

Police and Developmental Disorganization

Abstract

Development involves change and growth. However, for this change to be meaningful, growth has to be purposive. Looking closely we realize that these terms are ambiguous and no research conducted in this area claims success in attempting definitions free of values. Scholars of post colonial societies in the post world-war era constructed various 'models of development' and arrived at certain developmental variables. These include democratization, modernization, secularization, affluence, institution building, differentiation process, social cohesion, equitability, justice in economic systems and peaceful transformations towards a decentralized society. This paper mainly focuses on what is development disorganization in public in India society in the present time.

The nation of democratic development posits a stable and peaceful society. This in turn demands strong institutions which can render specialized and professional public service. The absence of this infrastructure can push developing societies into a developmental trap of irrecoverable nature. All development being holistic cannot be compartmentalized and envisaging police administration as a non-developmental phenomenon is a fallacy which a developing society like India can ill afford.

Keywords: Purposive, Colonial, Secularization, Render, Phenomenon

Introduction

A promise to build 'several roads to socialism' is contained within the Marxian model of development which is essentially a philosophy of rapid industrialization and cultural metamorphosis. Hugh Watson has termed it a wider phenomenon-the revolt of the backward people led by a section of their intelligentsia against the west. Apart from its obvious anti-western overtones, the concepts of growing differentiation and secularization of roles and structures are pushing the Marxist models of development towards a greater convergence between the democratic and social models. The collapses of the Soviet System and the revisionism in china with Sino US Axis have put question marks to the Marxian model of development which used to look enchanting as a second world model for decades.

Administration, as a sub-system of political or that of the bigger social system has to be largely and sometimes exclusively dependent on the meaning and nature of political development, Honesty, capacity, differentiation efficiency and goal orientation may be some of the critical characteristics of administrative development in a 'refracted' or defracted society. But what is significant is the overall adjustment of the administrative system to the totality of the socio-political system, which it seeks to transform or maintain under the aegis of developmental catalysts. The ecological perspective is equally inadequate and the scientific identification of administrative dilemmas can better explain the variables, generated by the chemistry of social change. Some of the pressures and challenges which the police administration in India has to confront on account of its historical legacies, outmoded structures and functional limitations to deal with this developmental disorder are overwhelming.

In the Indian context, it is indisputable that 'development' has to be the basic goal of the polity, provided its survival is not jeopardized. Between these two extremes of 'mere survival' and 'fast development' the various milestones happen to be the destiny and destination of a developing nation like India. The catalyst agents cannot be imported or indigenously produced over night. The price or cost of development just cannot be assigned to any one section or class, howsoever affluent or otherwise. Similarly, the teeming class, howsoever affluent or otherwise. Similarly, the teeming millions just cannot be asked to wait for 'ad infinitum', simple because development has little relevance, if it cannot be envisaged



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in one's own life time, speed is critical and so are the strategies which are to be adjusted and readjusted like that of the driving skills of an automobile, negotiating with the bulging curves and sharp turns on an ascending serpentine highway. Moreover, it is not enough to say that uphill journey is only to be completed in a prescribed time limit. The establishment of a just social order through a democratic process, rooted in economic abundance is a matter of slow and steady evolution. Some of the fundamental principles, which should govern the evolution of a developmental polity are :

1. High priority needs to be given to the Gandhian dictum of 'means leading to the end' and not the vice-versa. Development 'per se' is a meaningless or rather a dangerous exercise unless the 'how of development' is made relevant to 'what' and 'why' of the enterprise.
2. Like the end means synthesis, the political, economic and social aspects of developmental equation need to be worked out in their 'ratio proportions' and should be periodically reviewed and synthesized in a meaningful integral whole. This has enabled the policy to absorb and accommodate the thrusts and pressures of piecemeal development.
3. Similarly, the sabotage of development efforts has to be avoided consciously by plugging the erosion of those value bases, which are conducive to the versatile development of the society.
4. This strengthening and arrest of desirable and undesirable factors respectively, is possible only when the basic structure of the polity and society is insulated from the preserves pressures change, detrimental or obstructive to the basic change, called development.

Thus, development is a phenomenon of meaningful change and purposeful growth, which needs to be generated, preserved and accelerated. Negatively, it is to be protected, pushed and dovetailed through a process of coordination, attempt by planners or elitist leaders of the polity or/and society. The blend of these positive and negative forces create a dialectical situation but what ultimately survives as a 'negation of negations' be a process of residue can be called development, so long the predominant values of the emerging social system remain incrementally wedded to the higher values of science, rationality and equity.

Thirty five years ago when this development exercise was conceived in the fifties, the policy planners started from some theoretical formulations postulated as:

1. Development in a system of mixed economy.
2. Development through democratic consensus and decision making.
3. Development along with social justice.

These basic premises enshrined and outlined in the preambles of a series of five – year plans, when operationalised, posed enormous and insoluble problems of investment, time, social cost, equitable distribution of meager resources, political and demographic compulsions.

Aim of the Study

The aim of the paper is to explain the working of police in socio-political system of nation and also defines the relationship between police and developmental disorganization. Awareness among the society is the chief objective of my paper.

The Social Disorganization as A Price

Social disorganization here may be conceived as a board, general and all inclusive term tending to describe some of the consequences that have emanated from planned development in India. This social disorganization can be further analyzed on a broader canvas of political disorder, accentuated by economic malfunctioning and cultural incohesion of the social structures.¹ The medieval society in India blissfully clung to the romanticism of ancient values of culture and when planners of democratic development suddenly exposed it to the so-called modernity of the institutions of the West, it found itself in a quagmire of contradictory goals and self-defeating efforts. The multi pronged thrusts, which development measures have caused in the stagnant economy of the nation, have influenced our social system, leading to dislocations in established norms, behaviours and relations. The political system, being tamely representative, has played the prisoner of the economic sub-system with the result that is has vainly toyed with the idea of reforms in all fields including social change and cultural transformation. The earlier efforts of combat social disorganization in the nascent stage during the fifties and sixties were effective, but like various growth stages of development, the disorganization also touched its 'take off from where it was to attain a more rapid speed and velocity. The balance sheet of this developmental enterprise of the last thirty-five years in India highlights the liability column, and some of these negative items need to be scrutinized and analysed by social scientists.

The paradox of increased GNP and lower per income has caused a curving bulge in the poverty line. The population explosion which threatened the Malthusian alarm of geometric progression in the sixties has now touched a new danger line in the eighties. No amount of appreciable rise in the rate of growth of GNP can mitigate the 'crisis of rising expectations' (CRE) of the middle and lower classes, where the population bulge has made an effective impact. 'The glass curtain economy' painfully dramatizes this chasm between the rising GNP and shrinking per capita income. It is all the more painful, because, poverty today's in India is socially described and accepted as a mere economic phenomenon, afflicting all those who aspire to possess more and consume still more.

The combine of the neo-rich and neo-powerful has sharply enhanced the exploitative capacity of the privileged classes in India society. As consequences, the cleavages, inherent contradictions and obvious conflicts have deepened. The privileged classes on the one hand talk of 'social justice' and on the other are likely to abuse the privileges under one pretext or the other. Their control over the apparatus of the state is subtle and systematic. The exploitative capacity adds to the manipulative power of the elite,

and its vulgar parading in public life may lead to corruption, simmering resentment and frustrations among the weaker section of society.

The pace of migration from rural to urban areas had led to a dislocation from the traditional habitat, without a corresponding welcome in the sprawling conglomerations of the city. This phenomenon has affected the migrants in many ways. Moreover, this influx continuously adds to urban chaos. The uncertain and confused groups and individuals may, under the force of circumstances, become prey to various types of lures in the city. The emerging rural pockets in metropolitan areas are prone to exploitation. Petty allures and parochial appeals may attract them and facilitate individuals or sectoral disorganization.

The concomitant of all these developments appears to be the growth of militant bargain counters. These dissatisfied groups could be pitched against the soft state in a developing society. These organized bargain counters in urban areas may exert pressures on the value of tolerance and endurance among the erstwhile ruling segments of Indian Society. The unreasonable but exercise a considerable pressure on society thus causing the legitimate interests of the unorganized to be ignored. This game of muscle bargaining might have encouraged other sectors to organism themselves willy-nilly into bargain counters. Militant protests have become dominant and a rational and objective assessment of the situation, a recessive factor.

The Difficult Choice

The political system has a difficult choice to make between the two processes of democracy and development. It has to respond cautiously and carefully to safeguard one against the other. Obviously, these processes generate a scramble for the distribution of scarce resources and development spoils. Conversely, the development cake. Which has to be shared between the developed land and the neglected hinterland of the country, disturbs the much needed equilibrium between the agricultural poor and the industrial sectors of society? The phenomenon brings about an imbalance in the vital democratic institutions, which tend to become too soft to make hard choices. Naturally, there is scope for various malpractices including corruption at various levels. Over a period of time the organized section of society has articulated their developmental interests quite ingeniously and they can favorably carry democratic decision of the day through various means. As a consequence, the poor and weak though numerous, stand excluded from both and process of democracy and development.²

The other side of development as manifested in individual, institutional, governmental and societal behavior presents a very special context in India history. The nature of this chaos, though complex, can be related to modification in values or substitution of values, which the development exercise seeks to generate in a transitional society. Viewed in this context, the social disorganization in the contemporary era could be related to socio-economic development in India. the cost-benefit ratio may again

value loaded equations, but still, those committed to the comprehensive development of the country need to identify the cutting edge from where the seamy side of development takes over. No doubt, economic development with social justice is the *sien qua non* of India's democratic planning, but the price paid in terms of social disorganization must be minimal. This is possible only by girding up the institutional sinews to deal with the imminent chaos.

The police are the most critical and down to earth administrative instrument which has a central role in responding to this challenge of change. Naturally the police must meet and diffuse the impending social explosions at the roots, in planning for development in a developing country of India's size and magnitude.

At this stage, let us examine how the police have responded to this developmental challenge of social disorganization and institutions building in independent India. What special efforts have been made? How far have they been adequate or otherwise in handing this deviance emanating from tension-ridden situation? What have been the inhibiting factors in police response and what indicators should be used to evaluate police efficiency for sustaining the system.³ A crisis deepens, the segmental interdependence of various organs of the body politics becomes increasingly critical. Higher and higher expectations are nourished by society about police performances to arrest mounting disorganization situations. But the policemen in turn face a dilemma and finds himself at the helm of ambiguity and confusion. The enlightened policemen interprets this state in terms of its being a colonial machine cracking under the burden of a democratic set up, leading to massive social transformations. The political system engaged in its game of survival keeps using this sub-system of police and naturally, the declining vitality or popularity of the former handicaps the functional response of the latter.

The last five decades of Indian history have witnessed frightening demographic explosions and unprecedented pressures of development. This has caused spiraling inflation in the economy, haphazard urbanization in metropolitan towns and caste and poll violence in rural India. Police help is desperately needed to contain violent protests from all sections of society. The elite groups; which have stakes in the statusquo and want retain the advantages of a developing economy for their children cannot dispense with police help. They want police to respond in a manner reminiscent of the colonial era, and the historical organization of the Indian Police admirably suit them because it can conveniently be insulated as a loyalist preserve to protect elitist perpetuation through illegitimate succession. The police, as a buffer between the people and the elitist rulers, have been a colonial contrivance⁴ but its continued use as a buffer between the masses and the elected representative has proved disastrous for the police organization in the democratic system of Indian polity. The dis-satisfied people continue to mistake their police for the government of the day. Similarly, the governments of all persuasions have

remained lukewarm towards changing the nature of the police which might have involved risks to internal Security and a consequent threat to their own pro of section. The result has been that the Indian police have not been able to earn the confidence of the people, which could have given it democratic strength, nor has it won the much needed and overdue reforms, which the political masters can concede only at their own peril.¹⁹

The basic decision of keeping the philosophy, the organization and the role of Indian police unchanged in the developing environs of democracy, has the former at the mercy of the shifting contexts of the latter.⁵

The police leaders of free India have frequently been called upon to deal with unprecedented situations of grave dimensions and other aberrations; it appears that they have given a commendable account. There has been an increased awareness about police predicaments and still more about the limitations of police powers within the police organization. The pressures of anomie and political disorganization have generated disquieting and deviant behavior among recalcitrant policemen. But then, the overall response of the Indian police to developmental chaos and democratic violence has been by and large disciplined patient and in consonance with the existing frame work of the law. Even though proper machinery for the redressal of police grievances does not exist and they have to work under several situations of stress and strain, the organization has borne the trauma with reasonable submissiveness, poise and commitment. The changes inducted into the organization and its working since independence, have been marginal and superficial, but it has been able to handle complex and crisis ridden situations with considerate effectiveness. The reports of various police commissions appointed by the state and union governments since 1950, do reflect the enormity of the challenge. They indicate that the skill and physical resources with the police have been limited. Some of these short term measures and long range plans that outline the nature of police response to social disorganization in India since 1950s, can be summed up:

1. Creation, Expansion and reorganization of union police agencies especially the security/intelligence/investigation agencies and the para-military forces.
2. Massive efforts for modernization of the police by updating the equipment and introducing computer technology, forensic techniques, communication network and transportation systems.
3. Far-reaching changes in the recruitment of a constabulary with an appreciable efforts to make it representative of the weaker or lower strata of society with increasing specialization in police tasks of various kind.
4. Significant emphasis on police training, especially at higher levels has focused on professional competence and has gradually created a triangular syndrome of police training, police research and police reforms.

5. A minor appreciable improvement in the overall service conditions of policemen in all the states of the country, to attract a better quality of personnel in all ranks at all levels.
6. A conscious induction of the philosophy of social justice into police work by procedural arrangements and apparent policy thrusts into organizations.

Development is on-going process. More so it is a multi-pronged process, wherein the symbiotic influence of the catalyst and the victim on each other can be examined at a particular stage of development. The Indian police, by and large, have not played the catalyst, but the symbiotic impact of social change and political modernization can obviously be seen in the slow disappearance of the monolithic character of its organization and the fast sinking morale of its personnel. The organization is moving haltingly back and forth and the sudden thrusts of developmental disorders have completely shaken the credibility of the Indian police organization right from its roots. People, politicians, elite groups, opinion leaders and members of the intelligentsia, all are simultaneously engaged in grappling with the crucial question: "Should police in India indulge in brutal excesses on behalf of the political masters? Are policemen safe and secure in their lives and jobs, once the political system takes a somersault to attain some of the targets of economic and social development? The police organization cannot afford to take a mere loyalist position as an executive agency of the government of the day.

Actually, it retards political development and contributes to negative economic growth and social change when it becomes oblivious to its positive role in political development, its classical role in loyal execution of the orders of political masters can go a long way to frustrate the processes of democratic institutionalization and hinder politics development itself. Police force in a society, riven with dissensions and violent conflicts represents a double-edged weapon, which can be used to foster or frustrate development-political, social and economics. The power, honour and money elites in the society play their power game by taming the police. If the police do not or cannot see the undercurrent of this power game it falls an easy prey to their design and may help in creating incongruities in the system. One these incongruities are caused or encouraged by coercive efforts, represented by the police, the resultant imbalance poses paradoxical problems for the police administration also. Some of these imbalance and incongruities of development exercise, issuing in administrative dilemmas of policing developmental disorganization need policy correctives in near future.

Development in developing countries is a phenomenon of 'rising expectations' and correspondingly that of 'rising frustrations'. Naturally, it generates all sorts of expectations from the police organization also. The Indian police too proclaims that it is no longer the old police, but when a citizen really confronts the policeman in a situational contact or in the midst of the police culture of a police station his 'crisis of confidence' only gets confirmed and deepened. An 'expected friend' behaving as 'proven

enemy', defending the 'ruling offenders' shatters the image of a 'friendly police' and the case for popular democratic support for police reforms gets lost. Colonial function of law and order for political development on the one hand and expectations of citizen police' in a democratic polity on the other is basic incongruity of the system, which presents a wide gap between the professions and performance of the police system in India. The constraints of economic and social development inadvertently push the police to cling to the colonial philosophy of law and order, which ostensibly looks conducive to industrial peace and desirable social planning. But again, the direction and pace of political development obviate the need for the obliteration of colonial police philosophy and acceptance of a 'citizen police' without deal. The police have to be either, and in any case, the decision to be a 'colonial police' or a 'citizen police' does not sit with the police organization itself. Even those who do not visualize the dichotomy between 'colonial police' and citizen police' can justify the present state of affairs as transitional arrangement. But the search for a new model of citizen police is again an anathema in the present stage of political development, which can more aptly be described as "Developmental Disorder" in India.

Development in order to be incremental has to have a price tag. Often the price of affluence has been given by the developed societies of the west in the form of broken homes, juvenile delinquency and political violence. The tensions of development need to be distributed to all the sectors or classes of the society, as are its fruits. It is interesting that developmental planning in India has not taken care of this aspect of coordinated and integrated development. Police in India is always summoned to deal with crisis and is often blamed to have failed in solving the problems for which it has not always been the only author. The industrialists, the Vice-Chancellors, the opposition leaders, the trade unionists and several other mushroom kinds of volatile groups threaten the peace and the thin balance of the social system. The police intervene only when everybody else has failed and also suffers physically as well as morally for the faults of other. This is a functional limitation of police work, but this correspondingly implies a better equipped and highly trained police force to tide over the crisis. The dilemma becomes grave because the Indian police is called upon to suffer the pangs of development without being assigned a proportionate share in the fruits of development, which can be invested for its organizational growth and professional competence.

The Development Approach

The dilemmas of development in India, present a paradoxical situation before its police organization. If the maintenance of law and order and prevention of crime and vice are the tangible indices of development in a developing society, then the development balance in free India can be called far from satisfactory. But in the India context these mounting figures about law violations and crime incidence represent a thrust and pressure for total development, which the conventional police finds

difficult to handle with conventional tools. After all, a complex, staggered and multipronged process like national development in a polyarchical society like that of India cannot move in an ascending straight line. The lags, the conflicts, the gaps and the imbalances are sometimes healthy catalysts. What is significant is the skillful handling of these conflicts so that they may not develop into crisis-situations on the minus side of the growth graph. Here comes the role of the policy planners and the political masters who should imagination and boldness in revamping their police organizations to the needs of developmental conflicts and progressive disorders. Naturally, a new approach to the police administration of the country is the logical answer. As development is a matter of values and perspectives, the future political masters and police officers should be encouraged to inculcate developmental values and developmental perspectives on the problems of police reform in India. A developmental approach to Indian police can go a long way to bridge some of these cleavages, which have been caused by the conflicts of deepening tensions of rapid development and static nature of obsolescent police organization of colonial India.

The summaries, the police response to the emerging social disorganization of development in India can be called halting, haphazard, ad hoc and partial. The police researchers may call it less than adequate', while the uniformed and the inarticulate masses may deem it as something 'crisis creating, and somewhat disappointing'. To anybody who can identify the malady and has the requisite scholarly competence to evaluate responses of this kind, the response of police administration to social disorganization in India is quite natural, somewhat inevitable and perhaps cannot be anything otherwise.' It is futile to argue that the nature of social disorganization determines the quality of police response or vice versa (Bendor 1974). The real dilemma is that development causes deviance and to employ heavy police machinery to arrest increasing deviance is underdevelopment. Development partly disturbs the statusquo. The mutation of these disturbance are inevitable in the initial stages of growth and the police response in terms of preparing, planning and evolving strategies to prevent and confront disorders will have to be sharper and highly articulate. The mere muscle police are too blind to understand the labour travails of a pregnant society. Much less identify its own role and responsibility as a social midwife.⁶

Conclusion

The police can undertake policing, but effective policing in all civilized societies and more especially in the democratic ones, is accomplished by the police, the people, the community and the government as a common partnership venture. The fact of police response in its ultimate represents the aggregate totality or the end product of this collective endeavour. Isolated evaluation of the response of the police administration in the composite exercise of policing weakens the police machinery and renders it vulnerable to abuse.⁷ The accident of colonial history, it appears, has made almost every bureaucratic

structure insensitive to comprehend the multiple facets of mass protests, but the processes of democracy should render them responsive in due course of time.⁸ Social disorganization emanating from the process of development is natural and inevitable outcome to political decision making in the realm of policy planning. The democratic political system alone can and should grapple with it. The limited but professional role of the police in policing the Indian society must be neatly planned, and this will foreordain a rational, spontaneous and need-based response of the police administration.

The crisis – oriented response of the present police organization may be rooted in its helplessness but the latter has certainly gained in organizational capacity and professional competence, which is a sure sign of development. Nonetheless, Indian society and its opinion leaders is within their legitimate rights to expect something higher and better from its police and feel uncomfortable in finding it far below their expectations. The developmental disorganization pinches the common man much more painfully than it does the members from the political and administrative elites. Naturally, the people in general seek solace in asking for a more effective and meaningful professional response of their policemen, who are visible uniformed, nationally dispersed and represent the coercive edge of the government they elect once in five years. The administrative aspect of police response in dealing with social disorganization in India obviously leaves much to be desired, but the political and social inputs in Indian policing are the

true neglected areas of discordance and mutual recrimination. All this makes development a threatening exercise of an inclusive nature. the long range answer lies in revising the very philosophy and concept of policing and making the Indian police an instrument, if not a participate, in the political development of the nation.

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