

Police Response to the Pandemic

A RAPID SURVEY OF MIGRANT AND AID WORKERS



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Published by **Common Cause**

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Cover Photo: A policeman punishing a violator during the nationwide lockdown, Kolkata, 19 April 2020.

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Courtesy: Outlook

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist	OBC	Other Backward Classes
BDO	Block Development Officer	PIO	Public Information Officer
BLO	Booth Level Officer	PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
CEO	Chief Executive Officer	PUCL	People's Union for Civil Liberties
CHRI	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative	PWD	Public Works Department
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code	RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
DM	District Magistrate	RTI	Right to Information
FGD	Focussed Group Discussion	RT-PCR	Reverse Transcription Polymerase Chain Reaction
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services		Scheduled Caste
ID	Identification	SDM	Sub-Divisional Magistrate
IPC	Indian Penal Code		-
JOSH	Joint Operation for Social Health	SEBC	Socially and Economically Backward Classes
MKSS	Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan	sos	Save Our Souls
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly	SPIR	Status of Policing in India Report
MLC	Member of Legislative Council	ST	Scheduled Tribe
MoHFW	Ministry of Health & Family Welfare	TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
NCR	National Capital Region	UP	Uttar Pradesh
NCT	National Capital Territory	UT	Union Territory
NDMA	National Disaster Management Act	VHP	Vishwa Hindu Parishad
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation		

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Police Response to the Pandemic: A rapid survey of migrant and aid workers, was conceived by Common Cause. A special gratitude to the organisation's founder Director Mr H. D. Shourie and the members of its Governing Council, particularly Mr Vikram Lal, Mr Kamal Kant Jaswal, Mr Prakash Singh and Dr B. P. Mathur who provide their valuable guidance to us from time to time. This report builds on the foundation laid by Common Cause leadership since the 1990s.

The study would not have been possible without the commitment of our philanthropic partners, the Lal Family Foundation. We owe very special gratitude to the Tata Trust for bringing together the main stakeholders for this study.

A quick study of this nature required contacting stakeholders at short notice. We appreciate the contributions made by our partners in the field, particularly Aheli Chowdhury (Director, JOSH), Elizabeth Bevi (Founding Member, Community of Social Change and Development), Gagan Sethi (Founder, Janvikas and Centre for Social Justice), Kavita Srivastava (People's Union for Civil Liberties - PUCL) with her colleague Rashid Hussain, Mukesh (Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan - MKSS), Munna Prasad (Inqalabi Mazdoor Kendra, Faridabad). Rajiv Khandelwal (Founder and Director, Aajeevika Bureau) and his colleagues Santosh and Anhad and Sandeep Sachdeva (Co-founder and CEO, Safe in India Foundation) with his colleague Masab, who had joined the Focussed Group Discussion.

A special acknowledgement is due to the respondents, migrants as well as aid workers, without whose cooperation and willingness to provide information, this study would not have materialised. We appreciate the feedback and intellectual insights offered by our partners and well-wishers. Equally important is the contribution of the Common Cause team who worked relentlessly on the report.

The Context

his rapid study is a snapshot of citizens' experiences with the police during the post-pandemic lockdown through the eyes of relief workers and migrant labourers. The dipstick study covers a limited geographical area comprising parts of Delhi-NCR, Rajasthan and Gujarat. While the migrants travelled long distances during and after the lockdown under difficult circumstances, the relief workers defied the pandemic at great personal risk to help in the distribution of food, rations or medicines to the most susceptible. The study is supported by an emergency grant from our philanthropic partner, the Lal Family Foundation.

The report is primarily about the role of the police in dealing with the pandemic. While enforcing the lockdown, the police personnel went out of the way to help in every way possible. It was common for them to risk their own lives to help the public almost everywhere in India. However, their idea of help was arbitrary and not always guided by human sensitivity or the legal requirements for their actions. They often used wide discretionary powers and handed out unfair detentions, harsh punishments, and even torture leading to deaths in custody for relatively minor charges like lockdown violations. While the capacities and resources of the police were stretched, it was common for the police to be either trashed or be praised to the skies.

It was in this backdrop that this rapid study was undertaken to explore how an average police person performed during the pandemic, and if there are any lessons in it for policymakers. The report avoids taking extreme positions and follows a rational approach. It is part of the Police Reforms Initiative of Common Cause, an organisation dedicated to democratic interventions for better governance and the rule of law. Established in 1980, it works for an India where every citizen is respected and fairly treated. Common Cause also brings out the Status of Policing in India Reports (SPIR), a series of studies on things like the citizens' trust and satisfaction in the police, and its adequacy and working conditions, among other things¹.

The idea of conducting a rapid study was mooted at a meeting of the civil society groups collaborating to produce the India Justice Report, a comprehensive analysis of the official statistics about the state of the police, prisons, judiciary and legal aid across India.² The main organisations were Common Cause, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI), Vidhi Centre for Legal Policy, Daksha and Prayas, based at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS)³.

The present study was completed under particularly challenging circumstances. A large number of the migrant workers we contacted had lost their jobs soon after the lockdown was announced and many did not know how they would pay the rents or keep the kitchen fires burning. With trains, buses and all other means of transport coming to a grinding halt, the idea of walking or cycling hundreds of miles looked like the only survival option to some at that time. Several other migrant workers we contacted were also traumatised after trudging long distances with their families in the scorching heat, often without food or water. Having been on the receiving end of the police abuse, some were scared to speak up on a subject as sensitive as the role of the police.

As a result, the Common Cause team conducting the survey had to contact each one of the migrant workers several times, over the weekends and in late or early hours, and often with the help of the relief workers known to them. Even after all this, it was not always easy to get them to share their views and impressions about the police candidly. Contacting the relief workers was relatively easier but many of them pre-

¹The Status of Policing Report (SPIR) 2019 looks at the Police Adequacy and Working Conditions (https://www.commoncause.in/uploadimage/page/Status_of_Policing_in_India_Report_2019_by_Common_Cause_and_CSDS.pdf) while the SPIR 21018 is about the performance and perception about policing, particularly the citizens' trust and satisfaction levels with the police (https://commoncause.in/pdf/SPIR-2018-c-v.pdf)

²India Justice Report (https://www.tatatrusts.org/upload/pdf/overall-report-single.pdf)

³The other rapid studies can be read at the following links: https://humanrightsinitiative.org/download/Responding%20to%20the%20Pandemic%20%20Prisons%20&%20Overcrowding%20Vol%201.pdf https://humanrightsinitiative.org/download/Responding%20to%20 the%20Pandemic%20Prisons%20&%20Overcrowding%20Vol%202.pdf

https://dakshindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Laywer-Survey_06.

ferred to stay anonymous. The difference between the two cohorts was that the migrant workers were mainly talking about their own perceptions and experiences, while the relief workers were also speaking on behalf of the large number of people they came in direct contact with while distributing food and rations, etc.

Being a rapid study based on telephonic interviews, the sample was kept small to around 100 respondents in each group, and without insisting on demographic representation in terms of gender, age, caste or class, etc. which is a normal practice in all studies undertaken by Common Cause and its partners. The simple reason was that both, the migrant and aid workers happened to be predominantly young males. To make up for this, a Focussed Group Discussion (FDG) was organised with the coordinators of the organisations, which were working in the field with the migrant or the relief workers. The coordinators brought in the perspectives and experiences of large groups of relief workers, which their organisations had assembled.

To determine and analyse the tasks performed by the police personnel on the ground, their actions were studied in the backdrop of the orders issued to them by their superiors. For this, the team searched the relevant Central and State government websites, press releases and news reports, etc. These orders differed from state to state and range to range. For instance, the National Capital Territory of Delhi has six police ranges and each one is further subdivided into several districts, which may have issued their own orders at a given point in time. The team also filed a number of RTI applications to be able to get the orders or press releases issued and the number of arrests made. The result, however, was not uniform across the states and many of the Public Information Officers chose not to reply to the RTI applications or gave inadequate or oblique replies.

There is nothing surprising about the two sets of people who were out in the field being critical of the police actions or brutalities while also being appreciative about their work at a difficult time. Their experiences simultaneously capture two opposite views about the police going out of the way to help as well as being discriminatory, high-handed and even brutal. Their grievances seemed to be directed more against the Central and State governments regarding the timing or the strictness of the lockdowns. The police personnel were,

perhaps, doing what they are trained to do, i.e. use various types of force and their discretionary powers to implement orders given to them. The findings of the rapid study also bring out their lack of preparedness or training to deal with disasters in general and health emergencies in particular.

A rapid study of this nature has its limitations. While it presents a reasonable snapshot of things during a point of time, a deeper study needs to be more representative while covering longer spans of time. We are mindful of these limitations and have already embarked on another study of the police and the pandemic to capture the views and experiences of more stakeholders and covering much larger geographical areas.

We hope that the findings of the rapid study would throw some light on the states' handling of unusual circumstances covered under disaster management and public health crises. The enforcement of the lockdown was done using different legal provisions such as the National Disaster Management Act, 2005 (NDMA), The Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020, to the Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897, and certain provisions of the IPC and CrPC besides some state-specific laws. However, the police could have been going about doing their job of following orders from above irrespective of the legal provisions applicable.

From the point of view of governance, it is important to understand the level of the country's overall preparedness, or the lack of it, for dealing with disasters. For instance, a pertinent question is, do the police have to be the only face of the state in times of crises? Could we have avoided this by not completely stalling all other branches of the government such as the courts, the revenue administration, transportations or the logistics, among others? Another way of looking at this is to acknowledge that most police personnel would rise to the occasion as well as what the system has prepared them for. This strengthens the case for sensitising personnel about their role in disasters, improving their capacities and resources, and evolving better systems for oversight and accountability.

Like always, it will be a pleasure to receive any feedback on the findings of this rapid study.

Vipul Mudgal Director, Common Cause

Introduction

he Covid-19 pandemic caught us unawares. Now, when the world is slowly recovering from its devastation, there is an urgent need to look back at the systems and structures that worked, and failed. It took a pandemic to shake us out of our complacency. Globally, one of the fiercest post-pandemic debates was around the cracks in the public health systems of the countries, their medical infrastructure and the state of preparedness. However, no less important was another crucial area of governance – the imposition of stringent lockdown norms by the state through the police.

This study is an attempt to understand health crisis in India and the role played by the police during the lockdown, through the eyes of those who had daily contact with them during this period. They were the aid workers and volunteers providing food, rations and other forms of assistance to the needy, and the migrant workers, who were stranded without jobs or money and were forced to go back to their home states or villages.

According to the University of Oxford Government Response Stringency Index1, in the initial phases of the pandemic, India had one of the strictest lockdown rules anywhere in the world. Whether this yielded the desired outcome is debatable, because despite the lockdown, as of December 2020, India has the second-highest number of positive cases in the world, next only to the United States. It worked for the middle class with stable incomes and a roof over their heads. For the poor, though, its impact was at best mixed. The lockdown that was imposed with a mere four-hour notice halted everything except the absolutely essential public activities, confining hundreds of millions to their homes, if they had one. The task of enforcing such severe restrictions fell largely on the police, and they, for better or worse, virtually became the only visible face of the state during the

The police not only imposed the lockdown rules but also performed what the media termed as 'nonpolicing activities' that traditionally do not fall

¹https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/coronavirus-government-response-tracker

within their purview. These included providing or distributing food or ration to the people, arranging shelters, assisting migrant workers in their arduous journeys back to their villages, providing health services to the needy, escorting suspected Covid-19 victims to the hospitals, among others. The objective of this study is to understand how well and to what extent the police performed these tasks. Along with examining the overall manner of policing during the lockdown, and their dealings with the public and vice versa, the study also looks at the use of violence, discrimination if any, and the problems faced by the police personnel themselves.

To investigate these aspects, surveys were conducted with the following two groups:

A. Aid workers, i.e., volunteers, non-governmental organisation staff or other relief providers who were working in the field during the lockdown and were required to leave home to interact with common people at various locations.

B. Migrant workers, i.e., people who were non-locals or outsiders at their places of work. Since this study is about the role of the police during the lock-down, only those migrant workers were interviewed who either had some interaction with the police or had travelled back to their villages or home states during the lockdown, trudging long distances on foot, on bicycles or any form of transport they could avail.

These two groups were surveyed to understand first-hand how police worked during the lockdown from those who had real-time interaction or contact with them during this period, unlike others who got second-hand information through the news, social media or other such forums.

This is a dipstick, rapid study with a small sample of around 100 respondents of each cohort located in a limited area confined to parts of Delhi-NCR, Gujarat and Rajasthan. The surveys were conducted both telephonically as well as online by a Common Cause team. Due to the physical constraints of the lockdown, the study is not representative of gender, region, caste, class, and other such socio-economic demographics. However, the findings of the study are indicative of the larger perceptions and experiences of the people during the lockdown, particu-

larly those in the selected locations who had contact with the police during this time.

To get a more holistic perspective, a focused group discussion (FGD) was organised with activists, heads of organisations and field-coordinators who were managing or actively organising relief work during the lockdown. Along with this, a compilation and analysis of official orders and notifications both by the police and for the police - was done using the public portals of the state police websites of Delhi, Gujarat and Haryana, as well as the Ministry of Home Affairs website. Further, during the study, several Right to Information (RTI) applications were filed by the Common Cause team to obtain data on the number and nature of arrests made by the police during the lockdown. However, the information was not provided by any state except Rajasthan, which made a comparative analysis difficult.

Structure of the report

This report primarily assesses the survey findings from the above-mentioned groups. The first chapter deals with the questions generic to the migrant workers – their socio-economic profiles, geographical locations, employment status, etc. It goes on to explain their level of contact with both the police as well as other government officials during the lockdown, their perceptions about the lockdown, the services received by them, and their accounts of travelling back to their villages or home states.

The second chapter assesses the profile of the aid workers interviewed and the nature of relief provided by them. This is followed by a section on the problems faced by them in providing relief to the people during the lockdown and their overall perceptions of the lockdown. The chapter further examines their level of contact with the police as well as other government officials during the lockdown.

The third chapter investigates the nature of policing during the pandemic. Whether they liked it or not, the police was the cynosure of all eyes during the pandemic. Therefore, findings from both the surveys have been analysed together to understand their overall role during the lockdown. These include the problems they themselves faced, level of satisfaction with their work, arrest, violence or use of force by them and their attitude towards vulnerable communities.

In the following sections, findings from the FGDs, RTIs and the official orders have been analysed and presented, followed by a concluding section. For easy reference, the methodology, questionnaires of the survey, RTI applications and responses, list of police orders, etc. have been annexed towards the end of the report.

This study employs mixed methodologies. The questionnaires had both close-ended quantitative questions as well as open-ended ones for more qualitative insights into people's experiences. Some findings from these qualitative questions have been interspersed throughout the report under the relevant sections.

Limitations of the study

As stated above, this dipstick study provides a glimpse into the role of the police during the lock-down. Some of the limitations of the study need to be kept in mind before reading and interpreting the findings.

- Since the lockdown rules were in force during the period of the study, there were several logistic and practical constraints. The most important one being that the preferred mode of face-to-face interviews could not be conducted. Therefore, it became difficult to get a desired sample size of respondents. Due to the telephonic or online mode of the surveys, the response rate was poor, particularly amongst the migrant workers. Many preferred to remain silent about their experiences with the police. As a result, for every one respondent to participate in the survey, several people had to be contacted time and again.
- The above limitation resulted in a large share of the respondents being young males from Bihar and UP who are based in the Delhi-NCR region (amongst migrant workers). Similarly, nearly three out of four aid workers interviewed for the survey were male. Thus, the sample is not representative across gender, region, class, age, caste, and other such socioeconomic indicators.
- During the initial stage of the study, there was no luxury of time. The whole study had to be finished in a few months, which added to the existing set of restrictions. Attempts were also made to contact police officials and conduct a survey of them. However, for lack of desired permissions, we had to leave out this important section of key stakeholders.

On the whole, being a rapid study, the findings of this research should be read as indicative of people's experiences and observations across the selected locations. It may point towards certain trends or patterns that need further exploration through future research.

Experiences of Migrant Workers during the Lockdown

he announcement of the national lockdown brought the country to a sudden halt. The most affected were the daily wagers who were rendered jobless, helpless and disconcerted. A significant proportion of these daily wagers or casual labourers are migrants, who travel from their state or village to another state or city for employment. According to the estimates of Professor Amitabh Kundu of Research and Information System for Developing Countries, 30 percent of the inter-state migrants are casual workers and another 30 percent work on a regular basis in the informal sector. Therefore, during the lockdown, with little social capital or institutional support at their place of employment, many were left without any running income for continued sustenance. As one of the respondents put it, their demands were simply "either give us food and shelter or let us go back home", yet, neither of these demands was met for a significant proportion of the migrant workers.

In this context, understanding the role of the police from the perspective of the migrant workers becomes especially important. However, before we get to the questions around the nature of policing during the pandemic, it is important to understand the basic backgrounds of the migrant workers, to highlight their vulnerabilities and the precarious positions they were in during the lockdown.

Along with the socio-economic backgrounds of the migrant workers surveyed, this chapter also attempts to understand their overall experiences during the lockdown, in

particular, the availability of basic resources such as food, ration and other essentials; the problems faced by them during the travel back to their home states or villages and the services available during the travel; and the level of contact, if any, that they had during the lockdown with not only the police personnel but

also other government agencies. The third point is further elaborated upon later in the report (Chapter 3). Here, in this chapter, we get a glimpse of not only the presence of both the police and other government officials during these trying times but also an insight into their level of involvement in the provision of basic essentials and services to some of the most distressed groups.

1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE MIGRANT WORKERS SURVEYED

1.1 Profile of respondents: Location, gender, and age

Hundred migrant workers were surveyed from the states of Delhi, Rajasthan and Gujarat. The workers came from either another part of the same state, or a different state altogether, and had migrated to the source location for employment. Due to the inability to get contact details of sufficient numbers of migrant

workers who were residing in either Rajasthan or Gujarat, the survey sample was largely skewed towards Delhi. Sixty eight percent responses were from Delhi, 18 percent from Rajasthan and 14 percent from Gujarat. Therefore, state-specific analysis of this data has not been done because of this uneven sample distribution.

As regards gender, the majority of the respondents were males (87%) because of the inability to get telephonic access to female migrant workers. Most of the respondents were also young. While 75 percent respondents fell in the age bracket of 21

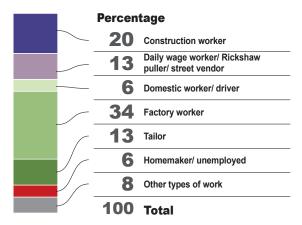
to 40 years, those between 41 and 50 years of age were 13 percent. Both very young and very old respondents were few, with six percent respondents being in the age group of 17 to 20 years, and five percent being in the age group of 51 and above.

A majority of the respondents interviewed were

Their demands
were simple.
"Give us food and
shelter or let us
go back." Yet,
they were not met
for a significant
proportion of
migrant workers.

FIGURE 1.1: MORE THAN FOUR OUT OF FIVE MIGRANT WORKERS ENGAGED IN INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "What do you do for a living: a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?"

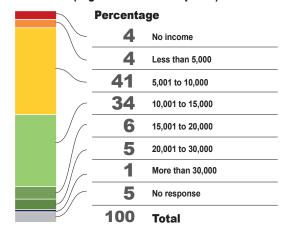
inter-state migrants, coming from states other than the one to which they migrated. Only three (3%) were intra-state migrants with their villages or districts being in the same state where they were employed, albeit in another district of that state. A large chunk of the respondent migrant workers belonged to Bihar (51%), followed by Uttar Pradesh (24%). Other states of origin of the interviewees were Odisha, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Haryana, Jharkhand, Gujarat, and West Bengal. The destination states, as mentioned above, were the Delhi-NCR region, Gujarat and Rajasthan. The respondents whose destination states were Delhi-NCR were working in locations spreading to parts of Haryana and UP (Manesar, Gurgaon, Faridabad, etc.), aside from Delhi. Those in Rajasthan were mainly located in Jaipur, Sitapura and Udaipur. Those who had migrated to Gujarat were working in the cities of Ahmedabad, Surat and Rajkot.

1.2 Profile of respondents: Class and employment status

Most of the migrant workers surveyed were engaged in informal jobs such as construction work, factory work, tailoring, street vending, domestic work, driving, etc in the destination state to which they had migrated from their villages/home states (Figure 1.1). The largest section of respondents was factory workers (34%), followed by construction workers (20%). Back in their villages/home states, most of the respondents were not engaged in any form of employment (88%), but those who were, were reportedly doing farming (6%), daily wage work, etc.

FIGURE 1.2: THE AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME OF MIGRANT WORKERS IS ABOUT RS 11,000

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "What is your average monthly income?"

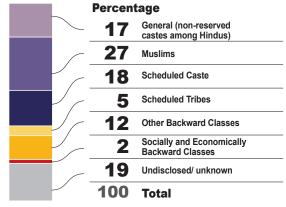
The average monthly salary of the migrant workers surveyed was Rs 11,228, with four percent respondents claiming to have no income at the time of the survey and five percent declining to respond to the question.

Three out of four respondents earned a monthly salary ranging between Rs 5,000 and Rs 15,000 (75%). Four percent had a monthly income of less than Rs 5,000 and six percent had a monthly income more than Rs 20,000 (Figure 1.2).

In terms of religious and caste categories, most of the respondents identified as Hindus, while 27 percent identified as Muslims. Nineteen percent refused to disclose their religious or caste identities, or were unaware of the same. The respondents from general cate-

FIGURE 1.3: MORE THAN THREE OUT OF FIVE MIGRANT WORKERS WERE FROM A RESERVED CATEGORY OR MINORITY RELIGION

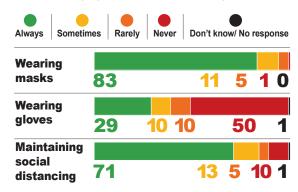
(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

FIGURE 1.4: ACCORDING TO MIGRANT WORKERS, MAJORITY OF THE POLICE PERSONNEL WERE FOLLOWING LOCKDOWN NORMS

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Were the police personnel whom you encountered during the lockdown following the lockdown norms (always, sometimes, rarely or never)—a. wearing masks b. wearing gloves c. maintaining social distancing?

gory comprised 17 percent, while there were 18 percent Scheduled Castes (SCs), 12 percent Other Backward Classes (OBCs), five percent Scheduled Tribes (STs) and two percent Socially and Economically Backward Classes (SEBC, which is a reservation category in some states such as Odisha) (Figure 1.3).

Therefore, to sum up the profile of the migrant workers interviewed, a large portion of those interviewed were young males (with three-fourths of the respondents being in the age bracket of 21 to 40 years). Most of them were originally from Bihar (one out of two) and Uttar Pradesh (one out of four), working in the informal sector as construction workers, factory workers, daily wage workers, tailors, etc. with an average salary of a little more than Rs 11,000 per month. More than four out of five respondents earned a monthly salary of Rs 15,000 or less and a large pro-

portion of the respondents belonged either to a vulnerable caste or tribe category or a minority religion (64%).

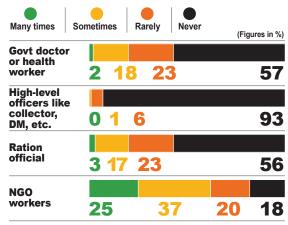
2. CONTACT WITH POLICE AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

2.1 Contact with police and their abidance by lockdown norms

For the migrant workers' interviews, two filters were applied. Only those migrant workers were interviewed who either had some contact with the A majority of the respondents interviewed had come from states other than the one to which they migrated for work.

FIGURE 1.5: CONTACT WITH OFFICIALS/ORGANISATIONS OTHER THAN POLICE DURING LOCKDOWN

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Aside from the police, during the lockdown, when you were in Delhi-NCR/ Rajasthan/Gujarat, did you have any contact with the following officials or agencies (many times, sometimes, rarely or never): a. Government doctor or health worker b. High-level officers like collector, DM, etc. c. Ration official d. NGO workers/ volunteers?"

police during the lockdown or those who had travelled back to their home state during the lockdown. For this reason, perhaps, nearly all of the migrant workers interviewed reported having some kind of interaction with the police during the lockdown, with only six percent of the respondents saying that they had no police interaction at all. Of the remaining, 31 percent said they had very frequent police interaction, 29 percent said they had somewhat frequent police interaction, while 34 percent said they had very little police interaction.

The police personnel that the respondents interacted with majorly abided by the health norms by wearing masks and maintaining social distancing, but fewer police personnel seemed to be wearing gloves

(Figure 1.4). However, a few of the respondents mentioned that while police maintained distance from the public and asked the public to do the same, these rules did not apply to the police personnel interacting with their own staff. No social distancing was maintained between the police personnel themselves, but as one person said, if the public failed to do so, the police misbehaved with them. Another respondent said, after the lockdown was over neither the police nor the public followed social distancing norms.

2.2 Contact with other government officials or agencies

Compared to the police, fewer respondents reported having interactions with other government organisations. Fifty seven percent respondents said they had never interacted with any government doctor or health worker during the lockdown, 93 percent reported not having any contact with high-level government officials like the collector, DM, etc. during the lockdown and 56 percent did not have any contact with a ration official during the lockdown. In comparison, migrants reported having somewhat more interaction with NGOs. Twenty-five percent said that they had very frequent interaction

with NGO staff, 37 percent said they had somewhat frequent interaction, 20 percent said they had little interaction with them, while only 18 percent said that they had no interaction with the NGO staff during the lockdown (Figure 1.5).

However, some respondents also said that they had some contact with other government officials or persons with political affiliations. For instance, a couple of respondents said that they had some contact with anganwadi workers and teachers. A few others mentioned that either they themselves had reached out to local politicians, or persons with certain political affiliations, such as with the RSS or VHP had reached out to them during the lockdown to provide assistance.

3. PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE LOCKDOWN AND SERVICES RECEIVED

Arguably, migrant workers and other casual workers were the worst hit by the pandemic and the consequent lockdown. Aside from the obvious economic impact they suffered, another closely related outcome of the lockdown was their mass exodus from their place of work to their home states or villages. Photographs of thousands of migrant workers gathering at bus terminals in Delhi, railway stations of Mumbai or the protests in Gujarat were but mere snapshots of actual distress amongst this community. According to a statement made by the Ministry of Home Affairs in late May 2020, there are around four crore migrant labourers across the country, of which, till then, 75 lakh had returned in trains and buses after the national lockdown. Unofficial estimates point to a much larger

No social distancing was maintained between the police personnel themselves, but as one person said, if the public failed to do so, the police misbehaved with them.

number making their way back home by any means possible – trucks, private buses, bikes, cycle or foot.

It is a natural human tendency to try to go back to safe spaces or 'homes' in times of crises. For the migrant labourers, it was more than just that. It was the need for basic survival since many had lost their jobs and did not have the money to pay rents in the cities they were working. As seen in later responses, the loss of jobs was one of the biggest reasons for the reverse migration.

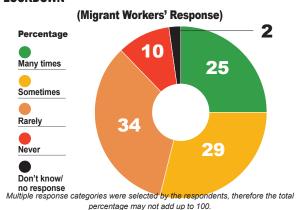
As one of the respondents put it, the protests by migrant workers in Surat were simply a demand to the government to either give them food and accommodation, or let them go

back home. As is evident not just from this survey, but also from other reports, neither of these demands was met for a long time, leaving many workers in a state of limbo. One of the respondents stated, her life was ruined during the lockdown. Her children had nothing to eat, and she had to rely on the help of neighbours and others for their basic sustenance.

3.1 Availability of ration or cooked food

On being asked whether they got ration or cooked food during the lockdown, one out of three respondents said rarely, and 10 percent said they never received

FIGURE 1.6: MORE THAN TWO OUT OF FIVE MIGRANT WORKERS RARELY OR NEVER GOT RATION DURING THE LOCKDOWN



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "During the lockdown, did you get ration or cooked food – many times, sometimes, rarely or never?" (If yes) "Who provided you this service – a. Police b. Government official c. NGO or volunteer d. Religious organisation e. Had to purchase f. Any other (please specify)"

it. However, a significant proportion of the respondents (one out of four) also said that they had received ration/cooked food many times and 29 percent said that they had received it sometimes during the lockdown (Figure 1.6).

It is important to note that unless necessary, people did not opt to take cooked food. Some respondents said, this was either because of the crowd at the distribution venues or because the food quality was bad. A physically handicapped respondent said he

was unable to step out to get the cooked food or ration because of his disability.

Food or ration was distributed more frequently by NGOs or volunteers rather than government agencies.

FIGURE 1.7: SEVEN PERCENT MIGRANT WORKERS RECEIVED RATION OR FOOD FROM THE POLICE (Migrant Workers' Response)

Percentage

Police
7

Government official
33

NGO/ volunteers

Religious organisations
6

Available on payment
Others such as neighbours, political parties, etc.

Don't know/ no response
17

Figures are in percentages. Multiple response categories were selected by the respondents, therefore the total percentage may not add up to 100. Question asked: "During the lockdown, did you get ration or cooked food — many times, sometimes, rarely or never?" (If yes) "Who provided you this service — a. Police b. Government official c. NGO or volunteer d. Religious organisation e. Had to purchase f. Any other (please specify)"

While 58 percent respondents received food or ration from NGOs, only 33 percent got it from government officials (Figure 1.7).

While several people said that police was present at the time of distribution to ensure social distancing, etc., only seven percent said that police was distributing the food. Several other people were unsure of the source of the food or ration, but one respondent said, the police was standing there. However, as mentioned earlier, people with illnesses or disabilities had trouble accessing this service. One of the respondents said that she could not give her husband, who suffers from mouth cancer, the cooked meals that were distributed in schools because they were mostly stale.

The migrants were given little help, both in the states and cities of their employment as well as at the time of their journey back.

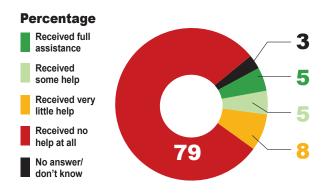
3.2 Helpline numbers

The central government as well as many state governments had launched several helpline numbers to assist the public and give out the right information during the pandemic and the lockdown. These included the Covid-19 health helpline number, ration helpline number, a number for assisting migrant workers, to name a few. Since many of the respondents were the targeted population for such kind of assistance, in the survey, they were asked if they

contacted any of these helpline numbers. While 22 percent of the respondents said they had called, 53 percent said they had not, and 16 percent said they had tried calling but the call didn't get through.

FIGURE 1.8: FOUR OUT OF FIVE MIGRANT WORKERS DID NOT RECEIVE ANY ASSISTANCE FROM THE HELPLINE NUMBERS

(Migrant Workers' Response)



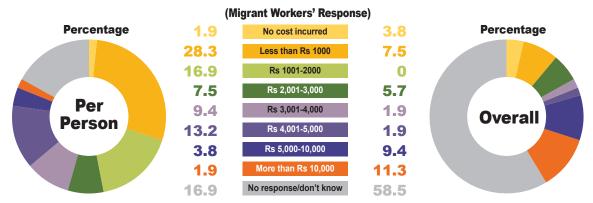
Figures are in percentages. N=38.

Question asked: "Did you receive any assistance from the helpline number?"

Of the migrant workers who had contacted the helpline number or had tried to call and not got through, more than half (55%) did so for ration or food, while 13 percent did so for assistance in going back to their home state or village. Few called the number for health (5%) or financial assistance (3%).

A majority of the migrants who called on these numbers, however, said that they did not receive assistance. While four out of five respondents said that they received no help at all, eight percent said they received very little help. About five percent said that they got some assistance or full assistance from the helpline numbers (Figure 1.8).

FIGURE 1.9: MIGRANT WORKERS SPENT AN AVERAGE OF MORE THAN RS 2,500 PER PERSON TO TRAVEL BACK TO THEIR VILLAGES/HOME STATES



Figures are in percentages. N=53.

Question asked: "How much did you have to spend to travel back to your home state or village: a. per person b. Overall cost?"

4. STORIES OF THE JOURNEY: ACCOUNTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS TRAVELLING BACK TO THEIR HOME STATES/VILLAGESⁱⁱ

4.1 Time and mode of travel

One out of two respondents (52%) went back to their villages while two percent said that they tried to go back but could not. Nearly four out of five respondents went back in April and May, while nine percent said that they went in the last week of March, immediately after the lockdown was enforced. Most of the respondents went back in groups, along with friends or other villagers (65%) while nearly 29 percent went with their families.

A large number of respondents (65%) paid and travelled in private buses, trucks, tempos, cars or other private vehicles, while 22 percent used multiple modes of transport – on foot, bus, cycle, auto, etc. A notable 12 percent of the respondents went back on foot. One out of five respondents (21.6%) said that they had gone back by train or a government bus.

4.2 Travel cost

The average cost incurred during travel per person was Rs 2,556 and Rs 18,738 for a whole group (family/friends/relatives, etc. travelling back together) (Figure 1.9). Most respondents said that the cost per person was below Rs 2,000 (45%), while the overall cost was more than Rs 5,000 (21%). However, the fact is that the no response rate is very high to these questions (17 percent for the cost per person and 59 percent for the overall cost). This might skew the percentages.

Some respondents claimed that the overall cost was very high, more than Rs 50,000. In fact, one respondent said that the entire group had pooled in money and hired a private bus for Rs 1,40,000 for the travel back to

their village or home state. Considering that this was a distress travel, the expenses incurred by them appear quite high. One out of five respondents also said that they had to give a bribe to an agent or another person during the journey.

4.3 Reason for going back to the village/home state

Considering the economic strata to which the respondents belong and their monthly income, the unusually high cost of journey is further compounded by the fact that almost nine out of 10 respondents said that their loss of job was 'very much' the reason for them to go back. A much smaller, though significant proportion of respondents (25%) said that the fear of coronavirus was very much the reason for them to go back, while 28 percent of the respondents said that concern or worry for their family was a strong reason for them to return.

It is apparent, then, that economic reason is the strongest deciding factor for the respondents to go back to their villages. Only 11 percent of the respondents say that they continued to get money but not going for work was 'very much' the reason for them to go back. On the flipside three out of four respondents said that this was 'not at all' the reason for them to go back.

4.4 Availability of basic facilities during the journey

A large number of respondents (60%) said that they had to either buy food or food was given by volunteers/NGOs (32%) during their journey. Very few respondents, (11%) said that they got it from the police or a government authority/official (Table 1.1).

Other facilities, such as a resting place and toilet or bathing facilities were mostly unavailable, particu-

TABLE 1.1: AVAILABILITY OF ESSENTIAL SERVICES TO MIGRANT WORKERS WHILE TRAVELLING BACK TO THEIR VILLAGES/HOME STATES

(Migrant Workers' Response) Agency providing the facility Shelter/Resting Toilet/bathing Food (%) Health place (%) facilities (%) services (%) **Police** 3.8 0 0 1.9 Government official/authority 7.5 0 0 20.8 Volunteers/NGOs 0 1.9 7.5 32.1 Religious organisation 3.8 0 0 0 On payment of money 0 0 15.1 60.4 Did not get the service 26.4 9.4 43.4 Did not need the service 20.8 7.5 Others 0 3.8 24.5

Figures are in percentages. N=53. Multiple response categories were selected by the respondents, therefore the total percentage may not add up to 100. **Question asked:** "Who provided you with the following facilities while you were travelling back to your home state/village (police; government official; NGO/volunteer; religious organisation; received on payment of money; did not get the service; did not need the service; others) – a. food b. shelter/resting place c. toilet/bathing facilities d. health services?"

Note: Respondents had the option of selecting multiple answers. Thus, the total figure may be more than 100%.

larly from the police or government authorities. While nearly half the respondents said they did not need a resting place during the journey, the remaining said that they did not get the facility at all from anyone. Similarly, 43 percent of the respondents said that they did not get toilet facilities on the way. Those who did get, availed it at hotels, restaurants or petrol pumps on the highway or on payment of money.

The only facility the government authorities appear to have provided the migrant workers during the journey were health services or check-ups. About 23 percent of the respondents said that either the police or a government official provided this facility, while nearly eight percent said that volunteers or NGOs did. A large majority, however, nearly 55 percent, said that they did not require this facility.

Basic health precautions against the spread of Covid-19 were taken by the government for the migrant workers on their journey. Eighty five percent of the respondents said that thermal tests were done on the way, and 77 percent said that they were checked for cough and cold. One out of five respondents said that Covid-19 tests were also done. Although it was not asked, many of the respondents reported being quarantined after reaching their destination, either institutionally or at their homes. To the question, what was done if someone tested positive for Covid-19, most did not respond, while others said no one was found positive. Only two respondents noted that such persons were stopped and hospitalised, or were quarantined.

On being asked which agency, organisation or authority helped them the most to get back to their homes, the largest proportion of respondents (51%) said no one did, one in four respondents said that

FIGURE 1.10: ONE OUT OF TWO MIGRANT WORKERS FELT THAT NO ORGANISATION/AGENCY HELPED THEM DURING THE TRAVEL BACK TO THEIR VILLAGES/HOME STATES

(Migrant Workers' Response)

Percentage
Police
Government officials (such as DM, etc.)
Ministers such as MILA/MLCs or party members
NGOs or volunteers
General public
No one did
No response/don't know

(Migrant Workers' Response)
3.8
5.7
5.7
5.7
26.4
3.8

Figures are in percentages. N=53.

Question asked: "During the travel back to your village/ home state, which organisation or agency played the most important role or helped you the most during the travel?

NGOs or volunteers helped the most, and six percent said that the police helped the most (Figure 1.10).

4.5 Other problems faced by migrant workers while travelling to their villages or home states

Despite the hardships that many faced during the journey and the lack of basic facilities such as food, toilet, etc. for many, a majority of the respondents, 70 percent, said that during the lockdown period, they faced most difficulty before their journey while they were in Delhi/Rajasthan/Gujarat. Only 11 percent said that they faced most difficulty during the journey. Fifteen percent said that for them the most difficult period was after they reached their village/home state. Two

persons or about four percent said that they faced difficulty everywhere.

Some respondents could not complete their journey, while some saw others being stopped due to various reasons. Two respondents were stopped on the way back to the village, while two respondents said that they saw other co-passengers being stopped on the journey and not being allowed to go back. While one respondent did not divulge the reason as to why they were stopped, another said they were stopped by Delhi Police reportedly because they did not have any money. The police asked them to stay where they were, not allowing them to travel further. In a similar incident, another respondent also said that his copassengers could not continue their journey because they did not have any money. One respondent said that their co-passengers were not allowed to travel further because the state that they were travelling to did not permit them to enter.

5. CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to position the migrant workers in their immediate circumstances following the national lockdown. Overall, we put into perspective the increased vulnerability of the already at-risk migrant workers during the national lockdown. The socio-economic profile of the respondents clearly points towards the class and caste disadvantage that the respondent migrant workers are positioned in. A large portion of the migrant workers interviewed were young males (with three-fourths of the respondents being in the age bracket of 21 to 40 years), mostly from the states of Bihar (one out of two) and Uttar Pradesh (one out of four), working in the informal sector as construction workers, factory workers, daily wage workers, tailors, etc. with an average salary of a little more than Rs 11,000 per month. A majority of the respondents belonged either to a vulnerable caste or tribe category or a minority religion (64%).

This inherent socio-economic disadvantage was perhaps further exacerbated during the lockdown due to the loss of jobs and income. Nine out of 10 migrant workers interviewed cited this as 'very much' the reason for them to go back to their villages or home states.

A significant proportion of the migrant workers received little assistance in terms of food, ration or other essentials, both while at the source state where they worked as well as during the journey back to their home states. Forty-four percent respondents said they rarely or never got assistance in the form of ration or food while they were in Delhi-NCR/Gu-

jarat/Rajasthan during the lockdown. Amongst those who travelled back to their villages or home states, nine percent did not get any food through any agency while a large majority, 60 percent, had to purchase food themselves.

Whatever services they were provided, were most often by people or organisations other than the police or the government. A significant role was played by the NGOs and the volunteers during this period to fill the need-gap.

The migrant workers, despite regular contact with the policeⁱⁱⁱ, received little direct assistance from the police, both while residing in the source state or while travelling back to their home state. Only seven percent migrant workers reported receiving ration or cooked food from the police during the lockdown while residing in the source state. A much lower four percent received ration/food from the police during the travel back to their home states, while none reported receiving facilities such as toilet or shelter with the help of the police during their travel. Less than six percent said that police helped them the most in travelling back to their village or home state.

The larger picture that emerges from these findings is that even though the respondent migrant workers clearly belonged to the lower socio-economic strata of the society, very little assistance was offered to them, both in the states and cities of their employment as well as at the time of their journey back to their home state/village. Despite the regular contact with the police, it played a limited role in providing essentials such as ration, etc. or assistance during the journey back to villages.

ENDNOTES

See estimates by Chinmay Tumbe, Prof Amitabh Kundu and others here: https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/coronavirus-how-many-migrant-workers-displaced-a-range-of-estimates-6447840/
"Please note: After the first question on whether they went back to their village/home state, all questions within this section were asked to 53, or 53 percent of the respondents (those who went back to their village or tried to go back), and the percentages in the following tables, therefore, are based only on the responses of these 53 respondents and not the overall sample of the migrant workers.

"This finding, as noted earlier in the chapter, may be a result of the methodology adopted for sample selection in the survey. Only those migrant workers who either had some kind of contact with the police during the lockdown or went/tried to go back to their villages or home states during the lockdown were selected for the survey interviews.

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Experiences of Aid Workers during the Lockdown

1. PROFILE OF AID WORKERS SURVEYED

pparently, during the nationwide lock-down, only the poorest population had some contact and interaction with the police. However, since it was difficult to have any direct contact with this group, it was decided to take into account the second-hand experiences of another important group – the aid workers or the volunteers who were providing relief on the field during the lockdown. Besides the most vulnerable sections, the aid workers were perhaps the only other civil section of the society that had any contact with the police and also observed them in action during the lockdown.

Telephonic interviews were conducted with more than 100 aid workers on their work during the lockdown, as well as the work and role of the police as observed or experienced by them.

In total, 114 aid workers from three locations – Delhi-NCR, Gujarat and Rajasthan – were surveyed, though the proportions across these locations were not evenly divided. While 57 percent of the respondents were from the Delhi-NCR region, 20 percent were working in Gujarat, and another 23 percent were work-

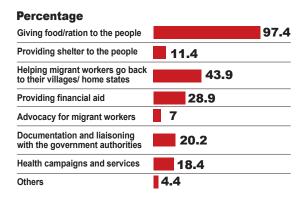
ing in Rajasthan during the lockdown period. The sample was mostly urban-centric, but there were some respondents who were also working in the rural regions across these locations.

A majority of the respondents amongst the aid workers were male. Only 26 percent were female. A majority of the respondents were associated or working with NGOs such as Ajeevika Bureau, Safe in India, Centre for Social Justice, Centre for Equity Studies, Josh, People's Union for Civil Liberties, etc. About 10 percent were working independently as volunteers.

During the lockdown period, the

FIGURE 2.1: MAJORITY OF THE AID WORKERS INTERVIEWED WERE INVOLVED IN RELIEF WORK SUCH AS PROVISION OF RATION, SHELTER AND HEALTH SERVICES

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages. Multiple response categores were selected by the respondents. Therefore, the total may not add up to 100 percent. Question asked: During the lockdown, what kind of help/relief were you providing to the people (Can select multiple responses): a. Providing food/ration to the people b. Providing shelter to the people c. Helping migrant workers go back to their home states/villages d. Providing financial aid to the people e. Others (please specify)

aid workers were involved in a variety of relief work. Most of it was on the field with the vulnerable groups.

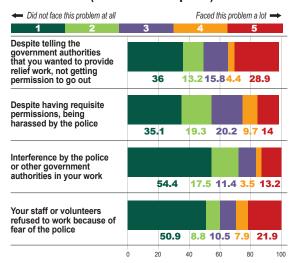
Ninety-seven percent or almost the entire survey sample of the aid workers were providing food or ration to the people. Forty-four percent of them were also helping the migrant workers go back to their villages or home states. Nearly 20 percent were involved in documentation work and liaisoning with the government authorities, and a similar proportion was also involved in providing health services to the people.

Most of the aid workers surveyed were providing multiple kinds of relief to the people. Some were also providing assistance with livelihood, cremation of unidentified dead bodies, etc.

Besides the most vulnerable sections, the aid workers were perhaps the only other civil section of the society that had any contact with the police.

FIGURE 2.2: ONE OUT OF FIVE AID WORKERS VERY FREQUENTLY COULD NOT GET STAFF OR VOLUNTEERS TO GO TO WORK BECAUSE OF THE FEAR OF THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN (%)

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Did you or your colleagues face the following difficulties while providing relief work during the lockdown?" (Rate the problem on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means that you did not face this problem at all and 5 means that you faced this problem a lot): a. Not getting permission despite telling the government authorities that you wanted to provide relief work b. Being harassed by the police despite having requisite permissions c. Interference by the police or other government authorities in your work d. Your staff or volunteers refused to work because of fear of police"

2. PROVIDING RELIEF WORK AND PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE LOCKDOWN

Due to the strict lockdown guidelines, the aid workers reportedly faced different kinds of problems during the relief work. Thus, their interactions with the police and their assessment of the role of the police were determined not only by their observation of the work done by the police for the general public, but also the behaviour of the police towards the aid workers.

The respondents were asked about particular problems they faced. They were asked to rate each problem on a scale of one to five, with one signifying they did not face the particular problem at all and five signifying that they faced it a lot.

For easier assessment of the level of the problems faced by them, an index was created by taking the mean value of the responses. Higher index value indicates that the respondents faced this problem a lot, and lower value indicates that they faced it the Due to the strict
lockdown
guidelines, the aid
workers
reportedly faced
different kinds of
problems during
the relief work.

FIGURE 2.3: INDEX OF PROBLEMS FACED BY AID WORKERS

2.8

Despite telling the government authorities that you wanted to provide relief work, not getting permission to go out

2

Interference by the police or other government authorities in your work

2.5

Despite having requisite permissions, being harassed by the police

2.4

Your staff or volunteers refused to work because of fear of the police

Index has been created using the weighted average of the responses in each category.

Question asked: "Did you or your colleagues face the following difficulties while providing relief work during the lockdown?" (Rate the problem on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means that you did not face this problem at all and 5 means that you faced this problem a lot): a. Not getting permission to go out despite telling the government authorities that you wanted to provide relief work b. Being harassed by the police despite having requisite permissions c. Interference by the police or other government authorities in your work d. Your staff or volunteers refused to work because of fear of police"

least.

As is evident from Figure 2.3, the biggest problem the aid workers faced in dealing with the police or government authorities was not getting permissions to go out despite reiterating that they wanted to provide relief work. The next big problem was harassment at the hands of the police despite having the requisite permissions. The staff or volunteers refused to work during the lockdown because of the fear of the police. Nearly 22 percent respondents said that they faced the latter problem a lot, and gave it a score of five. The problem they faced the least was interference by the police or government authorities in their work.

Several respondents elaborated on their problems. They told the interviewers that in the initial days of the lockdown, there were a lot of police barriers. So,

the aid workers were frequently stopped and asked for identification. Despite showing a pass, an aid worker was threatened with arrest by the police. Some also mentioned that the process of getting permissions or passes was difficult. There was confusion amongst both the public as well as the police, about the kind of permissions required and the mode of getting them. Some aid workers related incidents of harassment at the hands of the police, despite having the permissions. One respondent

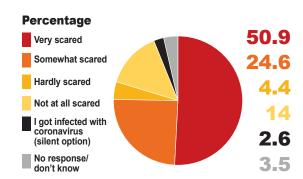
related how the police stopped the auto he was travelling in for the relief work and asked for IDs and passes. Following this the police hit the auto driver on his feet. After this incident, the respondent said that he would go out when he could avoid the police. Other aid workers from his organisation were scared of the police, he added. A couple of respondents said that the police hit volunteers from their organisations with lathis for carrying out relief work. Several other respondents also said that the police was interfering and unhelpful. One respondent said the police accused the aid workers of spreading the Covid-19 infection.

Aid workers also mentioned how they had to bribe either the police or other government authorities or give ration kits to police at the barricades for the relevant passes. Another respondent said that despite having a pass, he was taken into custody by the police. He had to contact the local tehsildar for his release.

A few of the respondents noted that there some locals, particularly in Delhi, who were policing the people or the aid workers coming out during the lockdown. Despite having no official authority, they were taking law into the own hands and would resort to hitting people, including NGO staff or volunteers. Police had given these locals implicit permissions to carry

FIGURE 2.4: NEARLY THREE OUT OF FOUR AID WORKERS WERE VERY SCARED OF CONTRACTING COVID-19 DURING THEIR WORK

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "How scared were you of getting infected with coronavirus during your work – very scared; somewhat scared; hardly scared; not at all scared; I got infected with coronavirus (silent option)"

A couple of respondents said that the police hit volunteers from their organisations with lathis for carrying out relief work.

out such vigilantism.

A common problem faced by many of the respondents, particularly those distributing ration kits or food, was the crowd. While some respondents said that the police helped in managing the crowd and maintaining social distancing, some others said that the police was unhelpful.

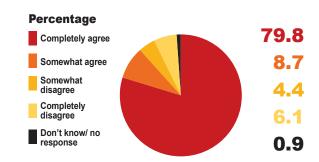
Aside from the practical difficulties of conveyance, permissions to go outside, etc. for relief work, a major hurdle was also the fear of the infection itself. While three respondents contracted Covid-19 in the course of their work, one out of two respond-

ents said they were scared of getting infected, and one out of four said they were somewhat scared.

Like the migrant workers, the aid workers too were asked their opinion about the manner in which the lockdown was implemented. They were asked to comment on the statement, "If the information about the lockdown had been given in advance, the people would have faced fewer problems". Four out of five aid workers completely agreed with this statement. Nine percent somewhat agreed and just about 11 percent disagreed with this statement (in part and in totality).

3. CONTACT WITH POLICE AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

FIGURE 2.5: FOUR OUT OF FIVE AID WORKERS
COMPLETELY BELIEVE THAT IF THE INFORMATION
ABOUT THE LOCKDOWN HAD BEEN GIVEN IN ADVANCE
THE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE FACED FEWER PROBLEMS
(Aid Workers' Response)

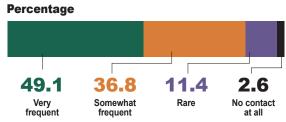


Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Do you agree or disagree with this statement – If the information about the lockdown had been given in advance, the people would have faced fewer problems: completely agree; somewhat agree; somewhat disagree; completely disagree?

FIGURE 2.6: ONE OUT OF TWO AID WORKERS HAD VERY FREQUENT CONTACT WITH THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Aid Workers' Response)

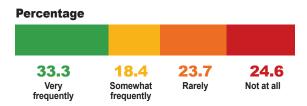


Figures are in percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. Question asked: "In your work during the lockdown period, how frequently did you interact with the police – very frequently; somewhat frequently; rarely; never?"

The aid workers reported having a high level of contact with the police in the course of their work during the lockdown. One out of two respondents said they had very frequent contact with the police and 37 percent reported having a somewhat frequent interaction with the police. Eleven percent, on the other hand, said they hardly had any contact, and about three percent said they had no contact at all.

The aid workers also affirmed the migrant workers' observations about the police largely adhering to the health and safety protocols by wearing masks or maintaining social distancing. Sixty eight percent of the aid workers said that the police personnel they met during the lockdown were always wearing masks and 54 percent said they were always maintaining social distancing. Like the migrant workers, the percentage of aid workers who said that the police were wearing gloves was much lower. Only 15 percent said they were always wearing gloves, while 38 percent said they were never wearing gloves. Again similar to the migrant workers'

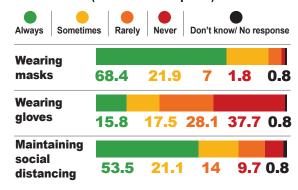
FIGURE 2.8: TWO OUT OF FIVE AID WORKERS HAD VERY FREQUENT CONTACT WITH GOVERNMENT OFFFICIALS OTHER THAN THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN (Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. Question asked: "During the lockdown, besides the police, did you interact with any other government official or see them working on the ground – very frequently, somewhat frequently, rarely or never? If yes, then which government official did you see/interact with? Please specify."

FIGURE 2.7: ACCORDING TO AID WORKERS, NEARLY 70 PERCENT POLICE PERSONNEL WERE ALWAYS WEARING MASKS DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Did the police personnel with whom you interacted during the lockdown adhere to the following norms – always, sometimes, rarely or never: a. wearing masks b. wearing gloves c. maintaining social distancing?"

observations, some of the aid workers also said that police often maintained social distancing with general public not amongst themselves. Some other respondents noted that the masks worn by police personnel were often pushed below their faces. A few aid workers noted the lack or shortage

The aid
workers also said
that the police
largely adhered
to the health and
safety protocols
by wearing masks
or maintaining
social distancing.

of safety equipment with the police personnel. Often NGOs were providing them with masks, gloves, sanitisers, etc. In rare cases, police personnel were seen taking extra measures such as wearing face shields or PPE kits.

The aid workers also mentioned having minimal contact or interaction with government authorities or officials other than the police during the lockdown. One out of three respondents had very frequent interaction, while one out of four reported not having any interaction at all. Other government staff that the respondents reported having interacted with were higher officials such as SDM, collector, etc., government school teachers, municipality workers, ration workers, anganwadi or ASHA workers and health staff such as government doctors and nurses.

TABLE 2.1: ONE OUT OF FOUR AID WORKERS INTERACTED WITH HIGHER OFFICIALS SUCH AS DM, SDM, COLLECTOR, TEHSILDAR ETC. OR SAW THEM WORKING ON THE FIELD DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Aid Workers' Response)

Percentage Higher officials such as SDM, DM, 25.6 collector, Tehsildars, etc. **Government school teachers** 19.8 Anganwadi workers/ ASHA 14.4 workers/ICDS workers 14.4 **Ration officials** Sarpanch 4.7 Government doctors and nurses/ 16.3 health staff 3.5 **BDO/BLOs** 2.3 MLA/MLC/ political party members 4.7 Civil defence workers/ volunteers Municipal workers/ PWD officials 19.8 Shelter workers 4.7 Sanitation workers/labour 5.8 department workers Other government officials 17.4 Don't know/ no response 14.4

Figures are in percentages. N=86.

Question asked: "Aside from the police, during the lockdown, did you interact with any other government official or see them working on the ground – very frequently, somewhat frequently, rarely or never? If yes, then which government official did you see/interact with? Please specifv."

The government had set up several new helpline numbers to provide relief or assistance to the public during the pandemic and the consequent lockdown. These helplines, for health-related information, assistance to migrant workers, ration services, etc., were set up at central as well as state or local level. Nearly four out of five respondents tried calling at least one helpline number. Of these, the calls of nearly 22 percent could not get connected. One out of three respondents (33%) tried calling more than one helpline number

The most frequently called helpline number was the ration helpline, with more than one out of two respond-

Nearly four out of five respondents tried calling at least one helpline number. Of these, the calls of nearly 22 percent could not get connected.

ents attempting to call it. Next was the migrant workers' helpline, which 21 percent of the respondents tried to call. Other helpline numbers that the aid workers called on were the general state helpline (7%) and health helpline (15.8%).

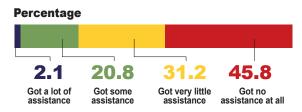
From those who called the numbers,

the highest proportion, 46 percent, reported getting no assistance at all, while another 31 percent said they got very little assistance. Only two percent of the respondents got a lot of assistance from the helpline number.

As reported by the migrant workers in their survey, these helpline numbers were mostly ineffective and unhelpful. However, while 79 percent of the migrant workers said they received no help at all, the experience of the aid workers was slightly better.

FIGURE 2.9: NEARLY ONE OUT OF TWO PEOPLE DID NOT GET ANY ASSISTANCE AT ALL FROM THE HELPLINE NUMBERS

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. N=48

Note: Since people could have called on multiple helpline numbers, they were asked the questions on helpline numbers twice, and the above question was also repeated twice for each helpline number. The responses to both the questions were merged together and recoded to get the above percentages.

Question asked: "(If the respondent called a helpline number) Did you get any help from the helpline number that you called – got a lot of assistance; got some assistance; got very little assistance; got no assistance at all"

Role of the Police during the Lockdown

he previous two chapters slightly touched upon the contact of the migrant workers and the aid workers with the police. In this chapter, their experiences with the police during the lockdown and their perceptions regarding the role of the police have been analysed. To make it more comprehensive, in this chapter, the responses of both the surveys – that of migrant workers as well as aid workers – on the experiences with the police, their attitudes and their work have been assessed together.

1. ROLE OF THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN

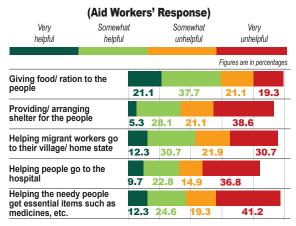
As mentioned in the previous chapters, only seven percent of the migrant workers reported having received ration from the police during the lockdown. Further, only four percent amongst the migrant workers travelling back to their villages or home states during the lockdown, received food or ration from the police during the journey. Two percent said they were provided health facilities by the police, while none reported the police providing facilities such as night shelters or toilets, restrooms, etc. Just about eight percent of the migrants travelling back said that the police was the most helpful agency while going back to their villages or home states.

Qualitative insights from some of the interviews with migrant workers point to the police being gen-

IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE

Shalu (name changed), an aid worker associated with an NGO in East Delhi recounts how, during the lockdown, the police, while patrolling the area, heard a baby crying in the basti. Upon asking the family, they found that the baby was hungry and the family had no money for food. The policemen immediately brought milk for the baby at 2 am and later, brought a few other essential items for the people in the basti.

FIGURE 3.1: ONE OUT OF FIVE AID WORKERS FELT THAT THE POLICE WAS VERY HELPFUL IN DISTRIBUTING FOOD/RATION



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "How helpful was the police in the following – very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat unhelpful, very unhelpful: a. Giving food/ration to the people; b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people; c. Helping migrant workers go to their village/home state; d. Helping people go to the hospital; e. Helping the needy people get essential items such as medicines, etc."

erally helpful – from distributing food/water, ration, cash, masks, etc. to providing them tickets and arranging/finding conveyance to help them reach home free of cost. Some police personnel even helped the poor out of their own pocket and gave them their personal phone numbers to contact for help.

On the other hand, some migrant workers felt that the police were acting inefficiently under the garb of Covid-19 and, therefore, failed to perform even their regular duties. As one respondent said, the police outright denied help to procure ration, food, or avail medical assistance. The respondents had to ask/beg for ration because they could not step out for fear of the police and the disease.

To further elaborate on police's role during the lock-down and the facilities they provided to the general people, the aid workers were asked to rate the police on the following scale – very helpful, somewhat helpful, somewhat unhelpful, very unhelpful. The aid workers reported that the police was most helpful in terms of providing food or ration to the people. Twenty one percent said the

SPECIAL EFFORTS

Daksh (name changed), an aid worker associated with an NGO in Surat, Gujarat related an incident of police making special efforts to help the needy. A man lost his job during the lockdown and had no money for food for himself and his pregnant wife and was on the streets searching for food. The police personnel bought him a ration kit and asked Daksh, to drop the man back to his house.

Another incident Daksh recounts is of a landlord who refused to let his tenant leave for his village without paying the rent. The landlord also filed a case against the tenant under child marriage law. Members from Daksh's NGO reached out to the police and filed a complaint against the landlord under the bonded labour law. The police released the tenant from the landlord's clutches and also dropped him to the bus stop for his travel back home.

police was very helpful in this regard while another 38 percent said that they were somewhat helpful.

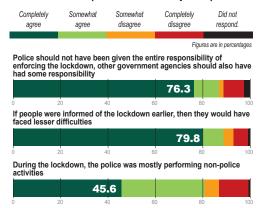
The proportion of respondents who said that the police was helpful in providing other facilities such as helping migrant workers go back to their village or helping the needy get essential items such as medicines, etc. was significantly lower. Only 12.3 percent said that the police was very helpful in each of these. An even smaller percentage, 5 and 10 percent respectively, said that the police was very helpful in arranging shelter for the people and helping them go to the hospitals. Overall, more than half the respondents said that the police was unhelpful (somewhat and very combined) in arranging shelter, helping migrants go back to their village/home state, helping people go to the hospital or helping the needy get essential items (Figure 3.1).

SOUND ADVICE

Ajit (name changed) is an aid worker with an NGO in the Delhi-NCR region. He witnessed the police stopping the people who were trying to walk back to their home states. The police brought a group of such people to the police station, gave them ration and advised them to stay for 15 more days, as the trains would start by then and they could go by train instead of walking back home.

FIGURE 3.2: THREE OUT OF FOUR AID WORKERS STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT POLICE SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENFORCING THE LOCKDOWN

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Do you agree or disagree with the following statements (probe whether fully agree/disagree or somewhat): a. Police should not have been given the entire responsibility of enforcing the lockdown, other government agencies should also have had some responsibility; b. If people were informed of the lockdown earlier, then they would have faced fewer difficulties; c. During the lockdown, the police was mostly performing non-police activities"

According to both the migrant workers as well as the aid workers, police's biggest support was in aiding the distribution and provision of food or ration. Here too, a relatively small proportion of both the surveyed groups admit that the police was not very helpful in this regard either. This finding seems contrary to media reports and news on other forums that the police was largely engaged in non-policing work during the lockdown and was playing the central role in the provision of basic facilities to the people.

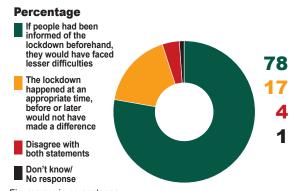
However, several aid workers and migrant workers said, some police personnel on their own, went out of the way to help people in need, particularly regarding ration and food. For instance, a migrant worker from the Delhi-NCR region said, two policemen bought ration with their own money and distributed it in his locality. According to another aid worker, some of the police stations near his area of work kept a stock of ration and delivered it on receiving SOS calls. Others pooled in money from their salaries for ration and collected cash, ration and other essentials donated by people and distributed the same among the needy.

However, when the aid workers were asked if they agreed or disagreed that "during the lockdown the police was mostly performing non-policing activities", more than four out of five respondents agreed, with about 46 percent strongly agreeing and 35 percent somewhat agreeing (Figure 3.2).

Further, three out of four aid workers were of the strong opinion that the police should not have been given the entire responsibility of enforcing the lockdown. Other government agencies should also have had some responsibility. Very few respondents from amongst the migrant as well as aid workers reported receiving assistance from the police or witnessing the police providing ration, health facilities, or aid-

FIGURE 3.3: FOUR OUT OF FIVE MIGRANT WORKERS BELIEVE THAT IF PEOPLE HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THE LOCKDOWN EARLIER, THEY WOULD HAVE FACED LESSER DIFFICULTIES

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Now I will read out two statements. Which of the following statements do you agree with most: 1. If people had been informed of the lockdown beforehand, they would have faced fewer difficulties; 2. The lockdown happened at an appropriate time, before or later would not have made a difference."

ing migrant workers go back to their village, etc. The aid workers largely feel that the police was more involved in non-policing work during the lockdown and was shouldering the responsibility of enforcing the lockdown without much assistance from other government agencies.

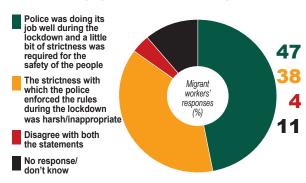
The need for a lockdown in view of the health emergency is indisputable. What has been criticised in the Indian context was the sudden lockdown announcement without proper arrangements or giving time for the public to take necessary measures. India had one of the strictest lockdowns globally in the first phase, which was announced mere hours before its imposition. Four out of five aid workers completely agreed that "if people were informed of the lockdown earlier, they would have faced lesser difficulties". The migrant workers interviewed in this survey also largely reflect dissatisfaction at the manner in which the lockdown was enforced. Nearly four out of five migrant workers were also of the opinion that if people had been informed about the lockdown beforehand, they would

have faced lesser difficulties (Figure 3.3).

The migrant workers were largely (47%) of the opinion that the police was doing its job well and the level of strictness imposed by the police during the lockdown was required for the safety of the people. However, a significant proportion of the migrant workers (38%) also felt that the police was unduly harsh and the strictness with which they imposed the rules of the

FIGURE 3.4: ONE OUT OF TWO MIGRANT WORKERS BELIEVE THAT POLICE WAS DOING ITS JOB WELL DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

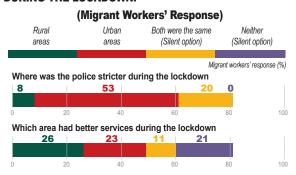
Question asked: "Now I will read out two statements. Please tell me which statement you agree with more: 1. Police was doing its job well during the lockdown and a little bit of strictness was required for the safety of the people. 2. The strictness with which the police enforced the rules during the lockdown was harsh/inappropriate: a. Agree with the first statement; b. Agree with the second statement; c. Disagree with both the statements; d. No response/ don't know"

lockdown was inappropriate (Figure 3.4).

In general, both the migrant workers as well as aid workers were of the opinion that the police was stricter in urban areas as compared to rural areas. However, while the aid workers were predominantly (53%) of the opinion that urban areas had better services and facilities during the lockdown (Figure 3.6), the responses of migrant workers on this question was split – 23 percent said that during the lockdown better services were available in urban areas, and a marginally higher, 26 percent said that better services were available in rural areas. Notably, 21 percent of the migrant workers said that neither rural nor urban areas had better services during this period. This was a silent option (the answer category was not read out to the respondent by the interviewer). Similarly, in another silent option, one out of five migrant workers felt that both rural and urban areas were the same in terms of police strictness (Figure 3.5).

It was presumed that the migrant workers who actually went back to their villages/home states would

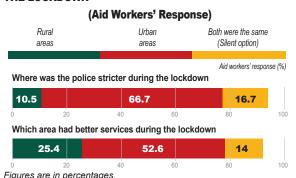
FIGURE 3.5: ONE OUT OF TWO MIGRANT WORKERS BELIEVES THAT THE POLICE WAS STRICTER IN URBAN AREAS WHILE ONE OUT OF FOUR MIGRANT WORKERS BELIEVES THAT RURAL AREAS HAD BETTER SERVICES DURING THE LOCKDOWN.



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "In your experience: a. where was the police stricter during the lockdown – rural areas or urban areas?; b. which area had better services/ facilities during the lockdown – rural areas or urban areas?"

FIGURE 3.6: TWO OUT OF THREE AID WORKERS BELIEVE THAT THE POLICE WAS STRICTER IN URBAN AREAS WHILE ONE OUT OF FOUR AID WORKERS BELIEVES THAT RURAL AREAS HAD BETTER SERVICES DURING THE LOCKDOWN



Question asked: "In your experience: a. where was the police stricter during the lockdown – rural areas or urban areas?; b. which area had better services/ facilities during the lockdown – rural areas or urban areas?"

have a better idea of the differences of both the strictness as well as the availability of facilities during the lockdown in rural and urban areas. Thus, crosstabs were run to get the responses of only those migrant workers who travelled back to their villages or home states during the lockdown. Owing to the small number of respondents these figures may not be statistically significant, yet they could provide a glimpse into the differences in opinion of those who experienced both the rural and urban areas against those who did not.

We found that there is not much difference of opinion regarding police strictness amongst the migrant workers who travelled back and those who did not. While 65 percent of the migrant workers who did travel back feel that the police was stricter in urban areas, the 70 percent who did not travel also agree with this.

However, a difference of opinion emerges on the question of where better facilities were available during the lockdown. Amongst those migrant workers who had gone back to their villages or home states during the lockdown, 40 percent feel that better facilities were available in rural areas while only 23 percent feel better facilities were available in urban areas. In contrast, amongst the migrant workers who did not travel back, 19 percent were of the opinion that better facilities were available in rural areas, while a much higher 37 percent opined that urban areas had better facilities. Thus, it is clear that the migrant workers who did travel back to their villages or home states during the lockdown were more likely to say that rural areas had better services, while the migrant workers who did not travel back were more likely to say urban areas had better services.

2. PROBLEMS FACED BY THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN

The pandemic and the consequent lockdown were as unprecedented for the police, as they were for the general public. For many it increased vulnerability, economic and social instability. Police personnel were also deeply impacted by an increased toll in terms of harsher, longer working conditions and sudden deviations from the usual scope of their work.

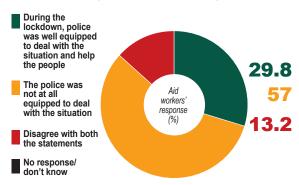
Considering they were bound to carry out the lockdown restrictions imposed by the government, the police personnel were not without their own concerns regarding the pandemic. Increased risk of contracting the virus, elongated duty hours on the road and risks to family members were some of them. In Maharashtra, for instance, as of 15 September 2020, 202 police personnel had succumbed to Covid-19, while 19,756 police personnel had contracted the virus. With a police strength of 2,13,382 in the state, this effectively meant that nine percent of the state police force had been hit by the virus. Though comparable data is not available in public domain for the selected states, i.e., Delhi, Gujarat and Rajasthan, it can be presumed that the situation in these states would not have been very different.

This report does not contain a survey of the police personnel to better capture the difficulties faced by them, but some of the observations by the aid workers on the issue have been analysed here.

A majority of the aid workers interviewed said that

FIGURE 3.7: MORE THAN ONE OUT OF TWO AID WORKERS FEEL THAT THE POLICE WAS NOT AT ALL EQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Now I will read out two statements. Please tell me which statement do you agree with more: 1. During the lockdown, police was well equipped to deal with the situation and help the people. 2. The police was not at all equipped to deal with the situation.": a. Agree with the first statement; b. Agree with the second statement; c. Disagree with both the statements"

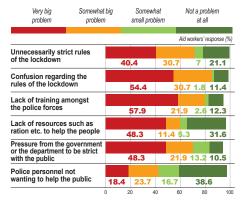
the police did not have the adequate capacity to deal with the situation brought about due to the pandemic. Fifty-seven percent aid workers agreed that "the police was not at all equipped to deal with this situation", as against 30 percent who agreed that "during the lockdown the police was well equipped to deal with the situation and help the people" (Figure 3.7).

Moreover, the aid workers were of the opinion that the unnecessarily strict rules of the lockdown were also a reason for the police personnel not being able to do their jobs properly. Forty percent said this was a very big problem and another 31 percent said this was a somewhat big problem.

Similarly, a large majority of the aid workers also felt that there was a lot of confusion regarding the rules of the lockdown. This, according to them, was a hindrance in the police being able to work properly. Fifty-four percent aid workers said this was a very big problem and 31 percent said this was a somewhat big problem. Lack of training (58 percent felt this was a very big problem), lack of resources such as ration, etc. (48 percent felt this was a very big problem) and pressure from the government or the departments to be strict with the public (48 percent felt this was a very big problem) were the other major problems that the aid workers felt the police faced. In contrast, a much smaller proportion of aid workers felt that the police was unwilling to help the public and this was a reason for them not being able to work properly during the lockdown. Eighteen percent said this was a very big problem and 24 percent said this was a

FIGURE 3.8: MORE THAN ONE OUT OF TWO AID WORKERS STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THE POLICE LACKED TRAINING TO DEAL WITH THE LOCKDOWN AND THERE WAS CONFUSION REGARDING RULES TO BE FOLLOWED

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "There could be several reasons for the police to not be able to perform their duties properly during the lockdown. Now I will read out some such reasons which could have been a problem for the police personnel. Please tell me how much of a hindrance/problem the following were for the police – very big problem, somewhat big problem, somewhat small problem, not a problem at all: a. Unnecessarily strict rules of the lockdown; b. Confusion regarding the rules of the lockdown; c. Lack of training amongst the police forces; d. Lack of resources such as ration etc. to help the people; e. Pressure from the government or the department to be strict with the public; f. Police personnel not wanting to help the public"

somewhat big problem, as against 39 percent who felt this was not a problem at all. Notably, 32 percent or nearly one out of three aid workers also felt that the lack of resources such as ration etc. was not a problem at all, although, as mentioned earlier, a large majority believed this to be a problem for the police personnel (Figure 3.8).

HELPING HAND

Daivya (name changed), an aid worker from Surat, Gujarat relates how the police sometimes tweaked the rules to help people during the lockdown. In one such incident, police helped migrant workers bypass the rules to help them go back to their home states. A truck ferrying 30-40 migrant workers was stopped by the police and they were brought to a shelter home. However, there was no space to accommodate them in the home, so the police told the truck driver to take them to a point where there was a camera to place on police record that they were off boarded. The driver was asked to pick them up from a little ahead, away from the camera, so that they could continue their journey.

3. ARREST, VIOLENCE OR USE OF FORCE BY THE POLICE

The police personnel undoubtedly worked in harsher than usual working conditions and were also at an increased risk of contracting the virusⁱ, yet instances of excessive police force and violence were also not entirely uncommon during the lockdown period. Media reports of deaths due to police violence, both in and out of custody, simply due to small infringements of lockdown rules were regular. The custodial death of Jayaraj and Benicks, father and son, because of opening their shop in violation of lockdown rules sparked nation-wide outrage. A lesser-known case was that of Raju Velu, who was beaten to death by the police in Mumbai on 29 March 2020 for roaming the streets in violation of the lockdown rules. Ironically, the police officer who was arrested following the custodial death of Jayaraj and Benicks himself died because of coronavirus on 10 August 2020. These are just a few cases from a long list.

Another custodial death during the lockdown that repeatedly came up in the course of the migrant and aid workers' surveys in Gujarat was the death of Satya Swain, a migrant worker from Odisha who was working in Surat, Gujarat. He was a member of the Pravasi Shramik Suraksha Manch, a loom and textile workers' collective in Surat. On the day of his death, he was present near Anjani Industry, where people were filling forms for Shramik train tickets. Allegedly, the train tickets were being sold at triple the actual rate. After a while, those who couldn't get a ticket started protesting. In response, the police started a lathi charge. Satya Swain was not part of the protest, but because he was present nearby, the police beat him up brutally, after which he died. Later, his family was given a compensation of Rs. six lakh. This incident was also covered by the media.

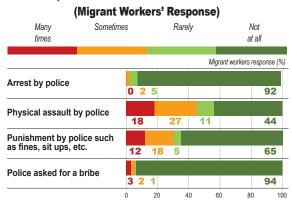
To ascertain how common such cases of police brutality or use of excessive force were, experience-based questions were asked to the migrant workers and observation-based questions were asked to the aid workers on the use of force by the police during the lockdown.

Experience of migrant workers

The migrant workers were asked if they or someone they knew were either arrested, assaulted, levied small punishments such as fines, sit-ups, etc., or had to pay a bribe to the police during the lockdown. A majority of the migrant workers said they did not face any of these problems at all, but some did report assault and small punishments such as fines, etc. by the police.

In qualitative responses, a number of migrant

FIGURE 3.9: NEARLY ONE OUT OF TWO MIGRANT WORK-ERS FREQUENTLY FACED ASSAULT BY THE POLICE DUR-ING THE LOCKDOWN ('SOMETIMES' AND 'MANY TIMES' COMBINED)



Figures are in percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. **Question asked:** "You could have had several kinds of experiences with the police personnel you encountered during the lockdown. Did you, your family members or people you know face the following things with the police during the lockdown — many times, sometimes, rarely, not at all?:a. Arrest by police; b. Physical assault by police; c. Punishment by police such as a fine, sit-ups, etc.; d. Police asked for a bribe

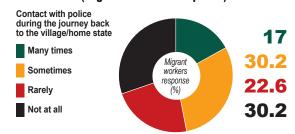
workers observed that police were beating, punishing/humiliating anyone (using threats, bad language/abuses, etc.) who stepped out of their houses, even if it was for essentials, like groceries, medicines, procuring water from water tankers, food, etc. Although some respondents felt it was necessary at times, especially where people started forming crowds, etc., they also felt that some policemen were too violent. Their violence led to grievous injuries and even death, in some cases. Some respondents saw the police lathic charging anyone standing in a queue, even if it was to get on a bus to travel home. Some migrant workers also hinted that a few people were beaten to death by the police.

Nearly one out of five migrant workers said they or people they knew faced assault by the police many times, while another 27 percent reported facing it sometimes. A smaller proportion of migrant workers reported facing punishments such as fines or sit-ups, with 12 percent saying that this happened many times and another 18 percent saying that it happened sometimes (Figure 3.9).

Notably, however, a very large proportion of migrant workers reported that such instances did not happen at all. Ninety-two percent said they or people around them were not arrested during the lockdown, 94 percent said there were no cases of police taking a bribe, 65 percent said no punishments were meted out by the police towards them or their acquaintances. A smaller but significant 44 percent said they did not face any incidents of assault by the police.

FIGURE 3.10: NEARLY ONE OUT OF TWO MIGRANT WORKERS HAD FREQUENT CONTACT WITH POLICE DURING THE JOURNEY TO THEIR VILLAGES/HOME STATES ('SOMETIMES' AND 'MANY TIMES' COMBINED)

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages. N=53.

Question asked: "During your journey back to your village/home state how frequently did you have encounters with the police – many times, sometimes, rarely, not at all?"

Migrant workers, travelling back to their villages and home states, were also questioned on their experience with the police during the journey and incidents of use of forceby the police, if any. While reading the following analysis, please note that the sample size of the respondents is very small, 53, including those who tried to go back but could not. Therefore, the percentages here may not be entirely representative of the overall experiences of migrant workers who travelled back to their home states or villages during the lockdown.

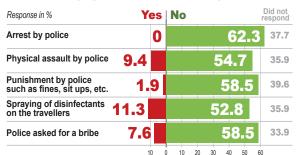
To begin with, the migrant workers who reported any kind of contact with the police in the course of their journey were split. Forty-seven percent reported frequent contact with the police during the journey (17 percent had contact with the police many times and 30 percent said sometimes). The remaining 53 percent reported infrequent contact with the police during the journey (rarely and not at all, combined) (Figure 3.10).

The proportion of migrant workers who reported the use of any kind of force or excess by the police during the course of their journey back to their villages or home states was very small. Only nine percent reported assault, two percent reported small punishment, 11 percent said they or their fellow travellers were sprayed with disinfectants and eight percent reported having to pay a bribe to the police during the journey (Figure 3.11). Compared to the overall response of migrant workers, those who travelled back during the lockdown are more likely to report the police asking for a bribe.

However, outside of the survey questions, several migrant workers reported frequent use of violence by the police in the course of their journey. A migrant worker related the story of his relative who travelled 1400 km by cycle to his native place and how on the

FIGURE 3.11: ONE IN 10 MIGRANT WORKERS FACED ASSAULT BY THE POLICE WHILE GOING BACK TO THEIR HOME STATES/VILLAGES

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentage. N=53.

Question asked: "Reportedly, migrant workers faced a lot of problems on the way back to their villages or home states. Did you or your fellow travellers face any of the following by the police on your way back to your village or home state: a. Arrest by the police; b. Assault by the police; c. Punishment by police, such as fines, sit ups, etc.; d. Spraying of disinfectants on the travellers: Police asked for a bribe

way, the police frequently punished and beat him up.

However, because of the small sample size, this finding may not be statistically significant. Another point to be noted here is that a large percentage of respondents did not reply to these questions.

Another issue that surfaced during the interviews with migrant workers was the issue of indirect bribe to other agencies. The migrant workers either reported

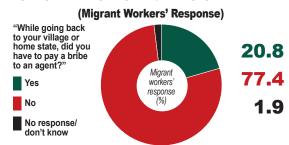
POLICE HIGHHANDEDNESS

Mahesh (name changed) is a 24-year-old migrant worker from Ganjam, Odisha who was working in an industry in Surat, Gujarat, earning a salary of Rs 16,000 before the lockdown. He and his brother were to leave by train for their village from Surat on 26 May 2020. They had booked the ticket through an agent. They had to take a bus to the station. The bus stop was crowded and they were afraid of missing the train. When they attempted to board the bus, the police started beating them. The police was hitting everyone indiscriminately. In the confusion, when Mahesh turned to look for his brother he found him lying on the ground. He was rushed to the hospital where they pronounced him dead on arrival. Despite Mahesh and his family's insistence for a post mortem, the police refused. Mahesh was forced to cremate his brother in Surat. Since he had no money to return to his village, some acquaintances booked a ticket for him and he managed to return home.

having to pay more for a train ticket or paying more to the truck driver in whose vehicle they were travelling. The truck driver, in turn, would pay bribe to the police at several points during the journey. Nearly 21 percent of the migrant workers travelling back said they had to pay bribe to an agent during the journey back to their villages/ home states (Figure 3.12). About half of those who paid felt that the police was completely hand-in-glove in this matter (Figure 3.13).

A few migrants also related the other bribes they had to pay to travel. One migrant worker told the in-

FIGURE 3.12. ONE OUT OF FIVE MIGRANT WORKERS HAD TO PAY BRIBE TO AN AGENT IN ORDER TO GO BACK TO THEIR HOME STATE/VILLAGES

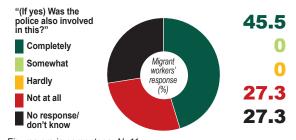


Figures are in percentage. N=53.

Question asked: "While going back to your village or home state, did you have to pay a bribe to an agent?"

FIGURE 3.13. NEARLY ONE OUT OF TWO MIGRANT WORKERS BELIEVE THAT THE POLICE WAS INVOLVED IN THE BRIBE TAKEN BY THE AGENT FOR THE JOURNEY BACK TO THE HOME STATE/VILLAGES

(Migrant Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentage. N=11.

Question asked: "(If yes) Was the police also involved in this?"

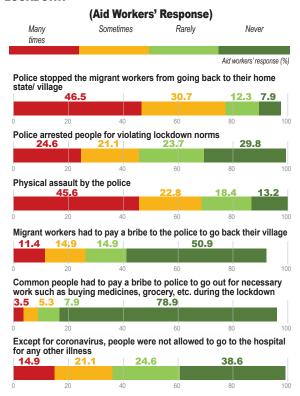
terviewer that some officials were asking for bribe to issue corona negative certificates. Numerous workers felt that the travel rates were unusually high because the police took a share from the truck drivers, travel agents, etc.

Observations of aid workers

Compared to the migrant workers, the aid workers surveyed in the study were much more likely to report a high frequency of police excesses. One of the reasons was that while the responses of migrant workers were experience-based, the aid workers presumably came in contact with a much larger group of people. Therefore, their observations were more general in nature.

The migrant workers trying to make their way back to their home states was in itself heartrending, and media reports of the migrant exodus and the widescale distress and difficulties faced by them travelling

FIGURE 3.14: NEARLY ONE OUT OF TWO AID WORKERS VERY FREQUENTLY WITNESSED THE POLICE STOPPING THE MIGRANTS FROM GOING BACK TO THEIR HOME STATES AND ASSAULT BY THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN



Figures are in percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. Question asked: "During the lockdown, how often did the following incidents come to your notice—many times, sometimes, rarely or never?": a. Police stopped the migrant workers from going back to their home state/ village; b. Police arrested people for violating lockdown norms; c. Physical assault by the police; d. Migrant workers had to pay a bribe to the police to go back their village; e. Common people had to pay a bribe to police to go out for necessary work such as buying medicines, grocery, etc. during the lockdown; f. Except for coronavirus, people were not allowed to go to the hospital for any other illness

on foot, cycle or any other means possible because of lack of alternative means was all the more distressing. Police stopping them from going home was only adding to the distress of this already vulnerable group. Nearly one out of two aid workers said that the police stopped the migrant workers from going back to their home states or villages many times (47%) and

VERY HELPFUL

Shankar (name changed), a 25-year-old migrant worker from Vaishali, Bihar was working in Gurgaon, Haryana as a daily wager with an approximate income of Rs 12,500 per month before the lockdown. In the first week of May, he, along with a group of other people from his village, started towards their village on foot. For this they had to cross Delhi. The Delhi Police, he recounts, was very helpful. They provided the migrants with food and shelter, helped them board a train and paid for their conveyance, along with providing food packets for the journey.

another 31 percent said that they were stopped sometimes (Figure 3.14).

Like the migrant workers, the aid workers also reported assault as the most common form of excess by the police during the lockdown. Forty-seven percent said this happened many times and 23 percent said it happened sometimes. The aid workers were divided in their observation regarding arrest for violation of lockdown rules, with 54 percent saying that this occurred infrequently (rarely and never, combined)

HARSH BEHAVIOUR

Harish (name changed) is a 40-year-old migrant worker from Morena, Madhya Pradesh who works as a contractor in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, earning an income of Rs 8,000 per month. In several encounters with the police during the lockdown, he was beaten by the police for stepping out to buy essentials. He, his wife and children, went back to their village in Madhya Pradesh with a group of over 40 people. A large portion of their journey was made on a rickshaw, from Ahmedabad to Jhabua (MP), after which they boarded a government bus and then had to take a private vehicle. On the way, the police seized their rickshaw and allowed them to pass only after taking bribe. During the journey, in Gujarat, they did not get any ration and had to sleep on the roadside. However, Harish and his family managed to reach their village, but some of his relatives were not so lucky. His relatives were beaten by the police for 4-5 hours, he said. According to him, they could not complete the journey and had to remain in Gujarat.

and 46 percent reporting frequent arrest by the police (many times and sometimes, combined).

One out of two aid workers said that the migrant workers never had to pay bribe to the police to go back to their villages or home states while only 11 percent said that they had to do so many times. An even larger proportion of aid workers, 79 percent, or four out of five said that common people never had to pay bribe to the police during the lockdown for essential work such as getting groceries or medicines, etc. The overall proportion of aid workers reporting police demanding bribe during the lockdown is low. They are slightly more likely to report cases of migrant workers travelling back having to pay bribe to the police.

People with serious illnesses other than Covid-19 were also in distress during the lockdown because of their inability to go to the hospital and get proper and timely treatment. While the role of the police may be limited in these cases, the incidents of patients suffering due to such circumstances came up during the interviews with aid workers. One aid worker reported that cancer patients who did not have their own vehicle had to walk 20-30 kilometres to get to the hospital. Another incident was that of a heart patient dying outside a hospital because he was made to stay in the ambulance for 12 hours until the Covid-19 report came back negative. A migrant worker from Delhi reported being denied help by the police for her husband's medical emergency.

We enquired whether there were instances of people being prevented from going to the hospital for illnesses other than coronavirus, even though this was permitted during the lockdown. Fifteen percent of the aid workers said this happened many times, 21 percent said this happened sometimes, and 39 percent said this never happened.

Extent of force used by the police

In the survey, the migrant and aid workers were both asked about the extent of force used by the police in general during the lockdown. While 57 percent of the migrant workers reported frequent use of force by the police during the lockdown (many times and sometimes, combined) (Figure 3.15), a much larger share of aid workers, four out of five, reported frequent use of force by the police (many times and sometimes, combined) (Figure 3.16). While 27 percent migrant workers said the police resorted to the use of force many times during the lockdown, 51 percent of the aid workers reported the same happening many times.

Even though there are significant differences in

the percentages of migrant workers and aid workers reporting frequent use of force by the police, the percentage of migrant workers saying that the police never used force during the lockdown is higher, at 14 percent, as compared to the eight percent said by the aid workers.

In a sense, this could be attributed to police normalising the use of force and justifying such actions "for the larger good and safety of the people". Several migrant workers, for example, mentioned incidents of police force as mere side notes. One such incident was related by a migrant worker who saw the police overthrow a vegetable cart and beat the vendor in his locality. The vendor had to be admitted to the hospital with grievous injuries for some weeks. Another respondent migrant worker said the police made him do sit-ups because he had stepped out to buy medicines without a prescription.

On the whole, the aid workers are much more likely to report any kind of police brutality during the lockdown than the migrant workers. However, both groups reported significant use of force by the police.

A disturbing trend emerging from the interviews with both the surveyed groups was that of vigilante policing, explicitly or implicitly supported by the police, by local groups during the lockdown. These vigilante groups were often also communal in nature and without proper authority resorted to violence to enforce the lockdown rules. Several migrant workers reported that such vigilante groups visited their localities and beat up people for being outside, and the police did not intervene at all.

A volunteer recounted how when he, along with a colleague was distributing ration to some families in Delhi, some of whom (the recipients) were Muslim, a few men, claiming to be local residents, came up to them and started inquiring why food was being distributed to Muslims, and started threatening the volunteers with violence. The volunteers approached a policeman standing nearby, who responded with, "You are working in their area, they will ask you questions and you will have to answer. You will have to tell them where you are from and what you are doing" and asked the volunteers to leave to prevent any untoward incident.

4. ATTITUDE OF THE POLICE TOWARDS VULNERABLE GROUPS

Police, like any other structure, tends to work in favour of the more powerful and elite, with vulnerable groups often being neglected or even actively discrimi-

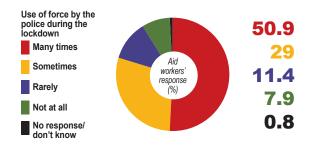
FIGURE 3.15. ONE OUT OF FOUR MIGRANT WORKERS FEEL THAT THE POLICE USED FORCE AGAINST COMMON PEOPLE VERY FREQUENTLY DURING THE LOCKDOWN

Use of force by the police during the lockdown Many times Sometimes Rarely Not at all No response/

Figures are in percentages. N=100.

Question asked: "In your experience, during the lockdown, how frequently did the police use force against the common people—many times, sometimes, rarely or not at all?"

FIGURE 3.16. ONE OUT OF TWO AID WORKERS FEEL THAT THE POLICE USED FORCE AGAINST COMMON PEOPLE VERY FREQUENTLY DURING THE LOCKDOWN (Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages. N=114.

Question asked: "In your experience, during the lockdown, how frequently did the police use force against the common people—many times, sometimes, rarely or not at all?"

nated against. Sufficient evidence to this effect exists in terms of policing during the 'normal' times, i.e., besides the currently ongoing health crises. However, the question in this section is whether, even during the lockdown, the police discriminated against the vulnerable groups of the society.

In the survey, the aid workers were asked about the behaviour of the police towards both their own group, i.e., NGO staff, volunteers or relief providers, as well as other groups of the society based on their place of residence. One out of two aid workers felt that the police behaviour towards them was neutral (51%), while 33 percent felt that the police behaviour towards them was good (very good and somewhat good, combined).

As for the other groups, according to the aid workers, the police behaved well with residents of big socie-

ties or apartments. Thirty-five percent said that the behaviour towards them was very good, 16 percent said it was good and 24 percent said it was neutral. In contrast, the behaviour of the police towards slum dwellers was worse during the lockdown. Sixty-five percent of the aid workers said that the police behaved badly with them (somewhat bad and very bad, combined). Similarly, 63 percent of the aid workers said that the behaviour of the police towards the homeless people during the lockdown was bad (somewhat bad and very bad, combined). In the same vein, the aid workers also said that the police did not behave well with migrant

AUTOCRATIC

Gagan (name changed) is a 25-year-old migrant worker from Ganjam, Odisha. He is employed as a loom worker in Surat, Gujarat with a monthly income of Rs 15,000. Gagan alleged that police often misused the authority given to them under Section 144, often beating up people for no reason. Gagan narrates the incident of a man who lived above the loom where Gagan works. Through a travel agent this man got a ticket to return to his home state. During the process, he ended up having a fight with the travel agent, which resulted in the agent calling the police. The police beat up the man in his home and he died on the spot. According to Gagan, the trial is still going on.

workers who were trying to go back to their villages – a significant 44 percent of the aid workers reported that the police behaviour towards them was very bad and another 24 percent said it was somewhat bad (Figure 3.17).

However, the aid workers also said that some police personnel helped vulnerable communities who were particularly hit by the pandemic and the consequent lockdown. An aid worker from Delhi, for instance, witnessed the police providing the rickshaw pullers with a bus to take them to a shelter home.

The initial phase of the pandemic took a somewhat unexpected communal turn in India. When the news of several members of the Tablighi Jamaat at the Nizamuddin Markaz, New Delhi being infected with Covid-19 broke, there was widespread and unwarranted panic amongst the public. Many held the Muslims responsible for the spread of the virus. Media reports were full of instances of the public discriminating

against and actively assaulting Muslims for no reason other than their religious identity, in the garb of Covid-19 panic.

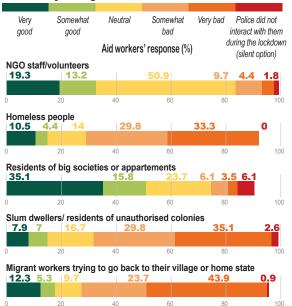
Previous research on the police attitude indicates a pre-existing bias amongst the police force against certain communities, such as Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims. For instance, according to the "Status of Policing in India Report 2019 — A Study of Police Adequacy and Working Conditions", one out of two police personnel feel that Muslims are likely to be 'naturally prone' towards committing crimes, with 14 percent personnel strongly reiterating this.

Therefore, during the initial stages of the lockdown this attitude was further exacerbated during the widespread panic. To understand whether such discriminations existed during this period, the aid workers were asked about the level of police discrimination during the lockdown against the following – Muslims, women, men, poor people, rich people, migrants and locals.

One out of two aid workers said that the police discriminated against Muslims during the lockdown,

FIGURE 3.17: MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE AID WORKERS BELIEVE THAT POLICE BEHAVED VERY BADLY WITH THE HOMELESS PEOPLE, SLUM DWELLERS AND MIGRANT WORKERS DURING THE LOCKDOWN

Behaviour of the police towards various sections of the society during the lockdown



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "In your experience, during the lockdown, how was the behaviour of the police with the following groups of people – very good, somewhat good, neutral, somewhat bad, very bad or the police did not interact with them during the lockdown (silent option):a. NGO staff/ volunteers; b. Homeless people; c. Residents of big societies or apartments; d. Slum dwellers/ residents of unauthorised colonies; e. Migrant workers trying to go back to their village or home state"

with 27 percent reporting high levels of discrimination and 23 percent reporting medium level of discrimination. On the other hand, 39 percent of the aid workers also reported no discrimination against the Muslims by the police during the lockdown (Figure 3.18).

Some respondents mentioned tribe-based discrimination by the police against nomadic tribes, Kalbelia tribes and the Saharia tribes. Several aid workers also noted caste-based discrimination, particularly against Dalits and safai karamcharis (sanitation workers). One aid worker related how several Dalits were arrested for breaking the lockdown rules in Ahmedabad and they had to pay bribe to be let off. On the other hand, the upper castes were not troubled by the police even if they broke the rules.

Although this question was not asked directly to the migrant workers, one person related his experience of being discriminated against on the basis of his religion. The migrant worker felt he had faced a lot of unnecessary criticism from both the police and the people around because he was a Muslim. If the police checked his ID in any situation, he was looked at differently when they realised his religion. He was told that the disease is spreading in India because of his community.

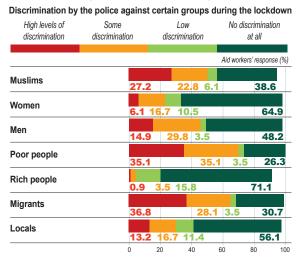
Some aid workers were of the opinion that women were treated very badly by the police as well as other government officials during the lockdown. An aid

DISCRIMINATION

Reggie (name changed), an independent aid worker from the Delhi-NCR region narrated how a police officer in civil clothes approached him while he was distributing ration to the Muslim community and said, "Inko marne do, zeher de dena chahiye in logon ko khaane me milakar. Inki vajah se coronavirus faila hai." (Let them die. We should poison their food. Coronavirus has spread because of them). Reggie also narrated how in Mundka village, Delhi, a landlord had locked up 25-30 migrant workers and their families because they were Muslims and he feared they would spread the virus. He refused to let anyone, including aid workers, help them in any way. Despite complaints, police refused to take action since the area Pradhan was the landlord's friend and the Pradhan's son was in Delhi Police. After much insistence, the landlord allowed ration to be given to them, but refused to allow aid workers inside.

FIGURE 3.18. ONE IN THREE AID WORKERS FEEL THAT THE POLICE DISCRIMINATED A LOT AGAINST POOR PEOPLE AND MIGRANTS DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages. Rest of the respondents did not respond. Question asked: "In your experience, during the lockdown, did the police discriminate against the following groups or communities (probe whether highly discriminated against, somewhat discriminated against, hardly discriminated against or not discriminated against at all): a. Muslims; b. Women; c. Men; d. Poor people; e. Rich people; f. Migrants; g. locals"

worker noted an instance of a pregnant woman being stopped and misbehaved with by the police when she was on her way to the hospital. In a troubling case of intersectional discrimination based on both religious identity as well as gender, an aid worker related an incident wherein a Muslim woman was denied the right to deliver her child in a public hospital. Eventually the NGO had to step in. They donated money and got her admitted in a private hospital.

TARGETED

According to Zubin (name changed), an aid worker with an NGO in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, police discriminated a lot against Muslims during the lockdown. Since many of them live in congested houses, during summer, they would go out to get some fresh air, and would get beaten up by the police. Muslim boys were regularly tortured and arrested during lockdown.

In a particular incident, some boys were arrested in Shahpur area of Ahmedabad, during Ramzan, when they came out during Iftar. Along with them, an 80-year-old man was also arrested, who had nothing to do with the incident. In the scuffle, a pregnant woman was also beaten up by the police.

The aid workers were more likely to report discrimination against men than women by the police. While 23 percent felt that the police discriminated against women (high and medium, combined), 45 percent felt that it discriminated against men.

As per the survey analysis, there was a significant difference in the level of police discrimination between the poor people and the rich. While 70 percent of the aid workers felt that the police discriminated against the poor people (high and medium, combined), a meagre five percent felt that there was discrimination against the rich.

Sixty-five percent of the aid workers also believed that the police discriminated against the migrants during the lockdown (high and medium, combined) while 31 percent said that there was no discrimination. In comparison, 30 percent of the aid workers felt that the police discriminated against the locals during the lockdown (high and medium, combined) and 57 percent reported no discrimination against the locals.

5. SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN

In the "Status of Policing in India Report 2018 — A Study of Performance and Perceptions", it was noted that in general, the public is largely satisfied with the work of the police in their locality, with one in four reporting high levels of satisfaction and 52 percent being somewhat satisfied with the police. In this study, we attempted to gauge the levels of satisfaction of both the aid workers and the migrant workers with the overall work and behaviour of the police during the lockdown.

Amongst the migrant workers, one in four reported being very satisfied with the police during the lockdown while another 35 percent were somewhat satisfied with the police. On the other hand, 21 percent of the surveyed migrants were very dissatisfied with the police during the lockdown (Figure 3.19).

In comparison, the aid workers gave fewer extreme opinions: 17 percent was very satisfied, 44 percent somewhat satisfied, another 22 percent somewhat dissatisfied and a much smaller 13 percent very dissatisfied with the police during the lockdown (Figure 3.20).

The overall proportion of migrant workers (59%) who were satisfied with the police (very and somewhat, combined), is slightly lower than the overall proportion of aid workers (61%). This is somewhat inconsistent with the trend that has emerged from the previous sections, wherein the aid workers were generally more

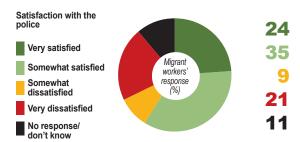
critical of the work of the police during the lockdown than the migrant workers. However, the difference is not very large. Yet, notably, the overall satisfaction levels of both the groups in this survey are lesser than the satisfaction levels of people with the police in normal times (78%), as noted in SPIR 2018.

To understand whether the actual experience of the migrant worker with the police determined the level of satisfaction, a cross tabulation was done between the two questions. It was found that migrant workers who had contact with the police during the lockdown were more likely to be satisfied with the police (66%) than those who did not. However, this finding may not be statistically significant because of the small percentage of migrant workers in the sample who did not have contact with the police (5%).

6. CONCLUSION

FIGURE 3.19. ONE IN FOUR MIGRANT WORKERS ARE VERY SATISFIED WITH THE WORK OF THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Migrant Workers' Response)

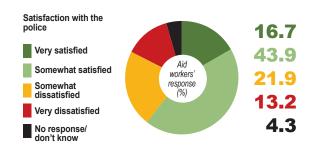


Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "How satisfied are you with the behaviour of the police that you encountered during the lockdown—very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?"

FIGURE 3.20. ONE OUT OF SIX AID WORKERS ARE VERY SATISFIED WITH THE WORK OF THE POLICE DURING THE LOCKDOWN

(Aid Workers' Response)



Figures are in percentages.

Question asked: "Overall, how satisfied are you with the work of the police during the lockdown—very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or completely dissatisfied?"

The findings from this chapter indicate that while the police was in a sense omnipresent during the lockdown and acting as perhaps the only physical face of the state, its role, in terms of providing relief to the public, was limited. The assistance provided by the police was largely restricted to the provision and distribution of ration or food to the people, as noted by both the migrant as well as the aid workers.

Yet, the police undeniably played a major role in the enforcement of the lockdown and was burdened with a large share of the responsibilities that emerged therein. The aid workers were of the opinion that the police should not have been the only government agency enforcing the lockdown. They also said it was involved mostly in non-policing activities during the lockdown.

A majority of the aid workers further agreed that the police faced certain difficulties owing to circumstances beyond their control, which made their functioning more difficult. Some of these reasons were the strict rules of the lockdown, lack of training to deal with such circumstances, lack of resources and confusion regarding the rules of the lockdown.

However, the aid workers were also very forthcoming in their observations regarding police brutality or the use of excessive force by the police during the lockdown. Forty-six percent aid workers said they were assaulted by the police many times in the course of their work during the lockdown, while nine percent migrant workers said that the police assaulted them or someone they knew many times during the lockdown. Further, one out of two aid workers said that overall, the police used force many times during the lockdown, and 27 percent of the migrant workers also agreed with this.

The migrant workers had a generally mixed opinion of the situation. They agreed that the police was violent with people, even with those who wanted to get essentials like food, medicines, etc. A migrant worker said, "Poor people had to either go hungry or get beaten up to stay alive". But a number of migrant workers also justified police violence, claiming that people don't obey the rules unless they're disciplined. Despite facing police lathi charge, some of the respondents believed that police are not guilty because they were just doing their job. In one incident, getting arrested gave one migrant worker the confidence that the police were working sincerely.

The aid workers also observed significant levels of discrimination by the police against vulnerable communities during the lockdown, particularly towards the Muslims, poor people and the migrant workers.

The findings reveal that the aid workers are more critical of the functioning of the police during the lockdown as compared to the migrant workers, with the former reporting higher levels of use of force, discrimination and brutality. However, the levels of satisfaction of both the groups with the police are somewhat similar – migrant workers being 59 percent and aid workers being 61 percent.

According to several respondents of both the groups surveyed, normal policing suffered because of the specific role that the police had to play during this crisis. One aid worker noted that he was not allowed inside a police station because it was shut. There was only a constable sitting outside, who asked the respondent to leave. Another migrant worker related an incident where a truck collided with his house and he wanted to report the incident. The police refused to register his complaint or help him in any way. In yet another tragic incident, a woman was harassed by a man during Ganpati Visarjan and her father went to the police to file a complaint. Instead of noting down his complaint, the woman's father was arrested by the police. When friends and relatives turned up at the police station to help the father, they were lathi charged.

ENDNOTES

According to a BPRD report titled 'Indian Police Response to Covid-19 crisis', as of 21 August 2020, 76,768 police personnel were infected with Covid-19 and 401 police personnel across the country had succumbed to the infection.

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Lessons from the Focussed Group Discussions

ivil society organisations were actively involved in relief work right from the beginning of the lockdown and throughout. Along with the police, aid workers and volunteers were seen distributing food packets and emergency goods regularly.

Considering the importance of civil society organisations during the pandemic, this part of the study solely focusses on their role during the pandemic and their experiences of working with people, local administration and the police. Organisations that had been involved in the relief work throughout the lockdown were identified for this study and people who hold administrative positions in these organisations were invited for the discussion. Being an administrator, they or their volunteers were constantly in touch with people on the ground. They had a constant engagement with the police and local administration. Therefore, to evaluate the role played by other key actors during the pandemic, it becomes important to first understand in-depth, the insights from the representatives. The aim of the exercise was to start a discussion between the representatives, share their experiences with the police in their respective states during the lockdown. Their combined insights would help us understand the role of the police during the pandemic.

Twelve representatives from eight organisations participated in the discussion.

The list of organisations and their representatives is as follows:

Delhi-NCR

Safe in India: Sandeep Sachdeva, co-founder and CEO had joined the discussion with his colleague Masab

Joint Operation for Social Help (JOSH): Aheli Chowdhury, director

Community of Social Change and Development: Elizabeth Bevi, founding member

Inqalabi Mazdoor Kendra Faridabad: Munna Prasad

Aajeevika Bureau: Rajiv Khandelwal, founder and director had joined the discussion with his colleagues Santosh and Anhad

Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS): Mukesh People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL): Kavita Srivastava had joined with her colleague Rashid Hussain Gujarat

Janvikas and Centre for Social Justice: Gagan Sethi, founder

1. THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS DURING THE LOCKDOWN

During the lockdown, the NGOs were in the forefront providing all kinds of aid and assistance to the public, especially migrant workers. In states like Rajasthan, lockdown had begun a week before the entire nation was locked down. Therefore, representatives from the Rajasthan based NGOs said that they were already on alert and had started preparing for relief work.

Within a few days of the nationwide lockdown, organisations from other states also realised the gravity of the situation and initiated aid work in their respective areas. Transport and hunger were identified as the key issues, therefore the majority of relief resources focussed on them. Though all the organisations that participated in the discussion, worked extensively on the migrant crisis, they were also responding to distress calls from different localities. A constant presence on the ground and a strong network of volunteers helped them provide ration kits to the poor and distribute emergency medicines in localities.

In many places, multiple organisations came together and formed a temporary association to speed up relief work. For example, in Rajasthan, PUCL and 10 other organisations worked together during the lockdown. Most of the organisations were constantly in touch with the local administration and police officials. The administration helped them in identifying areas where aid work was needed.

In Gujarat, for example, in the initial days of the lockdown, migrant workers were finding it difficult to procure cooked food. A local police officer contacted Janvikas, a Gujarat based NGO, and together they initiated local kitchens near migrant colonies and helped over 5000 migrant workers. Panellists also shared odd

instances when, on facing resource crunch, local administration asked NGOs for immediate relief. Civil society organisations have indeed played a key role in improving the disaster response mechanism of their respective states. Many of them were constantly writing to the state administrations and other respective authorities to keep them abreast of the ground reality.

2. CHALLENGES FROM THE GROUND

The majority of the challenges faced by the civil society organisations

remained more or less the same across all the states (Delhi-NCR, Rajasthan and Gujarat). There were limitations on movement during the initial days of the lockdown, which slowed down relief work in some parts of the states. Organisations with experience and who had been constantly engaged with the local administration didn't face difficulties in getting movement passes from the local authorities, but others either didn't get the passes on time or those who got, didn't get them in sufficient numbers. However, all the panellists agreed that even with the passes, many of their aid workers were stopped and questioned by the police. This was also observed in the aid workers' survey, where nearly 64 percent of them said that they faced harassment from the police, especially during the night when the police was stricter. Multiple vehicles were seized and people were fined during this time.

State-wise differences in the attitude of the administration and the police were clearly noticed. Relief work got delayed and caused chaos in areas where the administration put restrictions on aid workers. In Gujarat, especially Ahmedabad and Surat, NGOs were strictly not allowed to distribute food or ration kit without the government officials. In some parts of Delhi-NCR, aid workers were under constant pressure from the local administration to distribute ration to people of their choice. Orders like these delayed the process. These delays were primarily caused because of administrative confusion and obstinacy but they eventually became a burden on the NGOs.

Almost all the representatives complained that they faced a lot of problems in the border areas. Workers going from Gujarat to Rajasthan and then to Uttar Pradesh were stopped at the state borders and forced to return. This created chaos on the borders. Aid work-

All the panellists agreed that even with the passes, many of their aid workers were stopped and questioned by the police.

ers also couldn't manage to provide food or make travel arrangements from bordering areas. In the Delhi-NCR region, the Delhi-Haryana border was completely sealed. One of the FGD participants, who works with domestic workers and women from informal sectors, received multiple requests from workers for help in procuring ration, but she couldn't cross the state border to distribute ration.

Apart from the administrative challenges, another participant also highlighted the challenges of working with the migrant workers. In

the initial days, most of these workers were petrified. There was a fear among them that this virus could end everyone's life. It was challenging for the aid workers because the migrant workers were not ready to listen. The aid workers not only requested them multiple times, but also assured them food and shelter yet the workers were not ready to stay. They were scared and wanted to go back to their villages as soon as possible. In these conditions, lack of communication between the administration and the high handedness of the police created more chaos and made the relief work even more challenging.

3. POLICE BECAME THE FACE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

The representatives pointed out that except for Home and Health Departments all others were visibly frozen during the initial phase of the lockdown. There was heavy police presence in the states and all movement was restricted. From COVID-19 related work to controlling the crowd, the police were involved in almost all the government activities. The police went beyond their roles at times and because they were constantly on the road, were better than the district administration. In some states, they were ordered to be involved in food distribution and other relief work along with maintaining law and order. The absence of other administrative mechanisms and over-reliance on the police for every single job made them the face of the administration.

4. EXPERIENCES WITH THE POLICE

The representatives had mixed experiences with the police. There were instances when aid workers approached the police for help and they received immediate assistance. Police were quick to respond to cases of forced evictions by landlords, domestic violence or even a medical emergency. However, there were also instances where police were the harassers and people suffered because of them. This mixed behaviour of the police was clearly visible during the migrant crisis. While in some districts the police arranged vehicles for the migrant workers, in the others, there were officials brutalising them on the road.

The overall discussion indicates that wherever NGOs intervened or worked with the police, the police

were well behaved and the relief work was conducted smoothly. For instance, in Delhi, when movement around the containment zones was restricted, organisations who wanted to distribute ration, worked in collaboration with the local police and went ahead with the distribution work.

The issue of local police officials' alleged involvement in illegal activities during the lockdown was also addressed during the discussion. Representatives from Rajasthan based NGOs indicated that the nexus between private transport agencies and police was clearly evident. Agents of these private agencies were charging Rs 5000 to Rs 6000 from poor migrant workers. Many workers sold their personal belongings to pay the agents to go back home. It is not possible that the police were unaware of it. Another participant also shared a similar example from Delhi-NCR.

Police in most states have been understaffed for the past several years and it was prominent during the lockdown. In the emergency conditions, the understaffed and overworked police took the help of local youth to enforce lockdown guidelines. Domineering local goons were seen patrolling with lathis and targeting vulnerable people. These scenes were reported from all the three states throughout the lockdown. In fact, the Rajasthan police had once congratulated these people and encouraged such vigilantism to which all the NGOs immediately objected.

The lockdown brought up the issue of inherent biases in the police personnel against certain sections of the society. One of the respondents highlighted multiple events from Rajasthan where Muslim fruit vendors faced discrimination. According to him, the role of police in those events was questionable. While distributing food or delivering emergency services, their

It was agreed that wherever NGOs intervened or worked with the police, they were well behaved and the relief work was conducted smoothly.

biases against poor and slum dwellers didn't go unnoticed.

A clear communication gap was observed between the police officials. Many representatives talked about the stark differences they noticed between a higher rank and a lowerrank officer. As stated by one of the FGD respondents, "a senior policeman would speak with us nicely and agree to provide assistance but at the ground level this wasn't happening. Not because the junior policeman who was actually involved in handling the crowd didn't want us to help but because the constant tension be-

tween ground reality and orders coming from the top didn't allow them to do so."

According to the panellists, the officers who took practical decisions by assessing the situation, have done a much better job than those who were focusing only on implementing rules and regulations issued by the administration.

5. CONCLUSION

The pandemic, especially the lockdown, gave the country a glimpse of the extent to which police power could go. Succinctly put together by one of the aid workers, "COVID-19 showed us how a whole Rajtantra can be run by the police and how tyrannical, unchecked power of the police can be." The approach the state had taken to address the pandemic is debatable. From the beginning, police force was used like a law and order emergency and not a health emergency. This worsened the situation. A populace already facing uncertainty because of the disease was petrified by the stringent approach.

The lockdown also highlighted the importance of decentralisation of power. Amidst the migrant crisis where the police was primarily dealing with the workers, departments like Labour and Industry, who hold direct administrative responsibilities, were not even in the picture. The situation only improved when these departments started getting involved actively. Administrative agencies must work in a decentralised manner, especially during relief distribution.

In such situations, accountability of the police is another important issue that needs special attention. Usually, in such cases, the judiciary plays a crucial role but this time it kept itself detached. The panellists suggested that timely intervention from the judiciary would have improved the situation.

Analysis of Official Orders

his section discusses the government orders for the police authorities or their involvement in the implementation of the lockdown orders. Orders issued by the centre (various ministries and departments) as well as the NCT of Delhi and the state of Rajasthan are analysed primarily to understand the nature of the duties that were entrusted on the police authorities along with examining the other orders that contribute towards their well being. The orders issued by the Gujarat state government have not been considered for this study due to a language barrier. Given the subject of the report, the time frame taken is from March 2020 to July 2020. This chapter is a result of the scrutiny of 156 orders issued by the administration in the target areas.

Even before the lockdown orders were issued, guidelines regarding tracking international passen-

gers (from January 2020) and border restrictions were issued to the police.

Due to the uncertain origins of Coronavirus, North-East Indians were on the receiving end of discrimination and victimisation. Specific orders had to be issued to sensitise law enforcement agencies in favour of the people from the North-East.

The Supreme Court had ordered the Centre and States/UTs to ensure the availability of PPE kits for the emergency workers and also police protection for the health workers and medical staff who were diagnosed with Covid-19. The Ministry

of Health & Family Welfare (MoHFW) also addressed the stigma associated with the disease. Unfortunately, people in the frontlines such as healthcare workers, sanitation workers and police, who deserved appreciation, were met with disdain and prejudice when they were affected by the disease. To help people become responsible citizens, the MoHFW issued some dos and don'ts and points to understand about the pandemic. The MoHFW also announced a posthumous relief of Rs. one crore to the families of any person who died after contracting the virus during the discharge of his/

her duty. These included doctors, nurses, para-medical staff, security/sanitation staff, any government officer/official, including police personnel, whether temporary, permanent or contractual employee, in the government or private sector deployed by the Government of NCT of Delhi for Covid-19 duties.

Depending upon the needs of the people or the circumstances, guidelines were issued and updated regularly for dealing with the pandemic. Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973, was imposed to restrict and prohibit movement and gathering of over five people during the lockdown. Those violating these guidelines were held liable under Disaster Management Act, 2005 and the relevant state laws. Standard operating procedures and their updates were constantly issued for maintaining the supply of essential goods. Committees and task forces were established with the police as members to constitute plans to contain the

spread of the virus and initiate unlock as well as to assist the stranded people to travel back to their homes. In time, while most restrictions like curfew hours, factory operations, etc., were gradually relaxed, some others saw firmer implementation like wearing masks, following social/ physical distancing norms, etc. Eventually, the geographical areas were divided into three zones - green, orange and red - on the basis of the number of cases and containment zones in the said area. Based on this zonal division, separate guidelines were issued regarding restrictions.

The centre and states issued various guidelines for assisting the migrant workers, homeless people and updated these guidelines from time to time. Several orders were passed to ensure the provision of food and shelter for those in need. In fact, these guidelines were being issued even before the lockdown was announced. The police was very specifically supposed to help those who needed assistance in procuring essentials, arranging temporary shelters for the stranded people, and ensuring that the migrants were paid their wages by the employers, from commercial establish-

The centre and states issued guidelines for assisting the migrant workers, homeless people and updated them from time to time.

ments to grocery shops. They had to ensure that the migrants were allowed to live in their accommodation, even without payment of rent and that landlords found evicting such people faced consequences.

The National Migrant Information System was supposed to collect key migrant data such as name, age, contact no., date of district, origin and destination district, etc. This aim of the portal was to maintain a standardised central repository of travellers and assist the states/districts for seamless movement of people. A unique ID was to be generated for

all migrants for their transactions, including contact tracing and movement monitoring during Covid-19. This was done to help the states monitor and visualise the movement of people. Nodal officers were supposed to be appointed for the smooth working of this system.

Once travelling was allowed with passes/permissions, the police were responsible for ensuring hindrance-free movement of vehicles, goods and carrier vehicles with two drivers and one helper subject to specific conditions. This was necessary to maintain the supply chain of goods and services across the country. The police had to use their discretion for those who were out in medical emergency and were ordered to assist genuine cases. States announced quarantine guidelines and the police were in-charge. Once the travel restrictions were eased more, with air travel being allowed, unlock, etc., police were also responsible for ensuring that all the guidelines were being followed by those travelling. Eventually, relaxation on visa guidelines allowed foreigners to enter India again and that movement also came under the purview of the police.

Several orders specified taking assistance from and relying on active NGOs and civil society organisations during the pandemic for identifying and reaching out to people in need.

Delhi announced the creation of a web-based portal with the help of the Delhi Police to identify senior citizens and to provide them assistance with a 24x7 control room and a toll free number, targeted messaging, etc.

Rajasthan police tried to prevent crime by collecting information about habitual criminals/old criminal groups and increasing patrolling near wine shops, dark spots, etc.

Rajasthan police also tried to maintain optimum

Responsibilities
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hygiene in the lock-up by providing masks to the inmates. The arrested person was produced in court for judicial custody preferably through video conferencing, but medical tests were conducted before putting them in jail.

As per the orders, the arrested person had to be provided with caps and masks and the arresting officers had to wear masks and gloves. The police lock-ups had to be sanitised using one percent hypochlorite solution and social/physical distancing norms were supposed to be followed. The lock-ups and any and all items

(blankets, etc.) provided to the arrested person had to be sanitised again on their release. The arrested person had to undergo the RTPCR test and kept in isolation at the district hospital till the result. If positive, Covid protocols had to be observed. If negative, they had to be sent to jail, to the isolation ward for 21 days with regular medical assistance.

In a nutshell, most orders were issued in April (56 orders), followed by June (42 orders). Several of these orders were actually directed towards other authorities and the police was playing the role of either the facilitator or supervisor. The police were supposed to observe everyone and ensure that standard operating procedures were being followed. It is noteworthy that the responsibilities on the police increased multi-fold when travel restrictions were eased and the movement of people started.

Apart from this, general guidelines and restrictions like maintaining curfew hours, ensuring social/physical distancing in public places, etc. remained their core duties. They were expected to be sensitive towards the needs of the vulnerable groups and sensitisation orders were issued as and when required. They were also asked to assist the medical and sanitary workers, if necessary and were responsible for the protection of other frontline workers.

Unfortunately, not many orders were issued for protecting or benefiting the police personnel. It took some time for the administration to appreciate the importance of the sanitisation products/kits like PPE kits, etc. but by then several police personnel were already affected by the disease.

Perhaps a more organised effort and timely action could have saved numerous police officials from succumbing to Covid-19.



A policeman distributing sanitiser as homeless people stand in a queue to receive food during the nationwide lockdown. New Delhi, 9 April 2020.

Photo by Suresh K. Pandey. Courtesy: Outlook

CHAPTER 6

Findings from the RTIs

s part of the rapid study on policing during the pandemic, Common Cause sought to attain data on the different legal regimes used to enforce lockdown restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Since the enforcement of the national lockdown on 24 March 2020 different legal regimes have been in effect, namely under the National Disaster Management Act, 2005 (NDMA), the Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020 to the Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897 and certain provisions of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Section 143 and 188) and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Section 144).

Since the focus of the study was on three regions, namely, Delhi, Rajasthan, and Gujarat, RTIs were filed to the office of the Commissioners of Police of the

respective regions seeking the number of arrests made between 24 March and 1 August 2020 under the above stated legislations. The objective was to ascertain the number of arrests and the provisions under which these arrests were made during this time frame.

While the responses from Gujarat police are still awaited, Delhi and Rajasthan police were able to provide us with some figures.

DELHI POLICE

The National Capital Territory of Delhi is divided into six police ranges, which is further split into 15 districts. In response to our RTI application, seven out of these 15 districts responded with data about the number of arrests made under each of the enumerated provisions.

The districts we got the response from were East, West, Outer, South, Shahdara, North West and South East.

RTIs were filed to the office of the Commissioners of Police of the respective regions seeking the number of arrests made between 24 March and 1 August 2020.

Of the above, the PIOs from Shahdara, West and South District provided us with data of the number of arrests that were made under the abovementioned provisions in the police stations in their jurisdictions.

The PIOs from the North West, Outer, East and South East districts, invited us to visit the police stations under their jurisdiction as they had not aggregated any such data on the questions asked.

In addition to these seven districts, we got a response from the office of the Deputy Commissioners of Police Railways and the Office of the Public Information Officer Traffic from the Southern Range.

In either case, the requisite entities had no data on the questions asked.

RAJASTHAN POLICE

Rajasthan is divided into two police commissionerates and seven police ranges, which is further divided into 40 districts.

Unlike in the case of the Delhi Police, we received a table that had cumulative data from all the 40 districts of Rajasthan. However, instead of giving a section by section breakdown, the PIO classified the data into two major categories i.e. FIRs filed for violating Covid-19 restrictions and FIRs filed for attacking police, health-care workers and other administrative entities during the Covid-19 restrictions and for destroying government property.

According to the data provided, the former category had 3558 FIRs filed between 24 March 2020 and 1 August 2020, against 7565 people. For the latter category, 240 FIRs were filed against 870 individuals, of which 619 were sent to jail. At present, the response from Gujarat Police is still awaited.

Conclusion

his rapid study attempts to provide a snapshot of people's experiences with the police during the lockdown, from the perspective of those who perhaps had the highest contact with the police - migrant workers and aid workers who were out in the field providing relief to the most distressed. The larger picture that emerges is at best mixed. Many people, both migrant workers and aid workers reported frequent instances of violence and brutality by the police during the lockdown. On the other hand, there are those also who are largely satisfied with the work of the police during this period. There are also some instances of people reporting the police going out of their way to help the people, but such examples are few and far between.

Police is often referred to as the most visible face of the criminal justice system. During the lockdown, however, it evidently expanded its role to become the most visible face of the state itself. It was the only agency ensuring not only the imposition of the lockdown but also providing basic facilities such as food and shelter to the people. Nearly one out of two migrant workers interviewed had interacted with the police during the lockdown and almost all the aid workers interviewed (97%) had some kind of interaction with the police during the lockdown, with a majority (49%) reporting very frequent contact. In comparison, the level of contact of the respondents with other gov-

ernment officials was significantly lower. These figures, however, are not representative, particularly in the case of migrant workers. Only specific categories of migrant workers were selected for the survey - either those who attempted to or travelled back to their home states during the lockdown, or those who had some form of contact with the police during the lockdown. Yet, despite these sampling constraints, it is evident from the rapid study that police was one of the state agencies with the highest on-ground presence during the lockdown. Twenty-eight

During the lockdown, the police expanded its role – from ensuring the imposition of the lockdown to also providing basic

percent of the aid workers reported no contact at all with any other government official, compared to three percent of the aid workers who had no contact with the police. Among the migrant workers as well, 57 percent reported no contact with the ration officials or health workers and 93 percent reported no contact with high-level officers such as DM, collector, etc. during the lockdown.

Some of the biggest concerns of the migrant workers were the availability of food or ration and the ability to return to their home states or villages. Sadly, as was documented in the media as well, neither of these basic facilities was properly available to many. Fortyfour percent of the migrant workers interviewed reported that they rarely or never got ration/cooked food during the lockdown. Among those who did get, seven percent received it through the police while a majority (58%), got it from NGOs or volunteers. The latter clearly points towards the importance of NGOs and aid workers during these trying times. Yet, the police reportedly constrained their work and the scope of facilities that they could make available to the people. Nearly 30 percent aid workers frequently faced situations where their staff or volunteers refused to work because of fear of police. A similar percentage of aid workers also reported frequently being denied permission to go to the field even after informing the authorities that they wanted to provide relief work. About 16 percent also frequently faced harassment at

the hands of the police despite having requisite permissions.

On the other hand, according to 21 percent of the aid workers, the police was very helpful in the distribution of ration/cooked food. An overwhelming majority of aid workers, about 76 percent, also sympathise with the police and strongly believe that they should not have been given the entire responsibility of enforcing the lockdown, other government agencies should also have had some.

In fact, for most of the aid workers as well as migrant workers, their grievance was not so much against

facilities.

the police directly, as against the state and the government, which made the decisions regarding the lockdown. Nearly 80 percent of the aid workers were of the strong opinion that if people were informed about the lockdown earlier, they would have faced lesser difficulties. A similar proportion of migrant workers also agree. A majority of aid workers also believe that the police was not at all equipped to deal with the situation. There was confusion amongst the police regarding the rules of the lockdown and pressure from the government or the department to be strict.

The police and their actions were not free of criticism. Numerous instances of police brutality were pointed out by both migrants and aid workers.

Nevertheless, the police and their actions were not entirely free of criticism either. Numerous instances of police brutality were pointed out by the respondents, both migrant as well as aid workers. In some such instances, people died due to either police brutality or neglect. In other cases people were severely beaten and injured by the police. Nearly half of the aid workers interviewed (46%) reported witnessing many cases of physical assault by the police during the lockdown. Eighteen percent of the migrant workers also reported facing physical assault by the police many times, while 27 percent reported facing it sometimes during the lockdown. Fifty-one percent migrant workers and 27 percent aid workers believed that the use of force by the police against common people during the lockdown was very common.

As we have seen in the Status of Policing in India Reports 2018 and 2019, the police, even under normal circumstances, clearly display caste, class, gender and religious identity-based prejudices and discriminate against the vulnerable groups. Such acts of discrimination were presumably exacerbated when, in the initial phase of the lockdown, a certain religious group (Muslims) was specifically targeted during the large-scale panic regarding the Tablighis allegedly spreading the virus. Increased vulnerability of the already precarious groups such as slum dwellers, migrant workers, etc. would make them easier targets of discrimination under circumstances when more than usual powers were given to the police to enforce the lockdown. A significant proportion of aid workers felt that the police behaved very badly with the migrant workers who were trying to go back to their villages or home states (44%), slum dwellers (35%) and homeless people (33%), during the lockdown. Aid workers are also of the opinion that the police was very discriminatory towards poor people (35%) and Muslims (27%) during the lockdown.

Despite this, a significant proportion of the respondents reported high levels of satisfaction with the work of the police during the lockdown. Amongst the migrant workers, 24 percent were very satisfied, 35 percent were somewhat satisfied, and 21 percent were completely dissatisfied with the police's work during the lockdown. Amongst the aid workers, 17 percent were very satisfied, 44 percent were somewhat satisfied, 44 percent were somewhat sat-

isfied, while 13 percent were completely dissatisfied with the work of the police. Clearly, while migrant workers are more likely than aid workers to be satisfied with the police, a significant proportion of the migrant workers also expressed complete dissatisfaction with their work.

As stated in the beginning of the report, the data from these surveys are not representative and thus should only be read as indicative of larger trends, which need to be further probed. However, it was important, even within the given constraints, to capture the experiences and opinions of important stakeholders about the role of the police and their work in a timely manner. The perspectives could change greatly if investigated in retrospect. Data collection for this rapid study was done in the months of July to September 2020, which was when the strict lockdown guidelines were gradually lifted. Thus, this data is important in its timeliness as well as its analysis of a larger situation of some of the most vulnerable groups visà-vis their experiences with the police. Since the aid workers encountered and observed many cases during the relief work, their data provides a more accurate picture of the state of affairs, as compared to that of the migrant workers whose responses were limited only to their personal experiences.

Instances of both extreme violence by the police on the one hand and excellent service by the police with some personnel going out of their way to help those in need on the other hand, have surfaced in this study. The qualitative insights into some such incidents are perhaps the essence of this report and need to be further investigated and explored in future studies.

APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

his was a qualitative dipstick survey conducted using a combination of research methods such as online surveys, interviews, focussed group discussion and desk research. The location of the study was the Delhi-NCR region, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

METHODOLOGY

a. Surveys

The survey work for the police and the pandemic study was conducted in Gujarat, Rajasthan and the National Capital Region. Over 200 respondents were interviewed in September 2020 for the study.

THE SAMPLE SIZE OF THE TWO GROUPS INTERVIEWED FOR THE SURVEYS ARE GIVEN BELOW

Migrant Workers' Survey: Sample Size

State	No. of respondents
Delhi-NCR	68
Rajasthan	18
Gujarat	14
Total	100

Aid Workers' Survey: Sample Size

State	No. of
	respondents
Delhi-NCR	65
Rajasthan	26
Gujarat	23
Total	114

Sampling method

The main objective of the survey was to study the ex-

pectations from and performance of the police during the pandemic especially when the nationwide lockdown was in place. Since a strict lockdown was in place, majority of the people were confined to their homes and thus, had limited interaction with the police. To overcome this limitation, the team decided to focus only on the people or group of people who had the most interaction with the police. Therefore, for the survey, respondents were selected by purposive sampling method.

The two sets of people who frequently came in contact with the po-

It was challenging to conduct face-to-face interviews amidst lockdown restrictions imposed by the government.

lice, identified for the survey were migrant workers and aid workers. Migrant workers were the worst affected due to the lockdown. In the initial phase of the lockdown, with less money in their pockets and no assurance of work, workers struggled to get enough food. Many of them decided to go back to their home states by any means possible. This was when they came in contact with the police the most. The local authorities of the states surveyed had permitted aid workers to travel and they were actively seen on the roads along with the police.

Those migrant workers who had been working in Delhi-NCR, Gujarat or Rajasthan prior to the nation-wide lockdown were considered for the survey. In the case of aid workers, workers who participated in relief work and had worked on the ground during the lockdown in Delhi-NCR, Gujarat or Rajasthan were considered for the study.

Survey method

It was challenging to conduct face-to-face interviews amidst lockdown restrictions imposed by the government. Most of the migrant workers were either in their home states or on the way to their working states, making it difficult to conduct interviews in person. Therefore, the team decided to conduct all the interviews via telephone. Also challenging was getting the contact details of aid and migrant workers. For this, Common

Cause contacted experienced civil society organisations working in these regions, especially those who were actively assisting people during the lockdown. Organisations shared mobile numbers of their volunteers and migrant workers who came in contact with them during the relief work.

Questionnaire design

Several brainstorming sessions within the team and multiple rounds of discussions with subject experts were held before designing both the questionnaires. The questionnaires

were finally designed on the basis of the following four themes:

- 1. Tasks given to the police
- 2. Expectations from the police
- 3. Behaviour of the police
- 4. Experiences with the police

Considering the demographic of our potential respondents, both the questionnaires were prepared in Hindi. In order to check the efficacy of the questionnaires, a pilot study was conducted. The pilot for the aid workers' questionnaire was conducted in the last week of August and for the migrant workers, it was conduct-

ed in the first week of September. Both the questionnaires had well over 30 main questions and multiple sub-questions under them. A face-to-face interview would have taken at least half an hour to complete but as expected, telephonic interviews took more time. It was also challenging for interviewers to explain some questions over the phone and keep the discussion going. After getting these inputs from the pilot studies, both the questionnaires were redesigned. Some questions were removed and some were modified as per the requirement of the medium. Investigators were given special training to conduct telephonic interviews. For a better understanding of the survey process, they also conducted mock interviews.

Data collection and processing

Interviews of aid workers began from the first week of September 2020 and of the migrant workers in the

second week of September 2020. The survey work went on for the next couple of weeks and was completed by 30 September 2020. In a span of three weeks, a total 214 interviews of aid and migrant workers were conducted.

For the ease of handling and processing the data, all the responses were recorded online using a cloudbased survey tool (online software) called SurveyMonkey. All the openended questions were coded and the data was later analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

b. Focussed group discussion

challenging for interviewers to explain some questions over the phone and keep the discussion going.

Civil society organisations played It was also a crucial role during the pandemic. During the relief work, they were constantly in touch with people, administration and the police. Therefore, to understand their experiences with all of them, a focussed group discussion between the representatives of these organisations was organised. The purpose of the discussion was

to gain a deeper understanding of the issue from people with similar background and experience. Coordinators or people who hold administrative positions in these organisations and had

worked in Delhi-NCR, Gujarat or Rajasthan during the lockdown were invited for the discussion.

Being administrators, they have been in constant touch either by themselves or through volunteers. At the same time, they were also constantly engaged with the police and local administration. The discussion was largely based on the preliminary findings from surveys of aid and migrant workers. It was divided into four broader sections:

- 1. Problems or difficulties faced by civil society organisations during the relief work
 - 2. The role of the administration in the relief work
- 3. Their experiences with the police during the lock-
 - 4. Use of police during emergency situations

Due to travel restrictions, the discussion was conducted over a zoom call. Five representatives of four Delhi-NCR based NGOs, six representatives of three

> Rajasthan based NGOs and one representative from two Gujarat based NGOs participated in the discussion. The event was held on 10 October 2020. State-wise list of participants are:

Delhi-NCR

Safe in India - Sandeep Sachdeva, co-founder and CEO of Safe in India foundation had joined with his colleague Masab

Joint Operation for Social Help (JOSH) - Aheli Chowdhury, director

Community of Social Change and Development - Elizabeth Bevi, founding member

Inqalabi Mazdoor Kendra Faridabad - Munna Prasad

Interviews of aid workers began from the first week of September 2020 and of the migrant workers in the second week of September 2020.

Gujarat

Janvikas and Centre for Social Justice – Gagan Sethi, founder Rajasthan

Aajeevika Bureau – Rajiv Khandelwal, founder and director had joined along with his colleagues Santosh and Anhad

Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) – Mukesh

The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) – Kavita Srivastava had joined with her colleague Rashid Hussain

The discussion was moderated by Dr Vipul Mudgal, Director, Common Cause.

c. Police orders

Along with interviews with the stakeholders as mentioned above, secondary data analysis was also conducted of the orders, rules and notifications passed by the central government, state governments and police departments. A detailed list of government orders pertaining to the police and their activities during the pandemic was compiled.

The list includes:

- Orders issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs
- Orders issued by the Government of Rajasthan Home Department
- Orders addressed to any officers/positions in the Delhi Police that were related to the COVID-19 pandemic by any government agency
- Orders addressed to any officers/positions in the Rajasthan Police that were related to the COVID-19 pandemic by any government agency
- Orders addressed to any officers/ positions in the Gujarat Police that were related to the COVID-19 pandemic by any government agency
- Orders that implicated Delhi and/ or Gujarat and/or Rajasthan related to the COVID-19 pandemic by any government agency
- Orders issued by Delhi Police
- Orders issued by Rajasthan Police
- Orders issued by Gujarat Police

All these were collected from the last week of March onwards until the end of June. Interdepartmental orders were excluded from this list.

Civil society
organisations
played a crucial
role during the
pandemic. During
the relief work,
they were
constantly in
touch with people,
administration
and the police

All the orders were accessed from the official online sources. The list of the sources is given below.

- https://covid-india.in/
- https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/index.aspx
- https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/
- https://www.mha.gov.in/
- •h t t p s : / / d r i v e . g o o g l e . c o m / d r i v e / u / 0 /
 folders/1zuPiH0YaTywElNasM0BwA4zLB-PfAek

The Gujarat Police (https://police.gujarat.gov.in/dgp/default.aspx) website and the Delhi Police website (https://www.delhipolice.nic.in/) were also accessed for the data. Due to language barriers and unavailabil-

ity of data within the required time period respectively, the data was not collected from these sources.

d. RTIs

As part of the Rapid Study on Policing during the Pandemic, Common Cause sought to attain data on the different legal regimes used to enforce lockdown restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Since the enforcement of the national lockdown on 24 March 2020, different legal regimes have been in effect: National Disaster Management Act, 2005 (NDMA), The Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020 to the Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897, certain provisions of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), 1860 (Section 143 and 188) and the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC), 1973 (Section 144).

Some of the questions asked were:

- Whether any individuals have been arrested for Section 51-60 NDMA, 2005 for engaging in any lockdown violations?
- Whether any individuals have been arrested under the Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897?
- Whether any individuals were proceeded against under Section 188 of the IPC read with Section 144 of CrPC, 1973?

So far, responses from the Gujarat and Mumbai Police are awaited. Delhi and Rajasthan Police have provided some data.

A detailed list of government orders pertaining to the police and their activities during the pandemic was compiled.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRES

A. MIGRANT WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Police Response to the Pandemic: A Rapid Survey of Migrant and Aid Workers

Study by Common Cause

MIGRANT WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Namaste. I got your number from (person's name), working with (name of organisation). My name is and I work with a Delhi-based NGO, Common Cause. We are conducting a study in three states - Delhi, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Through this study, we want to understand the role of police during the lockdown, the expectations of people from the police, the interactions between people and police and the problems faced by the police themselves. We would like to ask a few questions about your experience with the police during the lockdown.
This is an independent research and has no connections with any party or government. Any information you provide will be analysed without divulging your name and your identity will be kept strictly confidential. This interview will take about 20 to 30 minutes. If I have your consent, can I start the interview?
1. State ID1. Gujarat2. Rajasthan3. Delhi-NCR
2. Contact Information Name

3. Gender 1. Female 2. Male 3. Others 4. Age 5. Which district and state does your village fall in? Note District Note State 6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village? 8. What is your average monthly income?		Phone Number (Note down beforehand)	
2. Male 3. Others 4. Age 5. Which district and state does your village fall in? Note District Note State 6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	3.	Gender	
3. Others 4. Age 5. Which district and state does your village fall in? Note District Note State 6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?		1. Female	
4. Age 5. Which district and state does your village fall in? Note District Note State 6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?		2. Male	
5. Which district and state does your village fall in? Note District		3. Others	
5. Which district and state does your village fall in? Note District			
Note District Note State 6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	4.	Age	
Note District Note State 6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?			
6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	5.	Which district and state does your village fall in?	
6. Which city or district do you work in? Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	Note D	District	
Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	Note S	state	
Note City/District Note State 7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?			
7. What do you do for a living? a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	6.	Which city or district do you work in?	
7. What do you do for a living?a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthanb. In your home state/village?	Note C	City/District	
a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?	Note S	tate	
a. In Delhi-NCR/Gujarat/ Rajasthan b. In your home state/village?			
b. In your home state/village?	7.	What do you do for a living?	
8. What is your average monthly income?	b.	In your home state/village?	
	8.	What is your average monthly income?	

9.	Which religion/caste or tribe apprehensive)	7	•	on't note if	respondent is
10	During the lockdown, how freq		ou or people	in your vicini	ty, like family
	1. Many times				
	2. Sometimes				
	3. Rarely				
	4. Never				
	Comments				
11	You said that you had contact police, when you were in Delhihave any contact with the following	-NCR/ Rajas	than/Gujarat d		
		Many times	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
	a. Government doctor or health worker				
	b. High-level officers like collector/s, DM, etc.				
			<u> </u>		

c. Ration officials				
d. NGO workers/ volunteers				
Any others (Please specify)				
encountered during the lockdow face any of the following during	n. Did you, the lockdowr	your family m	embers or pe	ople you knov
	Many times	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a. Arrest by police				
	(If yes) for	what reason an	d for how long	g
b. Physical assault by				
police	(If yes) for torture	what reason an	d what was the	e nature of the
c. Punishment by police				
such as fines, sit-ups, etc	(If yes) if fine/penalty	for what rea	son and wl	hat was the
d Police asked for a bribe				

	(If yes) for what reason and how much			
3. Were the police personnel whom you encountered during the lockdown following the lockdown norms—				
	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a. Wearing masks				
b. Wearing gloves				
c. Maintaining social distancing				
Comments 4. Now I will read out two statements. Which of the following statements do you agree with				
the most: people had been informed of the ulties. le lockdown happened at an apprence.				
1. Agree with the 1st statement				
2. Agree with the 2nd statement				
3. Disagree with both the stateme	ents			

Comments
15. During the lockdown, did you get ration or cooked food?
1. Many times
2. Sometimes
3. Rarely
4. Never
Comments
16. If yes, who provided you this service? (Can select multiple responses) a. Police b. Government official c. NGO or volunteer d. Religious organisation e. Had to purchase. f. Any others (Please specify)
17. In your experience, during the lockdown, how frequently did the police use force against the common people—

4. Received no assistance at all
Comments
21. During the lockdown, the government had announced several helpline numbers, such as
helplines for financial assistance to people, for coronavirus or health information, for
migrant workers, etc. Did you try to call on any such helpline numbers?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Tried but the call didn't connect
Comments
22. If yes, which helpline number did you call?
Please specify
23. Did you get any assistance from the helpline number that you called?
1. Received full assistance
2. Received some assistance
3. Received very little assistance
4. Received no assistance at all
Comments

24. Did you go back to your village or home state after the announcement of the lockdown on 24th March 2020?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Tried but couldn't go back
Comments
25. When did you go back? (Note date/rough period)
26. Who did you travel with? (Can select multiple options)
1. Alone
2. With spouse
3. With Family - Parents/Children
4. With Friends/Acquaintances from the same village
5. Others (Please specify)
27. Which mode of transportation did you use to go back to your village/ home state? (Can select multiple options)
1. Railways
2. Government Bus

	3. Private Vehicle/Bus/Tempo/Tr	ruck					
	4. On foot						
	5. Motorcycle						
	6. Bicycle						
	7. Multiple modes (Please specify	y)		_			
	Did any government employee/o with during the journey back to y	-			were travelling		
	1. Many times						
	2. Sometimes						
	3. Rarely						
	4. Never						
	If yes, which government employ	/ee/official?					
29.	How much did you have to spend	l to travel bac	ck to your hom	e state or villa	ge?		
	a. Per person						
	b. Overall cost						
30.	30. What was the reason for going back to your village or home state?						
		Very much	Somewhat	Not so much	Not at all		

	Fear of getting infected with coronavirus				
b.	Lost your job/stopped getting work				
c.	You were getting money, but you didn't need to go for work/ to office				
d.	Worry for your family/needed to look after your family				
hat was the	biggest reason for going b	ack to your h	ome state or vi	llage?	
31. Did yo	ou have any contact with to?	the police dur	ring your journ	ney back to yo	our home state
village		the police du	ring your jouri	ney back to yo	our home state
village a. Mar	?	the police du	ring your jouri	ney back to yo	our home state
village a. Mar	? ny times netimes	the police du	ring your jouri	ney back to yo	our home state
village a. Mar b. Som	ey times netimes	the police du	ring your jouri	ney back to yo	our home state

32. It was reported that people faced many difficulties while going back to their home states or villages. Did you, or your fellow travellers, have to face any of the below situations?

		Yes	No	Don't know/ no response	
a.	Arrest by police				
		(If yes) for long	what reason	and for how	
b.	Physical assault by				
	police		what reason a		
c.	Punishment by police				
	such as fines, sit-ups, etc.		what reason a	nd what was	
d.	Spraying				
	disinfectant/medicines over the passengers	(If yes) wh	nen was this	done and by	
e.	Police asked for a bribe				
		(If yes) for	what reason an	d how much	

33. Did you have to pay a bribe to an agent or some other person while going back to your home state/ village?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know/ No response
Comments
34. If yes, was the police also involved in this?
1. Police was fully involved
2. Police was somewhat involved
3. Police was hardly involved
4. Police was not at all involved
Comments
35. Did you or anyone you were traveling with have to return back mid-journey on the orders of the police or any other government official/s?
1. Yes, I/my family had to return
2. Yes, someone travelling with me had to return
3. Other people had to return
4. No
36. What was the reason given to you/them to return?

1. The officials of the state or district where they were going did not allow anyone to enter
2. I/they did not have an e-pass
3. Any other reason (Please specify)
37. Who arranged for your/their return, such as arranging vehicle, bus, train, etc.?
1. You/they paid with their own money
2. Government officials
3. Had to walk back
4. Any other organisation/s or individual/s
Comments
38. When you were on your way back to your home state/ village, which organisation provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses)
provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses)
provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses) 1. Police
provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials
provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials 3. Other civil society/voluntary organisations or individuals
provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials 3. Other civil society/voluntary organisations or individuals 4. Any other religious organisation
provided you with food and water? (Can select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials 3. Other civil society/voluntary organisations or individuals 4. Any other religious organisation 5. Had to buy it

39. Which organisation assisted you in getting a place to sleep or rest at night? (Can select multiple responses)	t
1. Police	
2. Government Officials	
3. Any other civil society/voluntary organisation or individual	
4. Any other religious organisation	
5. Had to pay for this facility	
6. Facility not available	
7. Did not need this facility	
8. Others (Please specify)	
40. Which organisation ensured access to toilets and bathrooms during your journey? (Car select multiple responses)	1
	1
select multiple responses)	1
select multiple responses) 1. Police	n
select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials	n
 select multiple responses) Police Government Officials Any other civil society/voluntary organisation or individual 	n
select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials 3. Any other civil society/voluntary organisation or individual 4. Any other religious organisation	1
select multiple responses) 1. Police 2. Government Officials 3. Any other civil society/voluntary organisation or individual 4. Any other religious organisation 5. Had to pay for this facility	n

ourney? (Can select n	1 1 /		
1. Police			
2. Government Officia	ıls		
3. Any other civil soci	ety/voluntary orga	nisation or individual	
4. Any other religious	organisation		
5. Had to pay for this f	acility		
6. Facility not availabl	e		
7 D'1 (1')			
7. Did not need it 8. Others (Please speci	ify)		
8. Others (Please speci		lang have to underse	the following dum
8. Others (Please special		lers have to undergo	
8. Others (Please special	our fellow travell		Don't know/ r
8. Others (Please special Did you or any of y journey? a. Temperature	our fellow travell	No	Don't know/ rresponse

43.	.If	someon	e was	found	positive	for	coror	naviru	s,	what	happ	ened	to	them?
44.		ich orga ellers	anisation during	played the	the most	_		role to		helpir our	ng you home		-	fellow village?
45.	1. V 2. E	While in Ouring th	Gujarat/F	Rajastha	did you fan/Delhi-Noothe the home	CR state			eulty	y?				
46.		w satisfi kdown?	ed are y	ou with	the beha	avior	of po	olice t	hat	you	encour	itered	l dur	ing the
	1. V	ery satis	sfied											
	2. S	omewha	nt satisfie	d										
	3. S	omewha	nt dissatis	fied										
	4. V	ery diss	atisfied											
47.	.In y	our expo	erience:											
				In rui	al areas		In ur	ban a	reas	<u> </u>	Dor	ı't kn	ow/ N	No

				response
	a. Where was the police stricter during the lockdown?			
	b. Where did people get more facilities during the lockdown?			
Comme	ents			
I.	Now I will read out tw Police was doing its required for the safety	job well during the		you agree with more: bit of strictness was
II.	The strictness with y	which the police enfo	orced the rules durin	g the lockdown was

- 48.
- I.
- II. harsh/inappropriate.
 - 1. Agree with the 1st statement
 - 2. Agree with the 2nd statement
 - 3. Disagree with both the statements
 - 4. Don't know/ No response

Comments	

49.	Did you come across any instance/s during the lockdown where the police went out of its way to help people or treated the people well? If yes, please elaborate a little bit about it.
50.	And, during the lockdown, did you or your acquaintances encounter any situations in which the police was unduly strict or brutal with the people? If yes, please elaborate a little bit about it.
51.	General Comments

B. AID WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

a. Gujarat

Police Response to the Pandemic: A Rapid Survey of Migrant and Aid Workers

Study by Common Cause

AID WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Namaste. I got your number from (person's name), working with (name of organisation). My name is and I work with a Delhi-based NGO, Common Cause.
Common Cause is a non=governmental organization that uses various means to champion
public causes and issues. We make interventions on behalf of the common people through
public interest litigations, advocacy and research initiatives, to name a few. Our PILs pertain
to significant constitutional issues like 2G case, coal block case, sedition case, etc.
We have also published two national-level studies on policing in India, called the Status of
Policing in India Reports. The present report seeks to know the role of the police during the
lockdown. This study is being conducted in three states - Delhi, Gujarat and Rajasthan.
Through this study, we want to understand the role of police during the lockdown, the
expectations of people from the police, the interactions between people and police and the
problems faced by the police themselves. As you were on field, providing assistance to the
people in need during lockdown, your experiences with the police is valuable for the study.
We would like to ask a few questions about your experience with the police during the
lockdown.
This is an independent research and has no connection with any party or government. Any
information you provide will be processed without divulging your name and your identity
will be kept strictly confidential.
This interview will take 20 to 30 minutes. If I have your consent, can I start the interview?
1. State ID

	b. Rajasthan
	c. Delhi-NCR
	d. Others (Please specify)
2.	Contact Information
	Name
	E-mail
	Phone Number (Note down beforehand)
3.	Which organisation are you associated with/ do you work with?
4.	Where were you working during lockdown?
	City
	District
	Location
5.	During the lockdown, what kind of help/relief were you providing to the people? (Can
	select multiple responses)
	1. Providing food/water/ration to the people
	2. Providing shelter to the people
	3. Helping migrant workers to travel to their home states/villages

	4. Providing financial aid to the people										
	5. Others (Please specify)		_								
6.	How frequently did you have contact with lockdown?	with the police	e in the	cours	e of you	ur work during					
	1. Very frequently										
	2. Somewhat frequently										
	3. Rarely										
	4. Never										
7.	It was reported that NGOs and volunted common people during the lockdown. the following difficulties while provide problem on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means that you faced this problem a lots.	What about you relief wo	ou, did ork dur	you o	r your o	colleagues face own? Rate the					
		l (Did not face this problem at all)	2	3	4	5 (Faced this problem a lot)					
	a. Despite telling the government authorities that you wanted to provide relief work, not getting permission to go out										
	b. Despite having requisite permissions, being harassed by the police										

c. Interference by the police other government authorities your work							
d. Your staff or volunteers work because of fear of the police							
e. Apart from all this, did your line your experience, during to following groups of people?	the lockdov						olice with
	Very good	Some what good	Neut	tral	Some what bad	Very bad	Police of not interact with the during to lockdow (Silen option)
a. NGO staff/volunteers		what	Neut		what		not interact with the during t lockdov (Silen
a. NGO staff/volunteers b. Homeless people	good	what good			what bad	bad	not interact with the during to lockdov (Silen option
	good	what good			what bad	bad	not interact with the during to lockdow (Silen option
b. Homeless people c. Residents of big	good	what good			what bad	bad	not interact with the during lockdow (Silen option

	1. Many times									
	2. Sometimes									
	3. Rarely									
	4. Never									
n	Now I will read out some statements. P	Please tell	me how he	elnful the not	ice was in					
U.				-						
	following – very helpful, somewhat helps	ful, somev	vhat unhelp	ful or very un	ihelpful?					
		ı	ı							
		Very	Somewh	Somewhat	Verv					
		Very helpful	Somewh at	Somewhat unhelpful	Very unhelpfu					
	a. Giving food/water/ration to the		at							
	a. Giving food/water/ration to the people	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpful					
	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpful					
	people	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpful					
	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people c. Helping migrant workers go to their	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpfu					
	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpfu					
	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people c. Helping migrant workers go to their village/home state d. Helping the needy people get	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpful					
	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people c. Helping migrant workers go to their village/home state	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpfu					
ım	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people c. Helping migrant workers go to their village/home state d. Helping the needy people get	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpful					
m	b. Providing/arranging shelter for the people c. Helping migrant workers go to their village/home state d. Helping the needy people get essential items such as medicines, etc.	helpful	at helpful	unhelpful	unhelpful					

	Highly discrimina ted against	Somewha t discrimin ated against	Hardly discriminat ed against	Did not discrimina te against at all	Don't know/ No response
a. Muslims					
b. Women					
c. Men					
d. Poor people					
e. Rich people					
f. Migrants					
g. Locals					
h. Apart from this, was the during this period? If yes,	•	•		•	iscrimmatec
•	which comm	to you. Duri		· 	
during this period? If yes, 2. Now I will read out son	which comm	to you. Duri		· 	
during this period? If yes, 2. Now I will read out son	which comm	to you. Duri	ing the lockd	own, how o	ften did the Don't know/ No
a. Police stopped the migrant workers from going back to their	which comm	to you. Duri	ing the lockd	Never	Don't know/ No response

1	ce								
to pay a	ant workers had bribe to the o go back their								
to pay a to go ou work su medicin	mon people had bribe to police at for necessary ch as buying es, grocery, etc. he lockdown								
were no	rirus, people t allowed to go ospital for any								
other ill	ness								
other ill ents		el whor							
other ill ents Were the lockdown	e police personne	el whor	n you	ys	ntered	imes	Rarel		 llowing ever
were the lockdown	e police personne n norms—	el whor	Alwa	ys	Somet	imes	Rarel	у	 ever

14. Now I will read out two statements. Please tell me which statement you agree with more.								
I. During the lockdown, police were well equipped to deal with the situation								
help the people								
II. The police was not at all equipped to deal with the situation								
1. Agree with the 1st statement								
2. Agree with the 2nd statement								
3. Disagree with both the statements								
15. Do you agree or disagree with these terms (probe whether fully agree, somewhat agree,								

somewhat disagree or fully disagree):

activities

	Completel y agree	Somewha t agree	Somewhat disagree	Completel y disagree	Don't know/ No response
a. Police should not have been given the entire responsibility of enforcing the lockdown, other government agencies should also have had some responsibility					
b. If people were informed of the lockdown earlier, then they would have faced lesser difficulties					
c. During the lockdown, the police was mostly performing non-police					

16. There could be several reasons for the police to not be able to perform their dut	ies
properly during the lockdown. Now I will read out some such reasons which could ha	ıve
been a problem for the police personnel. Please tell me how much of a hindrance/proble	em
the following were for the police - very big problem, somewhat big problem, somewhat	hat
small problem or not at all?	

	Ver big problem	Somewha t big problem	Somewhat small problem	Not a problem at all	Don't know/ No response
a. Unnecessarily strict rules of the lockdown					
b. Confusion regarding the rules of the lockdown					
c. Lack of training amongst the police forces					
d. Lack of resources such as ration etc. to help the people					
e. Pressure from the government or the department to be strict with the public					
f. Police personnel not wanting to help the public					

Comments				

17. In your experience:

	In rural areas	In urban areas	Both were the same (silent option)	Don't know/ No response
a. Where was the police stricter during the lockdown?				
b. Where did people get more facilities during the lockdown?				
During the lockdown, the government had announced several helpline numbers, such as				

18	3. During the lockdown, the government had announced several helpline numbers, such as
	helplines for financial assistance to people, for coronavirus or health information, for
	migrant workers, etc. In the course of your work during the lockdown, did you try to cal
	on any such helpline numbers?

1. Yes

2. Tried but the call didn't connect

3. No

Comments _____

19. If yes, which helpline number did you call?

Please specify				
20. Did you get any assistance from the helpline number that you called?				
1. Received full assistance				
2. Received some assistance				
3. Received very little assistance				
4. Received no assistance at all				
Comments				
21. During the lockdown, the government had announced several helpline numbers, such as helplines for financial assistance to people, for coronavirus or health information, for migrant workers, etc. In the course of your work during the lockdown, did you try to call on any such helpline numbers?				
1. Yes				
2. Tried but the call didn't connect				
3. No				
Comments				
22. If yes, which helpline number did you call?				
Please specify				
23. Did you get any assistance from the helpline number that you called?				
1. Received full assistance				
2. Received some assistance				
3. Received very little assistance				
4. Received no assistance at all				

Comments
24. During the lockdown, besides the police, did you interact with any other government official or see them working on the ground?
1. Very frequently
2. Somewhat frequently
3. Rarely
4. Never
25. If yes, which government official did you see/interact with?
Please specify
26. How scared were you of getting infected with coronavirus during your work?
1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Hardly scared

4. Not at all scared	
5. I got infected with coronavirus (silent option)	
27. In the course of your work during the lockdown, did you or your acquaintances any situations in which the police was unduly strict or brutal with the peopl please elaborate a little bit about it.	
28. During your work, did you come across any instance/s during the lockdown police went out of its way to help people or treated the people well? If you elaborate a little bit about it.	
29. Overall, how satisfied are you with the work of the police during the lockdown? 1. Very satisfied	
2. Somewhat satisfied	
3. Somewhat dissatisfied	
4. Very dissatisfied	
Comments	
30. Is there anything else you would like to tell us? (Comments section, question read out in telephonic interviews)	not to be
85	

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF OFFICIAL ORDERS

	I	
Date of Order	Issuing Authority	Link
March 4	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1vY4Zdp9DDRQU4vu_ZhE9qUrfvo3Wzz_h/view
March 13	MHA (Foreigners Division –	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1P326OjMxSKXUF25atUhPSg7Yt9UArIm4/view
	Immigration Section)	
March 17	NDMA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rAXRFhIBoGk-qeNKIPnctEKSeOgCG6uR/view
March 19	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020193501PM15866
		35640order%20shut%20down%20GoR%2019-03-20.pdf
March 21	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/15jmiVFN5gJ_42YVc6Fa0bcQq93c9yubF/view
March 22	Medical & Health Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020193123PM15866
	Rajasthan	32730Corona%20Virus%20order%2022-03-2020%20GoR.pdf
March 22	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020193315PM15866
		35596Lock%20Down%20Order%20Hindi%2022-03-20%20GoR.pdf
March 22	State Transport Office,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020193042PM15866
	Rajasthan	33442trnsportorderregardingvehicles22-03-20.pdf
March 23	Food and Supply Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020192746PM15866
	Rajasthan	37731Food%20deptt%20order%2023-03-20%20GoR.pdf
March 23	Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020192917PM15866
		33025coreGroupOrderCSOffice23032020.pdf
March 23	Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020192834PM15866
		33235CrisisManagementGrouporder2.pdf
March 24	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1D7x7OpATrBGfKLZamrkPYovjC4JLJKZP/view?usp=sharing
March 24	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1XiK1jxsOqjRIG-blkldG6wzq5RGlk3l2/view?usp=sharing
March 24	Health Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020192432PM15866
		32663Medical%20Health%20War%20Room%20order%2024-03-2020.pdf
March 26	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1bkiL5K-b1yg5S4akf9Mud9O8gH7dMJ-p/view?usp=sharing
March 26	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Pxzz7T6boCUqK5s7O3-ArTiHdXBchMeq/view?usp=sharing
March 26	Industries Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020190647PM15866
	Rajasthan	36400covid%20order%20ACS%20ind%2026-Mar-2020%2022-05-50.pdf
March 26	Industries Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020190549PM15866
	Rajasthan	36347COVID%2019%20order%2026-03-20%2026-Mar-2020%2022-07-44.pdf
March 26	Food and Civil Supplies	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020191117PM15
	Department, Rajasthan	86637734Guidelines%20for%20doorstep%20sale%20of%20essential%20food%20
		items%20during%20lockdown%20declared%20due%20to%20Covid-19%20(Co-
		rona%20virus)%20in%20the%20state.pdf
March 27	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Pyaoq6KZLdRZ_Zsu2uLH-OG5UisoeWP5/view?usp=sharing
March 28	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1xigKN_OcdwipbHqEA9ci4FkyDzBk_03x/view?usp=sharing
March 28	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eh5YVcV-Ou04ZgMdlmcJudlQadUE_hqF/view?usp=sharing
March 28	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/18r6UFI02_U9xUFkiEOTdxxxYFu6zRFQ9/view
March 28	National Commission for	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1v-RMy1AdWL0F24KcmPUV0e5B9WxMRel3/view
	Protection of Child Rights	
March 28	Food and Civil Supplies	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020184342PM15866
	Department, Rajasthan	36734StateLockdownDurationNecesssaryItemsHomeOrder.pdf
March 29	Home Secretary, MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1nWTzGa6mC26fy7C89N_52n8seYcV4oCV/view

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Immigration, Ministry of Home Affairs April 11 Deputy Director, Department of Local Self Government, Rajasthan April 13 Task Force (Economic Advisor Immigration, Ministry of Home Affairs https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020172104PM15866 14684LetterforPPEKit2.pdf https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020171347PM15881
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April 13 Task Force (Economic Advisor https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020171347PM15881
to Chief Minister and Vice 54319COVID-19%20Report%20on%20Rajasthan%20Economic%20Revival_new.pdf
Chairman, CM's Rajasthan
Economic Transformation
Advisory Council; Advisor to
Chief Minister; Additional Chief
Secretary, Industries; Additional
Chief Secretary, Finance;
Principal Secretary, Plan;
Principal Secretary Social
Principal Secretary, Social
Justice & Empowerment;

	Principal Secretary, Tourism, Art	
	& Culture; Principal Secretary,	
	Science & Technology; Rajesh	
	Sharma, Secretary, Animal	
	Husbandry; Director, National	
	Institute of Public Finance)	
April 14	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1pVWqB5YZE0pA-H9hQnY0ycpvEOqBLTX-/view
April 15	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1irp6D12_yU279o0_yF24a3XcUb23Gajp/view
April 15	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020171511PM15873
	Rajasthan	76673Lock%20Down%20Addendum%20hindi%2019-04-20.pdf
April 15	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020172026PM15870
		26775LockDownOrderEng15-04-201%20(1).pdf
April 15	Director General of Police,	https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/Rajasthan/pdfs/DGP_orders_Epass.pdf
	Rajasthan	
April 15	Add. DIG Crime Branch,	https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/Rajasthan/pdfs/4724.pdf
	Rajasthan	
April 17	National Blood Transfusion	https://www.mohfw.gov.in/pdf/LetterforUploadingtoWebsite.pdf
	Council, MoHFW	
April 19	Health and Family Welfare	https://drive.google.com/file/d/17TV-gounGKbZzupmzzWz2dlHcOh8hkam/view
	Department	
April 19	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G8KlgMn1JuUsOdA2ueO77Eh8qXrkPDW8/view
April 19	Disaster Management, Relief	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020171538PM15873
	and Civil Defence Department,	83536Mask%20Comp.pdf
	Rajasthan	
April 20	Disaster Management, Relief	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020171310PM1587
	and Civil Defence Department,	385094Order%20regarding%20authorisation%20of%20all%20SHOs%20of%20Rajas-
	Rajasthan	than%20to%20file%20complaints.pdf
April 20	Department of Information	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020171430PM15873
	Technology and	90982Regarding%20starting%20E-Mitra%20Services.pdf
	Communication, Rajasthan	
April 21	Ministry of Home Affairs,	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CSDaXFIAAM3rWtAMhMULM3TSR8d5UBgk/view
	NDMA, Government of India	
April 21	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cp-BVn9Q63IMOYE6yO01xzrq-OxDQulk/view
April 21	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CSDaXFIAAM3rWtAMhMULM3TSR8d5UBgk/view
April 21	MHA, NDMA	https://www.ndma.gov.in/images/covid/Heat%20Wave-Dos-and-Donts.pdf
April 22	DDMA	https://docs.google.com/document/d/1xZMNBwVwZa696DzgXM33LtVo1UHivwyMlDy
		Va-pRu2l/edit
April 23	Home Secretary, Government	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1aFOs06zxWD59ptMRS1XMUIO-u7zaWBnN/view
	of India	
April 25	Home Secretary, Government	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020170703PM15878
	of India	16598Lockdown%20Addendum%202%20order_25042.pdf
April 26	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020170518PM15879
	Rajasthan	17421Lockdown%20Instructions%2026-04-20.pdf
April 28	Disaster Management, Relief	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020170230PM15881
	& Civil Defence Department	62554Order%20Nodal%20Officer.pdf
April 29	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1auFzs3Inqby2A-8CPxwGrUeuIOBaChuk/view
May 1	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1e5Fq0pbtLrnP1ieKEIEgjaTu9MF9Qyz4/view
May 1	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1imZDGiV-raWYKButgmJT_tHYcfLGCuV4/view
May 1	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1xGD2y9cUdYcf6xM2UuVY4nX0mn3GVUGj/view
May 1	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1e5Fq0pbtLrnP1ieKEIEgjaTu9MF9Qyz4/view
May 1	DDMA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1T8gyJJihayiqxkkVISxqVcqZfzaB5snW/view

May 2	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/14DDIllib.m.cDwg//Yvyl I7OL DC74;CKiE/view
May 2	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HRBIlhh_m-eDwqVXyvU7QI_RCz4jCKjE/view
May 2	Department of Home Affairs,	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cQB0zTZNaybxMqPCPwiXkab-y3We2pyt/view
M . 0	Rajasthan	hills the thirt whether a life throughly to the transfer of th
May 3	Home (Group V) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020165443PM15885
	Rajasthan	78824Notifications%20Eng%2003-05-20.pdf
May 5	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/14rtMA52H02q8yM4an0J5OnhU9pBR_LbE/view
May 5	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020165400PM15886 83588Clarification%2005-05-20.pdf
May 5	Disaster Management, Relief	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020165237PMCam
	& Civil Defence, Rajasthan	Scanner050520.pdf
May 6	Health and Family Welfare	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1gb7yDPfJxOSP3JVk9LiFvrE8DBqFJVcV/view
	Department, Gujarat	
May 7	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020165030PM15898
	Rajasthan	83314SOP%20for%20Pass%2007-05-20.pdf
May 8	DDMA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/17TBTdYC9Fy_1_LHIsMOQZ32pu-4lfz3l/view
May 9	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_0ke7KhMx5bzycOgXBS97jFBWq0ePZ5t/view
May 11	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1C0MJrFTkQ7Hz_zl_kS9GHX_0VmHm_joo/view
May 11	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020164737
		PM15898822612020_05_11%2022_54%20Office%20Lens.pdf
May 11	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020164656PMRevis
	Rajasthan	ed%20SOP-Migrant%20Persons%2011-05-20%20Hindi.pdf
May 14	Delhi High Court	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1IYbbGqV-aCuMy26rSLdsEvaJy-96hz8Z/view
May 14	Add. DIG Crime Branch,	https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/Rajasthan/pdfs/5283-5304.pdf
	Rajasthan	
May 14	High Court of Gujarat	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1WOVtfgn2AZmPGQZPL7I0PpWjhbllmtal/view
May 15	Supreme Court of India	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1osS7_Uyl5aqFgYXhWZir7laROgMr7L_I/
		view?usp=sharing
May 16	Home Secretary, Ministry of	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1B1jwBHYTKWvm2Kg7lCQec8HBxEYFgBwO/view
	Home Affairs	
May 17	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qu4tiPvieoAfXK5UohhgpGUFTQam2Z7M/view
May 18	Home Secretary, Ministry of	https://drive.google.com/file/d/10KJi1UUU6KWfiRh2kYELRKNEAZRz3Tkg/view
	Home Affairs, Government	
	of India	
May 18	Add. Director General of	https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/Rajasthan/pdfs/5404-55.pdf
	Police Crime Branch, Jaipur	
	Home (Group 9) Department,	
May 18	Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020164236PMLockd
		own%2040%20Order%20Hindi%2018-05-20_compressed.pdf
May 19	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1QONpOreFm3Iz7tsFoxPWuQ3_ZZ0gtSly/view
May 20	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020163835PMClarifi
	Rajasthan	cation%20offices%20Hindi%2020-05-20.pdf
May 20	Home (Group 12) Department,	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1MOTNI3Kvr6iSD2ktc2MCZ-O8K3mrm91d/view
	Rajasthan	
May 21	Home Secretary, Government	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1il10xH6aFab7COIB6ahK0-tJ2hSROFaP/view
	of India	
May 22	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/19aAw2Pp2OrlNd-S3u-B23L2VExmVQheQ/view
May 22	Additional Deputy	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HCv8uWF-I-WLokcSjmmypMDsyNothm8R/view
	Commissioner of Police, Law	
	& Order, Gautam Buddh Nagar	
May 25	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020163657PMAdden
		dum%20Lockdown%2025-05-20.pdf

May 27	Department of Information	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/
	Technology & Communication	GovtOrders/09292020163512PMwar%20room%20duty%20order.pdf
May 28	Food and Civil Supplies	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1YLunr5gQiRb8nUJrNjdNZX2Zjlth8PJ4/view
May 29	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uR7G1qCpaD7u1iC3pC0MmG8MJd20TYru/view?usp=sharing
May 30	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/12WfG4gMO3TGYW0xampG8-QwBsPpgpl7A/view
May 31	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020163426PMLockd
	Rajasthan	own%2050%2031-05-20%20Eng.pdf
June 1	DDMA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1n-0G85UgeAFBQZsmt3vHQbclS8GrvySH/view
June 1	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1elwn5iHg1lYyxEcP8FYnoB974_PltPkd/view
June 3	Deputy Inspector General of	https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/Rajasthan/pdfs/5981-6050.pdf
	Police Crime Branch, Rajasthan	
June 3	MHA	https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/BusinessVisapermission01062020.pdf,
		https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/Visapermission%2003062020.pdf
June 3	DDMA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/14rAcNuVcRnr2XQfoDvyi8mUlgsx-M5Ls/view
June 6	Home Department, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020161046PMAdden
		dum%201%20Lock%20Down%2006-06-20.pdf
June 7	Ministry of Information Bureau	https://twitter.com/COVIDNewsByMIB/status/1269662529510273025?s=19
June 9	Supreme Court of India	https://drive.google.com/file/d/139U4llkRBfVsdlCphzgabvWArmHvqjLY/view
June 10	Home (Group 9) Department,	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09292020162758PMRegul
	Rajasthan	ation%20of%20Inter%20State%20Movement%2010-06-20%20Hindi.pdf
June 10	Director General of Police	https://www.police.rajasthan.gov.in/Ruleorder.aspx
	(CID Crime Branch)	
June 11	Additional Chief Secretary	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09282020122020PM15
	(Industries), Rajasthan	92213216Directions%20in%20ref%20to%20writ%20petition%20Suo%20motto%20
		06_%202020.pdf
June 12	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1US2DCgBAv5MUkmZQ3IV0XKqImg-nmlLp/view
June 14	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zFu_qdwHCV35LibWwGA4NLzv_SIFOPkX/view
June 19	DDMA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1QRwy43WIKxM6ZDcwrGnoldfJUolfwbU8/view
June 23	High Court of Gujarat	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1kPzLlx_5aRpdeSQp6TacoBQdWMmWjFO9/view
June 29	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/16htcxHxV9RQFsrYUpD9Q5-GDFDYSpKwi/view
June 29	MHA	https://drive.google.com/file/d/1bToVKTi0zvNiFFai4GKB66a4NKUdYGJ9/view
June 29	DIPR, Rajasthan	https://covidinfo.rajasthan.gov.in/writereaddata/GovtOrders/09282020120910PM15937
		68934CamScanner_06-29-2020_12_13_25_1.pdf
	I .	I .

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF CSOS CONTACTED

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS CONTACTED FOR THE STUDY

Given below is a the list of civil society organisations from Delhi-NCR, Gujarat and Rajasthan who provided assistance at various stages of the study and without whom this research work wouldn't have been possible.

Rajasthan	Delhi-NCR	Gujarat
Aajeevika Bureau	Adhikar Foundation	Aajeevika Bureau
Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti, Rajasthan	Anhad	Centre for Social Justice
Centre for Equity Studies, Jaipur	Azad Yuva Sangathan	Janvikas
Helping Hands Foundation, Jaipur	Community for Social Change and Development	Pravasi Shramik Suraksha Manch (PSSM)
Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS)	Each One Feed One	Prayas
Ouma Foundation, Jaipur	Inquilabi Mazdoor Kendra	
Rajasthan Asangathit Mazdoor Union	Joint Operation for Social Help (JOSH)	
Rajasthan Kachhi Basti Maha Sangh	Little India Foundation	
Rajasthan Mahila Kamgaar Union	Mehnatkash Mahila Sangathan	
Samarth Help Line	Safe in India	
Sapna Foundation	Sapna Foundation	
Suchana & Rojgar Adhikar Abhiyan Rajasthan	Satark Nagrik Sangathan	
The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) Rajasthan	The Delhi Rozi Roti Adhikar Abhiyan	

APPENDIX 5: RTI APPLICATIONS AND RESPONSES

To. Date: 20/10/2020

Shri M. I Haider

Deputy Commissioner of Police/ Establishment

2nd Floor, MSO Building,

I. P. Estate

New Delhi-110002

SUBJECT: Request for information under Section 6 read with Section 4 of the RTI Act, 2005

- I. Dhruv Shekhar, and I wish to seek the information as under:
- I. As per the Annexure to the Ministry of Home affairs Order No. 40-3/2020 dated 24.03.2020, it was stated that any individual who was found violating any of the containment measures would be liable to be proceeded against as per the provisions of Section 51-60 of the National Disaster Management Act (NDMA),2005. With respect to this, these are my questions:
 - Have any individuals have violated these orders between March 24 –August 1, 2020?
 If so, please provide the requisite details of the number of individuals who have been proceeded against.
 - 2. What specific provisions under the NDMA, 2005 have been used to initiate proceedings against them?
- II. As per the Delhi Police order No. 11212-11313/C&T(AC-IV)/PHQ dated 22.03.2020, Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was imposed on Delhi. With respect to this, this is my question:

Have any individuals violated the order under Section 144 of Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 and proceeded against under the Section 188 of Indian Penal Code, 1860 between March 24 –August 1, 2020? If so, please provide the requisite details of the number of individuals who have been proceeded against

III. Have any individuals been proceeded against on the charge of unlawful assembly and punished under Section 143 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 between March 24 -August 1,

जा.क.(१०) हिषु सपोआ/समन्वय/भाहिता/उक्तरः, सहायक पोलीम आयुक्त (समन्वय), पोलीस आयुक्त, बृहत्मुबई यांच कार्यालय, मुंबई ४०० ००१. दि. /१०/२०२०.

प्रति

जन माहिती अधिकारी तथा, सहायक पोलीस आयुक्त, प्रतिबंधक, गुन्हे शाखा, वाहतूक प्रशिक्षण संस्था, २ रा माळा, भायखळा, मुंबई ४०००२७.

विषय:- माहितीचा अधिकार अधिनियम २००५ अन्वये Online प्राप्त झाळेळा अर्ज

माहिती अधिकार अधिनियम २००५ अन्वये माहिती मिळणेबाबत Online अर्ज प्राप्त झालेला आहे. सदरच्या अर्जातील माहिती ही आपल्या कार्यालयाशी संबंधित असल्याने प्राप्त अर्जाच्या अनुपंगाने आवश्यक ती माहिती संबंधितांना परस्पर उपलब्ध करून देण्यासाठी माहिती अधिकार अधिनियम २००५ मधिल नियम ६ (३) दोन अन्वये पुढील कार्यवाहीसाठी आपल्या कार्यालयास पाठविण्यात येत आहे.

अ.क्र.	अर्जदाराचे नाव	विषय	नोंदणी क्रमांक	दिनांक
1	Dhruv Shekhar	RTI	MCCPO/R/2020/60929	27/10/2020

(सुलोचना कळंबे)

वरिष्ठ पोलीस निरीक्षक, मुनि.क.(अ.का.), सहाय्यक पोलीस आयुक्त (समन्वय), तथा जन माहिती अधिकारी, पोलीस आयुक्त कार्यालय, मुंबई.

20. 20 UT B



कार्यालय महानिदेशक पुलिस, (अपराध शाखा), राजस्थान

कमांक:-सीआईडी/सीबी/पीआरसी/2020/ 14285 दिनांक:- 13-11- 2020

उप महानिरीक्षक पुलिस एवं राज्य लोक सूचना अधिकारी, सीआईडी (सीबी) राजस्थान, जयपुर। Police Hooding of (SPIO)

1 (GP
2 Dy I GP
3 GAMC/987
A PRIO 18/11/20

विषय:-सूचना का अधिकार अधिनियम 2005 के अन्तर्गत चाही गई सूचना के संव में।

संदर्भ:-आपका पत्र कमांक व-15(481) उ.म.नि.पु /सीबी / सू.अ. / 2020 / 2130 दिनांक 09.11.2020 के कम में।

महोदय.

उपरोक्त विषयांतर्गत संदर्भित पत्र के कम में निवेदन है कि आवेदक श्री अभिनव मेहरोत्रा निवासी-ए-26, गोकुल वाटिका, जगतपुरा, जयपुर द्वारा चाही गई सूचना की बिन्दु संख्या 02, 03, 04 एवं 05 की सूचना संलग्न प्रेषित है एवं बिन्दु संख्या 01 की सूचना पीआरसी अनुभाग से संबंधित नहीं है।

संलग्नः-उपरोक्तानुसार।

सूचना का अधिकार अधिनियम 2005 के अन्तर्गत जाति (RTI ACT) भवदीय,

(विकास शर्मा) पुलिस अधीक्षक, पीआरसी, अपराध शाखा, राजस्थान।

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER-CUM-DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE: WEST DISTRICT, P.S. RAJOURI GARDEN: NEW DELHI-110027.

(DEPOL/R/E/20/07011/15)

No.ID- 2124/20 3 (00/DIC(DA-III)/West District, dated, Delhi, the / / // /2020.

Mr. Dhruv , R/o Mlaibu town, Gurugram,

Haryana (M. No. 9810844784.

Sub:-Reg. seeking information under the Right to Information Act- 2005.

Please refer to your online RTI application dated "20.10.2020" which is received vide DEPOL/R/E/20/07011/15 dated 20.10.2020 & diarized in this office vide Dy. No. 2947/DIC/West, dated 26.10.2020, on the subject cited above. I am to inform you that as per report of 1/c Covid Cell & all ACsP Sub- Division, West District (the principal supplier of information), the requisite information is as under:-

Point No.	Reply / information.
1-5	In this regard, report received from all ACsP Sub- Division (total-04 pages)
	are enclosed herewith, which are self contained.

This is for information under the Act.

"If you are not satisfied with the above reply, you may file an Appeal before the First Appellate Authority-cum-Deputy Commissioner of Police, West District, 1st Floor, P.S. Rajouri Garden, New Delhi-27 under RTI Act-2005 within thirty days from receipt of this reply."

> (SAMEER SHAPMA) IPS Central Public Information Office Cum-Addl. Dy. Commissioner (f Police-I, West District, New Delhi. Tel.No. 011-25591125, RTI Cell.

Encls:- As above.

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER-CUM-ADDL. DY. COMMISSIONER OF POLICE: SOUTH DISTRICT: NEW DELHI, DCP OFFICE COMPLEX, HAUZ KHAS, NEW DELHI,

No. (677-OL) 1535°/RTI Cell/SD dated New Delhi the 19 11 /2020. DEPOL/R/E/20/07011/12

Appellate Authority

Period of Appeal

To

Shri Dhruv, Mlaibu Town, Gurugram, Haryana.

Subject: - Regarding supply of information under Right to Information Act, 2005.

Reference your application dated 20.10.2020, received in this office on 21.10.2020 thereby seeking below mentioned information. In this regard, the requisite information provided by all ACsP Sub-Division, South District, New Delhi, (Principal supplier of the information and deemed PIO u/s 5 (4) & 5 (5) of RTI Act, 2005), is as under:

Sl. No.	Information provided
I to V.	In this regard, the requisite information received from all ACsP Sub-Division, South District, New Delhi is enclosed herewith, which is self explanatory.

(PARVINDER SINGH)IPS

ADDL. DY.COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, CUM-PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER,

SOUTH DISTRICT: NEW DELHI.

Dy. Commissioner of Police, South Distt., Hauz Khas, New Delhi-110016.

Within 30 days.

Encls: - As Above.



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE: SHAHDARA DISTRICT BHOLANATH NAGAR : SHALIMAR PARK : DELHI-110032.

RTI CELL Telephone No. 011-21210814,

No.ID/1865/2020/3419 /RTI/Cell/Shahdara District, dated Delhi, the First Appellate Authority:

Duration(Within 30 days from the date of receipt of this letter)

Dy. Commissioner of Police, Shahdara Distt., Bhola Nath Nagar Shahdara, Delhi 110032.

To

Sh. Dhruv, R/o Mlaibu Town, Gurugram Haryana.

Subject: -

Reg. Supply of information/documents under Right to Information Act, 2005.

This is with reference to your application under RTI Act, 2005 received in this office on 21.10.2020 through online vide DEPOL/R/E/20/07011/11 on the above subject. As per report received from all concern, the requisite pointwise information are as under:-

- 66 FIRs have been registered in Disaster Management Act (NDMA) 2005 in this Distt.
- 389 cases have been registered.
- 3. Nil.
- (i) Nil. (ii) 06 cases. (iii) Nil.
- 248 persons were arrested.

(SANJAY KUMAR SAIN)IPS

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER. ADDL. DY. COMMISSIONER OF POLICE-I,

SHAHDARA DISTRICT: DELHI



जा.क. 25 / अर्ज क्र.०६/सपोआ/कुवि/जनमाअ/२१ सहाय्यक पोलीस आयुक्त, कुलाबा विभाग, कुलाबा पोलीस ठाणे आवार, शहीद भगतिसंग मार्ग, कुलाबा, मुंबई—०१. दुरध्वनी क्रमांक —०२२—२२८१२६९६ दि.११/०२/२०२१.

अर्जदाराला द्यावयाची पोच पावती

प्रति,

श्री.ध्रुव शेखर, ५ इन्स्टीटयुशनल एरिया, कॉमन कॉज हाऊस, दिल्ली—७० (९८१०८४४७४८४)

विषय :- आपण माहिती अधिकार अधिनियम -२००५ अन्वये केलेला अर्जा संदर्भातील माहिती.

उपरोक्त विषय व संदर्भास अनुसरुन आपण माहिती अधिकार अधिनियम—२००५ अन्वये मागणी केलेली माहिती वरिष्ठ पोलीस निरीक्षक, कुलाबा पोलीस ठाणे, मुंबई यांच्याकडुन पत्र जा.क्र.११/वपोनि/पोनि(प्रशा)/२०२१, दि.०८/०२/२०२१, कफ परेड पोलीस ठाणे, मुंबई यांच्याकडुन पत्र जा.क्र.६११/२०२१, दि.०१/०२/२०२१ अन्वये व मरीन ड्राईव्ह पोलीस ठाणे यांच्याकडुन पत्र जा.क्र.५३३/२०२१, दि.२७/०१/२०२१ अन्वये प्राप्त करुन घेतली असुन आपणांस या पत्रा सोबत जोडून पाठविण्यात येत आहे.

सदर माहितीने आपले समाधान न झाल्यास आपण केंद्रिय माहिती अधिकार अधिनियम—२००५ कलम १९(१) अन्वये पत्र प्राप्त झाल्यापासुन तीस (३०) दिवसांच्या आत मा.श्री शशिकुमार मीना, प्रथम अपिलीय प्राधिकारी तथा मा.पोलीस उप आयुक्त, पिरमंडळ—१, मुंबई, पत्ता— जुना बजार गेट पोलीस ठाणे इमारत, जी.पी.ओ. समोर, वालचंद हिराचंद मार्ग, मुंबई—१, दुरध्वनी क्र.०२२—२२६२०४५३ यांच्याकडे विहीत नमुण्यामध्ये रुपये २०/— कोर्ट फी स्टॅम्पसहित अपिल दाखल कर शकता,

सोबत :- सहपत्रे ०५

(**पांडुरंग शिंदे**) शासिकय जनमाहिती अधिकारी व

सहाय्यक पोलीस आयुक्त कुलाबा विभाग, मुंबई



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