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Editor's Note

I am greatly pleased to bring in the current issue of the PSC Journal and welcoming you to this vignette of the social research. Each issue of the PSC journal contains diverse types of papers of the social research landscape. Likewise, this issue situates to afoot different research arena- building upon current and dynamic matters of the social research to propel the thoughts of the contemplative readers.

The mighty Buriganga river which follows by Dhaka is now one of the most polluted rivers in Bangladesh because of unchecked dumping of industrial and human wastes. It is revealed from different media and research reports that the water of the Buriganga is now so polluted that the existence of aquatic lives is almost nill. The organic and chemical waste has turned the water like a thick black gel, even crossing the river by boat is now a very difficult task for its tremendous foul odour. The author, through his writing, tries to find out if the pollution is not controlled we will face a serious health crisis.

For the last couple of years it was observed that many attempts were taken to examine the recent fraud landscape and also taken a closer look at what new threads are emerging and who is committing them. The financial frauds through Mobile Financial Service(MFS) which will provide a platform for thoughts in regards to financial crimes. Furthermore, in this article, the author turns the spotlight and becomes hyperfocused onto the situations of Bangladesh and its increased regulatory interest in fighting economic crimes. The financial frauds through Mobile Financial Services (MFS) which will provide a platform for thoughts in regards to financial crimes.

Community policing is now working as a bridge to minimize the gap between public and police. However, the writer shows that it needs to get a new dimension with collaborative effort to make it more effective through telepolicing to place it to its zenith.

The challenges of the police station to put doorstep services to the people with well organized fashion are much talked issues of the present days. Through this paper, the author writes that keeping professionalism and transparency coming out from the cocoon of the traditional policing, the Bangladesh police has to face these challenges to provide the best practices to ensure public services at the doorstep of the citizen .

Spreading of drug addiction in the Dhaka city and creating a havoc impact among the younger generation are the common scenario in the electronic and print media. The consequences are the by-product of our modern urban life. In this article, the writer comes up with some dire pictures of drug addiction and

ultimately puts some thoughts with this engulfing social issue.

The policing and crime control both are always mingling with the political and economic factors during the classical political economy literatures. However, the author puts his ideas within a frame that the neoliberalism tends to dominate, the existing preservation of social order and thus, policing in modern era is getting this shifting from the myopic vision with the bedrock beliefs to the iconic vision of policing of the post-modern era.

Therefore, this current issue is an anthology of different social problems from different lens which might re-open the casement of thoughts. I, firmly believe that the enhanced circulation and cross-fertilization of ideas and knowledge has been largely beneficial to all concerned.



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Contents

Title	Page No.
Qazi Azizul Mowla M. Abul Kashem Mozumder Deteriorating Buriganga River: It's Impact on Dhaka's Urban Life	01-10
Rawshan Sadia Afroze Social bond and delinquency: A case study of street children in Dhaka City	11-35
Hossien Muhammed Zaki Drug Addiction among the Youths in Dhaka City: The Causes and Consequence	36-49
Dewan Lalan Ahmed Community Policing in Bangladesh: an Innovative Approach towards Social Peace and Stability	50-62
Mohammad Ashfaqul Alam The Political Economy of Crime Control in the Era of Neoliberal Policing	63-73
Md. Shah Alam An Analysis on New-fangled Crime trend with respect to Mobile Financial Services in Bangladesh	74-114
Habibur Rahman bpm (Bar), ppm Integrating Telepolicing with Community Policing: Experiences of Dhaka District Police—A Case Study	115-130
Dr. A K M Iqbal Hossain Problems of Thana Police in Bangladesh and the Way Out	131-142

Deteriorating Buriganga River: It's Impact on Dhaka's Urban Life

Qazi Azizul Mowla¹ and M. Abul Kashem Mozumder²

Abstract: *The River Buriganga has been the lifeline of Dhaka city for over 500 years. Dhaka's life and living depend, to a great extent, on the health of Bouriganga. While Dhaka was developing at a great pace, the river was totally ignored. Deteriorating health of the river is now manifested in the health of the city itself. The paper is an attempt to briefly identify the root problems of deterioration. Once the problems are identified, it would be easy to explore for remedial measures. Before concluding, policy level suggestions are put forward as a guideline for sustainable management of the river Bouriganga for the sustainability of Dhaka.*

Keywords: Environmental impact, Aquatic life, Waterway, Waste dumping.

1. Introduction

Bangladesh is the largest delta in the world and the life and living here revolves round water. Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, was established on the north bank of the River Buriganga in 1610 and it is encircled by a river system comprising Buriganga, Balu, Turag, Tongi Khal and Lakhya. A number of water channels crisscrossed through and around the city in the past and were of hydrographic and transportation importance linking the peripheral rivers mainly with Buriganga. The majority of these channels do not exist anymore as they have been filled in due to the unplanned development devoid of environmental concern.

Buriganga has been the lifeline of Dhaka city for over 500 years. It provides drainage for its internal waters; it is a potential source of water for domestic and drinking purposes, an important waterway linking with the southern part of the country and navigation around the city, a home to various marine creatures, a place of recreation and the scenic beauty, and a number of other human activities.

The rivers around Dhaka receive a huge quantity of waste (both solid waste and wastewater), surface runoff, untreated industrial effluents and partially treated sewage effluents directly or indirectly from the city. These wastes contaminate the river water affecting its aquatic life and ecological health. Analysis of long term data from some of the major rivers in Bangladesh shows that Buriganga is more polluted than any other river in the country. Most importantly, the quality of the Buriganga river water has continuously been deteriorating.

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In addition to the pollution problems, Buriganga is also under threat of becoming a 'dead' river in the future as influential people are grabbing the riverbanks resulting in narrowing down of the channel.

The paper attempts to put forward the importance of the Buriganga River and to assess the causes of deterioration and its impacts on Dhaka city. The paper also tried to focus on how to mitigate the problems and develop a guide line to improve the situation.

02. Importance of Buriganga River

The population in Dhaka City grew from 0.1 million in 1906 to 16 million in 2015. Buriganga is the river that had been serving millions of people for hundreds of years. Following are the main aspects through which the importance of river Buriganga could be understood:

Communication infrastructure: In spite of development of communication infrastructure on land, the river Buriganga still remains the main gateway between Dhaka and the southern part of Bangladesh. Sadarghat terminal, established as Dhaka inland port in 1967, links the two sea ports of Bangladesh and is the busiest landing station for cargo and passengers travelling in and out of Dhaka. Water ways encircling Dhaka and once crisscrossing Dhaka contributed towards inter and intra city traffic movement.

It has thus promoted establishment of hundreds of mills and factories, shops and business centres, boat terminals, dockyards, residential buildings etc on both banks of the river. Buriganga helped Dhaka to flourish, to develop and communicate with other countries and places within the country.

Trading: Present Dhaka has evolved from a trading outpost within the confines of Dholikhal along the River Bouriganga some times in 1600 AD. The Buriganga is of great economic importance to Dhaka till to date. Trade increased, Merchants carried their goods to distant lands, by sailing on the river. Transportation links developed, and people exchanged ideas and soon Dhaka become commercially important. It was the main artery of communication between Dhaka and other parts of the region.

Domestic use: Riverine water is used for a range of domestic purposes. It is estimated that nearly 30 percent of the river bank population depend entirely on the river water for drinking and other household activities.

Drainage: Buriganga River is one of the major channel through which a large volume of water from Dhaka city and its adjoining areas are discharged. Inner city water channels, besides acting as communication route, helped drain the surplus water to the surrounding river systems. It compliments and helps the city's sewerage system. It acted as a vast wetland to prevent flooding the city.

Waterway: Dhaka city is one of the few cities of the world gifted by circular river ways which enhanced the beauty and development of the environment of the city. More than 12.8 million commuters travel through waterways in the city and thousands of tons of cargo, building materials and huge number of livestock move through the river. From Kholamora to Fatulla, the river Buriganga accommodates a number of busy river ports in the world. This waterway also helps reduction in the amount of traffic on the city road network.

Aquatic life: The Buriganga river system is a huge source of fisheries to meet the daily needs of the population of western part of Dhaka city; however this has severely deteriorated recently.

Recreation: A cruise on Bangladesh's historic Buriganga River used to be a favoured haunt for river cruises by visiting foreign dignitaries. Still today Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation arranges grand tours along the Buriganga for local as well as the foreigners a major tourist attraction in every winter. Festival like Boat Race is celebrated every year with great participation of the local people. A large number of city dweller used to take a ride on the river to get rid of their mechanical life. Its scenic view attracts people to spend their leisure time on the river.

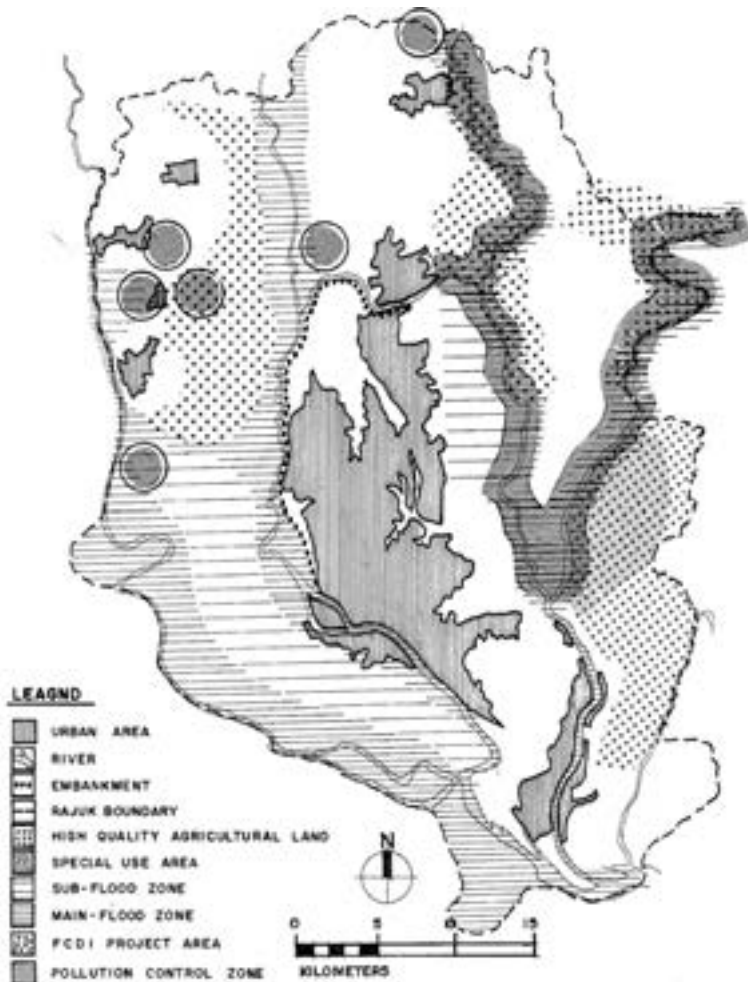
Environmental impact: The impact of river on the environment is enormous. It helped to maintain the ecological balance for sustaining the environment. It had contribution to maintain the desirable percentage of water body to balance the ratio with land in the Dhaka city. It had made the city life pleasing by providing a natural scenic beauty to its dwellers.

03. Cause of Deterioration of the River Buriganga

Dhaka is now termed as one of the least liveable city. Rapid and unplanned urbanization has taken its toll on a city, desperately short of urban amenities. One of the first casualties has been the river system including Buriganga that was catalyst to its growth - which once maintained trade and commerce by water and the ecological balance of the environs of Dhaka, as well as providing a traffic And transportation route and place to travel leisurely by boat or promenade on the strand, the Buckland Bund.

The river is being turned into a narrow channel by land grabbers and illegal occupants, and the river itself has become polluted with untreated industrial effluents and sewage. Over the years, Buriganga has become a place to defecate, and empty sewage and effluents. Water quality parameters, such as pH, dissolved oxygen, biochemical oxygen demand and chloride, hardly satisfy the standards set out by the Department of Environment.

Severe traffic congestion and water logging in Dhaka is partly due to the neglect or destruction of the natural systems. There are mainly three major causes through which the river Buriganga is deteriorating – **waste dumping, riverside encroachment and the improper management** and followings are the reasons under these major causes that could be highlighted:



Map of Dhaka showing water related information – DMDP'95

3.1. Waste dumping

1. Buriganga receives hazardous waste and effluents from more than 200 tanneries 330 industrial units located on its bank. Tannery onslaught, which is almost 40,000 tons/day diverted into fresh areas in the upstream of the river Buriganga through a natural canal at Lalbagh in the downstream, pollutes vast areas of the river.

2. A sluice gate that was built on the embankment at Rayer Bazar, caused thousands of cubic meters of toxic wastes to flow in to fresh areas. These fresh areas were naturally gifted with rich bio diversity. But due to the toxic waste; all forms of aquatic life have disappeared; fishes disappeared; the land during lean period stopped producing crops and thousands of villagers suddenly found themselves cut-off from the river on which they had depended for generations.

3. The waste from thousands of informal and formal industries along its banks is also received by the Buriganga which is about 10,000 cubic meters each day. The problem has been made worse by the fact that the flow of current is now almost non-existent in the river. So the heap of garbage and wastes are getting stuck, which means pollution is taking place on a much larger scale

4. The natural food chain is disrupted or contaminated by the pollution of water and it affects the aquatic life and the life and health of the city dwellers as well.

5. The untreated sewage that is generated by 80% of the people of the city which could not be managed by the utility services of the city's present infrastructure flows into the river Buriganga directly.

Only a small fraction of the total wastewater being generated in the City is treated. Consequently, the amount of untreated wastewater, both domestic and industrial, being released into the Buriganga and is increasing day by day.

6. Due to the Polythene bags and other solid wastes, the mechanical dredger would not be able to operate dredging on the stretch between the two bridges of Babu Bazar and Gandaria. For up to 10 feet on the bed of the river, millions of tons of polythene bags, discarded coconut shells and other solid wastes have been deposited amid a sludge that could not be removed mechanically.

7. As a river port, the Buriganga plays an important role. But in the absence of any guideline and awareness among transport workers, the thousands of cargo vessels wilfully spill oil into the river. So, the river water near Sadarghat bears the testimony of the spill with patches of oil floating on the surface amid a lifeless river.

8. Growth of new industries and lack of a policy on waste management have worsened the situation and the pollution is increasing everyday.

3.2. Riverside encroachment:

1. A survey conducted in 1998 by the DoE found that the river had been boxed in by at least 244 establishments. Riverside illegal encroachments create severe problems on the river Buriganga. It would be very difficult to evict all the encroachers as most of them held 'valid documents' of lease or ownership.

Along the river Buriganga, the shores, off shores and often the channels have been registered under the names of individuals and they have also paid land taxes for years and make things more complicated to free the river Buriganga from encroachment.

2. Religious structures have been made by a group of religious leaders along Kamrangirchar and elsewhere to encroach the land along the Buriganga River. The higher authority also expresses their fear to remove these illegal religious structures which could stir religious sentiment.

The sub channel of the river Buriganga at Kamrangirchar has been almost entirely sold out to the influential illegal encroachers.

Improper management:

1. Due to the floppy land management system of the country, some innocent middle class population of the city became victim for buying a land along the river.
2. The government itself started to stifle the river by allowing earth filling for the Dhaka Electric Supply Authority (DESA), acquiring part of the Buriganga foreshore in Kamrangirchar to build a Power Station. DESA officials said they bought the land through the Land Ministry and with the permission of the DC's office.
3. Despite overwhelming evidences of an environmental disaster, no government has so far come ahead with realistic measures to stop the process.

04. Impact of the Deterioration

The followings are the effects of deterioration:

- Millions of people living in the city and on its banks are exposed to various health hazards as untreated toxic industrial wastes are polluting the environment.
- Once rich agricultural lands have now turned barren for the toxic industrial wastes and other dumping chemical wastes.
- Many fishermen, farmers and boatmen have been rendered jobless and have shifted to other jobs.
- In 1992, the Department of Environment officially prohibited use of the Buriganga river water for both human consumption and all kinds of use.
- The combustion of hydrocarbon fuels in water transport produces carbon dioxide (CO₂), water (H₂O) and nitrogen (N). Engine inefficiency adds un burnt or partially burnt fuel in to the air, resulting in the additional presence in exhaust emissions of hydrocarbons (HC) and other organic compounds. These components also have implications on health and aquatic life.

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- The River Buriganga has already lost its aquatic life.
 - The River water becomes so polluted that even bacteria won't survive.
 - The DoE in a study found the dissolved oxygen (DO) level in the Buriganga water at 2 mg/litre of river water against standard minimum level of 4 mg/litre.
 - In the Buriganga water, level of chromium was counted at 6 ppm, which is 60 times higher than tolerable limit to human body.
 - Due to the tannery waste, other industrial wastes and garbage disposals – it is almost impossible in dry season to stay near the river, as an unbearable strong stench is always present in the atmosphere.
 - The encroachment near Kholamora is so distinct and large that on the other side of the river the diverted water is causing erosion and claiming fresh land everyday.
 - Due to the lack of dredging at regular intervals, the water level becomes very high even in dry season. So during rainy season, after a few spell of rainfall, the river flows much above the danger mark and thus more city areas go under water like Lalbagh, Islampur, Bangshal, Swarighat, Sadarghat etc. on the western fringe which are situated at almost the Buriganga river side.
 - The Buriganga River is facing navigation problems as well. Shoals have emerged at the confluence of the Dhaleshwari and the Buriganga, causing great difficulty in the playing of river vehicles.

05. To measure Sustainability against a Check list

Direct Use Value

Consumptive Uses: (decreases > increases)

- Water transport (navigation)
- Increased fish production
- Increased agricultural production
- Better quality water for domestic and industrial uses

Non-consumptive Uses: (decreases > increases)

- Educational, scientific and cultural purposes
- Tourism and recreation
- Improved health benefit

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- Increased housing and land values
 - Jogging and walking along the river
 - Swimming, bathing, boating and fishing

Indirect Use Value: (destroys/ decreases > creates/ increases)

- Riverbank erosion prevention
- Flood control
- Reduced damage to downstream irrigation system
- Biodiversity
- Ecological function (e.g. watershed protection)
- Pollution assimilative capacity

Option Value: (reduces > increases)

- Biodiversity
- Future use (e.g., recreation option)
- Potential gene pool

Existence Value: (destroys > renews)

- Satisfaction from knowledge of existence of clean water (from pollution and encroachment)
- Aesthetic value/benefits
- Biodiversity

Bequest Value: (destroys > renews)

- Value arising from the knowledge that the river remains healthy and viable and will persist (for future generation).
- Biodiversity

Environment value: (pollutes/wastes > purify/recycles)

- Extensive use of vegetation as an integral part of the urban fabric, the river side may be planted which would ensure that dust and pollutants will be filtered out from air.
- In an eco-city water would neither be polluted nor wasted and would purify and recycle any supply available to it.
- Biodiversity

06. Policy to mitigate the problems

Nobody at the policy level seems to know exactly how to solve the deep – rooted problem involving the river Buriganga.

- The authorities recently declared to relocate the tannery units elsewhere with common waste treatment plants.
- Removing the illegal encroachment and recover the river shores from the encroachment.
- It also has the task to reform land management laws to recover thousands of acres of land inside the river Buriganga.
- “Dhaka Circular Waterway Project for Navigation” project combines river ways of Buriganga, Turag, Balu and Shitalkhya which encircled the city. The circular waterway would reduce the traffic jam of the city, more commuters would be able to use waterways as navigation, and navigation brings flow in rivers which is use full for fisheries as the polluted water will not be stagnant.
- An awareness campaign must be conducted to grow awareness among the people living beside channel of the river.
- The water development board (WDB) now comprising a project to build flood walls, roads and walkways along the river to demarcate the river clearly. This project would greatly help stop encroachments on the river.
- A proposal for building a common Influent Treatment Plant for tannery wastes is now at the ‘PCP stage’. Under this project, all tannery owners would be required to bring in some changes in their internal infrastructure and they would also be required to install in-house chromium recovery plants because a large volume of chromium is lost with the tannery wastes.
- The Government enacted a law named “water body act. 2000” and constituted a taskforce to save the Buriganga.
- As a temporary measure, the BIWTA has planned to reach the reclaimed land on the Buriganga banks from Fatullah to Shyambazar for economic activities on an annual contract basis to wholesale rice, fruits and vegetables traders.
- As a permanent measure, the BIWTA plans to construct three to four foot wide brick walkways on both sides of the river and recreational facilities for tourists and for locals also and walls to protect the river and plant trees.

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- A project is underway to provide permanent protection for the Buriganga river from encroachment. The construction includes a terminal building; transit sheds at Ali Bahar Char near Pagla, kiosks, a health centre, a jetty, a parking yard, open yards, development of the Mirerbagh dockyard near the first Buriganga Bridge, a recreation centre and riverside seating arrangements. This project will also help reduce traffic at Sadarghat terminal and will be able to restore the old glory to the Buriganga.

07. Conclusion

It is not only a question of saving the river but with it saving the capital itself. As it is a part of the Delta and Bangladesh receives huge rainfall, Dhaka has survived so long. Much of the current urban problems could be significantly reduced by just restoring the river system of Dhaka. If the river is killed, the city's ecological balance would be so fundamentally destroyed that Dhaka would become literally inhabitable. The lifeline of the Dhaka city, the river Buriganga, continues to head towards suffocation. It could be said that the tannery owners are earning crores of takas in foreign currency at the expense of public health, agricultural land and the lifeline of the city, the Buriganga.

It is important to remember that demolition of illegal structures is not the only solution. It must be accompanied by a development plan for alternative provisions. To do that, private sector must be involved, both at the planning and the implementation stage as government does not have the adequate funds for all that is necessary for the development. It is the time to give maximum attention to save the Buriganga water system as well as to save the Dhaka city and make the city liveable and sustainable for our future generation.

Social bond and delinquency: A case study of street children in Dhaka City

Rawshan Sadia Afroze¹

Abstract: *This study dealt with the abandoned street children who are theoretically categorized as children of the street to examine the relationship between social bond and criminal activities. It is an empirical research based on field study conducted in Dhaka from October-November 2011 with the data 110 children (74 boys and 36 girls with the age ranging from five to seventeen years) taken randomly in street situations. The research considers Travis Hirschi's social control theory using the methods of in-depth interviews, case study and focus group discussion. The dimensions of juvenile delinquency (assault, street delinquency and public disturbance) were analyzed employing factor analysis. It is found that social bonding theory plays a significant role in describing the delinquent behaviors of the street children in Dhaka city. It is more alarming that they even can remain fugitive for long time. Further, some of the children have serious and deep hatred towards the society. Hence, street children, if unaddressed or ignored for a long time, would turn to be a significant threat to the national security.*

Keywords: Street children, Juvenile delinquency, Investigation, NGO.

1. Introduction

Street children in Bangladesh are at risk of coming into contact with criminal activities as they have no guidance, no patronization, and no social commitment. Pinheiro (2006) said children who work or live on the streets are recognized as being particularly at risk of violence. They may get involved with activities ranging from petty theft to carrying firearms. Adult criminals and organized crime syndicates also use children to carry out such acts. If these children become derailed because of absence of familial or social bond and if proper steps are not taken very immediately, their association with criminal activities would increasingly affect every social norm which will bring adverse consequences upon the society as a whole. Under the above circumstances, the present study is aimed at assessing the propensity of delinquent behavior of the children in street situation. It will examine how vulnerable the street children are to deviant behavior. This study considers Hirschi's social control theory with assuming that because of the absence or weakening of social bond, crime becomes the inevitable outcome.

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The present study focused on abandoned street children who are categorized as children of the street. They had a potential risk to the involvement of criminal activities because of street situation. The society and state at large in this effect will be responsible for offering shelter and correctional facilities to children coming into contact with crime related activities. Hence, it is crucial to assess the phenomenon of children coming into contact with crime related activities for the purpose of implementing possible intervention programs needed to prevent them from getting involved in such criminal activities. This is why it is an apt time to look into the situation of these children to devise ways of preventing their involvement in criminal activities as well as protecting their rights as children rather than treating them as criminals. If they are not properly handled, they can be exploited and further misguided by the black powers that can fragile country's peace and security.

The study is designed according to the following step-wise plan: 1) It will conceptualize the term street children, 2) theorize the problem 3) examine the presence of social bonding elements in the street situation and its dimensions to find out how such bonds impact on offending.

The study is based on the following research questions:

1. Why did the children become homeless?
2. Have they any social bond or emotional bindings that can be the driven force of them?
3. What are their attitudes towards society?
4. What types of exploitation they have experienced and how are they being exploited according to different gender perspective?
5. How do they get involved in criminal activity and who patronize them in these activities?

Lalor (1999) and Inaciardi & Surratt (1998) noted that, most investigations have focused on children on the streets instead of children of the street, because of the difficulties in gaining the confidence of the children and entering into their world and underground culture.

2. Methodological Caveats

The major limitations and barriers of the study were:

- The respondents of the study were selected randomly from the different points at midnight and were difficult to have adequate time to get answer.
- It was difficult to have follow-up information due to the floating and scattered living style of identified respondents.

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- Some critical issues like extreme negative attitude of the family members, sexual abuse, substance use abuse, arms dealing, etc. have not been reflected properly and adequately because of social conservative attitude and hiding tendency of people who participated in survey and focus group discussions. To get answers of these types of questions, I needed to be more tactful which was also time consuming. The respondents answered these very indirectly.
 - Adequate discussion with the professional group experienced in dealing street children issues has been done very little due to time constraint.
 - Sometimes the questionnaires were difficult to understand to the respondents because of age (too young children) and the level of intelligence.

3. Concept of Street Children

This study considers The Children Act 2013 to define ‘child’. According to this Act, ‘child’ means a person under the age of 18.

Inter-NGO of Switzerland defined street child as. “any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street (in the broadest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults’ (inter-NGO. 1985).

A number of researchers (Ennew et al 1989; Scharf et. al., 1986; Scanlon et. al. 1998) distinguished the street children into two categories: ‘Children on the street’ and ‘Children of the street’. In this study the term ‘street children’ is referred to as ‘Children of the street’, who are homeless children living and sleeping on the streets in urban areas without the support of the family, in other words, they are abandoned street children. They live with other street children or homeless adult street people, so they may or may not be adequately supervised or directed by responsible adults. On the other hand, ‘children on the street’ usually work for their parents, earn money on the street and return home at night. So, they have contact with their families. This distinction is important for this study since ‘children on the street’ have family attachment whereas ‘children of the street’ live entirely on the street. Hence it is most likely that they lack the family bond like emotional, psychological and parental support normally found in parenting situation. As this paper looks at the vulnerability of street children towards criminal activity, hence this group which has lack of the attributes of social bonding, can better represent testing Hirschi’s social control theory.

The weakness of this distinction between ‘children on the street’ and ‘children of the street’ is that, they are sometimes overlapped or obscured. Some of the

children are really abandoned because of rejection from their families while some others may have voluntarily left their families due to prevailing situations like mother staying with step-fathers, severe environmental disaster etc. According to Moura (2002), some ‘children of the street’ maintains family connections while others are severely disconnected from the family.

For the purposes of this study, Street Children refers to those children aged 5-18 years of Dhaka city who are basically homeless, living (i.e. sleeping, eating and working) entirely on the street and no parental care at all. These children are floating in nature, which means they may live in one place for sometime and then move to other places. They usually sleep at night on the roadside, railway stations, bus stations, park, and abandoned houses and public places. In this study, street children exclude those children who live with their parents/ family on the roadside/ pavements, or in a slum.

4. Problems of Definition

The terminology is very difficult to apply for Bangladesh context. In Bangladesh, some children are living permanently on pavements or streets with their families as well. As a result, the categorization became confused. The definition becomes more confusing, when some live in the streets on weekdays only and go home at week-ends or sometimes they are very seasonal. In rainy season or in heavy cold there are some abandoned children who live out the city. Also during two Eid festivals, there is a sharp rise of these children when there is a religious ritual to donate money for the poor in the form of Zakat, Fetra etc.

5. Juvenile Delinquency in Bangladesh

Table 1 :Under-Aged Prison Inmates in Bangladesh: A Sample Situation of Youthful Offenders in Greater Dhaka

Year	Theft	Da- coity	Arms and Explosive	Terror- ism and collision	Nari Nirjatan	Murder	Narcotics	Safe Custody	Doubtful	Vagabond	Others	Total
1990	23	01	01	04	01	02	00	01	08	01	02	44
1991	37	05	03	05	03	03	02	05	67	19	31	180
1992	45	07	06	10	06	04	01	04	29	05	20	137
1993	32	10	13	02	01	01	01	03	28	05	17	113
1994	45	12	13	20	02	05	04	28	19	50	16	113
1995	68	04	52	10	02	05	08	48	48	58	26	329
1996	93	18	51	40	10	09	12	11	123	41	87	495
1997	102	17	39	17	10	09	09	23	128	17	68	439
1998	140	19	46	24	27	10	16	28	126	26	64	526
1999	141	22	61	30	14	10	16	17	125	30	85	551
2000	103	20	61	21	11	19	17	32	199	35	56	574
2001	101	23	72	22	17	21	17	42	171	43	36	565
2002	115	24	67	26	15	17	19	31	165	35	47	561
2003	104	23	69	28	15	19	15	33	151	31	37	525
2004	109	21	63	26	13	16	17	30	141	27	30	495
2005	90	26	67	32	15	19	20	35	130	36	33	503
2006	113	20	71	30	22	15	37	22	121	35	42	528
2007	105	15	58	18	31	05	34	38	63	23	40	430

11A report of Action Aid Bangladesh and Retired Police Officers Welfare Association Bangladesh (RPOWAB), 2008. Publisher: Retired Police Officers Welfare Association Bangladesh (RPOWAB)

Street Children Statistics

Table 2 : Estimation of street children in Bangladesh²²

Basic Data	
Number of Street Children in Bangladesh	6,79,728
Street Children in Six Divisions	3,89,892
Street Children in Dhaka	2,49,200
Street Children in Chittagong	55,856
Street Children in Rajshahi	20,426
Street Children in Khulna	41,474
Street Children in Barisal	9,771
Street Children in Sylhet	13,165
Projection of Street Children in 2014	1,144,754
Projection of Street Children in 2024	1,615,330

22 Source: 'Estimation of the size of street children and their projection of major urban areas of Bangladesh 2004' commissioned to BIDS by ARISE. The source is collected from Ministry of Social Welfare, Department of Social Services, Govt. of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

6. Methodology

6.1. Methods of the Study

The study targeted street children in Dhaka metropolitan city and involved interviewing a sample of 110 street children with estimated¹ ages ranging from five to seventeen years. They were 74 boys and 36 girls. The study was conducted from October - November 2011. The sample was taken randomly in street situations.

The methodology for this study, and the methods used, were constantly developed and revised as research progressed to obtain more accurate data and to ensure that ethical standards were maintained. For a full discussion of these issues see Conticini (2004).

The main methods used were non participant observation, in-depth⁷ interviews, case study and focus group discussion. Moreover, during some surveys 2/3 children volunteered responsible for reviewing some parts of the field research, undertaking some of the interviews, facilitating group discussions and suggesting changes in the research process.

Towards the end of field research, a semi-structured questionnaire was utilized to triangulate the qualitative data that had been collected and to add a

1 A birth registration system has only recently been systematically introduced in Bangladesh and many children could only give an approximate age. The age given by children was accepted even when it was a clear under/over estimation compared with their physical development. This reflects the Bangladeshi practice of reporting age according to experiences more than physical development (Blanchet, 1996).

quantitative dimension to the analysis. 100 children participated in the semi-structured questionnaires, 10 are used for case study. Here two types of case study are used: case study of individuals and case study of institution. To take the case study of institution, four institutions were taken as case. Among them, three from government institutions named juvenile development centers- Tongi, Konabari and Jessore of which one is only for females and 4th institution is taken from NGO directed shelter home named PCAR (Protection of Children at Risk). PCAR is supported by government which mainly deals with street children. All children involved in the questionnaire had migrated to the city's street alone or with friends and the many of them had already participated in earlier different types of the research.¹¹ This meant there was usually a pre-existing trust relationship between the interviewer and children, making data more reliable than that collected through a one off questionnaire (Ennew and Milne, 1996). But the facts are that they only have the responsibility to answer the question but nobody wish to change their conditions. (Interview with a street girl as on 17-11-11)

As the focus of the research was Dhaka city, so four sites involving frequented by children in street situations (a market, train and bus stations and a river port) named Karwan Bazar, Kamlapur railway station, Airport Road area, Sadarghat, shahbag, and Gabtoli are selected for sample collection. 10 case studies of individual personnel were used from children living on the street, in NGO based shelter home and the government institutions. Some secondary sources are also used through internet as well to compare the situation and to predict the future consequence.

Focus group discussion was carried out with children of different age and sex in an attempt to gain more qualitative insight into the situations upon which the children come in contact with criminal activities how they affected by various external pressures. In the focus group discussion method of data collection, the respondents have freedom to explore their own ideas and thoughts with a sharing experience.

The timing of research was mostly at late night as the study is mainly confined with the street children of the street. The study sample are commonly visible at night because they have no shelters, while others have the options to stay at home go back to their residence. It can be assumed that, they are only those abandoned children left in the street who have no parents or legal guardians as caregivers. The survey was administrated after 9 pm. After sun set, particularly after 8 pm sex workers (both male and female), tea and coffee sellers, children involved in drug business and the like remain busy either with customer or searching for the customer. Majority of such street children refused the study team to give any interview even after repeated requests. Consequently, the sample has relatively

lower representation of those street children involved in earning activities at night. It is to be noted that the above-mentioned street children generally do not sleep at night, but they sleep during day time at parks. Street children in general were found reluctant to give any interview because they were, at the time of interview, tired and sleepy. Moreover they fear being interviewed. Also day-time is also used collecting the data from shelter home or juvenile development center.

Most street children, particularly younger children do not know their own exact age, the education level, occupation status, income level, and land holdings of their parents. They also could not remember when they first left the house. As a result, the validity of their responses and therefore of the data should be read with caution.

The main methodological constraint encountered was the impossibility of adopting sampling procedures to ensure that the relatively small group of interviewees represented the composition of the larger population of children in street situations in Dhaka. The exact or even the approximate characteristics (gender, age, area of origin) of the reference population are unknown, as is common for such studies (Connolly and Ennew, 1996; Ennew and Milne, 1996). Some key stakeholders such as police, government officials and NGOs involving and working at different levels with children in street situations were also interviewed.

Due to limitations of time, money and manpower the selected sample size was small. Although the sample size is small, the sample street children are from similar socio-economic background. Hence, the findings of the study should have considerable value.

7. Theoretical Framework

The study is grounded under Travis Hirschi's social control theory. Hirschi (1969) provided a clearer picture of what was meant by a social bond. As did Skyes and Matza (1957), Hirschi saw that a person becomes 'free' to engage in delinquency. Instead of using neutralizing techniques, he blamed broken or weakened bonds to society. Actually, he viewed individuals as self-interested and therefore ready to act in a fashion that provides the greatest benefits. Society serves as a restraint on that behaviour, and, if the restraints are loosened, self interested behaviour will emerge. Hirschi (1969:16-34) characterized the social bond that having four elements or dimensions: attachment, involvement, commitment, and belief.

The most important element is attachment. The strength of the attachments, or ties, one has to significant others (parents, friends, role models) or to institutions (schools, clubs) can inhibit deviance. More specifically, Hirschi claimed that, when youths are attached to parents or guidance, they are less likely to commit

delinquent acts. The abandoned street children have almost no parental guidance, hence they are very susceptible to criminal activities. Second, involvement means the degree of activity (the time and energy) available for them. When an individual is busy with other programs, they have no time to commit crimes. If the youth has sufficient traditional activities, they are less likely to be engaged in criminal activities. Thus participation in clubs, recreational activities, and other extracurricular activities serves to increase the levels of conformity. Third is commitment which represents the reckoning of cost and benefit of the consequences of a youth's action. For example, if a youth has a good job, he/she is more committed to the society to refrain from the delinquent acts. Because if they are caught engaging in deviant behavior, they will lose the position in the society what they already have. College students, for instance, have already built up a strong degree of investment in education. Clearly, to engage in crime and get caught would represent a potential loss of that investment. The last element, belief constitutes the acknowledgement of society's rules as being fair. That is, one has a respect for those rules and norms and feels a moral obligation to obey them. The critical component here is a respect for the common value system. In a sense, the more one believes in "behaving properly", the more likely one is to be conforming.

The present research aims at exploring what situations are prevailing in street condition and whether these are conducive to criminality. If we consider the situation that some of the children in our country are abandoned and spend 24 hours on the street. Then next question arises, why the children may end up on the streets? Several basic reasons can be cited: they may have no choice – they are abandoned, orphaned, or disowned by their parents or, because of mistreatment or neglect or because their homes do not or cannot provide them with basic necessities. Absence of strong parental control, deprivation from basic human rights, vulnerable economic condition and lack of opportunity to get education are pressing the juveniles of streets to have more involvement with criminal activities. At the very outset, they are involved in petty offences which in turn lead to commit heinous crimes. As a consequence, if there is no intervention, if we are not aware about the fact and continue to neglect this alarming issue these street children issue may be transformed into a giant monster.

8. Prior Studies

In Bangladesh, juvenile delinquency does not receive adequate theoretical attention. Further these studies were very much inclusive where street children were not categorized according to this study. Hence, most of the previous research discussed here are western based or based on the countries which literally have different socio-economic background compared to Bangladesh, e.g. Brazil.

Ozbay, (2006, p. 714) stated that in the United States, a cross-sectional research design are used to conduct these types of studies with the variables of age, gender and types of delinquency, which indicated the importance of social bonding parameters in explaining delinquency. Family violence and abuse of children within households and communities can lead to street migration (Conticini and Hulme, 2006; Thomas de Benítez, 2007; Butler, 2009), which implies that street children are very deprived of social or family bond. Literature further revealed that absence of parental control or poor parenting is one of the significant factors for committing delinquent behavior. In their study, Glueck and Glueck (1950) found that broken family was a causal factor for delinquent behaviour as that failed to provide proper affection. Scanlon et. al., 1998: 1597 also revealed that street children having dysfunctional families became violent. According to Rizzini (2003), rapid urbanization and high income inequalities led to children lived in the street.

The common delinquencies of street youths are drug abuse, unprotected early sexual activity and the subsequent risk of exposure to HIV and other street related works like street-vending, juggling etc (Inciardi and Surratt, 1998: 1597; Scanlon et. al., 1998; Ennew, 2003; Panter-Brick, 2002). Further, on-street youth are generally found to be more heavily involved in crime, drug use and gang leadership than children on the streets (Beazley, 2003; Elliott et al. 1985) and may be under increased pressures from urban governance policies to become less visible (Samara, 2005; Van Blerk, 2011). Some types of work can become more difficult to access, for example begging (Abebe, 2009) and may become heavily gendered among youth who have children of their own (Thomas de Benítez & Jones 2008). In a study made by Ministry of Home Affairs, Bangladesh reveals that, a significant number of children are at great risk of coming into contact with criminal activities like drug and arms carrier (BP and MOHA, 2008).

Research further identified that boys are more affected by the absence of social bond than girls. In most of the cases they suffered from mental illness (Aptekar, 2004), depression and self hatred Kidd et al, 2007 in North America; Ahmadvani, 2007 in Iran; Batmanghelidj, 2006 in UK.

The above studies discussed about the reasons for street migration, the absence of parental care in the street situation and its subsequent influence on delinquent activities, the common criminal acts committed by them and gender analyses about these vulnerable activities. Most of the analyses were based on western context. Some had under development context but very unlike to Bangladesh scenario, Brazil for example. In Bangladesh, a very few such research was done, but none was involved in abandoned street children case, rather these were the comprehensive study of street children, where 'on' and 'of' the street children were not separated. Hence, this study carries a great significance in the national security point of view.

9. Data Analysis

The study amalgamates information using both quantitative and qualitative techniques from various tools. The experiment was administered during October-November, 2011. The sample size (n=110) was allocated to different important points of Dhaka city where the respondents are mostly visible as described earlier. Samples are collected very randomly using proportional allocation scheme. The percentage distribution of 110 (= N) street children was based on the distribution of sample street children. The Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was used in generating frequency distributions, cross tabulations and some factor analysis.

10. Data Collection Method

In this study, data collection instrument was a self-administered questionnaire compiled under the supervision of an independent researcher-here the university professor. The questionnaire had a total of 60 questions of which 25 probed the respondents' biographic information and background. The rest of the questions dealt with the various factors under theoretical consideration that this study investigated.

Table 3: Sample by sex and age

	Sample (n=110) %
Sex	
Male	67
Female	33
Age	
5-8 years	5%
9-12	19%
13-16 years	67
16 above	9

11. Measurement

11.1. Dependent Variables

Juvenile delinquent acts were corresponded to 11 items: 1) stealing, 2) pick-pocketing, 3) snatching, 4) carrying drugs, 5) sexual harassment, 6) carrying arms or other dangerous weapon that could hurt the people (e.g. knife), 7) using force to others or engaged in street fights 8) vandalizing houses, lawns or shops; 9) throwing objects to moving vehicles 10) being engaged in picketing or other violent activities during political unrest like Hartals and 11) became unruly, disorderly and loud in public places.

On the basis of findings from both factor analysis and the content of delinquency items, the 11 items were reduced into three scales: assault, ordinary delinquency and public disturbance. The children were asked to indicate how often they committed a specific delinquent behavior in a year. The response categories ranged from never (1), rarely (2), sometimes (3), generally (4) to always (5). Higher scores indicated higher involvement in delinquent behavior.

Assault was an index that included sexual harassment, carrying arms or other dangerous weapon that could hurt the people (e.g. knife) and using force to others or engaged in street fights. Street delinquency included stealing, pick-pocketing, snatching, and carrying drugs. Finally, public disturbance included vandalizing houses, lawns or shops; throwing objects to moving vehicles; being engaged in picketing or other violent activities during political unrest like Hartals; and became unruly, disorderly and loud in public places.

11.2. Independent Variables

Attachment to parents, family supervision, degree of activity, social commitment, normative beliefs, and street involvement (logarithm of working hours spent on streets), as indicators of the social bonding theory, were used as independent variables.

Attachment to parent was an indicator that contained the following items: 'If I had parents, they would be kind for us', 'I don't know who are my parents, but I feel to have parents', 'If I had my parents, I can share my thoughts and feelings with them', 'If I have a chance, I want to go to my parents' etc. The higher the scores, the greater the degree of attachment to both mother and father.

Family supervision covered the items like, 'I have no guardian on my family, so I am in the street', 'My parents know where I am, when I am away from home', 'My parents don't stop me when I am away from home'. The higher scores signified the higher level of parental indirect control.

Degree of activity is a measurement that included these items, 'I have no place to play', 'I have no environment to play', 'I do not have any fixed friends to play', 'I do not have any toys'. Higher scores implied they had a lack of recreational facilities.

Social commitment included, 'getting appreciation is important for me', 'being nice is significant to me', 'What I was doing in the school was worthwhile and meaningful to me', 'I dislike school' (it was further reverse coded) and 'I have no choice do so'. The higher scores showed a higher degree of commitment to the society.

Beliefs included, 'I am doing some things that are not right', 'it is alright to get around the law if you can get away with it', 'I have to abide by the religion no

matter what I get advantage from it'. Higher scores indicated a higher level of conventional beliefs.

Street involvement is the logarithm of working time spent on streets to earn money in a week. The research design and above questions are come from Ozbay & Ozcan 2006.

11.3. Control variables

In addition to the above social bonding variables-age, gender and logged income-some variables from strain theory such as monetary strain and blocked opportunity and differential association theories (delinquent friends and definition) were used as control variables. Age was an interval variable and denotes biological age. Individual income was a continuous variable. As individual income is not normally distributed, a natural logarithm of income was preferred. Perception of blocked opportunity was measured by asking, 'I believe people becomes unfair when it comes to getting a job', 'Laws are very impartial and keep people like us from succeeding', 'Even with a good education, I can rarely make a good living'. The greater scores corresponded to a higher degree of perception of limited opportunity. The questions for the variable came from Vowell and May's (2000) study. Monetary strain (i.e. the discrepancy between monetary aspiration and educational expectation) was measured as the difference between two items: 'I want to make lots of money' (monetary aspiration) and 'What will be the highest education you would like to get for a better living?' (educational expectation). The higher scores indicated the greater monetary strain. The questions for variable were taken from Farnworth and Leiber's study (1989). Delinquent friends can be measured by asking, 'do you have friends, who are drug user?' or 'Have your friends been picked up by the police?' Three specific definitions corresponding to the three dependent variables given by the respondents were used. Each definition was an index: Higher scores corresponded to a higher level approval of assault ($\alpha=0.85$), street delinquency ($\alpha=0.90$) and public disturbance ($\alpha=0.73$). A general index of definition ($\alpha=0.90$) was created and used only in the case of total delinquency as dependent variable.

12. Collection of Information on Street Children

I first informed the interviewee that due to study purpose I got permission from the Sociology Department, University of Dhaka, to learn more about child's life, and why he/she their vulnerability to street

Profile of Street Children

In order to have the actual scenario of the present street children status to give projection of the consequences while dealing with the situation, all collected

information has been triangulated, and the key factors that lead to the initiation and continuation of criminal activities among the children have been identified. Before scrutinizing the above factors, it becomes necessary to provide an overview of the background profile of the children being discussed especially in the kind of atmosphere that they are currently subsiding in. We begin with assessing the age at which children are in potential danger of coming into contact with criminal acts.

Age

The average age range of the street children was found between 13 to 16 years and the trend is similar for both sexes: boys and girls. Among them 67% were boys and 65% were girls.

Educational Status of the Street Children

Table 4: Educational status of ‘children of the street’.

Education	Sex		
	M	F	Total
School Attendance	%	%	%
Ever attended	77	54	70
Discontinuing	90	88	85
Current educational status			
Illiterate	20	28	23
Knows how to sign	33	29	32
Primary education	37	36	36
Secondary education	10	7	9
Base	74	36	110 (n)

On average, 70% of all children claim to have ever attended school. The sample was categorized first whether they went to school ever and whether they discontinued. Then they are classified as illiterate, knows how to sign, primary education and secondary education. In each category, boys were more attached to school than of girls. 85% of children on average discontinued schooling for various reasons e.g., disinterest in school or parents’ inability to educate their children any further due to their poor economic statuses. Only in the KUKs and NGO-run shelters, girls are found to be greater in proportion to boys in terms of the discontinuation of school. 23% of the total population of children were found illiterate. 32% knew how to sign their names. 36% of the children had primary education while only 9% had secondary education.

Family History

Table 5: Family background of the respondents

Family History	distribution of children	
No Parents	32	29%
broken family	64	58%
Has both Parents	14	13%
Total	110	

Children came to the street because of poor family attachment. About three fifth (58%) of the respondents belonged to the broken family. 29% respondents had no parents. 87% of the total respondents were said to have poor family bond. Only 13% children had their parents who were economically so unsecured that the children had to leave them. The broken family fails to provide affection and control to the children and ultimately leads to the abandonment

Table 6: Percentage of street children whether they were migrated or not

Migrated or not	Sex		Total
	M	F	
Not Migrated	58 (78%)	7 (19%)	65 (59%)
Migrated	16 (21%)	29(81%)	45 (41%)
Total	74 (69%)	36 (31%)	110

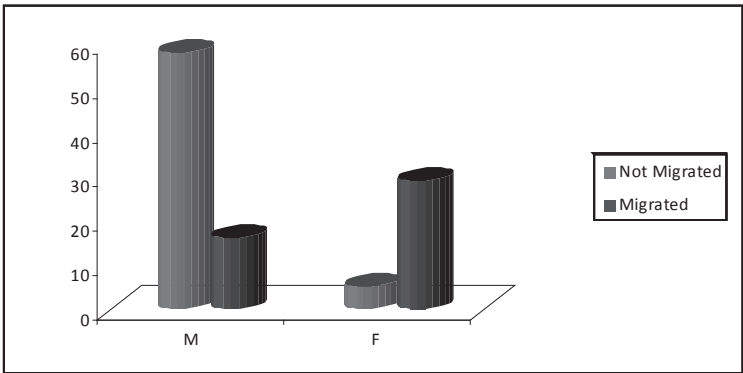


Figure 1: Distribution of street children whether they were migrated or not. Around 69% of the respondents said that they were migrated to Dhaka from other regions. 31 % were grown up in Dhaka. But Migration rate is higher for girls (81%) than boys (21%) probably because of early marriage, victimized by brokers for sexual exploitation of girls.

Table 7: Index of normative beliefs

Scale	no. of respondents	Percentage
very important	18	17
Important	42	38
relatively important	31	28
less important	9	8
Unimportant	0	-
not answered	10	9
Total	110	

13. Factors Leading to Initial Involvement in Criminal Activity

Table 8: Attachment to parent index

Reasons for being abandoned	Sex				Total	
	M	per %	F	Per %	Total	Per (%)
poverty/ hunger	22	30	13	36	35	32
Negligence from parents	9	12	-	-	9	8.18
natural disaster	-	-		-	0	0
Parents are involved in criminal activities	1	1.35		-	1	0.91
having no suitable guardians	27	36	11	31	38	35
ran away from home			5	14	5	5
separation between parents (Step father or step mother)	-	-	6	17	6	5
domestic violence	5	7	-	-	5	5
pressure from the family to earn money	10	13	-	-	10	9
others			1	3	1	
Total	74		36		110	

Table 9: The family violence which is representing the Index of family supervision

Type of abuse	No	Percentage
physical abuse	20	18 %
mental abuse	6	5. %
mental and physical	65	59%
sexual abuse	11	10 %
others	8	7 %
Total	110	

Table 10: Measurement of Delinquent Behaviours

Variables	Measurement
Street activities	63%
Assault	36%
Public disturbance	2%
Total	110

Interestingly, it was worthy to notice that the street children usually avoided heroine because they were very much aware about its deadly consequence. From the observation study, it is revealed that almost all of the respondents were drug abuser. Non participant observation was needed as it was assumed that the correct answer of some of the critical questions might not be got. The respondents were very much reluctant or feel discomfort of replying so. Rather they tried to avoid these questions. These questions were:

- Whether they were drug abuser
- Whether they had friends, who were those friends and what were their regular activities
- Whether the friends had influence over them or convinced them to do some misconduct
- Whether they were used as arms or drug carrier
- Whether they were sexually abused or exploited by the relatives
- whether they were continuing sexual relationship to peer groups
- whether they were forcedly involved in criminal activities or willingly involved

-
-
- whether they wanted to break the law
 - whether they hated the society

Family environment producing homelessness and delinquent behaviour may be attributed with reference to a broken family, family tension, parental rejection, parental control, and family economics. The case studies of individual street children describe the above phenomena.

Street children are typically portrayed as excluded by society. While this is not in dispute, such portrayals are in danger of ignoring children's abilities to plan, control their actions and navigate within their environments - in other words their agency. Effective strategies to protect street children must address their exclusion and must also recognize street children's agency by ensuring their meaningful participation in design, provision and evaluation of services for which they are the intended beneficiaries.

14. Results

Attachment to parents, family supervision, degree of activity, social commitment, and street involvement (logarithm of working hours spent on streets), are statistically significant and absence of those had a positive influence on delinquency –that is as the children were abandoned they had almost no parental control, had no limited opportunities to social activities, had less commitment to the society, and had likely to involve in street misconducts. Correspondingly, there was an associated increase in general delinquency. Only normative beliefs had had no effect on delinquency.

Among the control variables, age, gender, income, delinquent friends and definitions are statistically significant. Age is positively associated with delinquency. With the increase of age, there was a corresponding increase of delinquency. Income is associated with the increase of delinquency, i.e. an increase in income is positively associated with delinquency. Having delinquent friends and definitions favourable to commit delinquency are associated positively with delinquency. It is consistent with the differential association theory and findings of other related theories. In contrast girls were found to be less delinquent than boys.

14.1. Assault

The abandoned street children were likely to be involved in assault. Like the total delinquency, increase of income is positively associated with assault. Further, those who felt blockage of opportunity were more likely to engage in assault which supported strain theory. Moreover, those whose friends were more in touch with police were more vulnerable to commit assault. Finally, those who viewed assault in more favourable terms had higher likelihood of being involved

in assault. These two findings are consistent with the differential association theory.

14.2. Street delinquency

Street delinquencies were very likely for the abandoned street children and the account was almost double of the variable assault. All of the social bonding variables: attachment to parents, family supervision, degree of activity, are statistically significant in case of street delinquency. Age, income, delinquent friends are statistically significant and have positive impacts.

14.3. Public disturbance

Degree of activity, family supervision, social commitment, and street involvement were statistically significant and inversely proportional to public disturbance. However, attachment to parents and normative beliefs are found to be statistically insignificant. Income, having delinquent friends and definition favourable to engage in public disturbance had significant impact on delinquent behavior.

15. The Key Findings

The present research has the following findings:

1. Rates of street children tend to be highest during early adolescence (12-15 years age group). The tendency is followed by late adolescence (age 16+)
2. Migration rate on street is higher for boys than girls. The number of girls in street situations was estimated to be about one third that for boys. This difference is not necessarily because girls experience a strong social bond within their households. Rather, the practice of subjugating the girls from an early age (Blanchet, 1996) reduces the likelihood that girls will confront abuse. Consequently, fewer girls leave their families to move to the street. In addition, girls usually have lower levels of knowledge about what life is like 'on the street' and, if they acquire useful knowledge, they are likely to find that sexual violence and sex work are likely to be a major component of life on the street. The 'downside' of life on the street is higher, perhaps much higher, for girls compared to boys.
3. Gender, age, influence the risks of violence to which street children are exposed and their responses to violence. For example, street boys tend more to replicate violence as aggressors and report more physical violence while girls tend to internalize violence and may be more vulnerable to ongoing abuse and victimization. Girls also tend to be vulnerable to additional forms of violence in crisis situations when

compared to men and boys and more likely (although by no means exclusively) to be subjected to sexual violence.

4. The ideas about 'good' child raising, strong social bond are closely inter-related. The children who decided to leave their households were children who experienced high degrees of violence and especially violence that was perceived as unfair. While it is hard to bear physical, emotional and sexual violence, the biggest shock for children was the absolute collapse of the trust relationship with adults and the fear generated by the unpredictability of future unfair treatment and violence. Although most of the interviewed children left home to escape violence or unfair punishment, for some of them the justification for migration was more complex. For this group departure appeared to be driven by low levels of self esteem and was viewed as a form of self-punishment based on a feeling of guilt. With particular reference to abusive step-parents, some children reported migration to the street not to escape abuse but to save the marriage of their natural parent. They believed that leaving home would please their natural parent and improve the quality of life within the household.
5. Parents, stepparents, relatives, sometimes members of the wider community, were the most commonly reported perpetrators of violence against children who move to the street. One significant pattern can be identified. Abuse, by stepparent, following the remarriage of a natural parent. This related to both stepmothers and stepfathers, the relationship between stepmothers and children appeared to be problematic in terms of lack of affection and childcare for stepchildren and for the punishing of stepchildren. The neglect and violence towards stepchildren increases with the birth of a new child between father and stepmother. By contrast, the relationships between stepfather and stepdaughter were particularly exposed to sexual abuse.
6. Poor economic background is another important factor for being abandonment. Household food insecurity leads to elder children abandoning the household. Indeed, economic factors are seen as the driving force behind street migration. The data collected from the survey shows that most of these children come from extremely low-income families. Poverty in the family is the one of the major exponential factors leading to the initiation process by the children to street migration. Economic poverty leads to stresses and tension that become an indirect cause of street migration.
7. Every street children are found as drug user which is very alarming issue.

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8. A good number of street children, as reported by key informants, were involved in theft, snatching, sex work, drug business, pick pocket. Some are used as drug or arms carrier.
 9. Another important point of consideration is that, street delinquents have no specific address to identify. Their locations are changed very rapidly. So, it is very tough to locate them easily. They can remain fugitive for long time. So, police necessarily should develop criminal profiling to analyze every criminal behavior. Government should plan a strategy to produce national data base for preserving information. Although they are still engaging in petty offences they might be victimized by adult criminals as they are in very vulnerable situation with no parental guidance.
 10. Some of the street children have deep hatred towards the society. Some want to take revenge. This is very alarming because if not properly handled, the street children might be beyond control. During interview these children did not report these activities, instead reported other activities. This is true that such children have two occupations, one which they want to show to public so that no one could suspect them in their involvement in anti social activities. This category of street children also does not like to stay permanently in one locality. They often move to other locality, even to other town.

The general perception about children of the street is that they are on the street because of their extreme poverty, homelessness due to disaster and the inability of parents to meet-up their basic material needs. However, this analysis indicates that poor social bond is the main cause and it comes from less attachment towards family arising out from mostly the abusive behavior of parents, less scope to involve in the society/societal activities, less hope for the future which leads to the frustration and finally less knowledge on how to respect the common values. These issues ultimately lead them to involve in criminal world. Hence, policies and actions need to be taken to address such street migration as per national security concern.

26. Discussion & Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine the social bonding elements in the street situation to see how much these are influencing to criminal activities. The findings show that these elements play an important role in total delinquency, assault, street delinquency and public disturbance. Although the research design is mainly adopted from a Western or western-prone society (the United States or Turkey), but we consider that social bonding theory explains very well the delinquent behaviour of the street children in Dhaka, the capital city

of Bangladesh. The findings also agreed the previous study on social bonding conducted elsewhere.

The findings stated that, the social bonding elements, e.g. attachment to family, family supervision, social commitment and belief in conventional values are consistently significant. It is also found that, attachment to family, peer involvement and social influence had a consistent relationship with total delinquency. So, it agreed with the central assumption of the social bonding theory- is- lower level of social bond is related to the higher degree of delinquent behavior.

Among the control variables, income, delinquent friends and definitions favourable to engagement in delinquency were consistently significant across all types of delinquent behaviors. All of these variables have positive impacts on the dependent variables. Although age, gender and absence of opportunity are also significant, their influences on the four dependent variables are less consistent. Whereas age and absence of opportunity had positive effects, but female is inversely proportional to dependent variables.

The street children in Dhaka city have emerged to be a distinct group as direct consequences of decaying social bonds, societal deprivation developed from poverty, over population, family disintegration, unemployment, illiteracy as well as unplanned urbanization. They are vulnerable to be controlled by criminal gangs and apparently even linked to larger criminal syndicates. It is projected that if the number of street children in Dhaka city are increasing such existing manner, within 2020 their strength would be around 10 million which amount is enough to fragile the country's security. The transnational threats like terrorism, human, drug or arms trafficking will be proliferated more vigorously. Is it under any consideration? Do we realize the situation? Are we awake?

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Drug Addiction among the Youths in Dhaka City: The Causes and Consequence

Hossien Muhammed Zaki ¹

Abstract: *Drug addiction has already emerged as public health issues throughout the world. It is creating dreadful effect in the society of Bangladesh with biological, social, financial, psychological and security effect on the individuals, families and the community. Latest available statistics suggests that at present the number of drug addicted persons in Bangladesh is more than 6 million who spend over taka 70 million everyday. In view of this devastating scenario, this article on the basis of latest secondary data and literature along with an empirical study conducted by the author himself, is attempted to explore the causes and consequences of drug addiction among the youths in Dhaka city. The author has pointed out that a number of actors and factors influence behind drug addiction. Amongst them the peer group pressure and abundance supply of different drug substances can be identified as the most prominent reasons. However, after being addicted 82% of the addicts make several attempts to get over from drug addiction but they failed. Finally the author has strongly argued that the demand for drug must be reduced and at the same time pro-active participation of each and every family member, neighbours and close relatives must be ensured in the treatment and rehabilitation process of the drug addicts. All these actually call for multi-pronged strategy and programmes that should be implemented both by the GOs and NGOs which would pave the way to establish a drug-free society in Bangladesh.*

Keywords: Drug Addiction, Crime, Social Transformation, Demand and Supply, Actors and Factors, Treatment and Rehabilitation

1. Introduction and the Incidence

Whenever we sit to think about drug addiction we can hardly forget the brutal murder of a police official and his wife by their only daughter, Oishee, an O-level student at the Oxford International School in Dhaka city! How can these youngsters kill so dispassionately? This is the moot question yet to be completely answered globally. Drug addiction has already emerged as public health issues throughout the world causing serious social and economical burden to different nations. On the other hand drug addiction was declared a disease by the American Medical Association which can be treated and arrested (Mahajan *et al*, 1998). Globally, an estimated 183,000 (range: 95,000-226,000) drug-related deaths were reported in 2012. That figure corresponds to a mortality

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rate of 40.0 (range: 20.8-49.3) deaths per million among the population aged 15-64. Although the extent of illicit drug use among men and women varies from country to country and in terms of the substances used, generally, men are two to three times more likely than women to have used an illicit substance (United Nations, 2014). In case of Bangladesh unfortunately Department of Narcotic Control (DNC) do not exactly know how many people abuse drugs in Bangladesh, because they do not have any nationwide authentic survey in this respect (DNC Report, 2013). However, the Daily Star (2013) estimated that the number of addicts in Bangladesh is more than six million who spend over Tk 70 million every day. At later stage Khan (2014) reported that 53.27% of youths in the country became addicted to drugs in 2012 while the number was 44.26% in 2011.

If we look at another facet of drug addiction we can observe that around 10 percent of outpatients are regularly visiting the country's hospitals with cases of addiction-related complications (The Daily Star, 2013). The addicts are students, professionals, businessmen, laborers, rickshaw pullers and from other professions. Even the members of the law enforcing and security agencies of the government are also not immune to the problem of drugs. It has also grabbed the social leaders. The teachers and physicians who are supposed to guide the society are more or less getting drug addicted. Drugs have already caused deterioration in standards of education and many of the students have been dropped out from schools and colleges. Feroz (2012) has pointed out that about 80 percent of the drug addicts are adolescents and young men of 15 to 30 years of age in Bangladesh.

As a matter of fact instances of drug addition these days can be noticed almost everywhere in educational institutions, parks, pavements, bus terminals, posh residential areas, slums etc. Street urchins are seen openly inhaling what is popularly known as 'Dandy', a cheap synthetic solution used to paste shoe soles. Poor drug takers either smoke ganja or take sedative injections, sitting in the corners of parks or other solitary places. The affluent section of drug abusers usually consumes yaba, phensedyl, heroine and alcohol.

2. Drug-Crime Nexus

The association between drugs and crime in the public mind is so strong that a recent psychology experiment showed the word "drug" tightly linked to such words as "choke," "knife," "fight," and "wound" in participants' associative memory networks (Bushman, 1996)". To get hold of money for buying drugs, addict make himself associate of criminal group and commit crimes. There is no denying that both petty and serious crimes have been on the rise, particularly in urban areas of the country, and some of the crimes have got direct linkages

with drugs. Almost awash in guns and plagued by addicts and extortionists, Dhaka is struggling to cope with the wave of violence causing the alarming rate of homicide within the Dhaka city. The complete picture of drug abuse in Dhaka is much worse than what is apparent to the naked eye. According to a report, although prepared about one and half a decade ago (1998), there were 30 different groups, employing about 30,000 people, active in Dhaka City. They are mostly particular locality based, bus terminal based, and college/university based (in particular Dhaka University and Jagannath University). It is estimated that alcohol and drugs such as hashish, heroin, phensidyl, pethidine, etc. are sold at about 5000 points all over Dhaka City (Siddiqui *et al*, 2000).

Department of Narcotics Control (DNC), under the Ministry of Home Affairs are undertaking all necessary measures to control and curb drug abuse within the country but this particular government agency is found to be inactive most of the times. The police, too, are non-serious about busting drug dens. Allegations are there that both police and narcotic control people accrue hefty financial benefits regularly from drug trade, a great money spinning activity (Financial Express, 2013). However, the problem of drug addiction has gradually taken a very serious turn and it is now eating into the vitals of society. On the other hand due to exuberant profit, it has become very difficult to stop drug business completely.

3. Drug Addiction Causing Far Reaching Effect

Drug addiction does not just affect the addict; it has a far reaching effect which encompasses family, friends, employers, healthcare professionals and society as a whole. Drug abuse is a dreadful threat in the society with biological, social, financial, psychological and security effect on the individuals, families and the community (Nabi, 2009). None can defy the devastating effects of drug abuse when it strikes close to home, when a son or a brother has this habit and makes no effort to come out of it. It is very difficult to get out from this evil habit once someone gets hooked. In most cases, parents of the addicts suffer the most. Nothing is more traumatic for parents than to see their children slowly slipping away due to drugs. Many families are devastated when a family member is addicted to drugs. Sometimes parents start blaming each other for their child's drug abuse as they do not know how to deal with the situation. According to experts, there are instances when the parents' relationship drift apart and even marriages break up due to accusing each other for the addiction of their children (Mitu, 2007). Thus drug addiction not only disrupts peace and prosperity of families and even shakes the stability of the social texture itself. Currently it is not only impairing the public health, but also corrupting institutions, retarding socio-economic development, threatening political stability and in many cases endangering state security.

4. Causes of Drug Addiction and Other Correlates

Not long ago, a common scenario was boys playing in the field with their friends in afternoon. When only one house on each street would have the badminton court dug as winter set in, for the entire 'paara' to enjoy. The situation has been complicated due to the fast paced social transformation brought in the society by rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and rural-urban migration. It has eroded the traditional, informal, social control mechanisms and has even brought in changes in the structure of the family, from joint to nuclear, or at best an extended family.

Now families are walled in. Everywhere there are buildings and building construction. No place for sport, no constructive way for youth to utilize their physical and mental energy. Society forgets about the need for bookstores. Cultural outlets also being limited and coaching centres acting as 'dark satanic mills' of learning. Therefore, something in the building of the room is burning, and it's not just the yaba sliding down the aluminium foil. It's a generation's best years, the promise of our youth. Our society has failed to prevent them to take illicit drug.

With materialism, consumerism and individualism gaining ascendancy, modern youth is drifting away from his traditional roots and finds it difficult to cope with ever increasing social pressures. Further, the increasing economic pressures compel more and more parents to take full time employment leaving a child, more so a youth, alone in the house or in the company of friends. With no adequate programmes available to keep them busy, they become easy prey to drug-abuse. There may be various reasons for a youth to take to drug abuse, from just curiosity and a tendency to experiment with. It may be an expression of his revolt against established authority, a way of gaining recognition in his group or he may just not be able to say 'NO', when offered. Currently none but everyday would concede that there is an uncontested demand for combating drug abuse from Bangladesh society.

5. The Demand and Supply Nexus

The demand and supply of drugs in Bangladesh is constantly changing in course of time and perspectives. Increased demand is inviting increased supply. The patterns of use are also shifting. Till 1970 only cannabis, opium, and alcohol were used in this country. Mritasanjibani Sura, an Ayurvedic health tonic containing alcohol was added after 1970. After that, heroin and Phensedyl in 1990, injecting drugs in 2000, Yaba in 2005 and glue sniffing in 2008 emerged as new drugs (DNC Report, 2013).

Bangladesh, though not a drug producing country, is vulnerable for drug abuse for its geographical location. The international narcotics producing zone Golden Crescent, consisting Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran is located in its north-west.

The Golden Triangle consisting Myanmar, Laos and Thailand is located at its south-east corner. The four thousand kilometer land border of India by three sides and two hundred fifty kilometer land border of Myanmar at the south-east corner work as geographical threat.

6. Consumption and Seizure of Drugs/Substances in Terms of Their Varieties

Different sources specifically the data and information available from DNC quite sufficiently indicates that there is abundance of multifarious drugs/substances which are being consumed regularly by the drug addicts. The pattern of consumption can be seen by diversity of substances can be presented as under:

Table:-1: The trend and pattern of consumption as well as seizure of drugs in terms of their varieties

Types of drugs consumed	The trend and pattern of consumption						
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Remarks
Pethidine		6.69	3.96	1.19	-	-	Consumption of pethidine has come down to a remarkable level.
Heroin		38.26	35.25	42.73	46.17	30.70	We can see the rise and fall in addiction to heroin.
Buprenorphine		17.71	31.54	27.56	23.22	20.00	As above
Phensedyl		6.46	3.58	2.02	2.95	4.26	As above
Toluene *		0.12	0.51	1.01	1.07		Consumption of toluene is on increase.
Sedative, Hypnotic and Tranquilizer		2.11	1.27	1.40	1.34	3.73	A trend of up and down.
Statistics on Seizure							
Seizure of Cannabis (kg.)		32955	48749	54244	38702	35012	A trend of up and down.
Amount of YABA seized	36543	129644	812716	1360186	1951392	2821528	A phenomenal increase of seizure of Yaba. More than 77.21% increase since 2008.

Source: DNC Report (2013)

* Toluene based-adhesive called "Dandy" is very cheap and easily available at hardware stores. One gram of dandy costs approximately taka 10 to 15 and this amount is sufficient for three to four children to get intoxicated.

Evidence from An Empirical Study

Very recently Zaki (2015) quite heavily dwelt on this issue through an empirical study done in Dhaka city drawn 200 samples purposively and observed that 38% are addicted to yaba, 19.50% to heroin and 15% to ganja (Table-2).

Table-2: Nature of addiction of the drug addicts

Types of drugs	Frequency		Total (%)
	Females (n=60)	Males (n=140)	
Yaba	13.50	24.50	38.00
Heroin	5.00	14.50	19.50
Ganja (cannabis)	4.50	10.50	15.00
Injected drugs	3.00	5.50	8.50
Phensidyl	1.00	4.50	5.50
Alcohol	1.50	3.50	5.00
Tablet	1.00	4.00	5.00
Glue (Solution)	0.50	3.00	3.50
Others	0.00	0.00	0.00
%	30.00	70.00	100.00
Total N	60	140	200

Source: Zaki (2015)

The study reveals that daily labours usually like to take heroin. Since yaba is comparatively expensive it is usually consumed by the members of the affluent society. Zaki (ibid) has compared his study findings with DNC (2013) and observed that the percentage of addiction to phensidyl is more or less similar. Except this category in respect of all other substances abused there remains a gulf of difference. For instance: according to Zaki (ibid) the rate of addiction for Yaba is 38%, Heroin is 19.50% and Ganga (Cannabis) is 15%, where as the corresponding percentage is 10.33%, 30.70 % and 27.20% respectively. Table-3 give a very clear picture about the whole scenario:

Table-3: Distribution of Patients by Principal Drug of Abuse

Drug Name	2012 (%)	2013 (%)
Heroin	46.17	30.70
Phensidyl	2.95	4.26
Cannabis	15.70	27.20
Injected Drug	23.22	20.00
Poly Drugs	0.00	0.15
Alcohol	1.61	1.67
Yaba	5.77	10.33
Tablet	1.34	3.73
Glue	1.07	0.91
Others	2.17	1.05
Total	100.00	100.00

Source: Annual Report of DNC, 2013

7. The Actors and Factors Behind

Zaki's study mentioned peer group pressure as the most dominating reason behind their drug addiction. Table-4 presented below focused that due to unhappy conjugal life 25% respondents became drug addicts and this appear to be the second reason. In terms of percentage other reasons behind drug addiction has been enlisted as under :

- failure in love 17%
- to forget the curse of being unemployed 9.50%
- easy accessibility/availability of drugs 7.50%

Other reasons however appear to be less than 4% as a whole.

Table-4: Actors and factors behind intaking drugs

Causes of drug addiction	Frequency		Total (%)
	Females (n=60)	Males (n=140)	
Peer group pressure	9.5	20.50	30.00
Unhappy conjugal life	7.00	18.00	25.00
Excessive frustration	1.00	1.50	2.50
Failure in love affairs	7.00	10.00	17.00

Ignorance about the effect of drug abuse and to get cheap enjoyment as symbol of adulthood	1.50	1.00	2.50
To get relief from the tension arising from business or service	0.50	3.00	3.50
Being fed up with academic pressure	0.00	1.50	1.50
In order to forget the curse of being unemployed	1.00	8.50	9.50
Easy access to drugs	2.50	5.00	7.50
Other reasons	0.00	1.00	1.00
%	30.00	70.00	100.00
Total			
N	60	140	200

This study further pointed out that drug addiction and family relationship is highly co-related. Drug addiction leads to break-down of married life. Out of 96 married respondents only 10.42% are found to be satisfied in their conjugal life (please see Table-5 presented below for more details).

Table-5: Marital relationship with the spouse

Marital relationship	Frequency		Total (%)
	Females (n=29)	Males (n=67)	
Satisfaction in conjugal life	3.13	7.29	10.42
Satisfied to some extent	8.33	23.96	32.29
Not al all satisfied	12.50	33.33	45.83
No response	6.25	5.21	11.46
%	30.21	69.79	100.00
Total			
N	29	67	96

Zaki (ibid) also compared his study findings with the national statistics presented by DNC (Table-6) and pinpointed lot of similarities and dissimilarities with his own study findings. DNC (Table-6) also identified curiosity as the second major reason behind drug addiction. However, DNC reported that due to unemployment a very negligible (0.15% in the year 2013) number of youths

become drug addicted where as Zaki's study findings shows that the percentage is around 10. It is certainly a very significant number.

Table-6: Primary Causes of Drug Abuse of the Patients Under Treatment Programs

Primary causes of drug abuse	2011 (%)	2012 (%)	2013 (%)
Curiosity	32.62	32.68	32.07
Influence of friends	55.29	61.47	60.64
Desire to get easy pleasure	1.39	0.28	0.76
Psychological disorder	0.63	0.56	0.15
Adverse atmosphere in the family	4.16	1.25	2.74
Drug abuse within the family	0.13	0.28	0.00
Easy access to drugs	0.13	0.00	0.00
Unemployment	4.53	0.00	0.15
Frustration	0.38	2.36	1.76
Lack of drug awareness	0.13	0.14	0.15
Others	0.63	0.83	1.67
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Annual Report of DNC, 2013

8. Occupational Backgrounds of the Drug Addicts

Zaki's study pointed out that although 8.5% of the drug addicts are students and 41% are unemployed and they have got no formal income yet they have men and means to procure drugs. Interestingly, it can be observed that persons who have no formal income and the businessmen who have got the highest level of income they are the highest in percentage among the drug addicts. In view of this extreme contrasting situation only one explanation can be put forward : the students and the unemployed somehow or other collect money to get relief from utmost despair and frustration. On the other hand, the businessmen who are reasonably in better economic position are struggling hard for earning more and more money to accrue more profit. They also want to be relieved from this kind of rat-race full of tensions, trauma, turmoil and tribulation. As a way out they start taking drugs and eventually become dependent thereon (Table-7).

Table-7: Occupational background and monthly average income

Occupation- al Back- ground	Females (n=60)		Males (n=140)		Total (%)
	Fre- quency	Income (Tk.)	Fre- quency	Income (Tk.)	
Still Student	3.00	No income	5.50	No income	8.50
Unemployed	11.50	No income	29.50	No income	41.00
Beggary	2.00	5,00-5,000	0.50	5,00-5,000	2.50
Daily Labour	6.00	5,001-10,000	11.50	5,001-10,000	17.50
Govt. service	0.50	10,001-20,000	1.00	10,001-20,000	1.50
Private ser- vice	1.00	10,001-20,000	3.50	10,001-20,000	4.50
Business	6.00	>20,000	15.00	>20,000	21.00
Transport Worker	0.00	5,001-10,000	3.50	5,001-10,000	3.50
%	30.00		70.00		100.00
Total N	60		140		200

9. Source of Financing for Procurement of Drugs

Interestingly it can be observed that 30% of the drug addicts (8.50% female and 21.50% male) spent money for procurement of drugs out of the salary they receive or the income they earn from their occupation or business. The second majority (17.50%) exert physical and mental pressure on their family members and compel them to hand over money so that they can procure or purchase drugs. The third majority (14.50%) have disclosed that they still money from the purses of their family members and manage to procure/purchase drug. At the same time a significant number of drug addicts (10.50%) work as an associate of drug seller in a change they get money which they spend to purchase or procure drugs. Thus it appears that by any means a drug addict can manage money to procure drug to consume.

Table-8: Source of financing for procurement of drugs

Source of money for buying drugs	Frequency		Total (%)
	Females (n=60)	M a l e s (n=140)	
Money spent from the salary received or the income earned from business/ occupation	8.50	21.50	30.00
Through borrowing or lending	3.50	8.00	11.50
Through exerting physical and mental pressure on family members	5.50	12.00	17.50
Through selling valuable domestic goods and articles	2.00	6.50	8.50
Through stealing money from the purses of the family members	6.00	8.50	14.50
Through earning money as an associate of drug seller	3.00	7.50	10.50
Other sources	1.50	6.00	7.50
%	30.00	70.00	100.00
Total N	60	140	200

As many as 94% of the drug addicts of Zaki's study have categorically stated that they have experienced physical changes. At the same time all the drug addicts have disclosed that they had to endure mental and psychological changes after being addicted to drugs.

10. Attempts Made to Get Rid of by the Drug Addicts Themselves

It is heartening to observe that around 82% of addicts are very much willing to get over from drug addictions. As a matter of fact 67% of the drug addicts made attempts at least twice to give up drugs but unfortunately nobody could succeed in their first attempt. Even somebody have already reached at a point of no return. Several reasons have been cited by the drug addicts for doing so. Amongst them the number one reason is unhappy conjugal life and non-cooperation from the spouse (35%). Second most cited reason is the peer group pressure (27%) which they could not overcome and the third one is the curse of unemployment (13.50%) which constantly exerted mental agony and stress. In order to escape these intolerable, painful experience they started to take drugs second time. The other reasons do not seem to be very significant.

Table-9: Reasons behind going for taking drugs for the second time

Reasons	Frequency	
	Females (n=60)	Males (n=140)
To get relief from physical and mental sufferings	5	17
Excessive peer pressure which can't be avoided	15	39
The curse of unemployment	8	19
Unhappy conjugal life and non-cooperation from the spouse	21	49
Lack of capability to control emotions	2	5
Low level stress tolerance capacity	2	1
Broken homes	3	4
Other reasons	4	6

11. The Synthesis and Conclusion

The facts and figures delineated from beginning to the end clearly suggest that a comprehensive as well as a very effective strategy should be deployed both by the GOs and NGOs for control of drug addiction, drug demand reduction and relapse prevention. However, whatever measures are intended to be undertaken that would require family support and strong positive attitudes to be shown by the family members towards the drug addict. But unfortunately Zaki (ibid) has observed 71% of the family members and relatives to show a very negative attitude towards a drug addicted persons and only 29% uphold positive attitudes for the drug addicts (Table-10).

Table-10: Attitude of family members and relatives towards a drug addict

Attitudes shown	Frequency		Total (%)
	Females (n=60)	Males (n=140)	
Positive	7.00	22.00	29.00
Negative	23.00	48.00	71.00
%	30.00	70.00	100.00
Total	60	140	200
N			

It is relevant to mention here that hospitals and clinics run by the government is few in number (only four all over the country). On the other hand drug addiction treatment is very expensive in private hospitals and clinics and usually the drug addicts and their families are to face lot of hassles to get proper treatment. It is also to be noted that the drug addiction begins with the treatment process of detoxification with medication then moves onward to multiple phases including personality development, moral and ethical development, various skill development, behavioural changes, changes in attitudes, belief and life styles, etc which are done through different therapies. But the total process does not remain confined to within the drug addict her/himself. The whole cycle of treatment and rehabilitation also include each and every member of his/her family, neighbours, close relatives and so on. Until and unless all the persons' attitude towards him/her is changed the outcome of the whole process of treatment may turn down as futile exercise.

Every disease has a cure if so then why drug addiction would remain as incurable? We must fight against this deadly disease. It is our moral and social responsibility to rectify the drug addicts and bring them back from their life-killing habit and deviant behaviour to normal life and rehabilitate them in society as productive ones. A more intensive research, action program, and social movement are needed. It is also needed to strengthen family and social values and religious ethics in order to maintain a stable and drug free society. The planners, the policy makers, the law enforcing agencies especially the police and all concerned must keep it in mind that if we fail to obviate this fatal problem from our society it will bring the ultimate doom in our national life and our existence as a healthy nation. If we do not jointly take urgent steps to root out widespread drug abuse, it will weaken our roots as a nation and endanger our existence.

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Community Policing in Bangladesh: an Innovative Approach towards Social Peace and Stability

Dewan Lalan Ahmed ¹

Abstract: *The paper intends to assess the essence of community policing for the safeguard of social peace and stability in Bangladesh. Community policing is a relatively new but innovative concept in Bangladesh. In a nutshell, movement of community policing does not get pleasant appearance across the level and leftovers less effective. Though to some extent it is perceived as a potential tool to be flourished as an effective force to resolve community level problems and promote social justice. Community policing purports to resolve problems and prevent crime and expects that crime will more likely be solved by the intimate knowledge of the community. Collaborative effort between the police and the community have essence to identify problems of crime and disorder as this innovative approach involves all elements of the community in the search for solutions to these problems. The paper is ended up with a variety of recommendations to expand the concept across level so as to ensure a society from criminality, volatility and discord.*

Keywords: Community Policing, Social Peace, Stability, Community Participation.

1. Introduction

It is now well conversant that, community-oriented policing (COP) reshapes traditional police management and operational strategies through facilitation of collaborative working relations between citizens and police, based on a problem solving approach that is both responsive to the needs of the community and sensitive to the challenges that police face in performing their duties. The last few decades have shifted police from a force to a service oriented organization.

Community policing is perhaps the most popular and the most demanded policing method among the law enforcement authorities, and has been implemented by many countries in recent years. Police rely heavily on public approval to maintain their legitimacy and need to persuade the public to seek their consent to be governed. In this context of police community relations, citizen satisfaction with police becomes critical. Many police scholars believe that a new era in police management has been experienced since the 1980's.

Community policing or community oriented policing has been the main theme of policing over the last two decades. While it is often argued that there is not a universally accepted definition of community policing, "every definition of

¹ Additional Police Super of Bangladesh Police is currently serving in railway police, west zone, railway dist, syedpur.

community policing shares the idea that the police and the community must work together to define and develop solutions to problems”. Rather than a set of police tactics, community policing is seen an “organizational strategy” for running a police department. Community policing is a relatively new concept in Bangladesh.

Police along with United Nations, NGOs and Community Based Organizations are on frank attempt to bring the community and the police together in resolving problems prevailing at the community level aimed at ensuring social peace and stability. Although community policing does not get momentum across Bangladesh, but given the prevailing unrest and unsteady scenario in the community, community policing deserves utmost precedence across level.

This paper intends to analyze the prominence of community policing in Bangladesh towards establishment of peace and stability in the society as well as recommend making the community policing more effective so as to deliver the expected services for attaining a just based society.

2. Community Policing: Evolution

Herman Goldstein work, initially outlined in 1987, set the stage for the development of both community-oriented policing and problem-oriented policing. He argued that policing needed to shift away from the traditional model it had embraced, which was reactive rather than proactive. He laid out several requirements if police departments were to shift to a community-oriented policing, including the need for COP to become an organizing principle and fundamental philosophy for departments. This approach considerably expanded the scope of policing activities, since not only crime but also sources of physical and social disorder became targets of interest.

Another important context for COP was provided by Wilson and Kelling’s (1982) argument that disorder in the local community when it reaches a critical mass creates a potential for more serious crime and urban decay. In response, the police—to protect the community and establish control—must engage in order maintenance and make proactive arrests. Four elements of the broken window’s strategy explain its impact on crime reduction). First, dealing with disorder puts police in contact with those who commit more serious crimes. Second, the high visibility of police causes a deterrent effect for potential perpetrators of crime. Third, citizens assert control over neighborhoods, thereby preventing crime. And finally, as problems of disorder and crime become the responsibility of both the community and the police, crime is attacked in an integrated fashion (Christopher, 1999).

In the United States, CP resulted from an overall failure of the police to fight crime, maintain order and service the people. More simply, it is a reaction to the

perception that in policing, nothing works (Warren, 1994). The seventh of Sir Robert Peel's nine Principles of Policing anticipates CP thusly: To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interest of community welfare and existence (Barry, 1993).

As a strategy, CP has variously been associated with police public relations, team policing, and foot-patrol and crime prevention (Crawford, 1997). Whatever the strategy, it is directed at: the enhancement of human relations, a community sensitive and user-friendly police service, consultation on the needs of communities, respect for human rights, cultural sensitivity, continuous positive contact with community members, discretion on the part of police officers when they enforce the law, and the establishment of mechanisms to enhance the accountability and transparency of the police (Bayley, 1994).

Police has always engaged in aspects of CP activities – from reaching out to the community and to engaging in problem solving. The change that is radical is that police over various aspects - philosophy, strategy, effectiveness¹¹ – of CP, there is little debate that community policing has changed fundamentally the way police organize and operate, i.e., from decentralized organization to reorient crime as problems (Eck, 2004) However successful CP is as a police strategy, intellectually it is still very much a practice in search of a scientific theory.

Community policing approach allows the police to venture beyond the confine of the legal definition of a problem reported to the police – rape, murder, burglary - to attend to the roots of the problem – urban plight, social disintegration, moral bankruptcy - the police was first enlisted to help (Bragg, Kennedy and Warning, 2001). Once liberated from law, as a defining and empowering device, the police is free to look at problem in different ways and boundless manner. While liberating, Goldstein provided no clue as to how far the police should go and where the police should stop, in solving (root causes) problems. This issue perplexed scholars and confused practitioners.

The lawyers have long understood the pitfalls of trying to find the causes to events: proximate cause, contributing cause ad infinitum. For our purpose, what social service the police rendered is less important as the fact that the police are not solely political controller, law enforcer and crime fighter. They help people to solve their problems of all kinds. Like so many other researches to follow, the research failed to draw upon the empirical findings to articulate a police theory calling for a renew understanding of police role, focusing of problem solving.

The police of course can offer his advice as an expert consultant as to how best to deal with a problem. This necessary gives them the right to dissuade the citizen from using the police for what to the police is a non-problem, problem. Lastly, the police can certainly limit the availability of resources based on commonly agreed upon objective criteria written into law and policy. It is known, when people call the police, they do so because they need help (with resources) to solve a problem. A problem arises as a result of unmet expectations, or resource deficit. Expectations can be met by deploying proper resources. For example, a simple theft is a problem because it breaches a number of expectations: victim does not expect to be violated; victim does not expect to loss money; victim does not expect to have to walk to work, etc. Problems can also be solved with the lowering of expectations. For those who lived in a crime infested neighborhood, residences learn to adjust their normative expectations and prioritizing their needs; a “crime” problem in the suburb might just be a nuisance in the inner city (Kappeler, 2005).

Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime. Community policing is comprised of three key components:

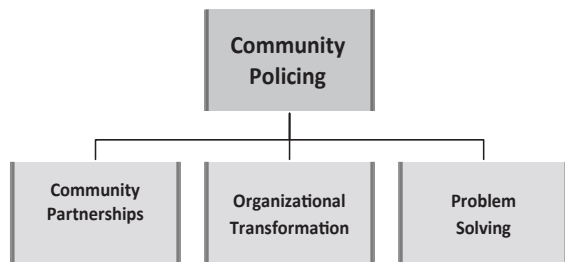


Figure 1: Key components of Community Policing

Community Partnerships:

Collaborative partnerships between the law enforcement agency and the individuals and organizations they serve to develop solutions to problems and increase trust in police.

Organizational Transformation:

The alignment of organizational management, structure, personnel, and information systems to support community partnerships and proactive problem solving

Problem Solving:

The process of engaging in the proactive and systematic examination of identified problems to develop and rigorously evaluate effective responses.

3. Development Perspective of Community-Oriented Policing in Bangladesh

Bangladesh Police is primarily a reactive force with a philosophy of public control rather than community service. There is considerable emphasis on solving crime after it occurs, rather than preventing it from happening in the first place. This can largely be attributed to a lack of awareness and understanding, but also to a lack of leadership on the part of various stakeholders, including the police.

There has been a limited assessment by Bangladesh Police to analyze and treat the underpinning causes of crimes. Because of this lack of analysis, and the lack of police guidelines or policy on crime prevention, police are unable to provide advice to the public on what preventative actions they can take. In fact police themselves lack training and experience in crime prevention and community safety. Beyond the economic reform measures required to meet the poverty reduction objectives set by the government of Bangladesh, improved human rights and security standards play an equally important role in stimulating economic growth, reducing poverty, and enhancing a sense of national identity and genuine voice in public affairs among the poor.

For the poor, women, and other marginalized populations to benefit from economic opportunities, their basic rights must be secure in the home, community, and workplace, and they should have confidence in the commitment of law enforcement agencies to protect their rights and interests and be ready to lend their own support for safer communities. The public security environment in Bangladesh has deteriorated in recent years, with an increase in robbery, extortion, assault and intimidation, crimes of violence against women, and extremist violence. Despite the recent decline in politically motivated crimes with the introduction of emergency rule, a widening gap in mutual understanding, trust, and communication continues to exist at the community level between police and citizens, undermining public security.

A baseline study of community-police relations conducted by The Asia Foundation (Asian Foundation, 2004) found that citizens have little trust or confidence in the police and that they prefer to exhaust alternative remedies before seeking police assistance when threatened or affected by crime—a situation affirmed by subsequent research. The Foundation study found that police are perceived to have little sense of professional duty towards citizens, but that citizens in turn have little appreciation of the challenges that police face in performing their duties. These challenges include inadequate manpower, lack of professional training, equipment, and operating resources, low salaries, long hours in difficult working conditions, and other pressures and demands that distract them from their work. Tensions and misunderstandings in community police relations are exacerbated by the lack of opportunity for citizens to engage in good faith dialogue with police on issues of common interest or to reach joint solutions to issues that give rise to conflict.

A key initiative involving the police are the police initiated community based policing in Mymensingh. This innovative approach was initiated by senior police officials posted at Mymensingh District Police Headquarters in the early 1990's in response to the poor law and order situation existing in the area. In 1992 a, community-based policing in a form of Town Defense party (TDP) activities commenced and still continue today as a model of proactive policing. The strategy is based on the principle of the police and the community finding solutions together not only in response to current problems, but also as a pre-emptive measure (PRP, 2012). The initiative is fully owned by the police and the community, decisions are taken jointly and funds are locally raised to support the activities.

In policing a liberal democracy, with a diverse and energetic population, there are two broad strategies available to the police executive; the community policing approach and the law and order enforcement approach. These two are not so much exact opposites as they are points on a continuum. Community policing encompasses a variety of philosophical and practical approaches and is still evolving rapidly. Community policing strategies vary depending on the needs and responses of the communities involved; however, certain basic principles and considerations are common to all community policing efforts.

Community policing is a philosophy and an organizational strategy that allows the police and community to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighborhood decay. This philosophy rests on the belief that law-abiding people in the community deserve input into the police process. It also rests in the belief that solutions to contemporary problems demand freeing both citizens and the police to explore creative, new ways to address neighborhood concerns beyond a narrow focus on individual incidents of crime.

4. Bangladesh Community Policing Strategy: Brief Argument

The overall objective of the Community Policing strategy of Bangladesh Police is; making communities a better and safer place for all citizens through a measurable reduction in crime by enhancing community confidence and trust in a more community focused police service. Achieving this objective, this proposed document develops policies and programs that incorporate leadership commitment; customer based organizational transformation, change in the structure and management of police organization and unlimited partnerships. Goal of the strategy is a Safer Bangladesh for our children, families, schools and communities where everyone is working together to prevent crime while purpose of the strategy is to working together with community to build safer communities, free of fear, through partnership.

The Bangladesh Police Reform Program (PRP) commenced in 2005 with the aim of improving the efficiency, effectiveness and accountability of the police, thereby making Bangladesh safer and more secure for citizens and visitors alike. The crime prevention component of this program is designed to improve police-community engagement and create an environment that facilitates prevention of crime and equitable access to justice. This is particularly serious for women, girls and the poor and vulnerable groups. Problems addressed by this component relate generally to the user unfriendliness of the police 'system' and the difficulties people experience in trying to access policing services.



Figure 2 Basis of Community Policing (PRP 2005)

A strong emphasis is placed on crime prevention and community engagement. Model thanas are established in metropolitan and rural areas to demonstrate how community policing can benefit the community and ensure their needs and expectation can be met. These thanas are dedicated to deliver pro-people policing service in their engagements with the local community. Police community consultation is a process to assist Bangladesh Police to engage the community in crime prevention and the community safety through the community policing. The implementation of the Community Policing philosophy is one of the most priority fields in police reform process in Bangladesh. It is singled out as the third most priority in the first ever-strategic plan of Bangladesh police. The implementation of community policing, thus, becomes one of the six components of the PRP phase-2.

In Bangladesh, there is a three-tiered local government system where the elected Union Parishad (UP) constitutes the base. Each UP constitutes nine wards. Bangladesh police have taken up the wards as the basic units to implement community policing. The Community Policing Forums (CPF's) set up at the ward level have been performing the core functions of the community policing system in Bangladesh. There are two types of committees at the ward level- the executive committee and the other is the advisory committee. The ward committee and

2 Community Police Forums (CPF's) have been set up in almost every town in the country. Some forums have been more successful than others, but where both sides have bought into the partnership and brought energy and commitment to it, the forums have made the streets a great deal safer. The police cannot make an area safe if the community does not help them. The community often has important information about crime, so we ask you to give this information to the police (or to CPF members) to help make your community a safer place to live and work in. If we want a safe community, we need as many people as possible to work together. The police, citizens, community leaders, business owners, schools, churches, government departments, etc. must become equal partners against crime.

CPFs are overseen by a coordination committee at the UP level. At the police station, there is a Thana coordination convening committee and in the district, there is a district- coordination committee. The numbers of the members of the committees formed in each level should not exceed 21. Community members from all walks of the society have been included in the CPFs. At all levels of community engagement, 33% representation of the women is also ensured. The CPFs are expected to be run, managed, and funded by the community members. A Community Policing Officer (CPO) coordinates the activities of the CPFs .

5. Essence of Community Policing for Social Peace and Stability in Bangladesh: Rationalization

At the outset, this section speaks about social peace. By definition, social peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violence, conflict behaviors and the freedom from fear of violence in a given society (Wikipedia). Commonly understood as the absence of hostility, peace also suggests the existence of healthy or newly healed interpersonal or international relationships, prosperity in matters of social or economic welfare, the establishment of equality, and a working political order that serves the true interests of all (The Scottish Institute for Policing Research, 2011).

Community policing works as a vehicle to build peace and ensure safety and stability in the society. In many respects, it presents goals, values, and practices that are consistent with restorative justice ideals. Community policing purports to resolve problems and prevent crime and expects that crime will more likely be solved by intimate knowledge of the community (US Department of Justice, , 2010). There are many conundrums embedded in these beliefs. Although members of a community may be willing to work with police to ensure that problems are resolved and even that offenders are apprehended and brought to justice, as arrests increase in communities, may communities become destabilized and residents' attachments to communities weaken. It is a collaborative effort between the police and the community that identifies problems of crime and disorder and involves all elements of the community in the search for solutions to these problems.

Bangladesh is a peace-loving nation and it is manifested in our constitutional commitment to the general and complete disarmament. Since its emergence as an independent nation in 1971, Bangladesh has always been a pioneer in the South Asian Region for the cause of global peace and disarmament. The most fundamental reason for community policing and problem-solving is acknowledging that the police can't solve all community problems by themselves. Community policing requires the majority of the community to accept personal responsibility for personal safety and solving problems in their neighborhoods with the support of the police and other government agencies.

By creating space and opportunities for citizens and police to discuss their respective views, expectations and matters of common interest, COP helps to make police more responsive to citizen interests. Improved police services in turn nurture mutual trust and respect between police and members of the communities that they serve, promote improved communication and collaboration, and contribute to increased public satisfaction with police services— all of which translates into safer communities (David 1988).

In general, the demand for social peace and stability often exceeds the state's capacity to provide it. Although state strength is relative, it is often measured on a range according to the state's ability and willingness to provide political goods associated with statehood such as physical security, legitimate political institutions, economic management, and social welfare, and its capacity to control its territory. In weak, failing or collapsed states the threats to security are more amplified. Their inherent structural weakness often causes of proliferation and expansion of private security actors. Community policing that is more police-oriented emphasized the training of police in the philosophy and practice of community policing. They would then work with the community to identify and resolve local issues. In contrast, community policing that is more community-oriented involved the police working with the community to identify local problems.

Human rights violations committed by police officials and non-observance of the rule of law have contributed to reinforcing the perception of mistrust amongst some local communities in Bangladesh. At the same time, upholding the rule of law may conflict with the responsibility to protect human rights, especially if the law requires police institutions to act in an arbitrary and repressive manner. Several donor agencies and governments consider community policing an integral component that can contribute to address social conflict. This approach falls under the broader attempts to link security sector initiatives with development and social conflict reduction initiatives.

Therefore, community policing initiatives attempt to make peoples access to justice more accessible, regardless of their social or economic status by bringing law enforcement organizations closer to the population. While overlapping economic development activities with security sector activities such as police reform might be mutually beneficial, more research needs to be done in this area to understand the root causes of crime and the precise links between social peace restoration and stability issues.

Reducing the level of insecurity and improving safety in a community is one of the primary objectives of community policing. However, citizens will only be willing to hand over illicit weapons in their possession if they perceive an improvement in the public safety and security and if they have a certain degree of trust in the police and other law enforcement agencies. Community policing

is regarded by many donors as a gateway to help build confidence and improve the relationship between local law enforcement officials and the community.

Experts note that women's access to security and justice is important since customary law and religious practices often greatly affect women's lives and status. Women must be involved in all consultations for designing community policing policies, to ensure that their security priorities are reflected. For example, women may have a different view on what social conflict need priority attention, which parts of the neighborhood may be particularly dangerous, and what approaches are most likely to be successful in preventing crime and providing security to the population.

While it is generally acknowledged that in principle CPFs are the best way forward in bringing together members of local communities and the police concerned to prevent and reduce crime, the proper creation and functioning of these forums has proved to be both difficult and frustrating for both members of the community and the police service. Most communities, particularly, those located in remote areas of the country, still have serious reservations about working with a police service which has not proven itself to be either accountable, or efficient in dealing with local issues regarding safety and security.

Police officers may feel that these forums have the potential of undermining the role and power of the police service by involving civilians in prioritizing police activities and playing a central role in intelligence gathering and the arresting of suspected criminals. Furthermore, police officers in a number of areas may share the view of citizens that an inappropriate police officer was selected to represent the police service in Community Police Forums. Community police forums should serve as mechanisms for improving police/community relations and should ultimately assist greatly in decreasing and preventing crime. While the importance of community policing in general cannot be doubted, it should be openly noted that this model of policing, and more particularly the operation of CPFs has been initiated in Western European and North American countries.

The current low morale often spoken about in the police service can only serve to undermine attempts at community policing. An overworked, underpaid police officer who has been witness to endless violent crimes are unlikely to want to spend their spare time attending community police forums or making concerted efforts to build relationships in the areas in which they work and live. Police management and employers need to be made very aware of the difficulties of community policing given a police service whose members are suffering from inadequate orientation, funding and capacity building programmes. If the government is deeply concerned about social crime as it should be, this should be indicated in policy making and this would affect the conditions of service of the police, as well as budgetary considerations.

6. Conclusion

Community policing is a dedicated force working towards a society which guarantees dignity and protection for everyone who resides in Bangladesh. Together with other collective bodies in the police service, can help develop much needed unity within the community police service while at the same time setting an example before the global community about the potential for restoration of peace and stability. The Bangladeshi Police Service desperately needs the opportunity to rid itself of its shady past and to cultivate trusting relationships between the police and the communities they are servicing. It is only if this path is taken that police will be able to regain their dignity as citizens of Bangladesh and the bearers of a morality which is exemplary and shared by the majority of Bangladeshi. Once this has been achieved, there is little doubt that the police service will be more effective in their fight against crime as well as their struggle for positive acknowledgement from both the general community and police management and employers.

Effective policing is the key to justified demands for better pay and general improved working conditions in the police service. To be effective community policing needs a democratic environment to flourish in. This can only happen if the community and the police form a partnership of equality. They must also learn to trust each other with the understanding that whatever

involvement in government suppression of the citizens of former non-democratic societies would be healed the fastest if community policing becomes a reality based on trust and cooperation. Only then will the police be able to truly serve and protect those model citizens who strive to obey the laws their own democracy creates.

An effective institutional set up within the organization is necessary for an effective and expanded response of Community Policing. By and large, the principles of community policing, management commitment, organizational transformation, Change in the structure and management of police organization, partnerships are to be fully attained in order to promote community policing in Bangladesh. The full implementation of the CP strategy will depend upon the political will and leadership coupled with mobilization of resources through the effective partnership. Following steps to be taken in order to make community policing more functional at community level:

- o Awareness campaign
- o Formation of community level committee
- o Regular meeting between policy and community
- o Provide equipment facility to the community police

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- o Provide training to the community police
 - o Open day at community on law and order
 - o Inform the people about the nature of punishment of the crime
 - o Committee of the community policing at ward level should have adequate fund
 - o Committee of the community policing at ward level should be represented by the non-political, qualified and honest person having good reputation across level
 - o Concerned Police station should value the person involved at ward level community policing committee and respond positively to their inputs and activities in order to ensure stabled law and order situation in their jurisdiction
 - o It is evident that, Lack of clarity in understanding of the Community Policing among the community may hold back the process of implementing community policing in our country. To this end, police and general people are supposed to meet one another at the different meetings, so that civilians will know who is working in their area and police will learn who the “good people” are in their area.

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The Political Economy of Crime Control in the Era of Neoliberal Policing

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Abstract: Policing and crime control affairs have always been interconnected with political and economic factors and this interconnectedness can be evidently traced back in earlier classical political economy scholarship. Although the influence of political economy in understanding policing and crime has long been displaced, its importance cannot be ignored if we are to analyze the root causes of the transformation of policing in recent decades. Starting from the 1970s, the shift from the welfare oriented system to market based approach led by neoliberal policies has had profound impact on the nature of policing in the West, particularly in the USA and UK. The impact is reflected not only in the specific crime control strategies and policing models, but more importantly, policing itself became a matter of enormous political contestation and electoral politics in those countries. As neoliberalism proves irresistible and evolves itself continually, policing and crime control strategies also change accordingly. Since policing is all about the preservation of a particular social order, these strategies will continue in varied forms and degree, so long as neoliberalism dominates.

Keywords: Political Economy, Policing, Crime, Risk & Crime Control.

1. The Context

The academic field of police studies is very much dominated with issues of crime prevention, law enforcement and maintenance of order, although the word police historically incorporated a wide array of activities covering most of the affairs in the social and political field. Starting from the late fifteenth century Europe, police power has been central to the constitution of political order and this power had been later extended to the social and economic life for ensuring the continuous growth of wealth and state prosperity (Neocleous, 2006). The interconnectedness between policing and political & economic factors can be evidently traced back in the eighteenth century key political economy works of Adam Smith and those of Beccaria who was very much influenced by the political economists of the Scottish Enlightenment (Reiner, 2012, pp 32-33). This trend continued till the middle of nineteenth century when both formal and informal rules, customs and laws had been institutionalized and because of the subsequent rise of liberalism, policing became reduced with the enforcement of law and maintenance of order in the public space coupled with a desire of

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non-interference in the market. With the advent of neoliberalism starting from the 1970s, as the effectiveness and legitimacy enjoyed by police for more than a century became challenged by rising protest from both working and non-working classes as well as explosion in crime and disorder in western industrialized societies, these led to profound transformations of policing in terms of both institutional orientation as well as strategies in crime prevention. Moreover, as the core elements of neoliberalism began to be firmly rooted in the USA and UK starting from the tenures of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, policing since the mid-1970s and early 1980s onwards has become a deep source of political debates and politicization. All these have played crucial roles in the transformation of policing and crime control mechanism in recent decades. This paper will describe the changes in policing practices and crime control strategies that have emerged with the advent of neoliberalism in the West, particularly in the USA and UK and explain the politico-economic factors associated with their emergence.

The transformative capacity of the process of neoliberalization has been well documented by the neoliberal specialists as being ‘remarkably innovative’ and capable of enormous ‘creative destruction’ (Kendall, 2003, p. 5; Harvey, 2005, p. 3; Peck and Tickell, 2002) for prior institutional frameworks and policing is no exception which experienced profound implications as a result of the neoliberal state policies. The key aspects of neoliberal policies that have transformed policing have been identified as the economic restructuring process and its ill effects, primacy of market as the basis for social order, individual responsabilization, promotion of business enterprise, emphasis on output than on outcome, cost effectiveness, and freedom of choice (Sullivan, 2001; O’Malley, 1997, p. 2008). The rise of neoliberalism as the dominant state policy has had profound impact in the field of crime control and policing. The impact is not only limited in how police is engaged in the control of crime and maintenance of law and order, but also in the ways how police as a public organization is run and transformed. A number of specific strategies and trends have been described below that have directly resulted from the pursuit of neoliberal policies and the political and economic factors associated with them.

2. Zero-Tolerance Policing

Zero-tolerance-policing emerged during the early 1970s because of the shift from the Keynesian welfare society to a society with much less state social responsibility and the targeting of the population who are affected by the relinquishment of that responsibility. Wacquant (2001, p. 81) summarized the shift as the emergence of a ‘new government’ of social insecurity resulting on the disciplining of deskilled and deregulated labour by an intrusive and omnipresent penal apparatus made of the police and the criminal justice system.

These people often identified in policing literature as the ‘underclass’, ‘Ghetto Underclass’, ‘Undesirables’, ‘the other’ and a host of other negative connotation (Crowther, 2000; Chambliss, 1994; Gordon, 2005, pp.54-55). They have been made the target population for policing with a requirement to be dealt with properly so that they don’t remain burden to the growth of market and any threat they pose to such can be neutralized. This has been associated with the emergence of a kind of authoritarian policing, first seen in New York, USA and later replicated in the other cities in Europe and North America, which is named as zero-tolerance policing (ZTP) (also sometimes referred to as law and order policing) and whereby policing activities in the name of curbing criminal activities are targeted at the problem population and the areas inhabited by them (Smith, 2001; Gordon, 2005).

Policing the unwanted population through ZTP or law and order policing has also been related with the emergence of a new kind of urban political economy or ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ in major world cities where certain public spaces are required to meet standards of cleanliness and proper environment that is conducive to business development as well as for ‘interurban competition’ and ‘image promotion’ (Belina and Helms, 2003, p. 1845; Eick, 2003; Chesluk, 2004). As a result, policing driven by neoliberal motives is applied not solely for the prevention of crime but also contributes to the market driven urban revitalization shooting up the price of urban real estate, increasing social inequality and intensifying competition of scarce land in many cities in the world (Samara, 2010: 638). This also makes life difficult for the problem population who are then also forced to get involved in deviant activities.

The ZTP or law-and-order policing has not only resulted because of the demise of the welfare oriented criminal justice system and the advent of neoliberal state policies, but also because policing became a key area of political contestation between the political parties who themselves are guided by the neoliberal free market oriented economic project in the first place. They succeeded in maintaining their political status quo as well as advancing the neoliberal project but only at the cost of a policing and criminal justice system that is less than liberal. The ZTP is a classic example, how policing and crime control issues can be exploited for political gains and can play a key role in electoral politics. As mentioned earlier, the ZTP first originated in New York. In a study on the reduction of homicide rates in New York city in the 1990s, Bowling (1999, p. 531) demonstrated that the reduction had little to do with the policing strategy and was more related with the contraction of crack cocaine markets during that period and accordingly the ‘New York story’ is oversimplified and over sold. Stenson (2000, p. 220) analyzed how Mayor Rudi Giuliani of New York (Mayor during 1994-2001) used the law and order issue to dislodge the long-term hegemony of the Democrats and create a new political base for the Republicans beyond

the high-income neighborhood as well as secured the recruitment of additional 7000 officers for the New York Police Department (NYPD). Stenson (2000) also describes such law and order politics in UK on the part of the conservatives as well as during the New Labour government under Tony Blair. Like the USA, in the United Kingdom as well, the issue of law and order policing and tough on crime and criminals also became a matter of political contestation. This specific political approach to law and order were frequently described as authoritarian populism in the 1970s and 80s in the UK and it was certainly associated with moral panic created out of the increase in crime rates which was also connected with the particular accumulation strategy driven by neoliberal economic policies pursued during that time (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 2013). The issue of crime control featured prominently in the Thatcherite political rhetoric and the strategy proved quite successful in the continuation of the conservative domination during the 1980s, however, an economic crisis in the 1990s meant that she needed to continuing pursuing the same strategy (Hale, 2005). The New Labour under Tony Blair learned from the Tory experience and continued the populist law and order politics despite promises of social inclusion during the electoral process.

3. Policing, risk and crime control

Whereas, during the welfare oriented state, crime prevention was associated with a major focus on the criminals and efforts to deal with causes of crimes with specific judicial and social welfare assistance programmes, instead the neoliberal political rationality has changed the focus and made the victim as the centre of any crime prevention strategy. The neoliberal political rationality of individual responsabilization meant that the would be victim of crime is supposed to take more proactive action for his or her own protection and the offender is to take responsibility for the offending behaviour. With this, emerged new strategies like situational crime prevention with practices like target hardening, increasing use of security devices like CCTV were put into place (Rose, 2000). The criminal was being reduced to being the rational choice actor looking for opportunities to commit crime based on his calculation of the probabilities of being caught or getting away with that. There was also desirability from the police that individual and community are expected to be more active and foster effective partnership with the police with programmes like Neighbourhood Watch or Police Community Consultative Committee (O'Malley, 2001 & 2008).

The problem with these methods is that it is difficult to problematize the risk factor in neoliberal risk management and there is temptation to take it for granted that risk is 'a predictive category driven by objective correlations' (O'Malley, 2008, p. 64). As O'Malley (2008) have argued that risk always involve political decisions including its level of acceptability, acceptability for

the methods used for its reduction as well as the question of whose risks are to be mitigated. As a result, the neutral language through which risk is being dealt with under neoliberal thought masks the wider political and economic factors that are associated with these specific crime prevention strategies.

4. Pluralization of Policing

The growing pluralization of the policing services and the growth of the private security industry also have their roots in dominating trends of neoliberalization in the West. Because of the constraints on resources resulting from neoliberal economic restructuring process, it increasingly became difficult for public police to cope up with the security demands and private security quickly filled up the gap. Accordingly, keeping in line with the hallmarks of neoliberal political economic practices of privatization and creation of markets in previously non-market areas of social services, private security has experienced consistent growth since the 1970s in those societies. What began with the famous ‘mass private property’ hypotheses raised by Shearing and Stenning (1981, p.183), the seminal article of Bayley & Shearing (1996), titled ‘The Future of Policing’, and the ‘transformation’ thesis coined by Jones & Newburn (2002), private security has become a key area of policing research. The main debate centres around whether we have entered a new era of policing and there has been a genuine paradigm shift with an end to the monopoly of state led policing (Bayley & Shearing, 1996; Jones & Newburn, 2002; White & Gill, 2013) or what are the implications of private policing on state sovereignty (Shearing, 2004). There are however, scholars who are not prepared to accept that there is a paradigm shift and thinks that the transformation thesis is overstated and based only on one variable of increasing ratio of private security to public police (White & Gill, 2013). Bordeur (2010, p. 260) has termed this as the ‘watershed syndrome’ paraphrasing Bayley & Shearing (1996) and after analyzing the growth in the number of private security personnel in the European Union countries argued that the claim of a paradigm shift is overstated as well based on a false primacy of numbers with questions of the use of violence, accountability and respect for human rights being left unanswered.

Whatever the merits of these debates, they are to some extent misplaced and don’t deal with the key political and economic questions of what are the effects of police service being available as a private good in the market as far as crime control and public security are concerned . Public police, whatever its effectiveness, is meant for all, it is subject to certain basic standards and regulations that are publicly promulgated, but it is not the same case with private security which is run following the market logic of being available only to them who are able to bear the cost. As Bayley & Shearing (1996, p. 596) comment that, “Pluralizing under market auspices at present does not improve security

equally across society. It favors institutions and individuals that are well-to-do.” Another important consequence of the whole rise of the private security is that with the availability of security personnel in the market and frequent changes in the property relations, more and more public spaces are restricted for open access, which would not have been the case if there was only the public police who would not have interfered unless something went wrong or a crime or threat to security emerged. All these have may have significant bearing on the frequency and patterns of crime in locations experiencing high degree of pluralization and policing researchers need to focus on these issues seriously.

5. Managerialization in Policing

The influence of the neo-liberal tradition is not limited just to the number and types of policing mechanisms. Its managerial tendencies and promotion of market strategies in management techniques have been relatively successful in replacing prior methods of organization and evaluation in policing (Bevir & Krupicka, 2007). As a direct consequence of neoliberal economic restructuring programmes as well as financial crises, the cost-effectiveness of public institutions became key issue for the governments and this is also related with the introduction of new managerialism within the police departments (O’Malley, 1997; White & Gill, 2013). The New Public Managerialism (NPM), as the term is mostly referred in connection with the introduction of neoliberal principles in public offices, brings more autonomy of police leaders for running like business enterprise with the introduction of newer performance management indicators in attempts to introducing market logic and techniques in policing. The managerilization of the police institutions depended heavily on certain norms and values like efficiency, effectiveness and economy- the so called three Es (Terpstra and Trommel (2009, p. 129). Its emphasis on producing outputs was also seen as a mechanism to increase police legitimacy and increase public trust, rather focusing on the actual outcomes of crime reduction and public security. Different scholars have analyzed the links between neoliberalism, NPM and policing in a number of ways. McLaughlin and Murji (2001, p. 104-109) has identified two dominant perspectives describing the relationship. The first perspective argues that the neoliberalism driven new managerialism generates both economic and social insecurity as they destroy the preconditions for consensual policing and increases the potential for conflict with the marginalized classes in the society. The second perspective analyzed by them offers an argument that application of neoliberal market and strategic planning principles in police organizations are attempts to build a kind of state that is able to rule from the distance and promote entrepreneurial capacities in individual citizens. However, neither of the perspectives deals with the key question of how and to what extent the emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness contributed in the control of crime

and to the increase or decrease of legitimacy and trust in police. The following comments by Terpstra and Trommel (2009: 140) helps clarify this aspect:

“The less the police are seen as being valuable in themselves, whose primary task is to be present as a symbolic power, the more investments are needed in image work and presentations of performances in media campaigns and marketing strategies, in which the link with concrete problems of public safety and police activities increasingly disappear.”

Neoliberalism, however, varies in its forms and objectives and is in a constant evolving process. The dilemmas posed by neoliberal policies and failure to deal with them effectively required new sources of legitimization for public organizations like police. Bevir and Krupicka (2007) think that new institutionalism and new governance stepped in respectively and improved on the dilemmas associated with neoliberalism. Like the neoliberals, both new institutionalists and new governance proponents attempt to increase participation of traditionally unrepresented people in policing affairs. The community policing movement emerged as a re-legitimizing strategy. Community policing initiatives transform communities from being passive consumers of police protection to active co-producers of public safety (Bayley & Shearing, 1996). Despite mixed results, community policing essentially remains a top-down process with police officers taking the lead in its implementation. It is not uncommon that police officers see community police activists as sources of information rather than as partners in crime control, while members of a community are often divided by race, religion or political affiliation. This has led to the search for alternative regulatory strategies to impact the behavior of police and communities as well. New governance provided the answer as it emerged as a paradigmatic shift away from top down regulation toward flexible pragmatic approaches to regulation from bottom up (Bevir, 2010; Simmons, 2009). By increasing public participation, the new governance model creates an opportunity for a diverse influx of expertise and experience that in turn allows for creation of regulations that better suit the needs of those it is implemented to protect (Carrigan & Coglianese, 2011). Although community policing is still frequently applied as a policing model, policing scholars are increasingly advocating for democratic policing and democratic police reform (Bayley, 2005 & 2006, Hinton & Newburn, 2008). The fundamental attributes of democratic policing are: accountability to law; safeguarding of human rights, external accountability, participatory; and giving priority to the needs of individuals rather than government. Unlike neoliberalism, new institutionalism and new governance rejects the reduction of community members to consumers and call for their active participation in policing affairs for crime prevention.

6. Conclusion

The above description provides a landscape of the political and economic factors that resulted in the emergence of various crime control and policing activities during a specific period of history in the United States and United Kingdom and it can be said that those factors are still very much active in the field of policing. As these countries experienced the shift from the welfare oriented system to the domination of neoliberal principles, similar things happened in most of the Western industrialized countries which were also touched by waves of neoliberalism. Historically Policing is about maintenance and restoration of a particular social order (Brogden & Nijhar, 2005; Reiner, 2010; Marenin, 1982). Neocleus (2000) even went further describing the main police function as the fabrication of social order. The existence of particular order highlights the inherent political nature of the police work. The order maintenance role of police will always be the priority of policing than its more routine work of improving security or catching the offenders. This result from the fact that the established order is always associated with the interests and strategies of the dominant political groups and the specific economic policies followed by them. The policing and crime control strategies mentioned here did not originate out of the failure of the previous models; rather they emerged because of multiple causal factors associated with the advent of neoliberalism. Some of these like the ZTP emerged because they were required to troubleshoot the problems resulted from the pursuit of neoliberal economic policies and also they suited the ruling political parties in sustaining their political domination. Others like the increasing pluralization of policing as well as the introduction of managerialism and business like practices in police departments are the direct results of the overall domination of neoliberal policies. Whatever is the reason behind their emergence, these crime control strategies will continue in varied forms and degree, so long as neoliberalism dominates.

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An Analysis on New-fangled Crime trend with respect to Mobile Financial Services in Bangladesh

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Abstract: Bangladesh ranked number 10 in usage of mobile phone with its 120,393,000 users by way of 75.2 connections per 100 citizens; nonetheless, the active unique subscriber base is roughly 70 million. With this potentiality for furthering MFS in non-bank sector, MFS in Bangladesh is operational through 20 out of 28 approved banks with its 25 million registered customers and 541 thousand countrywide agents. Bangladesh has a good number of laws, rules and regulations to administer MFS-sector. But field-study says, major shareholder of MFS market severely fails to keep the minimum standard of banking, consequently, first of all a huge number of fraud cases are stuck with false KYC; although it is absolutely bank's responsibility to ensure the KYC-authenticity of its clients. A regular MFS transaction is done in 3 steps but keeps no formal record about the source (and sometimes about the destination) of money. This facilitates criminals but MFS agents to keep out of formal transaction record and to make it difficult to bring crime-proceed-owners to book. This study suggests that MFS must stop OTC and increase length of m-loop. Impeding OTC will encourage the clients to open own accounts and do transaction through formal procedure (mobile remittance). This also fatally facilitates criminals to transact money without difficulty with hiding their identities. A suspect (with criminal background) can collect money from victims with hiding own identity seriously tarnishes the image and good will along with its trustworthiness of Financial sector to the citizens.

Keywords: Mobile Financial Services, KYC, OTC, Mobile Use, Crime Trend, Money Laundering, Opportunities & Vulnerabilities.

1. Introduction

The world is on the move like never before. According to a recent World Bank study, 75% of the world has access to mobile phones. According to Wikipedia, Bangladesh ranked number 10 in usage of mobile phone with its 120,393,000 users by way of 75.2 connections per 100 citizens, as evaluated in December 2014 (Wikipedia, 2015), however, the active unique subscriber base is roughly 70 million, as mentioned by BTRC (BTRC, 2014). In urban areas, mobile penetration has reached almost 100% and the continued growth is coming from

¹ Additional DIG, CID

semi-urban and rural areas, driven by cheap handsets, cheap connections and one of the lowest voice call charges in the world. Mobile has brought about a silent revolution in a country in the course of 50% still do not have access to electricity. Mobile revolution touches almost every sector including financial services amid 19 out of 28 banks started MFS operation in Bangladesh with its 25 million registered customers and 541 thousand countrywide agents. It's easy to understand why this is top of mind for consumers, businesses and banks (Bangladesh Bank, 2015). MFS, which has the potential to radically transform how money is managed, provide incredible convenience and excellent customer service opportunities amid customers have their mobile devices with them virtually all the time and no other channel can provide the same level of ready access to accounts. However, in the rush to meet consumer demand and create market differentiation, fraud controls were too often an afterthought (41STParameter, 2013). According to a recent survey by Aite Group⁹, 88 % of global risk executives at financial institutions believe mobile is the next big point of exposure. The speed-to-market imperative has so sometimes overshadowed and outpaced the deployment of fraud prevention technologies capable. This paper attempted to examine the potential risks along with to develop strategies in minimizing those risks while still recognizing the business and operational value of MFS in Bangladesh.

1.1. An overview of irregularities of MFS in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has a strong law to regulate mobile financial sector; however, implementation of law is yet to achieve up to a minimum standard in MFS sector. There is a big gap between how MFS should work as per existing rules and regulations and how it is really working. Over The Counter (OTC) or zero-loop transaction becomes a widely practiced irregularity in MFS sector in Bangladesh, which is a serious problem. Zero-length Money loop was considered as the root of many evils in mobile financial sectors. This also facilitates agents to charge customers illegally for cash-in and also seriously hinders MFS growth of mobile payment and mobile banking service, also keeps clients uneducated in MFS usages even in usage of mobile remittance. Zero-loop transaction must be calculated statistically and tracked individual based basis.

Since, cash-in does not cost any charge, but cash-out does, so, for each-out, clients lose money and the more the clients use mobile payment system and thus avoid cash-out, more they save money. Transaction of length 2 or more than 2 occurs when first or successive recipients use e-money for mobile payment like paying for goods and services, shopping, paying bills, etc. When e-money is transacted through mobile payment, the cash remain with bank (good for banks), clients save money that was payable as fee, save time along with incidental cost like taxi-fare etc (good for clients), faster transaction moves economy faster (good for country).

Thus Money-loop of higher lengths shows:

- the mobility of mobile financial system, the positive strength of MFS,
- allows MFS institution to keep physical money for longer time; i.e. allows to work as a banking institution more effectively.
- On the contrary, zero or one length money transaction is the sign of poor health of MFS institutions that merely works as a courier service, of course, in most cases produces a huge amount of money laundering occurrences by hiding the real players of transaction every day.

Impeding OTC plus development of MFS market to use m-payment & m-banking may also allow banks to play its usual vital role, as banks contributes in economic development, firstly by borrowing money, mostly idle money from many; and thereafter distributing or allocating those accumulated capital to some for investment; secondly, by facilitating as guarantor in business transaction through contributing in furthering/expediting business growth. These crucial potentialities are hardly exploited by MFS in Bangladesh; and practice of OTC and lack of confidence on KYCs seriously hamper MFS business platform generating the lack of trustworthiness of Mobile Financial Institution to its stakeholders.

In a zero-length m-loop, officially the user of cash-in money, on the spur of the moment cashed out causing to lose some money. The financial institution must report about these very charitable transactions as STR to the central bank. Such rapid cash-in and cash-out that officially benefit the bank, the distributor and the agent only, not the customer, must be reported to the central bank. Statistical analysis shows that at least Tk. 19 Thousand Crore a year is transacted keeping no records of actual senders or recipients in Bangladesh. This is 19% of total transaction and all these could be subject to STR to the central bank by hiding the real players of transaction every day. When clients are victimized through MFS, they need to be facilitated to report through a digital platform, where irregularities can be reported immediately, then LEA will be engaged to collect evidence, followed by banks will provide necessary information including stopping payment based on LEA's demand. As a whole, clients will be given highest assurance that they along with their money are safe through MFS, which will eventually contribute to the stable growth of this sector. Perpetrators need to get the message that they are traceable anyway and are subject to brought to book, whether their contribution in mishap is 1 Crore or Taka 19,000 Crore a year.

Introduction of law is good; but not good enough until it is implemented through proper coordination between LEA and regulator along with other stakeholders.

1.2. Objectives

The primary objective of this report is to portrait the Mobile Financial Services that are used by the criminals to commit various typical crimes as well as some

mobile phone related crime for which, victims of these crimes hanker after immediate attention from and relief by the law enforcers. LEA, who are expected to assist the victims and also to bring the law breakers to book therefore, must be provided a clear understanding on this new system that are rapidly developing and frequently changing; plus should be supported without delay with necessary legal, material and training infra-structure. Other major objectives are listed below:

- To comprehend the basic concept of mobile financial service (MFS).
- To find out loop-holes of existing working structure of MFS that the criminal are making best use of.
- To identify the non-compliance issues, which are legally binding to respective stakeholders including MFS agents, distributors and banks.
- To develop some recommendations that may help the Government including central bank to bring necessary changes securing the interest of the country as well as that of the consumers.

1.3. Methodology

This report is based mainly on literature study, case studies and analysis of the issues. Both the primary as well as the secondary form of information has been used to prepare the report. They were collected from sources which have been:

1.3.1. Primary sources

- Discussion and interviews with some officials of Bangladesh Financial Intelligence Unit, Bangladesh Bank, relevant ministries including Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Discussion and interviews with some investigators of Organized crime of CID Bangladesh as well as that with a number of victims, perpetrators and crucial witnesses
- Discussion with some relevant officials, distributors, agents and some customers of some MFS companies including bKash Ltd.
- Workshop held on 16-4-2015 in participation with 76 Participants of top- and mid-ranking officials from 20 commercial banks, 6 Mobile Network Operators and representatives from CID, Special branch, Dhaka Metropolitan Police and Police Headquarters.

2. Mobile Financial Services in Bangladesh: Legal infra-structure

As it is defined by Bangladesh Bank, (Bangladesh Bank 2012) Mobile Financial Services (MFS) is an approach to offering financial services that combines

banking with mobile wireless networks which enables users to execute banking transactions. This means the ability to make deposits, withdraw, and to send or receive funds from a mobile account. Often these services are enabled by the use of bank agents that allow mobile account holders to transact at independent agent locations outside of bank branches.

2.1. MFS in Bangladesh: Legal infra-structure

2.1.1. Bangladesh Bank allows various types of Mobile Financial Services like a. Disbursement of inward foreign remittances; b. Cash in /out using mobile account through agents/Bank branches/ ATMs/Mobile Operator's outlets (P2P) ; c. Person to Business Payments (P2B) - e.g. utility bill payments, merchant payments; d. Business to Person Payments (B2P) e.g. salary disbursement, dividend and refund warrant payments, vendor payments, etc. e. Government to Person (G2P) Payments e.g. elderly allowances. Freedom-fighter allowances, subsidies, etc. f. Person to Government Payments (P2G) e.g. tax, levy payments; g. Person to Person Payments - One registered mobile Account to another registered mobile account; h. Other payments like microfinance, overdrawn facility, insurance premium, DPS etc. (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, p-1).

2.1.2. Approval from Bangladesh Bank is mandatory prior to go for business with Mobile Financial Services. The Cash Points/Agents shall have to be selected by the respective bank and a list of the Cash Points/ Agents with their names and addresses shall have to be submitted to the Department of Currency Management and Payment System (DCMPS), Bangladesh Bank and will be updated on monthly basis. As per regulations, at any point of time, the relevant balance in bank book shall be equal to the virtual balance of all registered mobile accounts shown in the system. Banks will be the custodian of individual customers' deposits and 'Bangladesh Bank may withhold, suspend or cancel approval for providing MFS services if it considers any action by any of the parties involved in the system detrimental to the public interest' (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 7.1, p-2).

2.1.3. Depending on the operation, responsibility and relationship(s) among banks, MNOs, Solution Providers and customers, mainly two types of mobile financial services (Bank led and Non Bank led) are followed worldwide. But from legal and regulatory perspective, the central bank only allows the bank-led model in Bangladesh (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 6.0, p-2).

The bank-led model shall offer an alternative to conventional branch-based banking to unbanked population through appointed agents facilitated by the MNOs/Solution Providers. It may be mentioned that Customer account, termed "Mobile Account" will rest with the bank and will be accessible through

customers' mobile device. Such Mobile Account will be a non-chequing limited purpose account.

Mobile payments can be used for the following three types of transactions (Consumers International, 2014):

1. Mobile payment – Paying for goods and services: shopping, paying bills, etc.
2. Mobile remittance - Sending money to or receiving from an individual, person-to-person, intra- or inter-national.
3. Mobile banking- Withdrawals, transfers and other transactions on actual bank accounts

2.2. Opening an MFS account

2.2.1. As per regulations, banks 'shall have to use' a 'Know Your Customer (KYC)' format and will be responsible for authenticity of the KYC of all the customers (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 9.0, p-3). We articulate here the working format of Bkash – a subsidiary institution of Brac Bank. To open a 'bKash Wallet' (bKash, 2015), you need to go to any of your nearby bKash Agent along with -

- a. Your mobile phone with Grameenphone, Banglalink, Robi, or Airtel connection
- b. A copy of your Photo ID (National ID/Passport/Driving License)
- c. 2 copies of Passport size photographs'.

As bKash website describes, 'You are to fill out the Wallet Opening Form and put your thumb print and signature properly'.

2.2.2. So, during investigation of any suspicious false registration, if agent is found to process the registration on behalf of the bank, agent must satisfy an enquiry officer:

- a. That the person whose photo was used in the KYC, himself or herself signed on the form [unlike a 29 years came with a photo of 62 years and signed with no objection from agent's side is clearly violation of the existing law]
- b. That the original ID was shown to agent during submission of a photo-copied one [in most fake registration cases, there had never been any 'original' ID other than a computer produced 'photo-copied' one]

-
-
- c. That agent had taken sufficient precautionary measures in case of an account holder using same (not similar) photograph both in ID and in KYC [Use of same photograph both in national ID and KYC is almost impossible other than an adulterated ones]

2.2.3. During defining agents' role in opening an account fraudulently, we also mustn't forget that it's bank's responsibility for authenticity of the KYC data all through initiating a mobile bank account (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 9.0, p-3).

2.3. How transaction made through MFS

After registration, the initial action of MFS consumers is to load value (e-money) into their accounts. To accomplish this, the user buys (cash-in) e-money from an agent affiliated with their MFS. This transaction can differ in its details, but in general there is a requirement that the consumer present valid ID and sign the agent's logbook. If the user then wishes to make a P2P transfer, they enter the recipient's MFS account number. Both sender and receiver will then receive an SMS confirmation of the transaction. The receiver is then able to cash out the e-money, minus the transaction fee. To do this they go to an agent or ATM, present ID and follow the MFS's directions on how to transfer e-money from the user's account to the agent's. This basic model can differ slightly for P2B and P2G, though the initial "load-in" method is the same. Large scale B2P and G2P payments have different load-in procedures, but recipient cash-out and/or transfers in the system are the same as the basic P2P model. Please note that a client is to be charged some transaction fee for each cash-out, while agent can't charge a client for cash-in. Hence, any fee charge during cash-in by agent is illegal.

An investigator has any or all of the following areas to look for evidence of transactions - of both cash-in and cash-out:

- a. Statement of MFS bank.
- b. Transaction log register maintained by Agents.

If agents fail to produce transaction log register, or if the respective column is not signed by the owner of MFS account, this will imply agents' bad intention to hide names or identities of persons dealing with money causing money laundering offence.

Case Study

2.3: Unknown member of CNG-theft group asked the owner (victim) of the vehicle over phone to 'bkash' Tk. 170,000 to 01679131752. Victim went to a local MFS agent of his area and told him that he wanted to 'bkash' Tk. 170,000.

What the agent should do now?

- a. 'Do you have any MFS account? No? O, it's easy to open an account. Bring a copy of passport size photograph along with your mobile phone and national ID card. I will open a MFS account right now – free!'
- b. [After opening account, receiving money from him and doing cash-in back to his new account] 'You've e-money now. Send your money yourself wherever you want.' [This is what we have been watching in TV advertisement; the viewers are never been told that sending money without opening an account is a punishable offence, what we have been wrongly educated that opening an account for sending money is just only a smarter and better alternative.]
- c. 'Sorry, you can't send Tk. 170,000 in a day. The maximum approved amount is Tk. 25,000 a day; even to use multiple accounts for sending more than Tk. 25,000 is not allowed.'

Nonetheless, see, what the agent-in-this-case (say, agent 'A') has done:

- a. 'Give me money plus service charge' (and the service charge is illegal – no money can be charged for cash-in)
- b. Agent A then 'cash-in' from his 'agent account' to personal account of the suspect – (actually in this case and in most cases) the personal account of the suspect's local Bkash agent (say Agent 'B').
- c. Agent B received e-money to his 'own personal account', then got money cashed out to his 'agent account' and lastly gave money to known or unknown suspect. An amount of Tk. 170,000 has been 'sent'! This is a case of July'13, however, a latest circular issued by Bangladesh Bank restrict maximum limit of cash-in a day Tk. 25,0000. (Bangladesh Bank, 2013).
- d. Agent B also failed to maintain any valid transaction log, because the person who received money didn't sign here.
- e. Even if he signed, it would be illegal, as 'money receiver' is not really 'account owner' here; a known or unknown suspect or criminal simply received 'crime proceeds' through a personal account maintained by the agent B, however, a BFIU circular order, allows to send money without KYC a maximum amount of Tk. 1,000 a day (BFIU, 2012, p-3, Sec. Gha-7). Nonetheless, the agent thus engages himself into a 'predicate offence', simultaneously also engaging himself in 'money laundering'.

Here is now, Comparative Money Flow Charts to show how an MFS is to work, but how it is working in Bangladesh in the course of committing crime and assisting crime.

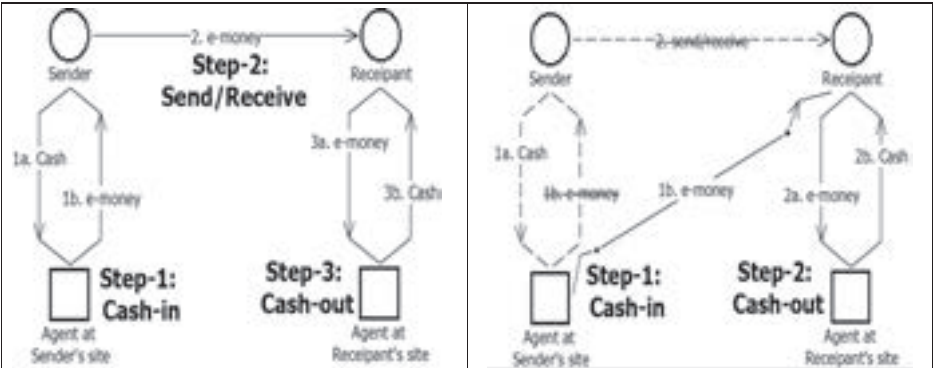


Figure 2.3.1. How MFS is to work versus how it's working

Again, let us work with the transaction of our case study 2.3. Can we develop a Money Flow Chart based on the bank statement?

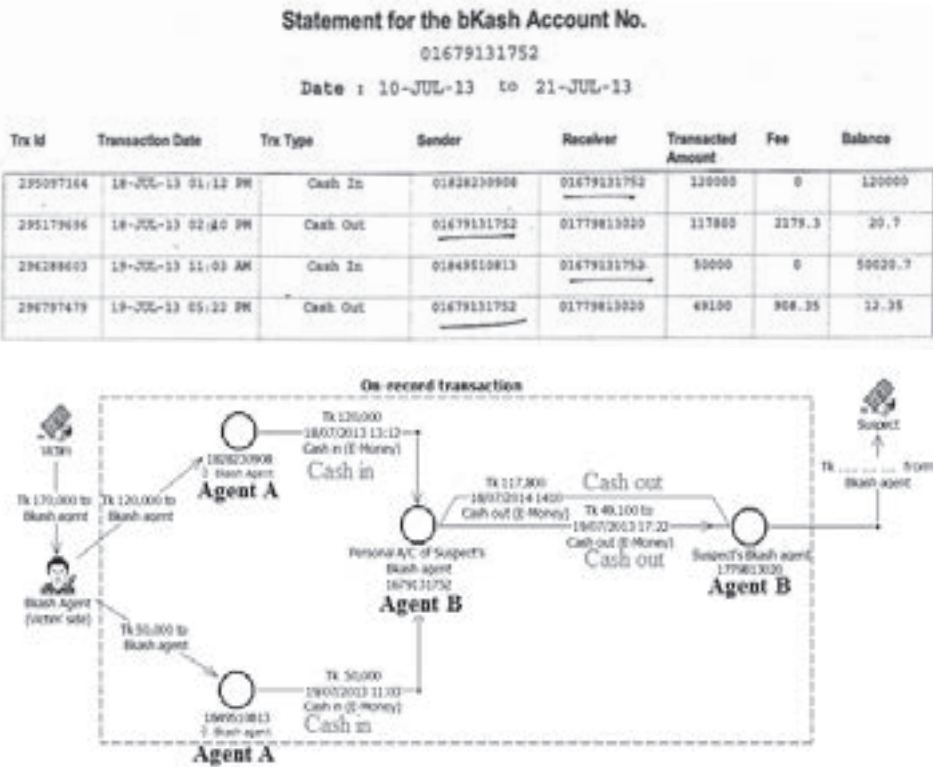


Figure 2.3: How agents assist crime through direct 'cash-in' (OTC) into recipient's account

If you look into in the Money Flow Chart developed from the bank statement, you will see, a zero length m-loop transaction (we will discuss about m-loop in

paragraph 2.5) facilitates here to occur a crime – a predicate offence. A layman definition of ‘zero-length m-loop transaction’ may be expressed as ‘a transaction without any formal transaction’ (causing money laundering in most cases). In the above case study, on the record:

- a. The account holder of 01679131752 (the suspect or agent B) first cash-in and by the couple of hours then cash-out causing to lose several thousand Taka.
- b. He was into the premise of agent A to load (cash-in) e-money. However, it is evident and is possible to prove that the loader (agent A) and the loaded account (agent B) were in two different places; and so, the loaded account holder (either it’s suspect or its crime-partner agent) didn’t sign into transaction log register of agent A.
- c. During cash-out e-money (which is always done readily, without delay; it is evident what makes them to do hurry!) from his own personal account to agent account (agent B), this is not the real recipient, who sign (in case, you found it to be signed) into transaction log register; nonetheless, he is NOT the account holder of that account!

Now what the MFS agent need to satisfy an investigator in the above case:

- a. That Agent A got the owner of 1679131752 (agent B) to sign into transaction-log register (he can’t and didn’t do it really);
- b. That Agent B received the said amount of e-money into his personal account, because he deposited said amount of money to agent A; unless he show that he discovered some money from a suspicious source and as an MFS agent, he informed the central bank officially about such suspicious transaction in prescribed format without delay;
- c. That Agent B cashed-out.... so on . You can add a number of arguments if you study the standard rules set by the central bank or agents’ own authority, not to say about the law of the land.

2.4. Transaction limit , STR and SAR in MFS

2.4.1. Bangladesh Bank fixes the transaction limit as well as overall cap (per customer/ per month) for Person to Person Payments as and when needed. These limits are not applicable for P2B, B2P, P2G, G2P transfers. An agent is allowed to cash-in maximum 5 times daily into his personal account. Any customer is allowed to cash-in maximum 5 times a day, but 20 times a month; cash-out maximum 3 times a day, but 10 times a month using his personal account. Again any customer is allowed to cash-in and cash-out maximum Tk. 25,000 a day, but Tk. 150,000 a month; and for P2P transfer, maximum Tk. 10,000 a day, but Tk. 25,000 a month.

2.4.2. We will however, see later that these limits along with many other mandatory provisions are vehemently non-complied using innumerable accounts mostly by the agents themselves. In spite of the directions given by the central bank as well as of its own employer on MFS transaction process, we'll see how MFS agent avoided the central banks' instruction on maximum limits (Tk. 25,000) in sending money. It may be turn into an offence of money laundering done sometimes by both the MFS agent. Agents also engaged into a predicate offence – mostly fraud or extortion with promising falsely as thieves' representatives to return victim's stolen vehicle. The recent most-discussed Thailand-focused Teknaf-based Human Trafficking group also widely utilized MFS agent as their 'accountant' in collecting ransom money. (Daily Star, 2015).

Lack of effective monitoring by the controlling authority as well as absence of LEA representative in the monitoring mechanism widely facilitate the key players to bypass or not to comply the existing rules, regulations and laws. Taking little care about compliance of law faces the little problems from the monitoring authority as well as from the LEA, who barely had representation in the monitoring body unlike many part of the world.

2.4.3. Banks shall also to 'ensure that suspect transactions can be isolated for subsequent investigation and are to 'develop an IT based automated system to identify suspicious activity/transaction report (STR/SAR) before introducing the services, and also are to immediately report to Anti-Money Laundering Department of Bangladesh Bank regarding any suspicious, unusual or doubtful transactions likely to be related to money laundering or terrorist financing activities. Banks are also to report to Bangladesh Bank in several formats including the following format for Bangladesh Bank oversight (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 9.0, p-3).

Annex V								
Monthly Report of Person to Person Mobile Financial Transactions								
Name of the Bank :								
Date :								
							(Tk. 20,000 and above)	
Sl. No	Mobile Account No of the Sender	Name of the Sender	Source of Income of the Sender	Relationship with recipient	Mobile Account No. of the Receiver	Name of the Receiver	Purpose of the transaction	Amount Transferred
1								
2								

N.B. : Transaction amount less than Tk. 20,000 shall have to be reported on consolidated basis mentioning total number and amount.

2.4.4. As per regulations, MFS transaction-records must be retained for six (06) years from the origination date of the entry. The Participating Bank(s) must, if requested by its customer, or the Receiving Bank(s), provide the requester with a printout or reproduction of the information relating to the transaction. Banks should also be capable of reproducing the MFS transaction-records for later reference, whether by transmission, printing, or otherwise.

2.4.5. Regulation of the central bank has given responsibility to the banks to identify, contract, educate, equip and monitor activities of the agents on a regular basis. It wants a clear, well documented Agent Selection Policy and Procedures by the bank, where the later are to publish list as well as addresses of cash points/agents/partners in their website. Central bank wants the following issues should be taken into account for selection of partners/agents (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 8.0, p-3):

1. Competence to implement and support the proposed activity;
2. Financial soundness;
3. Ability to meet commitments under adverse conditions;
4. Business reputation;
5. Security and internal control, audit coverage, reporting and monitoring environment;

Before we discuss ‘Money laundering’ we like to talk on zero-length m-loop and we will also discuss what the respective financial institution also could do by taking measures and also by reporting these transactions as STR to the central bank.

2.5. What is an m-loop?

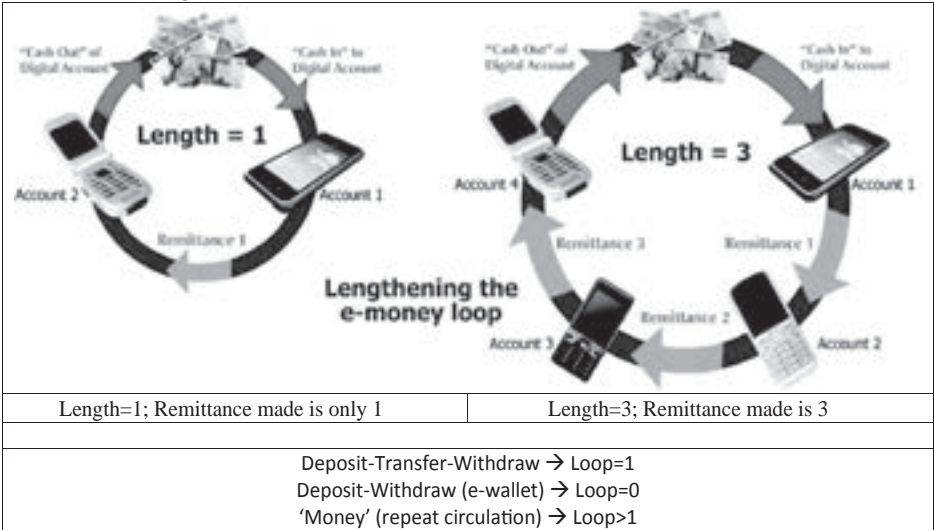
To transact money,

- a. An MFS account holder ‘A’ first buys (cash-in) e-money from an agent, of course fulfilling the requirement by presenting valid ID and signing into the agent’s logbook.
- b. To make a P2P transfer, he then uses his own mobile phone to enter the recipient’s (say, ‘B’) MFS account number; and both sender and receiver will then receive an SMS confirmation of the transaction.
- c. The receiver B is then able to cash out the e-money, minus the transaction fee. To do this he goes to an agent (or ATM) for cash-out, again by presenting ID and following the MFS’s directions on how to transfer e-money from the user’s account to the agent’s.

Here there occurs 1(one) transaction from user A to B. Hence, it’s an m-loop

with length 1, where remittance is done once only. That is, one account remitting to another is making one loop and making only one transaction. But when four accounts are involved and one is remitting to three accounts, then the process gets lengthier in lower cost for both parties.

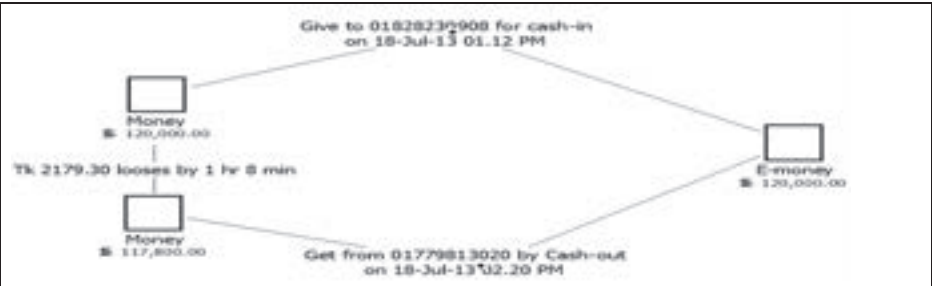
Look at the diagram of the left side shown below:



We can find it easily that is the length of m-loop of our Case Study 2.3, where no formal transaction is done, is nothing but 0. It does not hold any formal record of the sender of recipient facilitating criminals to receive extorted money.

Statement for the bklash Account No. 01679131752
Date: 10-Jul-13 to 21-Jul-13

Trx Id	Transaction date	Trx type	Sender	Receiver	Transacted amount	Fee	Balance
295097164	18-Jul-13 01:12 PM	Cash In	01828230908	01679131752	120000	0	120000
295179696	18-Jul-13 02:20 PM	Cash Out	01679131752	01779813020	117800	2179.3	20.7



Zero length m-loop: The official version of the statement is that the account holder 01679131752 was in a hurry to mislay Tk. 2,179.30 by a couple of hours through a zero-length transaction.

You see here a zero-length money-loop transaction, where no formal transaction is done. Officially, the user of cash-in money, hurriedly cashed out for no reason and arranged to drop some money. Here responsibility lies with the financial institution to report about this very charitable transaction as STR to the central bank. Such rapid transactions that officially benefit the bank, the distributor and the agent only, not the customer, must be reported to the central bank to obey the existing law of the land.

Money-loops of higher lengths shows: the mobility of mobile financial system, the positive strength of MFS, and allows MFS institution to keep physical money for longer time; i.e. allows to work as a banking institution more effectively. On the contrary, zero or one length money transaction is the sign of poor health of MFS institutions that merely works as a courier service, of course, in most cases produces a huge amount of money laundering occurrences by hiding the real players of transaction every day.

What is the case of Bangladesh MFS market? Is it zero, one or more than one which tops? How zero-length transaction causes money laundering? Let us see first, what is money laundering as per the existing law of the land?

2.6. What is money laundering?

In lay terms Money Laundering is most often described as the “turning of dirty or black money into clean or white money”. If undertaken successfully, money laundering allows criminals to legitimize “dirty” money by mingling it with “clean” money, ultimately providing a legitimate cover for the source of their income. Generally, the act of conversion and concealment is considered crucial to the laundering process. A definition of what constitutes the offence of money laundering under Bangladesh law is set out in Section 2 (Tha) of the Prevention of Money Laundering Act 2012, which is reads as follows:

- “(i) Knowingly moving, converting, or transferring proceeds of crime or property involved in an offence for the following purposes:-
 - (1) *concealing or disguising the illicit nature, source, location, ownership or control of the proceeds of crime; or Money laundering Prevention Act*
 - (2) *assisting any person involved in the commission of the predicate offence to evade the legal consequences of such offence;*
- (ii) smuggling money or property earned through legal or illegal means to a foreign country ;
- (iii) knowingly transfer ring or remitting the proceeds of crime to a foreign country or remitting or bringing them into Bangladesh from a foreign country with the intention of hiding or disguising its illegal source; or
- (iv) concluding or attempting to conclude financial transactions in such a

- manner so as to reporting requirement under this Act may be avoided;
- (v) converting or moving or transferring property with the intention to instigate or assist for committing a predicate offence;
 - (vi) acquiring, possessing or using any property, knowing that such property is the proceeds of a predicate offence;
 - (vii) performing such activities so as to the illegal source of the proceeds of crime may be concealed or disguised;
 - (viii) participating in, associating with, conspiring, attempting, abetting, instigate or counsel to commit any offences mentioned above;”

We can see, the working format of MFS agent along with the member of CNG theft group mentioned in our case study 3.2 clearly violates the italic part of the definition, by (1)concealing or disguising the illicit nature, source, ownership or control of the proceeds of crime; (2) assisting a member of theft group involved in the commission of the predicate offence to evade the legal consequences of such offence; and also (3) concluding or attempting to conclude financial transactions in such a manner so as to reporting requirement under this Act may be avoided.

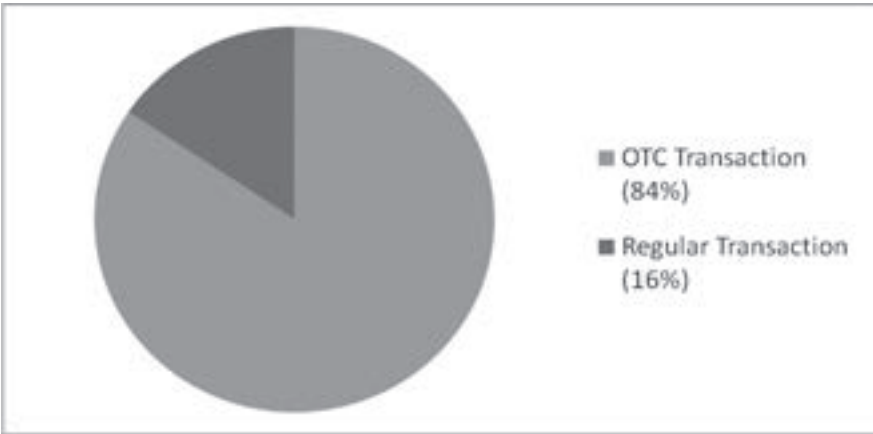
Look into the Comparative Summary Statement on MFS in Bangladesh prepared by using information provided by Bangladesh Bank. What do you see?

Comparative summary statement on MFS in Bangladesh

	Description	October, 2014	November, 2014	December, 2014	
		Amount (in Crore)			Total
A	Cash In transaction	3,426.79	4,041.63	4,376.37	11,844.79
B	Salary Disbursement (B 2P)	45.45	67.64	64.7	177.79
A+B=C	Total inward e-money flow	3,472.24	4,109.27	4,441.07	12,022.58
D	Utility Bill Payment (P2B)	105.6	55.26	50.08	210.94
C-D=E	Money loaded but yet to be transacted	3,366.64	4,054.01	4,390.99	11,811.64
F	P2P transaction	1,546.41	1,798.71	1,975.07	5,320.19
G	Others	78.24	91.24	126.64	296.12
F+G=H	Total transacted money	1,624.65	1,889.95	2,101.71	5,616.31
I	Cash Out transaction	3,030.23	3,617.28	3,887.17	10,534.68
B+F+G=K	Money could be cashed-out	1,670.10	1,957.59	2,166.41	5,794.10
J-K=L	Total money with Zero-length money loop	1,360.13	1,659.69	1,720.76	4,740.58
(K/3)*12=M	Suspicious transaction (for \$TR) a year				18962.32

(for the period from October, 2014 to December, 2014)

In a standard situation cash-out is followed by P2P and B2P transaction; hence, for a particular period, the number of cash-outs should not exceed total number of P2P and B2P. For 3 months’ records, we see total cash-out transaction: Tk.10,534.68 Crore; whereas during same period, total P2P, B2P including other transaction: Tk. 5,794.10 Crore. Considering Cash-in amount Tk. 11,844.79 Crore , we can derive that the total money with zero-length m-loop as Tk. 4,740.58 Crore, which is 84% of the total transaction – an extremely poor show of compliance of law in MFS sector.



This also coincides with a field survey which shows that 82% transactions are done through OTC.

This furthermore shows around Tk. 19 Thousand Crore a year is transacted keeping no records of actual senders or recipients in Bangladesh. All these could be subject to STR to the central bank by hiding the real players of transaction every day.

3. Opportunities and vulnerabilities in MFS

3.1. Opportunities

Mobile finance is widely lauded as a development tool. Proponents extol the financial benefits to users, whether it be through the low-cost transfer of funds, the saved opportunity costs when a user makes a mobile payment rather than going into town, or in some cases the ability to access more traditional financial instruments, such as bank accounts and micro-loans. Somewhat less frequently, the proponents cite the benefits of the systems’ safety and security. The research (STATT, 2012) indicates that mobile finance brings a broad range of benefits to users and law enforcement agencies.

Firstly, the storage of value in an MFS lessens users’ vulnerability to theft and other financially motivated crimes.

Secondly, every transaction conducted via MFSs generates electronic records, creating investigative and evidentiary opportunities.

Thirdly, a shift of P2G payments from cash to mobile can boost revenue collection while reducing opportunities for petty corruption.

Table 3.1: Security opportunities and vulnerabilities in MFS

3.2. Vulnerabilities

Opportunities	Vulnerabilities
Increased consumer security	Money laundering
Improved traceability along with reduction in common crime	Assistance in traditional crime
Increased Government revenues	Enabling new crimes
Reduced corruption	
Innovative business exploration	

3.2.1. Money Laundering

Money laundering is mostly done through mobile accounts registered with fake identity. An investigator (CID, 2014) from CID, Bangladesh Police, observed that: ‘While we ask for KYC information during investigation of any relevant crime, 99 out of 100 KYCs are turned out to be with false registration. Of course, if criminals have easy opportunity to open mobile account in fake names, why they will open account exposing their real names?’ Agents simply ignore maintaining minimum CDD during opening an account, nonetheless, Bangladesh law authorize only dealing banks to open a new account. We will also see later that in many cases, agents themselves are actively involved in various kinds of active criminal activities including collecting ransom money by human trafficking, extortion, fraud by maintaining several hundred false or real accounts by themselves. So, the second and perhaps more preventable problem involves agents’ due diligence. Agents hardly follow ID requirements. Denials of service occurred in Bangladesh perhaps on less than 1% of occasions when a customer lacks ID. Agents’ motivations for failing to implement due diligence procedures are mostly because of ‘due diligence in implementing the existing law’. Agents are not banks’ employees; they are mostly quasi-literate, untrained and rarely sensitized formally or informally.

Agents being quasi-independent operators in the business, find no problems breaking laws regularly in order to make money. Their interest is in processing as many transactions as possible. As well, this is again the problem with LEA, who fails to communicate the message to the community that money laundering

is a serious issue that needs to be complied by everyone. The respective banks have grown their agent-networks so rapidly that the number of agents would challenge any regulatory regime (STATT, 2012). As stated by one researcher, if you are an agent *“you can do as you want, as long as no one reports you and the person above you doesn’t get angry with you.”*

A TV advertisement of a reputed MFS shows that an ‘educated young man’ was talking to her mother that he was unable to send money, because there was no ‘bKash account’ near to him. He was readily advised by a lady co-passenger to open his own account being ‘an educated man’. The advertisement simply failed to give message to its viewers that ‘sending money by some-one’s else account is just a criminal offence’. It is not an issue of prestige of an ‘educated man’ rather is a mandatory requirement, non-compliance of which is plainly punishable by the law of the land. Thus, even media campaigns by banks hardly try to educate its stakeholders with genuine information, which is of course inconsistent with the instructions of the central bank, where it says, ‘Banks shall take appropriate measures (may issue proper guidelines for dealing with customer service and customer education) to raise awareness and educate their customers and employees for using Mobile Financial Services (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 12.0, p-4).

A related yet distinct challenge to KYC or CDD is the increasing use of ATMs as output devices. Strongly favoured by consumers for both convenience and liquidity issues, ATM withdrawal’s system does not require ID at the point of withdrawal.

Apart from ID challenges, the possession of multiple accounts by individual consumers undermines the AML potential of transaction limits. One interview subject reported, as observed by (STATT, 2012): *I’ve met several businessman who had multiple phones, multiple accounts. They’d just sit there and transact on one phone until they hit the maximum [daily limit] and then move on to their other accounts.*

Maximum 1 account can be maintained by one. If any agent fails to maintain such conditions, this is not clear what measures are being taken by bank authority or by the regulatory body apart from taking legal measures under Anti-Money laundering Act 2012 by the LEA.

MFS are far more likely to be used for payments within structured criminal groups. Regular, intra-group payments would probably not be affected by transaction limits, nor would they necessarily be flagged by the mobile finance product’s e-monitoring systems. MFS could be of particular use to large organisations that operate in geographically disparate regions within a country, such as large ethnically organized criminal groups, drug traffickers and poachers/smugglers

in wildlife. A journalist interviewed by STATT in Nairobi alluded to this, noting that some payments for ivory smuggling were done via MFS. Such transactions are functionally more akin to terrorist finance, in that the sender of the funds is not necessarily seeking to disguise their origin, but rather to reimburse and deliver operational funding for criminal activities.

3.2.2. Assisted plus Enabled Crime

Despite the focus on money laundering, mobile finance products face a far more pervasive challenge from traditional criminal behaviour that has either been enabled or accelerated through MFS. In 2011, the Kenyan National Police highlighted “*the use of information and communication technology to perpetuate criminal activities*” as amongst the factors contributing to criminality in the country. This challenge is only likely to grow with MFS adoption. Three primary types of criminality, as observed by (STATT, 2012), could increase through MFSs in Kenya and Tanzania: fraud, extortion and corruption.

In Bangladesh as well, the increasing rate of mobile phone based crime are creating havoc for the affected citizens. Criminals well-utilized the opportunity of new technology and the suffering increases mainly due to easy opportunity of false registration, limitation of LEA’s effort in using new technology, lack of instant access by police into transaction record. Introduction of Mobile Financial Services and its rapid uncontrolled growth also fuels into criminals’ ability to make best use of new technology in committing crime through various innovative forms.

3.2.2.1. MFS related Fraud cases

3.2.2.1a. Fraud through auto-theft, robbery and pick pocketing: Organized thieves stole CNG, motorcycle, auto-ricksha etc. and instead of/in addition to looking for customers for selling stolen property, they called owners and asked them to send money through mobile financial services like bkaash, mcash etc. promising to return their goods. Sometimes, they return, mostly they don’t. Thus, they double their profit using new technology. They earn between Tk. 30,000 and Tk. 500,000 depending on the value of stolen property. [money flow chart]

3.2.2.1b. ‘Halo party’ fraud: Organized Criminals use SIM numbers look like mobile operators’ service number (e.g. 01919000000 or 01711123456) and pretend to be representatives of MNOs. Victims are informed about ‘winning’ a set of ornaments, a piece of land or flat in the capital or a dinner program with noble laureate. Sometimes, the criminals able to use special welcome tune or caller tune that represents a big company or a LEA. Victims were then asked to send a small amount of money - Tk 300 or Tk 3000 for ‘registration’.

This is the start, once a victim becomes prey of the fraud group, they manage to exploit sometimes up to Tk 3000,000. Even people like retired senior civil servant or military officer, in-service Vice Chancellor of public university or member of civil society are found to be victim of this group; nevertheless, most of the criminals, who hardly passed high schools or colleges, managed to use greediness of victims, nevertheless, this should not be really an offence, if someone rely on technology or on the state-machineries that open-broad-day-light fraudulent activities can't sustain or will not remain uncaught. Several villages of two districts in Dhaka division become infamous for the activities of a number of all-on-a-sudden-rich people amid most of the victims hardly 'dare' to put formal complaint to LEA to hide their very foolish greediness.

3.2.2.1c. Fraud by 'business company or firm' or 'family' to job-seeker, bride-seeker or fortune-seeker: You want a job, follow 'our' job advertisement published in the newspaper or advertisement that are made public through pasting on the city-walls. You then apply – and done! You got the job!! Well, now, deposit security money through MFS and wait.

Case Study 5.2.2.1c: A wanted-to-be-groom responded to the advertisement published in a national daily with a view to marry an Australian based expatriate bride! He was quite soon 'taken' and .. 'Don't have you passport (to fly to Australia with the bride)? Okay, send an amount of Tk. 5000 only'. CID later arrested the bride, her 'father' (actually husband), 'uncle' and 'the match maker' from Khulna Sonadanga. Look at the link chart of fraud group. CID after analyzing Call Detail Record, 'discover' number of victims and communicate with them to lodge regular FIR against the same group. [Link chart of CDR]

3.2.2.2. MFS related Fraud plus

3.2.2.2a. Fraud & extortion by 'Jenier badsha' (Genie's king): Perhaps one out of 25 regular mobile users in Bangladesh has received phone call from 'Genie as of the 4th sky', who promise to give one big jar - full of ancient gold coins. What the call-recipient need to do, just to pay Tk. 25 for that very call through which the 'Genie' talked to the victim and caused loss of a human, whose mobile phone had been used for this super-natural communication. One out of 100 recipients of course, simply ignore the caller; but the very one, who is trapped will hardly recognize, how she or he is going to pay 'Genie' even by stealing or selling own properties. By and large, people from rural areas, mostly women become victims of such 'Genie'. The crime start with fraudulency, but mostly continues with threat and extortion, where genie claims that victim herself or her son or husband or other important family member will instantly die, if she fail to comply genie's order or if she communicate information of these activities to anybody else before 'she was awarded with the jar full of gold coins. A

northern district is infamous to run ‘Genie’ business, where from riksha-puler to upazila chairman, shopkeepers to MFS agents are involved in the crime (Police, 2014). There are numerous victims from all around the country who became their prey. But when a victim is to report to police, he or she has nothing but an unregistered or falsely registered SIM number and a tailored voice; nonetheless, the criminals change SIM and/or mobile sets after each successful operation.

3.2.2.2b. Master-of-all trades TV-saint: It’s a case of broad day light fraudulent activities using mobile, satellite TV and MFS technology. At deep night, a number of satellite TV channel (Masranga TV, Bijoy TV, Mohona TV, MyTV etc.) broadcast program on saints of various religions, who are simply any-problem-solver master-of-all-trades saint. The blessings of these saints or their ‘tabiz’ will certainly solve any kind of problem you are facing. You want to win a lottery or the heart of a your most desired girl or boy, or you want to defeat your enemy or control your husband or boss, or you want to get rid of sufferings from old diseases, what else, your TV saint is there; just call and get the problem solved. Mostly expatriates are target of such kind of TV propaganda, which are broadcasted between 0200 hrs to 0400 hrs of Bangladesh time. CID is investigating a case of one middle-east based expatriate, who lost Tk. 62 lakh (Tk. 6,200,000) through selling his all land and properties. Using high-tech and complex analysis process, a CID-team identified a number of Barishal based teams, who are obviously linked with some Dhaka based journalists of e-and print media personnel. CID awaits the amendment of law that now bar police to investigate any kind of fraud cases. Another Dhaka-based housewife had a severe brain stroke, after she understood that she had been cheated by the TV-saint amid by losing Tk. 750,000 – which is of course, a lot of money for a middle-class house manager. [picture]

3.2.2.3. MFS related Extortion

3.2.2.3a. Extortion by the name of Top terror: Businessmen, industrialists or service holders receive unknown call, where callers introduce themselves as top terror or their followers and demand toll from Tk 20,000 to Tk 200,000. Sometimes, the criminal is the neighbour’s iniquitous lad, sometimes it is a wanted criminal calling from the land-border with neighbouring country. Criminals use the terrors’ names that receive more media coverage [‘Haven’t you see in the last week on TV; this is we - who have committed that murder, man’].

3.2.2.3b. Abduction/kidnapping for ransom: Organized group abduct a man or kidnap a child; and ask for money. There is another shorter version, where criminals offer a short-lift to a home-goer employee or a city dweller (a distance of 10 km from Kawranbazar to Uttara for example), take him into their vehicle,

using victim's mobile phone and compel the victim to call spouse or other family member to pay a 'tolerable' amount of money (Tk 15,000 or 30,000). The criminals actually keep on roaming around the city or in the highway, release the victim along with his mobile phone just after ransom money is paid into criminal's MFS account. No hideout, no watchman, no feeding arrangement for victim. This is crime with one vehicle and an MFS account number; and by and large the number is the one personal account of a nearby MFS agent!

3.2.2.3c. Abducting/Kidnapping abroad and ransom money from expatriates' relatives: A group of Iran based human trafficker trapped many Bangladeshi expatriates working in the middle-east to Iran and compelled the relatives of victims to pay ransom money to their Bangladeshi agent through MFS.

3.2.2.4. Case Study

3.2.2.4a. CID arrested a Bkash agent Farid with 87 SIMs - all with falsely registered bKash personal account. Suspect Farid was account opener as agent and also user of all these 87 accounts. Farid didn't maintain any register that he supposed to maintain according to direction of bKash as well as to the mandatory regulations set by the central bank. Several crore Taka was laundered through this bKash agent from scores of victims' relatives to trafficker's family members – surprisingly one of whom is a college teacher, while bKash agent Farid himself, is a school teacher. Another representative of same trafficker gang, who was Halihohor-Chittagong based bKash agent, was also arrested by CID for working as an accountant-cum-ransom collector of trafficking group.

3.2.2.4b. For the purpose of articulating a comprehensive picture of MFS related crime, inquisitive reader are advised to go through an integrated study 'Fraud in Mobile Financial Services'(Muridi, 2015).

4. Survey on Usage of MFS by Garments' Workers

Bangladesh Bank, our central bank, has been exploring various methods to enhance access to formal financial services for workers. In September 2013, it directed commercial banks to open special accounts for garment workers through which they can receive their wages. We have 4 million factory workers in Bangladesh and they almost exclusively are paid in cash, where 86% percent of them do not have access to formal financial services.

4.1. FII Survey among garments workers

Financial Inclusions Insights (FII) conducted a survey with 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) from garment factory workers in Dhaka and Savar. Half of the participants were mobile money users and the other half were nonusers. The study was conducted to understand workers' perspectives on the potential

benefits and barriers to digitizing salary payments in this large and nationally significant manufacturing sector, to explore mobile-money users' current usage behaviors and nonusers' awareness of mobile money and whether prior usage and familiarity with mobile money impacts their attitudes towards digitizing salary payments, finally to assess workers' current routine financial transactions, pain points relating to current transaction methods, and the future potential for digitization.

The key research questions were:

- What are the benefits and pain points associated with the current method of salary payment?
- What is the level of digital literacy among garment workers and how does it impact the use of mobile money services?
- What routine financial transactions do they conduct, including payments, savings, and borrowing, and what is the basket of goods and services they spend money on?
- Are any of these transactions difficult to conduct using current methods?
- Where are most transactions conducted, and where should mobile money services be available?
- How could mobile money serve their daily transaction needs?

The study has the queer findings as shown below:

a. Mobile phone and mobile money use

1. Most workers own a mobile phone and know how to use basic features, but many ask for help with reading text messages (SMS) or using apps, which are generally not in colloquial Bengali.
2. Workers are not allowed to use phones inside the factory.
3. About awareness of mobile money –particularly bKash –is high, but it is perceived only as a money transfer service. There is little awareness of the other services among both users and nonusers.
4. Most mobile money users in the study use over-the-counter money transfers and do not have registered accounts.

b. Salary payment method

1. Garment workers are generally satisfied with the current payment method (cash).
2. It takes two to 10 minutes to disburse salaries to individual workers and is perceived as efficient.
3. Workers value getting paid in cash and having instant access to their

money since most of their regular transactions, such as paying rent and buying groceries, are also conducted in cash.

c. Financial behaviors

1. Most regular transactions are centered around rent, food, savings deposits, paying back regular vendors who sell them goods on credit, and remittance transfers. [You have to create necessary environments for increasing the length of m-loops considering these sectors of expenditure. That is, if garments workers being paid through MFS can find their environment to pay rent, deposit savings, incur debt and transfer remittance through mobile financial service, hopefully, they will be more interested here. But before that, you have to effectively stop the anomalies like false registration, OTC dealing etc. Give a message to your clients through your well trained professional agents that they are being dealt with sincerity; hopefully it will keep your clients and save their money.]
2. Most routine transactions are conducted in cash within a radius of 2 km of home/work, and most are done with relative ease.
3. Many workers use a savings deposit plan with a bank or with the factory they work in. They must deposit the same amount of money on a monthly basis to reap the interest earnings, at the end of a specified number of years. Factories also offer loans to workers in the form of interest free advances on future earnings.

d. Potential for digitizing salary payments and extending mobile money use

1. Workers are reluctant to embrace digital salary payments mainly because it requires an additional step --going to an agent to access their cash. They are concerned about the possibility of waiting in long lines, lack of cash at agent locations and potential fraud issues.
2. Despite concerns about fraud and inconvenience, many workers are open to the potential use of mobile money if they can conduct all mobile money transactions without incurring additional transaction fees.
3. Some participants were able to identify transactions that might benefit from digitization. For instance, many place a high priority on going to the bank as soon as they get their salaries so they can meet their monthly deposit deadlines for their bank savings plans. Using mobile money to immediately transfer money from their salary directly to their savings plan could help make this transaction smoother.

4.2. IFC Survey on Deposit Mobilisation for Ready-made Garments Workers in Bangladesh

86% of the workers in the garment factories do not have access to suitable financial services. This constraint precludes leveraging banking services and workers are limited to traditional and informal financial sources. Banks could offer more financial products targeting this segment of the market. The study finds important potential for bankers, for bringing readymade garment workers into the formal financial sector. Interestingly, some key findings in the study shows that 14% of readymade garment workers have bank accounts and only 19% of the workers have a savings account, although 82% believe that they need it. This represents an “opportunity gap” of 63%. This shows that there is a need to match demand with supply as well as financial awareness and education for these garment workers.

The survey identified minimal differences in overall financial behavior between those at the highest pay grade (earning over Tk.9300, or around US\$122 per month) and those at the lowest grade (earning around Tk. 2300, or around \$33 per month). 50% of those interviewed fell into the Tk.3763-7199 (US\$49-95) pay bracket. Based on these findings, a typical RMG worker profile can be seen below.

- almost exclusively paid in cash
- does not have bank accounts
- keeps their salary at home or on their person
- uses predominantly informal channels for savings, borrowing and sending money home
- generally has control over their own money, although rely often on family advice
- occasionally overspends, and will borrow from friends or family
- sometimes has money left at the end of the month, and will buy something special or save it
- undertakes some income/expense planning, but would like to know more
- would like to save for short and long term aims
- takes loans more for general consumption and unplanned expense than future-building.

The demand/usage gap for savings products is the most significant - around 2:1 - with a significant percentage of workers (40%) wishing to be able to deposit and withdraw through an agent at work. 46.3% of the garments workers only use those services that they are familiar with – friends and family are the most often-used channel for money transfers and short-term borrowing. 38.4% of the

garments workers are always looking for the most convenient way to do things but are a bit scared of technology. 66% of the workers would like to learn what different types of insurance are. 72.5% of the workers would like to learn about different types of banking services and compare them. 86.9% of the workers learn about their options for financial services by word of mouth through friends & relatives. 75.1% of the workers learn through media.

It can be seen that there is a significant opportunity to provide a range of financial services to RMG workers – a “shopping basket” of competitively-priced, easily-accessible products that enable them to save for short and long term objectives, and manage their money more effectively. Improving the efficiency of factories in calculating and disbursing salaries also has the potential to improve the speed with which workers get paid, and their trust in receiving the salary they expect for the hours they have worked.

This assessment, together with the data on financial services addressing the RMG and low-income markets in other countries, has overwhelmingly identified the branchless (agent) and mobile delivery channels – collectively referred to as Alternative Delivery Channels (ADC) – as being the most effective way to increase outreach. Bank branches require considerable investment in infrastructure, equipment, human resources, and security. Setting up and maintaining ATM machines are expensive. By contrast, branchless banking leverages existing infrastructure (agent shops) and equipment.

The findings of both the surveys on mobile phone and usage of mobile money are really interesting. Most workers own a mobile phone and know how to use basic features, are generally satisfied with the current payment method (cash) and are reluctant to embrace digital salary payments mainly because it requires an additional step --going to an agent to access their cash. They are concerned about the possibility of waiting in long lines, lack of cash at agent locations and potential fraud issues.

4.3. A Survey on Garments workers' usage of MFS

A survey was conducted by Sonia Nasrin Nupur (Nupur, 2015) to understand the usage of MFS among garments workers. 100 garments workers participated in the survey, out of which 59% are male and 41% are female, while their salary range was between Taka 5300 and Taka 8000. 56% workers receive salary between Taka 6001 and Taka 7000 and only 3% receive more than Taka 7000. Among the workers attended the survey, 76% have their own mobile phone, but only 14% of them (11% of total workers) have their own MFS account. Though 72% of total workers send remittance, among which 60% send through MFS, 10% send hand to hand and 2% by courier.

Out of 60% who send through MFS, 8% use own MFS account and 52% use OTC or agents' personal account. Hence among MFS account holder, 18% MFS account holders are found to use other's account to send remittance. 65% of total workers do not have own MFS account, although they have their own mobile phone.

The survey reveals that workers are not interested to be paid in mobile money in spite of the fact that most of them are using mobile financial system for sending remittance. Such lack of interest using MFS is for a number of following reasons:

- a. Drawing salary conventionally costs no money, where MFS based salary costs money for each cash-out; no one wants to lose money from one's own income.
- b. To them, loss of mobile phone will make it difficult to draw one's own money;
- c. 'Robbing your mobile phone is not robbing your money' doesn't assure them. Massive usages of MFS may drive robbers to rob both mobile phone and mobile money by forcing them to get their PIN code followed by drawing/transferring their money. Moreover, losing both mobile phone and money is a huge loss for a worker, even if a cell phone costs less than Taka 1000 (US\$ 12).
- d. Densely inhabited workers in a small area will cause a long queue in agents' premises, which may turn into major discomfort to the workers. Also, a group of persons living in a low profile may find their new defacto-salary boss into agents, which is of course another issue of discomforts.
- e. Very limited opportunity for usage of MFS in mobile payment and mobile banking, where market is not developed enough for mobile payment in their field of expenditure and the rate of interest for mobile banking is 1% to maximum 4% hardly attracts consumers.
- f. Being paid through mobile means a long queue in local MFS agents' compound with uncertainty for getting cash in-time;
- g. Mobile money are not really usable directly in the local market, e.g. groceries, public transport, etc. where they use to spend their money;
- h. Each time they cash-out they are definitely lose their money as service charge. They don't really want to lose their money from salary.
- i. Temporary kidnapping along with mobile phone compel a possible victim to transfer easily their money along with mobile phone to be robbed, as it is not very difficult for robbers to get their PIN/security code from an abducted victim.

All the studies show that Mobile Service Providers as well as the respective controlling authority are yet to get the confidence of the customers by ensuring the safety and security of their e-money. It is also understood that major shareholder of MFS market severely fails to keep the minimum standard of banking, consequently, first of all a huge number of fraud cases are stuck with false KYC; although it is absolutely bank's responsibility to ensure the KYC-authenticity of its clients; secondly, a majority of transactions are Over The Counter (OTC) based, as a result, banks have no genuine records who the sender or receiver of the money are.

4.4. Recommendations

4.4.1. Address key concerns about digitization

- a) Ensure a smooth and fast mobile money cash-out process on payday by making sure agents and e-float are accessible and sufficient. Work with the factory to enable a staggered system of salary payments that divide disbursements equally throughout the week in which they normally make payment.
- b) Garments workers should not be charged for cashing (out) their salary. Agents may be paid by the banks for such service at least for the salary part that they receive from the employer; and bank may charge the employer through mutual understanding.
- c) Information about how to address concerns with salary disbursement issues needs to be clearly provided by the factories and mobile money providers.
- d) Mobile money providers should ensure and publicize safeguards against fraud, and hold information campaigns about security and fraud prevention to reassure workers about the safety of mobile money transactions.
- e) Ensure the factory has sufficient "agents" on pay day to effectively ensure fast cash-out. Establish an agent point inside the factory, so that workers who wish to deposit and withdraw cash can do so on demand. Ensure this agent point is well-informed about the range of savings products available, and can assist the worker in setting one up on demand.
- f) Either establish a network of agent points in the areas where the workers live and work (to enable access outside of working hours), or work with an established mobile wallet provider who already has such a network established. The bank can set up and train its own agents or outsource the responsibility to other companies.

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- g) Phase introduction of new payment methods i.e. 50% still in cash followed by a gradual reduction as workers get used to new financial behaviour.

4.4.2. Create products to allow workers greater access to digital financial services (Increase mobile payment products)

- a) Despite some concerns, workers showed interest in using mobile money if they could use it for more varied transactions than just money transfers.
- b) On boarding merchants serving factory workers could extend mobile money usage, especially for transactions conducted in cash or on credit with corner stores. The ability to use mobile money at the places they are used to conducting their regular transactions will be key to getting garment worker buy-in.
- c) The ability to electronically transfer savings installments from their salary into a fully portable savings scheme can make these transactions easier and more attractive to workers.
- d) Disbursal and repayment of factory loans directly through a mobile money account could make transactions more efficient.

4.4.3. Additional steps to successful digitization: Implement public awareness and education campaigns promoting the potential benefits of digitization

- a) Raising public awareness of the benefits of digitizing salaries and educating workers on how to use mobile money services could help alleviate concerns. Campaigns could focus on:
 - i. Increasing understanding of how to use mobile money;
 - ii. Promoting mobile phone security mechanisms such as PIN;
 - iii. Educating customers on how they can conduct their own transactions and providing assistance with transactions;
 - iv. Providing customer service to address problems, including fraud
- b) Participants suggested some potential benefits that could be reinforced through awareness/ education campaigns.
- c) Mid managers could be made first target for introducing MFS based salary fully or partly on pilot basis. This may in turn give a sense of aristocracy to the garments workers when they will be brought under MFS based payment.
- e) Law enforcer should be trained and equipped properly so that any kind of crime either digital or physical, can be quickly addressed by

Police with the systematic, professional and immediate support from respective bank authority. Please don't forget, when one of your victim (either client or agent) lose money through kidnapping, theft or cheating – in whatever form it is , the fact is that the robber, the cheat or thief is officially your another client. So, from client side, clients want safety and security of their own money.

At the ending phase of working session, participants were divided into 7 groups and had been asked to discuss on the following topics:

Group Name	Topic
Group -1	How to ensure to open an account with accurate information
Group-2	How to develop statistical tool for measuring ‘ length of loop’
Group -3	Opportunities in Various Usages of MFS
Group -4	Fraud in Mobile Financial Services: Consumer Driven Fraud
Group -5	Fraud in Mobile Financial Services: Agent Driven Fraud
Group -6	Fraud in Mobile Financial Services: Business Partner Driven Fraud
Group-7	Problems with MFS Management in Bangladesh: perspective Crime Control

After discussion on the ‘How to ensure to open an account with accurate information’, Group-1 brought the following recommendations’. Mr. Md. Abul Kashem Khan, DMD, Dutch-Bangla Bank presented the findings and recommendations of their group, where the paper was prepared by:

- 1) Mr. Mohammed Musha, Robi
- 2) Mr. Hasibur Rahman, Citycell
- 3) Mr. ASM Rajiul Hasan, Banglalink
- 4) Mr. Rayhan Uddin Khan, Addl. SP, CID
- 5) Mr. Khandaker Anwar, AB Bank
- 6) Mr. Enayet Karim, GP
- 7) Rtd. Captain Saber Sharif, Bkash
- 8) Mr. Jahidur Rahman, Teletalk
- 9) Mr. Mesbahul Alam, DBBL

According to group-1, suggested pre-requisite for opening account are:

- 1) Physical presence of customer
- 2) Recent photograph
- 3) Valid photo ID
- 4) Valid Mobile registration form of the carrying mobile number

The same group suggested the following Checklist for opening account, where the last three (8-10) points were recommended only for agents' account opening:

- 1) Check photograph by agent in presence of the customer
- 2) Photo should not the same as picture of the NID
- 3) Bar code verification of NID
- 4) Area wise registration (with present address verified by utility bill / others)
- 5) Introducer's address will also be of the same area
- 6) NID, Passport, Driving License verification
- 7) KYC should be verify and approved by Banks payroll officer
- 8) Agent will be verified by local police station
- 9) Agent details will include holding address and phone number
- 10) An agreement with MFS provider

Measuring length of money loop statistically as a whole, and programmatically targeting individual cases, was considered as an important issue. Group-2 discusses on 'How to develop statistical tool for measuring length of loop'. For measuring statistical tool, the group supported/followed key note paper, which is as follow:

Key	Description
A	Cash In transaction
B	Salary Disbursement (B2P)
A+B=C	Total inward e-money flow
D	Utility Bill Payment (P2B)
C-D=E	Money loaded but yet to be transacted
F	P2P transaction
G	Others
F+G=H	Total transacted money
J	Cash Out transaction
B+F+G=K	Money could be cashed-out
J-K=L	Total money with Zero-length money loop
(K/3)*12=M	Yearly suspicious money transaction

Group-2 also suggested for developing necessary tool programmatically to measure length of money loop individually as well as statistically, where more length will show the positive health of MFS, and zero-length shows probable money laundering, flow of crime proceeds and irregular state of MFS.

Group-3 gave detail of various usages of MFS, while they were asked to find out the opportunities of MFS market. Groups 4, 5 & 6 discussed about various types of fraud driven by consumers, agents and business partners. Groups mostly supported the key-note papers. Moreover, Group-4 recommended the following:

- 1) Proper Documentation
- 2) Physical presence of the customers during account opening
- 3) Guidelines is to be close ended
- 4) Recent Photograph not older than 6 months
- 5) Introducer
- 6) Alternative Phone Number
- 7) Matching mobile phone particulars with given data
- 8) Cross match NID Database
- 9) Reducing cash in/out limit per month
- 10) Issue acknowledgement letters to existing clients.

For controlling Agents' driven fraud, Group-5 has additional recommendations as follow:

- 1) Uniform agent selection policy and forms
- 2) Agent has to be identified properly
- 3) Agent to be identified using NID or other valid document
- 4) Photo and other document should be verified Physically
- 5) OTC should be prohibited
- 6) Receiver should be known to the agent
- 7) Any suspicious transaction to be reported
- 8) Transaction log should be kept strictly
- 9) Need agent related training
- 10) Mass people circulation about not using OTC transaction
- 11) Systematic checking of OTC agents and action

For controlling business partners' driven fraud, Group-6 has following additional recommendations:

- 1) Documentation properly in all (agent, distributer and bank) levels.
- 2) Ensure to Compliance of existing laws and rules by the stakeholders

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- 3) Audit and inspection, Proper supervision by a suitable body from the regulator as well as from the bank itself.
 - 4) Initiate awareness program under the initiative of the central bank, by the individual bank and also collectively.

Group-7 was to discuss on 'Problems with MFS Management in Bangladesh: perspective Crime Control', where they made the following observations:

- 1) Lack of Proper KYC
- 2) SIM registration issue
- 3) Lack of verification tool in case of KYC and SIM registration
- 4) Security of agent and distributor
- 5) Excessive sales target
- 6) Agents minimum educational criterion
- 7) Agent selection – not as per guideline
- 8) Lack of physical infrastructure of agent

The Group had the following recommendations:

- 1) Introduction of NID in case of account activation
- 2) Incorporate a second verification tool while generating a transaction
- 3) App based account opening
- 4) Strictly maintain daily STR and CTR
- 5) Customer verification through third party
- 6) Introduction of blacklisted agent list (in Bangladesh bank web page)
- 7) Agent should be liable for any crime
- 8) Awareness through mass media
- 9) Generate list of customer who are exceeding monthly limit on a regular basis

With the permission of the moderator, bKash representative Rtd. Captain Saber Sharif, an executive from External and Corporate Affairs Division of bKash, shared their experiences of June 2014 to April 2015 and presented their analysis on 'MIS-USES OF MOBILE FINANCIAL SERVICE'. The newly formed unit, as an Independent Quality Control entity has the major functions like: Collection of Incident Data, Investigation, Case Analysis, Review of KYCs- Customer and Agent, Independent Quality Control Organization, Security Awareness Training for Agents and Distributors, AML and CFT Training, Booklets, Leaflets and Banners, Incorporation of Ansar for the protection of Cash Movement, Special

Support Team (SST) etc. For Real Time Communication, Formal Feedback and for Representation of bKash in formal platform are also some of their major roles. bKash representative further informed the workshop that their Special Support Team remain functional 7 days a week from 08:00 to 22:00 to provide support to the LEAs.

According to him, bKash received 458 requests from LEA plus 30 court-orders during June'14 to April'15. The respond to the enquires comprises of Customer Demography, Agent Demography, Agent Opening & Cash Out Information, Transaction Confirmation, Settlement of the Ransom Amount, Confirming 'Not a bKash Wallet' etc. According to bKash representative, the reported incidents, 169 were kidnap and ransom, 23 were extortion, 155 were fraud and 43 were snatching/ theft/ robbery/ hijacking.

Maximum Probable Monetary Involvement, according to bKash delegate is about 1 Crore, derived through multiplication of 488 (number of cases of which LEA collected data) and Taka 20,000 (Maximum Permissible Limit). bKash representative insisted that the loss incurred here is insignificant, which is 0.0012% of their total turnover, 0.0019% of total transactions and 0.0001% of total customer base; however, as bKash rep continued that it needs due attendance because of it being a 'sensitive issue'. bKash reported 34 STR/SAR in 2014,. It also claimed 24 success- cases, while 19 arrests were made and 21 were rescued.

Nevertheless, bKash interpretation of the statistics presented into the workshop get the wrong end of the stick in a number of ways.

Firstly, A case is not necessarily to incur its said 'Maximum Permissible Limit' of a day - Taka 20,000 only. This is, in most cases a start. Once the victim is in trap, suspects use various means to collect ransom money or crime proceeds; nonetheless, nobody stops suspect to use a single account for further usages repeatedly, even Taka 150,000 a month.

Secondly, the sufferings of (here 500 as claimed by bKash) victims – never can be 'insignificant'. The trivial percentage of total turnover of a business organization (in this case, 0.0012% or Taka 1 Crore) is not comparable to the said 'insignificant' sufferings of victims. If an MFS-provider shows more generosity for 'more sacrifice', start considering 0.01% (Taka 100 Crore) of its total turnover as 'insignificant business impact', this is none but the 50,000 common citizens (all of them are even not necessarily their customers) need to be ready to 'enjoy' as victims of kidnapping, ransom, fraud etc. Even, the figure 1 Crore (0.0019% of total transaction) is not just comparable with the findings of the analysis of Bangladesh bank data, Taka 19,000 Crore (19% of total transaction) are seen as OTC.

Thirdly, Police use various alternative means to pursue a suspect; MFS is one out of many of them. So, figure what is shown by bKash undoubtedly a fraction – not anyway considerable as the reported number of crime. The real number of victims or incidents is undoubtedly much higher than the number of reported cases, while out of those, a negligent number of reported cases are dealt through MFS-provider.

Fourthly, nothing can allow banks to fail in providing authenticated information of its own clients that use their system to launder money or commit crime. That criminals collect money using the infra-structure of an MFS, remains anonymous is just a big blow on the trustworthiness of Financial Institution and is simply not acceptable.

However, bKash representative shows keen interest to apply for any kind of possible measures for a better travel through MFS.

In addition to partaking into group discussions/presentations, a number of participants attended into ‘Question & Answer’ session. There are many individuals, who contributed from their professional knowledge and experience. Many urged that regulator and law-enforcer should find out ways to cooperate each other and should immediately take necessary action to stop anomalies in the newly formed MFS sector. The gist of majority’s discussions however was: ‘If you do only one thing, Stop OTC; and you will win half the war’.

5. Problems in MFS-Bangladesh: Perspective Crime Intelligence Management

5.1. The present state of Mobile Financial Services (MFS) in Bangladesh is the result of very sincere and integrated effort of the Government and that of our central bank. As all the central banks in the world are looking for a way out from cash and achieve a universal banking solution, where MFS can present us a cashless and boundless society, Bangladesh become one of the pioneers in the world for Bank-led model. Keeping in mind that there are enormous opportunities in MFS; we, however, will try to emphasize that failure in providing necessary protections to protect the interest of the state as well as of the various stakeholders including consumers will seriously hamper the prospective progress in MFS sector. The start is fantastic. Particularly, the role of Bangladesh in developing a number of guidelines and regulations to administer the new developing sector is praiseworthy. However the pathway is becoming clumsy and hazy day by day. We must review the MFS very carefully and undertake measures from all the stakeholders, be it Bangladesh Bank, commercial banks, NBR (National Board of Revenue), BTRC or mobile phone companies. A high level task force with participation of all the stakeholders for a limited period may help grow MFS in a right track in Bangladesh.

5.2. In spite of these magnificent efforts, Bangladesh faces continuous growing problems in implementation of the laws, rules and regulations. Here are some observations:

- Criminals are widely using the opportunity of opening new account along with buying a SIM with fake registration. Agents' due diligence is the crucial factor here. Agents must obey the existing laws. Necessary administrative or punitive measures must be taken for any of their illegal activities. Opening MFS account with false or fake documents should be strictly controlled. The original ID should be shown to agent during submission of a photo-copied one. Keeping agents' role in opening an account fraudulently, we also mustn't forget that it's bank's responsibility for authenticity of the KYC data during opening an account.
- Over The Counter (OTC) dealings or zero-length money transaction clearly conceals the source or ownership of money; also in case of the proceeds of crime is transferred, it actually assists the members of criminal group to evade the legal consequences; and also it concludes financial transactions in such a manner so as to reporting requirement under Money Laundering Act can be avoided. Such zero-length money-loops transactions are yet to subject to report (STR, CTR etc.) by the agent or by the bank amid most of zero loops transactions are the reflection of laundering money. All zero-length transaction loop should be brought under strict monitoring by BFIU and LEA.
- May be, BFIU need to go for more digitization. The existing working format is complex and paper-based. To provide 'financial intelligence' to law enforcer, it sometimes takes several days to a week. This arrangement simply unworthy to rescue a victim from the suspects pursuing victim's family for ransom money.
- STR, CTR are yet to be collated with LEA to be professionally enquired of for further necessary action.
- No real criteria or minimum qualification exists to recruit agents; no bar for an illiterate or half-educated shop-keeper to become an agent entrusting to do the job of a well-trained educated banker for opening an account; nonetheless existing law of the land authorize only bank to open a new (mobile) account, though neither bank nor even its distributor has effective means to ensure the authenticity of an account holder.
- Banks' media campaign does not educate or wrongly educate their stakeholders (including their customers and prospective customers) on mandatory provisions of law;
- Investigators along with supervising officers are yet to be sensitized on the potentiality of BFIU.

5.3. Crime targeting mobile finance users is a continuing challenge. These crimes that include fraud, extortion, and bribery are generally not new, but are, by and large, assisted by mobile finance products (The Global Initiatives, 2015). Considering vulnerabilities to consumers, businesses, and governments that are presented by Mobile finance products vulnerabilities in agent processes for confirming users' identification, manipulation of these processes along with the systems to be of use to criminal groups seeking to make intra group payments, the following four steps were recommended to further enable the opportunities and mitigate the vulnerabilities in mobile financial systems:

- a. Governments contemplating the development of mobile financial services should engage in broad legal and regulatory reform. Such efforts should not be targeted solely at updating financial legislation, but should as well focus on criminal justice statutes. Specifically, updating evidentiary and criminal procedure statutes with mobile financial systems in mind can help to deter criminal targeting of the systems.
- b. Efforts should be made to enable robust cooperation between all stakeholders in a mobile finance system. Government agencies not traditionally involved in these discussions should be engaged, with the aim of developing new uses for the mobile platform and in increasing the security of the systems.
- c. Regional information sharing efforts should be strengthened, bringing together both government and private sector actors to identify trends in mobile finance related crime and better develop mitigation efforts.
- d. Mobile finance providers should engage in robust stakeholder education efforts, targeting consumers, agents, and government officials, with the aim of increasing knowledge of how mobile financial systems work, what their vulnerabilities are, how to mitigate them, and how they can be of net benefit to each type of stakeholder.
- e. Mobile finance providers need to find a way to differentiate small retail business transactions and price them differently as a way to encourage growth in the local business market segment. Transactions loop must get longer for better cost management by both customer and service provider. For example, in Kenya, Safaricom is trying to do some price-differentiated product development with some of its new offerings, targeting large, formal organizations such as utilities and large employers (the former with a bill service and the latter with a salary payment service).
- f. All zero-length transaction loop should be brought under strict monitoring by BFIU and LEA.

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- g. New laws should be enacted to deal with Organized fraud groups.
 - h. Opening MFS account with false or fake documents should be strictly controlled. The original ID was shown to agent during submission of a photo-copied one .Keeping agents' role in opening an account fraudulently, we also mustn't forget that it's bank's responsibility for authenticity of the KYC data during opening an account (Bangladesh Bank, 2011, section 9.0, p-3).

5.4. The range of cooperating stakeholders needs to be expanded to include not only the entities tasked with regulation but also Government agencies tasked with investigations and prosecution, such as the police, prosecutorial service, judicial sector, anti-corruption authorities and FIUs; and agencies who receive P2G payments, including tax authorities, traffic police, and court authorities. Government, industry and layperson interviewees assess the benefits of MFSs highly. In addition to development benefits, MFSs bring a host of security benefits to both citizens and governments. Nonetheless, MFSs also raises potential challenges for consumers, mobile finance products and governments. MFSs are being used for payments between criminals and within hierarchic criminal organisations. Fraud, extortion and corruption also seem to be assisted by the systems, including because of increased velocity of activity. Such criminality can be reduced through well-implemented CDD, alongside dynamic training and education.

**Appendix A: List of participating organizations in the workshop
(alphabetically)**

1. AB Bank Limited
2. Airtel Bangladesh Limited
3. Bangladesh Bank
4. Bangladesh Commerce Bank Limited
5. Bangladesh Financial Intelligence Unit
6. Banglalink Limited
7. Bank Asia Limited
8. bKash Limited
9. City Cell Limited
10. Criminal investigation Department
11. Dhaka Bank Limited
12. Dhaka Metropolitan Police
13. Dutch Bangla Bank Limited
14. Eastern Bank limited

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15. Exim Bank Limited
 16. First Security Bank Limited
 17. Forensic training Institute
 18. Grameen Phone Limited
 19. IFIC Bank Limited
 20. Islami Bank Limited
 21. Jamuna Bank Limited
 22. Mercantile Bank Limited
 23. NCC Bank Limited
 24. North South University
 25. One Bank Limited
 26. Police Bureau of Investigation
 27. Police Headquarters
 28. Police Staff College
 29. Progoti System Limited (Surecash)
 30. Robi axiata Limited
 31. Southeast Bank Limited
 32. Special Branch
 33. Standard Bank Limited
 34. Teletalk Bangladesh limited
 35. Trust Bank Limited

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Integrating Telepolicing with Community Policing: Experiences of Dhaka District Police—A Case Study

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***Abstract:** It is now a well established fact that confidence and trust can be built-up between the police and people through community policing which in turn prevent crime, keep peace, and resolve social problems. Accordingly during 1990s community policing was enthusiastically received and readily implemented by many developed countries like Singapore, the UK, Canada, Australia and USA. Bangladesh also in the year 1992 launched community policing in a very superficial and piecemeal manner at the district headquarter of Mymensingh. By the year 2012, 40,000 Community Policing Forums (CPFs) were formed nevertheless the whole effort failed to bring out the desired success. In the circumstances Dhaka District police introduced an innovative policing practices namely telepolicing in the year 2012. After more than a year of telepolicing this particular program was evaluated through an experimental design which shows that this has not merely been able to reduce public-police distance it has caused decline in the occurrence of crime. In view of this testimony it is strongly argued that the policy makers, law enforcing agencies and government of Bangladesh must come forward to introduce telepolicing as policing services throughout the country to reach the ultimate destination of community policing.*

Keywords: Community Policing, Telepolicing, Dhaka District Police, Police-Public Relationship, Mobile Technology.

1. Introduction: Concept and Evolution

It is now a well established fact that building confidence and trust between the police and people is a pre-condition for turning the police into a serving institution. By co-operating with each other, police and people can prevent crime, keep peace, and resolve social problems. However, without active public participation, police cannot fulfil their expectations to a satisfactory level. Police alone are insufficient. Police leaders all over the world now without any reservation acknowledge that the police can no longer be the omniscient force for dealing with crime, fear, disorder, and public safety. In this connection we should recall Sir Robert Peel who established the London Metropolitan Police. He set forth a number of principles, one of which could be considered as the seed of community policing (CP). Peel saw the role of the new police in 1829 as:

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“To maintain all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police. The police being only members of the public that are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence”.(Moir, Peter:1990)

It is further to be noted that Sir Robert Peel is the man who first coined the *idea of policing by community consent*. He regarded policing as a practice by *citizens-in-uniform* and emphasized the *local community contact*. With the passage of time at last community policing gained its momentum and popularity (even in terms of academic and activist discourse) during late 1960s and early 1970s, with many communities taking an active role. During this period new programs and organizations were initiated to encourage citizens to play an active role in reducing crime in their own neighbourhoods. In other words, community policing adheres to the police-people entrepreneurship to find out the effective way to combat crime, maintain law and order, apprehend criminals and keep the tranquillity in geo-local commune through identifying the problems and causes of problems with a view to finding out ways of solution.

As a matter of fact unlike other public sector services where satisfaction tends to increase with contact (Blaug *et al*: 2006a), those who have had contact with their local police are generally less satisfied than those who have had no contact at all. While there are important differences between the functions that the police and many other public services perform, much of the research suggests that the reasons for dissatisfaction with the police are frequently related to how people are treated, not the role the police perform. Therefore, enhancing public confidence and satisfaction with the police can:

- Improve police effectiveness and enhance legitimacy (Tyler 2004)
- Make police work „easier and more effective (Skogan: 1998: 2006)
- Encourage the public to report victimization, act as witnesses, provide intelligence and give more proactive assistance with crime prevention activities (Reisig 1998)
- Make members of the public more likely to comply with the police and accept their decisions (Tyler &Huo 2002, McLuskey *et al* :1999)

Miller *et al* (2011) in their seminal work entitled “Community Policing Partnerships for Problem Solving” have very strongly argued that “community policing did not just magically appear as a panacea for society’s ills. It has been centuries in its evolution and may indeed be merely a stepping stone to yet another form of policing in the future. As society’s needs change, so do the methods it uses to” keep the peace (p.6) “Miller *et al* (ibid) have further stated that the benefits of implementing CP are numerous both to the police

and to the Community at large. CP brings Police close to the people, building relationships between Police and Community and among community members themselves. As police interaction with the community becomes more positive, productive partnership is formed and community and officer leadership skills are developed. Citizens see that problems have solutions and these gives citizen courage to tackle other community issues. As citizens feel more empowered to get involved, prevention and detection of crime increase, leading to reduced fear of crime in the community and improved quality of community life making effective use of tenets and resource available within the communities further extends severely strained police resources. CP also provides real challenges for officers, making them more order takers and report writers which lead to increased job satisfaction among officers.

2. The Characteristics of Community Policing

In general terms the characteristics of CP can be listed as under (Hoque: 2007):

1. Community policing is proactive and solution-based policing system.
2. It ensures regular communication between police and community.
3. Community policing is a police approach that involves endeavor of both police and community.
4. Community policing provides community with the opportunity to work on partnership basis with police to address problems and to find solutions.
5. It ensures accountability of police to public.
6. It strengthens mutual trust, understanding and respect between public and police.
7. People can be informed of police activities and their limitations.
8. It reduces the distance between police and public as well as the fear of police and of crime; and, thus, inspires people to help police.
9. Police act as a catalyst by setting and encouraging people to solve many of their problems by themselves.
10. It creates opportunity to use community resources for the betterment of community.

On the other hand Thomas (2006) cites the following benefits to the Police of community Policing-

- (a) Increasing job satisfaction
- (b) Developing new skills.

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- (c) Reducing demands on Police time.
 - (d) Fostering Community support.
 - (e) Improving the public image of the Police.
 - (f) Improving moral and motivation.
 - (g) Making the Police more knowledgeable about public concerns
 - (h) Improving the Police forces crime fighting capability.
 - (i) Strengthening organizational support.
 - (j) Improving the safety of Police officers.

Accordingly community policing has been enthusiastically received and readily implemented by communities and policing organizations alike over recent decades to an unprecedented extent. Developed countries like Singapore, the UK, Canada, Australia and most noticeably the US have adopted community policing from a broad national perspective. The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Crime Act) of USA is widely recognized as a significant milestone in community policing. It was intended by President Clinton and Attorney General Reno as the “changing of policing” (Miller *et al* 2011).

3. The Bangladesh Perspective

On the contrary, without having any solid foundation and legal back-up Bangladesh in the year 1992 launched community policing in a very superficial and piecemeal manner at the district headquarter of Mymensingh. This innovative approach was initiated by senior police officials posted there in response to the poor law and order situation existed in the area in a form of “Town Defense Party” with 60 groups that ensured the security of 250,000 people. Soon after, the “Stick and Whistle Party (Lathi-Bashi Bahini)” appeared in Natore to protect businessmen from illegal tolls and extortion. Subsequently, from 1985-1997, community policing was introduced in Dhaka, and then in Rangpur and Rajshahi. Ultimately, between 2007 and 2009, community policing gained momentum nationwide and began to involve station “Open Houses” that hold the police more accountable to the people and give citizens a chance to participate in decision-making (The Asia Foundation: 2013). Police Reform Project (PRP) within the purview of its program of actions planned to support 8,400 Community Policing Forums (CPFs) within the period from 2012-2017 across the country. However, in the first year, PRP could extend support to strengthen only 1400 CPFs as pilot under six metropolitan areas (one ward in each metropolitan) and 64 districts (one union in each district). Nevertheless, despite the establishment of almost 40,000 ward level CPFs,

there is still no clear understanding of community policing among the police and the community. Several questions are being asked. Is community policing primarily about effective crime control by the police, supported by partnership work with communities? Is it about building community trust and confidence in the professional police? Or, is it about strengthening communities to create natural resistance to crime and promoting self-policing by communities? And finally, is community policing more about reforming professional policing or changing the role of the public? More importantly, what is still uncertain, whether current changes are mainly strengthening the professional police's hand to maintain law and order or whether the changes are also building self policing among communities (i.e., shifting toward social crime prevention and informal conflict resolution). Answering to all these questions still remains to be unresolved. Meanwhile a number of studies (Hossain: 2012) postulated that community policing in Bangladesh could achieve a limited recorded success. Different reasons are cited in this respect.

Undoubtedly, a certain amount of resistance to community policing is always there both internally and externally to Bangladesh Police. On the other hand elected officials appear impatient to await the results of a community policing. It has also been pointed out by many observers that the current CPF structure, involving a 15–20 person working committee, and a 4–10 person advisory group, may be too complex. The presence of so many key leadership positions in the CPF also increased the risk of politicization of CPF activities, as the focus of monthly meetings frequently became about speeches given by these leaders, instead of efforts to address crime problems. Mr. A K M Shahidul Hoque, present Inspector General of Police has categorically stated that within Bangladesh community policing could not be found on an acceptable structure, for which the views and importance of community policing couldn't explicitly acceptable to the people. He however, added that there is no bar against Community Policing by any law of the land despite its (Community Policing) not being created by any law or ordinance. There are compulsions on people to assist police and magistrate in certain cases vide sec. 42-45 of CrPC. As per regulation 32 of PRB, UP chairmen and members being public representatives can seek help from people in policing activities. To seek and get assistance from people is valid as per above rules and regulations (Hoque: 2007).

In a nutshell, the barriers of implementing CP in Bangladesh can be presented as under (ibid):

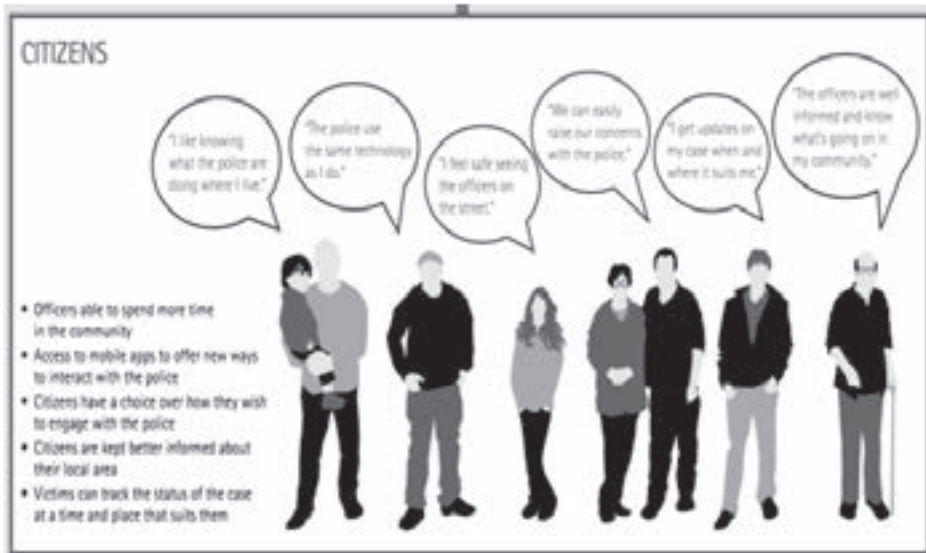
1. Both police and public are driven by traditional mentality. They are not willing to accept something new for they are habituated to work in traditional ways having traditional reception of mind-set. Such a negative perception is the main barrier to community policing.

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2. Lack of clear conception about community policing.
 3. Majority people are ignorant about their duties and rights. Rights and duties are inter- related. Where there are rights, there are duties. For example, people should co-operate with police and administration for availing the right to lead a secured and peaceful life. But most people do not have any idea about it; and it is a hindrance to community policing.
 4. People depend on police for their security. People have an idea that police can do anything and everything if they wish. Being aligned to this conviction, they do not come forward to assist police.
 5. Some people are anti-police. They never help police; moreover, they avoid, and discourage others to help, police.
 6. Police do not make adequate time and labor to give clear idea about community policing to people. They treat it as an extra botheration.
 7. There is shortage of resources for the operation of community policing. There is no govt. allocation and it is, also, difficult to convince people to contribute. People don't want to buy, with own and spontaneous expenses, peace and security for them.
 8. Community policing is not included in routine police activities. Therefore, the police members refrain from engaging adequate labor and thought in this affair.
 9. People are reluctant in responding to police calls as they have less confidence in the latter. They remain suspicious about police matters.
 10. There is a tendency of police to dominate people. Police do not want to honor peoples' expectations and opinions.

4. Use of Information in Particular the Mobile Technology in International Arena

Technology has always had a close affinity with police work. Not only does technology promise to improve police effectiveness and efficiency in controlling crime, it may also enhance their professional status and organizational legitimacy (Manning: 1992a; Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). Given that information is the stock-in-trade of policing, it is natural that police organizations would embrace the latest communication technologies viz., mobile phone, VHF communication system, satellite phone, internet-based communication and social media communication system with citizens. Generally, the police are investing their efforts in information and communication technology to increase their capacity to improve their intelligence and investigative capabilities; to store and process large volumes of data; and to provide ready access to criminal records and

other crime-related information. The use of information technology has already become part of everyday life for US police and Australian police. Australian police forces, being typically much larger than American ones, have all adopted some form of computerized information system since the mid-1990s. Technology certainly has the *capability* to improve efficiency and enhance service, but that this capability is realized in practice is not a foregone conclusion. Unfortunately, there have been very few research studies on the impact of information technology on policing, not only in Australia, but also in other countries (Manning, 1992a; Mullen, 1996). Keeping aside the whole gamut of information technology, mobile technology alone has the potential to alter the way police officers and staff work by changing the way that they are able to access and use information. However, the challenge is in how best to do it. The overall success of these initiatives remains limited and the full range of benefits offered by the capabilities of modern technology are yet to be fully realized by police services. The majority of police services are currently ill-prepared to adopt or keep pace with rapid advances in mobile technologies. In a pulse survey (Accenture: 2013) conducted by Accenture, 88 percent of the public believe they have an important role to play in preventing crime. The potential for mobile technology to simplify interaction and to improve the experience of citizens, victims and witnesses is widely recognized as a key benefit; a view confirmed by an officer from Guardia Civil in Spain who commented that “mobile technology can help us offer a more personal experience to the public.” (ibid)



Source: (Accenture: 2013)

5. Launching of Telepolicing: Experiences of Dhaka District Police

Apparently due to limited success achieved through community policing Dhaka District police introduced an innovative policing practices namely telepolicing in the year 2012. The main aims were (a) prevention and countering the crime, (b) maintaining law and order situation and (c) reducing the fear of crime by citizen.

Initially, telepolicing was introduced on trial basis in three police stations--1) Dohar, 2) Nawabganj and 3) South Keraniganj. Later on, it was also introduced in remaining four police stations—(1) Savar Model, (2) Ashulia, (3) Dhamrai and (4) Keraniganj Model.

Telepolicing used the philosophy of community policing with a different strategy, tele-network. Thus through telephone communication, especially user-friendly mobile phone, the police reached the concerned community. It was a popular strategy to reach the community directly by the police, especially by the Officer-in-Charge (OC) and Circle ASP along with other police officers. Every day, the police phoned at least 10 community members and enquired about their problems regarding law and order. The police asked mainly six questions to cross-sections of the community—members of civil society, businesspersons, teachers, students and religious leaders (Ahmed: 2015). The questions were as follows:

1. Compared with the past, do you feel the present law and order situation in your area has improved or deteriorated?
2. Do you face any problem dealing with the police in your area?
3. What is your opinion about police in your area?
4. Are you satisfied with police in your area?
5. What is your expectation regarding future police practicing in your area?
6. Do you have any recent reactive policing incident with respect to (a) waiting for expected result, (b) charge-sheeted, (c) arrest (d) fine and etc.?

After more than a year of telepolicing in Dhaka District, the Superintendent of Police (SP) realized the necessity of measuring the crime control status by evaluating the telepolicing program. It has already been delineated that in the developed countries systematic research on problem-oriented policing, pro-policing, community policing and e-policing research exist whereas there is a conspicuous absence of such research for developing countries. This is specifically true for Bangladesh. The present study was an attempt to fulfil the

above mentioned knowledge- gap. In other words, this is an explorative at the same time a pioneer study since such a study had never been conducted before in the history of Bangladesh police (ibid).

6. Methodology Adopted for the Study

A methodological triangulation, quantitative survey and qualitative Focus Group Discussion (FGD), were used to understand the relationship between telepolicing and crime control. However, the study was based on various sources of data—primary and secondary. To measure the impact of proactive policing through telepolicing on crime prevention and control, official statistics from police stations during pre-telepolicing year of 2012 and post-telepolicing years of 2013-14 were compared against the primary data collected through Interview Schedule and Focus Group Discussions(Ahmed:2015).

6.1. The Research Design

A crude before-after design was used to measure the effectiveness of telepolicing. This was accomplished by:

- (a) Asking the users of telepolicing (as an *experimental group*) about the crime situation before-after their exposure to tele-network;
- (b) Asking the non-users of telepolicing (as a *control group*) about the crime situation now-and-before from one selected police stations, Sreenagar, in neighboring district of Munshiganj, where no telepolicing is introduced; and
- (c) Comparing the secondary data during ‘pre-telepolicing’ years and ‘post-telepolicing’ years.

6.2. Selection of Respondent

In this research, a non-probabilistic purposive method of selecting respondent was used for various reasons. The researchers selected respondents from a list of cross-section of community members created by police station for the purpose of telepolicing. Initially, the list was prepared along with address and cell numbers of the community members in a logbook by the officers of police station—Officer-in-Charge, Inspector-Investigation, Sub-Inspectors or other duty officers. The community members were classified into different categories in accordance with their socioeconomic characteristics. One person from each category was contacted over phone by the officers of police station as a part of proactive policing. This was how the liaison between police and community was maintained. From this universe samples were purposively drawn. The randomness was avoided due to sampling mortality, high probability of non-response and fear of police among community members (Ahmed: 2015).

Moreover, in order to select respondent a multi-stage sampling involving two sampling units was adopted: in the first stage, police stations were treated as Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) and in the second stage; respondents were treated as Ultimate Sampling Units (USUs). Thus the selected 8 police stations— 7 from Dhaka district and 1 from Munshiganj district—were considered as Primary Sampling Units (PSUs), whereas 413 respondents were treated as Ultimate Sampling Units (USUs) .

PSUs:

I. Dhaka District: 1. Keraniganj Model, 2. South Keraniganj, 3. Nawabganj, 4. Dohar, 5. Savar Model, 6. Ashulia and 7. Dhamrai. As mentioned earlier, all 7 police stations except the Head Quarters were selected from the experimental group.

II. Munshiganj District: 1. Sreenagar. This police station was selected purposively as the control group from the adjacent districts of Dhaka.

USUs:

From these 8 PSUs 413 respondents, 364 telepolicing users and 49 non-users, from both experimental and control groups respectively were purposively selected as Ultimate Sampling Units (USUs) for the purpose of survey. In addition, for the purpose of focus group discussion, 97 cross-section respondents were purposively selected from 4 selected police stations of experimental group. The respondents included businesspersons, professionals, day labors, students, representatives from civil society, social workers, local government representatives, housewives, unemployed person/job seekers, released prisoners, bailed accused persons, victims of conventional crimes, politicians and religious leaders (*Imam/Pourohit/Parish Father*).

Units (USUs). Thus the selected 8 police stations— 7 from Dhaka district and 1 from Munshiganj district—were considered as Primary Sampling Units (PSUs), whereas 413 respondents were treated as Ultimate Sampling Units (USUs) .

Prisoners, bailed accused persons, victims of conventional crimes, politicians and religious leaders (*Imam/Pourohit/Parish Father*).

7. Major Findings

The main findings of this study can be summarized as follows:

1. Telepolicing knowledge was highest among respondents in Dohar and Ashulia (20%); it was lowest among respondents in Dhamrai (11%).
2. An overwhelming majority of respondents (95%) received a phone call from their local police station and registered in the police logbook for this purpose.

3. The main reasons for police call were (a) to know about the local law and order situation (75%) and (b) to update about local conflict (20%) (c) to know about drug and substance abuse (2%), (d) to greet (3%), (e) to offer support (1%) and (f) to inform people (1%).

Public Satisfaction with Police is vital for measuring the efficiency of police. Police is vested with huge discretionary power and authority, which tends to make police personnel bureaucratic and anti-people. In order to make community policing a success, it is important that public be satisfied with police in terms of police response time, proactive services and some special police services for the community people. Table -1 presented below reveals that an overwhelming

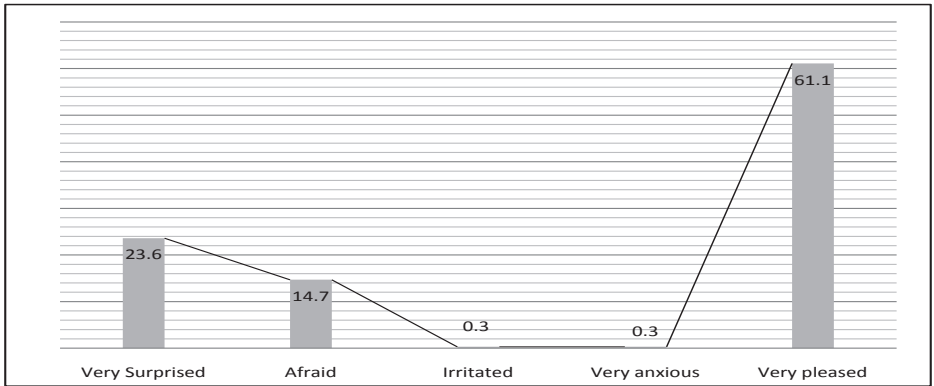
<i>Level of Satisfaction</i>	Number	Percent
Very Satisfied	102	24.7
Moderately Satisfied	114	27.6
Satisfied	186	45.0
Dissatisfied	1	0.2
Very dissatisfied	10	2.4
Total:	413	100.0

majority of respondents, 97 per cent, are satisfied with current policing practice in various degree—45 per cent are satisfied, 28 per cent are moderately satisfied and 25 per cent are very satisfied.

Table 1: Public Satisfaction with Current Policing Service (n=413)

Source: Ahmed (2015)

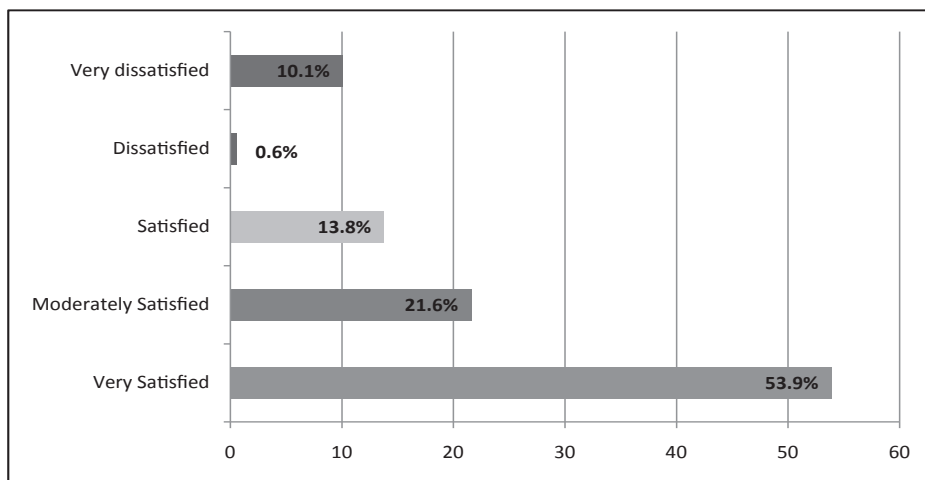
In addition figures A and B presented below graphically portrays public response to police call (telepolicing) and level of satisfaction with police mannerism. Figure A shows that public response to police call is a mixed bag, nearly one



third of the respondents are very surprised (24%), afraid (15%), and irritated and very anxious (0.6%), whereas the majority (61%) are very pleased. This also reveals that the stereotype image of police persists and it would take a long time for police to change its image.

Figure A: Public Response to Police Call (n=347)

Definitely, favourable public response to police call is an ice-breaking event.



The police need to work hard on this, especially changing police mannerism as Figure B shows that 11 per cent respondents are very dissatisfied/dissatisfied with it, whereas the overwhelming majority, 89 percent respondents, are variously satisfied—very satisfied (54%), moderately satisfied (22%) and satisfied (14%) with the approach of telepolicing.

Figure B: Satisfaction with Police Manner (n=347)

Source: Ahmed (2015)

The findings show that overall, public are satisfied with telepolicing program of Dhaka District Police.

- It was observed that 16 varieties of crime exists in the telepolicing zone, some of which were new and emerging—eve-teasing, extortion, threat/intimidation, snatching, squatting (illegal possession), fighting, and unconventional crimes. Apart from these seven crimes, other nine types of crime were of conventional type such as theft, violence against women and rape, abduction, murder/homicide, dacoity and robbery, drug, smuggling, illegal firearms/weapons and riots/mob.

The ultimate test of telepolicing was of course, whether local crime levels fall after adoption of this strategy by Dhaka District Police. A clear-cut declining

trend of crime was observed except for drug, smuggling, theft, squatting and eve-teasing in Dhamrai and Nawabganj. On the other hand in non-telepolicing Sreenagar police station occurrence of crime increased consistently for all crimes. It is also found that respondents were in agreement with the declining trend of crime in their neighbourhoods: three-fourth of the respondents agreed that incidence of crime decreased with respect to riots/mob, abduction, murder/homicide and dacoity/robbery. This perception of the decreasing trend of

Police Station ↓	2014	2013	2012	Difference 2012-14	Variation 2012-14	Difference From Control Group in 2014	Variation from Control Group in 2014
1. Savar Model	668	794	938	-270	-40.4	340	50.9
2. Dhamrai	394	548	637	-243	-61.7	66	16.8
3. Keraniganj Model	301	288	410	-109	-36.2	-27	-9
4. Nawabganj	219	314	328	-109	-49.8	-109	-49.8
5. Dohar	165	172	238	-73	-44.2	-163	-98.8
6. Ashulia	671	897	956	-285	-42.5	343	51.1
7. South Keraniganj	547	580	639	-92	-16.8	219	40
Total:	2,965	3,593	4,146	-1,181	-39.8	--	--
8. Sreenagar	328	--	--	--	--	--	--

crime reflects the efficacy of proactive policing program such as community policing, open house day, telepolicing and enhancing the police patrolling in the community. Overall, vast majority of the respondents, 84 per cent, agreed that incidence of crime decreased due to telepolicing practice. Table-2 presented below would depict a more clear picture

Table 2: Variation in Recorded Crime by Police Station by Year

Source:Ahmed(2015)

Table 2: gives variation in the incidence of crime by month and year, shows that there is a gradual decline in the occurrence of crime over years due to Telepolicing. Thus, Pre-Telepolicing year of 2012 is compared with Post-Telepolicing years off after more than a year of telepolicing in Dhaka District;

the Superintendent of Police (SP) realized the necessity of measuring the crime control status by evaluating the telepolicing program. 2013 and 2014. It is found that in all seven police stations under Dhaka District Police there were 4,146 crimes of all types in the year 2012. This declined to 3,593 and 2,965 in 2013 and 2014 respectively. Thus, incidence of crime has declined by 15 percent during 2012-13 followed by 21 per cent during 2013-14. The percentage becomes significant if 2014 is compared with 2012, there is an overall decline of 40 per cent during 2012-14. This demonstrates the effectiveness of telepolicing for Dhaka District Police.

8. Conclusion

The main outcome of telepolicing is that it has been able to curb the amount of crime to a great extent. It has also boost-up the acceptability of police by the public. The probable explanations for such a success are not difficult to find. The key to it lies in changing policing practice in reducing public-police distance. In order to modernize Bangladesh police from its archaic colonial model, proactive policing practices through the device of mobile phones under community policing may be used as a very effective tool. It has vastly improved policing service and a climate for proactive policing. Delivering policing services to the door-steps of the general masses has thus become a reality which can be very effectively accomplished through telepolicing. The mass use of cell phone due to its easy access has made telepolicing a viable and successful program within broader framework of community policing. Thus modern communication technology holds the promise of breaking past colonial barriers and make Bangladesh police a modern, liberal and democratic one. This is only possible through gaining public confidence by providing services and effectively controlling incidences of crime. The Experience of Dhaka District Police gained through telepolicing indicates a future towards that direction. Accordingly within the purview of this study respondents were asked to recommend ways to make telepolicing effective so that this model of Dhaka district police could be replicated all over Bangladesh. They made several recommendations amongst them conscientization or increased publicity of telepolicing by the Bangladesh police (37%) was the most important step to make pro-people telepolicing.

To conclude, we should not forget that the implementation of a community policing is a complicated and multi-faceted process wherein telepolicing should not be taken granted as panacea rather it, can at best be deployed as one of the most effective tools. In fact Bangladesh police needs many more than that, they require complete overhauling of their planning and management structure. Profound changes must occur on every level and in every area of a police agency, this being from constable to the IGP and from training to technology. it is gratifying to note that the changes are marching on, telepolicing adopted by

the Dhaka District Police is a glaring example. They did not follow the external model but a model of their own. Therefore we would urge the policy makers, law enforcing agencies and government of Bangladesh to introduce telepolicing as policing services throughout the country to accelerate the long journey towards community policing.

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Problems of Thana Police in Bangladesh and the Way Out

Dr. A K M Iqbal Hossain¹

Abstract: *Thana is the most vital component of the criminal justice system of Bangladesh. Police plays a very crucial role in the society and is the front- runner in protecting and promoting the welfare and well-being of the citizen. The police system in Bangladesh can be traced back to the Arthashashtra. However, the more formal system was evolved in Bangladesh after the Britishers attempted to reform the existing system. The present legislation governing the police in Bangladesh was enacted during the British period and has led to many problems in the present scenario. This paper seeks to analyze the underlying problems that the Bangladesh thana police face in their working. Thanas in Bangladesh have become the symbols of unprecedented malpractices. This misconduct can be attributed to the fact that thanas are commanded by subordinate rank officers. Police is also seen as a tool used by the politicians and the common man finds no use in approaching the police for solving their problems. Taking cue from these problems, the author have suggested various measures need to be adopted by the Government to make sure that the police functions in a well-organized, efficient and transparent manner.*

Keywords: Thana Police, Community, Political Will, Misconduct and Malpractices, Problems and Challenges, Transparency and Accountability

1. Introduction

The thana is arguably one of the most important, and easily the most visible component of the criminal justice system. They are the most important units and they occupy a unique position in the criminal administration within their respective jurisdictions. All information relating to the commissions of cognizable offences are to be recorded at thanas. The investigations of the offences under direction of the Officer in Charge are launched by the Police Station Officers. They also initiate actions under prevailing sections of law. The common people who fall victims of crimes and in other matters come in frequent contact with the police at thanas for redress. In fact, thana is the starting point for all actions under the Criminal Justice System. However, by any objective measure the present man-power available in a Police Station is extremely inadequate for maintenance of law and order as well as prevention and detection of crimes. In consequence, the people's securities are in serious jeopardy and gradually they are losing confidence in police efficiency to protect their lives and properties. However, with the passage of time, it has been observed that the thanas across

¹ Superintendent of Bangladesh Police

Bangladesh have gone through a phase of moral and professional decadence that has led to growing concern.

The duties of the thana police provided in Police Regulation, Bengal of 1943 can be divided into four (a) lawsuit related, such as receiving lawsuits, investigating and reporting crimes, acting as witness in criminal proceedings, and producing witnesses in court, (b) law and order, such as providing security to various offices and instructions and ensuring security during public events, (c) providing security to high ranking government officials and (d) other duties such as election duties. These numerous duties leave the thana unable to respond to all the needs of the people within their jurisdiction. Keeping aside all other factors if the number of manpower now available in a thana is taken into consideration one can easily observe extreme inadequacy in this regard.

Table- 1: Manpower Strength of a Thana

The Pattern	Sub-Inspector		Asst Sub-Inspector		Constable		Others	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<i>Metropolitan</i>	24	3	9	4	46	2	3	0
<i>District</i>	9	1	4	1	26	5	2	0
<i>Upa zila</i>	4	0	1	0	21	0	3	0

Source: Transparency International Bangladesh (2004), Investigation Report on Three police Stations (in Bengali), Dhaka

Presently, there are a total of 615 (including 56 model thanas) sanctioned Police Stations of which 80 in Metropolitan areas. The size of the existing police stations varies widely in respect of both area and population. We have the smallest police station Fultala (Khulna) with only about 29 Sq. mile and the largest one Shyamnagar (Satkhira) with about 736 Sq. mile. Similarly, we have manpura P.S. (Bhola) with only about. 34,000 people while Begumaganj P.S. of Noakhali district has population as big as 7lac. The lowest but most visible stratum of the police system is the police station or the thana. In police related matters, people first come to the thana. Thus effectiveness of the police in the performance of their functions can best managed by the efficiency of the thana. The duties of the thana police provided in Police Regulation, Bengal of 1943 can be divided into four (a) lawsuit related, such as receiving lawsuits, investigating and reporting crimes, acting as witness in criminal proceedings, and producing witnesses in court, (b) law and order, such as providing security to various offices and instructions and ensuring security during public events, (c) providing security to high ranking government officials and (d) other duties such as election duties. These numerous duties leave the thana unable to respond to all the needs of the people within their jurisdiction.

With the passage of time the facets of crime have changed and the rate of crime has increased in manifold. Simultaneously demand for police service has increased at a rate faster than the growth and expansion of the service delivery capacity of the police. Accordingly, Bangladesh police are not being able to meet the demand of the citizenry. As a whole the image of police before the public appears to be very poor which can be revealed through a number of key performance indicators. These are:

- an increase in complaints against the police;
- loss of public trust and confidence in the police;
- an increase in police corruption at all levels;
- reduced volume of police services to the public;
- reduced quality of services to the public;
- failure to meet public expectations of the police;
- an increase in unresolved crimes;
- an increase of fatalities and injuries among police officers;
- an increase in damage and destruction of police equipment;
- insufficient use of expensive police equipment; and
- Job dissatisfaction where police officers feel inadequately prepared to do their job.

2. Whither the Police Stations in Bangladesh: Perception and Realities

We should not forget that the Bangladesh police force was created by the police act of 1861 on 24th March of the same year (three years after the Sepoy Mutiny) is still the basic police law of the land. The ultimate motive of this act was to use police as a 'force' in the hands of the government to suppress any uprisings by the locals. In reality this act emphasizes the exercise of authority rather than accountability. Therefore, it can be seen that the approach of the police force since its inception has not been to help people but to coerce them. It is now universally recognized that however sufficient and efficient the Police force may be it invariably needs people's help in the main Police job of crime detection and investigation. In other words, the need for public participation in crime prevention and detection cannot be overemphasized. For obvious reasons several legal provisions are enacted in chapter-IV of the Code of criminal procedure casting duties on the people to assist the Police in the matter of crime prevention and detection. But what happens actually when a citizen enters the Thana. The Police officer on duty hardly attends him. Instead of asking him politely by saying "what can I do for you?" he pronounces "what do you want?" The members of the police should cultivate the habit of being strict without

being harsh, helpful without being rude or indifferent. As the visible arm of the law and order sector of the government he has the supreme duty of earning the respect and love of the people by his integrity and devotion to duty. The Police must realize that vast powers are entrusted to him not for abuse but for proper application honestly, impartially and without any prejudice or malice. A balance needs to be struck between the imperative to use force, to uphold the law and respect the human rights of all concerned – the victim, the accused and the society at large. In short, police must treat people “properly, legally, and morally” (Bayley, 1994; 79).

3. The Police Force is Frequently Accused of Misconduct

What actually happens inside the police station is well hidden from public view. The police use this to their advantage and indulge in acts of verbal abuse and physical force. The sad part is that the only witnesses to these activities at police stations are either the other police officers present at the station or the victim himself/herself.

Another major form of police misconduct is malpractices. Police stations are the hub of malpractices where the officers use the discretion vested in them to indulge in malpractices. They indulge in bribery, favoritism, prejudice, extortion etc. Sometimes FIRs are not properly registered and alterations in police diary as well as statements etc. are done by the officers present in police stations. These unfair practices pollute the whole criminal justice administration, and render it meaningless. On the other hand several examples of police misconduct, including cases of excessive force, brutality, and malpractices, appear regularly via the news media. Media and public view many police actions as arbitrary and express concerns at the lack of accountability for police actions and inactions. The relation between the police and the public has reached a point where the citizens rather avoid reporting a crime to the police station.

In a National Household Survey done in the year 2007 by Transparency International Bangladesh and another study published in the same year by UNDP revealed that most of the households who interacted with law enforcing agencies experienced corruption and an overwhelming majority denied (67%-71%) having received required help from the police. The same study further pinpointed that four units, such as court police, traffic police, police in immigration services and thana are frequently prone to bribes.

4. Thana Police: An Under-staffed and Under-resourced Organization

Very recently Hossain (2013) has quite heavily dwelt on the issue and observed that overall Bangladesh police face serious limitations and constraints. Therefore in order to properly consider why Bangladesh Police is not efficient

and accountable it is important to assess what resources are at their disposal. He pointed out that, per capita expenditure on policing is \$1.40 USD in Bangladesh, as opposed to \$215 USD in the United States. On the other hand, as stated earlier the police also lack human resources. Consequently, police personnel work 24-hour shifts without a rest day. The national police to population ratio are 1:1300, and at the thana level it is as low as 1:8000 (ibid). An obvious deficiency in manpower results in inefficient service.

Officers at the thana are often deprived of the basic necessities required to do their jobs. Public complaints cannot be written because paper is frequently out of stock and if a vehicle is available for use, then it is without petrol. Many officers are often forced to pay out of pocket to complete even the most routine police functions. Expense claims are sent from the districts to Dhaka and reimbursements often follow months later – and not always in full, which further drives corruption. A case study presented below, would give a vivid picture. One inspector, while based in Rangpur district, described an all-too-common situation:

Case Study- 1

A man came to me in the middle of the night and said that a murder had been committed in his village. It was my duty to investigate. I asked the man to drive me to his village because the station vehicle was in disrepair; it had been broken for days and we had no money to fix it. The villager didn't have a car so we had to hire a taxi, which was a few hundred taka. An autopsy had to be done on the body, and I had to take it to the morgue. But the driver refused to put the body in his taxi. So, I then had to pay – with my money – for another car, which was another few hundred taka. The coroner would not perform the autopsy on the corpse without some alcohol to drink. So I had to buy a few bottles for the coroner. Then I had to pay the dome for his work. In the end I had to spend Tk2000 to Tk3000 (\$30 or 40) out of my pocket to do my job.

The inspector said, "You tell me, who is going to reimburse for me this. No one".

(International Crisis Group, 2009; 10)

Yet, notwithstanding the lack of resources, there are many instances where the Bangladesh Police grossly mismanage what little assets they possess. For example, there are over 1, 04,395 (as of July 2012) constables that are not fully utilized because they lack investigative powers as well as results. Moreover, police personnel are frequently shifted to VIP duty even though there are pressing law and order and investigative tasks that need attention. (International Crisis Group, 2007).

In addition the manner in which police respond to violations of law and order, impose restraints on personal freedom, prevent the occurrence of crime and detect crime, all generate debates and controversies. On the one hand they are

accused of going into excesses; while on the other hand, they are accused of doing too little. Overall, Bangladesh Police lacks professionalism and proper training. Most policemen are not exposed to various changes in political, economic, social, and scientific fields and also about modern techniques of policing.

Police officers and constables work 13-18 hours a day, which is almost double than the working hours of the government employees of other professions. In all the police stations Sub-Inspectors, Assistant Sub-inspectors and Constables work 13-16 hours a day.

Table 2: Number of hours spent by thana police on duty

The Pattern	Number of Working Hours Spent on Duty			
	Officer in-Charge	Sub-Inspector	Asst-Sub Inspector	Constable
Metropolitan	18	16	15	15
District	16	14.5	14	14
Upazila	15	14	13	13

Source: Transparency International Bangladesh (2004), Investigation Report on Three police Stations (in Bengali), Dhaka

Police officers do not get sufficient time for controlling crime and investigating criminal cases. On an average every Sub-Inspector of district police stations has to investigate 7.5 cases in a month, Sub-Inspector of thana police stations 4 cases. They do these investigation activities in addition to their duties. Hence they remain reluctant to take up new cases. Metropolitan police spent 40.6% time of a month for keeping law and order, 32.7 time for ensuring the security of VIPs, and 18.4 time for works relating to criminal cases. Police officers of districts and thanas take half of the time of a month for securing the VIPs.

Table- 3: Time Spent on Different Assignments by their Pattern

The Pattern	Litigation	Maintenance of Law and Order	VIP Protection	Others
Metropolitan	18.4	40.6	32.7	8.3
District	23.7	45.5	19.3	11.5
Upa zila	27.2	44.3	15.3	13.2

Source: Transparency International Bangladesh (2004), Investigation Report on Three police Stations (in Bengali), Dhaka

5. The Problems and Predicaments of Thana Police

The lack of professionalism in an overburdened, under-funded, and poorly-skilled police force, coupled with undue interference has led to lower level of trust in law enforcement. Many honest and hard-working policemen and officers do their best to serve society, but they are powerless to reverse the decline in standards of crime investigation. As a result, enforcement of rule of law and prosecuting the guilty has become major challenge for thana police. In a nutshell the problems and challenges encountered by thana police while discharging their duties can be listed as under:

Box 1 : Problems Encountered by the Police Discharging their Duties

- a) excessive workload due to inadequacy of manpower and long working hours even on holidays and the absence of shift system.
- b) non cooperative attitude of the public at large.
- c) inadequacy of logistical and forensic back up support.
- d) inadequacy of trained investigating personnel.
- e) inadequacy of the state of the art training facilities in investigation, particularly in service training.
- f) lack of coordination with other sub-system of the Criminal Justice System in crime prevention, control and search for truth.
- g) distrust of the laws and courts.
- h) lack of laws to deal effectively the emerging areas of crime such as organized crime, money laundering etc.
- i) misuse of bail and anticipatory bail provisions.
- j) directing police for other tasks which are not a part of police functions.
- k) interrupting investigation work by being withdrawn for law and order duties in the midst of investigation.
- l) political and executive interference.
- m) existing preventive laws being totally ineffective in curbing criminal tendencies of hardened criminals and recidivists.

The facts and figures delineated above quite sufficiently indicates that eradication of most of the problems revolving around Bangladesh police station is not a very easy task rather it is a very tall order. In view of this complicated scenario Hossain(ibid) sought opinions both from the members of the police force as well as members of the civil society about how all these problems can be solved, at least be mitigated. Three different measures have got equal weightage (91.33%) from the police for improvement of the management of the police station. These three measures are:

- i) provision of enough logistics support;
- ii) availability of requisite number of appropriate transport; and
- iii) To keep the police force away from outside intervention.

Above mentioned measures were followed by ensuring accommodation for all (89.33%), better prospects for promotion (88%), Good Working Environment (85.33%), improved service delivery (83.33%), and enough funds for investigation (80.67%). Although in terms of percentage suggestions put forwarded by the police themselves differ a lot, however, the merit and spirit of these suggestions can not be ignored. Even the suggestions which have scored the percentage in between 80 and 91 must be actively considered while proceeding while the going for police reform in Bangladesh. This is very important because these are the suggestions originating from the felt as well as the expressed needs of the police themselves.

Table - 4: Suggestions Forwarded by the Police Themselves for Improvement of the Management of the Police Station

Suggestion	Barely Recom- mend	Recom- mend	Strongly Recom- mend	V e r y S t r o n g l y Recommend	Total
Provision of Adequate Salary and allowances	1(.06)	-	7(0.42)	142(8.61)	150(9.09)
Provision of enough Logistics Support	-	-	13 (0.79)	137 (8.30)	150(9.09)
Availability of requisite number of appropriate transport	1 (.06)	1 (.06)	11 (0.67)	137 (8.30)	150(9.09)
Provision of accommodation for all	1 (.06)	1 (.06)	11 (.67)	137 (8.30)	150(9.09)
Availability of Sufficient funds for Investigation	-	7 (.42)	22 (1.33)	121 (7.33)	150(9.09)
Improvement of Service Delivery System	-	2 (.12)	23 (1.39)	125 (7.58)	150(9.09)
Better Prospects of Promotion	1 (.06)	1 (.06)	16 (.97)	132 (8.00)	150(9.09)
Provision of Adequate number of days for leave and recreation			23 (1.39)	127 (7.70)	150(9.09)
Good Working Environment	-	2 (0.12)	20 (1.21)	128 (7.76)	150(9.09)
Keep the Police Force away from outside intervention	-	2 (0.12)	11 (0.67)	137 (8.30)	150(9.09)
ASP Should be the OC instead of an Inspector	36 (2.18)	31 (1.88)	14 (0.89)	69 (4.18)	150(9.09)
N	40	47	174	1389	1650
Total					
%	2.42	2.85	10.55	84.18	100

Source: Hossain(2013)

Table - 5: Suggestions Made by the Member of the Civil Society to Improve the Management of Police Station

Suggestions	Not so Important	Least Important	Important	Most Important	Total
Provision of adequate salary and allowance	1	3	18	127	149
Enough Logistic Support	1	3	21	124	149
Adequate Transport facilities	1	1	27	120	149
Appropriate accommodation for all	1	7	50	91	149
Enough Funds for Investigation	2	6	49	92	149
Improve Service delivery	1	3	48	97	149
Better Prospects for promotion	1	1	41	106	149
Adequate Days for leave and recreation	2	2	70	75	149
Keep away from outside interaction	2	2	25	120	149
ASP Should be OC not an Inspector	16	26	50	57	149
Good working Environment	1	2	44	102	149
N	29	56	443	1111	1639
Total					
%	1.77	3.42	27.03	67.79	100

Source: Hossain(2013)

In addition to above mentioned suggestions, as a senior member of the police force this author out of his long work-experience strongly argues that many more steps should be undertaken for making thana a hub of pro-people policing. These steps are:

a) Front Office at thanas: it is seen that in the prevailing atmosphere, no one is encouraged to visit a thana. A Thana is understood as a back office, where every kind of work is done. A possible suggestion is that people should not be asked to approach the ‘back office’ of the police and should instead approach the ‘front reception’. A specific area of thana should be ear marked to be converted into a front office which has a neat and clean waiting area, proper seats, computers, good lighting and has well-mannered and polite staff. The other part of the police station should be separated. It would make approaching the police much easier and convenient.

b) Installation of CCTV: every thana should be equipped with CCTV cameras in order to prevent malpractice, ensure transparency and make the police more citizen-friendly. Instead of monitoring public places by posting a large number of policemen it would be economical as well more effective if devices like video cameras/CCTVs are installed in such places.

c) Increased forensic facilities and equipment: since thana police department seriously lacks in scientific instruments/ equipment needed for objective investigation, specially expansion of forensic facilities and upgradation thereof is very crucial. At least forensic facilities should be extended to every district.

d) establishment of two independent cells one for ensuring human rights and another for female victims; these cells should be established in every thana. At the same time the number of policewomen must be increased which at present is 1 police women for 47,484 female constituents. to make police force more and more gender sensitive. This percentage is very poor even in comparison with other regional countries. Therefore recruitment of more and more police is necessary to address the systemic discrimination that women face regularly. A proper number of women policeofficers should be put in police stations. Besides cases of rape and molestation, male police officers also find it difficult to handle violent protests and processions in which women are used as shields. Any action against such violence gets branded as atrocities against women.

e) equipment of thana police to handle Cyber Crime: To counter crime in this era of information and technology requires the establishment of cyber police stations. The process of cyber station in Bangladesh is being undertaken but it requires a fast establishment.

f) implementation of Community Policing: In Bangladesh a good platform for community policing has already been created. A Strategic Plan for Community Policing was also prepared. Local communities as well as NGOS are taking interest in it yet it has not been able to contribute much like traditional policing. Thana police should accept community policing seriously as future policing style and strategy. It would not only help the local people but it will also strengthen thana police, if they can effectively utilize the support of the people.

g) Freeze on transfers: he police officers are exposed to regular political influence and they have a fear that they would get transferred, in case they disobey the politicians. In order to prevent such a situation, the police officers do the needful to keep the politicians happy no matter whether the act done is ethical or not. Therefore, to eliminate this fear out of their minds, there is a need to freeze frequent police transfers. The ban on transfer may increase in the efficiency of the police officers, as they had no fear of getting transferred while performing their duties and had a guaranteed tenure to fulfill their targets.

6. Conclusion

Thana police in Bangladesh at present is not strengthened enough in terms of manpower, funds, logistics and autonomy to discharge the roles and responsibilities they have been assigned by the state. If the state functionaries delay or deny to bring out meaningful improvement within the thanas the image of police before the public would be further deteriorated. Therefore, no other option remains except an urgent reform in thana police as an organization providing direct service to the door steps of the grassroots people.

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