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MINISTRY OF
HOME AFFAIRS



Project Report

On

**Impact of Police Commissionerates on Police
Effectiveness and Policing Outcomes**

(Project No.05/MM:01)

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Synopsis

One of the critical prerequisites of economic development, and the most central of all government functions, is upholding the rule of law and maintaining law & order. Despite the crucial role that police play in discharging this responsibility, not much attention has been devoted in India to understanding how different models of policing affect police functioning, effectiveness, and outcomes.

This paper explores the historical background and work of Police Commissionerates in India to understand and compare the effectiveness of police service delivery. This will also understand the citizens' perceptions of police functioning across the two models, i.e., the Police Commissionerate system and the traditional Superintendent of Police system that is more prevalent in India.

Findings from a detailed survey questionnaire and secondary data analysis of crime data indicate that the Police Commissionerate system has a strong and positive impact on both the effectiveness of the police and a feeling of satisfaction/lack of dissatisfaction of the public with the performance of the police. The paper recommends the formation of a Police Commissionerate in an urban area be linked with the formation of the Municipal Corporation.

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Chapter I

Introduction

1.1. Significance

One of the critical prerequisites of economic development, and the most central of all government functions, is upholding the rule of law and maintaining law & order. The Police thus plays a pivotal and constructive role in the country's political, economic, and social development. Various studies have shown that crime has a detrimental impact on economic growth (Detotto & Otranto 2010ⁱ, Goulas & Zervoyianni 2013ⁱⁱ, Czabanski 2008ⁱⁱⁱ). Despite the crucial role that the Police play in the country's development, not much attention has been devoted in India to understanding how different models of policing affect police functioning, its effectiveness, and outcomes.

In India's federal structure, Police is a State subject, and as such, police in any state is significantly influenced by the socio-economic and political environment of the State. Yet, the police system in India, like various other organs of the government, is a legacy of the erstwhile British rule in the country. There is a great degree of similarity in the job content, responsibilities, and functions of the various police forces operating in different states of India.

The growing citizen expectation has found expression in a series of reform directives issued by the constitutional courts. These directives have led to a slow but sure-footed movement towards police reforms to convert the Indian police into a people-friendly and public service-oriented institution. The structural changes in the Indian economy, notably the surge in urbanization in the recent decades, have multiplied the challenges for the police and the demands placed on the police in Indian cities. In response to these increased expectations from the police, a dominant trend that has emerged in recent times is converting the traditional Superintendent of Police system to the more modern and globally accepted model of the Police Commissionerate system.

1.2. Aim of the study

The study aims to understand the impact of the Police Commissionerate system on police effectiveness and policing outcomes compared to the Superintendent of Police system that was traditionally prevalent in India.

1.3. Objective of the study

The study has two-fold objectives:

1. To analyze the citizen's perception of policing in both a Police Commissionerate system and the traditional Superintendent of Police system.
2. To analyze the quantitative indicators of police effectiveness and policing outcomes in metropolitan cities and compare the Police Commissionerate and the traditional Superintendent of Police system of policing prevailing in these metropolitan cities.

However, this paper does not try to identify and understand the underlying factors that may lead to these differences in police effectiveness and policing outcomes between the Police Commissionerate and the traditional Superintendent of Police system of policing prevailing in different parts of India.

1.4. History of policing and growth of Police Commissionerates in India

Even three-fourths of a century after India gained independence, the country is still primarily governed by the Indian Police Act (IPA) of 1861. The British organized formal policing for rural areas by the Police Act, 1861 (Act no. V of 1861) and introduced the dual system of police administration. The District Collector was given charge of a particular district or region for all administrative purposes, and the Superintendent of Police (SP) reported directly to the District Collector. The issuance of orders for preventive arrests and the imposition of Section 163 of the Bhartiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS), 2023, earlier Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, along with the powers of the Executive Magistrate, was vested in the hands of the District Collector.

However, it may be noted that the Police Commissionerate system was introduced by Act XIII of 1856, before the Indian Police Act of 1861 in the Presidency towns of Kolkata, Chennai, and Mumbai. Separate Acts like the Calcutta Police Act of 1866, the Madras City Police Act of 1888, and the Bombay Police Act of 1951 were also created to regulate these presidency towns.^{iv}

Adopting the Police Commissionerate system in various states of India has been a gradual process. The pre-independence period saw the setting up of four Police Commissionerates in India, starting with Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, followed by Hyderabad. Post-independence, the first Police Commissionerates were established in Ahmedabad and Delhi in 1960 and 1978.

The trend of establishing Police Commissionerates accelerated in the 1990s, and by 2016, there were 53 Police Commissionerates in total. The latest formation of Police Commissionerates happened in Tamil Nadu on 1st Jan 2022. The State Government announced the formation of Police Commissionerate for Tambaram and Avadi by trifurcating the Greater Chennai Police Commissionerate. Before this, in 2021, Uttar Pradesh had announced the formation of a third Police Commissionerate in Kanpur, and Madhya Pradesh had announced the formation of Police Commissionerates in Indore and Bhopal. Currently, there are 69 Police Commissionerates in India, with the state of Maharashtra having the most cities (11) with the Police Commissionerate system. The list of Police Commissionerates in the country is given as **Annexure I**.

Despite the significant growth of Police Commissionerates in recent years, there are no specified criteria for establishing Police Commissionerates, nor has there been any study on the factors influencing the transition or the impact of Police Commissionerates. As of now, the establishment of a Police Commissionerate by a State Government is essentially a political decision based on a subjective and possibly ad hoc assessment of the region's administrative and law & order requirements.^v

1.5. Government Policy on setting up of Police Commissionerates

In 1977, the Government of India appointed the National Police Commission (NPC) to bring significant reforms in the policing systems in India. Between 1979 and 1981, the Commission produced eight reports suggesting wide-ranging reforms in the existing police setup. The Sixth National Police Commission (NPC) report states that law and order and crime situations develop rapidly with a growing population. This demands a quick, effective, and efficient operational response from the police force. This is possible when the police have the operational freedom to perform both the essential functions of decision making and implementation. Therefore, the Commission had recommended introducing the Commissionerate system of Policing in cities with a population of 5 lakh and above^{vi}.

The draft Model Police Act of 2005, framed by a committee set up by the Union Home Ministry, also made similar recommendations. It suggested metro cities and urban areas with a population of 10 lakhs or more have a Police Commissioner system for better functioning.

1.6. Theoretical differences between a Police Commissionerate system and Superintendent of Police system

The Commissionerate System of Policing is considered the most authoritative system of policing. It is prevalent in most developed countries and different states of India. The system brings substantial credibility, competence, and responsibility to the Police force.^{vii}

Under the Police Commissionerate, when it comes to law and order, there is only a single point of responsibility – the Commissioner of Police. This concept, if implemented correctly, provides complete clarity on the structure, chain of command, and accountability, as the Commissioner of Police is directly and solely answerable to the senior police leadership and the state government for his performance. This makes the reporting system clear. It creates organizational independence and homogeneity within the system as the police can use their professional understanding and expertise to deal with contemporary urban problems. In the Superintendent of Police system, there is a diarchy. The majority of the preventive and regulatory powers are vested in the hands of the Executive Magistrates, even though the police carry out the final enforcement. This separation creates complications as it requires that both the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police think alike, consult and agree with each other to take prompt and decisive action. This can potentially cause delays or lack of ownership because of differences of opinion between both parties.

In the Superintendent of Police system, a dual command structure prevails over the district police. This means that the jurisdiction and execution over the police are entrusted with the Superintendent of Police (SP). But he, as the head of district police, reports to the District Magistrate. In contrast, the Commissionerate system follows a unified command structure under the Commissioner of Police. The Police Commissionerate system thus allows for prompter responses to circumstances that involve conflicts, riots, and similar law and order situations.

When comparing Police Commissionerate present in states across the country, we find that majorities of the Commissionerates have magisterial powers. Such Police Commissionerates are present in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Odisha, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Nagaland, Assam, West Bengal, Gujarat, and Haryana. The Commissionerates present in New Delhi, Chennai, Madurai, Coimbatore, and Kolkata can be considered true Commissionerates as they exercise the powers of the District Magistrate and the Executive Magistrate.

Within the broad distinction of a Police Commissionerate system and the Superintendent of Police system, there are differences in how the across Commissionerates concern specific features, powers and duties, and mode of reporting. For instance, the Police Commissioners of Delhi and Mumbai report directly to the state government and not to the DGP. Similarly, in Kerala, the Commissioner of Police does not have magisterial powers. Thus, depending on the needs, population, governing actions, and other factors, the structure, powers, and functions of Commissionerates across the country vary instead of following a unified chain of duties and roles.

1.7. Need for Commissionerate System of Police

Policing needs of metropolitan cities are quite different from rural areas. People in the cities expect quick, immediate, and well-coordinated responses. In the case of cities, the expectation of policing standards is higher, and the situation also changes rapidly. Given the high population density, the repercussions of any delayed response in terms of loss of life and property are also generally higher.

Therefore, the Police administration in urban cities should be principally different from the administration of rural areas given the diversity in the magnitude and character of the problems. It, therefore, is a hard act for a Superintendent of Police system to follow because of the delay in execution because of the separation of powers.

In a Commissionerate System, the Commissioner has magisterial powers, including regulation, control, and licensing. Due to these powers, this system could provide quicker responses to law & order situations. The police effectiveness is an outcome of resource utilization and autonomy in functioning while being held accountable for results. The Commissionerate system provides the required autonomy and resources.

Chapter II

Literature Review

2.1. Literature on the subject

Literature content on the topic of Police Commissionerate and its effectiveness is limited, especially in the context of India. This lack of content calls for the need to conduct more research, surveys, and studies on the said topic.

In the context of Police effectiveness, several studies have been conducted worldwide on frameworks dealing with the analysis and evaluation of citizen satisfaction, community-wise performance, and variations in police functioning and associated effectiveness. This section highlights some studies that will shed light on how the police can help to encourage collective efficacy and potentially reduce crime by communicating their effectiveness and delivering procedural justice to citizens.

The study conducted by Pradeep (2013) highlighted that the rapidly changing Indian society mandates police organizations to be reshaped in accordance with social needs. The paper explored the factors determining the diffusion of innovation in Indian policing. For this purpose, "Cyberabad" and "Trichy" Police Commissionerates of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu states of India were selected, and its diffusion and adoption processes of community policing are sequentially analyzed and studied. The study found that a clear understanding and training of personnel on community policing philosophy is pertinent for diffusing the innovation, particularly at middle and lower-level staff. It also found that diffusion of innovation in policing was determined mainly by its leadership style and structure. The editorial note by Mitra (2012) focused on the obstacles and confrontations faced by today's police force and how the police were assisting citizens and providing services within the given constraints. The note compares effectiveness and community policing in Bhubaneswar and Cuttack cities.^{viii}

The editorial note titled "Community Policing in Action: A Study of the Police Commissionerate of Bhubaneswar and Cuttack" by Mitra (2012) focused on the obstacles and confrontations faced by today's police force and how the modern police have to face newer challenges every day where it is made conscientious to deliver a wide range of assistance to the people. The study provides an insight into the present scenario with respect to effectiveness and community policing in the twin cities of Bhubaneswar and Cuttack in the state of Odisha.^{ix}

In the study, Madan and Nalla (2015) analyzed the survey data to study citizen perception across various dimensions. The parameters included degree of professionalism, police effectiveness, corruption, fairness, and perceived safety by the citizens. The study underlined the reasons for differences in perception regarding citizens' different assessments of policing outcomes. Banerjee, Roy, and Dawn (2020) determined the key indicators of criminal behavior among individuals. These indicators may be used to predict and track crimes in cities of India. Similarly, Renee, et al. (2017) tried to explain theoretically how closeness to crime-prone regions and violence impacts the police effectiveness perception and the citizen's trust in the police force of their locality.^x

Banerjee, Roy, and Dawn (2020) conducted a study titled "Crime Dynamics and Distribution of Asansol Durgapur Police Commissionerate, Paschim Bardhaman District," where they established the source of criminal behaviors among people in the society and how police can use this data to track crimes in metropolitan regions. Similarly, Renee, et al. (2017) tried to explain theoretically how proximity to violence and crime shapes perceptions of police effectiveness and citizens' confidence in the police force of their locality.^{xi}

The study conducted by Sudarshanam and Pradeep (2015) found that the ability of police and their effectiveness were correlated with the managerial factors. These factors included organizational and strategic management-related variables. The study stressed that police effectiveness is due to resource availability, but motivation and equity in the treatment were important factors influencing it.^{xii}

In most states, policing effectiveness varies across regions. In their research, Tellez et al. (2020) analyzed these variations. The paper mentioned that the citizens in the form of individuals and community should demand the best quality policing in their region. The study also conducted a large-scale survey, including in slums and among neighborhood leaders, to explore comparative policing and order. The research found that the well-developed individual network and close-knit communities were more confident and satisfied with local policing. The empirical analysis provided insight into how the community perceives the police as extortionist or neutral to the crime around them.^{xiii}

Several nationwide studies have also been conducted on the topic of effectiveness and the impacts it has on the residents. Tankebe (2008), in the paper, found a high correlation between perceived effectiveness and trust by citizens. This relationship is accentuated provided the police are perceived as fair by society. The democratic

reforms facilitate public trust in the police. The reforms help improve the capacity of police both in terms of effectiveness and fairness in the delivery of policing services.^{xiv}

These studies were valuable and important as they provided statistical information on police effectiveness backed by empirical data. But it is important to note that complex data alone cannot conclude the efficiency of the research; soft data collected on the matter is equally relevant as it includes suggestions, uncertainties, and opinions that are susceptible to varying interpretations. Verschelde and Rogge (2012) highlighted that people's feedback, besides the hard data was essential to decide the police effectiveness. This research stressed that current citizen satisfaction indicators alone would not suffice to measure the police effectiveness due to the multi-faceted nature of local policing. There were also several non-controllable factors responsible for local police department effectiveness.^{xv}

There is a need to investigate the impact of neighborhood social cohesion and confidence on police effectiveness, as it had not been explored earlier in the literature. The high neighborhood social cohesion gave confidence to the community to report a crime to the police. Goudriaan et al. (2006), in their paper, examined the interaction effect of social cohesion, confidence in police effectiveness, and socio-economic disadvantage on victims' reporting decisions.^{xvi}

Other nuanced factors like the role of media, organizational support, manpower, availability of resources to the force were also found to play a significant role that eventually decides the effectiveness and functioning of the police in a locality. Dowler (2002), in his study, examined the impact of media consumption on attitudes toward police effectiveness. The study highlighted that besides demographic factors, the fear of crime and perceived problems in the neighborhood impacted perceived police effectiveness^{xvii}

Boateng and Wu (2018) surveyed police officers from two countries to analyze how perceived organizational support would impact their sense of effectiveness and behavior. These two countries were Ghana and China. The police officers in Ghana had high perceived organizational support and a better sense of effectiveness than China. These police officers in Ghana had a high positive self-image and did not rely on public perceptions. On the other hand, the police officers in China had a high reliance on citizens' perceptions about them. The higher effectiveness and better behavior of police officers in Ghana led to higher conviction rates than in China.^{xviii}

Similarly, several studies were conducted to develop and test theoretical frameworks for analyzing relationships in the law enforcement industry. Votey and Phillips (1972) conducted empirical analysis and emphasized the importance of utility theory and production theory. The paper proposed the framework for an analysis of law enforcement.^{xix} Likewise, Sung (2006), in the research paper, explained the impact of democratization on the ability of police to produce security and increase the efficiency of the force.^{xx}

Crime has a consequential effect on society. In recent times, the estimation and assessment of the social cost of crime have become a principal field of study in its applications and methodology. But it also raises the question of whether the numerical estimation will represent the reprehensible nature of such acts meaningfully? Czabański (2008) argued that we can estimate the costs of varying crimes and that such an assessment is relevant and can be applied in criminal policy and law. If conducted properly, the costs of crime will make the evaluation of people clearer and will permit a much more coherent public policy. Czabański reviewed the methodologies and the associated applications in his work and concluded that the contingent valuation methods in the cost of crime assessment could help criminal justice agencies conform and observe society's preferences.^{xxi}

Detotto and Otranto (2010), in their research paper, conferred how the detrimental effect of crime on economic activity is neglected because crime acts as a tax on the well-being of the entire economy as it discourages direct investments, both foreign and domestic, reallocates resources, and creates uncertainty which leads to inefficiency. The paper analyzed and evaluated the effects of fluctuation of crime in the long period by an impulse response analysis and recommended that along with the estimation of cost of crimes, it is equally important to estimate its impact and influence on the region's economic performance.^{xxii}

Along with the same perspective, Goulas and Zervoyianni (2013) examined the relationship between per-capita output growth. The study highlighted no significant impact of crime on the per-capita output growth when there is economic growth and prosperity, and vice versa. The study uses a structural growth model on a longitudinal dataset of fourteen years and from twenty-six countries for predicting this correlation between crime and per-capita output growth.^{xxiii}

Chapter III

Methodology

3.1 Research Questions

Based on the inputs from the literature study, this study had two key research questions:

Question 1. What is the citizen's perception of policing in India, and is there any difference in the citizen's perceptions across regions with a Police Commissionerate system and those with a Superintendent of Police system?

Question 2. Is there any difference in the quantitative indicators of police effectiveness and policing outcomes between regions with a Police Commissionerate system and those with a Superintendent of Police system?

3.2 Methodology

The study used both primary and secondary data. For the primary data, a survey questionnaire was used to collect data on citizens' perceptions regarding the effectiveness of policing across the country. The data on citizens' perceptions were segregated across the Police Commissionerate system and the traditional Superintendent of Police system and analyzed to determine variations in the citizens' perceptions in these two systems of policing.

The secondary data was gathered from the National Crime Records Bureau report titled "*Crime in India 2019*". Data on crime in metropolitan cities was used to compare the crime in metropolitan cities with a Police Commissionerate versus those with the traditional Superintendent of Police system.

3.3 Research Design

The research design for the primary and the secondary data collection is presented below separately,

3.3.1 Primary data methodology

The questionnaire variables were drawn from police management literature (Sharma, 1977; Verma, 1999; Verma and Gavirneni, 2006; Mollah et al. 2012, Mitra, 2012; Handayani et al., 2020) and interaction with stakeholders. The initial draft of the questionnaire was shown to five police officers and twenty people from

the public to get initial feedback. The questions were reframed to make them precise, i.e., reducing the number of questions in the questionnaire and increasing clarity in what was being asked from the stakeholders.

A pilot survey of 90 respondents was conducted to get initial survey feedback. Duplicity, complex terminologies, and ambiguity in the wording of the questions were removed based on the pilot survey responses. Few questions in the questionnaire were negatively worded to check the respondent's alertness and consistency in responses. These questions during the analysis phase had gone through a reverse scoring process for such variables. The final questionnaire covered six dimensions: assurance, crime rate, responsiveness, public interface, empathy, and perception of resources with the police. The final list of survey questions is given in **Annexure-II**.

The responses were taken on a 5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree as 1 to strongly agree as 5). The questionnaire was created in English and nine Indian languages- Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati, and Marathi. All the research protocols of questionnaire translation were followed, including validation by back-translation to the original language (English). The primary data collection was to be filled by all members of the society. It included diversity in monthly household income, age, gender, occupation, etc., and included both police Commissionerate regions and traditional Superintendent of Police system regions. The survey was circulated in 28 states and nine union territories (UTs). The survey was primarily circulated through WhatsApp and other social media groups.

The primary data from the survey was analyzed in two stages. In the first stage, the descriptive analysis was done. The descriptive statistics included tabulated monthly household income, age, gender, occupation, etc., across its various sub-categories. In the second stage, the survey responses across six parameters, including variable data, were segregated into police Commissionerate and the traditional Superintendent of Police regions. The sample size of 343 was not included in this analysis as the respondents had not specified whether they were located in the police Commissionerate or non-police Commissionerate region. Finally, 2647 sample respondents were from police Commissionerate regions, and 1155 respondents were from traditional Superintendent of Police regions.

The variable in each parameter was separately analyzed. The data were first analyzed for five Likert scale points (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree

nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree) for each variable for all the six parameters. The 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' responses were aggregated and normalized and then clubbed into "Disagreement" with equal weightage assigned to the 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' categories. Similarly, the 'agree' and 'strongly agree' data were aggregated, normalized, and then clubbed into "Agreement." The neutral data with a response as "3" was excluded as these respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the particular questionnaire statement. The normalization exercise was necessary as the data size from the Police Commissionerate region and Superintendent of Police region differed. This helped remove the bias that would have shown in the results, especially with a comparatively larger sample data size than the other sample data set. The entire analysis process followed for sample respondents from the Police Commissionerate region was repeated for respondents from the traditional Superintendent of Police regions.

The analysis was done separately for each parameter across police Commissionerate and non-police Commissionerate regions to facilitate the comparison of responses. The "Degree of Agreement" responses of the police Commissionerate region were compared with "Degree of Agreement" reactions from the traditional Superintendent of Police region. Similarly, the "Degree of Disagreement" between responses of police Commissionerate region was compared with "Degree of Disagreement" responses from traditional Superintendent of Police regions. The same was shown in graphical representation for both "Degree of Agreement" and "Degree of Disagreement." An overview of the comparison of response outcomes for each variable within and across all the parameters was also tabulated.

3.3.2. Secondary data methodology

The secondary data was gathered from the National Crime Records Bureau report titled "Crime in India 2019". Data on crime in metropolitan cities was used to compare the crime in metropolitan cities which had a Police Commissionerate versus those which did not have a Commissionerate system of policing. Out of the total 19 Metropolitan cities, five did not have a Commissionerate system of policing for the period under study viz. Ghaziabad, Indore, Kanpur, Lucknow, and Patna. The metropolitan cities with a Commissionerate system of policing are 12 and comprise Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Chennai, Coimbatore, Delhi, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Kolkata, Mumbai, Nagpur, Pune, and Surat. Data from Kochi and

Kozhikode has not been considered in either category as the Police Commissioners in these cities are not vested with magisterial powers. The data on a per lakh basis was taken for each city to facilitate comparison. Further, averages of the data from 2017 to 2019 were taken, where available. The underlying objective of secondary data analysis has been to study the incidence of crime and the effectiveness of police in dealing with crime.

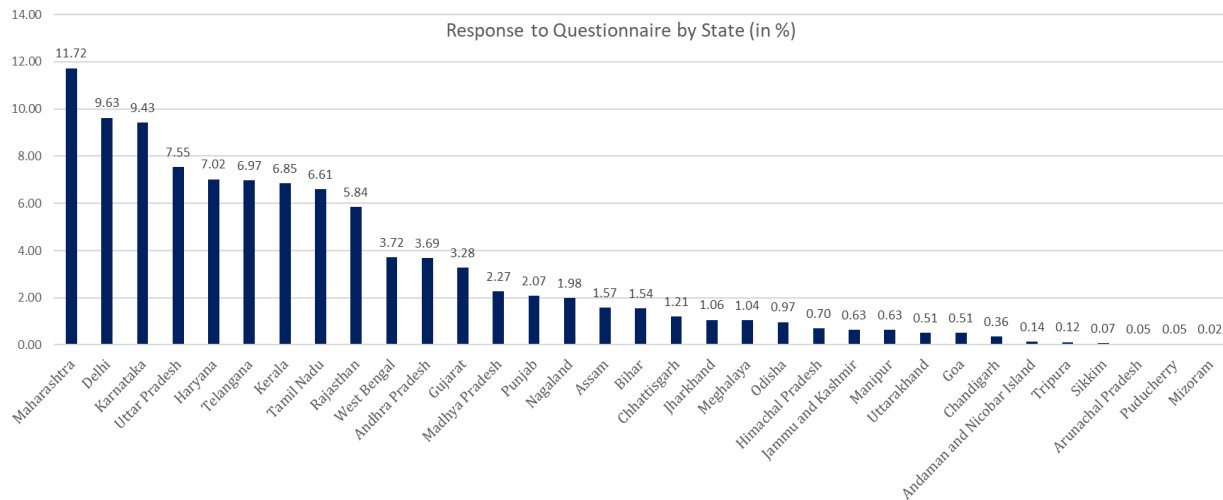
Chapter IV

Analysis and Results

4.1. Analysis of the survey data

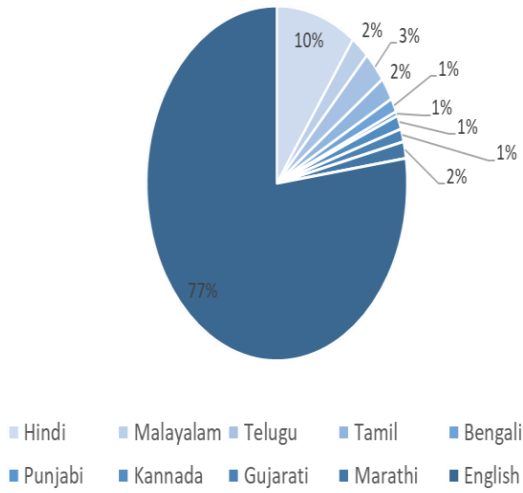
A total of 4145 responses were collected. 63.8% of participants resided in a Police Commissionerate (PC) region, whereas 27.86% of the respondents reside in a Superintendent of Police (SP) region. 8.27% of the respondents had not indicated whether they lived in a PC or an SP region.

Responses were received from all the states and UTs of India except Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Lakshadweep, Ladakh, Daman and Diu, and Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The breakup of the states with a maximum number of participants are given below:

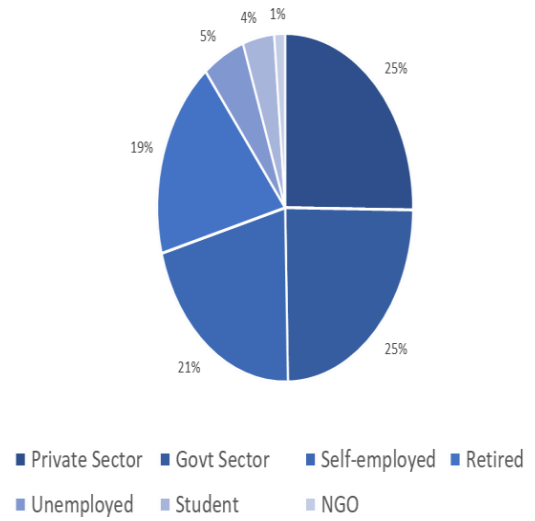


An overwhelming majority of the respondents opted for the English questionnaire (3261), followed by Hindi, Telugu, and Tamil. Currently unemployed formed 5.3% of the participants. 80% of the respondents were male, and the majority of the participants (26%) are in the age group of 40-49, followed by the age group 50-59. About 65% of participants receive a salary greater than ₹50,000. The majority of the respondents of the survey had graduate qualification (50%), followed by post-graduate (37%), senior secondary (4%), and Ph.D. (4%). In terms of the occupation of respondents, 25% each were employed in private and public sector organizations. The survey also included self-employed (21%) and retired (19%) respondents.

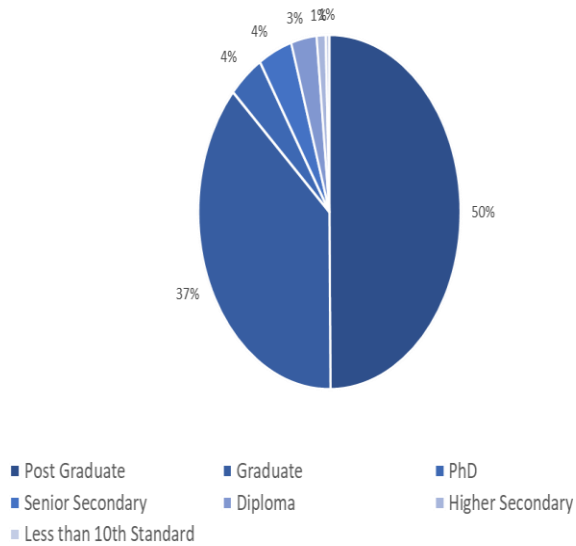
Response to Survey by Language (in %)



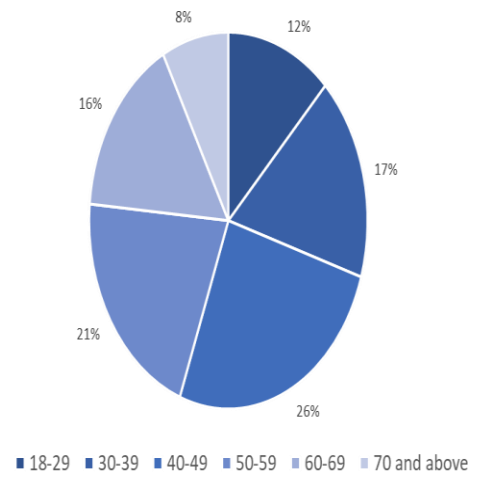
Response to Survey by Occupation (in %)



Response to Survey by Education qualifications (in %)



Response to Survey by Age group (in %)

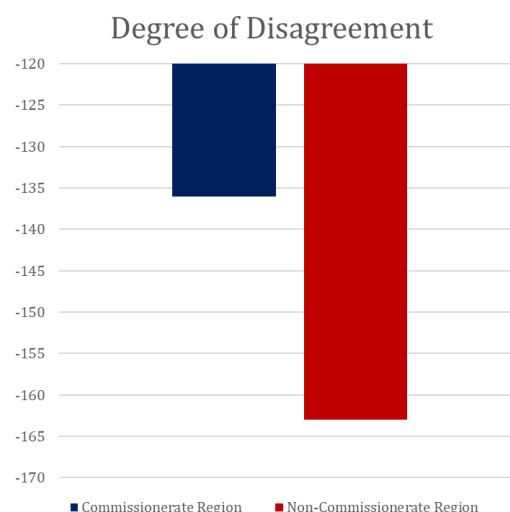
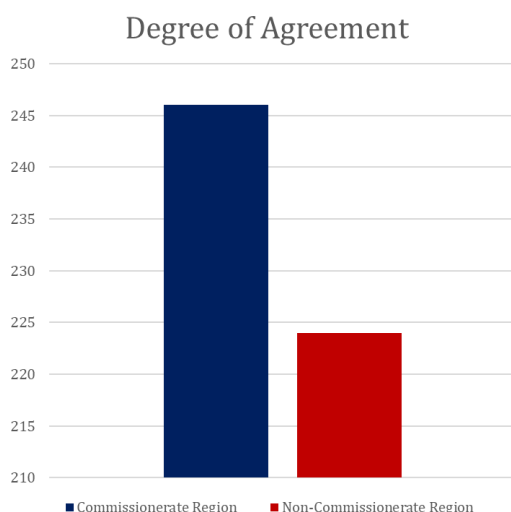


4.2. Citizen's Perception - Police Commissionerate vs. Superintendent of Police system Survey Results

(1) Assurance (Feeling of Safety)

Survey Questions for Assurance	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
I feel a sense of security and safety for me and my family in my locality.	High	Low	Low	High
I feel safe in public places.	High	Low	Low	High
At times, I am not able to sleep properly due to fear of safety from any untoward incident.*	High	Low	Low	High
The police in my locality is available 24X7 for the safety of people.	High	Low	Low	High
The women are feeling safer now.	High	Low	Low	High

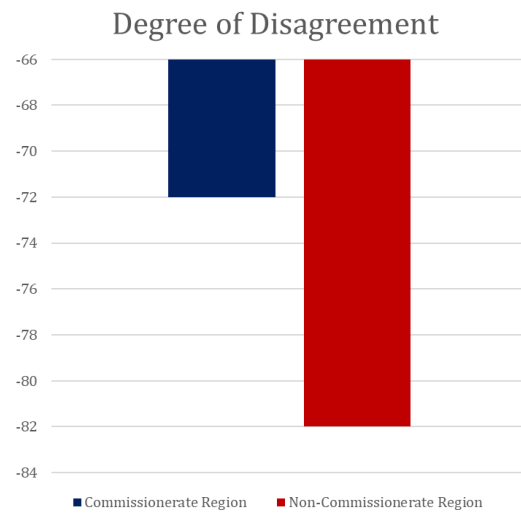
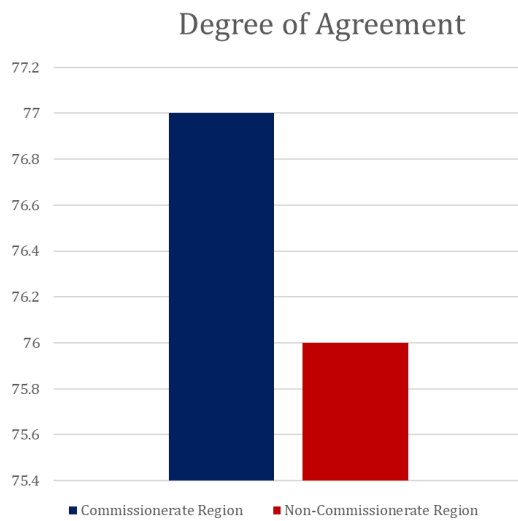
*Reverse coded question in the survey



(2) Crime Rate

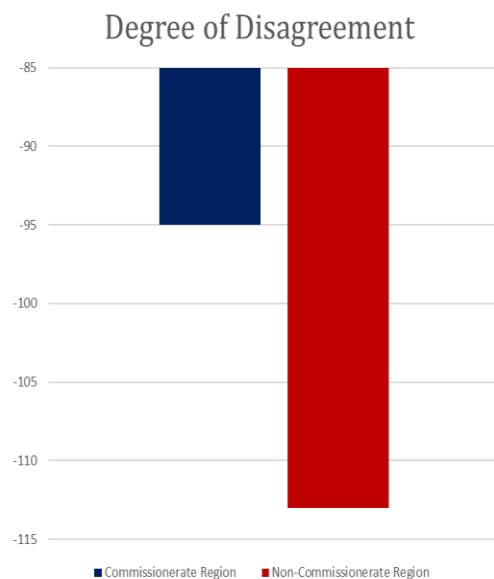
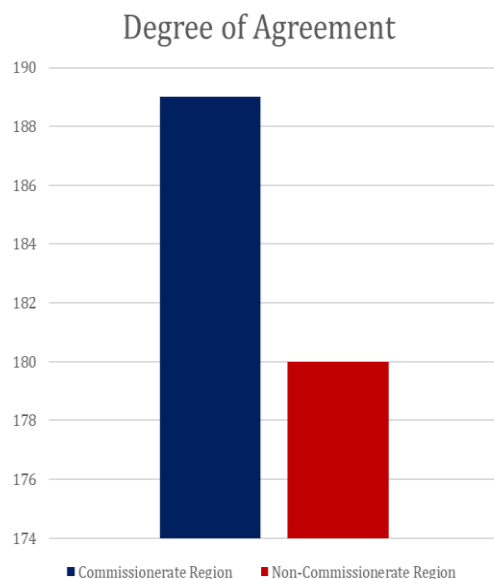
Survey Questions for Crime Rate	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
I often listen about incidents of theft, chain-snatching, fraud, drug-abuse, rape, murder, etc. in my locality.*	High	Low	Low	High
I feel safe in public places.	High	Low	Low	High

*Reverse coded question in the survey



(3) Responsiveness

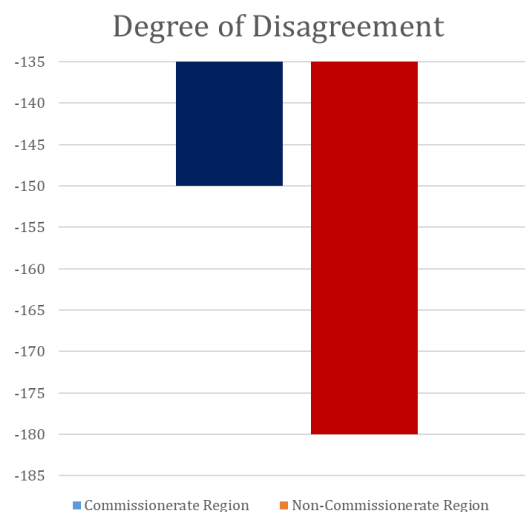
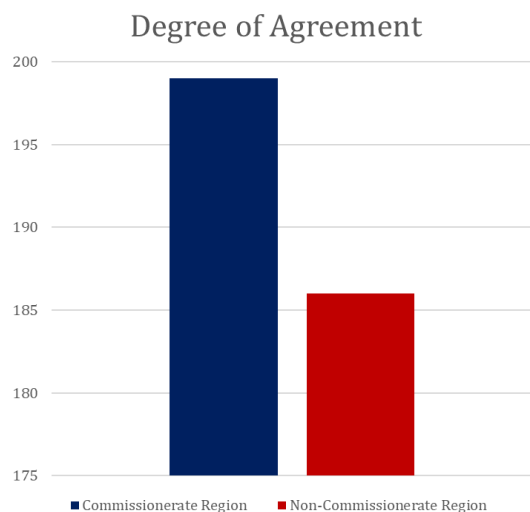
Survey Questions for Responsiveness	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
The police in my region are quite proactive in tackling the crime.	High	Low	Low	High
The police in my area is quite vigilant against possible crimes.	High	Low	Low	High
I find the police is now more responsive than earlier days.	High	Low	Low	High
The emergency number 100 is quite effective in my locality for any urgent help from the police.	High	Low	Low	High



(4) Community Opinion / Public Interface

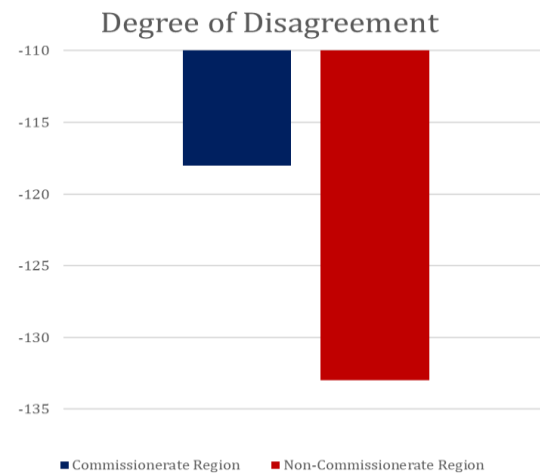
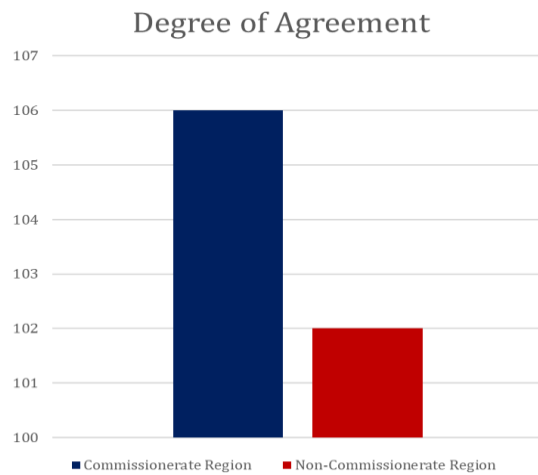
Survey Questions for Community Opinion/Public Interface	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
I fear the police may implicate me in some false case.*	High	Low	Low	High
I have full faith in the police of my region.	High	Low	Low	High
The police in my region maintains a healthy relationship with the public.	High	Low	Low	High
The police are biased and support a particular community.*	High	Low	Low	High
You have to pay a bribe to the police to get the work done.*	High	Low	Low	High

*Reverse coded question in the survey



(5) Resources with Police

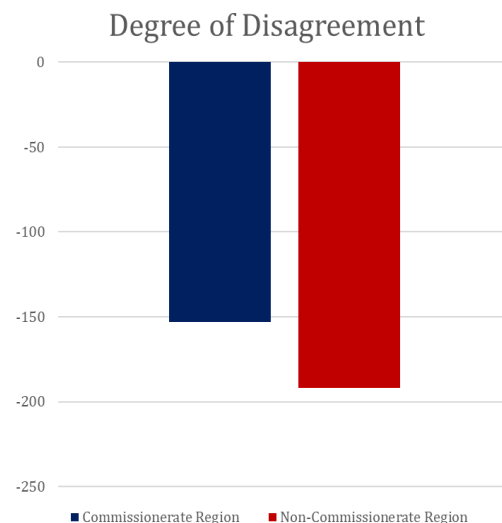
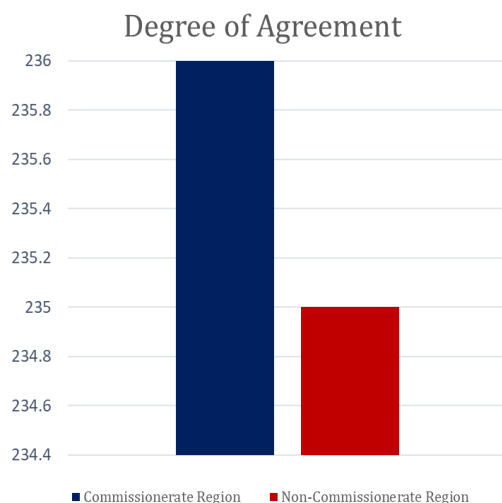
Survey Questions for Resource with Police	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
The police force is technologically savvy.	High	Low	Low	High
The police have sufficient physical resources with them.	High	Low	Low	High
There is sufficient manpower with the police.	High	Low	Low	High



(6) Empathy

Survey Questions for Empathy	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
The police in my locality have empathy to listen to the problems.	High	Low	Low	High
The police are reluctant to lodge FIR. *	High	Low	Low	High
I find the police more helpful than earlier days.	High	Low	Low	High
I have heard about unlawful detention of the people in my locality by the police.*	High	Low	Low	High
The police take special care of senior citizen safety including providing a special helpline number.	High	Low	Low	High
The police take special care of cases regarding atrocities against SC & ST.	High	Low	Low	High

**Reverse coded question in the survey*



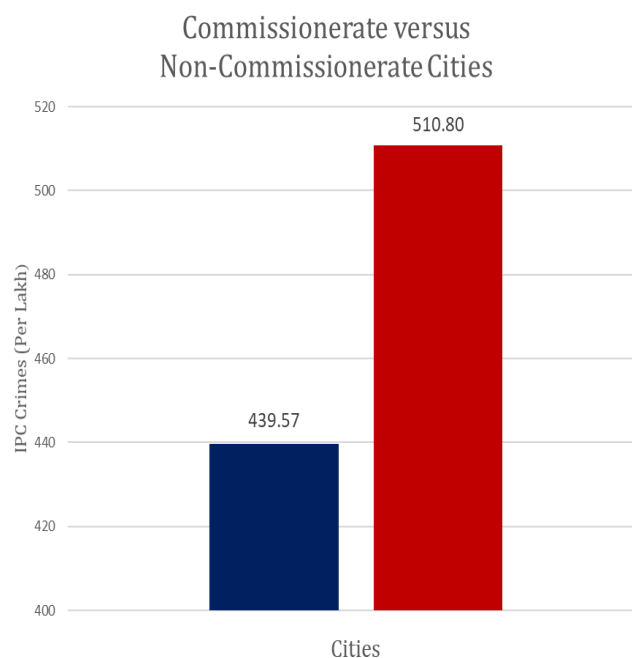
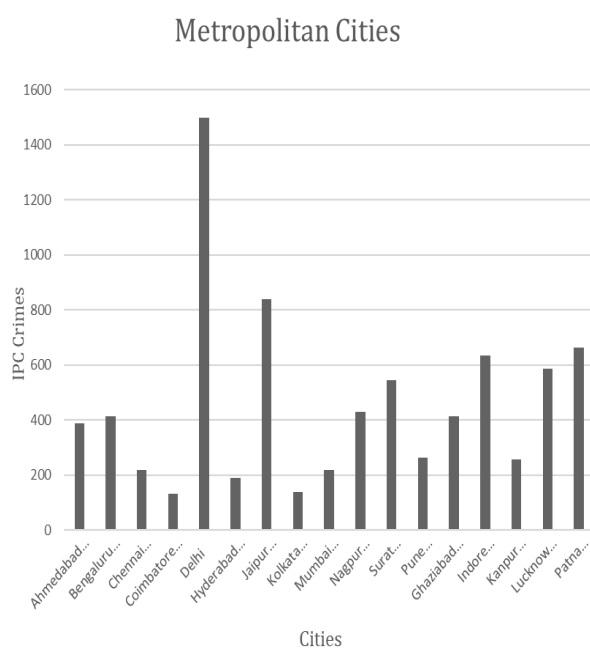
Survey Results – Overview

Dimensions of Survey	Degree of Agreement		Degree of Disagreement	
	PC Regions	SP Regions	PC Regions	SP Regions
Assurance / Feeling of Safety	High	Low	Low	High
Crime Rate	High	Low	Low	High
Responsiveness	High	Low	Low	High
Community Opinion / Public Interface	High	Low	Low	High
Empathy	High	Low	Low	High
Resources with Police	High	Low	Low	High

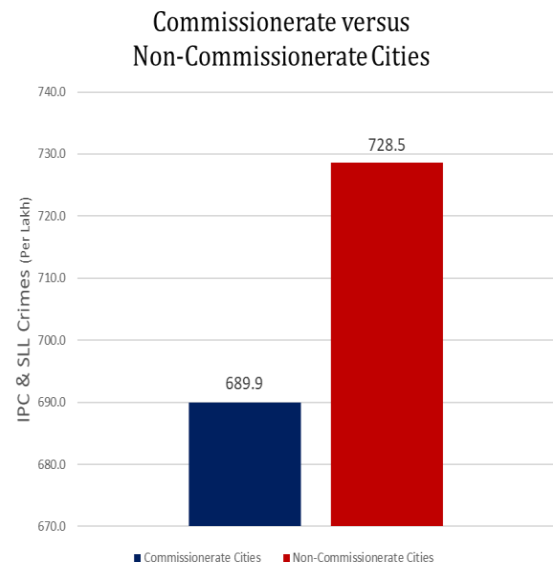
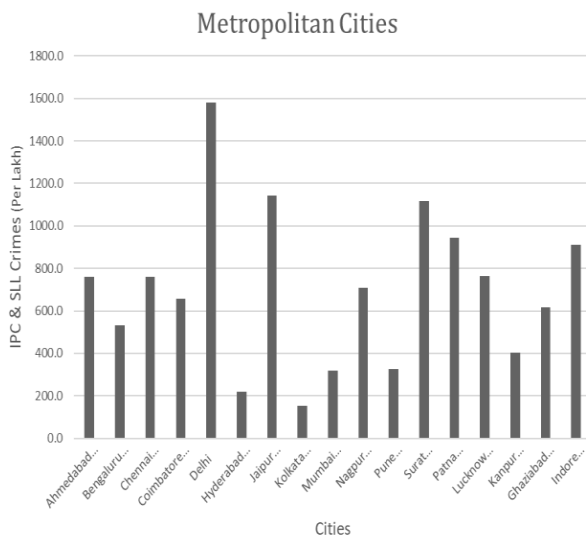
4.3. Policing outcomes based on the secondary data analysis – Police Commissionerate vs. Superintendent of Police system

4.3.1. Secondary Data Analysis: Incidence of crime

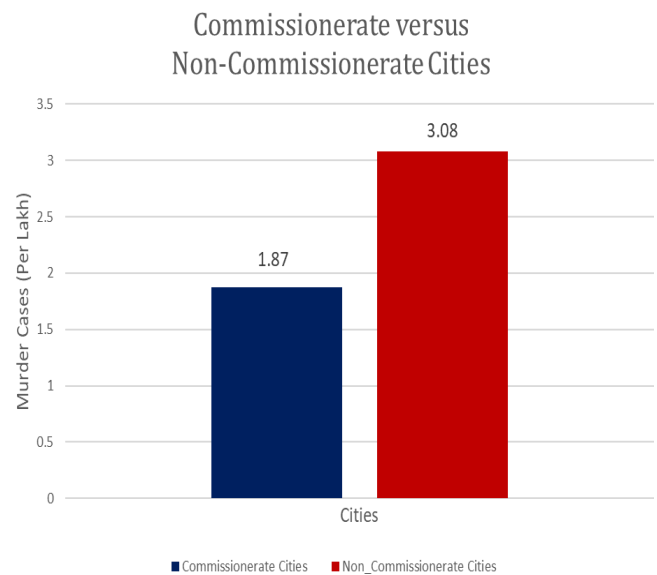
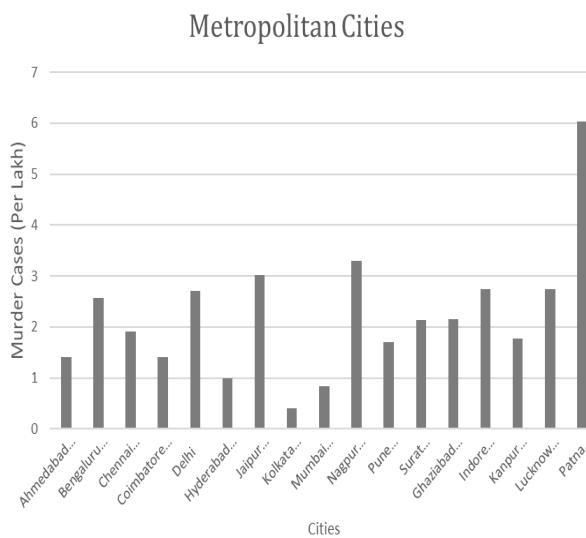
(1) IPC Crimes (Now *Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS)*) (Per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



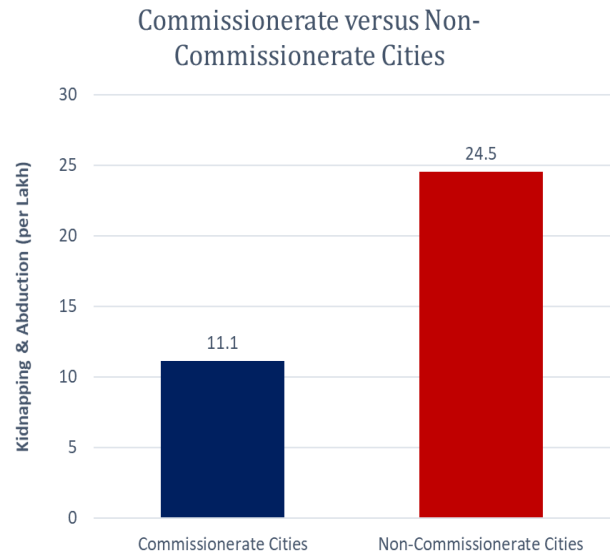
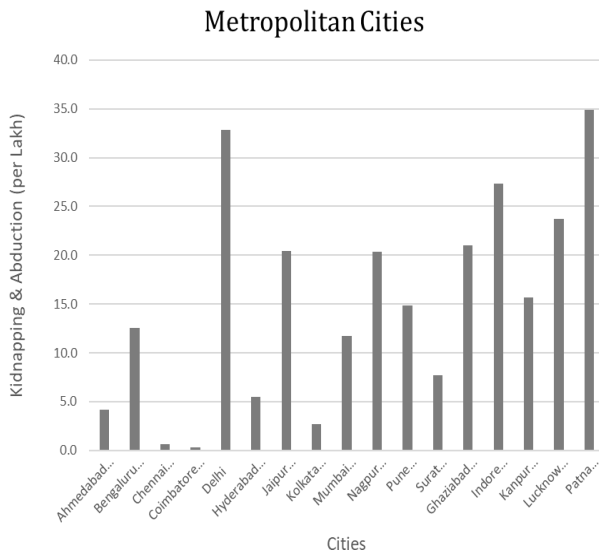
(2) IPC (Now *Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS)*) & SLL Crimes (Per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



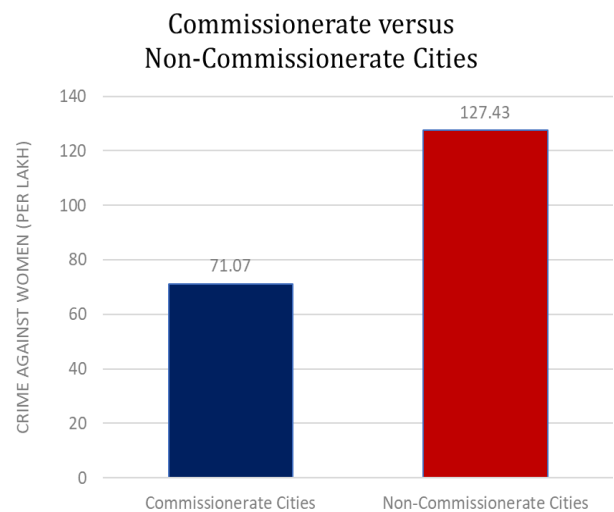
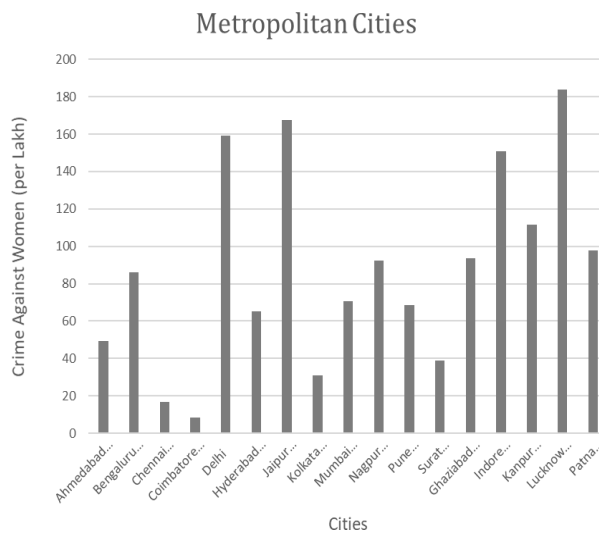
(3) Murder Cases (Per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



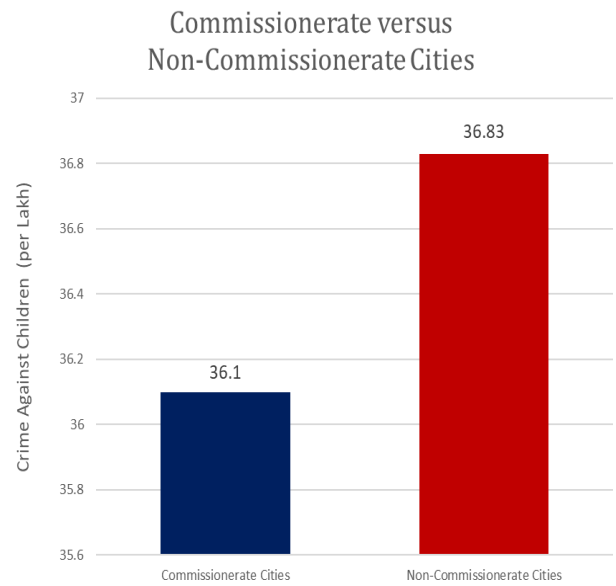
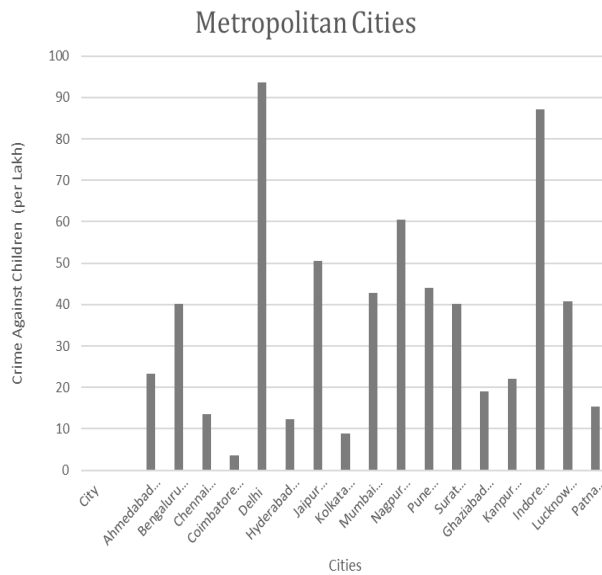
(4) Kidnapping & Abduction (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



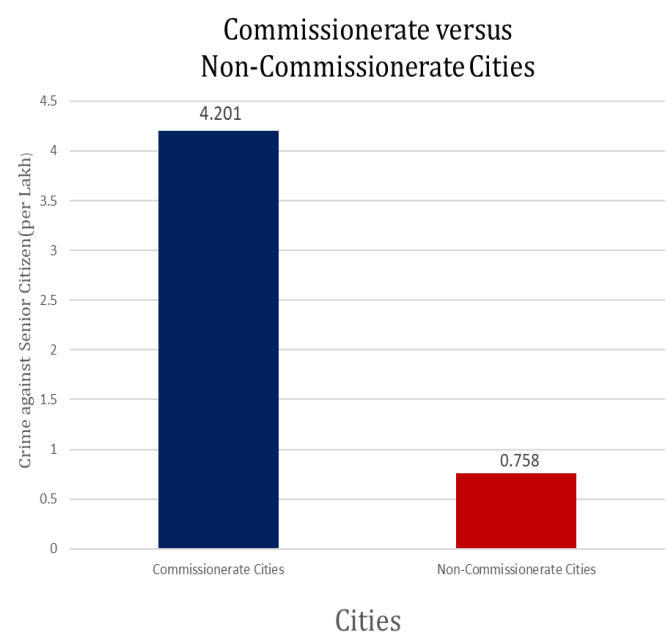
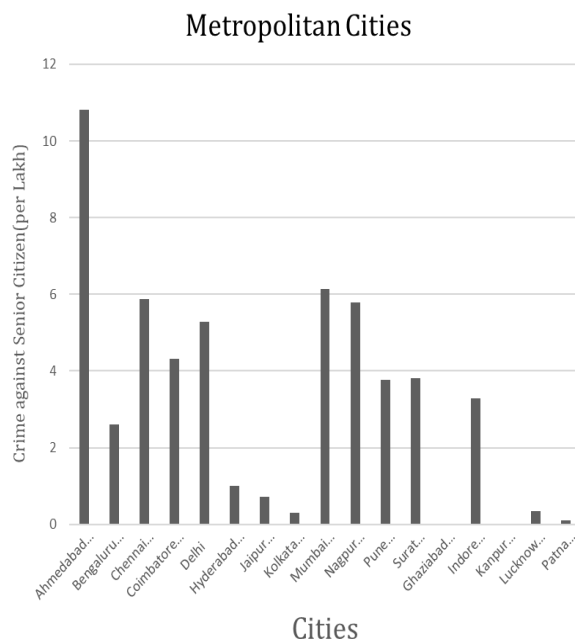
(5) Crime Against Women (IPC) (Now BNS) +SLL) (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



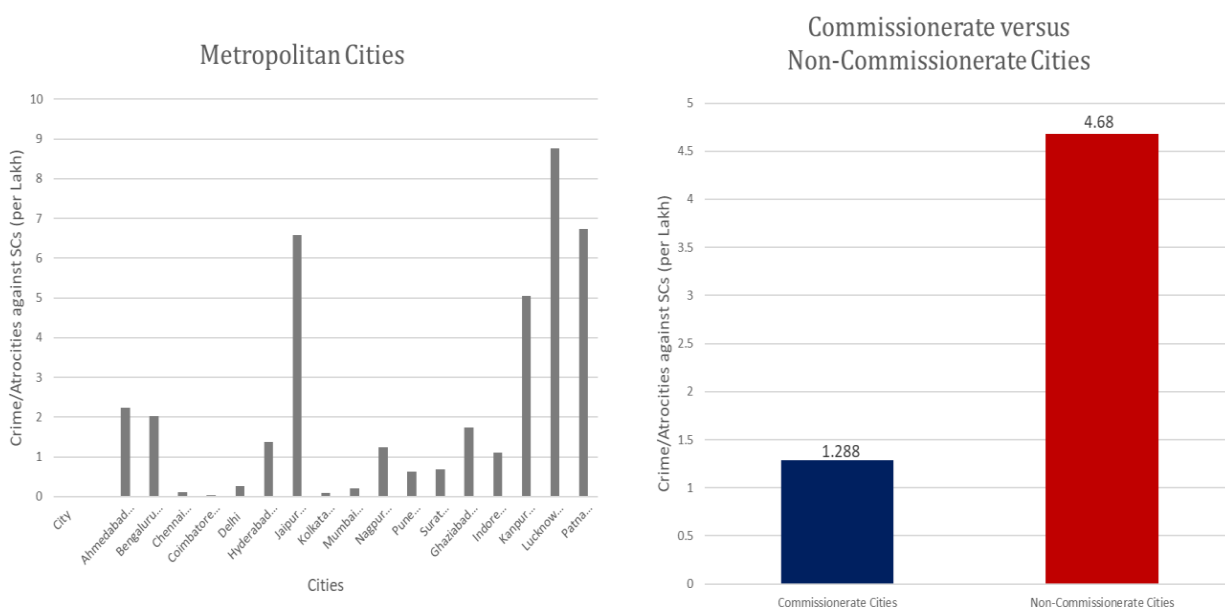
(6) Crime against Children (IPC) (Now BNS) + SLL)



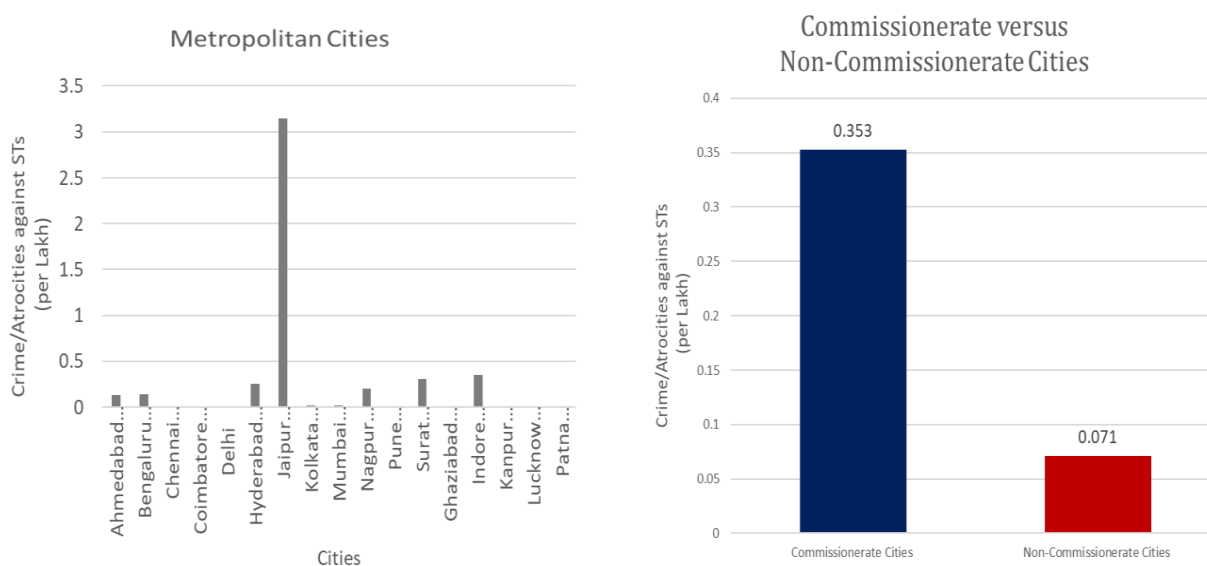
(7) Crime against Senior Citizen (60 Years & Above) (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



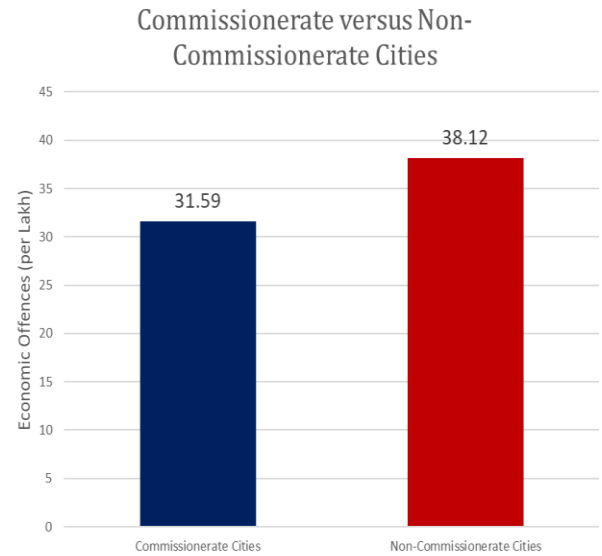
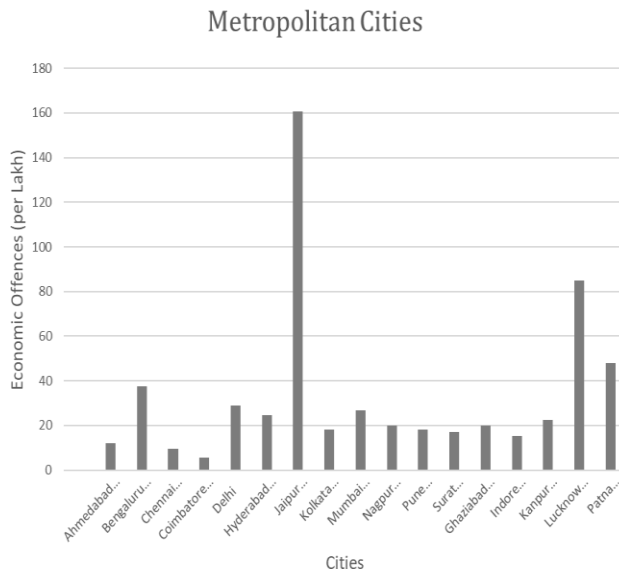
(8) Crime/Atrocities against Scheduled Castes (SCs) (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



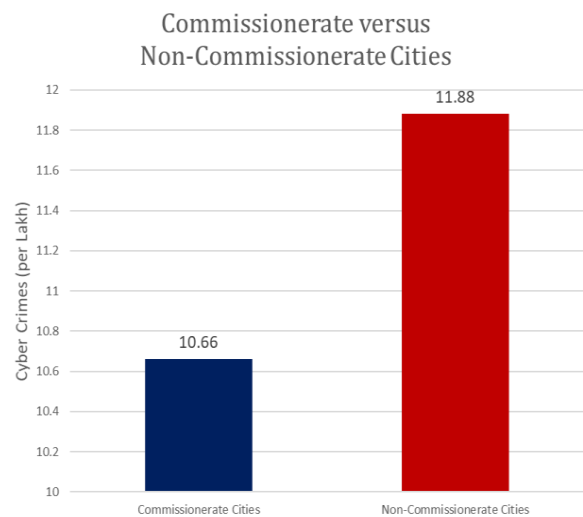
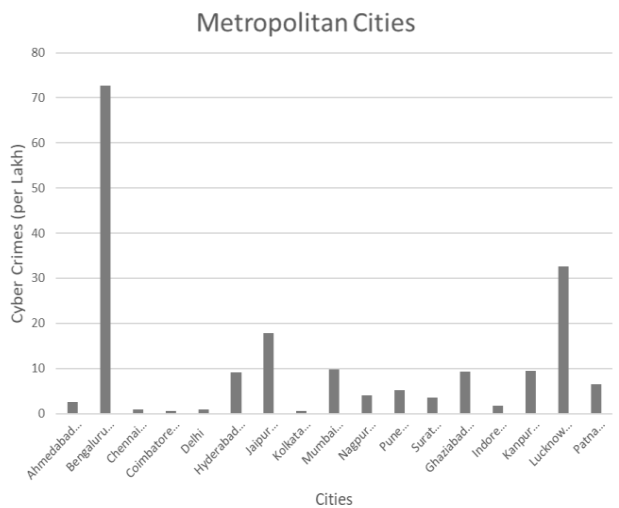
(9) Crime/Atrocities against Scheduled Tribes (STs) (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



(10) Economic Offences (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)



(11) Cyber Crimes (per Lakh) (Avg for 2017-19)

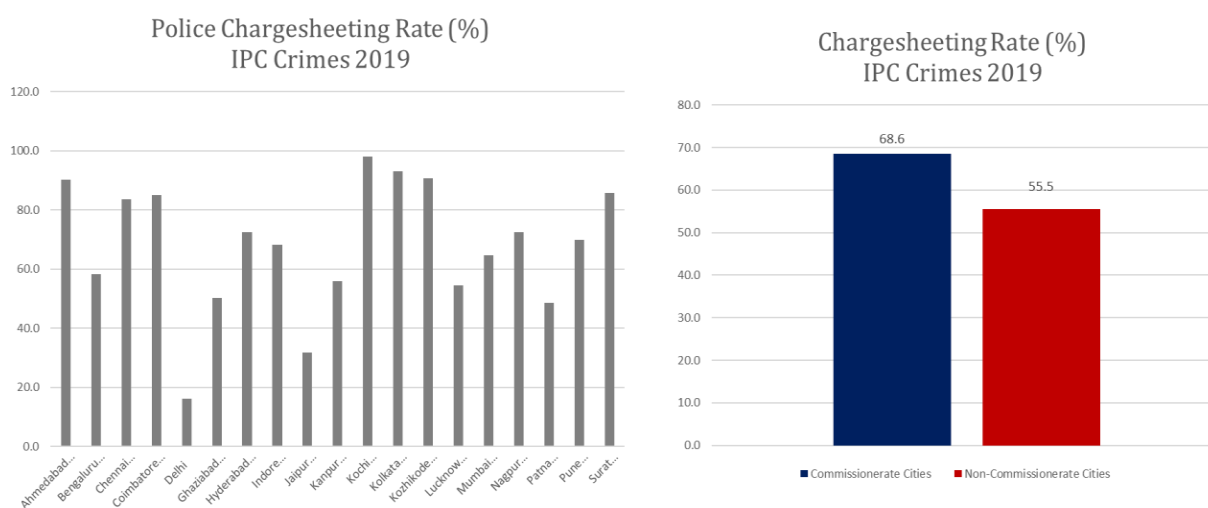


Overview – Incidence of crime

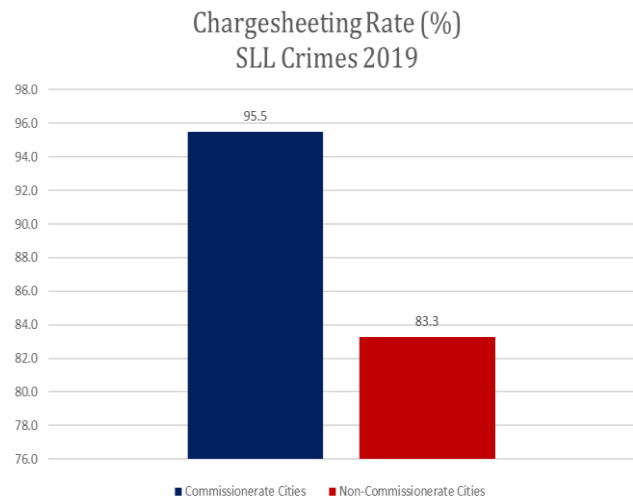
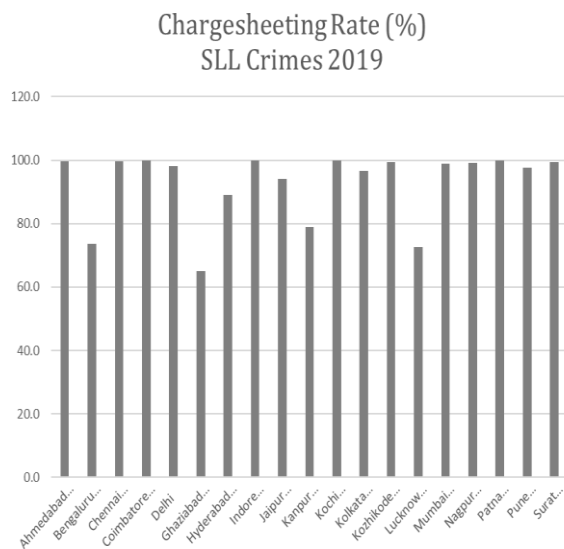
Crime Parameter (Per Lakh)	Commissionerate	Non-Commissionerate Cities
IPC Crimes	Low	High
IPC & SLL Crimes	Low	High
Murder Cases	Low	High
Kidnapping & Abduction	Low	High
Crime Against Women (IPC+SLL)	Low	High
Crime Against Children (IPC+SLL)	Low	High
Crime against Senior Citizen (60 Years & Above)	High	Low
Crime/Atrocities against SCs	Low	High
Crime/Atrocities against STs	High	Low
Economic Offences	Low	High
Cyber Crimes	Low	High

4.3.2. Secondary Data Analysis: Effectiveness of Policing

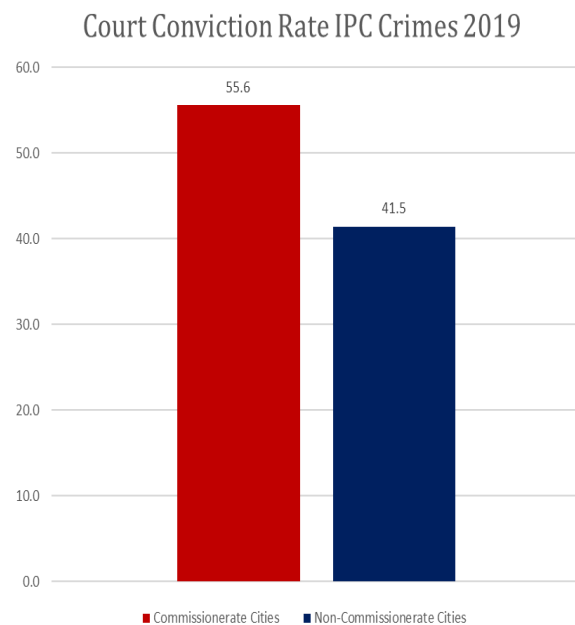
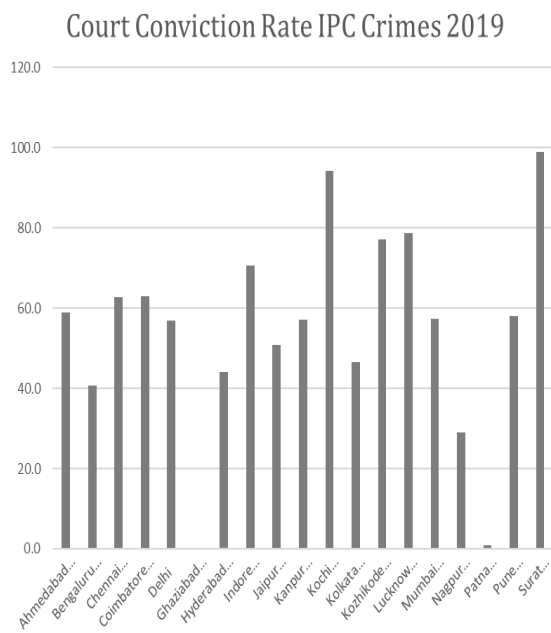
(1) Police Charge-sheeting Rate (%) IPC (Now BNS) Crimes 2019



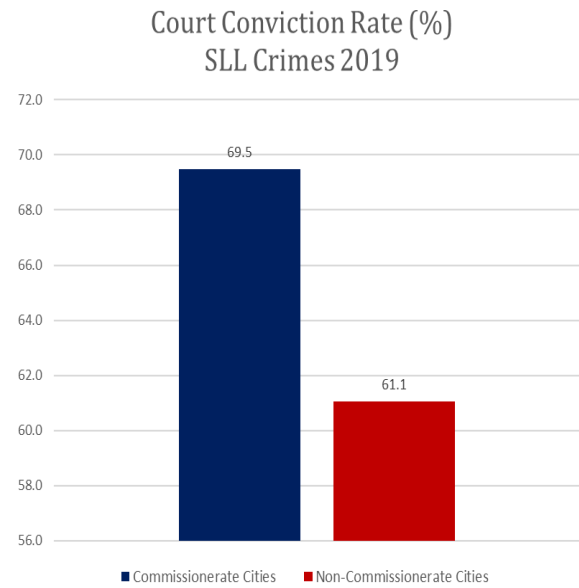
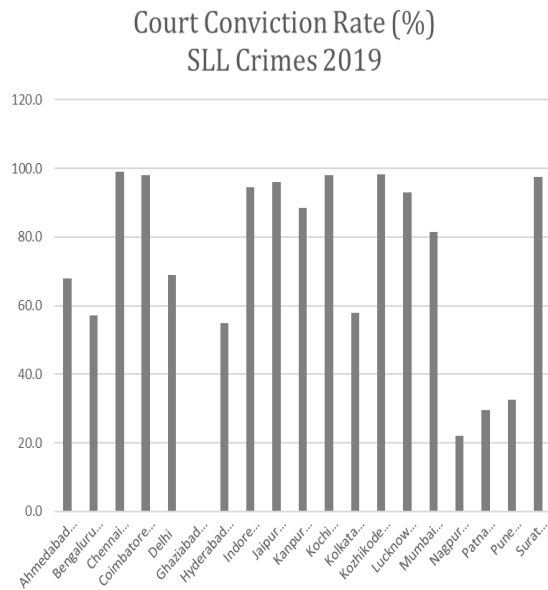
(2) Police Chargesheeting Rate (%) SLL Crimes 2019



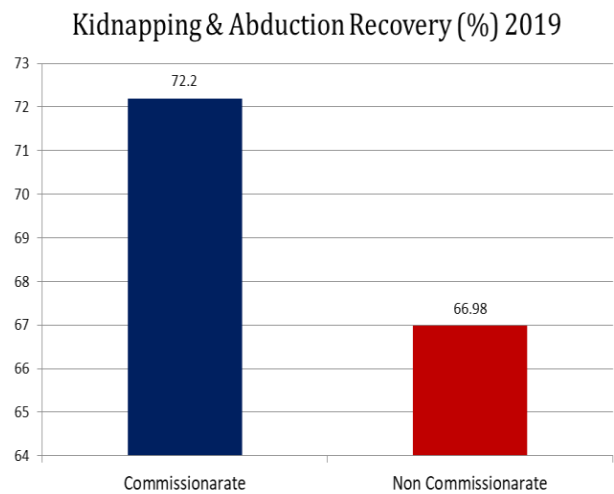
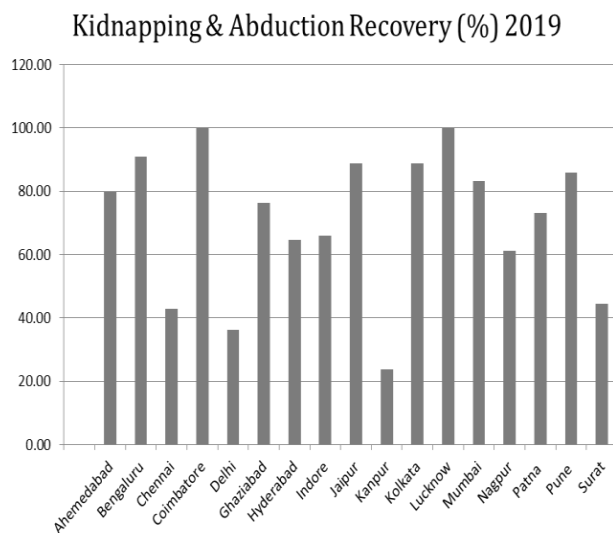
(3) Court Disposal - Conviction Rate IPC (Now BNS) Crimes 2019



(4) Court Disposal - Conviction Rate SLL Crimes 2019



(5) Kidnapping & Abduction Recovery (%) 2019



Overview – Effectiveness of Policing

Parameter	PC Region	SP Region
Police Chargesheeting Rate (%) IPC Crimes	High	Low
Police Chargesheeting Rate (%) SLL Crimes	High	Low
Court Disposal - Conviction Rate IPC Crimes 2019	High	Low
Court Disposal - Conviction Rate SLL Crimes 2019	High	Low
Kidnapping & Abduction Recovery %	High	Low

Chapter V

Findings

5.1. Findings

The data responses to the questionnaire consistently showed better-policing outcomes, in terms of all the six dimensions, for regions coming under the PC system compared to regions under the traditional SP system. The results were also consistent for each parameter under the six dimensions.

Overall, the citizens living in the PC regions are more in agreement/satisfied with the policing outcomes parameters by 4.74% than those without it. More importantly, the citizens living in the SP regions are more in dis-agreement/dis-satisfied with the policing outcomes parameters by over 19.19% than those in PC regions.

The quantitative analysis of secondary data also indicates that overall police effectiveness and policing outcomes are better, along with a lower incidence of crime across different categories of crimes in metropolitan cities with a PC system than those with an SP system.

The overall crime rate for IPC (Now BNS) crimes over 2017 to 2019 was 16.20% higher in cities with an SP system than those with a CP system. Incidence of serious crime, i.e., murder and kidnapping/abduction, over 2017 to 2019 was 50.97% lower in cities with PC systems than those without. The overall conviction rates for IPC (Now BNS) and SLL Crimes in 2019 were 18.02% lower in cities with an SP system than those in a PC system. Similarly, the overall police charge sheeting rates for IPC (Now BNS) and SLL Crimes in 2019 was 15.44% lower in cities with SP systems than those with PC systems.

5.2. Limitations

The survey questionnaire had certain limitations. The primary limit was that the survey was conducted online due to pandemics; hence citizens not having access to the internet may have been missed out. Further, the majority of responses were received in English though the questionnaire was floated in nine languages. Lastly, responses from 4145 citizens were received. Larger datasets could have given more insights.

About the secondary data, a few contradictions in the findings necessitate further investigation using sizeable primary data sets as the study has only looked at data from metropolitan cities in India and not all commissionerates. Further, only data from 2017 to 2019 were considered in the study.

Further, as mentioned earlier, the study has not tried to identify and understand the underlying factors that have led to these differences in police effectiveness and policing outcomes between the Police Commissionerate and the traditional Superintendent of Police system of policing prevailing in different parts of India. It is possible that differences in the factors such as availability of resources, capabilities of senior leadership, the powers delegated to senior leadership, the demographic composition of the population, etc., across the different jurisdictions would impact the performance of the police. Yet, the impact of the Police Commissionerate system on both the effectiveness of the police and public perception is substantial and statistically significant.

Chapter VI

6.1. Recommendations based on the findings

The survey data and the secondary data from metropolitan cities in India indicate a strong and positive impact of the Police Commissionerate system on the effectiveness of the police and a feeling of satisfaction/lack of dissatisfaction of the public with the performance of the police.

As such, it is suggested that administrative criteria and roadmap for converting the police administration to a Commissionerate system would be to link the process to the formation of a municipal corporation in any urban area.

Linking the formation of a Police Commissionerate in an urban with the formation of the Municipal Corporation has numerous advantages. It is administratively convenient as issues related to jurisdiction, financial resources, and administrative approval can all be clubbed together and dealt with in sync with the other administrative changes. Further, it ensures that the formation of a Police Commissionerate becomes an executive political decision rather than an administrative decision. Lastly, it ensures that the transition to the new Police Commissionerate model happens proactively before the burgeoning population of the urban body stretches the limited resources available to the police under the Superintendent of Police system. This policy change would affect the ability of the police to perform the most critical of all government functions, i.e., the upholding of the rule of law and the maintenance of law & order, thus ensuring the political, economic, and social development of the Nation.

**ANNEXURE I – LIST OF POLICE COMMISSIONERATES IN INDIA AS
ON 1st JAN 2022**

S. no.	Name of the State/UT	Total no. of Police Commissionerates	Name of the city
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2	1. Visakhapatnam
			2. Vijayawada
2.	Tamil Nadu	9	1. Chennai
			2. Trichy
			3. Salem
			4. Tiruppur
			5. Coimbatore
			6. Madurai
			7. Tirunelveli
			8. Avadi
			9. Tambaram
3.	Telangana	9	1. Cyberabad
			2. Hyderabad
			3. Karimnagar
			4. Khammam
			5. Nizamabad
			6. Rachakonda
			7. Ramagundam
			8. Siddipet
			9. Warangal
4.	Odisha	1	1. Bhubaneswar-Cuttack
5.	Maharashtra	11	1. Amaravati
			2. Aurangabad
			3. Mumbai
			4. Nashik
			5. Navi Mumbai
			6. Pune
			7. Solapur
			8. Thane
			9. Nagpur
			10. R-Mumbai
			11. Pimpri- Chinchwad
6.	Rajasthan	2	1. Jaipur
			2. Jodhpur

7.	Uttar Pradesh	3	1. Lucknow
			2. Noida
			3. Kanpur
8.	Karnataka	5	1. Bengaluru
			2. Mysuru
			3. Mangaluru
			4. Hubli-Dharwar
			5. Belagavi
9.	Nagaland	1	1. Dimapur
10.	Assam	1	1. Guwahati
11.	West Bengal	7	1. Asansol-Durgapur
			2. Barrackpore
			3. Kolkata
			4. Bidhannagar
			5. Chandan Nagar
			6. Howrah
			7. Siliguri
12.	Gujarat	4	1. Ahmedabad
			2. Vadodara
			3. Rajkot
			4. Surat
13.	Kerala	5	1. Thiruvananthapuram
			2. Ernakulam
			3. Kozhikode
			4. Kollam
			5. Thrissur
14.	New Delhi	1	1. Delhi
15.	Punjab	3	1. Amritsar
			2. Ludhiana
			3. Jalandhar
16.	Haryana	3	1. Faridabad
			2. Gurugram
			3. Panchkula
17.	Madhya Pradesh	2	1. Bhopal
			2. Indore

ANNEXURE II – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE QUESTIONS

The final questionnaire comprised the following 25 questions covering six dimensions: assurance, crime rate, responsiveness, public interface, empathy, and perception of resources with the police.

I. Assurance/Feeling of safety

1. I feel a sense of security and safety for me and my family in my locality.
2. I feel safe in public places.
3. At times, I am not able to sleep properly due to fear of safety from any untoward incident.
4. The police in my locality are available 24X7 for the safety of people.
5. The women are feeling safer now.

II. Crime rate

6. I often listen about incidents of theft, chain-snatching, fraud, drug abuse, rape, murder, etc., in my locality. *
7. I feel the crime rate of my region has come down from previous years.
8. The police in my region are quite proactive in tackling criminal activity.

III. Responsiveness

9. The police in my area are quite vigilant against any untoward incident like rowdyism, petty disputes, riots, criminal activity, law and order issues, etc.
10. I find the police are now more responsive than in earlier days.
11. The emergency number 100 is quite effective in my locality for any urgent help from the police.

IV. Community opinion/public interface

12. I fear the police may implicate me in some false case.
13. I have full faith in the police of my region.
14. The police in my region maintain a healthy relationship with the public.
15. The police are biased and support a particular community.
16. You have to pay a bribe to the police to get the work done.

V. Empathy

17. The police in my locality have the empathy to listen to the problems of the common man.
18. The police are reluctant to lodge FIR. *
19. I find the police more helpful than in earlier days.
20. I have heard about the unlawful detention of the people in my locality by the police. *
21. The police take special care of the vulnerable sections like senior citizens, women, children.
22. The police are sympathetic to the issues of those from the poorer sections of society.

VI. Resources with Police

23. The police force is technologically savvy.
24. The police have sufficient physical resources with them to deal with the challenges that they face.
25. There is sufficient manpower with the police to deal with their responsibilities effectively.

* **Negatively worded question**

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