the people and not harass the people unnecessarily. On the other hand, a minority of the respondents were not attracted to police jobs because of the difficulty in handling the corrupt and hectic style of policing.

However, while on duty such reciprocity between police and public are unsatisfactorily observed. Police respondents often complain of the public not offering a helping hand, such as while taking corpses to hospital or mortuary for police verification, in chasing culprits, switching off their balcony light hearing police boots during night patrol, and many other innumerable instances. Cross-checking the facts pointed out by the police, many public respondents view police to exhibit unfriendly attitudes and having manipulative behaviours to meet their ends.

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Therefore, helping them on humanitarian grounds seems rather costly than beneficial. For instance, as narrated by one of the respondents, about how she was wrongly summoned at court and had to face unnecessary harassment. Recollecting the incident she narrated that one fine day, two police personnel came knocking on the door of the home she was in. There the police personnel intimated her for whatever reason they were there, which was related to a FIR filed by the neighbour about her missing daughter who in fact has eloped with a person belonging to a different community and religion. The personnel pointed out that the inquiry was a regular procedure for case follow-up for which they needed to note down her name and address for official record, to which she obliged without second thought.

However, after a month or so she was summoned by the court as a witness for the case hearing. When she recalled the event, to her utter shock, she realised how the police must have manipulated her response, making her testify and asked her to describe the character of the girl. For such reasons, the public in general neither prefer to enter nor entertain any form of exchanges of social interaction with the police. So the absence of 'social attraction' prevents interaction between the police and public, making them non-relation partners in exchange networks; however, as circumstances may demand they still are tied up in potential relations.

Extending the theoretical argument, the study observed that, though the parameters of 'non-relation' or 'potential relation' are being defined in the exchange network in terms of direct exchange of interactions. However, comprehension of the study suggests that indirect interaction occurs between the police and public in terms of seeking social approvals from each other, such that both expect appreciation from one another for the task they carry out in their day-to-day activities as part of their

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assigned social roles. Reflecting the field account of a farmer and his 10 years old son as discussed in chapter six is one of the examples where the act of positive social approval is portrayed from one another by entering into direct exchange of interaction.

Analysis of the day-to-day activities of police-police and police-public relationships reflects a high correlation with power-status structure in determining the exchange of interaction. Power structure remains a central theoretical problem in exchange theory (Emerson, 1962).

Power, to Emerson, is understood in relational terms as functional dependence of one actor over another. It is also seen as a basis of social stratification, i.e., having power is also correlated with being rich or a person designated in high ranking government positions. The hierarchical functioning of police organisations is the reflection of power and dependence between the superior and the subordinate officers as they are located in a structurally identical network. Cook and Emerson (1978) viewed that structurally identical location provides that relations of dependence are equal. However, within this structurally identical location also there is visibility of power relationships and a strong power network that can be seen in every bureaucratic administrative hierarchy which results as the outcome of power inequality.

 Blau (1964) believed that inequality and power distribution were emergent properties of ongoing relations of social exchange. He argued that inequality results from exchange because some actors have more control over valued resources than others. The power inequality is due to social debts released by the subordination of social debtors. The existence of power inequality was observed according to the police personnel positions in the power network of exchange relations. For instance, the

superior and subordinate police officers although have the functional dependency relation but the norms of every bureaucratic organisation expects the members to be obliged to the standardised set of rules and regulation, which are commanded by the superior officers who occupy the higher ranks in the authority hierarchy.

Another dimension within the power structure, which falls outside the police organisation, is that the control and ownership of the resources lies with the state and other political agencies. Since the resources are owned by the state and the political superiors, the role of the police organisation becomes a mediocre agent between state and society. The study vividly demonstrated how the subordinate officers had to follow the orders of their superior officers. Issues like the nexus of political interference, strong power networks among the bureaucrats, superior officers or influential people have forced the personnel at lower ranks not able to rise in the hierarchy of organisation by themselves without tapping and forming a network with the existing power network of the elites and superiors. These grievances against the police system forces many personnel to knock on the door of the judiciary, human rights, and other associations, while for others they withdraw themselves from their commitment towards their service as some feel that forming the association itself gets politicised and the leaders themselves get absorbed into the power network.

Referring to Molm *et al.* (2000), such imbalance in power equilibrium leads to low levels of interpersonal commitment and vice-versa promotes commitment behaviour. Nonetheless, it was also observed that having an equally strong interest in striving to bring understanding between colleagues and superiors promotes commitment to the task at hand and also to interpersonal relationships. The study observed that many police respondents were pleased with the high degree of understanding with their

colleagues and superior officers in terms of allotment of assignments as well as availing leave in case of emergency. Such cooperative aspects among secondary groups were also agreed upon by women police respondents. Owing to such reasons, they feel that they are able to cope up with work pressure and balance between work and family they also feel that they are treated equally at par with their male colleagues at the workplace.

Reciprocal exchange among the social actors are not based on bargaining of fixed range of positive returns rather exchange may be in the process of the simple act of the provision of a valued resource or service. The failure often results in infrequent exchange (Molm, 1990).

Explanation given by Molm in relation to reciprocal exchange had produced an important contribution to the understanding of the connection between police and public relations. The author's work demonstrated that not all types of power are structurally motivated rather the power uses have a strategic motivation which can be either in the form of punishment or in the form of the differential distribution of reward. Findings from the study reflected how power has a structural potential which is defined as a process of behaviour or tactical influence and depicted that the exchange relationship between police and public is highly dependent on the power and status of an actor. Trust and confidence of the public towards the police depends on one's occupation, education, and regional status (referring to whether the person is from or outside Sikkim).

As observed in the study, the majority of the public respondents claimed that police favoured only those people who are influential or politically well connected. This depicts the employment of strategic use of power in return for the utilisation of valued

resources. Hence, it was also observed that the exchanges of relations between police and public have always resulted in complications. Police have to deal with two parties i.e., with the victims and accused. In these situations, the one party whose grievances and voices are not heard will always have a negative image towards the police.

Relating to what Markovsky *et al.* (1993) argued, strong power structure allows the arbitrary exclusion of some partners over others. Correlating with the argument, the study found that the police organisation exhibits a strong power network group, where they occupy the authoritarian position with ample opportunities to abuse the power and authority enshrined on them by the state. The authority has the compelling capacity to coerce the public for compliance as people are dependent on the police for the valued outcome that police can offer. It is because of this reason police corruption and mistrust is a widely discussed issue in public discourse. As discussed in chapter five, the majority of people believed in rampant corruption and atrocities carried out by the police. Negative images of police still persist among the people, which results from persistent encounters of use of abusive languages, especially towards the migrant workers and to those who belong to lower socio-economic backgrounds.

However, such uses of unparliamentarily languages and exhibition of authoritarian arrogance to the public are not only restricted to police personnel. Public respondents have also mentioned that many government servants such as officials in court, motor vehicle departments, banking sectors, doctors, nurses to name a few also do so. In their defence, police personnel responded that in their day-to-day policing task the public intentionally breaks rules and regulation for their comfort in spite of various notifications and awareness programs carried out. For instance, stopping taxis in no

parking areas, throwing garbage in undesignated places, not closing shops within the stipulated time, etc.

Concluding the thesis, the study observed that over the years the relationships between police and public in Sikkim have witnessed major transformations both at the macro/structural level as well as at the level of micro/agency. This is largely because on the one hand, it revealed that the police organisation has certainly increased in its man-power, police stations and out-posts, communication networks, career opportunities, etc. However, the basic function and duty of police still remains the same i.e., prevention and detection of crime and protection of property.

On the other hand, the external factor that brought the swift changes in police organisation is the social change attached in each component of society. For instance, social change in regard to invention and new innovation of technology, human resources, print/social media, education, and awareness by the social activists about the social problems and issues have altered the police role into new dimensions. Police are now involved in community policing, problem solving and problem oriented style of policing which have positively flourished in the pluralisation of policing. This is definitely bridging the gap between police and society and the fear of colonial police is diminishing which indicates the improving relation between police and society. Similarly, in terms of micro/agency level, the study focused in the form of changes in terms of exchanges of interaction. It depicted that the interaction with one another i.e., (among the police colleagues, between superior officers and subordinated officers and between police and public) largely determined according to the power, class and status that an individual holds. Discussing the pattern of changes in the form of exchange of interaction, the study observed that it has changed only to

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some extent in the sense that during the time of feudal theocracy, police were symbolised as an agent of elite classes who have to follow the orders commanded by the King.

Further, escorting king and kazis, collecting revenues from the villagers always made police aloof from the general public which indicate the power inequality between the police and public. However, it revealed that there were police who used to visit schools and teach them drills and physical training. At the same time, in front of the elite classes and kings, police remained under their domain. Therefore, the flow of exchange of interaction was limited and represented the power inequality between the state, police and society.

Likewise, in the present scenario, as the field observation suggests, the exchange of interaction among colleagues is in terms of favourable reciprocity, the interaction between superior officials and subordinates depicted within the control line of power, class and status. For example, in social gatherings and functions the police personnel according to their designation and class form a separate group or club excluding those who do not come under their equal status. Lastly, between police and the public their relationship of interaction acquires certain reciprocity. As discussed in chapter five, the maximum number of public respondents believed that police favoured persons who are influential or have political power so that in return they get a favourable opportunity from them such as, promotion, transfer or any other official or personal related work. Nonetheless, the gap of interaction is changing by organising programmes, through the power of social media where there can be one on one interaction in exclusion of class, status and power as discussed in chapter six.

The changes that have come is the consciousness among the police and public that for the betterment of society, cooperation and support of each other is essential which also is evident through community policing and community friendly programs, talking politely with the public and at the same time, public are also more conscious about their basic rights and rules of law and order.

In conclusion, the blending of exchange theory with field assessment suggests that social interaction is always at the forefront of all forces of change in society. Though 'social attraction' determines the types of interaction which we engage with others. However, our class, power, and status position in the society determines and evaluates our valuation of the 'social attraction' to be valuable to us or not.

Recommendations

Lastly, after analysing the police-public relation and the changes that have taken place over the years, the following points are recommended for future policy decisions.

- Sufficient finance needs to be provided in the State Police Budget by the State and Central governments for conducting sensitisation and counselling programmes to the police personnel. Although pre-service and in-service training and other programmes like stress management, leadership, teamwork skills are provided from time to time, proper monitoring and evaluation is required. Continuous updation of knowledge and skills on important areas is needed to keep in pace with the rapidly changing society.
- The authority should timely access and provide the required infrastructure like vehicles, up-to-date technologies, arms and weapons, and prepare for any

uncertainties. Equally important is properly maintaining such technologies and weapons, and making sure that these items are correctly utilised.

- Maintaining transparency and accountability on the allocation of work and other responsibilities, sorting out the grievances of the staff, rewarding and motivating the committed officials, giving promotion on time, counselling those who are in trouble, discussing the emerging issues and challenges timely with the super ordinate and subordinates staffs will provide a healthy working environment.

- For the public, police should be able to protect their life and property along with prevention and detection of crime. They are happy that the police in Sikkim provide them a peaceful and safe life but complain about the inability of police to find their lost items such as mobile phones, laptops and other valuables. In this connection, the police department should find a way to trace such lost items as it has become an indispensable part of modern day life.

- On one hand, police want the public to cooperate with them. On the other hand, the general public do not want to encroach their boundary on issues related to police as they are hesitant to entangle with issues related to court, law and order. However, for a successful cooperation between the police and the public, "trust building" is a very important factor.

For this purpose, the community programmes which the police have already started taking up should be strengthened more and make the people feel that the police are a trustworthy and reliable state agent doing their duty with utmost sincerity.

- Most importantly, the police officials should demand for minimum political interference by the politicians in their day-to-day functioning and treat all the citizens of India equally without any bias.

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Appendix I

Questionnaires for community members

Name: Sex :( ) Age: Educational qualification: Marital

status: Occupation: Type of living: (Rented/ Own House/ Family Quarter)

Native Place: (East District, West District, North District, South District)

1. Do you have a police station or outpost within your reach?

a) Yes   b) No   c) I don't know

2. How frequently do you visit a police station?

a) Regularly   b) Rarely   c) Have not visited till date

3. Are you concerned about the state of affairs and problems in Sikkim?

a) Yes   b) No   c) I don't know

4. Do you want a police station or outpost within your area?

a) Yes

b) No

5. Do you find police personnel visiting your locality?

a.   No

b.   Yes, if yes

i. During patrolling   ii. During criminal investigation

6. Do you think foot patrolling gives you a sense of security and safety?

a) yes   b) no

7. What is the body language of local police personnel?

a) Humble   b) arrogant   c) disposed in favour of public   d) cannot say

8. Are you satisfied with police approaches toward being friendly with community?

a) Yes   b) No   c) Cannot say

9. Does police hold community friendly meetings/programs? Yes/no, if yes

a) Weekly   b) Monthly   c) Yearly   d) Other please specify:

10. In your opinion, do police harass people?

a) Yes   b) No   c) I don't know

b) If yes, in which basis please specify

11. Do you think that local police are fair?

a) Yes   B) No   c) I don't know.

12. In your opinion, police attitude is

a) Dismissive   b) Supportive c) Collaborative   d) None   e)Any   other

    please specify:

13. In your opinion what kinds of emotions does a police personnel in uniform evoke in

    you?

a) Fear   b) Respect   c) Hatred   d) Disgust   d) Friendly

    e) supportive f) any other:

14. Do you think that local police are driven by prejudices of caste and creed?

    a)Yes   b) No

15. In what ways you think that you are cooperating with police?

a) Obeying law   b) good standards of verbal interaction   c)providing information

    d) any othere) none

16. In your opinion people are generally reluctant to cooperate with police during

    investigation because:

a) Discourteous and harassing treatment meted out to them by police at various stage of

    investigation

b) Have to spend long hours of time detrimental to their normal vacation for which they

    are not compensated

c) They will be humiliated by cross examination

d) Cannot say   e) any other please specify

17. What measures should be done to improve police-public relations?

a. Educating public about the roles of police

b. Accepting and respecting each other

c. Strict and impartial enforcement of the law by police

d. All or any other please specify:

18. Should there be increased association of central police organisation with the investigative work of the state police? A) yes   b)no   c) cannot say

19. In your opinion do you want the strength of women police to be increased?

a) yes   b) no

20. Does the presence of women in the police result in fairness?

a) yes   b) No

21. For what purpose does police exist and what do you see in your local police, also what would you like to see in your local police?

22. Would you like to join the police service or would you like any family member to join the police?

23. Movies and TV shows, give examples that police are highly successful in solving crime, do you perceive as influencing social perception of police?

24. What do you think about the role of police in women safety?

25. Do you see police as a (different) section of the community as a law guardian or (same as the general) populations?

26. Do you think the legal structure of the Indian police system allows police to be friendly and community oriented?

27. What does the police organisation lack? What should be the means and measures in the organisation for better management?

28. From your knowledge what does Sikkim police have?

29. What kinds of changes have you been seeing in the relations between police and public?

Appendix II

Questionnaire for police respondents

Name: Sex :( ) Age: Educational Qualification: Marital

Status: Designation: Time Period Serving: Type of Living:

(Rented/ Own House/ Family Quarter)

Native Place: (East District, West District, North District, South District)

1.   Is there anyone from your family who are/were working in police service?

 a)Yes   b)   No

2.   What made you motivated or reasons to be in police service

a)   Government service   b) unemployment   c) power and aura   d) any other

please specify

3.   Do you want your family to be in police service?

 a) Yes   b) No

4.   Are you able to avail off duty on certain occasions? a) Yes   b) No: if no, do

you feel that being in police service has excluded you from the rest of the society?

5.   Are you satisfied with your working pattern?

  a) Yes   b) No

6.   In which situation does your stress level reveal from the work pressure?

a)   Law and order duty   b) solving crime/cases   c)   multiple   task

d) all   e) any other please specify

7.   Do you want refreshal training?

8.   A) Yes   b) No

9.   Are you concerned about the state of affairs and problems in Sikkim?

10. A) Yes   b) No

11. Do any of the cases when lodge in station have stressed and concerned you?

a) Yes:

b) No

12. Is there a police station or outpost within the reach of the citizens?

a) Yes   b) No   c) I don't know

13. How frequently does the citizen visit a police station?

a) Regularly   b) Rarely

14. Do you visit your locality in your work capacity?

a. No   b) Yes, if yes i. During patrolling   ii. During a criminal

investigation.

15. How do you rate your own body language being police personnel?

a) Humble   b) arrogant   c)disposed in favor of public   d) cannot say

16. Are you satisfied with your approaches toward being friendly with the community?

a) Yes   b) No   c) Cannot say

17. Do police hold community friendly meetings/programs? Yes/no, if yes

a) Weekly   b) Monthly   c) Yearly   d) Other please

specify:

18. In your opinion, do police harass people?

a) Yes   b) No   c) I don't know

b) If yes, in which basis please specify

19. Do you think that local police are fair?

a) Yes   B) No   c) I don't know.

20. In your opinion, police attitude is

a)   Dismissive   b) Supportive c)Collaborative   d) None   e)Any   other

please specify:

21. How does the police work?

a) Multi-disciplinary policing system   b) Collaborative system with civil society/

organisation

c) Both   d) any other please specify

22. In your opinion what are the emotions that a police personnel in uniform evokes in the

citizen?

a)   Fear   b) Respect   c) Hatred   d)   Disgust   d)   Friendly

e) supportive f) any other:

23. Do you think that local police are driven by prejudices of caste and creed?

a)Yes   b) No

24. In your opinion do you want the strength of women police to be increased?

a) yes   b) no

25. Does the presence of women in police result in fairness?

a) yes   b) No

26. What defines you as a police officer and what would you like to be known as?

27. Do you think there is a gender disparity in getting mainstream duties?

28. How do you make time for your family and manage your income for the living

standard of your family and yourself?

29. Do you think the legal structure of the Indian police system allows police to be

friendly and community oriented?

30. What does the police organisation lack? What should be the means and measures in the organisation for better management? From your knowledge what does Sikkim police have?

31. What kinds of changes have you been seeing in the relations between police and public?

Appendix III

Treaty of Segouli: 2nd December, 1815

Treaty of peace between the Honourable East India Company and Maha Raja Bikram Sah, Rajan of Nipal, settled between Lieutenant Colonel Bradshaw on the part of Honourable Company, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis, Earl of Moira, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garte, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Pirvy Council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by Sree Gooro Gujraj Misser and Chunder Seekur Opedeea on the part of Maha Raja Girmaun Jode Bikram Sah Bahadur, Shumsher Jung, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nipal, - 2nd December 1815.

Whereas was has arisen between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two States, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon:

Article 1st

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal.

Article 2nd

The rajah of Nipal renounces all claim to the lands which were the subjects of discussion between the two states before the war, and acknowledges the right of the HonourableComapany to the sovereignty of those lands.

Article 3rd

The rajah of Nipal hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity all the under mentioned territories, viz –

First :- The whole of the low lands between the Rivers Kali and Rapti

Secondly :- The whole of the low lands (with the exceptions of Bootwul Khass) lying between the Rapti and Gunduck

Thirdly :- The whole of the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosah, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourthly :- All the low lands between the Rivers Mitchee and the Teestah.

Fifthly :- All the territories withing the hills eastward of the River Mitchee including the fort and lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that Pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory lying shall be evacuated by the Gurkha troops within forty days from this date.

Article 4th

With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the state of Nipal, Whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands cede by the foregoing Article, the British Government agrees to settle pensions to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of

rupees per annum on such Chiefs as my be selected by the Rajah of Nipal, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunnuds shall be grated under the seal and signature of the Governor General for the pensions respectively.

Article 5th

The Rajah of Nipal renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claim to or connexion with the countries lying to the west of the River Kali and engages to have any concern with those countries or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 6th

The Rajah of Nipal engages never to molejst or disturb the Rajah of Sikkim in the possession of his territories, but agrees, if any differences shall arise between the State of Nipal and the Rajah of Sikkim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to that arbitration of the British Government by whose award the Rajah of Nipal engages to abide.

Article 7th

The Rajah of Nipal hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European and American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8th

In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two States, it is agreed that accredited Ministers from each shall reside at the Courts of the other.

Article 9th

This treaty, consisting of nine Articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nipal within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieut-Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver to the Rajah the ratification of the Governor-General within twenty days, or sooner, if practicable.

Appendix IV

The Treaty of Titaliya, 1817

Treaty Covenant or Agreement entered into by Capital Barre Latter, Agent of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Moria K.G., Governor General, etc., and by Nazir Chaina Tenjin and Macha Teinbath and lama Duchim Lindoo, deputies on the part of the Raja of Sikkim put tee, being severally authorised and duly appointed for the purpose, 1817.

Article 1

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in fully sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Raja, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Mechi River ant to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed by the Raja of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

Article 2

The Sikkimputtee Raja engages for himself and his successors to abstain from any act of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other state.

Article 3

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul of any other neighbouring state, and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 4

He engages for himself and his successors to join the British troops with whole of his Military Force when employed in the Hills, and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in0 his power.

Article 5

That will not permit any British subject, or the subject of any European and American State to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English Government.

Article 6

That he will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that might take refuge within his territories.

Article 7

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents within demanded by the British Government through their accredited agents.

Article 8

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's provinces and he engages that no duty shall be levied on the transit of merchandise beyond the established custom at the several golahs and marts.

Article 9

The Honourable East India Company guarantees to the Sikkimputtee Raja and his successors the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hilly country specified in the First Article of the present Agreement.

Article 10

This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Raja within one month from the present date, and the counterpart when conformed by His Excellency the right Honourable the Governor-General shall be transmitted to the Raja.

Done at Titalia, this tenth day of February 1817, answering the ninth of Phagun, 1873 Sambat, and to the thirtieth of Magh 1223 Bengallie .

S/d	S/d
Barre Latter	Moria
Nazir Chaina Tenjin	N.B. Edmonstone
Machateinbath	Archd. Seton
Lama DuchimLindoo	Geo. Dowdeswell

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William, this fifteenth day of March, and one thousand and seventeen.

S/d

J.Adam

Acting Chief Seceratery to Governer