

Policing behind the Veil: Problems involving Female Police Officers in Pakistan

Fasihuddin (PSP) and Imran Ahmad Sajid

Abstract

Women police officers in Pakistan are caught between cultural norms and their responsibilities as police professionals. The police department is considered a masculine organization requiring a strong manly image. Male police officials have yet to accept women as their equals. This research was conducted to better understand the major problems women police officers are facing during the performance of their duties in Balochistan (Pakistan). A survey was designed and the Balochistan police department was contacted to allow female officers to participate in the research. The results revealed that most of the women police personnel had joined the police force by their own choice, but mostly compelled by the urge to meet their immediate needs and to support their families. The major problems faced by them were the granting of leave in case of emergency and the need to work night shifts. These officers also reported that incidents of sexual harassment had occurred in various forms. Sex role spillover theory has been employed to explain the findings. This theory states that gender norms are so well established, stable, and salient that they will “spill over” into the work role, and therefore people respond to women due to their sex/gender role instead of their occupational role.

Keywords: Law Enforcement; Pakistan; Gender Responsive Policing; Women in Policing; Balochistan

Women in Policing in Pakistan

The role and experiences of women police officers in Pakistan have yet to gain interest and attention as the subject of detailed academic scrutiny. It can be attributed to the fact that criminology and criminological research is a very recent subject in Pakistan. The subject has not received its due attention from academics and policy makers. There are only a few universities which offer a degree course in criminology. Criminology has obtained little attention since the mid-1990s and there is little interest in policing studies. Therefore there has been even less attention in specialized areas, such as women in policing and their related concerns and problems.

Moreover, much of the earlier research on police, very little in number, addressed the issues of the operational performance and management of the police as a department in Pakistan. Some of the research and reports were also focused on various police reforms (e.g. Paul Pitchzmann,¹ 2010; Hassan Abbas,

2009). Syed Muhib Asad (2010),² a former police chief, wrote on improving police culture in Pakistan. Like-wise, Shoaib Suddle (1995) produced some introductory research work on police and the criminal justice system. Recently, a number of NGOs and foreign donor sponsored research has been conducted, but most of them are not empirical and comprehensive. However, since 2009, the Pakistan Journal of Criminology has been producing much appreciated work on law enforcement and indigenous criminology.

Apart from this minimal interest in policing research in Pakistan prior to the 21st century, the research interest into the role and performance of the police has gained huge interest only recently. However, this research is tilted towards policing and terrorism (e.g., Fasihuddin, 2010;³ J. M. (Johan) Ras, 2010;⁴ Majid Karimi, 2010;⁵ Nabi Bakhx Narejo, 2010⁶). Imran Ahmad Sajid and Naushad Ali Khan⁷ also researched kidnapping and policing in the North West Frontier Province in the context of terrorism. J. M. (Johan) Ras (2010) recommended that Pakistan needs a special form of policing model that must focus on the needs of the people and must incorporate the insights of the community, intelligence-led and indigenous policing models. He claims that terrorism is an intelligence war and the police constantly need to enhance and expand their intelligence abilities to prevent any form of terrorist activities. He recommended the 'strong-man's approach' in terms of policing which entirely neglects women's role in policing. Fasihuddin (2009),⁸ however, looked into the training and education problems of the police which identified inadequate training aids, old training methods, excessive foul language used by the trainers in the class and during physical events, below standard food to the trainees, and other similar problems to be severely affecting the performance of the police in Pakistan. In view of the special Asian context, Fasihuddin (2012)⁹ called for comparative research on criminology and policing in the context of India and Pakistan.

However, the issue of women in law enforcement in Pakistan has remained under-researched. The Pakistan Journal of Criminology launched its special issue on violence against women and women rights (April 2010). However, the journal did not generate academic research on female in policing in particular. Nonetheless, Fida Muhammad (2010)¹⁰ wrote a research paper on the problems faced by female police officers in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He identified transportation, promotions, lack of respect, lack of civic facilities, lack of accommodation, and similar nature of duties both for married and unmarried female police personnel to be the major problems of women police officers in KPK. His other findings are also interesting for researchers. The recent interest in studying the problems of women in law

enforcement can be attributed to a number of factors including the enactment of the Protection against Sexual Harassment in the Workplace Act in 2006.

Theoretical Framework

The most enduring and potent social categorizations, according to Heidensohn 1992¹¹, are sex role and gender stereotypes. The stereotypical characteristics of the male category included competency, assertiveness, technical proficiency and rationality, while female qualities included caretaking, emotionality and subservience (Berg and Budnick 1986). Such notions are embedded in the cultural fabric of society. They provide normative expectations about gender roles and attitudes. Thus when women cross over into masculine jobs, they suffer the consequences of gender and occupational role conflicts (Brown, 1998).¹²

This phenomenon is more generally explained by the sex-role spillover theory (Gutek, 1985). This theory has attempted to explain the vulnerability of working women in a male dominated work-place. The theory suggests that women working in certain environments will be particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment and discrimination. It emphasizes the fact that sexuality and overt and covert sexual behaviour is more likely to occur in a place or occupation where females are employed even when they are not present physically. This theory has its limitations in predicting many sexually oriented actions in certain workplaces or occupations. In the case of women performing masculine jobs, they get certain sobriquets indicating male sexual interpretation of female responsibilities, meaning that it is not only the pretty face of a woman that attracts the sexual reaction of a male or certain words and sentences carrying sexual connotations.

In short, the 'sex role spillover theory' by Gutek (1985)¹³ asserts that gender norms are so well established, stable, and salient that they "spill over" into the work role, and therefore people respond to women in their sex/gender role instead of their work role. Sex role spillover could lead to gender discrimination in the workplace. It can also lead to inappropriate sexualization of the workplace (Cleveland, Stockdale, Murphy, and Gute, 2009).¹⁴

Regarding sex-role and policing, Toch (1976: 44) proposed that policing is especially dominated by male values in which physical prowess dominate as the criterion of worth. Given the maleness of policing, Toch claims: 'for a policewoman to have impact, the integrity of her sex-role (with its de-emphasis of physical prowess and combativeness as indexes of status) is a critical variable' (Toch 1976: 45).¹⁵ Moreover, in the context of the police

occupational culture, there is a collective emphasis on the importance of street experience, and the support provided by socializing with fellow officers (Fielding 1994).¹⁶ For women, it has proved difficult to break in and enter the working environment of policemen (Martin 1980).¹⁷

Examining the Data

Looking at the data on police personnel in Balochistan, the total sanctioned strength is 35,535, as compared to the present and existing strength of the police force which is 33,147. On the other hand, there is a very small presence of women in the police in Balochistan which is mostly seen in Quetta, the provincial capital of Balochistan. The total present strength of female police officers in Balochistan is only 103 which is 0.31% of the total police complement in Balochistan (Table A). The national laws allow for the fixation of a 20% quota for women in all jobs. However, the female police representation is extremely low in Balochistan.

Methodology

This is the first research project examining the issues and problems of female police officers in Balochistan. The researchers opted for a survey research methodology for this purpose. In particular, the study aimed to examine the personal problems and issues in operational tasks that the women officials in police are regularly asked to perform. In addition, the study sought to explore the incidence of sexual harassment occurring within the police working environment.

Research Questionnaire

A questionnaire containing open-ended, close-ended, and multiple-choice questions was designed and distributed amongst women police officials, mostly from the lower ranks, in Balochistan. The questionnaire was in the Urdu language as mostly the lower ranks of the police do not understand the English language. The responses were also in Urdu language and were translated into English for analysis. Female police officers were asked about their reason for joining the police, their decisions, leave issues, and salary problems. In addition, a question regarding exposure to sexual harassment in the following terms was asked: 'How often have you been subjected to any unwanted and/or unreciprocated verbal or physical conduct that is sexual in nature or has a sexual connotation from male police workers?' The data was collected at the Police Lines, Quetta—the capital city of Balochistan. The respondents were given the liberty to add additional comments on extra sheets.

Table A: Police Strength in Balochistan – 31 June 2012

Particulars	Male			Female		
	Sanctioned	Present	Vacant	Sanctioned	Present	Vacant
Inspector General of Police (IGP)	1	1	-	-	-	-
Additional IGP	4	4	-	-	-	-
Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG)	16	16	-	-	-	-
Senior Superintendent of Police / Superintendent of Police	90	74	15	-	-	-
Assistant Superintendent of Police	5	9	-4	-	-	-
Deputy Superintendent of Police	289	210	82	1	1	0
PDSP	39	26	12	-	-	-
IP	565	515	54	3	1	2
MMPI	5	1	1	-	-	-
PI	48	33	17	-	-	-
SI	1686	1434	200	-	-	-
ASI	2673	2334	341	4	3	1
HC	7902	7169	749	19	14	5
C	22212	21271	941	138	84	54
Total	35535	33147	2408	165	103	62

Source: Central Police Office, Quetta, Balochistan

Study Sample

The police is a provincial subject in Pakistan. The Balochistan police agency was contacted for the purpose of this study. There are 103 women working in the police in Balochistan in various ranks (from Deputy Superintendent of Police to Foot Constable).¹⁸ For this study, 42 female officers were contacted through the police lines Quetta. All of the respondents were from Capital City Police Quetta. The identity of the respondents remains confidential and there were no questions as to the name of the respondents. Only age and rank were asked.

Data Analysis

Table I: Why did you join the police?

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Financial support for the family	21	50.0
For respect in society	5	11.9
For power	2	4.8
Domestic problems (<i>Gharelu Halat se tang akar</i>)	8	19.0
Any other	6	14.3
Total	42	100.0

Most of the women (50%) joined the police in Balochistan to provide financial assistance to their families. It is to be noted that a few of the respondents wrote in the additional comments that there is no one else in the family who was working and that they were the sole family supporters. Almost 19% of the respondents faced numerous family problems which led them to join the police. It was a way of escape from the family quarrels and other matters which were not clearly identified. The next big reason was the various family problems, not specifically told by the respondents, which compelled them to join the police for protection, shelter, stress relief, and support. Joining the police for respect, prestige and power remained at the lower level. Only 16.7% of the female officers responded that they had joined the police either for prestige/respect, or power within society.

Table II: Did you join the police by your own choice?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	36	85.7
No	3	7.1
To Some Extent	3	7.1
Total	42	100.0

From Table I, it would appear that employment in the police was not the primary purpose for joining the agency. In other words, it was not their choice

to join the police. However, it is quite astounding to find out that a significant majority of the respondents (85.7%) responded that they joined the police by their own will, while only 7.1% responded negatively (see Table II). It is assumed here that it is one of the possibilities that either the respondents did not understand the question properly, or the question was not posed appropriately. This creates a dilemma of validity of the responses of the respondents and reliability of this table. Future researcher can look into these issues more meticulously and precisely.

Table III: Why did you join the Police? * Did you join the police by your own choice?

		Did you join the police by your own choice?			Total
		Yes	No	To Some Extent	
Why did you join the Police?	For financial assistance to the family	18	1	2	21
		50.0%	33.3%	66.7%	50.0%
	For respect in society	5	0	0	5
		13.9%	.0%	.0%	11.9%
	For power	1	1	0	2
		2.8%	33.3%	.0%	4.8%
Domestic constraints (Gharelu Halat se tang akar)	6	1	1	8	
	16.7%	33.3%	33.3%	19.0%	
Any other	6	0	0	6	
	16.7%	.0%	.0%	14.3%	
Total		36	3	3	42
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

On the other hand, if we cross analyze the previous two tables (Table I and Table II) and put them together in Table III, one can see quite interesting results. Of those respondents who said that they joined the police by their own choice, 50% were those who joined the police to financially support their families. The police thus had offered them the opportunity support the family financially, or one can say that it was a Hobson choice for them, having no other alternative to sustain their families. Furthermore, there were only 8 respondents (19% of the total 42 surveyed) who said that they joined the police to avoid domestic problems. Of those eight, 75% said that they joined the police by their own choice. Again, it is inferred that employment in the police may not have been their first choice, nonetheless, having a police job looked better to them than the domestic problems, or they wanted the police job to get them social relief and personal protection. It means that there is multitude of

factors which affects a women's decision to join the police agency in Balochistan.

Table IV: Are you happy with your decision to join the police?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	45.2
No	13	31.0
To Some Extent	10	23.8
Total	42	100.0

Table IV reveals that almost 45% of the female police officials were satisfied with their decision in joining the police. On the other hand, 31% were not satisfied while more than 20% were satisfied to some extent.

Table V: Are you happy with your decision to join the Police? * Did you join the police by your own choice?

		Did you join the police by your own choice?			Total
		Yes	No	To Some Extent	
Are you happy with your decision to join the Police?	Yes	18	0	1	19
		50.0%	.0%	33.3%	45.2%
	No	10	3	0	13
		27.8%	100.0%	.0%	31.0%
	To Some Extent	8	0	2	10
		22.2%	.0%	66.7%	23.8%
Total		36	3	3	42
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Contrary to the single-variable findings of Table IV, the next table, Table V, shows that 27.8% of those who joined the police by their own choice were unsatisfied/unhappy of their job conditions. The table also speaks about those who did not join the police by their own choice, nonetheless, 77% of them responded affirmatively regarding the question of their job satisfaction. The female police officers might be apprehensive in stating that they are totally happy with their job as it apparently seems not in line with the requirements of a disciplined/uniformed agency like the police. Although they had been asked

to be open on all matters, the respondents may have had reservations due to their training and cultural experiences encountered while in the police organizational environment.

Table VI: Would you like your other relatives and friends to join the police department?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	20	47.6
No	19	45.2
To Some Extent	3	7.1
Total	42	100.0

Table VI highlighted who would suggest to their friends or relatives to join the police. The results were not quite different, as about 47% responded they would like their relatives and friends in the police but 45% would not recommend them to join their ranks.

Table VII: Would you like your relatives and friends to join the Police department? * Did you join the police by your own choice?

		Did you join the police by your own choice?			Total
		Yes	No	To Some Extent	
Would you like your relatives and friends to join the Police department?	Yes	17	0	3	20
		47.2%	.0%	100.0%	47.6%
	No	16	3	0	19
		44.4%	100.0%	.0%	45.2%
	To Some Extent	3	0	0	3
		8.3%	.0%	.0%	7.1%
Total		36	3	3	42
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

However, putting them in cross table with Table II, and showing them in Table VII resulted in a different picture. More than 44% of those who joined the police by their own choice responded that they would not recommend this work to their friends or relatives, though 47% were ready to do so. This is another indicator of the satisfaction level of the female officers in their jobs, and could be interpreted that 44% of the respondents were not satisfied.

Table VIII: Are you getting your salary on time? * Are you satisfied with your salary?

		Are you satisfied with your salary?			Total
		Yes	No	To Some Extent	
Are you getting your salary on time?	Yes	16	15	5	36
		88.9%	83.3%	83.3%	85.7%
	No	2	3	1	6
		11.1%	16.7%	16.7%	14.3%
Total		18	18	6	42
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Regarding salary, most of the female police respondents were satisfied (42.9%). Astonishingly, about the same percentage were not satisfied from their salaries while 14.3% were satisfied but to some extent. On the other hand, a significant majority (85.7%) responded that they were receiving their salaries on time. This is likely due to the growing automation/computerization of salaries instead of the old manual method of salary preparation by accountants.

Table IX: Do you get leave easily whenever needed?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	6	14.3
No	36	85.7
Total	42	100.0

Table IX shows that contrary to their salary, a significant majority of the respondents, i.e. more than 85% responded that they do not get leave easily from the department. One respondent wrote in additional comments that:

“If we want leave for some urgent piece of work, first we are not given the leave easily. Second, when by any way we are given a leave, it is for such a short time that we cannot even make it to our home. Our tears become dry by crying.”

Similarly, another lady police official responded that:

“In case of emergency, we are not given leave. Even our Eid was on duty when there was a three days off.”

To counter this problem, one female police officer suggested that:

“Ladies police should be allotted houses in police lines.”

On the other hand, one respondent wrote quite interesting comments. She wrote:

“There are some ladies police who can go on leave very easily and who perform very little of duty. Nobody investigates them while some of us (Female Constables) perform all of our duties but still we are disrespected, neither we are given any leave nor anyone listens to our problems.”

Table X: Do you get timely help from the department in case of sickness etc?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1	2.4
No	41	97.6
Total	42	100.0

Similarly, only 2% of the respondents said that they get timely help from the police department in case of sickness or other emergencies. It can be viewed as being quite appalling that about 98% of the women do not get timely help from the police department in Balochistan. By this they mean free medicine, payment of their medical bills in time, doctors' availability, proper medical tests, and ambulance availability.

Table XI: Did you receive proper training for your duties?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	17	40.5
No	21	50.0
To Some Extent	4	9.5
Total	42	100.0

Regarding training and education, a question was asked whether the serving female officers received any kind of necessary training or not. Almost 50% of the respondents said that they did not get any police training and/or education

while 40.5% did get the necessary training and education (Table XI). This leads to infer that most of the women in police in Balochistan province had been hired and deployed without any training. This raises a critical question. How can a police officer serve and protect the people without any kind of necessary training and education?

Table XII: Did you notice any vulgar suggestions, sexual hints, allurements, or harassment by your male co-workers?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	22	52.4
No	10	23.8
Some Times	5	11.9
Often	5	11.9
Total	42	100.0

One of the most important questions was regarding sexual harassment (Table XII). 52% of the female police officers responded that they have noticed the attempts of sexual harassment by their male police colleagues. These attempts come in many forms like verbal abuse, winking, proposals, sexual gestures, rubbing sensitive parts of the body while talking to women police officers, mobile messages and calls. One respondent wrote in additional comments: *“Immoral sentences are passed on us. Immoral messages are forwarded to us.”* Similarly, about 12% responded that they noticed such attempts quite often while the same number said they sometimes noticed such attempts. If we add these numbers to the initial 52%, the numbers become a quite alarming 76%. In other words, every three women police officers out of four noticed attempts of sexual harassment by their male co-workers.

This is nonetheless not clear whether they reported any of these complaints to other police personnel. To further clarify this issue, most of the respondents said that they are not even allowed by their senior female officers to meet the higher officials of the police to whom they can take their complaints.

Narrative Responses

One of the respondents explained in detail that:

“We ladies police are not treated well. Those women who are powerful or have someone to back them, they are supported. The ladies, who are from economically poor background, are disrespected and humiliated even by their own senior lady police officers. If we speak of our rights, then we are made to suffer. More duty is assigned to us than the scheduled time. Our salary is stopped. We are not allowed to meet the officer. If we speak more, we are said to leave the room. Those who are junior to us but have shoulder promotions, behave very stupidly. If we complain, then we are made to suffer. The vehicle is there for all of us but we are not given that. It is given only to those whoever they like. If we want leave for some urgent piece of work, first we are not given that. Second, when we are given a leave, it is for such a short time that we cannot even make to home. Our tears become dry by crying. When courses come, we are not given that. If we want a transfer, we are asked to pay bribe, or are said to do something for us first. There is no room for our gathering. There is no heater with us in winter season. If we come 10 minutes late, hours of extra duty is taken from us as a punishment. Motor Bikes were given to the department for the ladies police but we are not given that. When we are in the age of training but we are not given the training. However, when our age passes away, we are said to get trainings. Senior ladies police officers are humiliating their junior ladies police. We are not given promotions according to our rights. Our salary is always deducted. Immoral sentences are passed on us. Immoral messages are forwarded to us. I only request to give us a place according to our education. Our rights should be given to us with respect.”

Another lady officer noted that:

“We are bound in the lines from 8PM in the night to 8AM in the morning. This shouldn't be the case because our children and husbands become annoyed and irritated. We are marked absent even if we are on duty, just due to personal grudges of the supervisor or officer in charge. We are sent to duties but there is no vehicle to take the ladies back, neither anyone asks where you have to go. This makes a lot of problem for us. We are given duties at a station which are far away from us. In case of emergency, we are not given leaves. Even our Eid was on duty when there was a 3 days off.”

It can be inferred from these narrative notes that there were six other major problems which were identified by the respondents. These were:

1. Lack of conveyance for pick and drop from the duty station;

2. Night Duty (from 8 PM to 8AM) which makes their families and children suffer. It affects their marital relationships as well;
3. Humiliation from other female officers on petty issues;
4. Leave problems in case of emergencies;
5. Sexual harassment from their male counterparts; and
6. Lack of washroom or lavatory facilities in the place of duty.

Results and Discussion

1. Financial constraints and unhealthy domestic conditions have led the majority of the females surveyed to join the police. This means that most of the female police officers belong to the low socio-economic stratum in the society. This further means that women of high social groups or the well-educated generally do not join the police as a profession. Such enrollment or induction in the police will be reflected in their behaviour, style and approach towards their profession.
2. A large number of the female officers (19%) joined the police department as a way of escaping their family environment. This further corroborates the above finding that women from low-income groups join the police who are suffering from a number of domestic problems. In order to sustain their families, earn a livelihood, and also avoid the strangulating family environment, they want to join the police. This attitude shows that their joining the police is not for a commitment to combat crime or help the community in fighting social evils around them. Their level of motivation is much below the expectation of a department which is established for the prevention and investigation of crimes and dealing with the accused and offenders.
3. A large number of the respondents (45%) were satisfied with their jobs. Furthermore, the vast majority of the respondents (85.7%) joined the police by their own choice. Since the women joined the police mainly to support their families, they felt satisfied with whatever they received as salary. Though their salaries are not very high, they think it is sufficient for them to meet their needs. This also corroborates the first finding that the majority of those surveyed were poor, the least educated, and had limited needs.
4. A large complement of the respondents (42.9% and 14.3%) was satisfied with their salaries received from the police department. Since the police salaries have been sufficiently increased in the last few years due to the high risk in the wake of the war on terror, and also in the

Balochistan Package, the women police did not perceive any big problem with their salaries.

5. The number of ladies police who were suggesting to their other friends or relatives to join the police was similar to those who were not suggesting it. This means that those who think that by joining the police they get enough to feed their families may suggest the same to others in poor communities. However, with passage of time and after experiencing the difficulties and problems in the police, half of them revealed that they would not suggest the same for their relatives and friends.
6. A significant majority of the respondents (85.7%) conveyed that they received their salary on time (though some were not happy with the amount they are receiving). The checks and balances at the Auditor and Accountant Generals offices, and the recent computerization system of salaries within the police department lead the salaries to be generally disbursed on time and it is a practice to get salary on the first of every month in the Police Lines, so it is fully supervised and controlled.
7. Getting time off is viewed as being a very difficult task for female police officers in Balochistan. More than 85% of the respondents said that they do not get leave easily in time of emergency. This perception demands an enhanced supervisory evaluation by the senior officers. There is no uniform policy of leave in the police. This could lead to the belief that here are difficulties in procedural fairness. The police are said to be on 24 hour duty and there is no designated shift system in the police, so such problems are common with other male police officials as well. However, it needs regularization and a complaint mechanism with proper record maintenance.
8. A significant majority of the respondents (98%) reported that they do not get timely help from the department in case of sickness. This is another serious problem and disbursement of medical bills in time is not sufficient to provide medical help and support to women police personnel in cases of emergency, acute illness or any chronic disease. There must be a separate medical facility for them with female medical officials and nursing staff. Private physicians are too costly for them. This is a typical feature of most of the state institutions in other developing countries. The military is the only agency (state institution) in Pakistan which provides free, full and timely medical care to its members.

9. Almost 50% of the respondents did not get any training and education before being deployed in the police. Women police officers have no standard charter of duties anywhere in Pakistan. The usual and regular police training is not considered for them as feasible in the police training schools and colleges. Their number is too little to have separate training schools and colleges for them. They are not involved in the processes of crime prevention and investigation which are otherwise very cumbersome and need court attendance in addition to facing difficult and dangerous situations at times. However, the women police personnel may be given some sort training about police work and culture. Studies on the stereotypes associated with men and women suggest that competency, assertiveness, technical proficiency and rationality are deemed to be masculine traits whilst caretaking, emotionality and subservience are said to characterize women (Berg and Budnick 1986). Women in police are normally involved in those caretaking responsibilities, usually in which male police officials cannot interfere due to cultural constraints, such as the handling of female offenders and searching of female suspects. For these kind of jobs, the usual police training, which focus on physical prowess and combat skills are not considered essential. It is therefore the stereotype that appears to determine the level of training and education of women police officers (a typical stereotype associated with women as suggested by Berg and Budnick, 1986).
10. A significant majority of the female officers, every three of 4 women, noticed attempts of sexual harassment from their male co-workers in the shape of signs, exposure of sexual organs, and sexual messages and calls. Sexual harassment is a very serious and sensitive issue and its rate may be higher than what is reported. Given the low socio-economic conditions of most women police officials, injustices by senior lady police officers, and a fear of senior male officers, these complaints are generally not seen and entertained. With the condition to maintain identity in private, a very senior police officer, working for the gender equality, said that other senior female police officers are themselves targets of sexual harassment. They work as an agent of their superiors. If a superior seems to be interested in a particular lady police constable, the senior female police official moves into action and arranges for a meeting. Junior female officers therefore feel compelled to make the superior happy.

11. When permitted to document additional comments, the most severe problem to almost all of the respondents was the night shifts. The night duty is a compulsory duty for female as well as male officers. Its scheduled length is from 8:00PM to 08:00AM. The female respondents responded that by performing night duty, they face the severe consequences of annoyance of their husbands and other family members. Even their children suffer. The academic and educational routines of the children are also compromised. Caretaking, emotionality and subservience are said to characterize women (Berg and Budnick 1986).¹⁹ It is therefore usually a female (mother's) role to prepare the breakfast for children and prepare them for school. This role has been affixed to mothers in Pakistan. However, in the absence of their mother who are female police officers, the fathers are often unable to properly perform this duty.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Policing all over the world is typically viewed as a male-dominated profession. The duty of police is supposed to fight hardened criminals. Fighting requires physical prowess, combat skills, and courage. The more physically strong with technical proficiency and combat skills, the more respect and worth one gets within the police. In this context of the police image, females do not fit in easily as the female stereotypical values include fragileness, sensitivity, beauty, and emotionality, which compromise the hard work of police. As Toch (1975) put it, "for a policewoman to have impact, the integrity of her sex-role (with its de-emphasis of physical prowess and combativeness as indexes of status) is a critical variable (Toch 1976: 45)." Moreover, in the context of the police occupational culture, there is a collective emphasis on the importance of street experience, and the support provided by socializing with fellow officers (Fielding 1994).²⁰ For women, it has proved difficult to break in and enter the working environment of male police colleagues (Martin 1980).²¹

Attempts of sexual harassment from male co-workers in the form of signs, exposure of sexual organs, and sexual messages and calls have been reported to be prevalent in the police agency in Balochistan. However, the involvement of the senior female police officials in sexual harassment negates the sex-role spill over theory. The senior female police officers work as an agent for their superiors. They direct the young female constables in order to make their superiors happy. This explains the moral corruption of the society as a whole.

Policing is a 24 hour occupation in Pakistan. This policy applies to everyone (both male and female). However, the traditional female role in Pakistani society requires her to take the caretaking responsibility of the home (i.e. take care of the husband and children). However, a working woman, like those in the police, is caught between her role as a police officer and a caretaker of the house. The problem becomes more severe when we look at the fact that female officers also perform night duties from 8:00PM to 08:00AM. This clearly has an effect on their family life as well.

In the context of the major issues revealed in this research, the following policy recommendations are suggested:

- Female police officers should have private washroom facilities at the place of duty.
- Women police personnel should be given a vehicle for transportation. Instead of multi-million capacity-building training programmes and foreign trips for senior male officers, the donors are requested to provide the basic facilities for Pakistani women police officers.
- Female police officers should be given promotions and trainings related to their charter of duties.
- A woman police station should be established in Balochistan.
- There should be separate supervisory and executive posts for female police officers, e.g. ASI, DSP through Provincial Public Service Commission.
- Female police personnel should be allotted houses in police lines.
- Those female police who have come from other provinces like Sindh and Punjab should be given NOC/allowed if they want to go back to their home provinces.
- A unmarried hostel should be constructed for women police employees.
- At night, they should not be compelled to perform extra duties.
- A proper complaint mechanism should be devised for addressing their problems vis-à-vis leave, promotion, assignment of duties, and sexual harassment. A committee headed by a PSP officer is recommended for this purpose.

Endnotes

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About the Authors

Fasihuddin (PSP) is a senior officer in the Police Service of Pakistan. He is also the President of the Pakistan Society of Criminology and the Editor-in-Chief of the Pakistan Journal of Criminology. He can be reached at fasih68@hotmail.com

Imran Ahmad Sajid is a PhD Research Scholar and a Lecturer at the University of Peshawar. He is also the General Secretary of the Pakistan Society of Criminology and the Assistant Editor of the Pakistan Journal of Criminology. He can be reached at imranahmad131@gmail.com