Gender, Reform, and Policing in India

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Why India?

Increased participation of women in security outside U.S.
 e.g. gender quotas, all-women police stations, women's help desks

Separation:

- Physical segregation or 'enclaves'
- Occupational segregation or assignment of gendered tasks

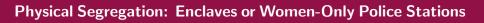
Inclusion:

• Quotas and inclusive representation, e.g. women's leadership

Physical Segregation

Occupational Segregation Inclusive Representation

Discussion



Physical Segregation: Enclaves or Women-Only Police Stations



Physical Segregation: Enclaves or Women-Only Police Stations



Top: Women's Bureau, New York Bottom: Women's Bureau, DC

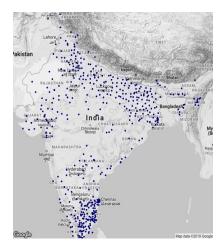
Physical Segregation: Enclaves or Women-Only Police Stations



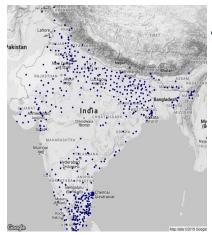
Top: Women's Bureau, New York Bottom: Women's Bureau. DC



Top: Delegacia da Mulher, São Paulo Bottom: AWPS. Varanasi

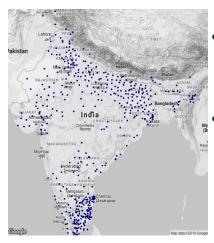


AWPS Locations



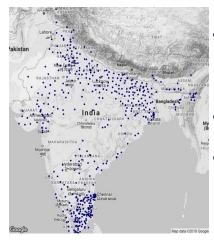
AWPS Locations

- India largest roll-out of "enclaves"
 - Deep-rooted patriarchy
 - Weak state capacity



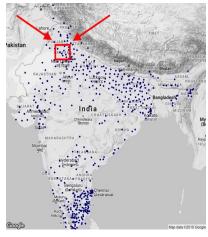
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 - Register First-Information-Reports (FIR)
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- Haryana adopts policy in 2015

The First-Information-Report Dataset (Jassal 2018)

Background

- 2008 Mumbai Attacks
- 2009 CCTNS System
- 2016 Youth Bar Vs. Union of India

Compilation

- Harvest, parse, clean
- Merge with police records
- New variables, e.g. gender

Advantages

- Individual-level
- Includes expunged crime





Top: CCTNS in Vaishali, Bihar Bottom: CCTNS in Varanasi, UP

The Haryana Intervention

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HARYANA GOVERNMENT

HOME DEPARTMENT

Notification

The 4th August, 2015

No. S. O. 140/C.A. 2/1974/S. 2/2015.— In exercise of the powers conferred by clause(s) of section 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Act 2 of 1974), the Governor of Haryana hereby declares the creation of one Woman Police Station at each of the District Headquarters i.e. Karnal, Yamuna Nagar, Kaithal, Kurukshetra, Hisar, Jind, Sirsa, Bhiwani, Fatehabad, Rohtak, Panipat, Jinajiar, Narmaul, Rewari, Mewat(Nuh), Palwal, Faridabad, Ambala, Panichkula and Gurgaon having jurisdiction over the entire area of the respective District, in respect of offences contained in the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act No. 45 of 1860) and various Local and Special Laws, as mentioned hereunder:—

- Section 294, 304-B, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 354, 366, 366-A, 366-B, 376, 376-A, 376-B, 376-C, 376-D, 376-E, 497, 498, 498-A, 509 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860.
- Section 306, 317, 326-A, 326-B, 363, 377, 494, 495, 496 of Indian Penal Code, 1860, if any offence under these sections is committed against a woman.
- The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, (Act No. 19 of 1929) if any offence under the Act is committed against a female child.
- The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 (Act No. 104 of 1956).
- The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 (Act No. 28 of 1961).
- 6. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 (Act No. 3 of 1988).
- Protection of Woman against Domestic Violence Act, 2005(Act No. 43 of 2005).
- The Information Technology Act, 2000, (Act No. 32 of 2000) if any offence under the Act is committed against a woman.
- The Indecent Representation of Woman (Prohibition) Act, 1986 (Act No. 60 of 1986).
- Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012, (Act No. 32 of 2012) if any offence under the Act is committed against a female child.
- Any other offence under the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act No. 45 of 1860) or any other Local and Special Law forming part of same transaction or incidental thereto, to the events which led to commission of above mentioned offences or any attempt/abetment/conspiracy-thereof.

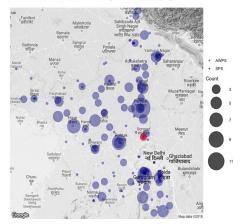
The Woman Police Stations shall have all the powers as per Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Act No. 2 of 1974) for the investigation of offences enlisted above. Jurisdictional Police Stations shall continue to have concurrent power of registration and investigation of aforesaid offences.

P. K. MAHAPATRA, Additional Chief Secretary to Government Haryana, Home Department.

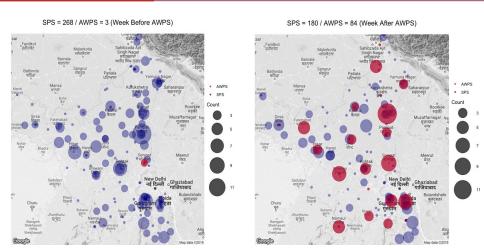
Gendered Crimes Week Before/After Intervention

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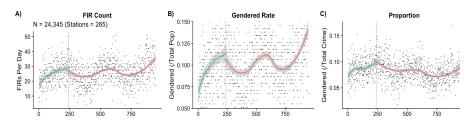
Gendered Crimes Week Before/After Intervention



 \rightarrow Large proportion of gendered crimes registered/investigated at AWPS immediately after intervention.

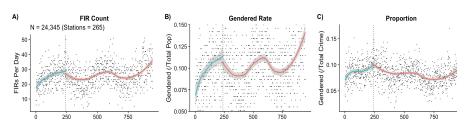
Registered Gendered Crime

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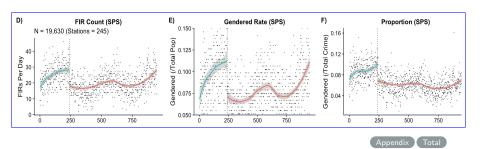


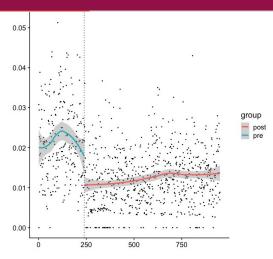
X Axis = Days. From January 1 2015 (Day "0") until August 8 2017. Vertical line is day of intervention (Day 239).

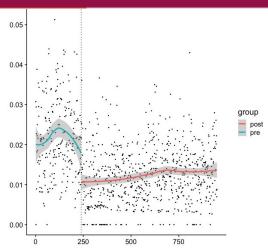
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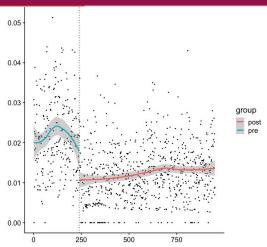
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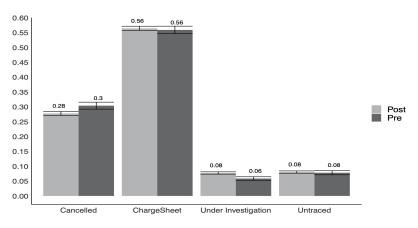
"It's not like this was a request for us...I prefer the gent's police station.
 We...can't handle basic day-to-day cases here." (09/27/17)



- "It's not like this was a request for us...I prefer the gent's police station. We...can't handle basic day-to-day cases here." (09/27/17)
- "They [policemen] are now carrying out the [murder] investigation, while I am posted here...I said fine, keep doing it!" (11/24/17)



Status of Gendered Cases in Justice System



Post: 18,307; Pre: 5,952

ightarrow Same rate of gendered crimes cancelled post-intervention.



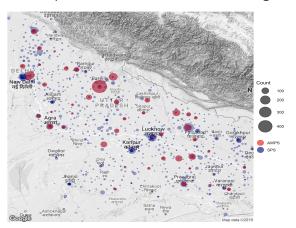
Uttar Pradesh police logs (2015-2017)
Complainants *forwarded* from one police station to another

Uttar Pradesh police logs (2015-2017) Complainants *forwarded* from one police station to another

Registered Dist.	Registered PS	Transferred Dist.	Transferred PS	Reason
Gautambudh Nagar	NOIDA SECTOR-20	GAUTAMBUDH NAGAR	NOIDA SECTOR-24	घटना स्थल थाना नौएडा सैक्टर 24 का होने के कारण
Ghaziabad	GRP GHAZIABAD	KANPUR CITY	GRP KANPUR	घटना स्थल रेलवे स्टेशन कानपुर का होने के कारण
Ghaziabad	NIWARI	GHAZIABAD	MURAD NAGAR	घटना स्थल मुराद नगर का होने के कारण
Ghaziabad	NIWARI	GHAZIABAD	MAHILA THANA	दहेज सम्बंधित मामलों की बववेचना महिला थाने से
Ghaziabad	NIWARI	GHAZIABAD	MAHILA THANA	दहेज से सम्बंधित मुकदमा
Ghaziabad	NIWARI	GHAZIABAD	MAHILA THANA	महिला थाने से सम्बंधित मुकदमा होने के कारण
Ghaziabad	MASURI	GHAZIABAD	MAHILA THANA	महिला से सम्बंधित अपराध

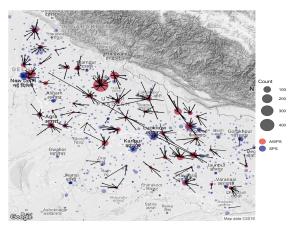
For cases transferred to "mahila thana" or all-women police stations, the justification includes, among others, that the "case concerns a woman."

Stations Complainants Forwarded to Before Registration

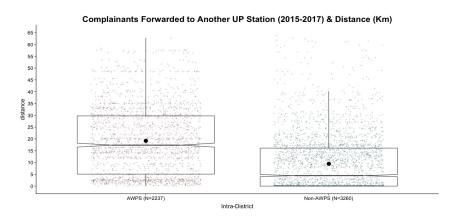


Transferred cases geo-coded to destination police stations (2015-2017). AWPS represent the **largest** proportion of transferred complainants in Uttar Pradesh.

Stations Complainants Forwarded to **Before** Registration



Transferred cases geo-coded to destination police stations (2015-2017). AWPS represent the **largest** proportion of transferred complainants in Uttar Pradesh.



Box-plots depicting the mean, median, and inter-quartile range of the distance women must travel **after being denied** service at an origin police station in the district.



Physical Segregation
Occupational Segregation
Inclusive Representation
Discussion

Occupational Segregation: Experimental Design



Occupational Segregation: Experimental Design





Occupational Segregation: Experimental Design





- Embed photographs in news bulletins
- India unique in the multitude of news channels
- Unlike vignette, design enables broader sample



- Bulletins reflect gendered (dowry/rape) and non-gendered crime (murder/kidnapping)
- Respondent watches 1 of 8, two-minute videos

Script





And now, to another story. A 21-year-old woman was allegedly [randomize crime: murdered, kidnapped, raped, harassed for dowry] on Sunday morning in Ramnagar. Police are looking for a young man, 27-years-old, who is said to have fled the area. On Monday, one of the victim's relatives visited the local police station...

The relative claimed the accused confronted the victim last week and then [randomize crime] her. But the exact sequence of events is not yet known...A police team led by [randomize gender: Shrimati (Ms.), Shri (Mr.)] S. Kumar, Station House Officer has been working on the case. No arrests have been made so far...

[Randomize gender] Kumar said, "The investigation is on and we are gathering evidence. We have registered all the required sections in this case. There are a number of questions that remain unanswered...

"We will fully investigate this [randomize crime] case and make sure that the accused and anyone else involved in the crime is brought to justice. We are gathering clues and looking into the circumstances...

Sample Video





Measures of Officer 'Legitimacy'

Measures of Officer 'Legitimacy'

Procedural Fairness

corrupt Kumar will definitely take bribes
torture Kumar will likely beat up others
abuse Kumar will be verbally abusive
bias Kumar will remain impartial and not take a side
compassion Kumar will empathize with the victim/family
lawful Kumar will use illegal/unethical methods

Effectivness

arrest Kumar will catch and arrest the accused prompt Kumar will delay the investigative process interrogate If the suspect is caught, Kumar is capable of questioning him

compromise Kumar will resort to compromise and not investigate this case fully

elicit fear The accused won't fear SHO Kumar inflexibility Kumar will find it difficult to handle this case while balancing other responsibilities

Trust

I don't trust in Kumar's ability to deliver justice

If I was the victim, I would trust Kumar as the investigator





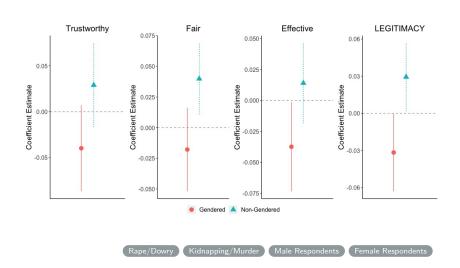
Sampling in Maharashtra

- Largest number of serving policewomen
- · Did not implement all-women stations
- Citizens have among best perceptions of policewomen (CSDS Police Survey 2017)
- Representative sample of state's divisions (1000 respondents); Mar 1-28, 2019
- Urban sampling: largest city in division
- Rural sampling: three-stage procedure a)
 exclude districts where urban survey carried
 out, b) select median population district in
 each division, c) randomly selecting one
 village close to median pop.
- Three starting points in each village, ensuring no road covered by more than one path
- Alternatively, male/female HOH; skipping 3-6





Coefficient Plot



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Policewomen as 'Station House Officers'

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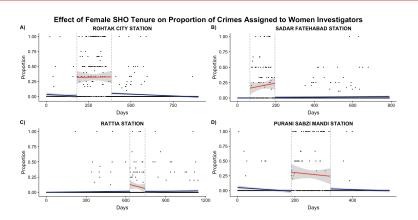


Policewomen as 'Station House Officers'





Effect of a Female SHO on Cases Assigned to Female Deputies



Daily proportion of crimes assigned to female investigators in select police stations. The data between the vertical lines represent the days in which the respective station was run by a female Station House Officer (SHO). Each point on the X-axis is a day, with 0 representing the first day a crime report was lodged at the station in the dataset. Y-axis is the daily proportion (total crimes assigned to women divided by the total crimes registered for that day). Female bureaucrats are significantly more likely to be assigned a case under a female Station House Officer. (There are varying numbers of days on the X-Axis because some stations are newer, and some police stations may not have lodged any reports on certain days.)

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Discussion: Separation vs. Inclusion

- Potentially unintended consequences of separate representation
- Unlike U.S., in our site, policewomen may be seen negatively when tackling certain types of crime
- Double-bind for female administrators; shared identity *not* automatic route toward legitimacy
- Equitable division of labor and inclusive representation may improve evaluations, promote professionalization, reduce likelihood of type-casting or bureaucratic deflection



