PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF POLICE IN INDIA: CAUSES OF DISTRUST AND WAYS TO REBUILD THE CONFIDENCE

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ABSTRACT

This research article explores the complex landscape of public perception of the police in India, highlighting the underlying causes of widespread distrust and proposing pathways for rebuilding public confidence. It examines the historical evolution of policing in India, from ancient civilizations through colonial rule to the present day, underscoring how institutional brutality and outdated practices persist. The study identifies several key factors contributing to public distrust, including a low police-population ratio, corruption, mental health challenges among officers, biased behavior, and inadequate infrastructure. It emphasizes the critical role of the media in shaping public perception, often leading to further deterioration of trust through negative portrayals. Through notable case studies, such as the Ruchika Girhotra and K.P.S. Gill incidents, the article illustrates how abuses of power and lack of accountability have tarnished the image of law enforcement. The paper also reviews recommendations from commissions and suggests reforms such as improved training, constructive disciplinary approaches, and institutional learning from global practices. Ultimately, the article calls for a transparent, people-centric policing model that is accountable, well-resourced, and grounded in democratic values to restore the fractured relationship between the police and the public in India.

Keywords: - Police, Distrust, Brutality, Corruption, Accountability and Reforms.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"A lack of transparency results in distrust and a deep sense of insecurity."

- Dalai Lama²

The ability to think is the one thing that sets humans apart from other animals on the planet, and it is this ability that keeps us organised. However, in society, which is a result of man's material and financial requirements, there is a constant fear of disruptions to his otherwise peaceful and disciplined life. Since the time of the nomadic people, the primary preoccupation of humanity has been how to eradicate these fears to the point that the weak are not subjugated. The concept of "POLICE" may have originated from this same idea. Therefore, the origin of the police may be traced back to the beginning of time, when man began to evolve from his primal animal nature and, utilizing his capacity for reason and intellect, saw the advantages of family and business life as well as the necessity of improving himself.³

The earliest trace of human can be found back to 7 million years. From their existence till now humans has come a long way. First humans were nomadic then they become Vikings. And the most important time come when civilizations started. The development of human civilizations led to formation of societies and communities. To regulate these communities and societies' rules, regulation and law were made. This led the formation of rights and duties.⁴ The main purpose of law is to protect the interest of individuals in the societies however not every individual keen to follow these rules and regulation. Therefore, system of policing was developed.⁵

Police, the largest and the most important law enforcing agency, has, no doubt, a special responsibility for the protection of human rights. It cannot be denied that the police in India do often function in an illegal manner. The question is not whether human rights violation by the police takes place or not. It is common knowledge that large scale illegalities by the police do take place. The question that needs to be answered is: why do they take place on the scale as

⁵ Howard H Earle, *Police Community Relations, Crisis in Our Time* (2nd ed. 1970).



² Dalai Lama, *Distrust Quotes*, BrainyQuote (Sept. 28, 2018), https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/dalai lama 446741?src=t distrust

³ B.N Mullik, *A Philosophy For The Police* 8-11 (1st ed. 1969)

⁴ John Noble Wilford, When Humans Became Human, THE NEW YORK TIMES, (Feb. 26, 2002), at 1.

they do. The root cause of human rights violations by the police lies in the manner of its functioning in the Indian criminal justice system.⁶

Intensity of police investigations, effective maintenance of public order and successful prevention of crimes including traffic accidents are examples of police tasks which cannot be easily quantified. Several days of patient investigation may ultimately solve a burglary case but the evidence when presented in court with the complete recovery of property and a possible admission by the accused may appear very simple and straight, giving no indication at all of the labour and sweat involved behind the scene. People may happily witness the orderly conduct of a public function, but they may be unaware of the enormous work earlier done by the police in collecting intelligence and anticipating possible points of disorder and eliminating the likely causes for it.⁷

At present era police are divided into many different branch and kinds on basic of their functions and duty such as IT cell, special cell, narcotic, etc. It has become the most basic and necessary body in the criminal administrative system. It is the duty of police to investigate and enquire into cases of crime. Though the justice is pronounced by the judges in the court but it is based on the investigation and interrogation of police by which evidences, witnesses are collected and brought to the judges to interpret.⁸

Divergence in expectations and distortions in perceptions and resulting attitudes, between police and the public, may lead to unacceptable performance. And, therefore, apart from leadership caliber and motivated team response within the organisation, and the influence of political power and money power in the environment, the basic sequence of people's expectation, police perceptions, their performance in pursuance, and people's acceptance of it, will surely form the vital pattern of the process that will determine people's attitude to police, and hence the police image.⁹

⁹ S. M. Diaz, Public Expectations, Perceptions and Attitudes to Police in India, 17 INDIAN J. CRIMINOLOGY 42 (January 1989).



⁶ Ved Marwah, *Human Rights and Role of Police*, 40 Journal of the Indian Law Institute 138-142 (1998).

⁷ C. V. Narasimhan, Evaluation of Police Performance, 17 INDIAN J. CRIMINOLOGY 85 (July 1989).

⁸ Jay Prakash Akela, Behaviour of Police towards Public in India, 4 INDIAN J.L. & LEGAL RSCH. 1 (2022).

2. HISTORY OF POLICE AND POLICE BRUTALITY

History tells us a lot a about anything. It is not only related about its past but it also tells us how it molds the present. So here we will briefly discuss about the history of policing mostly focusing on India. The word 'police' has been derived from Latin term 'politia' meaning condition of state and Greek word 'polis' meaning city. Main purpose is to maintain public order and safety, enforce the law, and prevent, detect, and investigate criminal activities. Along with these police also perform various licensing and regulatory activities. ¹⁰

In India system of policing goes back to the early Vedic period in the Rig and the Atharva Veda mentions crimes known to the Vedic people. We can trace the system of security forces in the Harappan Civilization. The Apastamba Dharmastra prescribes that in the towns and villages, kings should appoint officers and subordinates to protect their subjects from crime. ¹¹ In Vedic India, certain types of crimes and their associated punishments are mentioned in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda. Manu, the lawmaker, discusses the use of secret intelligence in his era to deter and identify criminal activity. The detailed and authentic accounts of police organization and police activities during the Mauryan and Gupta periods of Indian history were also existed. ¹² The indigenous system of police in India during the Mauryan period was organized on the basis of land tenure and collective responsibility of the village community. Kautilya's Arthashastra written about 310 B.C. is a monumental work, yielding systematic information about investigation patterns, punishment agencies and vice-control devices. ¹³

After the decline of the Hindu Kingdoms, the Afghans, and the Mughal rulers, who followed their own concept of police administration, superimposed the Arabic-cum-Feudalistic institutions of faujdar and kotwal on the existing structure of Policing in the village. ¹⁴ Independent India inherited a colonial police structure which had been intact since the reforms in 1861; the perceptions, attitudes, and predispositions of the makers of public policy toward

¹⁴ Sarita A Kalia, *Job Stress and The Indian Police* 15-18 (1st ed. 1995).



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¹⁰ Abhijay Chakraborty, Police in Criminal Justice System in India, 2 INDIAN J.L. & LEGAL RSCH. 1 (August-September 2021).

¹¹ Anupam Sharma, "Police in Ancient India", 65(1), THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, 101, 101(2004).

¹² S.K. Ghosh & K.F Rustamji, Encyclopaedia of Police in India 3-5 (1st ed. 1993).

¹³ Sir Percival Griffiths, *To Guard my People: The History of the Indian Police* 153-172 (1st ed. 1971).

the police; and a colonial concept of the role of police. Ironically, the same setup, with minor modifications, still continues.¹⁵

Brutality means the excessive use or unnecessary use of force by the police when dealing with the civilians. ¹⁶ Instances of the police exceeding their power and subjecting people to brutality are not new. Police are the people who are meant to keep us safe but sometimes the ones the society needs safety from are the police themselves. Police have been seen engaging in murder, assault, battery, and verbal abuse. ¹⁷ The roots of police brutality in India can be traced back to The Police Act, 18613 which came into existence just a few years after the uprising of 1857. The model of the Indian police adopted by the East India Company was based on the model already working in Ireland. The police in Ireland were paramilitary and not answerable to anyone except the government. ¹⁸

After the uprising of 1857, the East India Company had got an idea that the people in India were restless and violent and hence the Ireland model of police where the police were armed and could use force against the civilians was deemed suitable4, this was the beginning of unfortunate events of police brutality in India.¹⁹ One of the most gruesome instances of postcolonial police brutality in India was the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre that took place on April 13, 1919, where the policemen confined unarmed civilians in the Bagh and open fired on them ruthlessly killing more than 400 people and injuring almost 1500 on the orders given by General Reginald Dyer.²⁰

One of the other instances of police brutality was the action taken by the police at the midnight at Ram Leela Maidan. The Ram Leela Maidan was booked for a yoga camp by Baba Ram Dev for 20 days but later it became the place for Satyagraha. At midnight, when the people were sleeping, police swooped down in the ground and used tear gas, water cannons and laathis on the people who were sleeping. This incident gathered a lot of media coverage and when the

¹⁹ K.S Subramanian, *The Sordid Story of Colonial Policing in Independent India*, THE WIRE, (Nov. 20, 2017), at 4. ²⁰ *ibid*



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¹⁵ J C Curry, *The Indian Police* 35-36 (1st ed. 1932).

¹⁶ Black's Law Dictionary (12th ed. 2024).

¹⁷ Shrishti Mittal, Police Brutality over the Years in India 1861-2020, 3 INT'l J.L. MGMT. & HUMAN. 2019 (2020).

¹⁸ Economist, *The shortcomings of India's police are not entirely their fault*, THE ECONOMIST, (Aug. 18, 2018), at 5

pictures of the policemen laathi-charging the people who were sleeping were made public, this act was greatly criticized by both the public and the Supreme Court.²¹

3. PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF POLICE AND THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN INDIA

"Police performance in India today", says the National Police Commission, -is under close review and critical assessment by a demanding public in far greater measure than at any time in the past". The methodology currently employed for evaluating external effectiveness of the police has frequently been subjected to criticism and it has been seriously contended that judging the organization solely on the basis of statistics results in the adoption of questionable methods like burking and minimization of crime. high-handedness, use of third degree, padding of evidence etc. The undesirability of relying too much upon statistics to evaluate police performance has thus been generally recognized and it has been suggested that we adopt public satisfaction as an alternate measure to gauge police effectiveness. But then, how do we quantify that elusive thing called "Public satisfaction", in a situation in a situation in which, as the National Police Commission has observed, various factors have "tended to bring the police in confrontation with the public much more frequently than ever before?" 22

The common man expects that when a crime is committed, it is promptly detected and the offender speedily brought to book. He also expects that there is peace and order in the area. He further expects that when he approaches the police for any assistance, he is given a courteous hearing and that the requisite help is readily made available to him He will judge police performance accordingly. In other words, the indicators and determinants of police performance are:

i. Effectiveness in the prevention and detection of crimes and maintenance of law, order, peace, and security.

²² R. S. Kulkarni, Police Performance in India, 17 INDIAN J. CRIMINOLOGY 104 (July 1989).



²¹ Legal Correspondent, *Supreme Court asks Delhi police to explain Ramlila Maidan action*, THE HINDU, (Nov. 17, 2021), at 6.

ii. Satisfactory performance of service-oriented functions of the police, including counselling and mediating in appropriate situations.²³

Modern democracies consider freedom of speech and expression as the pillars of a democratic and progressive socio-political environment. However, the lack of rigorous regulations concerning the dissemination of unbiased news and information through the media often increases the risk of setting narratives. In the case of conflicts, the framing of narratives plays a significant role in influencing public opinion that has the potential to change the course of the conflict.²⁴ The repetition of the news concerning a precise event or incident accompanied by the projection of similar information from other news sources plays a central role in influencing the perception of the audience and making them believe that the news or event is indeed 'significant'. The resonance of similar information from diverse media sources is the outcome of the prevailing imitation as well as influence in the journalism landscape. The homogeneity in the narrative concerning the headlines or breaking news is caused by the journalism practices.²⁵

In this context the press has a significant part to play in shaping and molding the attitude of the public towards the police. Though the image of any service or organization is ultimately based on the quality of service it renders, the important role of the press in brightening or smearing the police image cannot be overlooked. For improving communication and building bridges of understanding with the people, the police require the constant cooperation of the press. The term "press" has been used to designate newspapers, periodicals and electronic media like the radio and the television.²⁶

Unfortunately, in our country a happy and harmonious press-police relationship has not so far grown up. More often than not there is confrontation instead of co-operation between the two. A content analysis of Indian papers and journals over a period of time will go to show the tendency of the press to make highly critical, negative and pejorative references to the work and conduct of the police. The press depicts the police as insensitive, power-hungry and

²⁶ Sankar Sen, Police and Press in India - An Adversary Relationship, 58 POLICE J. 163 (April 1985).



²³ R. S. Kulkarni, Police Performance in India, 17 INDIAN J. CRIMINOLOGY 104 (July 1989).

²⁴ J Lynch, *Iraq, Peace Journalism and the Construction of Truth*, 48 Media development 22-24 (2001).

²⁵ M McCombs & S Valenzuela, *Agenda Setting Theory: The Frontier Research Questions.*, 48 The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication (2014).

lawless. The police, on the other hand, accuse the press of sensationalism, exaggeration and distortion-all aimed at improving the circulation of the paper. Another police charge is that many press representatives are not only unsympathetic, but also betray a lack of understanding and objectivity while reporting crime and law and order problems. This adversary relationship between the police and press is unfortunate and undesirable in a democratic setup like India.²⁷

Therefore, in our day-to-day life that behaviour of police towards people is not satisfactory and they behave with people in very unruly and rude manner. And it has become a perception among the people that it is better to stay away from police personal rather than engaging with them. It has become mind-set of people that police are corrupt and good for nothing and that's why people tend away from reporting any incident or crime to the police and do not want to go the police station.²⁸

4. FACTORS LEADING TO DISTRUST IN PUBLIC

In 2018 the Lokniti- Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) along with Common Cause conducted a survey on status of policing in India in 2018. They took response from 15,562 people across 22 states on their perceptions about policing, and they found that less than 25% of Indians trust the police.²⁹ There are number of factors that molds and transforms behaviour of police towards people, some of them are as follows: -

A. Police-Public Ratio

India is seventh largest country in the world with second highest population i.e., of 1.40 billion with population density of 464 per km² that is equivalent to 17.7% of world population.³⁰ And according to the 2020 data of Bureau of Police research and Development India has the 20.91 lakh police force across country of which 13.34 are civil police". ³¹ Police per lakh of Population Ratio (PPR) against the total sanctioned Police strength (Civil DAR + Special Armed+ IRB) during the year 2019 195.39 as compared to

³¹ Bureau of Police Research and Development, *Data on Police Organisation* (2020).



²⁷ Sankar Sen, Police and Press in India - An Adversary Relationship, 58 POLICE J. 163 (April 1985).

²⁸ Sankar Sen, why public views police with fear, suspicion, The Tribune, (Jan. 16, 2025).

²⁹ Common Cause, *The Indian Police Journal* 70-90 (2018).

³⁰ India Population (2022), Worldometer https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/india-population/

198.65 in the previous year.³² That means in India for one lakh people there is only 195.39 police. This ratio is very much disastrous as the ratio prescribed by United Nation (UN) is 222 police per lakh persons. To make it worst 47,000 police are deployed for the protection of 14,842 VIPs. Due to the smaller number of police personal then requirement overburden the police stations and this led to hamper in the working of the police.

B. Corruption

Police are handed with the duty of law enforcement and safety of people thus provided with power, duties and immunities making them an authoritative unit. We must have witnessed such an incident when we have seen a police officer taking bribe either it is traffic police or any other police personnel taking bribe for performing their duty. Police corruption is a special form of police misconduct designed to obtain financial benefits, other personal gain, or career advancement for a police officer or officers in exchange for not follow or continue, or selectively pursuing an investigation or arrest.³³ As pointed out by Austin and we know that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Thus, when police provided with authority they tend to corruption. Sometimes police get involved in corruption due to the political pressure or departmental pressure. Other reason of corruption in police is economic factor. Only 3% of budget is expended on policing in India and constable consists of the 86% of the police in India and they merely get promoted. Condition of constables are pathetic their salaries is between 5000 to 20,000 and the quarters they are provided with hardly have the basic facilities of drinking water, toilet, etc. This all tends them towards corruption.³⁴

C. Mental Health

In 2012 stress was defined by the American Institute of Stress as, "a condition or feeling experienced when a person perceives that demands exceed the personal and social resources the individual is able to mobilize." Police personnel are also human beings they do require rest and stability. Many of them are fighting with stress, it is very common because of the nature of their work. They are very much open to anxiety, depression,

³⁵ Bureau of Police Research, *The Indian Police Journal* (2016).



³² Ibid

³³ Ravikanth B. Lamani & G. S. Venumadhava, *Police Corruption in India*, 6 IJCST, 228, 229,(2013).

³⁴ Bureau of Police Research and Development, *Data on Police Organisation* (2020).

suicide, etc. They had to stand in heat, rain and winter without any proper infrastructure. They even do not have proper facilities related to drinking water or toilet. They are trained to deal the manmade problems but they have to deal with other problems also such as calamities and disaster.³⁶ In a study conducted among 180 police personnel in Gadchiroli city, Maharashtra. Structured questionnaire based on Professional Life Stress Test by Fontana was given to all participants. It was found that 88.88% were working for more than 12 hours daily leading to stress among police personnel.³⁷

D. Biasness

Biasness or prejudice will always result in injustice and if police will stay biased then it will also result in violation of rights of others. Common Cause with Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) in 2019 surveyed 11,834 police personnel across 21 states about their perceptions, attitudes and professional skills. It was found that 50% of all police personnel believe that Muslims are somewhat more likely to commit crimes, 44% of police personnel were willing to use extra-judicial means to address crime, 60% of all police believe migrants from other states prone to committing crime, similarly 35% in case of Dalits.³⁸

E. Infrastructure

Thought the expenditure has increased in the policing still only 3% of budget is expended on policing in India.³⁹ The sanctioned strength of State Police Forces has increased to 26.23 lakh in 2019 over 25.95 lakh in 2018 and the expenditure on State Police Forces has increased to Rs. 1,38,794.32 crore in the year 2019-20, from Rs. 1,34,261.90 crore (revised) in the year 2018-19.⁴⁰ In training Rs.1,566.85 crore was at the all-India level in the year 2019-20, out of the total police expenditure of Rs. 1,38,794.32 crore during the same year.⁴¹ Modernization is very much necessary in policing and that require developed infrastructure. And it is necessary for construction of secure and people friendly Police

⁴¹ Ibid



³⁶ T. K. Vinod Kumar, Factors Impacting Job Satisfaction among Police Personnel in India: A Multidimensional Analysis, 27 INT'l CRIM. JUST. REV. 126 (2017).

³⁷ Bureau of Police Research, *The Indian Police Journal* (2016).

³⁸ Vishnu Padmanabhan & Pooja Dantewadia, What data says about police biases, Mint, (Apr. 2, 2020).

³⁹ Bureau of Police Research and Development, *Data on Police Organisation* (2020).

⁴⁰ Ibid

Stations, Police Outposts, Police Housing, Improved Mobility, Modern Weaponry, Computerization, Communication Equipment, Modern Traffic Control Equipment, etc.

5. CASE OPINIONS

A. Ruchika Girhotra Case

The recent turn of events which got enormous media attention and shook all segments of the society to shame and distress was the revisitation of Ruchika's case, years after her death. The events bought an ugly picture of the misuse of one's clout and position when Haryana Inspector General of Police (IGP) S.P.S. Rathore, also the Haryana Lawn Tennis Association President, was charged with molestation of the 14-year-old budding tennis player named Ruchika Girhotra in his office situated in the garage of an under construction building at Panchkula's Sector 6. The molester even forgot that his victim was of the same age as his own daughter as they were classmates in the same school.⁴²

B. KPS Gill Case

Another famous case of *Rupan Deol Bajaj v. Kanwar Pal Singh Gill & Anr*⁴³ was much in news where a senior IAS officer, Rupan Deol Bajaj was slapped on the posterior by the then Chief of Punjab Police, Mr. K P S Gill, in a drunken state at a dinner party in July 1988. Rupan Bajaj filed a suit against him, despite the public opinion that she was blowing it out of proportion, along with the attempts by all the senior officials of the state to suppress the matter. The Hon'ble SC upheld the conviction of Mr. KPS Gill and fined him with 2.5 lacs along with the punishment.⁴⁴

C. R.K Sharma Case

Popularly known as the Shivani Bhatnagar murder case, it. involved the role of an IPS officer named R.K. Sharma who was alleged to be connected in the killing of Shivani, a principal correspondent of the Indian Express at her East Delhi flat, on January 23, 1999.

⁴⁴ Gill and Rathore, *Protectors Turned Molesters*, Express Buzz (Dec. 23, 2009).



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⁴² Supriya Bhardwaj, *Ruchika Girhotra Case: Molestation of Minor, Abuse of Power*, Times of India (Dec. 23, 2009).

⁴³ 1995 SCC (6) 194.

R.K. Sharma was suspended from service on August 23, 2002 and later in 2008, he was convicted by the hon'ble SC for imprisonment for life.⁴⁵

6. REFORMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a need of reforms in police administrative system in India and in regard with this many commissions and committees submitted their report and recommendations and some of them are as follows: -

A. Implementation of the recommendations of the National Police Commission

The National Police Commission (NPC) was appointed in 1977 with aim to reform police administration in India. The Commission submitted eight reports between 1979 and 1981, suggesting various reforms in police system but none of them was implemented, thereby leading to non-transparent and rigid system. Example of such recommendation is community policing, etc.⁴⁶

B. Training and Education

The best method within the existing infrastructure would be to evolve a comprehensive method of training and education of the police force. The training should be to train the body, mind and spirit. For every one year of service the recruits should be sent to training camp for compulsory training where they should be given some credit points. These performance-based credit points should be given weightage during their promotion. The training mechanism should include yoga (both physical as well as mental); physical exercises; training in law and philosophy to train their mind.⁴⁷

C. Constructive Approach

Except under exceptional circumstances, rather than adopting a retributive approach to punish the police official the system should adopt constructive approach towards the

⁴⁷ Alok Kumar Gupta & Geetanjali Sharma, *Indian Police: Crisis of Credibility*, 73 The Indian Journal of Political Science 299-310 (2012).



⁴⁵ Editor, Shivani Bhatnagar Murder Case Timeline, The Indian Express (Mar. 24, 2008)

⁴⁶ Jay Prakash Akela, Behaviour of Police towards Public in India, 4 INDIAN J.L. & LEGAL RSCH. 1 (2022).

problem. If we can make the police or any other personnel realize his mistake and train him as well as help him to rectify his ills will would contribute more to the society.⁴⁸

D. Inspiration from other Nations

India can take inspiration from such institutional reforms as done by other nations and incorporate those suggestions which restructure the power base and institutional values of police system. This will help in strengthening as well as making the police system transparent. Some of the examples are: - Civilian Complaints Review Boards have been set up in USA, Serious complaint against police officer is dealt independently, etc.⁴⁹

7. CONCLUSION

Police is the most essential part of the society and they were present from the early civilisations as they maintain stability in the society. Therefore, police are there to maintain the law and order in the society and bring the defaulter to the criminal administrative system. However, we can see that condition of police in India in itself is not satisfactory. There are many factors which resulted in the day to day fall of police reputation and functioning in India. Corruption has shaped the modern policing system either it is done by police by themselves or due to political or departmental pressure. Lack of basic facilities for the police personnel and degrading infrastructure also create hurdles in police administration.

Due to the lack of training and information regarding recent development in law and society are also factors for downfall in the functioning capacity of police. And the last nail in the coffin was put by the biasness developed in them by media and all. Government must adopt and enforce the recommendations and directions of various committees and Supreme Court. Specially, the formation of the boards and commissions and the division of police system in two wings will also be very much helpful, thereby increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the police.

⁴⁹ Alok Kumar Gupta & Geetanjali Sharma, *Indian Police: Crisis of Credibility*, 73 The Indian Journal of Political Science 299-310 (2012).



⁴⁸ Ibid