

POLICE REFORMS: AN APPRAISAL

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Abstract

The police are the frontline force for maintaining law and order in any modern civilized society. Unfortunately, the institution of the police in Pakistan has been far from ideal. In the pre-Partition era, the police were used as a tool to subdue those who questioned the British Raj. Adhering to the colonial tradition, the police in Pakistan have been exploited by the ruling elite to extend their power over the masses and protect their interests. The police in Pakistan, therefore, have been a target of criticism despite appreciable performance and valuable sacrifices rendered by them to maintain law and order. Over a period of time, many efforts have been made to bring structural reforms in the institution but they could not be fully materialized. A significant step was taken by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) in formulating the new Police Act of 2017 which has contributed to building a positive police image among the population. Similarly, Sind and other provinces have taken measures to reform the police. The purpose of this article is to trace the evolution of police reforms and analyse various versions of the Police Act being followed in Pakistan, with a view to identifying the reasons behind inefficiency or low performance of the police department as a whole and offer a few recommendations on the basis of this analysis.

Key Words: Police Reforms, Institution, Law and Order, Societal Confidence

Introduction

Policing is the lynchpin in the system of law and order in any society, serving as the frontline force to deal with situations arising from internal security conflicts, besides dealing with criminals and lawbreakers. The institution of the police is therefore held in high esteem not only by the state but also by the citizens who derive a sense of protection and security from the very existence of the institution. This feeling of security is further compounded when the police force establishes a rapport of professionalism, honesty, dedication, prompt action and ready availability at the time of need. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, the police could not build up for itself a sense of trust amongst the masses; on the contrary, it has been under criticism from almost all the societal quarters due to their alleged corruption, mishandling of the people, political bias and nepotism. People in metropolitan cities like Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Rawalpindi do not feel secure even in the presence of police as they view them as part of the problem.¹ For instance, Punjab Police involvement in Sahiwal cold blooded

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murders of a family on highway² and Model Town massacre of protestors,³ are two to mention. Poor training, lack of resources, meager and substandard equipment and mobility, political interference, and dearth of dedication have resulted in increase in crime rate.⁴ Post Afghan War, the deteriorating law and order has resulted in many socioeconomic problems in the country as no foreign investor could be attracted for their investment because of uncondusive business environment.⁵

In order to deal with the worsening security situation and the inability of police to respond befittingly, it became a common practice to requisition the services of civil armed forces for maintaining law and order. In almost all the provinces, Rangers and Frontier Constabulary (FC) troops have been permanently made a part of the law and order mechanism. Employment of FC and Rangers did secure law and order, yet there is a need to find a permanent solution to the problem instead of temporary arrangements. Necessary reforms in the police should be introduced and the deployment of FC and Rangers be resorted to only when it is absolutely essential and unavoidable. Moreover, involvement of FC and Rangers troops in civilian affairs impacts their standards of training and exposes them to social evils inter-alia corruption. There have been instances when FC and Rangers troops were blamed for the same malpractices carried out by the police.⁶

In today's era of hybrid warfare, there is a constant threat of terrorist and sabotage activities. In order to combat this menace, the police play a vital role; as a front-line force they are the first responders in dealing with these challenges. It is, therefore, a step in right direction to reform and transform policing for halting such crimes and malpractices by the police.

This paper is an effort to study the evolution of Police Acts/ Orders in Pakistan, highlighting the shortcomings in police structure as an institution, suggesting corrective measures so as to ensure that Pakistan police service delivers as per the national security requirements. A case study of Police Act-2017 enacted in KP has been undertaken for highlighting lessons for decision makers in other provinces. An effort is being made to analyze the Police Act/ Order of 2002 with a view to implementing it across the country.

Evolution of Pakistani Police Acts

After the 1857 war of independence, the British Government in India institutionalized the police by promulgating a police commission,⁷ wherein the police were meant to deal with civil offenses only; however, the expected discipline level was to be at par with that of the military who generally do not deal with the same social problems being stationed at far flung isolated cantonments. The first ever Police Act of 1861 was enacted for governing the police in the subcontinent. It pivoted around the desire of the British rulers to use police as a tool to curb and crush uprising of locals against their rule. The people gradually adapted themselves to the Police Act without getting into its biased nature. It remained effective for 90 years i.e. throughout British rule in the subcontinent. The irony is that the Police Act made to subdue the native Indians continued to prevail even after independence.⁸

Although attempts were made by the politicians to get rid of the colonial way of exercising police powers and promulgate a new Act, the bureaucracy at that time – which comprised British officers or their loyalists – resisted any change and preferred the status quo. The idea behind the police reforms in 1947-48 was to establish a metropolitan policing system, initially for the metropolitan cities of Lahore and Karachi. A number of bills were introduced by the provincial and federal governments; however, nothing materialized. The efforts continued until the 1960s but petered out; the British-made Police Act of 1861 served the purpose of the ruling elite to exercise their power through the police in order to mitigate any threat to their supremacy in their respective constituencies.⁹ Bureaucrats also viewed their survival in maintaining status quo in order to govern their respective administrative areas as per the directions of their ruling political elite, hence, did not demonstrate any resolve to enact new Police Orders vis-à-vis Police Order of 1861 in all provinces including KP.¹⁰

It was as late as 2002 during the President Musharraf era when serious thought about policing reform came about. It may be recalled that President Musharraf believed in empowerment of masses or devolution of power down to grassroots level, for which the police had to be made answerable to the public through their elected representatives instead of political masters.¹¹ In 2002, the first ever serious effort in Pakistan to have a new Police Act¹² resulted in Police Act-2002.¹³ The Police Act-2002 had the characteristics of honesty of purpose, un-biasness, people-friendly and accountability-specifically aiming for a strong

and professional police force meant for securing lives, properties and the interests of peaceful citizens. For the first time, Public Safety Commissions intended to guard against political pressure on the police, while keeping a check on its expected performance and delivery, were suggested to improve the image of the police. The preamble of the Police Order 2002 claimed to remodel the police in accordance with the democratic aspirations of the people. The Order prescribed basic structural changes. However, most of the provisions of the Order were never adhered to, particularly in matters of postings and transfers and functional specialization as the resources needed for such specialization were never provided.

Being wary of the police moving out of their sphere of influence, the political and bureaucratic elites resisted its implementation both in letter and spirit. Both elite communities opposed the Act behind the slogan of 'the Act being baby of a military ruler'¹⁴ and argued that it was drafted and imposed by a non-democratic government. The opponents of the Act also cited a lack of modernization in Pakistani society as a barrier to its implementation. Additionally, it was said that living standards be increased so that crime rates could automatically go down. Unfortunately, hard core politicians and bureaucrats prevailed and the Police Act-2002 could not get implemented in its actual shape.¹⁵ It was amended ruthlessly so as to keep its various sections open-ended for exploitation by translating various sections and articles to their advantage. Although a few amendments were made in 2004 as well, however, after the 18th amendment, the Police Act of 2002 was also seen as the Provincial issue and the Provincial governments started making amendments amenable to their political needs.¹⁶ While the Police Order 2002 was still being tested, the provincial governments of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan and Sindh put an end to the federal character of policing by enacting new provincial police laws and Islamabad Police still continued to operate under the Police Act 1861.¹⁷ Though police in the provinces are being run under different laws, the hierarchical structure more or less remains the same. Moreover, police in the provinces are headed by the officers of the Police Service of Pakistan belonging to the federal government. The only change is in the matter of exercise of authority to post/transfer officers of the ranks from Superintendent of Police to Additional Inspector General of Police. The postings and transfers of aforementioned police officers rested with the provincial government under the Police Act 2002 and in the Capital City with the Chief Commissioner.

Distribution of Power remained the major hurdle. The Inspector Generals of Police appointed by the Federal Governments would like to be governed by the Police Act 2002; that gave them the leverage to exercise their command for curbing crime while the political government wanted to keep the initiative in their own hand for their political motives. The tussle resulted into a vicious circle of sacking the Police Command and restoration of same individuals on the orders of judiciary. This kind of unprecedented tug of war to win over police control explains the reason for rising crimes graph in the country in general and Sindh in particular.¹⁸ Punjab is no exception. The province saw the change of three Inspector Generals within a short span of one year, recklessly dispensing with the Police Order.

The Sindh Police Act had been pending with the political hierarchy of Sindh since 2015. It was lately approved in May 2019. The slow-paced progress was perceived as an effort to win 'control over police'.¹⁹ The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) managed to repeal the Police Act, 1861 and revive the Police Order 2002 amid protest and walk out by the three main opposition parties in the Sindh Assembly.²⁰ Interestingly, the Police Order 2002 passed by the Sindh Assembly was not welcomed by the opposition parties for its bias in favor of the ruling elite.

Ambiguity about the federal character of police law still exists. With the passage of the 18th amendment, law and order exclusively fell within the domain of the provinces and is no longer considered on the concurrent list. However, one view is that the criminal law is a federal law and Police Order 2002 being a federal law is also a part. On the other hand, provinces taking advantage of the ambiguity went with their own legislations. A committee headed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan is examining the issue. A larger bench of the Supreme Court is likely to rule whether the police falls within the federal legislative competence or otherwise.²¹ All the provinces including the federation in their replies had contended that policing was exclusively a "provincial subject" and neither the Supreme Court bestowed any jurisdiction nor did the Constitution empower federal legislatures to legislate on the subject.²²

In order to carry out further analytical study of Police reforms, it is imperative to have a comparative analysis of the existing Police Act/ Order of 2002 and what it was when actually proposed in 2002. An examination of what KP Police did while enacting its Police Act of 2017 is also necessary.

Comparative Analysis of Sind Police Order 2019 with Police Act of 2002

In this analysis only those Articles of the Police Act will be discussed which were either manipulated or deleted. The preamble to any statute provides the intent and purpose of the legislature and sets the theme of the enactment. A cursory glance at both the preambles reveals that there is little difference between them with the exception that in the new Act, the role of provincial government in policing has been strengthened. Both acts are unanimous that police has obligation and duty to function according to the constitution, law, and democratic aspiration of the people. They also agree that functioning of the police requires it to be professional, service-oriented, and accountable to the people. The emphasis is to redefine the police role, its duties and responsibilities with a view to reconstruct the police service for efficient prevention and detection of crime and maintenance of public order. So no disagreement emerges in the preamble. For brevity, only debatable clauses/ articles of the Acts will be discussed.

Articles 6 to 12 deal with the separate police establishment for each general police area, constitution of police, organization of police on functional basis, superintendence of police, administration of the police, posting of Inspector General of Police, terms of tenure of Inspector General of Police, etc. No change was noticed in matters of posting/ transfers of Additional Inspector General, Deputy Inspector General, appointment of experts, and District Police Officers. Both laws envisage that the Inspector General has to act in consultation with the provincial government. In the case of Deputy Inspector General and Senior Superintendent of Police, the Inspector General has to propose three names to the Chief Minister. The Police Order 2002 prescribes a three-year term for the Senior Superintendent of Police whereas Sindh Police Act does not specifically mention the term of office. The Act says that the term of office of Deputy Inspector General of Police and Senior Superintendent of Police shall be in the manner as may be prescribed. Although Police Order 2002 mentioned term of office, neither the federal government nor any provincial government followed that provision of law. However, a slight departure has been observed in the matter of recruitment. Police Order 2002 provides for recruitment only at the level of Constable, Assistant Sub Inspector and Assistant Superintendent of Police, whereas Sindh Revised Order lays that recruitment in the police other

than ministerial and specialist cadres shall be in the ranks of Constable, Assistant Sub-Inspector, Inspector and Deputy Superintendent of Police, provided that selection for direct recruitment in the rank of Assistant Sub-Inspector, Inspector and Deputy Superintendent of Police shall be through the Sind Public Service Commission as per quota and manner notified by the Government. It is a good omen that recruitments above the level of constable are to be carried out by the Sindh Public Service Commission. The written tests for recruitment of constable by an independent accredited testing authority such as mentioned in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Act 2017, will not only enhance the quality but also shield the institution from criticism of nepotism and favoritism. Administration of police in a district is vested in the head of the District Police under both the laws.

Article 17 of Police Order 2002 has been deleted in the new Order as it deals with the posting of Capital City Police officer. It is no longer the case under the new law. Article 18 of both the laws governs investigation. Departure from Police Order 2002 regarding head of the investigation has been observed. Under the revised Order, the head of the investigation is to be of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police. As compared to this, head of the investigation in a general police area shall not be below the rank of Additional Inspector General. Apart from that, the remaining parts of both articles are the same. However, a new clause, empowering the Home Minister to change investigation, with the condition to cite reasons, has been inserted. The opposition parties suspect that the clause appears to have been added as a safeguard for the Chief Minister, ministers or other persons considered close to the government.²³

Article 23 of the Police Order, which deals with the appointment of junior ranks, indicates that the Head of District Police shall be the appointing authority for junior ranks. However, under the new law, the article reads that the junior ranks officials shall be appointed after fulfilling eligibility conditions and qualifying examination and tests such physical, academic and psychological / psychometric tests in the manner as may be prescribed. Although the article makes the appointments subject to eligibility and prescribed examination, it is ambiguous regarding the appointing authority as mentioned in the same article of Old Police Order 2002. As such, it will be a cause of litigation.

As discussed earlier, the nuance of devolution of power by the Musharraf Government was resisted in Sindh, thus in Articles 32-35, the powers of Nazims

at various levels have been deleted in terms of their control over police functioning and instead the word Nazim has been substituted with appointments like Mayor, Deputy Commissioner or Chairman. Similarly, in Articles 109 to 111 provisions that deal with instituting and functioning of Criminal Justice Coordination Committees have also been deleted, which indicates that the Sindh Government has been resistant to any provision of the Act that could question the powers of political government with respect to exercising their influence on police as an institution.

One of the most important powers under both the police orders is the rule-making powers of the Inspector General of Police. Under both the laws, these are not unfettered. Under Police Order 2002, the Inspector General could make rules; however, with an intrusive caveat of 'Home Department Consultation.' Earlier, any amendment in the rules required political government's approval.

Balochistan Police Act of 2011

The Balochistan Assembly passed the Balochistan Police Act 2011, giving more powers to administration and district magistrates in regulating the Balochistan Police. Based on the Police Act of 1861, the new act replaced the Police Order 2002. The new act empowers the home secretary to make postings and transfers on recommendations of the Chief Minister and Services and General Administration Department.²⁴ It applies to all A areas of Balochistan. However, in practice, these powers are now being exercised by the Inspector General of Police while orders of postings of senior police officers up to the rank of Additional IGP are issued by the CPO.²⁵

KP Police Act of 2017

The KP Government also passed its Police Act 2017 by repealing the Police Order 2002 with high levels of support and approval from the majority of police officers and political government. The supporters declared that a new era of police reforms was ushered in but nobody paid attention to the fact that the federal character of policing had been put to an end. The new Police Act made the Inspector General omnipotent by empowering him to make postings and transfers up to the ranks of Additional Inspector General. In fact, some observers believe that the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Department has been made apolitical, accountable and independent to perform the law maintenance duties without any considerable political interference.²⁶ The promulgation of

the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Act 2017, though, heralds a number of steps towards operational, administrative and financial autonomy of the Inspector General of Police and establishment of institutions, it falls short in many areas when compared and contrasted with the Police Order 2002. While the Police Order 2002 focused on the devolution of authority at all levels, the present Act centralizes all authority in the person of Inspector General of Police. The old order had conferred wide administrative, financial and operational powers on the Capital Police Officer, City Police Officer and District Police Officer. Capital City was declared as a separate General Area under the Police Order 2002 and the Capital Police Officer enjoyed the authority of the head of attached department. This has been done away with under the new Act.²⁷ This kind of arrangement is suspected to be counter-productive with regard to tangible efficiency of the Capital City Police Officer. The Additional Inspector General heading different units has also not been given authority of postings and transfers.

Under the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police Act 2017, the much-trumpeted concept of separation of investigation from watch and ward has been buried. Additional IG Investigation is no longer the head of Investigation. The SPs Investigation in Districts will now report to District Police Officer.²⁸ The District Police Officer has been made responsible to evaluate annual performance of SP investigation with Deputy Inspector General as the Countersigning Officer and Inspector General as the Second Countersigning Officer. With this departure, the whole concept of functional specialization around which modern policing revolves is expected to come to an end.²⁹

Merely empowering an IGP to post officers is not enough; reforms always have financial implications. Taking it as a case study, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been facing the daunting challenges of terrorism coupled with insurgency particularly since 2006 until almost 2017. However, the province has converted challenges into opportunities. In such an environment of real and imminent danger, the then provincial government (2008–2013) rightly considered revamping and rebuilding of the police department its top priority. It, therefore, developed a “Comprehensive Development Strategy and Crisis Assessment Programme” with the assistance of the World Bank. Successive governments enhanced the budget of the police as well as increased its Annual Development Programme. Financial resource allocation reached its peak in 2010-11. With more

finances available, the police force acquired better human resource as the number of police personnel swelled to 75,000 in 2013 from 32,000 in 2006-7, which is a very significant increase of 134 per cent.³⁰ In order to achieve reforms-related targets, a 'Project Coordination Unit' was also established which empowered the police force to initiate and run its developmental schemes.

As the existing training centres could not accommodate huge numbers, arrangements were made in collaboration with the Army for imparting training. Another strategic priority was to raise a counterterrorism force and within a short span of time a highly trained Anti-terrorism Elite Force was raised with 7,000 members. In the same period, a state-of-the art 'Joint Training Centre' was raised with the assistance of the US Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs,³¹ that is now the main training feeder for the anti-terrorism personnel. The Directorate of Counter Terrorism was also established which played a crucial role in bringing hundreds of terrorists to justice and in preparing a database of 3,500 militants with 350 of them being the highly wanted terrorists. To improve the physical infrastructure, the damaged buildings of the police in the whole of Malakand were reconstructed under the US-assisted Rule of Law and Peace Building programme. In a nutshell, by 2013, a highly well-developed police system was in place to tackle the law and order situation.³²

The period of 2013-2018 remained focused mostly on peace time policing. Inauguration of model police stations, opening of training schools, conversion of Directorate of Terrorism to Counter Terrorism Department, Police Assistance Service, Dispute Resolution Council, Police Assistance Lines, passage of preventive laws such as Rented Building Act 2014, Hotel Restriction Act 2014, Vulnerable Establishment and Places Act 2015, establishment of Traffic Warden System, 9 percent increase from 75,000 to 82,000 and recruitment of constables through independent testing authority were the hallmark of that period (2013-2018).³³ However, despite renovating model police stations on the pattern of police stations in the developed countries to create a perception that the KP police has been modernized to an extent, the hard reality on the ground is that most of the buildings of the main police stations and police lines in Peshawar, let alone smaller cities, are still not only in dilapidated conditions but also overcrowded. The issue needs to be addressed as a top priority.

It is pertinent to mention that the amended Police Acts are being implemented in Punjab, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. However, ironically, Islamabad Police, Gilgit Baltistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir are still being managed under the Police Act of 1861.

Achievements of Police

Police, unfortunately, remains negatively tainted due to their reputation for unacceptable behavior and involvement in corruption. However, there are numerous celebrated actions and measures taken by the competent police authorities to improve the performance of the department and bring down the overall crime graph in the country. Some of them include the following: -

- a. *First*, despite the odds, police in Pakistan rely on their indigenous resources to have pre-hand information about any probable worsening of law and order situation.
- b. *Two*, police efforts are maintaining effective and viable safe city projects by installing CCTV cameras to monitor the law and order situation and in carrying out investigations to their conclusion.
- c. *Third*, the police are known for their deep roots and knowledge of the area. A police force which has real-time knowledge on the ground can be an extremely useful and viable force for internal security.
- d. *Fourth*, the police equally deserve their due share of appreciation for bringing about peace and stability in the metropolitan cities of Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta. The police force remained steadfast as the frontline against terrorist attacks.
- e. *Fifth*, police force has managed to keep their deterrence alive against the law breakers. Police deterrence for the criminals is intact because of which the crime graph remains under check.

Gaps in Organizational and Legal Structure of Police Acts

Before a detailed solution is suggested for police reforms, it is imperative to list the gaps that were exploited by the ruling and political elites to meet their political and bureaucratic ends respectively. As discussed earlier, the Police Act of 1861 was framed with the aim of preventing mass uprisings against British rule in the subcontinent. It was politically motivated and as such had no consideration for protecting people's rights and privileges. Regrettably, today in

Pakistan, the same practices are used as the police protect the interests of the ruling elite against any threat from the population to their rule and supremacy.

In the 1861 Police Act, there were two parallel reporting systems—one operational through the district magistrates (more powerful) and the other organizational (basically weak in operational ability) through Inspector Generals. District Magistrates were used to legalize the use of force by the police when required in public order or other situations; however, a duality of command structures diluted the chain of command and resulted in inefficiency in practice.³⁴ Furthermore, it corrupted the system of police and district management as the district magistrate had the judicial powers to open fire as well as giving on-the-spot sentences. Political elite, unfortunately, have the administrative powers of postings and transfers which keeps them under political pressure.

In short, political interference could be regarded as the biggest hurdle in gaining public support for and confidence in policing. The political elite have a history of influencing police enrolment from their political constituencies, postings, promotions, functioning, enactment of open-ended rules and police laws, and above all financial control. This all amounts to police officials being subject to political patronage and control. Such an approach has extremely negative implications regarding the equal application of the law to all citizens.

Recommendations

Policing remains a challenging task in any society. Only a well-equipped, morally upright, physically fit, honest and apolitical police force with internal high morale can ensure a peaceful society. Some of the recommendations are proffered for consideration by the policy makers:-

Apolitical Police. The police force has to be free from all kinds of influences, inter-alia political influence, to immediately overhaul policing. The political elite should not have any leverage on enrolment, postings, transfers and functioning of the police force. The Inspector General Police of any province should only seek guidelines with regard to maintenance of law and order from respective province's Chief Minister. For zero-tolerance in violating merit, an oversight mechanism may be instituted in each province for recruitment, postings and financial aspects. This high-powered mechanism could consist of members from multiple backgrounds including representatives from

government, judiciary, armed forces, civil society, subject specialists and retired police officers.

Checks and Balances. Strong checks and balances coupled with a policy of reward and punishment should become the norm in police. Like armed forces, all police officials should be assured that their postings, transfers, courses, career planning would be merit based. It could be done by independent bodies; a step in the right direction has already been taken by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa police, where recruitment and promotion examination have been outsourced to Educational Testing and Evaluation Agency (ETEA).

Police Station Reforms. Police station is public face of any police system. Police culture has to be addressed by addressing common complaints against police such as attitudes, behavior, arrogance, corruption, burking and mitigation, etc.

Command and Control Centre. A state-of-the-art command and control centre to be established for central monitoring of the Safe City Projects. Expert police supervisory officers are positioned here for coordinating the activities of the law enforcing agencies such as the fire department, rescue 1122, civil defense, hospital authorities, etc.

Investigations. Investigation backed by scientific aid and forensic support is needed as top priority. Provinces should get state-of-the-art forensic science laboratories for quick and authentic investigations. The investigation branch needs to be split into specialized segments for carrying out investigations of cyber-crime, terrorism and cases against property etc.

Coordinating with Prosecutors. Investigators and prosecutors share the responsibility of a fair, just and thorough investigation which should lead to better and easy access to justice for victims. This can be achieved through close coordination between police investigators and prosecutors from the very start of the investigation process. Prosecution Coordination Units (PCU) can liaise with investigation units of police stations. Early investigative advice, assistance and support could lead to better and stronger cases.

Human Resource Development (HRD). Emphasis needs to be laid on quality rather than quantity with regard to police personnel. Additional police numbers become meaningless if quality services are not being delivered. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa police can be cited as a case in point.

Revamping Police Training. Recently some progressive changes have been witnessed in police training with the introduction of new curricula, revision of the old one and bringing changes in both methodology and content. Currently, the emphasis is on physical training, which is a paradigm shift towards improving attitudes and developing professional skills. There is a further need to concentrate on enhancing critical capabilities of police officers, focusing on areas like changing organizational culture, promoting community responsiveness, gender response, policing and human rights compliant policing. The police training infrastructure coming up at Nowshera, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and other places in the country could be utilized for providing the above courses. It is the junior ranks which form the bulk of the police service. The police leadership therefore needs to focus on capacity building of the junior officers. This can be achieved through increasing the current training institutions, establishing one each at every range headquarters, and providing incentives to the trainers so that outstanding police officers are attracted and posted as trainers on the pattern of Armed forces.

Gender Responsive Policing. The female police officers are less than 1% of the total police. There is a need to increase their numbers and gradually assign them roles commensurate with their capacity. The number of the women police ought to be increased to at least one third of the total police. The induction of women in police will help soften its image and cater for the needs of women in our society. The women police can play effective role in gender-based violence, domestic violence, juvenile offences and sexual harassment at work and public places.

Upholding Rule of Law and Human Rights. Unlawful arrest, detention, torture and forced confessions in police custody are some of the gross violations of human rights that the police frequently resort to. Any complaint of human rights violation must be properly documented and investigated. There may be oversight bodies both at the district and provincial levels with a mandate to take cognizance of the excesses of police and to safeguard public interests.

Service Limit. The maximum age limit for serving in police should be 50 years. Police officials who are needed to perform on the ground, including dealing with hard core terrorists, have to be physically agile.

Pay and Allowances. Pay and allowances of police officials should be high enough to meet their domestic responsibilities in a befitting manner. They should have their own housing schemes, schools, free food, conveyance and clubs for keeping them free of domestic tensions.

Job and Tenure Security. All police officials should have security of job and tenure. An ideal posting tenure of 2-3 years would likely make the police officials understand the dynamics of their areas of responsibilities for making strategies and plans against law breakers.

Capacity Building. Equipping police with latest weapons with high kill probability is a must. Terrorists maintain highly advanced weapons which could only be countered if they are out-numbered not only in quantity but also in quality. Tracking equipment for investigating branch is also required on top priority. In addition, latest forensic equipment and techniques have to be made part and parcel of the investigation branch.

Citizen Report Cards (CRC). The CRC can be utilized for social audit and social accountability purposes. CRC or community scorecard could be an innovative tool to develop effective social accountability mechanisms and evaluating the performance of police services.

E-Policing. Expanding the use of information technology to police systems should also be a priority. All provincial governments must have a high-tech complaint receiving mechanism. People should be able to register and track their FIRs.

Media Strategy. In an era of multi-media, a proactive media strategy, which projects an image of an impartial, well equipped and professional police force, should be undertaken. The best practices being followed by Pakistan armed forces' Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) department could be followed in this regard.

Conclusion

It should be acknowledged that despite serious flaws in the Police Act 1861 and subsequent wrong and inappropriate policies and practices, the police have been delivering quite responsibly, though this is mostly due to individual activity. Many police officers, like other institutions, bravely sacrificed their own lives to protect fellow citizens. Police Acts should be looking after the interests

of police officials of all ranks and the interests of wider society. For policing to work in any society it must enjoy the support and respect of citizens for which it must act in a professional and fair manner on behalf of all citizens.

Citizens are primarily concerned with protection of their rights and timely detection and prevention of crimes. If the FIRs are not registered or the quality of investigation is poor, they will lose confidence in Police. Unfortunately, the institution of police has lost the confidence and trust of the people. Though some legislative measures have been taken in the recent past to bring drastic changes in the police system, mere enactments of laws are not enough. There seems to be a wide gulf between the spirit of legislation and the practice on ground. Reforms can only be meaningful if the government respects the principles of the tenure of office, consistency of practice, coherence of policies and provision of adequate resources. The irony is that Police Orders have never been implemented in their true letter and spirit, neither in the past nor today. The focus of reforms should be independence of the police department from political interference and their own capacity building. This requires a real and sincere effort of implementation and honesty of purpose to bring about the desired change in the performance of police and building public confidence in the department.

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