

## 1. Introduction:

Culture is inevitably blended with material dimension of life. Life can not be conceived without culture. In the similar way, in the present context culture can not be conceived to have prospered in conditions of deprivation of material aspects in life. In this respect, Ogburn distinguishes between the material and the non-material aspects of culture. He believes that when changes occur in material culture, they will stimulate changes in non-material culture too in the ways of utilizing these material changes. The changes in non-material culture may be slow to respond to the changes in material culture. This is the lag that Ogburn refers to. The contemporary situation in developing countries clearly shows the influence of the cultural factor on social changes. New techniques are available. But they can not be imported for inadequate availability of material that is money. This is in turn due to cultural factors that favour expenditures of vast extravagance on marriage ceremonies and rites and rituals. Thus, the cultural factor affects changes in economic life (B.Kuppuswami, 1993).

Women, almost all over the world, are destined to positions lower than men's. Likewise, the activities of prestige, power and authority are preferably bestowed on men. Social scientists had put forth various explanations for this sex-based discrimination of labour. A few of them base their theories on the difference of physical strength. They are of the opinion that occupations that required greater physical strength fall under the male domain and activities performed in or around of the house are to be allocated to women (Smith-Rosenberg, 1973; Beck, 1980). The second is the biological difference between the two sexes. Further keeping in view the biology of human body, women are assigned responsibilities of bearing and rearing the children and of managing the household. This perspective does not imply that women are not required to play any economic role. However, as Coser and Rokoff view, it does maintain that women are expected to attach 'priority' to household work and to show 'allegiance' to their families (1971). It is with this notion perhaps, that they are expected to work under the guidance, supervision and control of the men of the family. They seem to be denied a right to independent economic status even if they are capable of claiming it. This clearly establishes a fact that the division of labour has been a conservative mind conceived purely on the bases of biological and

physical differences between the sexes. It may be understood as an out come of cultural definitions or concepts that preoccupy a conservative mind.

Psychologists hold different perception on the dichotomy of the sexes. Those like Maccoby, Brown and Horner feel that men and women differ in their attitudes, aptitudes and personalities. They have different psyche, interests, capabilities and characteristics. The differences operate to create a dividing line between the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' role performances (Maccoby, 1963; Brown, 1965, Horner, 1972). The activities that demand mechanical aptitude attract men's attention more. Similarly, the right to authority falls into the domain of men. Women are shy. They feel insecure and they are docile by nature. Hence, it is assume that they can not carry out the roles of leaders, as they lack the qualities of leadership. An explanation of this type does not fit with historical reality. A perspective of this kind undermines the role of socialization and life situations.

Perspective of socialization looks at the training and education that one receives with the process. Hochschild who belongs to this school believes that men and women differ from each other because they are trained differently (1973). Children are required to play different games. As they grow older they are trained to take up different adult roles. This perspective gives too much importance to socialization. There are certain biological constrains and limitations which can not be overcome with the help of socialization. Secondly, it has to be kept in mind that a process of socialization is not determined by cultural definitions. It is difficult to reconcile with divergent views that constitute them. However, it is obvious from the above discussion that if men and women have to play different roles, it is because of number of factors. These factors vary much from one culture to another. Thus, if women seek an entry into male dominated occupations, the concentration of a social science researcher should be on the role evaluation in view of the inevitable factors that limit one's role performance.

A researcher has been able to paint a psychological profile of men's work and women's work. In the process, he records some of the differences that prevail in work experiences of the two sexes. If they have a supervisor, working males always have a male supervisor. The men may treat women workers as women and this view may be confined to the work roles and sex-roles. Because men operate more frequently in highly paid and prestigious jobs they may treat women "as women". The women are

unlikely to complain against such attitude. Women, on the other hand, almost always have a supervisor to supervise their work. Although a direct supervisor may be female, at some higher level male person is placed as supervisors. Women usually work with men who are higher in status, if not in a direct supervisory capacity. Thus, women's jobs seem to be more closely supervised and regulated than men's jobs. Secondly, they work constantly under the male eyes staring at them with whatever intension. This may cloud their minds constantly with feelings of fear and embarrassment.

Role evaluation is an inevitable aspect of any sociological study. In the present study, evaluation the policewomen's role performance has been done with four perspectives. The first is an actor's perspective. The emphasis in this aspect remains on the consistency or inconsistency that figures an actor's perceived social norms and her behaviour and attitudes. Second is a role partner's perspective. Third is the organizational perspective. An attempt has been made to find out how the role of policewomen is defined in the police organization. The fourth is the perspective of the relevant others and the society as perceived by an actor.

There are some studies related to the evaluation of policewomen's role in the U.S.A. While evaluating many women on patrol, special operations and other traditionally male-oriented roles in U.S.A., G.R.Pearlstein concludes his study titled, "Exploratory Analysis of Certain characteristics of police women" to the effect that women can perform most police functions with equal capacity. Further, the role of violence in police work has been overemphasized with a view to justify women's exclusion from many areas of the police function. He suggests at the end that policewomen's visible presence and their expanded contacts with citizens will help to reduce the incidence of violence between police officers and citizens. At the same time women's presence is likely to improve the image of the police (1971).

Another study was conducted jointly by P.B.Bloch and Deborah Anderson. In it some 86 women who entered the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police department are compared with an equal number of men hired at the same time. Both the groups were given patrol assignments. They were noted to have comparable qualifications, education and background. Because there is a great diversity of opinions about what constitutes a good police performance, a wide variety of performance measurements was applied for the evaluation. The measures included

supervisory ratings, patrol observation by trained observers, opinions of citizens who observed the police in action, and arrest statistics. Both the male and female officers responded to the similar types of calls for police service while on patrol. Both encountered citizens who were dangerous, angry, upset, drunk or violent in similar proportions. Both men and women officers were closely observed to have obtained similar results in handling angry or violent citizens. There were no incidents reported that would cast serious doubts on the ability of women officers to perform the police work. In fact, the study reveals that there were some incidents in which women police officers performed jobs individually and independently in difficult circumstances (Aleem, 1991).

## 2. Policewomen's Perspective:

Rushing, (1964) says "A social role of a person is observed in social behaviour which is influenced by social rules of conduct, variously referred to as culture, values, tradition, customs and norms." Studies on role-analysis there fore, must aim at discovering the values held by an actor, rather than assuming a set of values for her/him. In order to find out the relationship between social norms and an individual's behaviour and attitudes, an independent observation of each case is warranted. Rushing further observes that if one attempts to infer social norms from uniformities and consistencies of behaviour and attitudes noticed in such cases, one may infer an independent variable from the observation of the dependent variable. Keeping in view the above requirements an attempt was made to discover the relative values a policewoman would attach to the home maker's role and the occupational role. An inquiry was made as whether they perceive the roles as complimentary to each other or whether they face a problem of scheduling and adjustment of time in order to cope with both the roles with due justification. Whether they perceive that they can not fulfill the role obligations of one or both the roles was a problem of curiosity. Most studies on role conflicts experienced by working mothers that are conducted in India and other countries focus on inter-role conflicts only. Some of them are conducted by Komoravosky in 1946; Mahajan in 1966; Kapoor in 1970; Singh in 1972 and Kala Rani in 1976. Role-conflict has been perceived in these studies as to quote Parsons' words (1951), "the exposure of the actor to the conflicting sets of legitimized role expectations such that complete fulfillment of both is realistically impossible." It may

be noted that a little attention has been given to intra-role conflicts experienced by women in 'male-professions'. Hence, this study makes an attempt to explore inter-role conflicts as well as intra-role conflicts that the respondents perceived or experienced.

The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain the extent of the atypical sex role of policewomen by what the innovators themselves, the male police who are the natural incumbents, the police organization and the society believe about it. It is assumed that forced acceptance, partial or hesitant acceptance or non-acceptance of the atypical 'marginal' role may suffer several handicaps. As it is implicit in this assumption, the ambiguity in the role expectations would further create conflicting situations.

The personality of an individual plays an effective role in his performance. Nevertheless the motivational level of an individual is an equally important factor. Personality and motivation both are linked in the interest of healthy work environment. The personality of an individual is likely to undergo slow transformation. Attempts made to influence the personality may not yield quick and desired results from an individual. However with due and proper motivation inspired at appropriate levels one may influence him in expediting desired expectations from him in respect to work. It may also be mentioned here that the factors which govern the motivation of an individual need to be looked into with respect to an individuals' personality.

Floyd L. Ruch defines personality in his *Psychology and Life*, (1963), "How a person affects others, how he understands and views himself and his pattern of inner and outer measurable traits" (P.353). This definition mentions some personality traits and relates them to the concept of personality. It relates action and reflection in the sense that, for instance, 'how one affects others' is a function of one's physical appearance and behaviour; 'the pattern of measurable traits' refers to a set of characteristics that the person exhibits and 'understanding oneself' refers to an awareness that each of us is a unique being with a set of attitudes and values. Personality may be understood as constituted of three major components namely cognitive domain, physical domain and affective domain. The first refers to, factors influencing personality. The second refers to physical factors or biological traits that are received through heredity. And the third domain refers to social-cultural factors, in view of the popular saying that society gives personality to an individual.

It is said that personality qualifies a role and a role qualifies one's personality. The first identification of any organization is the uniform. Such organizations are the Army, the Navy, the Air force and also some religious sects, school, hospitals, etc. For the police the uniform is an aspect to enhance a police person's personality makes it more creditable and infuses sense of authority in him/her. In India, khakhi uniform is the one prescribed for the police force. As mentioned earlier since the police is popularly seen as a 'masculine' occupation, it needs to be accompanied with courage, alertness, daring to undertake risky situations, with law-brokers, capability to perform all the duties with proper self-defence mechanism. The women who join the police force usually belong to a socio-cultural background with traditional mindset that requires her to wear a sari. On the other hand the nature of duties, at P.T. Parade, chasing criminals, patrolling at various places or occasions seems to put limitations on women's traditional dress of a Sari. In the beginning, the duties assigned to policewomen are limited. They are assigned light duties. Not many restrictions are imposed on them. But as the years pass by, the explosion of higher education among women and the movement of women liberation inspire in women good courage to accept any career and challenges to be economically independent. In this light the restrictions may be easier for the police department to impose. Of course, some relaxations are still allowed because of the peculiar feminine problems. Almost all over the country, it is seen that married policewomen use Khakhi sari as uniform. In Gujarat, the situation is not different from that in other states. The Gujarat Police has made it compulsory to wear for policewomen a Punjabi-suit who is below 35 years of age. Those beyond 35 years can wear sari if they choose to. In fact, things depend mostly on the officer of the district. Policewomen in the railway police force, however, have to wear pant-shirt as uniform.

There are some questions which may help to know the respondents' attitudes towards the police role we may be able to evaluate them by how the respondents perceived the role. The first point relates to the uniform. The traditional khakhi uniform of the police resembles that of an army man. In addition, the mustache, the typical language and mode of behaviour, tone of speaking, body posture, ego-concepts, authoritarianism, assuming pseudo-authority etc. still work as hindrances in the way of effectively initiate the action for delinquency prevention. People are afraid of the police. If at all the police show eagerness to settle family issues, people are not

prepared to believe them. People think that the police can not do these sorts of welfare activities, as they lack the right aptitude for such things.

In this respect, the respondents were asked about their opinion about a policewoman's uniform in view of their personality traits. It was assumed that most probably the new recruits would show preference for pant-shirt as the uniform. it is to be seen whether the real picture conforms to the popular assumption. The table below will explain it.

Table-7.1 Respondents' attitudes about the police uniform:

Sr. No.	Uniform	Policewomen						Total
		PI	PSI	ASI	HC	PC	PC*	
1	Pant-Shirt		4(3*)	3	2	6	32	47 (15.7%)
2	Punjabi-suit		2	3	5 (2*)	23	63	97 (32.3%)
3	Sari	2	6	24	28(1*)	32	46	137 (45.7%)
4	Any other	2		3	7	3	4	19 (6.3%)
	Total	4	12	33	42	64	145	300 (100%)

The data presented reflect on the respondents' views on the uniform. Nearly half of them prefer sari as appropriate uniform. Forty-seven out of one hundred and fifty-one of the young respondents are also included in this group. The other 32.7% respondents choose to wear the Punjabi suit as they find it much comfortable for women to perform the police duties. Some respondents suggested that pant-shirt, panjabi-suit or sari, a choice should be allowed to the police women suiting to their age and liking. Only one respondent opined that Punjabi suit does not help to enhance policewomen's personality. It is a common civil dress and will not make a distinct impact on public. So either sari or pant-shirt should be allowed as the police uniform. Only 15.7% of the respondents agree on hailing pant-shirt as the quite appropriate uniform for women as police officers.

It was observed that some policewomen perform only official work at the police stations. They are not much serious about wearing the khakhi uniform. They are found to be clad in a civil dress. It depends upon the police officers of the respective police station. In some cases, it was observed that policewomen posted at women's police stations reach the police station in civil dress. They bring the uniform sari with them to change it at the police station.

Police officers are of the opinion that women in higher positions such as P.I. or P.S.I. should put on Pant-shirt. In November 2004, when I visited Rajkot to collect the data, an I.G. inspection was going on. The officer had given strict warning to women P.I.s and P.S.I.s to report in the uniform of pant-shirt. There were two women P.S.I. who were not ready to honour the order. They said they would rather accept their reversion rather than use pant-shirt as the uniform. They said that they were aged above 50 years and never in their lives had put on even night gown. It would, therefore, be much shameful for them to wear pant-shirt. There was also one Muslim women P.S.I., she was a widow when she was recruited. She was indeed used to wear pant-shirt. She said that in the beginning she had to face comments in society and even in the police station where she worked. But she was determined to wear pant-shirt with conviction that it is a trait of her personality as a police officer.

In the Railway Police Force, pant-shirt is made compulsory for all policewomen. In Gujarat, women staff in the R.P.F. is recruited for last six-seven years. So all the all policewomen are young and they feel no hesitation to wear pant-shirt since their recruitment. Yet some demands emerge from among the policewomen to allow relaxation for the Punjabi-suit in the light of typical feminine problems. It was informed by one officer that the authority seems to be agreeing on the demand and they might give a positive mind on it. Thus, many of the respondents agree that khakhi pant-shirt would help to create good impression and personality as police personnel. But a few feminine problems would not make it suitable for all policewomen at all times.

It is also observed that generally like a policemen, policewomen do not put on caps on their heads, sticks in hands or wear shoes. Moreover, it is also known that when policewoman is promoted P.S.I. or P.I. she is allowed to keep a revolver. But it is strange to notice that only four (three of them are direct recruited policewomen) of the twelve women P.S.I. and no women P.I. have been issued revolvers. When they were asked about the reason they said that it is an additional liability and they do not actually keep it. One of the P.S.I.s confided such an explanation later on. It reflects how they do not take the issue with seriousness. The post of PI has full responsibilities of the respective field. But no women PI are assigned such liability and they are posted at either women's police station or women's cell.



Another question was asked to the policewomen to know their capability for the police role. The reason is that policewomen are usually handicapped by a small strength that they constitute in the organization. Absence of trained and recognized female officers, lack of proper training and opportunities to establish themselves in the organization are other factors to limit the potentials. Above all, prejudices of male police officers against them exert adverse impact on their motivation. In normal course of action, they are put on duty when crime is committed or arrests and interrogations have to be conducted of women suspects. Whenever they are given a task of enforcing the law and order or associated with investigation work superiors do not trust their capabilities. It is under these constraints that one needs to understand, interpret and evaluate the actual performance of the police role by a policewoman.

The interrogation of women suspects is officially required to be done by a policewoman under the guidance of a P.S.I. or male officer of a higher rank. Yet, in practice male officers remain present at the time of interrogation and conduct interrogation themselves. A woman police officer's presence is undermined or ignored and eventually rendered as ineffective at the task performance.

The policewomen who work at Women Police Stations would feel proud about performing duties without seeking help of a policeman. They are, however, allotted limited duties relating only to familial conflicts like a counselor. Thus, they are expected to perform light duties and other serious offences are assigned to the main police station in the area. Each Women Police Station is allocated a police vehicle with a police constable to work as driver according to their need. But at the Ahmedabad Women Police Station, a male PSI is deputed as a writer of ACP, and four vehicles with driver, police constables. Thus, all the women police stations work under supervision of the main police station in the area. Except three women police officers in the I.P.S. and a G.P.S. cadres, most woman police officer in higher posts are discharged with particular responsibilities under the obligatory guidance of male police officers in the equal or higher ranks. This reflects on the notion that policewomen are not capable of performing police duties on their own like other male police officers. Many respondents admitted that they do it only with the help of policemen. They also explained that a criminal woman is always accompanied with a male partner and there is a chance of improper conduct from that male convict towards a policewoman. They also explained that women suspects are more afraid of

male police officers. These respondents thus indirectly admitted about their incapability to perform all police roles independently. This establishes a fact that rules of informal workgroup operate simultaneously with formal role prescriptions and policewomen are made to accept willingly or unwillingly such informal arrangements as routine, recognized and official. A very few policewomen said that in the presence of policemen, women suspects would confess offences or crimes easily. Most of the respondents opined that if a women suspect is a hardened criminal, the presence of male officials would be very useful to conduct proper interrogation. Only three among the respondents gave a clear opinion that interrogation of women suspects is their domain and male officials' presence is like an encroachment on their rights as police officers. It is humiliating to their dignity. In short, Policing is one thing and responsible policing is quite a different thing.

Criminal laws do not differentiate between man and woman. A crime is a crime; no matter who commits it. Hence, the procedures followed in cases of crimes committed either by a man or a woman remains the same. However, difference lies in how or in which manner women convicts are to be treated at pretrial stages; particularly during investigations. The police have to deal with women in various capacities. The number of women committing crimes is on the increase. The number of women acting as abettors/ accomplices is again on the increase. The number of women becoming victims of crime is also on the increase. In any case, the police have to interact with women and the police in India have undeniably remained a man-dominated service. Any reaction against the police is based principally on the presumption that the male dominated police service does not and can not ensure proper justice for women with due respect to their gender. The allegations are chiefly centered on behavioural aberrations; namely custodial violence, custodial abuse of sex, custodial rape, etc. Hence, the women in general insist on keeping their dignity during police interactions or interrogations. They resist strongly if a male police tries to touch their body when the arrest is executed. They do not want that a woman is detained in the police custody with no proper grounds and if it has to be done they should be properly guarded by other women in the police. They demand a separate detention facility for women detainees in the police custody. The concepts of gender justice receive hider recognition and resultantly, more and more women are recruited into the police service. Today, an argument has been forwarded that 33  $\frac{1}{3}$  percent of

the total police personnel in all categories has to be women. The women deployed at women police stations handle cases relating to women and children. Such a picture that James Vdackumachery (2000) presents speaks of increasing recognition and space creation for women in the police function.

It is mentioned in the first chapter, why the police force had to recruit women and how it developed. The attitudes regarding the police role are changing rapidly. The role of women in the police force is recognized as of greater significance. Women too accept challenge of performing tough roles befitting more too male police and they perform them with notable enthusiasm. In fact, policewomen in lower ranks do not assume powers and they have to work only under the command of male police officers. Policewomen are thus supposed to perform duties under the supervision of male officers. They in fact perform the roles that are of the nature of social service. Hence, a point remains to explore whether having performed the police role since the recruitment, a policewoman accepts the significance of the police role in the social contact. To get a reply of this question it would be useful to have a look at the table below that present the responses of the incumbents.

Table-7.2 Importance of policewomen in society:

Sr. No.	Response	Policewomen						
		PI	PSI	ASI	HC	PC	PC*	Total
1	Yes	4	11(2*)	33	42 (3*)	61	137	288 (96%)
2	No					2	4	6 (2%)
3	No response		1*			1	4	6 (2%)
	Total	4	12	33	42	64	145	300 (100%)

The data reflect that almost 96% of the respondents gave responses in affirmation that policewomen hold an important status in the society. It is obvious as most respondents are aware that their job is quite essential and valuable in the society. It also gets revealed that policewomen hold faith in their ways of working and realize the value of police in the society.

As mentioned earlier, in detection of crimes, a male police officer finds it very difficult to deal with women convicts practically at every stage of interrogation, search or arrest. Further, when women suspects are kept in the police lock-up, there are dangers of either policemen misbehaving with them or of women convicts taking

advantage of the situation by threatening well-behaved policemen that they would allege him for their harassment in the police custody. So it is assumed that a policewoman presence would minimize the possibilities of such occurrences.

In cases where the woman is not a criminal, but she is a victim of crime, the situation turns more delicate. It has to be handled carefully by a male police. By nature, Indian women are too reserved to reveal facts before a policeman. Moreover, there are delicate matters which cannot be talked about freely to male persons. Particularly in cases when modesty of a woman has been outraged or in cases of kidnapping or runaway girls, things become too delicate to handle. Similar is the situation when newly married women have been burnt alive by their in-laws and husbands, or are forced to commit a suicide. These are the situations where policewomen have a crucial role to play to assist the male police in handling the case so efficiently that required details may be tapped out from the hearts of offenders or sufferers.

Some of the respondents may admit their helplessness in the job performance. Let us consider here the concept of an opportunity structure in the police department and also potential upheaval in the organization that resulted when women challenged the departmental personnel policy that seeks to isolate them in many aspects of the police function, especially patrol. A relative opportunity tends to create self-fulfilling prophecies; like those availing brighter opportunity appear to be the worthiest and they tend to progress with the fastest pace. Those with fewer opportunities are taken as less valuable or rather insignificant. They tend to make progress with slower pace. Another point of discrimination is when male police are involved in work in all phases of the policing women are termed suitable for certain jobs only. With this concept, the male police would enjoy higher status and value in the organization. They will have more chances of displaying their skills through arrests and such other things that would fetch them rewards and promotion in the organization. As women became integrated into the police function since the early 1970s, the competitions for positions got widened for them. Policewomen's skills and characteristics now had to be considered with due serious ness and no one would dare or afford to ignore or neglect them. One may notice, however, an understandable interest among the male police to reduce the competition. In addition to this, there is another element operating subtly. The traditional attitudes among the male that inherently propagate the

masculine nature of the police work would make prospects of having a female superior rather offensive to some male officers, in particular.

“The Gender Justice” is a concept of recent origin. It did not prevail at a time when the Indian Police Act of 1861 was incepted in India in 1939. As mentioned earlier, a few women were recruited into the police service in India. They were not assigned jobs that would be worthy of calling police jobs. The women in India on the other hand were not inclined to join the police as constables or officers. Those, who joined the service as policewomen, suffered criticism and stigma in the society. The policewomen who served the police did not concern themselves as well with administration of justice. They could not offer gender justice to anybody. The police jobs are primarily performed by men and the policewomen were silent spectators or witness to whatever justice was administered by the male police to women who came seeking police assistance in various capacities. There have been criticisms against many policemen or officers in all ranks of indecent behaviour to the women in police custody. Whether this is true or false, but there were certainly allegations sexual abuses even from prostitutes who were brought to police stations following the raids executed.

The Gender Justice seems to be a grave violation of the law of nature with a belief that man and woman are created alike and have equal dignity. It is with such notion that so far, a lot of gender injustice has been inflicted on women. James Vdackumachery views in this regards that it is time now that the law enforcement makes a unique commitment to the ensuring of gender justice (2000). Mahatma Gandhi also said in Young India (1930):

“To call women the weaker section is a libel. It is man’s injustice to women, if by strength is means brute strength, and then indeed is women less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then women is immeasurably superior to man. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing, has she not greater power of endurance, has she not greater courage? Without her, man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with women”

Police force is not an exemption in doing gender practically. Some respondents said that they are recruited and trained in the same way as their male counterparts. Policewomen are appointed to perform all the police duties on equal

grounds. There is no difference kept in pay scales and other benefits on gender grounds. But, it was observed that there was no police station in Gujarat where policewomen perform all duties equally. Policewomen are assigned only light work.

Equal Opportunity act of 1972 specifically prohibits discrimination against public employees on the basis of sex. But, it is obvious that on informal grounds there prevail much discrimination in assigning police duties. According to the data, 95.3% respondents agree that they perform duties equally with policemen. In fact, the responses seem to be unreliable. The fact is the duties expected from policewomen are not equal. Therefore, there is no problem to policewomen. Even though formally all the police employees are bound to perform all the roles, informally they are supposed to perform light duties which are suitable for women. Only 3% respondents accepted the reality that women are not able to perform all the police duties equally with policemen. Just 1% respondents told they are eager to perform all the duties, but they are not assigned. If police duties are divided into two parts, that is station duty or clerical work and field duty, the former falls into policewomen's lap as they perform it in better way.

Policewomen are first recruited in constabulary posts and then they are promoted to higher posts. They are supposed to perform all the police roles as per rule. But in practice they are deprived of performing all duties. They are mostly assigned the office work and the most tedious wireless duty. When 95% respondents are confident that they perform duties equally to their male partners, they are comparing only the quantum of work and not the types. The respondents expressed that that they can do office work in better way than the policemen. According to them office work is as important as the field work. Some respondents are happy with the table work at police stations, while a few of them are still eager to perform field duties. Such policewomen complain that their superiors do not give them such duties. Only nine respondents said that policemen do harder work than what they are doing. Being women they can't perform all the duties that male police can perform. Women have their own limitations. So some women themselves accept their biologically inferior status. They say there is no sense in comparing them with the males.

This raises a question, why has sexual integration not been achieved in the police occupation? All available information indicates that, for most part, women can perform successfully. Numerous evaluations are documented about women's

effectiveness in all phases of work. Moreover, individual male police, in all ranks, acknowledges the ability of females to be good police officers. Yet, the resistance that persists can be explained on the basis of two phenomena: One is the process of social change and the critical role that attitudes play in it; and the second is the impact of the police attitudes shaped by the organizational structure. This in turn reinforces the social structure.

Traditional Indian values still hold that Indian women are subordinate to their husbands. Some of the respondents said that they would do whatever their husbands expect them to do. They are called as “traditional” as they adhere to traditional values. They value marriage and family life. They also value career. To them the career role is as important as the role of a home-maker. Irrespective of their husbands income they would prefer to continue with their present job. They wish that all decisions should be joint decisions. They expect their husbands to be their companions. Managing the household and looking after the children are taken as joint responsibilities. There are others who can be placed in an intermediate position called ‘traditional cum equalitarian’. They wish to obey their husbands but upto certain extent and on certain grounds. They do not wish to be a blind follower or obedient servant of their husbands. They wish their individuality to be maintained in a family. They do wish to have occasional co-operation from their husbands’ management of the household. At the same time, they feel that they feel that looking after the household is their responsibility. They feel that the basic responsibility of the husband is to provide economic security to a family. But in cases of need they are always ready to take up a job of course with the husband’s approval.

In seeking to understand the process of self-evaluation, we face three related question: (1) what determines the values which the individual aspires to realize? (2) What defines for him a successful degree of realisation of these values? (3) What social cues does he use in assessing his achievement?

### 3. Policemen’s (policewomen’s Colleague) Perspective:

Policemen are role partners of policewomen. Hence, to evaluate policewomen’s role on factual grounds their opinions need to be considered. In any study of role analysis it is essential to make independent observations of the expectations of the role-partners together with those of the role performers. In

situations where a role is performed by both the sexes it is imperative to know the reactions of the role-partners belonging to separate sexes. Men as such are treated as natural incumbents in the police force and women are inducted recently. For the fulfillment of the obligations of policewomen's role, the women incumbents perform their role in collaboration with the male incumbents, their role partners. Instead of confining the analysis of policewomen's role to the actor's perspective, an attempt was sought for to know as to how policemen evaluate policewomen's role. In addition, policewomen's perceptions as to how policemen should evaluate their role were also considered for the purpose.

There would be a tendency on the part of policewomen to overrate their role. On the other hand it is also possible that the policemen's prejudices against policewomen may operate to influence their evaluation. As a result they would show a tendency to underrate policewomen's role. Thus, this study incorporates no attempt to find out statistical correlation between the actual expectation of policemen and policewomen's perceived expectation of policemen. Male police officer's perspective of policewomen's role performance would help to know the extent of their reliance on policewomen to perform their duties.

In order to collect details on police officers' attitudes about policewomen's role performance meetings were held with some police officers of different ranks deployed at many police stations in Gujarat. It was through informal talking with them that their opinions shaped during their long service in the police force were noticed for this purpose. It was assumed that the male officers would be of the opinion that policewomen cannot perform certain duties, or certain duties should not be assigned to them. Further, if policewomen have to perform certain duties, policemen have to accompany them for the sake of safety and security.

Almost all the police officers hold the opinion that due to some biological reasons women may not be able to perform all duties that male police can perform. They admit that though the police force formally assigns policewomen to perform all duties, police officers think it sensible to grant concessions to the policewomen as a part of sympathy and concern. Generally, they have to be present in police stations during office hours. But whenever need arises for them they have to report even at odd hours. Generally night shifts are not assigned to them on routine ground. But if any women suspect or a child suspect is arrested and kept in the police custody at



night a need of policewomen's duty arises. Those police officers said that mostly main duties are undertaken by policemen, but in particular cases policewomen's presence is required. They also said that policewomen can perform certain duties quite efficiently. These duties includes personal search of women, arrest of women, escort duty, regulating women gatherings, office works, investigation of cases involving women convicts and victims, suppression of immoral trafficking, recording statement of women for sex offences, dealing with juvenile delinquents, guidance and public relations, etc. But certain duties are difficult to them to perform as effectively as policemen do. Such duties involve general C.I.D. work, recording FIR, interrogation of women suspects, punishment to women suspects, to regulate mixed gatherings, traffic duties, etc. Policewomen do not perform these duties alone or independently. There is always a policeman to help them. During the training, in fact, all policewomen are trained for all duties. But during regular employment, policewomen are not taken as performers to rely on for one or the other reasons. Superior officers always doubted that they would perform these duties efficiently. In turn, this reading takes a shape of hardcore prejudice that affects the judgment and often results into gender injustice.

Earlier when women were recruited into the police department the consideration was basically to help out the children and family in trouble. The ground was chiefly humanitarian to show sympathy to the needy family. Nowadays when women enter into the police force like most other field, police force has to welcome them on the merits and caliber. For last few years as educated and career oriented women seek an entry into the police force, they are sure to perform duties efficiently. It may be possible that in future there would prevail no differences in job performance by policemen and policewomen. There is also good opinion that policewomen in higher ranks perform all police duties with same efficiency as that of male police officers. Some times they may do even better than a male officer. Kiran Bedi is the best example of it.

In this way, superior police officers' positive opinions regarding the honesty, integrity and ability of policewomen would ensure that they are being accepted in the police force with due respect and in turn they become an integral part of the police force. It is also assumed that many changes are noticed in the attitudes of male persons in the Indian society. They seem to be accepting women's capabilities in all

fields of working. The table below tries to reflect the different perceptions held by different components of the police functions, like policemen, policewomen and the respondents of the presents study. It focuses chiefly on policewomen's status in the Indian society.

In order to learn police officers' positive evaluation of policewomen's status and role performance and the policewomen's positive perception as regard to their role partners' evaluation of policewomen role, some statements were formulated and presented to the respondents seeking their responses whether they are agree or disagree with them.

The table 7.3 (page no.257) reveals positive or favourable evaluation by both the policemen's and policewomen's. The data show that about 66% of policewomen are of the opinion that policewomen are more intelligent than policemen working in the same rank. But only 20% of the policemen gave positive opinion stating that it may be possible in some cases and it is not time for all. The respondents expressed that policemen think that they are superior to policewomen.

The second statement indicates policewomen's position in the police force. Some 74% of the policewomen gave a positive and said that the policemen believe that policewomen are inferior to policemen. Some of them do accept their inferiority with the condition that they are not able to perform all duties like policemen would do. Hence, in this respect they could not compare themselves with policemen. Some 44% of the policemen showed agreement to the statement. But this means that the majority with 56% of policemen believe that policewomen are not inferior to policemen. They are equal to policemen. One policeman said that if policewomen want to do any thing, they can do it. But the problem is that most policewomen shy away from proving their capabilities and skills. They in fact like to enjoy relaxation than to invite botheration.

Both policemen and policewomen hold positive view that policewomen are equal to their male counterparts. However, the number of policewomen, due to their over evaluation, is naturally little more than the policemen But 21% policewomen accepted that women can never be equal to men.

Table 7.3. Policemen's and respondents' positive evaluation about policewomen's status and role and the policewomen's positive perception of policewomen's role:

Sr. No.	Statements	Positive response	Male officers (Total no.100)	Policewomen (Total no. 300)
1	Policewomen are more intelligent than their male counterparts. Yes/No	Yes	20%	65.9%
2	Policewomen are inferior to their counterparts. Yes/No	No	44%	73.9%
3	Policewomen are equal to their male counterparts. Yes/No	Yes	68%	78.9%
4	Policewomen get same pay but do not perform same type of different duties as their male counterpart. Yes/No	No	40%	59.7%
5	Policewomen are as physically fit as male police to face different hazards of the police jobs. Yes/No.	Yes	56%	89.8%
6	Policewomen can perform their different duties on their own. Yes/No	Yes	84%	47.4%
7	Policewomen are burden on police department. Yes/No.	No	84%	95.2%
8	Policewomen are additional liability for male police. Yes/No.	No	60%	90.9%
9	Policewomen are only show pieces in the police. Yes/No	No	92%	98.1%
10	Policewomen are of easy morals. Yes/No.	No	52%	39.1%
11	Policewomen need to develop some qualities like daring, confidence, hard work, etc. to be success in police force. Yes/No	Yes	92%	93.1%
12	Policewomen are more oriented towards their familial obligations than the police role. Yes/No	No	28%	56.5%
13	Pant-shirt as a police uniform increases the policewomen's personality. Yes/No	Yes	60%	53.2%

It was also tried to find out whether policewomen have any prejudice regarding the duty and salary. Only 40% of the policemen favoured that policewomen are getting enough salary and are doing work as much as policemen do. But 60% of them expressed clear opinion that policewomen get the same salary but they do less work. Not only policemen but some 40% of the policewomen too agreed to this remark by some policemen.

Police role demands physical fitness. Therefore, women are expected to be physically fit. It is for this reason that during recruitment only those women are selected who are healthy physically and fulfill the minimum criterion. They are expected to be physically fit through out their tenure of work. They do need physical strength to perform duties. Some 56% of the policemen believed that policewomen face different hazards in the police job. About 90% of the policewomen too held an opinion that they face different hazards of the police job. They themselves admit that they can't do some duties without the help of policemen.

A big contradiction prevails that 84% of the policemen are positive and accept that policewomen can perform different duties independently. They perhaps consider limited duties that are assigned to policewomen like the office work. They still carry an image that some duties like the field work are not meant for women. A big number of them agree with the statement. Whereas some policewomen are very clear that they can not perform certain duties without the help of policemen. Only 47% of the policewomen, either in higher posts or are working at women police stations showed positive view.

A significant response was given about women's presence in police force. 92% policemen and 98.1% policewomen held opinions that policewomen should not be treated as mere show piece. I once heard a police officer saying that policemen have to perform the police duties and in addition take care of policewomen when they are performing their duties outside the police station. To the some extent it is true. When policewomen were asked whether they could perform all duties on their own, most of the respondents admitted opinion that policemen's company is necessary when they perform duties out of station.

Further, it was essential to know how the induction of women in the police organization is viewed by fellow policemen. Also whether policewomen are treated as burden on the police organization was the concern. The favourable reactions were imparted by male police officers to the induction of women in the police force. they were further supported by the contention that policewomen are not just show pieces in the organization. They have an important role to play. Particularly, in changing Indian scenario more and more girls and women were participating in different walks of life.

The most damaging aspect of male police officers' evaluation of policewomen is with regard to their moral character. Some 52% of the male officers held opinions

that the incumbents in the policewomen's force are of easy morals. While 39% policewomen agree that they were treated as having loose character. It is a difficult task to know what the reality is. Such things are commonly noticed in all organizations where women work along with men. There may be the same problem. But in police department such things are accepted as normal, because policewomen have to perform night duties with male police.

According to biological and psychological role theories women are supposed to perform an expressive role. Some qualities like daring, physical strength, emotionally strength, etc. develop easily in males. Women on the other hand are emotional and it would not be easy for them to perform an instrumental role like the police role. But women who are already involved in the police force are expected to develop in them qualities of daring, strong will power, control over emotion, hard work and physical fitness. A question asked whether women needed additional qualities to be successful at their jobs. The purpose of asking this question was to ascertain whether a woman working on the same job as a man, required additional qualities to be equally successful in her work. The same number of policemen and policewomen were found holding positive views. Only 8% of policemen and 7% of the policewomen disagreed to the statement by saying that policewomen do not actually need to cultivate such qualities in them. The reason is that they were assigned such roles for which these qualities were not needed. Thus, by and large, a common belief prevailed that in order to be successful like men women would require to cultivate in them qualities of courage and strength.

Women in large number enter in various occupations. Yet, no big change is earmarked in their traditional role of a house wife. This gives rise to the problem of role conflict. All policewomen belong mostly to lower or lower-middle strata of the society and they have to undertake responsibilities of household work and caring children. The police role, in particular, may not suit much to women as they have to handle both the roles simultaneously as compared to other occupational roles. Policewomen have no option but to perform both the roles with good efficiency.

To know exactly the situation in the police force, it was asked whether policewomen are more oriented towards the family roles than the police role or the vice versa. Only 28% of the policemen's evaluation was found positive. They said that policewomen are more oriented to the police role and they are unable to give

attention to their family and children. Some 56.5% of the policewomen were of the opinion that they have to give attention to their families too. Most policemen displayed soft corner for policewomen. They never opposed about it. Many times policemen themselves would help policewomen. They would allow them to go if policewomen have any work at home. I may cite an instance like when I was collecting data during the Diwali time; I visited some police stations in the Vadodara city. I could meet a few policewomen even after visiting three times. I asked the police officer about the absence of policewomen, he explained that due to the Diwali festival they have much work at home. Since there is no emergency of their presence, they are permitted to go home after reporting once.

It is also described earlier that the police uniform is compulsory for all employees. The uniform is provided by the police department. It was tried to know that to what extent policemen and policewomen are aware of their personality status. A statement was made to collect their opinions regarding the role evaluation. Some 60% of the policemen gave opinions that policewomen should wear pant-shirt as proper police uniform. It enhances their personality. Some 53% of the policewomen agreed that pant-shirt would enhance one's personality as police personnel. Sari or Punjabi suit is of no use in this sense.

In this way, the opinions of policemen and policewomen in view of the role evaluation are found to be more or less the same. It was assumed earlier that policemen would hold negative mind to policewomen's role performance. But the assumption seems to be incorrect. During informal meetings with policemen, they accepted the importance of policewomen. They said that policewomen do better job at police stations and it would release them from the routine station duties. Policewomen for instance, can prepare and file all the records carefully and perfectly. When it was asked to policemen whether they think that more women should be posted in the police force, some policemen said that there is no need for more policewomen, the existing staff is sufficient. In fact, fast development and changes at social level affect drastic transformation in the attitudes of the men-folk. Thus, many factors are responsible for peculiar attitude that prevails in the police department regarding the status and the role of women in society.

#### 4. Organizational Perspective:

Along side the emergence of an organizational culture there is also a change in the occupational hierarchy with some occupations. They seek to attain an identity of 'professions' which means 'elite occupations'. The process of professionalization, like the process of industrialization does not favour participation of women in large numbers. Professionalization is basically a process of increasing control and power with knowledge. In the process women, who are less powerful in social organization with low education and skills are relegated to positions that are devoid of power and control. It may not be overtly deliberate discrimination, but at least existential exigencies that operate against most working women.

Socialization for gender differentiation and sex inequality is started early in a girl's life. In the traditional system, a patriarchal family power structure undertakes the first conditioning of girls by accepting the notion of an unequal status, according to which young girls are taught to be submissive and docile and boys are allowed freedom to do anything. Parents seem to be more carefree about boy children as least risk is attached to them as regards morality, sanctity and family pride. Dubey remarks, "In the traditional system, a wife had to obey her authoritarian and dominating husband. She had to regard him as her master and should serve him faithfully. The husband is superior, the wife is his subordinate.

In the post-independent India, there are series of laws formulated and enacted in view of upliftment of women. The legislations have been announced ascribing equal rights and privileges to women and seeking to eliminate discriminations against women. The basic motives are removal inequality between the sexes, and eradicating external barriers that come fall in the way of women's self-realisation and development. The Constitution of India guarantees certain fundamentals rights and freedom to women such as protection of life and personal liberty. Indian women are the beneficiaries of these rights on the equal ground as the Indian men are. The Article 14 ensures equality before law and the Article 15 prohibits any discrimination. The Article 16(a) further forbids discrimination in any respect of employment of offices under the state government on the grounds of religion, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them.

The constitutional recognition of equal status for women and its progressive legal enactments by the government of India have undoubtedly empowered Indian

women with judicial equality. Induction of women in decision making bodies is another issue that creates hopes of action by the rulers. One of the striking achievements during the last 40 years has been wider recognition and spread of women's education. Many girls are getting opportunities of higher education and they emerge steadily in non-traditional jobs and professional fields by virtue of their capabilities and skills.

Today remarkable changes are marked in the attitude of women. Those who are employed hold a changed view of superiority of men. They can now claim equal efficiency and merits with men in all fields of working. In fact, a large number of women become or are employed as doctors, teachers, engineers, administrators, clerks and nurses. Employments provide them an opportunity to exhibit potentiality and prove their worth in the male dominated world. Now women are also adopting career of their own and share equal responsibilities with men for the development of the family in particular and society in general in all relevant aspects.

The 'situational' approach emphasizes importance of interaction between individuals on personal traits and nature of situations in which they have to operate. But even the situational approach may fail to account the cultural values and norms under which people acquired positions, and cultivate desired traits. They cultivate specific nature of interpersonal relations and perform functions accordingly.

In India, police administrators direct their operation on the premise that the policing is a 'man's job'. Induction of women in the police force is a revolutionary step. The women who enter the police force avail little opportunity to redefine the concept of policing unless they are made a part of the police power structure. Presently not many policewomen are in positions of power and prestige. They have as such no say in the decision-making process. At no stage, they are even consulted about the development and modernization of the women force. Whatever male officials think becomes to law to be implemented.

Even the syllabi of their training policewomen are determined by them. They determine the nature of their duties too. The male officers do all these with a notion that women are inferior to them. This gives rise to the emergence of different standards for incumbent policewomen force. In view of the prevalent notion, lower physical standards and educational qualifications are prescribed for them. The content and period of their training is reduced to some extent. There is as such no clear-cut



policy worked out about to the promotions for policewomen. There is no provision for promotion test and subsequent training. Even today they perform only those duties of law enforcement agency in which more of women population of the society are involved. In the beginning, no separate strength was sanctioned. Policewomen used to be recruited against the existing strength of the male police. Their role and status remained ill-defined and ambiguous. It is only during the last fifteen years that the case of policewomen force has been granted serious attention.

However, in any case a field of activities of policewomen still continues to remain confined to children, girls and women offenders of law or women victims of crimes. The persistence of differential treatment and discrimination with regard to promotion and uniform is constantly resented by the incumbents. They consider it as one of the potential sources of stresses and strains in the role performance. The respondents with high level of occupational commitment recognize the lack of organizational provisions to involve policewomen in at least decisions concerning them. The limited strength of policewomen and a lack of their direct recruitment into higher ranks are made the issue of debate. The respondents view them as organizational discrimination against the policewomen force.

The police organization all over the world is dominated by men. It has not been able to define clearly the role of policewomen. Thus, police women are denied involvement even in routine policing. The prevalence of organizational double standards, with regard to criteria and procedure of selection, content of training, allocation of work and promotion policies, are not in favour of policewomen. As policewomen achieve higher positions and participate in decision making, they “acquire more and more field experience, they will, with time, develop a sense of self-confidence”, says Melchinne. He further says that, “know how that will encourage them to assume the initiative, to ‘take-charge’ in field situations and to do so with the skill and competence that will gradually dissipate the resistance of the men, earn their respect and ultimately their acceptance” (1974: 340).

Any organization is chiefly controlled by men. They may pass any necessary rules and regulations. Some male, for example, may not believe that women can perform as men do. The result is that female officers may be assigned mostly stationhouse (clerical) duties by male managers. Male officers also tend to be protective towards women. They would insist that female officers remain in the police

car during 'bandobast' or arrests. They are denied active participation in field duties with the notion that women act less aggressively. They are too inadequately equipped with the required temperament. Hence, they are usually assigned women or children related tasks.

The role of women in policing has remained restricted. The major reason has been the preconceived notions that affect the police opinion that women are the weaker sex and they are not capable of dealing with dangerous situations. Unfortunately, some women agree or succumb to this less active role. The rule may assign policemen and policewomen equal rights to perform police duties. But in practical sense it can not be the reality. It still remains a dream with a traditional concept accepted widely. It is time particularly for policewomen recruited in the lower positions.

Women in the police now have proved that they can handle any situation in a better way than male police can do. Furthermore, the skills of women are much desirable in the police function at some strategic points. In recent years, large number of adventurous women, like Kiran Bedi, is holding key positions in the police functions with world wide recognition. What else would one need to prove that women are inevitable in the police force? The historical notion that women may not do anything outside home or engage in behavior other than traditional mother or wife has been renounced presently. A U.S. Supreme Court judge once stated that, "The constitution of the family organization, which is founded in divine ordinance as well as the nature of things, indicates the domestic sphere as that [to] which properly belongs to the domain and function of womanhood" (Illinois vs. Bradwell, 1873, cited in Balkin, 1988, p.32). Similar ideology is revealed in studies cited by Bell (1982). Although police chiefs recognize that women police can perform theft jobs equally well as policemen would do, police officers still continue to feel that women police at work prove weak, unreliable, and unfit for patrol work.

Referring to the gender issue, Fenstermaker and others remark that doing gender within the police academy occurs within the police department. It has also resembled the practice of doing gender within every other occupation (Fenstermaker et al., 1991; Reskin & Roos, 1990, Wood et al. 1993). Women are perceived as delicate and emotionally charged nutrients. It becomes apparent while looking at the duties assigned to policewoman that is issues of women and juveniles. This is also

apparent when one looks at the conflict caused by women's presence in the police. If a woman acts too feminine, she is criticized for not being suitable for the job. If she acts too daringly or riskily she is criticized for not acting like a woman and bearing masculine traits unlikely of feminine delicacy.

According to Wexler's (1985) study women in the police who displayed feminine roles, are doing gender. They experience low amount of stress and frustration. However, they do not emerge as professionals. The women who do not do gender of the type the neutral or impersonal, the semi-masculine, or the mixed style too experience stress. It was although of different degrees. However, none of all these women are respected as a woman or hailing feminine delicacy and no one is accepted as equal to men. She, thus, belongs to neither of atypical gender. This conflict is a result of a wish to adopt a male occupation, and deny to do gender. How can one deny the gender that makes the natural identity? The need is, therefore, that one retains his identity by gender and adjusts to the profession of adoption to the best of occupations. But one should never imagine relinquishing the natural being and acquire artificial being in the interest of recognition. Such recognition is never lasting long. It is bound to result in rejection and frustration.

The practice of difference is apparent in women police who display the feminine-role style. It is also apparent in duties assigned to woman police. As so many researchers observe despite the kind of that behavior women police display or tasks that they accomplished, they are destined to condemnation whether they perform well or they don't. Revalue of women's orientation would not affect to reduce this conflict if the structure of the police organization remains unchanged. Revaluing women's orientation may challenge the structure to some extent. Yet the difference has to be maintained with norms within work culture, and within society as a whole. Transforming the world and the work culture through the lens of female self-interest may therefore cause a devaluation of men's orientation, like women's orientation in the past. It's like the shoe is put on the other foot. Inequality still prevails. Jaggar observes here that a primary condition for adequacy of the feminist theory, and indeed that for adequacy of any theory, is that it should represent the world from the stand point of women (1988). However, as difference in sex, race, age, and class persists as natural phenomena. Revamping the world with eyes of feminist stand point would sharpen inequality for women, as not all women hold similar interests.

Social work is a field in which largely women assume the leadership. It is believed that women can perform expressive role. When women have to deal with women and children it is expected that they perform a biologically inspired expressive role. With the advent of the concept of welfare state the complexion of the police has undergone transformation. One might say that a stage is reached when one should consider the police as essentially a social service. The police station becomes a place where administrative function is carried out. Until the independence the police was viewed as more or less an instrument to maintain law and order. It was supposed to provide stability which is so essential for orderly and civilized life. The introduction of social legislation, increasing complexity in political process, and activities of number of organized groups in the context of democracy to ventilate their grievances, all these bring about an entirely new complexion to the tasks of the police.

There are many occasions when the people have to run to the police station to resolve their problems on legal grounds. The police too have to reach different spots of events to tackle them with social significance and urgency. Therefore, one should look at the adequacy of the police force from the angles of (a) population, (b) area, and (c) complexity of the situation, in view of degree of urbanization. But, no correlation can be seen between the strength of the police and the factors that determine the strength. It is, therefore, suggested that the police should be treated as a social service and it should be integrated adequately with the overall plan of development.

##### 5. Relevant others' and Society's Perspective (according to the respondents):

One more evaluation has to be considered in view of relative others or societal perspective on the policewomen's role. Culture demands from women to attach priority to family roles and obligations. It is through socialization and interaction with relevant others that a woman comes to know what roles she is expected to perform and which role she has to avoid. It is through rewards and sanctions of relevant others in a society that an individual learns about the expectations of others as regards the manner in which the role is to be performed. Deviation to any kind is likely to face disapproval or criticism.

Coser and Rokoff remarked, "Normative priorities demand from women allegiance to home-maker role and from men to occupational obligations" (1977). It should not mean that women can not play occupational roles and men would not share family obligations. The question is that of priorities and not exclusive choice. If women's participation in labour force is needed to supplement family obligations, her endeavours to combine the home-maker's role with career need not be frowned upon. Indian women belonging to lower economic strata of society already perform occupational roles shoulder to shoulder with men. It is basically to shoulder the family needs. It is not an uncommon sight in cities to find women engaged in construction works and other economic activities. They are seen carrying with them their small babies at the worksite. In rural India, women help their men-folk in farming and cattle rearing either at home or in the fields. (The central institutions -economic and family- are structured in such a manner as to render work and family roles compatible in the case of women.) It is compulsion rather than choice that the women of lower strata join the labour force. Their allegiance to family roles is not to be doubted. There is willingness on their part to withdraw from the labour force in cases like when the family's economic condition improves, or when occupational role expectations are incompatible with family role expectations, or when 'total allegiance' to family is an urgency. This is done to principally avoid criticism of relevant others. The point of criticism is non-performance or poor performance of, what Sarbin and Allen call "ascribed" role. It is because they say, "...for the male the occupational role is most salient and central, while the mother role seemed to have similar saliency for most females" (1968:539).

However, in a modern society total allegiance to one or the other activity or system is rarely expected and such attitude would facilitate an individual to segment her roles into suitable slots. Separation of occupational work from the household creates two sets of role-partners, at a work place and at home. An incumbent is supposed to deal with each of the sets separately. It facilitates an incumbent to compartmentalize her role behaviour. In addition to economic compulsions, training and orientation, separation of work from one's family serves as one of the inspiring factors to prompt women to take up gainful employment. In other words Coser and Rokoff observes, the separation of different role-sets makes it possible for an individual to compartmentalize her role behaviour and she can perform her role in one

activity system without much interference from the others (1977). This might give an impression that the mechanism for dealing with multiple allegiances operate in the similar way for men and women. But it is not the case. Toby observes that the normative consensus about priorities is different for women. The relevant others through rewards and punishments make an individual realize that there exists a 'hierarchy of role obligations' (1952).

Mahajan views that the sanctions would be more severe if an individual's priorities are not in accordance with the expectations of relevant others (1982). This is true in case of women and particularly those women who venture to take up gainful employment in occupations defined as 'masculine'. Epstein tenders useful observation in this regards, "The typing of certain occupations as male or female has consequences for entry to them and performance within them by persons who possess the 'wrong sex'. Those occupations defined as male provide a social context uncomfortable for women. Those who seek entry are regarded as deviants and subject to social sanctions" (1970; 966-67). The sanctions are likely to be severe if the nature of work in male occupations demands women compromise some of their womanly traits. Maccoby and Horner, have useful observations to serve in this regards. A women who exhibit achievement-oriented characteristics such as aggressiveness, rationality, and independence or free behaviour, in her career or even simply by virtue of having a career, is usually considered to be fulfilling a socially inappropriate sex role and thus will most likely experience some anxiety and possibly some real sanctions as well (Maccoby, 1963; Horner, 1972). There are, however, certain exceptions to which such inferences would not be made. A few women who have no choice but to work may not be negatively sanctioned for working in male occupations, Mahajan views that it is especially true in case of widows of policemen and those who belong to low economic strata and have no other source of income (1982).

The reactions of the relevant others and of society at large as policewomen perceive need to be viewed to make the study yet more focused with diverse observations independently. The reactions may be of positive, negative or indifferent. It is assumed that different reactions would have different consequences for women incumbents. If women in the police perceive relevant others' reactions as positive they would derive encouragement for better performance. They would also endeavour independently to execute their roles in the police with due efficiency. If they view that

their relevant others attach negative sanctions to their performance they are likely to experience stress and strains. Mahajan views in his study that different reactions would cause anxiety which would further result in indecisiveness on the part of role-incumbent. Here is an attempt to find out whether the situation remains still or stagnant or any change is noticed.

Some studies on policewomen reveal that there are resistances that women opting for the police role have to confront from relatives and the society. The respondents were asked if they faced any opposition or resistance from their relatives. The responses obtained are displayed in the table below:

Table-7.4 Relatives' oppositions while respondents' entry into the police force:

Sr. No.	Opposition	Policewomen						Total
		PI	P.S.I.	A.S.I.	HC	PC	PC*	
1	First relative	1	4 (1*)	8	8	15	31	67 (22.3%)
2	Other relative		3 (1*)	1	3	4	7	18 (6%)
3	No opposition	3	5 (1*)	24	31(3*)	45	101	209 (69.7%)
4	No response						6	6 (2%)
	Total	4	12	33	42	64	145	300 (100%)

As it is seen on the table majority of the respondents (69.7%) said that they faced no opposition from their relatives. The relatives were positive towards their entry into the police force. To an Indian woman, particularly when she is unmarried, parents' attitudes acquire vital significance to determine their choice. It may not only pertain to a particular job but also to a career. The data reveal that total 166 respondents were unmarried when they sought an entry in to the police force. Only forty-six (27.7%) respondents of them expressed that there was some opposition from their near relatives. Other one hundred twenty (72.3%) respondents said that they faced no opposition from any one for their entry into the police force. But once they marry, their husbands or parents-in-law tend to influence their decisions of a career. The data obtained from the group of married policewomen, reflect that out of one hundred and one respondents, some 66.3% respondent's received positive response from their relatives on their choice of the police role. This means that most respondents perceived favourable attitudes of their relatives on their entry into the police force.

One may assume that those policewomen, whose relatives are already working in police force, would perceive favorable attitudes from their relatives. The data, however, present a different picture. Some one hundred sixty-four respondents said that their relatives had opposed their choice of a career in the police, even though some of their kinsmen were already working in the police force. The other one hundred thirty-six respondents said that they had no relatives in the police even when they were recruited in this job. The parents of some policewomen, who themselves were not in the police, or had no relatives in the police, indicated favourable response to their daughters' entry into the police. The reason is they could not help their wards to secure gainful employment somewhere else. The favourable attitude from the parents can broadly be attributed to two reasons: liking and compulsion.

Those parents, who opposed, felt that the police roles were not suitable for their daughters. The main reason is the police organization carry bad reputation. On the other hand, economic constraints would harden up things for them and were not in a position to provide viable options. Thus, the economic compulsion forced the respondents to accept the police role despite their parents' negative reactions. The fear of the parents that their daughter might have to suffer social stigma too was a reason for their unwillingness. Further, the parents were also afraid that the nature of police duties would bring their daughters into contact with other policemen at odd hours and the daughter at tender age may slip into immorality. The performance of police duties would imply compromise with womanly qualities. This too played against shaping favour in the parents' minds. Yet the economic conditions of the family and their own liking for the police role prompted most of them to seek an entry into the police force. Some thirty respondents had lost their fathers and were shouldering their mothers' care and wellbeing. Hence, they looked for economic security that they would be assured with a police job.

There are one hundred and one respondents who were married at the time of their recruitment. They valued the reactions of their husbands and in-laws more than those of their parents. The 34% of the respondents joined the police force in spite of negative attitudes of their husbands or in-laws. They could not maintain cordial relations with their husbands or in-laws. They were either widows or separated. These policewomen were in dire need of economic independence. In case of 90% of the married respondents, the husbands did not earn enough to maintain their families



decently. In fact, the married policewomen who joined the police force in spite of negative attitudes of their near relatives do value their opinions. But since there is no choice open to them, they have to take up jobs in the police force that is available to them. There are 66% married respondents too was said that they faced no opposition from their near relatives. In some cases, even the husbands inspired them to join the police force. Some seventy-four respondents got married after they joined the police force and they faced no opposition. The table – 7.5 below presents the statistical analysis on this matter.

Table-7.5. Relative’s opposition after respondents’ marriage: (Total respondents = 87)

Sr. No.	Opposition	Policewomen						
		PI	PSI	ASI	HC	PC	PC*	Total
1	Husband	-		1		2	5	8 (2.7%)
2	In laws	-	1				2	3 (1%)
3	No opposition	-	1	6	6	13	48	74 (24.7%)
4	No response	-					2	2 (0.7%)
5	Not applicable	4	10	26	36(2*)	49	88	213 (71%)
	Total	4	12	33	42	64	145	300 (100%)

The table poses an overall picture that some seventy-four out of eighty seven respondents said that there was no opposition from their husbands or from their in-laws. In cases of only eight respondents that the husbands had opposed and three other cases, the respondents’ in-laws had opposed. But it was in the beginning. Later on they compromised with their decision of the police job. The remaining respondents who were recruited as unmarried, deserted, divorcee and widows were not considered for the response on this question, and mentioned on the table as “not applicable”. Thus, the data disclose the fact that nowadays no significant negative attitudes have been experienced from the policewomen’s relatives. In fact, the respondents did not value much of other relatives’ negative attitudes.

To put it as a societal perspective, Cooley’s well-known concept of the “looking-glass self” may be considered. Cooley suggested, that the principal elements of ‘the looking-glass self’ were “the imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification” (1902, p.152).

The first of the elements is a conception about him as assigned by a person to others. The second element is also that assigned by a person to others. This time the other is seen as holding a value about the person. The third element is an individual's evaluation of himself, probably covert. The analysis may help to draw certain salient and interesting parallels between these seminal ideas of Mead and Cooley. For both, the basic behaviour, in contrast to its referents, is an individual's conception. And for both, self-assigned, reflexive behaviour is the final outcome of the conceiving process. Furthermore, if we assume that "attitude" for Mead was inclusive of the descriptive and evaluative process suggested by Cooley, then it follows that the process referred to in Cooley is but a special case of the process referred to in Mead. It should be pointed out, however, that the "generalized other" refers to those referent persons who are presumed to reflect while "the looking-glass self" refers to that which is reflected. (Ed. Biddle & Thomas, 1966:49)

Historically the police force has all along been semi-feudal in spirit. So it has been stigmatized in the society. Under such conditions when women are needed for police roles and it has primacy of instrumental interests, they are stigmatized even by men. Policewomen's role may lead to conflict between traditionally assigned feminine roles and the newly acquired role of the police. Even today the impression of the police organization is not enhanced much. In this situation when women join the police force, they are bound to be the targets of people's comments in a society. In this light, it was thought to review the respondents' perceptions of societal reactions. They were asked to impart responses about positive or negative reactions of the society about their police role.

Table-7.6. Perception of general society about policewomen:

Sr. No.	Response	Policewomen						Total
		PI	PSI	ASI	HC	PC	PC*	
1	Positive	2	3(1*)	4	5(1*)	6	24	44 (14.7%)
2	Neutral		4 (1*)	8	17	12	30	81 (27%)
3	Negative	2	5(1*)	21	20(2*)	36	90	174 (58%)
4	No response						1	3 (1%)
	Total	4	12	33	42	64	145	300 (100%)

The data reflect that a small segment of 14.7% of the respondents admitted that there is positive impression of policewomen in the society. Some 58% of the

respondents were found to be conscious about the negative perception of the police role. Some of the unmarried respondents complained that the negative perception of the society may cause hurdles in finding a match for their marriage. Some 27% of the respondents came out with various answers on the issue. Some of them said that it depends upon the people. Some people may give out positive reaction and some people may pour out complaints and criticism. Some others even said that it is upto themselves, how they take people's comments, "if we establish positive impression people's reaction would be positive". A few respondents remarked that the bad image of the police force causes real problems to them.

## 7. Conclusion:

From the discussion in the chapter, a few conclusions may be drawn that in a country like India where police agency has been organized on the premise that policing is a man's job, women's presence in the police becomes indeed a debatable issue. The question that this new situation raises is too complicated and also too important to be resolved by considering mere opinions of the policewomen. Inherent in the question are valid concerns for policewomen and they also look to their male role-partners, the police organization and relevant others including a society at large. The discussion in this chapter attempts to focus on different perspectives that would bring to the forefront certain significant results.

The role of policewomen, particularly operating in lower ranks, remains still vague and undefined. Policewomen perceive their occupational roles differently. If they perceive conflicting expectations as associated with the home-maker role and the police role they may suffer dilemma with a problem of inter-role conflict. If, policewomen perceive that the nature of some police duties would not suit their temperament, may have to undergo a problem of intra-role conflict.

The male officers tend to evaluate policewomen's role from a stereotyped yardsticks of physical fitness. An attitude of not relying on women's capabilities results in an emergence of informal work-group arrangements which may contradict with formal role-expectations. Such a situation is responsible to cause intra-role conflict for a committed policewoman. Lack of consensus that prevails on a woman's status in the policing and inconsistencies about her master-status attributes and auxiliary characteristics may also cause dilemma for both the male police and

policewomen. The status-inconsistency for women in the policing does not facilitate for their acceptance in the police organization.

There are two approaches adopted for policewomen's role performance in the police organization. On formal grounds, no difference has to be maintained between men and women in performing police roles. But on informal ground, policewomen are expected to perform light duties and roles specific to offending women and children. They are engaged mostly in the office work. The law enforcement agency too is not very clear about the status and role of women in the policing. Should women be considered at par with men as regards to their selection, training, duties, role obligations and promotions? It still remains a question unresolved resulting in feelings of resentment and frustration among policewomen.

Most of the respondents received positive response from their relatives. Those policewomen whose relatives were not happy about their entry into the police force became happy later on. Particularly married policewomen have close relatives who are positive about their entry into police force. They expressed an opinion that they received cooperation from their relatives. The husbands do help them in the household work. But a few respondents have relatives who are not happy about their police role. It would cause to them stress and strain.

Societal negative attitude is the outcome of bad image that the police force earns in the society. In addition to it, low education, lower ranks, less salary and lower socio-cultural background are the factors responsible for policewomen's negative evaluation in the society. Policewomen in higher positions, however, are still respected in the society. In fact, policewomen in lower ranks are not able to develop certain personality traits. As a result, they may not earn good prestige in the society.

In short, policewomen work in two types of reality: one who hold higher ranks and perform the police role equally with male police officers and the other who have to perform the police role due to certain circumstances. They are considered as unequal to policemen. The time will show that policewomen will form an integral component of the police function that would contribute significantly to enhance the image of the police in the society at large. It may be viewed as promise for bright future of the police function. Hence, a policewomen's preference for police job should never be undermined or ignored. Her potentiality needs to be duly recognized, honoured and utilized by the society and the country.