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Chief Editor's Note

Greetings to our respected readers! I am pleased to introduce you to the first issue of the PSC Journal for the year 2022. This year is marked by the heroic efforts by humanity in terms of post-pandemic recovery amidst the shadow of war. It is with renewed hope and optimism that we continue our efforts in disseminating research on law enforcement and related issues in Bangladesh and beyond.

The first article of this issue concerns itself with the security issues arising from places of residence of serving police officers. Covering both municipal areas and rural zones, this study surveyed male and female police personnel of various ranks. It was found that the higher the rank, the more the perceived security threat for police officers. Almost all the respondents covered in the study mentioned an acute crisis of accommodation. It is urgently required to provide sustainable solutions to the accommodation crisis faced by police officers.

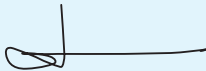
The second article addresses the concerning issue of domestic violence inflicted upon women by their intimate partners. The case-study based research found that existing socio-familial interventions generally fail to result in fruitful outcomes. The paper recommends taking steps to change the patriarchal mindset, developing non-violent attitude among youngsters, and placing adequate social security mechanisms alongside facilitating legal protection for victims.

In the backdrop of 25 years of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) accords, the third article in this issue discusses the security threats standing in the way to sustainable peace and development in the CHT region. It is argued that the existence of armed groups is one of the major factors preventing the government, development partners and the common people of CHT to utilize local resources for development.

The fourth article delves into the principal causes and resultant consequences of human trafficking in Bangladesh. It was found that, primarily, poverty is the root cause which leads to poor women and children's victimization to trafficking gangs. Generating employment opportunities, awareness programs, capacity building, easy access to the criminal justice system, and implementation of existing laws are proposed to combat this transnational organized crime.

The final entry examines the prevalence of domestic and sexual violence amidst the Covid-19 pandemic in Bangladesh, and discusses the roles played by different mechanisms put in place by Bangladesh Police. It was found that total cases of violence against women increased by a small margin, while calls on 999 regarding rape cases and child marriage prevention almost doubled in between 2019 and 2020. Active response through the national emergency hotline, beat policing, special service desk in police stations, victim support centres and cyber support centre for women enabled Bangladesh Police to deal with these criminal acts during the pandemic.

It is our earnest hope that these articles will show the way for more people-centric policing and illuminate the path ahead for better law enforcement. We wish you all the best.



Md. Golam Rasul

Member Directing Staff (Academic & Research)

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Chief Editor, PSC Journal

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Accommodation for Police Officers in Bangladesh: An Assessment of Security Risks

Md. Rezaul Karim, Ph.D.¹

Abstract: Police officers remain engaged in maintaining the law and order situation of a society. Studies on police department personnel's accommodation are extremely scarce in Bangladesh. This study aims to examine the situation of the family residence of the police officers and identify the associated risks. Using the survey method, the study collected data from 564 women and men police officers of different rank and various units in different areas throughout Bangladesh. The study found that families of more than two-thirds of men police officers live in rented houses compared to one-third of women officers' families. Interestingly, more men police officers reported perceived security threats compared to women police officers, at 54.2 percent and 34.8 percent respectively. The higher the rank, the higher the proportion of police officers who reported faced security threats, with juniors 26.7%, mid-level officers 37.7% and senior officers 48.4%. Finally, almost all police officers (95%) reported that there is a crisis of accommodation for police officers; more than three-fourths (78.7%) identified the crisis as 'acute' or 'very high' and 16.5 percent termed as 'high'.

Keywords: accommodation, police officers, security, threat, housing

Introduction

A police force is a constituted body of persons empowered by a state to enforce the law, protect property and limit civil disorder. Although nowadays, policing has included an array of activities in different situations; the predominant roles of police are concerned with the preservation of law and order. Historically, in some societies, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, these developed within the context of maintaining the class system and the protection of private property (Siegel 2010). The police force is usually a public-sector service, meaning they usually get paid by the taxpayer.

A police force is a constituted body of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property and limit civil disorder. Their powers include the legitimized use of force. The term is most commonly associated with police services of a sovereign state that are authorized to exercise the police power of that state within a defined legal or territorial area of responsibility. (Policy Studies Institute, 2009).

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It is generally well-accepted that the job of a police officer is stressful (e.g., Anshel, Robertson, & Caputi, 1997; Kaufmann & Beehr, 1989). The specific factors that lead to stress for police officers are organizational practices, the criminal justice system, and the public and actual police work (Reese, 1986; Swanson et al., 1998, Territo & Vetter, 1981; Violanti & Aron, 1993). Among various stresses of police work, stress related to the safety and security of family members hampers their duty. For example, shift work may make it difficult to assist in family activities, being on-call may interfere with vacations, stress may carryover from work to home, and displaced emotions may contribute to unnecessary violence or disagreements with friends and family and so forth. This conflict between work and family, or work-family conflict, has been well examined in many non-police samples (Bacharach, Bamberger, & Conley, 1991). However, as noted earlier, work-family conflict has remained a lesser-examined stressor in the area of police work.

Police officers do their duty under stress and complexity. The effects of job-related stressors can wreak havoc on employees, their families, and the organization and community for which they work. This is especially true for individuals who are in more stressful jobs – such as police officers. Specifically, officers may experience physical, emotional and social problems exacerbated by stressors that result from their jobs (Swanson, Territo & Taylor, 1998). These negative personal consequences can then influence the relationship that officers have with their families, how they perform work duties and how they interact with members of the community. However, whereas some stressors have received extensive attention in the criminal justice literature, a relatively less-studied stressor involves the conflict between an officer's work and home life.

The gap between the police personnel and their family arises from the lack of proper accommodation facility. Beside the police accommodation problem, family life risk is also a serious problem. Because, there is always a chance of attack or facing various problems on family members of the police officers. Police are the social protectors of us. They are the public servants. They provide their duty to the citizens of the state. Police take their actions on the basis of the complaint. As a result, the opposition of the case tries to motivate the police officer on the case. When they fail they try to do something harmful to the police officer or their children or their other family members. As a result, they always remain in extra stress because of it.

The present study basically depicts the crisis of police accommodation problem in Bangladesh for the first time as there is no study on this topic. It is true that police personnel live in a serious crisis of government accommodation. Against the length of their duty hour, police officers do not get sufficient salary. Their salary grade is also poor. For lack of sufficient government accommodation

facilities, they become bound to live in rented houses which are usually very expensive and sometimes difficult to arrange. Sometimes, police officers live in the police barracks. But the space is not sufficient for the family of the police officers. As result, police officers face various problems. For example, their family members and children become vulnerable to various harmful situations including threat from criminals. This study, for the first time in Bangladesh, tries to describe the state of accommodation of the police officers & their families and problems faced by the police officers in this regard to their family residence.

Based on the above discussion, the present study sought to get answers to the following specific research questions: i) what is the present condition of the family residence of the police officers in Bangladesh? ii) How is the living environment of the family of the police officers? iii) What are the security risks of the family residence of the police officers? iv) How the accommodation problem for police officers and their family can be reduced?

Objectives

The main objective of the study was to state the situation of the family residence of the police officers and identify the risks of their family residence.

The specific objectives are:

- i. To state the situation of the present family residence of the police officers;
- ii. To identify the risks or security threats at the family residence of the police officers; and
- iii. To analyze the risks and measures of security threats of the police officers and their family members.

Methodology of the Study

The present study has been quantitative in nature. It adopted non-experimental cross-sectional study design. That is, primary data were collected from samples drawn from a cross-section of police officers. Survey method was used for collection of data from police officers of different ranks selected from different PSs selected from Police Stations (PSs) of City Corporation, District Head Quarter (HQ) and Rural areas. An instrument (questionnaire) was prepared, finalized through pre-test and used for data collection through face to face interview. The instrument was mostly structured.

The scope of the study was all Bangladesh. To locate the response of police officers, Police Stations (PSs) were selected as a unit. PSs were selected from mainly three categories based on degree of urbanization. These are i) City

Corporation; ii) District Head Quarter (HQ), and Rural. The process of selection of PSs was as follows:

A statistically representative sample size was determined for the study using the following formula:

There are a total 127,923 on duty police officers. The number of statistically significant samples using the above formula stands at 383. As drew a representative sample we stratified the population as follows:

- Rank of the officer (senior officer, mid-level officer and junior officer)
- Gender of officer (male & female)
- Work station of the officer (Rural PS, Municipal PS & City Corporation PS)

$$n = \frac{t^2pq}{d^2}$$

Where:

n = First estimate of sample size

t = Confidence interval

p = proportion in the target population with the characteristic being measured (if unknown let p = 0.5)

q = 1-p

d = Confidence level (usually .05 [95%] or .10 [90%])

Then,

$$nf = \frac{n}{1 + \frac{n}{N}}$$

Where:

nf = Final sample size

N = Size of target population

If we distribute 384 samples proportionately to the number of total police officers of each category the numbers of police officers in different categories stand as follows:

- Senior officer = 4
- Mid-level officer = 46
- Junior officer = 333

For the purpose of comparison and bi-variate/multivariate analysis we increased the number in each category to a total 564 police officers as presented in Table 1.

It must be mentioned that the respondents are all serving members of Bangladesh Police. The respondent selection has been done with a view to ensuring the inclusion of responses from different ranks, to minimize tunnel vision or bias toward any particular section of the force. It was also ensured that geographic diversity should be present in order to capture the entirety of the country in a nutshell for better representation.

Table 1: Planned sample size for the study

Level of officer	Total number	%	Number proportional to the total in the category	Proposed Number											
				Male				Female				Total			
				Ru- ral	Munic- ipal/ District	City Cor- poration	To- tal	Ru- ral	Munic- ipal/ District	City Cor- poration	To- tal	Ru- ral	Munic- ipal/ District	City Cor- poration	To- tal
Senior Officers (ASP - IGP)	1380	1.1	4	20	15	20	55	15	10	15	40	35	25	35	95
Mid-level officers (SI-In-spector)	15186	11.9	46	30	20	30	80	20	15	20	55	50	35	50	135
Junior officers (Constable-ASI)	111357	87.0	333	90	42	90	222	42	28	42	112	132	70	132	334
All category	127923	100.0	383	140	77	140	347	77	53	77	207	217	130	217	564

First, 8 divisional HQs (City Corporations) were included in the sample purposively. From 8 divisions, 14 (4 from Dhaka, 2 from Ctg., 2 from Khulna, 2 from Rajshahi, and 1 from Rangpur, 1 from Barisal, 1 from Sylhet, 1 from Mymensingh) were selected randomly. These 14 PSs were included in the sample as City Corporation PSs. Second, 8 districts from 8 divisions were selected randomly. Sadar PS of all selected 8 district HQ were selected as District HQ PS. Third, 8 rural PS, one from each of the selected 8 districts, were selected purposively. Thus, the number of rural PS was 8.

By this way, altogether, 30 PSs were selected as follows:

- City Corporation 14
- District HQ 8
- Rural PS 8

Finally, from the selected PSs specified numbers of police officers of different ranks were selected on quota basis, i.e., the survey continued until the specified number of samples covered for a particular category. During the selection of respondent women police officers were also included but a proportion could not be maintained as the number of women police officers is extremely low and there are PSs where there are no women officers at all. This has been mentioned and explained in the limitations section. The actual structure of the sample has been presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample of the study (attained)

Rank of the police officers	Men				Women				Grand total
	Region of present work				Region of present work				
	Rural	Urban	City Corporation	Total	Rural	Urban	City Corporation	Total	
Senior Officers (ASP - IGP)	174	71	60	305	18	10	0	28	333
Mid-level officers (SI-Inspc-tor)	57	30	38	125	6	4	3	13	138
Junior officers (Constable-ASI)	8	21	59	88	1	0	4	5	93
All category	239	122	157	518	25	14	7	46	564

Data for this study were collected through surveys. A semi-structured questionnaire was developed and finalized through pre-test. A team of 8 experienced Interviewers, under 2 Research Assistants collected data from the respondents selected as per sampling plan through face to face interview. Data were collected during the period May - July, 2017. Filled in questionnaires were carefully checked by the Research Assistants before handed over to the Data Entry Operators for entry into the computer.

Quantitative data collected through surveys were processed and analyzed using SPSS software. A team of experienced data entry operators working under the Research Associate entered the data into the computer. Entered and cleaned data was analyzed by the Team Leader himself. Data has been presented both in tables and charts.

To state the family residence of the police officers, descriptive statistical techniques (percentage, central tendency, dispersion, etc.) were used while to analyze the differences between different groups, or correlates of security issues, chi-square test was used wherever applicable. In the analysis, the security situation of the family residence of the police officers was used as a dependent variable and examined with gender, rank, workplace, family type, living arrangement, place of family residence and ownership of family residence.

Findings of the Study

This part of the article presents the findings of the study. It is worth mentioning that data for the study were collected through survey from 564 police officers of different ranks and of both gender. All police officers interviewed have been included in the analysis, i.e., the number of sample (N) in the analysis is 564.

Profile of the Respondent Police Officers

Out of 564 police officers included in the study, 8.2 percent (46) were women and the rest 91.8 percent (518) were men. Among the police officers covered, more than half (59%) were junior officers, followed by one-fourth (24.5%) mid-level officers and 16.5 percent were senior officers.

It is worth mentioning that the sample of the present study has been representative and reflecting the proportionate number of the police officers of different ranks included in the sample. Gender composition of the police officers of different ranks shows that the proportion of women officers is lowest among senior officers (5.4%) while it is almost the same for junior officers (8.4%) and mid-level officers (9.4%).

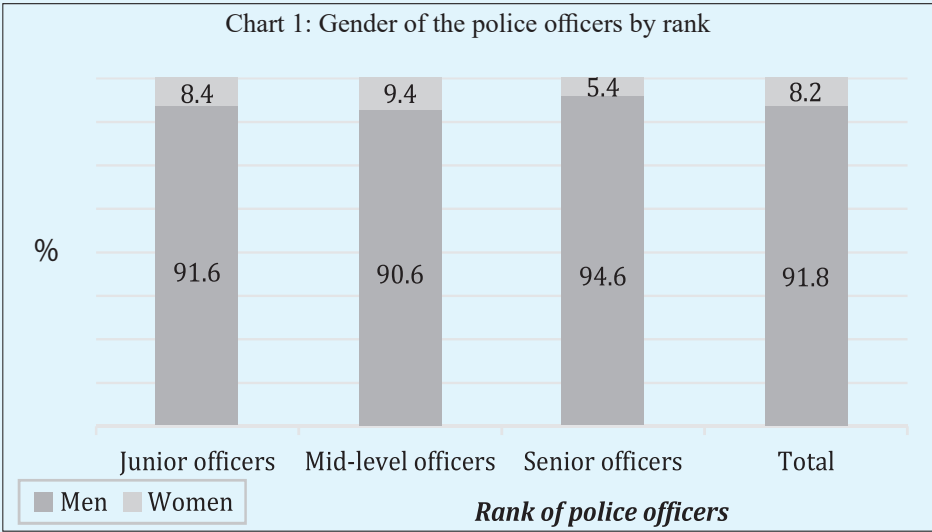


Table 3 : Present Rank and gender of the respondent police officer

Present rank	Gender of officer		Total	Col. %
	Men	Women		
Junior officers	91.6	8.4	100.0 (333)	59.0
Mid-level officers	90.6	9.4	100.0 (138)	24.5
Senior officers	94.6	5.4	100.0 (93)	16.5
Total	91.8 (518)	8.2 (46)	100.0 (564)	

Duration of work and change of rank in police service

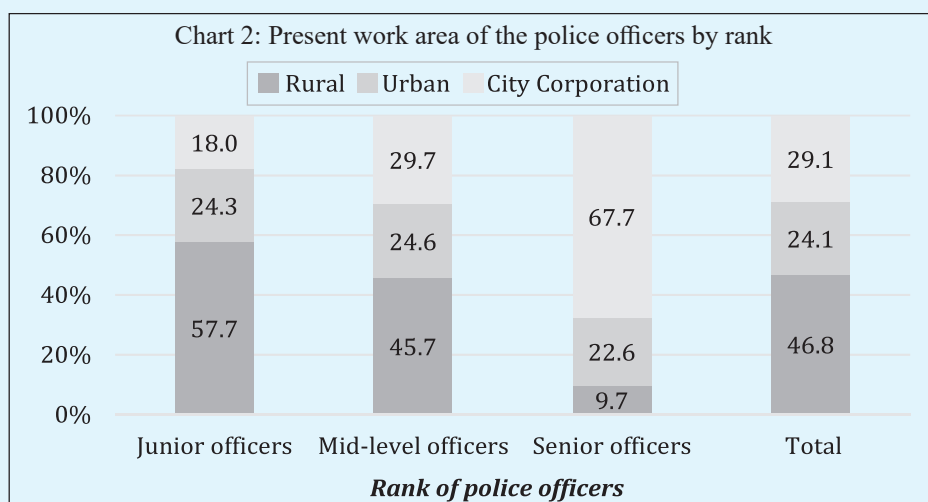
At the time of joining 398 out of 564 police officers were junior officers. Among the 398 junior officers 16.3 percent are promoted to mid-level officers. Another 102 of 564 were mid-level officers. Of these 102, 28.4 percent are promoted to senior officer. The rest 64 out of 564 was senior officer.

Change of rank of the police officers clearly related to duration of work. The average duration of work of the police officers is 12.8 years which is 22.5 years for those changed rank and only 10.8 years for those rank has not been changed.

Table 4 : Change in Rank of the respondent police officers

Rank at joining	Change in rank	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Junior officer	Yes	20.4	65	6.2
	No	11.9	333	6.3
	Total	13.3	398	7.0
Mid-level officer	Yes	27.1	29	0.9
	No	11.3	73	8.3
	Total	15.8	102	10.1
Senior officer	Yes	4.5	64	3.5
	No	4.5	64	3.5
Total	Yes	22.5	94	6.0
	No	10.8	470	6.8
	Total	12.8	564	8.0

Highest proportion (46.8%) of the police officers included in the study was working in rural police stations, followed by 29.1 percent in City Corporation police stations and 24.1 percent in urban police stations. Majority of the senior police officers (67.7%) was from City Corporation police stations while the majority of the junior police officers (57.7%) was from rural areas. Highest proportion of the mid-level police officers was also from rural areas. However, more than one-fourth of the mid-level police officers were from city corporation areas. Proportions of police officers from urban areas were almost the same.



Family composition of the police officers

Family size of the police officers is relatively smaller, average 3.36 only per family. Highest 39.8 percent police officers have 3 members, followed by 31.2 percent 4 members, 17.8 percent 2 members and 11.2 percent 5 members. Nearly 60 percent of the police officers have 3 or less family members. Mid-level officers have the largest family size (average 3.60) compared to senior officers (average 3.38) and junior officers (average 3.25).

Nearly four-fifths (79%) of the police officers live in nuclear families while another 21 percent live in extended or joint families (Chart 4.3). As seen in Table 4.3, Majority of the women police officers (59.1%) live in extended family compared to only 17.8 percent of the men police officers. This difference is statistically significant with .05 level.

These findings indicate that women police officers might be living in a family of orientation (with parental family) while men police officers live in a family of procreation (own family). Area of work of the police officers also significantly related with their type of family with more proportion (32.3%) working in Rural areas compared to City Corporation area (13.5%) and Urban areas (11.0%) live in extended family. There is however, no significant difference in terms of family type of the police officers by their rank.

Chart 3: Type of family of the police officers

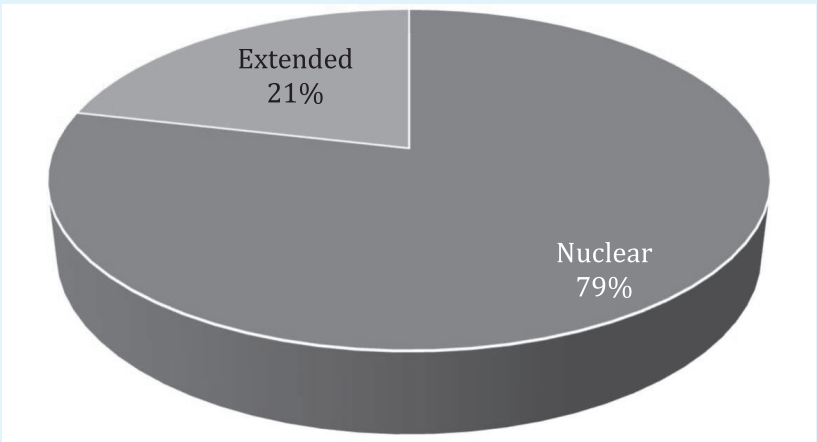


Table 5: Type of family of the police officers by their gender, rank and region

Variable	Category	Type of family		Total	Chi-square	
		Nuclear	Extended		Value	Sig.
Gender	Male	82.2	17.8	100.0	40.76	0.00*
	Female	40.9	59.1	100.0		
Rank	Junior officers	78.5	21.5	100.0	2.3	0.30
	Mid-level officers	82.6	17.4	100.0		
	Senior officers	73.9	26.1	100.0		
Work-place	Rural	67.7	32.3	100.0	29.86	0.00*
	Urban	89.0	11.0	100.0		
	City corporation	86.5	13.5	100.0		
Total		78.6	21.4	100.0	-	-

* The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.

Income and expenditure of the police officers

The average monthly income of the police officers is BDT 33280.4 per month. As expected, average monthly income increases with the rank of the police officers; average BDT 23558.4 for junior officers, 37776.1 for the mid-level officers and 61420.4 for senior officers. Monthly income of the mid-level police officers is 60.4 percent higher than junior officers while monthly income of senior officers is 62.6 percent higher than mid-level officers and 260.7 percent of the junior officers. That is, senior officers’ monthly income is nearly double of the mid-level officers and triple of the junior officers.

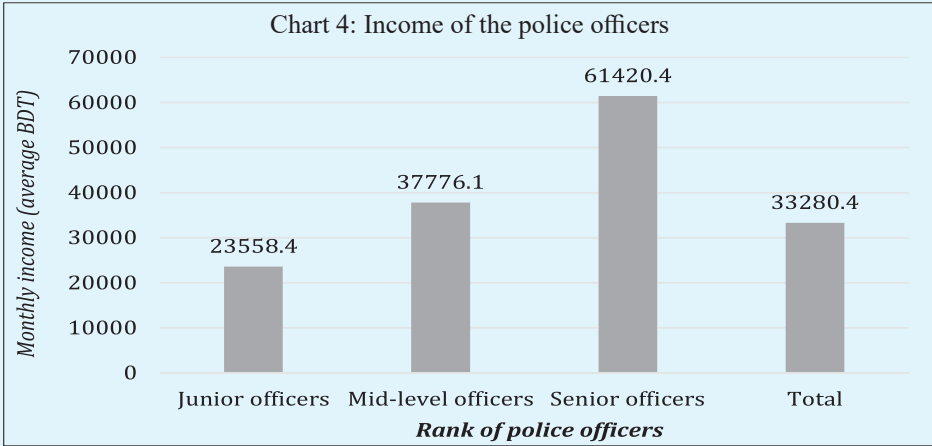


Table 6: Monthly income, expenditure and surplus status of the police officers by rank

Rank	Income (BDT)		Expenditure (BDT)		Surplus (BDT)	
	Average	Std. Dev.	Average	Std. Dev.	Amount	Percent
Junior officers	23558.4	6638.5	21489.9	7545.1	2068.5	8.8
Mid-level officers	37776.1	12752.9	33673.9	12454.2	4102.2	10.9
Senior officers	61420.4	32925.9	50849.5	26219.0	10571.0	17.2
Total	33280.4	20841.8	29312.3	17352.9	3968.1	11.9

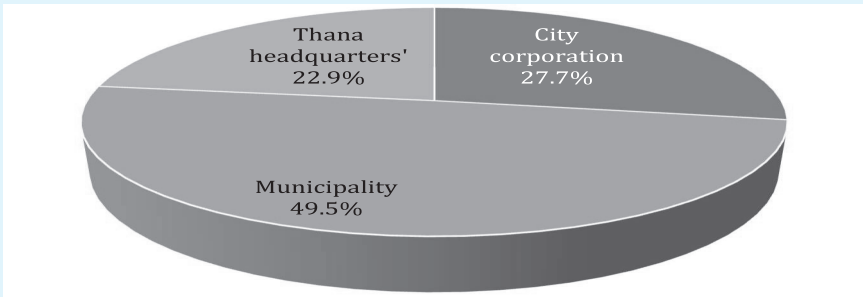
Monthly expenditure of the police officers is average BDT 17352.9, which also increases with rank of the police officers. Despite monthly expenditure is more than double for the mid-level officers than junior officers and, again, more than double for the senior officers than junior officers, percentage of surplus of income increases with rank of the police officers; 8.8 percent for junior officers, 10.9 percent for mid-level officers, and 17.2 percent for the senior officers. It is also evident that monthly income of the men police officers is higher compared to women officers, average BDT 33643.0 and 29186.2 respectively. That is, the monthly income of the men police officers is about 15.3 percent higher than women officers. This is likely as the majority of the women officers belong to the junior officer category.

Family residence of the police officers

Place of family residence

Security of the family residence and family member of the police officers has been the major focus of the present study. Place of family residence of half of the police officers is in Municipality areas, followed by 27.7 percent in City Corporation areas and 22.9 percent in Thana headquarters.

Chart 5: Location of family residence of police officers



It is evident that gender, rank and present workplace of the police officers are significantly related with the place of their family residence. The highest proportion of families of men (50.4%) of police officers live in the Municipality areas compared to 39.1 percent of women police officers. While families with the highest proportion of women (45.7%) police officers live in Thana Headquarters compared to only 20.8 percent of men officers. Family residence of police officers in City Corporation areas differs largely between men and women, 28.8 percent and 15.2 percent respectively.

Table 7: Place of the family residence of the police officers

Variable	Category	Place of family residence			Total	Chi-square	
		City Corporation	Municipality	Thana headquarter		Value	Sig
Gender	Men	28.8	50.4	20.8	100.0	15.2	0.00*
	Women	15.2	39.1	45.7	100.0		
Rank	Junior officers	13.5	60.4	26.1	100.0	144.4	0.00*
	Mid-level officers	29.0	47.1	23.9	100.0		
	Senior officers	76.3	14.0	9.7	100.0		
Workplace	Rural	2.3	60.6	37.1	100.0	417.3	0.00*
	Urban	5.9	74.3	19.9	100.0		
	City corporation	86.6	11.0	2.4	100.0		
Total		27.7	49.5	22.9	100.0		

* The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.

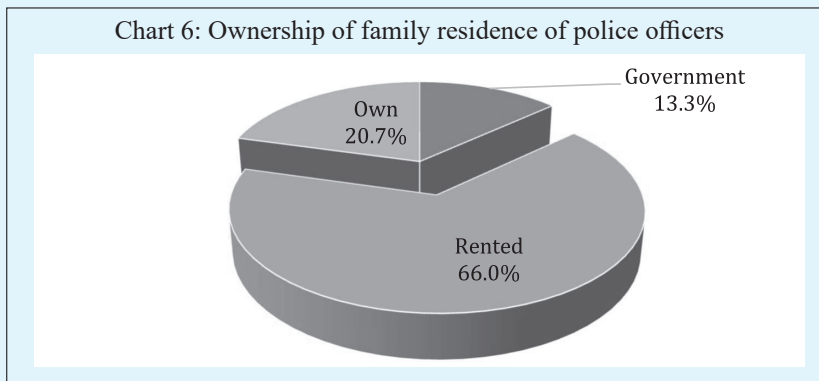
Family residence of more than three-fourths of senior police officers is in City Corporation areas compared to 29.0 percent of the mid-level officers and only 13.5 percent of the junior officers. In contrast to this, a family of 60.4 percent police officers reside in the Municipality area compared to 40.7 percent of mid-level officers and only 14.0 percent of senior officers. The proportion of senior officers (9.7%) with family who live in Thana Headquarters is also much lower compared to mid-level officers (23.9%) and junior officers (26.1%).

It is evident that the present workplace of the police officers and place of family residence differs significantly. Family of the majority of the police officers (60.6%) working in Rural areas at present live in Municipality areas and 37.1 percent in Thana Headquarter areas. One the other hand, families of nearly three-fourths (74.3%) of the police officers working in urban areas live in Municipality areas and, finally, families of the overwhelming majority (86.6%) of the police

officers working in City Corporation now live in City Corporation areas (Table 4.5). It is clear that as family residence police officers like the City Corporation first then Municipality areas and then Thana Headquarters.

Ownership of family residence

The majority of families of the Police Officers (66.0%) live in a rented house. Family of slightly more than one-fifths (20.7%) of the police officers live in their own house. It is significant that only 13.3 percent of the police officers live in government quarters.



The ownership of family residence of the police officers with their gender, rank, present workplace, family type and place of family residence. All these factors have been found to be significantly related with ownership of family residence. Families of more than two-thirds of the men police officers live in rented houses compared to one-third of the women police officers. Families of more proportions of women officers, however, live in their own house and government house compared to men officers, 41.3 percent & 18.9 percent and 23.9 percent and 12.4 percent respectively.

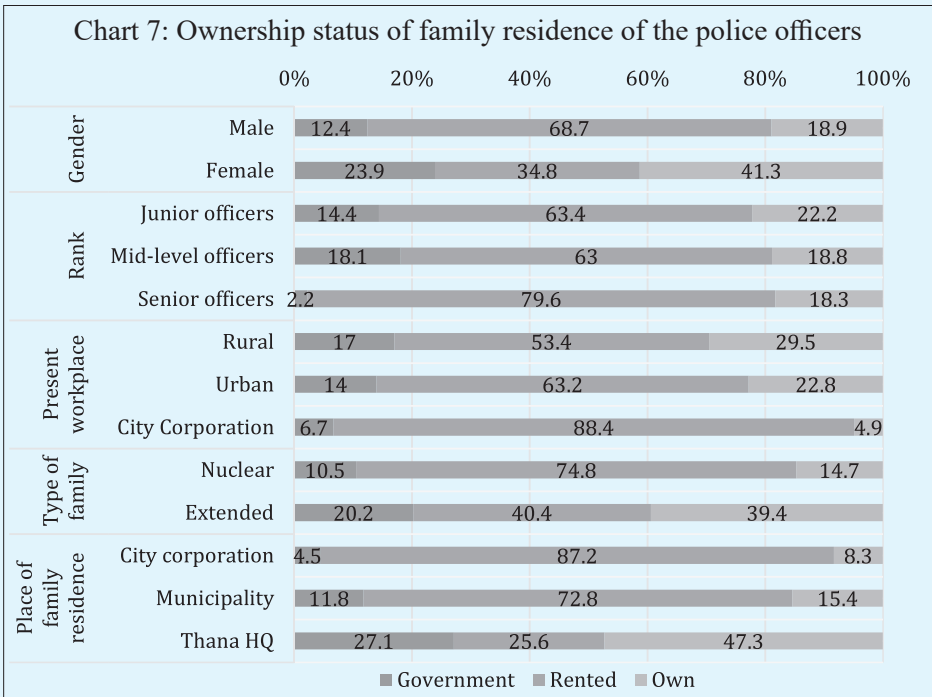
Overall, families of major proportions of all categories of police officers live in rented houses. However, it is highest for the senior police officers (80%) compared to junior and mid-level officers (63 percent each). Beyond this, it is evident that families of only 2.2 percent of the senior police officers live in government houses. The proportions of police officers of all rank categories are close by in regard to the ownership of the house of their family residence.

Table 8: Ownership of family residence

Variable	Category	Ownership status of the residence			Total	Chi-square	
		Government	Rented	Own		Value	Sig.
Gender	Male	12.4	68.7	18.9	100.0	21.83	.000*
	Female	23.9	34.8	41.3	100.0		

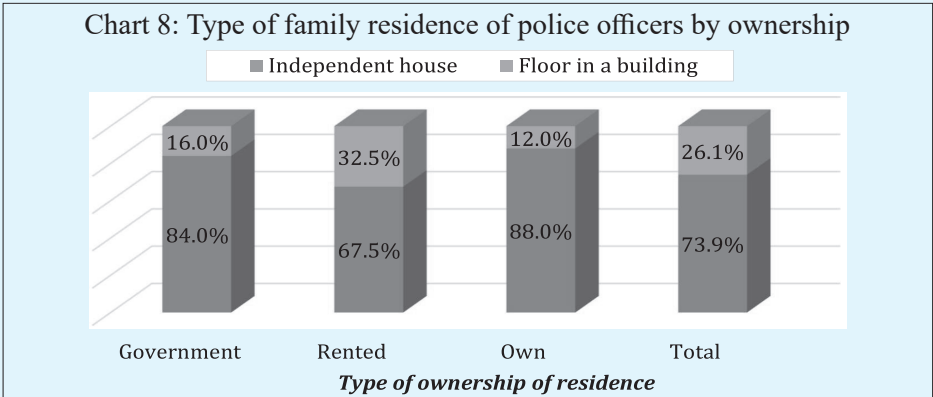
Rank	Junior officers	14.4	63.4	22.2	100.0	15.41	.004*
	Mid-level officers	18.1	63.0	18.8	100.0		
	Senior officers	2.2	79.6	18.3	100.0		
Present workplace	Rural	17.0	53.4	29.5	100.0	57.22	.000*
	Urban	14.0	63.2	22.8	100.0		
	City Corporation	6.7	88.4	4.9	100.0		
Type of family	Nuclear	10.5	74.8	14.7	100.0	47.74	.000*
	Extended	20.2	40.4	39.4	100.0		
Place of family residence	City corporation	4.5	87.2	8.3	100.0	131.84	.000*
	Municipality	11.8	72.8	15.4	100.0		
	Thana HQ	27.1	25.6	47.3	100.0		
Total		13.3	66.0	20.7	100.0	-	

* The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.



Place of family residence

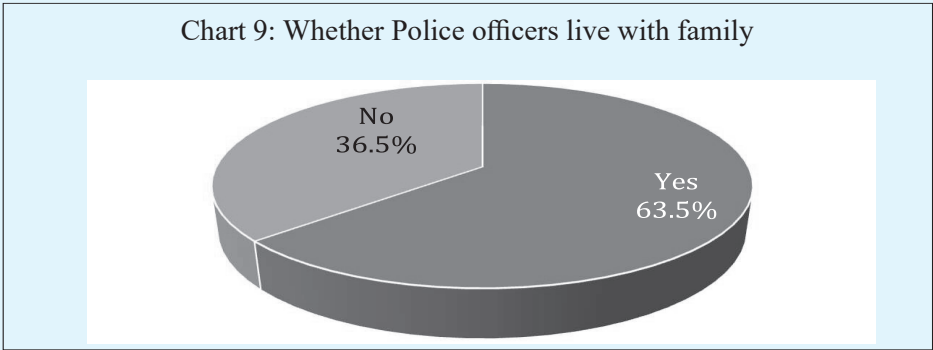
Overall, 73.9 percent of the family residence of the police officers is an independent house and the rest 26.1% is ‘floor in a building’. Government and own residences are overwhelmingly independent houses compared to rented residence; 84 percent, 88 percent and 67.5 percent respectively.



Again, the proportion of independent residents increases with decrease of degree of urbanity of the place of residence; 57.7 percent for those in the City Corporation area, 79.6 percent for those in the Municipality area, and 81.4 percent for those in Thana HQ.

Living arrangement of the police officers

Police officers’ anxiety regarding their family and family members likely to differ by whether the officer lives with family or not. As seen in Chart 4.8, more than one-third (206 out of 564) of the police officers do not live with their families at the workplace while rest 63.5 percent live with their family.



Proportion of police officers who live with family differs with gender, workplace, family type, place of family residence, and ownership of family residence. It is, however, evident that rank of the police officers has no significant relation with

whether the police officer lives with family or not. Nearly two-thirds (66.6%) of the men officers live with family compared to only 28.3 percent women officers. On the other hand, more than two-thirds (71.7%) of the women officers do not live with family compared to one-third of the men police officers. The difference is statistically significant. Despite the proportion of police officers living with family decreases with increase in rank of police officers, the difference is not statistically significant. Higher the degree of urbanity of the present workplace of the police officers higher the proportion live with family and the difference is highly significant. The proportion of police officers live with family for those working in rural areas at present is 52.3 percent which has increased to 62.5 percent for those working in urban areas and further increased to 82.3 percent for those working in City Corporation areas. Police officers with nuclear family tend to live with family more compared to those with extended family, 74.3 percent and 32.1 percent respectively. On the other hand, the majority of the police officers with nuclear family (67.9%) do live with family compared to 25.7 percent of those with extended family.

Table 9: Whether the police officers live with family

Variables	Category	Live at workplace			Chi-square	
		Yes	No	Total	Value	Sig.
Gender	Men	66.6	33.4	100.0	26.79	.000*
	Women	28.3	71.7	100.0		
Rank	Junior officers	66.1	33.9	100.0	2.38	.304
	Mid-level officers	60.1	39.9	100.0		
	Senior officers	59.1	40.9	100.0		
Workplace	Rural	52.3	47.7	100.0	39.46	.000*
	Urban	62.5	37.5	100.0		
	City corporation	82.3	17.7	100.0		
Family type	Nuclear	74.3	25.7	100.0	67.37	.000*
	Extended	32.1	67.9	100.0		
Place of family residence	City corporation	76.3	23.7	100.0	116.78	.000*
	Municipality	74.9	25.1	100.0		
	Thana HQ	23.3	76.7	100.0		
Ownership of family residence	Government	46.7	53.3	100.0	236.49	.000*
	Rented	84.4	15.6	100.0		
	Own	7.7	92.3	100.0		
Total		63.5	36.5	100.0	-	-

Place of the family residence is also significantly related with whether live with family or not. Three-fourths of the police officers whose place of family residence is in City Corporation and Municipality areas live with family compared to less than one-fourth (23.3%) of those with family live in Thana HQ.

Security situation of the family residence of the police officers

Existence of security threats

More than half (297 out of 564) of the police officers covered in this study reported that there is a security threat at their family residence. Among those mentioned security threat, overwhelming majority (82.8%) of the police officers mentioned ‘theft’ as security threat followed by 37.4 percent ‘terrorism’, 27.6 percent ‘child abduction’, 25.9 percent ‘militant attack’ 8.1 percent ‘envy with neighbors’, and 1.0 percent ‘child abuse’.

It is evident that despite majority of the police officers mentioned less perilous ‘theft’ as security threat, more than one-fourth of the police officers mentioned perilous threats like ‘terrorism’, ‘child abduction’, ‘militant attack’.

Table 10: Type of security threat existed at the family residence
(Multiple response up to 3)

Type of security threat	Percent (N=297*)
Theft	82.8
Terrorism	37.4
Child abduction	27.6
Militant attack	25.9
Envy/ reprisal with neighbors	8.1
Child abuse	1.0
Total (N=297)	-

*Those mentioned threat

The existence of security threats with variables gender, rank, workplace, family type, place of family residence and ownership of the family residence. As seen in Table, all variables examined are significantly (0.01) related with existence of threat reported by the police officers.

Table 11: Correlational Dynamics Between Security Threat and Accommodation

Variables	Gender	Existence of security threat			Chi square	
		No	Yes	Total	Value	Sig.
Gender	Male	45.8	54.2	100.0	6.42	.011*
	Female	65.2	34.8	100.0		
Rank	Junior officers	52.9	47.1	100.0	10.87	.004*
	Mid-level officers	42.0	58.0	100.0		
	Senior officers	35.5	64.5	100.0		
Workplace	Rural	57.2	42.8	100.0	51.50	.000*
	Urban	56.6	43.4	100.0		
	City Corporation	23.8	76.2	100.0		
Family type	Nuclear	44.4	55.6	100.0	7.06	.008*
	Extended	58.7	41.3	100.0		
Living with family	Yes	38.5	61.5	100.0	30.40	.000*
	No	62.6	37.4	100.0		
Place of family residence	City Corporation	18.6	81.4	100.0	101.66	.000*
	Municipality	49.1	50.9	100.0		
	Thana HQ	78.3	21.7	100.0		
Ownership of family residence	Government	73.3	26.7	100.0	76.39	.000*
	Rented	34.1	65.9	100.0		
	Own	72.6	27.4	100.0		

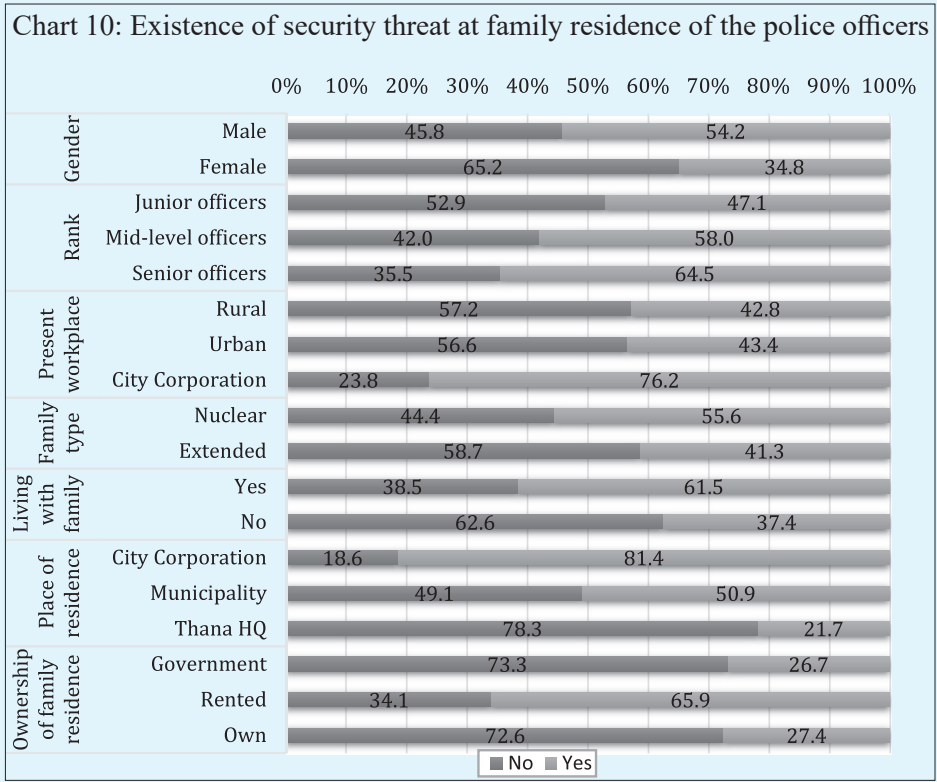
* The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level

More men police officers reported security threat compared to women police officers, 54.2 percent and 34.8 percent respectively (Chart 4.11). This might have happened due to the fact that women officers live more in extended family .

Higher the rank of the police officers higher the proportion of police officers reported existence of security threat. Proportion of officers reported security threat among junior officers is 47.1 percent which has increased to 58.0 percent for the mid-level police officers and further increased to 64.5 percent for senior officers.

Degree of urbanity of the present workplace is also related positively with reported existence of security threat as the proportion reported existence of security threat increases to 43.4 percent for those working in urban areas from 42.8 percent for those working in rural areas and then largely increased to 76.2 percent for those working in City Corporation areas. Police officers with extended family reported the existence of threat in lower proportions (41.3%) compared to police officers with nuclear family (55.6%). Hence, family type is an important determinant of existence of threat with extended family having lower frequency of security threat.

It appears that family with police officers at workplace causes more security concern as police officers living with family at workplace reported security threat in more proportions (61.5%) compared to those not living with family at workplace (37.4%). Higher the degree of urbanity of place of family residence higher the proportion of police officers reported security threat. Police officers with family residing in City Corporation areas reported security threats in highest proportions (81.4%). The proportion has largely declined to 50.9 percent for police officers with family living in Municipality areas and further decreased to only 21.7 percent living in Thana Headquarters. Finally, families residing in



rented houses reported faced security threats in significantly higher proportion (65.9%) compared to those living in their own house (27.4%) and government (26.7%).

There is a difference between the police officers in mentioning the type of security threat they faced by their gender, rank, workplace, family type, place of family residence, whether to live with family, ownership of family residence and type of residence. Despite 'theft' has been commonly identified as threat by overwhelming majority, among others, men police officers mentioned 'militant attack' in much more proportion (27.0%) compared to women police officers (6.3%) while a considerable proportion of women police officers (18.8%) mentioned 'child abuse' compared to none of the men police officers as security threat. Nearly half of the mid-level police officers mentioned 'militant attack' as a security threat compared to 23.6 percent of junior officers and only 1.7 percent of the senior officers.

Except 'theft' other security threats mentioned by more proportion of police officers working at City Corporation areas. For example, 54.4 percent of the police officers of City Corporation areas reported 'terrorism' as security threat compared to only 23.0 percent of rural and 28.8 percent of urban areas. In the same way, 36.8 percent of the police officers of City Corporation areas reported 'militant attack' as a security threat compared to 15.9 percent of rural and 22.0 percent of urban areas.

Except 'theft' nuclear families faced all categories of security threat in more proportions compared to extended family. Families residing in the City Corporation area faced all categories of threat in more proportions compared to the families residing in Municipality areas and Thana Headquarters. Overall, families living in the Municipality area reported face lowest proportions of threat in all categories except 'militant attack'.

Police officers living with family at the workplace faced security threats of 'militant attack' and 'theft' in more proportions. While other types of security threats faced by more proportions of police officers not living with family. Except 'theft' highest proportion of police officers (60%) live in government owned house mentioned 'terrorism' as security threat compared to highest proportion of police officers (56.3%) live in own house 'child abduction' mentioned as security threat.

Table 12: Type of security threats police officers

Variables	Category	Type of security threat mentioned by police officers					
		Terrorism	Militant attack	Theft	Child abduction	Envy with neighbors	Child abuse
Gender	Men	37.7	27.0	82.9	28.1	8.5	0.0
	Women	31.3	6.3	81.3	18.8	0.0	18.8
Rank	Junior officers	33.8	23.6	84.7	25.5	7.0	0.0
	Mid-level officers	43.8	48.8	80.0	31.3	7.5	3.8
	Senior officers	38.3	1.7	81.7	28.3	11.7	0.0
Workplace	Rural	23.0	15.9	87.6	15.9	2.7	0.0
	Urban	28.8	22.0	81.4	27.1	0.0	0.0
	City Corporation	54.4	36.8	79.2	38.4	16.8	2.4
Family type	Nuclear	39.9	28.3	81.6	33.2	9.9	1.3
	Extended	28.9	15.6	82.2	4.4	2.2	0.0
Place of family residence	City Corporation	62.2	37.0	80.3	45.7	16.5	2.4
	Municipality	17.6	19.0	85.2	13.4	.7	0.0
	Thana HQ	25.0	10.7	82.1	17.9	7.1	0.0
Living with family or not	Yes	35.5	30.5	83.6	25.5	10.5	0.0
	No	42.9	13.0	80.5	33.8	1.3	3.9
Ownership of family residence	Government	60.0	10.0	75.0	5.0	0.0	0.0
	Rented	35.9	29.8	83.3	25.7	9.4	1.2
	Own	34.4	6.3	84.4	56.3	3.1	0.0

Security threat faced so far

One-third (186 of 564) of the police officers admitted that they or their family members faced security threats, another two-thirds (378) haven't faced any threat so far. Among the threats, 'harming' has been mentioned by the highest proportion of police officers (57.5%), followed by 30.6 percent 'harming children', 19.4 percent 'harming other family members', and 15.1 percent 'death threat'.

Chart 11: Police officers or their family members faced security threat

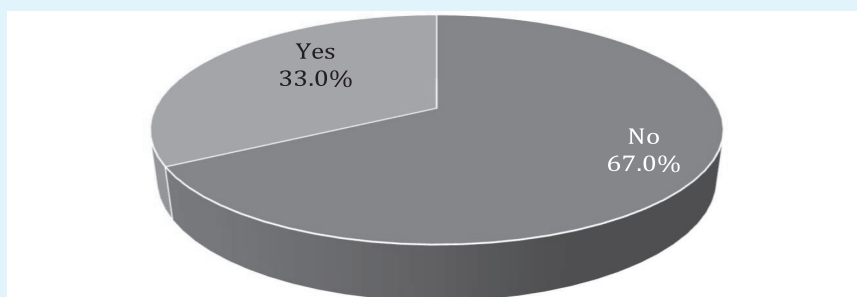


Table 13: Type of security threat faced by the police officers or their family members
(Multiple response up to 3)

Type of security threat ever faced	Responses	Percent
Harming me	107	57.5
Harming my children	57	30.6
Harming my other family members	36	19.4
Death threat to me	28	15.1
Total (N=186)	228	-

Rank, workplace, place of family residence, live with family or not, ownership of residence is significantly related with whether the police officer or his/her family members ever faced any security threat. While gender and family type have no influence of whether faced any threat or not. Data show that higher the rank of police officer lower the proportion of police officers reported faced security threat. Proportion of junior police officers reported faced security threat ever is 26.7 percent, which has increased to 37.7 percent in case of mid-level officers and further increased to 48.5 percent in case of senior officers. Again, higher the urbanity of the present workplace higher the proportion of officers reported faced security threat. Police officers working in Rural Thana reported that they face threats in lowest proportions (22.3%) compared to Urban 23.5 percent and City Corporation 57.9 percent. As evident, higher the urbanity of place of family residence higher the proportion of police officers reported faced threat; 21.7 percent Thana HQ, 24.4 percent Municipality, and 57.7 City Corporation. Police officers not living with family reported faced threat in more proportion (38.3%) compared to those living with family (29.9%). It is worth mentioning that despite not being statistically significant, families living in rented houses reported facing more security threats compared to their own and government house.

Table 14: Whether faced security threat ever

Variable	Category	Faced security threat ever			Chi-square	
		No	Yes	Total	Value	Sig.
Gender	Male	67.6	32.4	100.0	.86	.354
	Female	60.9	39.1	100.0		
Rank	Junior officers	73.3	26.7	100.0	17.26	.000*
	Mid-level officers	62.3	37.7	100.0		
	Senior officers	51.6	48.4	100.0		
Workplace	Rural	77.7	22.3	100.0	65.17	.000*
	Urban	76.5	23.5	100.0		
	City Corporation	42.1	57.9	100.0		
Family type	Nuclear	64.8	35.2	100.0	.60	.439
	Extended	68.8	31.2	100.0		
Place of family residence	City Corporation	42.3	57.7	100.0	59.87	.000*
	Municipality	75.6	24.4	100.0		
	Thana HQ	78.3	21.7	100.0		
Live with family or not	Yes	70.1	29.9	100.0	4.24	.040*
	No	61.7	38.3	100.0		
Ownership of residence	Government	74.7	25.3	100.0	3.54	.171
	Rented	64.5	35.5	100.0		
	Own	70.1	29.9	100.0		

* The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.

Present state of security of the family residence

Sufficiency of security at family residence

A substantial proportion (40% or 339) of the 564 police officers covered in the present study reported that present security of their residence is not sufficient. While the rest 60 percent (225) reported the security of their family residence is sufficient.

Sufficiency of security at present residence significantly differs among the categories of gender, rank, workplace, place of family residence, live with family or not, security threat, and ownership of family residence. Rank of the police officers and family

type, however do not significantly related with sufficiency of present security at family residence. However, despite not significantly related, the proportion of police officers reported present security as not sufficient is considerably higher for nuclear family compared to extended family, 43.9 and 38.5 percent respectively. Women police officers reported more insufficiency of security compared to men police officers, 56.5 percent and 38.4 percent respectively. Despite having no patterns, police officers working in City Corporation areas reported insufficient security in more proportions (59.1%) compared to 32.6 percent working in rural areas and 30.9 percent working in Municipal areas.

Table 15: Sufficiency of security at present residence

Variable	Category	Sufficiency of security at present residence of family			Chi-square	
		Sufficient	Not sufficient	Total	Value	Sig.
Gender	Men	61.6	38.4	100.0	5.78	.016*
	Women	43.5	56.5	100.0		
	Total	60.1	39.9	100.0		
Rank	Junior officers	62.2	37.8	100.0	1.489	.475
	Mid-level officers	56.5	43.5	100.0		
	Senior officers	58.1	41.9	100.0		
Workplace	Rural	67.4	32.6	100.0	35.85	.000*
	Urban	69.1	30.9	100.0		
	City Corporation	40.9	59.1	100.0		
Family type	Nuclear	56.1	43.9	100.0	1.01	.316
	Extended	61.5	38.5	100.0		
Place of family residence	City Corporation	37.8	62.2	100.0	45.61	.000*
	Municipality	67.0	33.0	100.0		
	Thana HQ	72.1	27.9	100.0		
Live with family or not	Yes	54.5	45.5	100.0	12.99	.000*
	No	69.9	30.1	100.0		
Ownership of the family residence	Government	76.0	24.0	100.0	15.34	.000*
	Rented	54.6	45.4	100.0		
	Own	67.5	32.5	100.0		
Existence of security threat	No	76.4	23.6	100.0	56.17	.000*
	Yes	45.5	54.5	100.0		

*The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.

Place of family residence, however, show that higher the urbanity of the family residence higher the proportion of police officers reported insufficiency of present security. Nearly two thirds (62.2%) of the Police officers with family residence in City Corporation area reported insufficient security which is almost half (33.0%) for the police officers with family residence in Municipal areas and nearly one-fourth (27.9%) for the police officers with family residence in Thana Headquarters. Police officers who live at the workplace with family reported insufficient security in more proportion (45.5%) compared to 30.1 percent of the police officers not living with family. It appears that police officers require staying with family as their security is not sufficient. Insufficient security is also reported by police officers with family who live in rented houses (45.6%) while it is lowest in case of family who live in government houses (24.0%). Interestingly, insufficient security has been reported by more than double proportion of the police officers who reported the existence of security threat (54.5%) compared to those reported no existence of security threat (23.6%). It is the sufficiency of security at family residence which has caused no existence of security threat at family residence.

We asked the police officers who reported insufficient security about their security needs. Data show that nearly half of the police officers mentioned ‘security guard’ and ‘CCTV’ as their security needs. This is followed by 42.3 percent ‘surrounding wall’, 29.6 percent ‘system of registering guests’, 28.6 percent ‘system of scanning the guests’, 23.0 percent ‘police patrolling’, and 23.0 percent metal detector.

Table 16: Types of security need at family residence required
by the police officers
(Multiple response up to 3)

Types of security Need	Responses	Percent
Security guard	97	49.5
CCTV	94	48.0
Surrounding wall	83	42.3
Registration of guest	58	29.6
Increase scanning of guest	56	28.6
Police patrolling	45	23.0
Metal detector	21	10.7
Total (N=225)	505	-

Environment of the family residence of the police officers

Problems in present family residence

Beyond security threats we also examined the other problems of the family residence of the police officers. The majority (62% or 347 out of 564) of the police officers mentioned that they are having problems in their family residence while 38 percent replied no problem. The proportion of police officers reported problems in present family residence is more than the proportion mentioned security threat. For example, ‘theft’ has been identified as a problem by the majority of police officers (61.7%). This is followed by 34.0 percent overcrowded areas, 27.4 percent risk of terror attack, 20.5 percent Risk of child abduction, 15 percent risk of attack by opponent parties, 10.4 percent feeling insecure, and 1.7 percent threat of criminal attack.

Table 17: Type of Problem Faced(Multiple response up to 3)

Type of problem	Responses	Percent
Theft has occurred sometimes	214	61.7
Over-crowded area	118	34.0
Risk of terrorist attack	95	27.4
Risk of child abduction	71	20.5
Risk of attack by opponent of case	52	15.0
Unsecured feeling	36	10.4
Threat from criminal attack	6	1.7
Total (N=347)	592	-

Level of satisfaction about the environment of present residence

Police officers, in general, identified the environment of their residence as ‘not good’ as only 1.8 percent mentioned the environment as ‘very good’ and 30.3 percent as ‘good’. Highest proportion (43.3%) of police officers mentioned the environment of their family residence is ‘more or less good’. A considerable proportion (17.0%) of the police officers mentioned the environment as ‘bad’ and 7.6 percent as ‘very bad’.

Crisis of accommodation of the police officers

Almost all police officers (95%) reported that there is a crisis of accommodation for police officers, only 5 percent reported no crisis. More than three-fourths

(78.7%) of that reported accommodation crisis mentioned the problem as ‘acute’ or ‘very high’. Only 16.5 percent termed the crisis as ‘high’, 4.7 percent as ‘medium’ and 0.2 percent as ‘low’. It is evident that police officers feel a very high degree of accommodation crisis.

Conclusion & Key Takeaways

This study highlights the need for providing security of the family and family members of the police officers as a substantial proportion of the police officers reported faced security threat, existence of security threat and present security of their residence is insufficient. Findings also revealed that government residences are more secured. But the availability of government residential facilities for the police officers is extremely limited. Security situation of the family residence of the police officers significantly differs as follows:

- More men police officers reported security threat compared to women police officers,
- Higher the rank of the police officers higher the proportion of police officers reported existence of security threat.
- Higher the degree of urbanity of the workplace of the police officers higher the probability of security threat.
- Police officers with extended family reported the existence of threat in lower proportions compared to police officers with nuclear family.
- Police officers living with family at the workplace reported the existence of security threats in more proportions compared to those not living with family.
- Higher the degree of urbanity of place of family residence higher the existence of security threat.
- Families living in rented houses reported the existence of security threats in higher proportion compared to living in their own and government house.

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Women subject to intimate partner violence in Bangladesh: How do they respond and what do they gain?

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Abstract: *Despite evidence indicates increasing violence against women by their intimate male partners in Bangladesh, disclosure of such violence is very low. Usually, these incidents of violence take place within the four walls of the house and remain unreported and go unpunished. The main objective of this paper is to explore the responses of the victim to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and the outcomes of such responses. A qualitative approach was employed and case study method was applied to explore the issue. A total 15 cases were studied. Data were collected through face to face interviews. Findings show that victims of IPV respond in various ways like- pleading husband not to be violent, keeping silent, protesting and fighting back, seeking help from in-law's family, neighbours and natal family, arranging informal and formal arbitration, taking help from NGOs, the police and the court. Although victims responses in multifarious ways, no response was found to bring any fruitful outcome. As a result, most victims take the violence for granted and do not report or disclose to anyone and victims rather cope with IPV instead of seeking recourses. This paper argues that responses to IPV do not bring any substantial positive outcome, rather worsen the situation. This paper recommends necessary arrangements for changing patriarchal mind-set and developing non-violent attitude especially of the young learners. In addition, it recommends adequate social security and legal protection for IPV victim women and their children.*

Keywords: Violence Against Women (VAW), Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), domestic violence, intervention, protection

Introduction

Violence against women is a common ill that cuts across the whole world. Among different forms of such violence, the most common one is violence perpetrated by their male intimate partners (Naved, Azim, Bhuiya & Persson, 2006). A World Health Organization [WHO] (2002) study based on 48 population-based surveys across the world shows that 10 percent to 69 percent of surveyed women

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experienced physical violence by their intimate male partners at least once during their lifetime (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, Zwi & Lozano, 2002). This form of violence takes place irrespective of geographic boundaries, social, cultural or religious orientation and level of development. However, the magnitude and frequencies of such violence may vary depending on the context.

The World Report on Violence and Health (2002) identifies that women are especially vulnerable to violence perpetrated by their husbands in societies where gender inequalities are high, gender roles are rigid and cultural norms support men's right to sexual intercourse regardless of women's consent (as cited in Navid et al., 2006). These attributes are pervasive in most South Asian countries. Reviewing data from 15 societies across the world and classifying the rate of physical violence against women by their male intimate partners into four hierarchical categories, from 'essentially none' to 'high', Campbell (1999) found South Asian countries in the 'high' category.

Country-specific studies also confirm high rates of such violence in this region. Studies show that physical violence against women at the hands of the intimate partners in Madhya Pradesh, India is 17.8 percent and 56.0 percent (Uttar Pradesh) (ICRW & UNFPA, 2014), in Pakistan, 80 percent (as cited in Hadi, 2017) and in Sri Lanka 20 to 72 percent (Guruge, Jayasuriya-Illesinghe, Gunawardena & Perera, 2015). A good number of studies also confirm a high rate of physical violence against women perpetrated by their intimate partners (husbands) in Bangladesh (Naved & Persson, 2010; Sambisa, Angeles, Lance, Naved & Thornton, 2011; Schuler & Islam, 2008; Bajracharya & Amin, 2013; Rahman, Hoque & Makinoda, 2011; Naved, 2013).

Violence Against Women (VAW) Survey 2015 identified five (05) forms of IPV against women in Bangladesh and found that 72.6 percent of ever-married women experienced at least one form of such violence in their lifetime (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics [BBS], 2016). However, the survey reveals that the rate of physical violence is 49.6% and the rate of violence is higher in rural areas than urban areas. Despite such a high prevalence of violence in Bangladesh, disclosure of such violence is very low. A study on 10,368 samples reveals that 68 percent of the surveyed women never disclosed the issue to anyone. Only 30 percent shared it with their family and none of the samples ever sought help from any informal or formal sources like court, police or other government agencies (cited in World Health Organization, 2002).

Intimate partner violence is one of the most inhumane acts with a far-reaching pernicious consequence on the victims and their children. In this form of

4. Physical violence, sexual violence, economic violence, emotional violence, and controlling behaviour

violence, a woman is being tortured by a person who is supposed to protect her, in a place which is supposed to be the safest for her. Nonetheless, women are being tortured as a normative social relation (Khan, 2015). Unfortunately, most of these incidents of violence remain unreported and are unearthed only when grievous assaults result in serious injuries or end up in the death of the victims (Khan, 2015). Different social, cultural, economic and legal factors make it difficult for abused women to seek recourses (Mannan, 2002; Schuler, Bates & Islam, 2008) and the victims tend to take the violence for granted, as a part of their daily life (Siddiqi, 2006). This paper explores the responses of the battered women and the outcomes/consequences of such responses. The findings of the study show that there are no substantial outcomes of the responses rather some responses might jeopardize their marriage and create a greater crisis in their life.

Literature review

Although IPV is a common phenomenon across the world, very few of the victims disclose it. Irrespective of culture, victims consider it a private and confidential issue. A report says that in the United States, only one percent of battered women report the issue (United Nations, 1991). Such disclosure is even less in developing countries. Therefore, not much is known about the victims' responses to IPV and the outcomes of such responses in these countries (Naved et al., 2006). Studies in this field predominantly concern with magnitude, disclosure, coping strategies and help-seeking practices of the victims. Some of the recent studies have been reviewed below.

Employing a qualitative approach, Naved et al. (2006) studied the magnitude, disclosure and help-seeking practice of women who faced physical violence and found the prevalence of physical violence against women by their male partner high in both urban (40%) and rural (42%) areas. The study also found that most of the battered women (66 %) kept silent because of high acceptance, fear of stigma and greater loss (children's future, more violence, etc.). The study reveals that only two percent (of 2702 sample) women sought recourses from institutional sources like the local leader, NGOs, women organizations, police, etc. However, only less than one percent of both urban (0.6%) and rural (0.5%) women sought legal recourse from police. The study further reveals that battered women approach to institutional help only when they found violence against them intolerable or it became life-threatening or their children were at a stake. The study concluded that help seeking didn't bring any significant positive support.

Applying in-depth interviews and FGD, Schuler et al. (2008) explored the barriers to recourse seeking of the economically disadvantaged women in rural areas in Bangladesh who were subject to IPV and found that they seldom sought recourse.

However, those who sought recourses did not get substantial support. Due to lack of alternative, they condoned it. The study also reveals that poverty in association with gender disparity, inequalities in the legal framework, patriarchal attitudes and pervasive corruption discouraged battered women from seeking recourses.

Sayem and Khan (2012) investigated women's strategic responses to violence at their intimate partner's hands employing a qualitative approach and interviewed twenty rural women in Narshingdi. The study found that diverting attention, leaving the scene, remaining silent, protesting, pleading help from family members and neighbours, vituperating husbands' family members and going to the natal home' are the strategic responses of women subject to violence. No participants of this study sought legal recourse. However, the study suggests more research for a better understanding of the women's effective strategies and ways to ensure recourse that would prevent violence against them.

Using a quantitative approach, Sayem, Begum, and Moneesha (2015) investigated abused women's help-seeking practice against IPV. The study reveals that participants were likely to seek helps mainly from informal, formal social and formal legal agents. Findings also reveal that victims' help-seeking attitudes were significantly influenced by their ages, working statuses, decision-making authority, the experience of violence, receipt of micro-credits, husbands' ages and education, family economic status and type. The study infers that economic empowerment may change abused women's attitudes from coping to help-seeking strategies.

Khan (2015) investigated coping strategies and help-seeking practices of women subject to violence at the hands of their husbands in rural areas. The qualitative study reveals that victims applied a variety of coping strategies to save their marriages at any cost. The main motivation that helps them tolerate their husbands' violence is their children's and their future. However, in extreme cases, some of the victims left their abusive husbands. Those who sought help, asked mainly from informal sources like- neighbours, parents, relatives, community leaders and NGOs. On the contrary, an insignificant number of participants tried formal legal recourses. However, neither of these sources ensured substantial support; rather seeking help, sometimes, aggravated the situation of the victims.

Although a good number of studies have been undertaken in this field, most focused mainly on disclosure, coping strategies and help-seeking practices of the women subject to IPV. Some of these studies employed a quantitative approach which is unable to portray the real situation of the victims as these issues require lived experience of the victims. Naved et al. (2006) employed a quantitative approach to investigate the issue. Schuler et al. (2008) studied mainly the barriers to recourse seeking of the women subject to IPV. Sayem et

al. (2015) applied a quantitative approach and studied the attitudes of victims towards formal and informal services that they could afford. Therefore, it was unable to elicit the responses that in reality victims posed towards the violence.

Sayem and Khan (2012) investigated coping strategies and help-seeking practices of physically battered women. The focus of the study was mainly coping strategies and hardly touched the formal help-seeking practices like reporting the issue to the police or taking the issue to the court or other government agencies for legal recourse. Khan (2015) made a substantial effort to investigate coping strategies and help-seeking practices of women facing IPV. He investigated both formal and informal sources of help-seeking. Khan also shed some light on the outcome of such coping strategies and help-seeking practice. However, enough emphasis was not given to visualize the situation. In such a context, exploration of abuse women's responses to violence and outcomes of such responses is imperative.

Theoretical framework

Patriarchy is a useful tool in analysing intimate partner violence (IPV) against women as it is predominantly determined by the power practice within the private sphere (Coetzee, 2001; Moghadam, 1996; Bhasin, 1994; Walby, 1990). Power and the exercise of power are central to the notion of patriarchy. Kandiyoti (1998) observes that "power does not merely manifest itself in and through gender relations, but gender is constitutive of power itself". Bhasin (2006) characterizes patriarchy as the domination of male and define it as power relationships by which men dominate and subordinate women in various ways.

As an ideology patriarchy is based on 'biological determinism' which postulates that because of biological reason men are always in a dominant position and women are in a subordinate one (Walby, 1990). This ideology is so powerful that "men are usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress". They do this "through institutions such as the academy, the church, and the family, each of which justifies and reinforces women's subordination to men" (Millett 1977:35). Biological differences make men superior to women in both private and public sphere and they [men] rule over them [women] (Hooks, 2000: ix).

Methodology

The main objective of this paper is to explore the responses of women subject to IPV and the outcomes that they receive in return from such responses. These are complex social phenomena and only subjective experiences of the victims provide an actual understanding of them in a particular socio-cultural context. Therefore, a qualitative approach was employed to investigate the issue.

Data were collected from two rural upazilas, i.e., Shahrasti and Hazigonj under Chandpur district of Bangladesh. Women facing IPV repeatedly were the source of data. A pre-investigation showed that at the beginning of violence, victims keep silent and usually don't seek outside help. Victims, experiencing repeated violence, usually speak up and seek help. Having no database of women subject to IPV, consideration of the issue as private and confidential, and prohibition of talking to an outsider in rural Muslim society like Bangladesh, it was very difficult to identify and get access to the appropriate participants. Therefore, kinship and social networks were used to identify and get access to the target participants.

After preparing a list of the potential participants, they were contacted to inform about the research and to secure their consent. Many of the primarily selected women turned down to participate the research for reasons like- they didn't want to make their private issues public; their husbands would be angry; they would not like to talk to an outsider, etc.

Researchers used different techniques to convince them based on the contexts of refusal to participate. For example, in cases where being an outsider was the problem, researchers managed someone familiar both to the researcher(s) and to the participant(s), ensured that their name would not come anywhere even their name and address would not be asked, etc. Where husband's anger was the issue, interviews were arranged in relatives' residence or in more informal ways like visiting a relative's house.

Using these techniques, the study ensured adequate number of informants' participation in the study. Diverse case selection technique was used in terms of women's profession/occupation, levels of education, husbands' education level, financial status of the husbands and of natal families, etc. to have a clearer picture of the issue. A total 15 cases were studied to ensure data saturation.

Data were collected through face-to-face interviews using a guideline developed in Bengali. Instead of taking notes, interviews were audio-recorded with interviewees' prior consent. Recorded interviews were first transcribed in Bengali and then translated into English. While translating transcript, the context was one of the prime considerations. A thematic approach was employed to analyse the data. Interviewing and analysing were done simultaneously so that data saturation level could easily be comprehended and the gap in data collection could be addressed. Reading and rereading of transcripts helped the researcher to develop initial codes that conceptualized the meaning in the data and helped to bring forth major themes in the findings. In reporting findings, pseudo names have been used instead of real ones.

Findings

Responses of the IPV battered women

Findings reveal that IPV battered women responded, in detail, as follows.

Pleading husband not to be violent

The most common response that was recorded to be used by the women subject to IPV was ‘pleading husband not to torture’. When a victim sense that violence is imminent, she requests her husband to forgive her and not to torture. Sometimes they request their abusive husbands not to do such things in front of their children or family members and beg to the perpetrators assuring that she will remain wary about her faults that led to violence and will not repeat it. One of the participants reported,

When I sense that my husband is irritated at my activities and he is going to beat me, I beg him not to do so and also assure him that I will not make any such mistake in the future.

Keeping silent

Keeping quiet was a response that many of the participants reported that they frequently apply. A good number of the participants reported that they kept quiet amidst violence against them. They remain silent from this hope that once their husbands’ rage is slaked, they (husbands) may end it earlier. It was also reported that many victims don’t dare to respond in ways other than keeping silent. Responding in other ways may worsen the situation. However, many of them has taken the violence for granted. In the words of a participant,

I don’t dare to go against him. My behaviour rages him. So, he punishes me. I acknowledge my fault and let him punish me.

However, keeping quiet sometimes aggravate the situation. When keeping silent and condoning the torture doesn’t work, they rather ask for forgiveness for their faults and accept tortures without protesting.

Protesting and fighting back

Not every victim keeps quiet, rather some of them reported that they fought back and protested violence against them. Fighting back does not necessarily bring any good result. However, when things go intolerable, it becomes the only way of complacency. One of the participants reported,

I try to tolerate all violence and torture. However, I am not stoical like an inanimate. Sometimes I revolt. Physically, I am not as strong as he

is. So, I use abusive language for him and his family members.

Victims fight back and protest knowing that it could even accelerate the severity of the violence. They do it out of intolerance.

Seeking help from in-law's family

In-laws' family members are the first persons to seek help from outside. Despite violence takes place within the four walls of the house, it is exposed to the family members of the perpetrators first. Therefore, asking for help from them is natural, however, not very common. In most cases, in-law's family members rather create the ground and or fuel the violence. In the context of Bangladesh, a woman can hardly please her in-law's family. So, the relationship that a bride maintains with her in-laws in no means a good one. However, at the time of crisis, out of helplessness, victims ask in-laws family members' help to avert the perpetrators from violence. One of the participants narrated,

When I am being tortured, I ask my in-laws' family member, especially my father-in-law to prevent my husband from torturing me. However, I cannot expect much from them as they don't like me and they rather become happy when my husband tortures me.

Seeking help from neighbours

Very few of the participants reported that they asked for help from the neighbours. However, those who asked for help did it in two ways. Firstly, by asking for informal help from an influential neighbour(s)⁵ to make their husbands understand not to torture them. Secondly, by screaming and crying loudly so that neighbouring people come and help the victim. One of the respondents reported,

I asked help from his (husband's) cousins and uncle to make him stop torturing me. They have a good influence upon him and I thought it would help him change his attitude.

Some of the respondents reported that they cried aloud when husbands tortured them. In the beginning, they would not make a sound and let anyone know the issue thinking it a matter of shame. However, later on, they stopped keeping silent rather started to make hue and cry so that people around them could know and come to rescue. One of the respondents reported,

I scream and cry loudly. So that people around me get to know and come to rescue me. People gather around us which sometimes save me.

5. Influential in terms of socially influential or has influence upon the perpetrator like close relatives living around whom he obeys.

Asking help from natal family

Battered women, in general, don't speak up. Wife beating is a socially accepted norm in Bangladesh and is regarded as a familial confidential issue. Therefore, making it public causes loss of face in society. So, they keep it secret. However, when intensity and frequency increase and they find it intolerable, a woman leaves her in-laws' house and go back to the natal family, inform them and ask for help. One of the participants described,

In the beginning, I used to keep silent. However, with time, I realized that it is not going to end. Being intolerant of torture, once I went back to my father's place and told them the situation I was going through. ...They, instead of taking measures, put pressure on me and say not to go against my husband's will. Because a wife's heaven is beneath the foot of her husband.

Mediating with the in-law's family

It takes a longer time to make natal families believe what their daughters are going through. In cases of IPV, victims' natal families remain very helpless in the context of Bangladesh society for many reasons.

They hardly could take any strong step as such step may end up in breaking of the marriage. For reasons like social stigma, future security of their daughter and her children, etc., natal families never want the marriage to be broken. Therefore, they approach to daughters' in-law's family and talk to the older family members, close relatives and influential neighbours and try to stop violence against their daughter. One of the respondents expressed her experience in the following way,

After my father and brothers were convinced enough that I have been a victim of intolerable torture, they talked to my father-in-law, neighbouring relatives and discuss the issue with them. It was some sort of informal salish to figure out the problem.

Taking help from the community through formal arbitration

When the situation deteriorates and cannot be handled within the family sphere, natal families take help from the community. They seek help from the local elites, mostly public representatives, and arrange arbitration locally known as salish. The format of salish could be of several types. The most common types are salish with some elites from bride's side and some from groom's side. However, when the issue is broadened, salish could also incorporate local public representatives like Union Parishad Chairman and Members. Salish, on this issue, takes place only in a few cases especially when the level of violence climbs the peak.

Some of the participants reported that after being intolerant, victims' paternal families arranged arbitration to figure out a solution.

One of the participants narrated her experience of arbitration.

After I convinced my parents that I have been going through intolerable torture, they talked to my father-in-law and some other local elites and arranged a salish to sort the problem out.

Taking help from NGOs

Taking help from NGOs was not found very common. In Bangladesh, NGOs are mainly known for micro-finance. It could be one of the reasons women usually do not take help from them. However, few NGOs, providing such help, were found to be operated in the study area and very few of the participants reported that they went to them and sought help. The main bottleneck of NGO interventions is that husbands show no interest when NGOs call them for alternative dispute resolution. However, women from poor backgrounds go to NGOs for legal aid.

I came to know that NGOs could help me and they wouldn't charge money for the help. So, I went to them and tried to take help. However, it didn't work as my husband was unwilling to go to them.

Seeking help from police and court

Asking help from police and or court was found rare. Although most of the participants, at some point of time, thought of going to the police and court, a wide range of reasons retrained them from taking legal recourse. Among them, fear of breaking the marriage was one of the highest reported causes, followed by stigma, expenses of the court, uncertainty about justice, fear of the police, etc.

However, one of the participants describe the situation which took her to the police against her husband,

My natal family talked to the older members of my in-law's house.... called for a salish, I tried to obey all his commands and fulfil his and his family members expectations. But nothing worked. When nothing was left to do to restrain him from battering me, I decided to punish him for his cruelty and lodge a case against him.

This participant went to court when she lost all hope of living together with her husband. Before that, she tried possibly every way to save her marriage. However, she was an educated and employed woman and her natal family were well-off. These factors helped her a lot in taking such a decision.

Outcomes of the responses

Different responses towards IPV bring different outcomes. In cases, where victims pledged the perpetrators not to torture and where victims kept silent, the torture was less severe. However, these responses didn't prevent the perpetrators from further violence. On the other hand, protesting and fighting back made the perpetrator furious and increased the severity of torture. As one of the participants reported,

Protesting raises his (husband's) wrath and he batters me more severely. However, I cannot tolerate when someone condemns me without my fault.

In the context of Bangladesh, a woman can hardly please her in-law's family. A bride is seldom accepted as a family member in her in-law's house. Therefore, there is little chance for them (in-law's family members) to come out as a protector of the victim when she is being tortured by their family member. Therefore, asking for help from them, in most cases, doesn't bring any difference. However, if even the in-law's family members try to protect the victim, there is little chance of success. As one of the participants reported,

Except for my mother-in-law, everyone tries to prevent my husband from torturing me. However, my husband forbids them to poke their noses in his personal life.

The outcome of asking for help from neighbours depends on the context. Where interfering neighbours are influential persons and the perpetrator is socially and economically weak, asking help, to some extent, help avert the perpetrator from violence for time being. However, it doesn't bring any permanent solution. In other cases, asking for help from neighbours may spark another problem. As one of the respondents reported,

If someone tries to help me, my husband thinks that I have an affair with that person. It put me and that person in a dangerous position. My husband uses derogative language and warns people not to interfere in our private issues. So, people around us hardly come to help me.

However, those (women) who scream, sometimes get some immediate solution. Hearing the scream neighbouring people gather and try to prevent torture. It does not work for everyone. As one of the participants reported,

People think it is a personal issue and getting involved in it would not be right. Neighbours come to hear our hue and cry. Some of them try to avert my husband. But my husband does not care about anybody.

Thus, asking for help from neighbours has been proved to be dangerous for some reasons. Firstly, when male neighbours try to help prevent violence, husbands

bring about questions on wives' character. Secondly, it creates conflicts between interfering persons and the perpetrators.

Asking help from a paternal family, may or may not produce any positive result. First, it takes a longer time for a daughter to convince her parents that she is going through insufferable torture. If even when they comprehend the situation, they have little to do. One of the participants expressed her paternal family's reaction

... I went back to my father's place and told them the situation I was going through. They, instead of taking steps, put pressure on me and advised me not to go against my husband's will. Because a wife's heaven is beneath the foot of her husband.

Once fathers' families are convinced that their daughters are in crisis, they usually take some sequential activities-at first, they talk to the guardians⁶ of the bridegroom. If the situation doesn't improve, they go for informal and formal salish (arbitration). Informal salish takes place with guardian(s) of the perpetrators along with close relatives and neighbours to sort out the problem and reconcile the bride and groom. If informal salish fails they go for formal one.

Findings show that outcomes of both the informal and formal arbitrations are same. None of these arbitrations produce lasting results. Such arbitrations, very often, trigger women even in more danger. A victim hardly gets any scope to present a complaint against her husband. Conversely, lots of complaints are presented against the victim. Talking much by a woman is against social values. Therefore, when a wife tries to defend her, it again goes against her and her fault in the conjugal life is proved in the salish. So, she is convicted as guilty. As one of the participants expressed her experience of attending arbitration,

At the salish, my husband brought out hundreds of accusations against me. When I tried to defend myself, got no chance to support myself. There is no evidence, no proof. How could you get a positive result from an arbitration where defending yourself is considered deviance? My mouth was almost shut. I could not defend myself. Instead, I was called a disobedient woman as I was trying to defend myself.

Another respondent describes the situation as,

Arbitration put me in more danger. Because he became more furious after facing the arbitration. To him, I have spoiled his reputation

6. Guardian, in most cases, means father or elder brother. However, it could be an uncle or other close relatives who, at the time of marriage, played an important role.

arranging the arbitration. After that, I am tolerating all his torture silently.

Seeking help from a formal organization like an NGO does not bring any tangible result. Because NGOs cannot force anyone to obey them. Therefore, most of the perpetrators do not pay heed to what NGOs tell them. NGOs neither have the authority to fetch a perpetrator to them nor can they get him arrested. NGOs can only help the victims to get the problems solved when both of the parties are interested or they can help the victim take appropriate legal recourse.

The fear of breaking the family is the crucial factor that averts women from taking the issue to the police or court. Going to the police or the court has rather grievous results. It breaks the marriage in most cases. As one of the participants reported-

My husband divorced me after I take him to the court. I was prepared for this consequence. Because I knew that my marriage was over.

While interviewing a strong sense was felt that no woman wanted to break the marriage. Participants were asked the reason they don't want to end their marriage. Their responses were simple, where do we go after the breaking of marriage. Paternal families are not places where they can live with dignity. They don't know other places but in-laws' family and natal family. When a natal family is not in favour of divorce or separation, it is difficult for a woman to take shelter there after her marriage is broken.

Discussion and policy implications

This paper portrays two aspects of IPV- responses of the victims to IPV and outcomes of such responses. Findings of the study show that at the beginning, victims keep quiet and don't let the issue come to light. With time, they become intolerant and ask help from different informal sources- like in-laws family members, neighbours, friends, paternal families, etc. At a point of time, they inform their natal family about their plight. The natal families initially ignore the issue and advise to adjust. However, when natal families comprehend the depth of the issue, they take steps to stop violence against their daughters. They mainly ask for help from informal sources. However, when they found these sources ineffective, most of them cope with the violence while few move to formal sources. It is worth mentioning that although they feel the urge to seek help from law enforcement authorities, most of them keep themselves restrained from doing so. The main reasons behind this are the fear of breaking the marriage and the uncertainty that might follow. The study shows that victims respond in multifarious ways. Among them pleading husband not to torture, keeping silent, protesting and fighting back, and asking help from in-laws family members,

neighbours, natal family, informal arbitration, formal arbitration, seeking help from NGOs, and seeking legal recourse from the police and the court. Insignificant number of victims seek legal recourses. These findings are supported by most other studies in this field. Khan (2015) found fighting back, leaving the scene, taking support from parents, relatives, and in-laws, community people, and community NGOs, neighbours support and support from formal (legal) sources as responses of the battered women. Navid et al. (2006) found that battered women mainly kept silent amid torture and sought help from parents, siblings, in-laws' family members, neighbours. WHO's Multi-Cultural study (2005) found some victims to fight back. However, findings from this study and many other studies confirm that very few of the victims seek legal recourses as the last resort in contexts where victims feel their own lives and their children's lives are at a stake (Khan, 2015; Naved et al., 2006, WHO, 2005).

Outcomes of the responses of this study can be classified into three categories temporary solution, no result, and worsening the situation. It is also worth mentioning that the same response may ensue different outcomes in different settings and a particular response could bring all three outcomes in different contexts as well. 'Pleading husband not to torture' might bring a temporary solution or no result at all. Naved et al. (2006) also found that keeping silent and complying with the husband's expectation lessen future violence. However, this study found that keeping silent may bring no result or escalate the violence. On the other hand, protesting and fighting back aggravates the situation and escalates violence. Asking help from in-laws' family members may bring any of the three results. However, asking for help from neighbours, natal families, informal arbitrations and formal arbitrations could bring both positive and negative results. When they ask help from the natal families, they talk to the guardians of the bridegrooms and if the problem is not resolved, they go for informal and formal salish respectively. However, neither informal nor formal salish brings any lasting positive results. Salish, rather, worsens the situation. Similarly, seeking help from formal organizations like NGOs and law enforcement authorities, in most cases, worsens the situation.

Khan (2015) found that asking for help from neighbour may instigate retaliation between the perpetrator and the interfering neighbour. Khan (2015) and Navid et al. (2006) show that salish rather goes against the victims and found bribe a barrier to neutral salish. However, the current study found patriarchy as the main barrier to a neutral salish as patriarchy gives men dividend in the arbitration in different ways. Khan (2015) found procrastination, bribing, lack of professionalism of the solicitors, high expenses main barriers in taking legal recourses.

Victims don't want to take the issue to the community (formal salish), court or the police (Naved et al. 2006; Khan 2015). Bangladesh is a male-dominated

society. Therefore, wives' such act hurts the male ego and in many cases situation is deteriorated and might end up in breaking of the marriage and cause economic insecurities that might follow. Economic insecurity is one of the prime reasons why women try to save their marriage at any cost. This problem is grievous especially for women from the lower economic classes with no survival options other than depending on their husbands. Future of the children is another issue who are scapegoats of such a relationship. Therefore, it does make sense why most of the victims keep silent and doesn't seek recourses. Schuler et al. (2008) also show that there is no place for a woman to go. Therefore, they condone the torture perpetrated by their husbands.

Therefore, policy should be directed towards bringing change in patriarchal mind-set, developing non-violent attitude especially among young learners, women empowerment, social security for distressed women and dependent children. Steps should also be taken to ensure accountability and transparency of the police force. A transparent and adequate legal aid service is to be ensured for battered women.

Conclusion

Women subject to IPV perpetrated by their husbands responded in a multifarious ways. It ranges from pleading husband not to be violent to taking the issue to the police and the court. While outcomes of such responses could be categorized into three categories - temporary solution, no result and worsening the situation. It is worth mentioning that only a few responses might bring some temporary solutions. However, it was also noted that such a response might also aggravate the situation. Therefore, it could be said that there is no substantial way to respond IPV. Women especially with no economic independence have little or no choices other than accepting and condoning the violence.

Intimate Partner Violence has far-reaching consequences. It not only disrupts the lives of women, but the lives of their children are also heavily impacted by such incidences. Therefore, taking an effective course of action is imperative. Appropriate measures are to be taken to change the patriarchal mind-set so that equilibrium in power practice is ensured in both private and public spheres. Developing a non-violent mentality among young learners is also very important. A good quality education system can help a lot in bringing such kind of change in human mentality. Economic empowerment of the women folk, as well as substantial social security, should be ensured for both women and children of broken families. Ensuring social security for women and children is pivotal so that battered women can have a choice to quit the abusive conjugal life. Legal aid should also be made available for those who require.

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Sustainable Peace and Development in CHT - Challenges, Opportunities and Suggested Measures

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Abstract: *This paper analyses the security threats pertinent to sustainable peace and development of Chattogram Hill Tracts(CHT). Despite the huge development potentials, CHT has become a concern due to the presence of armed groups and the abundance flow of illegal arms. It has enchanting natural beauty with a mix of hills, rivers, lakes, creeks and so on. Its bio-diversity has an immense appeal to tourists. Its ethnic people with rich and diverse traditions, cultures and tongues are the true symbols of the religious and cultural pluralism of Bangladesh. But the existence of tribal regional party armed groups have allegedly become one of the major factors that have prevented the Government of Bangladesh(GOB), its development partners and the common people of CHT to tap the vast riches of the area. As such, it is important to study the security challenges emanating from the tribal regional parties' armed groups in CHT preventing its development.*

Keywords: Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), security, threat, armed groups, development

Introduction

CHT is different from other parts of Bangladesh for its unique landscape and diversified culture of local inhabitants. The area is naturally endowed with enchanted and eye-soothing beauty and contains enormous potentials nearly in all forms. CHT covers an area of 13,295 square kilometres, which is almost one-tenth of the total area of Bangladesh with 1% of her population dwelling there. It shares about 700 kilometres of common borders with India and Myanmar. The area is covered with rugged hills with heights varying from 1000 to 3000 feet. The reserved forests cover approximately an area of 2,240 square kilometres. The Kaptai Lake, the largest manmade lake is located in the heart of CHT that covers an area of about 736 to 1036 square kilometres depending on the seasons. The demographic canvas of CHT constitutes thirteen different tribes and the Bengalis. There are almost 49% Bengali inhabitants staying in CHT.

The insurgency in CHT started right after the independence of Bangladesh with the birth of Parbattaya Chattogram Jano Shanghoti Samity (PCJSS) in 1972 and Santi Bahini (SB) in 1975 (Shelley, 1992, p. 33). The GOB made a great stride

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to solve the problem of CHT and could strike an agreement with the insurgent leadership titled: “CHT Accord”, on 02 December 1997. The agreement formally ended the insurgency but CHT remained with some major fault lines as a group of insurgents broke away from the main group and continued to demand complete autonomy of the region.

There are as many as four tribal regional armed groups in CHT at present and all are equipped with modern automatic weapons. Despite enormous development potentials in CHT due to huge natural resources, the expected development is not happening. The GOB has allotted a significant amount of budgets through the CHT ministry, CHT Development Board and Hill District Councils besides the routine allocation through the District Commissioners; the development process is very slow and the general people lead a life of fear and insecurity.

Literature Review

Unlike other ethnic conflicts, the study on CHT is neither enormous nor very scanty. As in any study of conflicts, different sides in the CHT conflict have created mutually incompatible accounts of local history. So the researcher had to be very careful in consulting secondary sources. Most writers on CHT have worked on its general history, people, geography, and culture. The most authentic and consulted few writers in this regard are: Capt. T.H. Lewin, Willem Van Schendel, Francis Buchanan and R. H. Sneyd Hutchinson.

Out of 13 tribes of CHT, the Chakmas, Marmas and Tripuras have some recorded history while others rely mostly on oral history. A good number of local tribal and foreign writers who had recorded CHT history are S.P. Talukdar, Ashok Kumar Dewan, Shugata Chakma, S.S. Chakma, Kumud Bikash Chakma, Shupriyo Talukdar, Shobha Tripura, Probhangsho Tripura, Prodipto Khisha, Nathan Laoncheu, Satish Chandra Ghosh, P.K. Debbarma, A.B. Rajput, Shudhin Kumar Chakma and so on.

A great deal of Bengali writers has also recorded CHT history with greater details like Jamaluddin, Saiful Ahsan, Habibur Rahman, Atiqur Rahman, Syed Anwar Husain, Khaled Belal, Shuniti Bhushan etc.

Literature has been highlighted mostly on pre-CHT accord duration. However, not many writers have come out with comprehensive CHT history up to or beyond the CHT accord. Only a handful of them did so like Mizanur Rahman Shelley, Amena Mohsin, Atiqur Rahman, Shapan Adnan and Syed Muhammad Ibrahim. These writers too have recorded CHT's history not later than 2001. However, some writers, who have recently recorded Bangladesh's socio-political-economic history, have tried to make some mention about the immediate

history of CHT like Prof. Ali Riaz, S. Mahmud Ali, Dr Kamal Hossain, Taluker Maniruzzaman, Sirajul Islam and so on.

Insurgency in CHT has never been an isolated phenomenon and has always been influenced by the ongoing unresolved issues in its periphery. A few experts on the regional insurgency movements, whose works have been consulted, are Subir Bhaumik, James C. Scott, Iftekharuzzaman, Barry Buzan, Gowher Rizvi, Gayer & Jeffrelot and so on.

To study the CHT issue concerning complex theories on security, development and nationalism, a good number of works have been consulted, to mention a few are: Mathew J. Webb, Uma Kothari, Anthony D. Smith, V.K. Anand, Ronaldo Munck and so on. Besides, for various information and statistics of CHT, Banglapedia, 7th Five Year Plan, websites of Ministry of CHT Affairs (MoCHTA), Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, District Statistical Year Book, various national dailies, internet articles have been consulted. MoCHTA's exclusive publication – Chittagong Hill Tracts: Long Walk to Peace & Development has been of immense benefit. However, not a single book or article could be found on the tribal regional parties' armed groups of CHT and on the current security situation of CHT for which the researcher had to depend on national dailies and primary sources.

Methodology

This was an exploratory study. Data were collected both from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources' data was collected from the responses of tribal ethnic community members, government employees and private workers, public representatives in CHT and so on. I have personal experience of serving in CHT for more than 10 years (2003-05 and 2013-21) which allowed me to come across numerous credible information. Secondary sources include books, journal articles, newspaper articles, empirical research reports etc.

Analysis and Findings

Although on 02 December 1997, the GOB could strike an agreement with the insurgents and created an environment conducive to pursuing peace and development for the backward people and area, all SB members did not surrender weapons and UPDF emerged as a hardliner anti-agreement party with its armed group. JSS resorted to revitalizing their armed groups apparently to counter UPDF.

All the groups needed huge funds to raise, sustain and modernize their armed groups for which both devoted to illegal fundraising through extortion leading to establishing dominance over as much area and people as possible.

Both JSS and UPDF faced another divide; JSS R and UPDF D emerged with a separate armed group and a need for illegal funds for them too. The people of CHT, perforce, got divided under the coercive dominance of four parties, all hungry for money. To continue with armed groups and accumulation of funds, they needed support from IOs, NGOs and the international community for which they kept playing their old cards against the security forces for blaming violation of HRs in CHT and held responsible GOB for adopting delay strategy on the implementation of CHTA.

GOB adopted a three braided approach to handle the CHT issue. Considering the volatility of the insurgency situation at the very outset, military operations had to predominate other two dimensions to gradually create an environment conducive for political negotiation and socio-economic development.

Despite numerous initiatives of the GOB, comprehensive planning and adequate budget allocations, CHT districts are lagging in many of the major goals and targets. The presence of tribal regional parties' armed groups, illegal

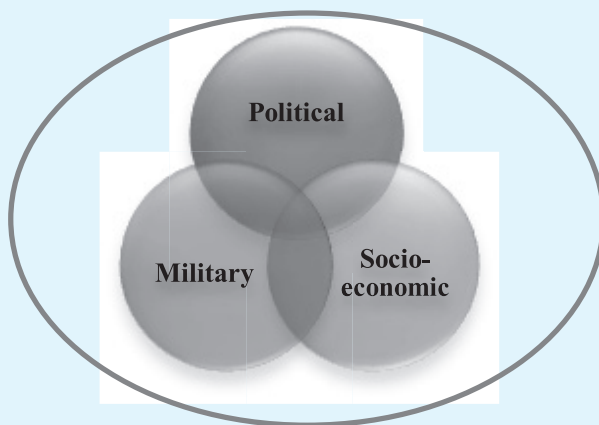


Figure 1: Three Braided Counter Insurgency

tax collections almost in all the sectors, creation of insecure environment contradictory to tourism potentials, extortion and many other anti-state activities of the vested corners are causing impediments to achieving SDGs by 2030.

The interested corners desire CHT to be non-tribal free and achieve traditional land rights if not autonomy or Jummanland ((Bhaumik, 2008, pp. 271-272). Myanmar's success in a similar attempt against Rohingyas may be inspiring the tribal leaders of CHT.

According to various websites, there were at least 39 insurgent groups active in the Bangladesh-Myanmar border regions. Some of these groups are the Arakan

Army (AA), Kachin Independent Army (KIA), Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) etc.

According to South Asia Terrorism Portal's (SATP) Tripura Assessment – ULFA-BM and ATTF are still active and they are strongly linked with NSCN-K and ULFA-I. Apart from insurgent/secessionist groups in the neighbourhood, Tribal Regional Parties of CHT also have links with the arms dealers and thugs adjacent UZs like Fatikchari, Rouzan and Rangunia and the terrorist groups like JMB, HUJI etc.

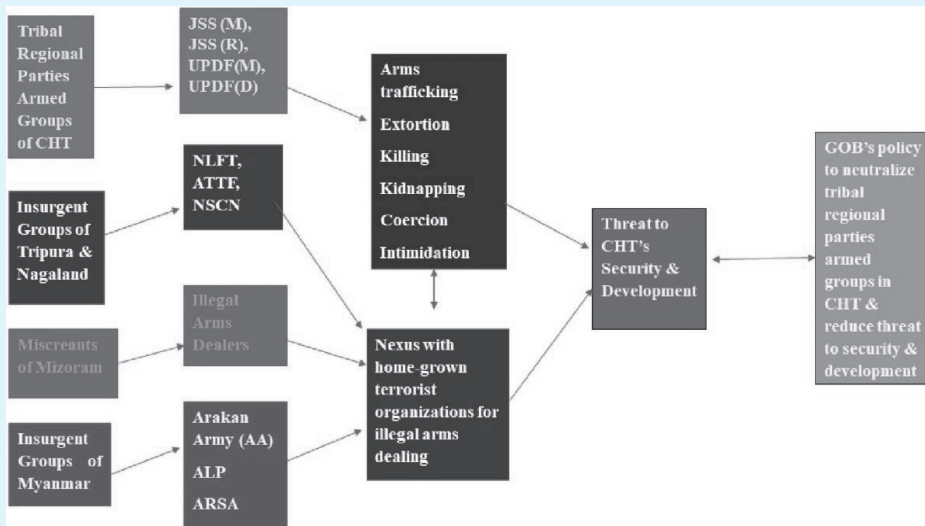


Figure 2: Analytical/Conceptual Model of CHT Security Situation

Discussion

Despite having CHT Agreement signed on 02 December 1997, CHT continued to be haunted by a host of Tribal Regional Parties both within and in its immediate purview. The impacts are both tangible and intangible spreading across physical security of men and material, environment, socio-economic development and even territorial integrity with secessionist tinge. On some interesting counts, the acts and impacts of these Tribal Regional Parties in CHT hardly move and shake the leading IOs including the UN, NGOs, most politicians, intellectuals and even common people outside the CHT. However, leading daily print media including a few online ones and a few electronic media raised concerns in a big way for about a year from mid-2019 to mid-2020. It may be worth noting that from January 2015 to June 2020, SFs recovered 320 firearms of various types and 3331 rounds of ammunition of various types from the tribal regional armed groups of CHT.

All the Tribal Regional Parties in CHT primarily depend on the illegal extortion money for the sustenance of their political organization and the armed groups. Though the sources vary around 1500 armed operatives of the four parties in CHT extort nearly taka 400 crores in a year. This has become the greatest concern of the people of CHT and the GOB. In the face of relentless efforts by the SFs on the probable tax collection spots, the Tribal Regional Parties kept evolving smart systems through mobile banking and BKash.

People from all walks of life are subjected to this phenomenon. All these victims pay the pre-designated toll to the collectors in pre-selected locations. The collectors generally carry basic firearms to avoid bigger punishment if apprehended and are often insulated from the hardcore armed elements with sophisticated weapons. However, they remain hidden in the proximity of the collectors to avert betrayal and safe collection of illegal tolls. The collectors are frequently transferred from one area to the other to avoid detection and apprehension. The issue is highly discussed and debated in the Monthly District Law and Order Meetings in all three Hill Districts.

Defaulters and evaders are brutally dealt with by kidnapping. Further failure results in the killing. It is especially more brutal for helpless Bengalis like small traders, bike riders etc., as it serves, in addition to extortion money, as a deterrence to the community they hate. Extortion is also a competition among four parties for which, they also need to compete on as much area they can dominate. In turn, they need stronger armed groups for the control of a larger chunk of the area and coercing a larger section of the population.

Besides, the armed group leaders in their respective areas of domination resolve disputes amongst local people on all issues including criminal cases. Young girls are often violated for breach of their social codes which are never reported to the police. Only cases that are automatically revealed to the police or the nearby army camps come to light and are dealt with by the SFs. For a better understanding of the overall security situation, a state of casualties before and after CHTA are narrated below.

Table 1: State of Casualties before and after CHTA

Before CHTA	Killed	Injured	Kidnapped
Up to 02 December 1997	SFs 354 Tribal 238 Bengali 1055	373 181 687	274 464
Total	1647	1241	738
After CHTA	SFs 11 Tribal 579 Bengali 270	34 915 820	1120 380
03 Dec 1998 to 30 Aug 2020	860	1769	1500
Total	860	1769	1500
G/Total	2507	3010	2238

Bengalis became the worst victims of insurgents' atrocities before the CHTA while the tribal suffered more casualties than the Bengalis in the hands of the Tribal Regional Parties after CHTA. CHTA was signed on 02 December 1997 but peace and stability remained elusive in CHT. People from all walks of life in CHT have been living with a sense of insecurity and uncertainty.

All the MPs and HDC Chairmen, without any hesitation, acknowledged the insecurity of people due to the Tribal Regional Parties and demanded their neutralization during exclusive interviews. SPs of Rangamati and Khagrachari Hill District expressed their discomfort and constraints to deal with Tribal Regional Parties effectively. EC had to defer the UP election of Rangamati Hill District and conduct it at a later date due to security reasons. Tribal and non-tribal political leaders of national political parties have been expressing deeper concerns over Tribal Regional Parties for a long time.

In the face of continuous negative propaganda by the tribal political parties and their sympathizers, GOB never allowed CHT's socio-economic situation to degenerate to an inexplicable state. Rather she made augmented efforts, for the development of the backward tract. The tribal, especially the Chakmas often blame that GOB's development initiatives are devoid of tribal peoples' participation and opinion as such most projects are not of their well-being in true sense. However, responses from the HDC and CHTDB Chairmen depict a different picture.

CHT is still administered by the multi-layered administrative system for the development activities. The layers are MoCHTA, RC, HDC, UZ, UP, CHTDB and the traditional administrative layers like Circle Chiefs, Headmen and the Karbaries. Besides the unique administrative and development bodies in CHT, all other government departments are also working for agricultural, social, educational, health, hygiene, sanitation development etc.

CHT has some additional departments, special to hilly areas, like Cotton Development Board, horticulture in upland areas and so on. All these departments sit for monthly development coordination meetings chaired by the HDC Chairmen where the CHT's development needs, following a bottom-up approach, are amply discussed, prioritized and finalized. As good as 64 different departments and agencies participated in the meeting. Some statistics below will spell GOB's attention to CHT's development (Mohammad Shamsuzzaman ed., 2013) (NBK Tripura ed., 2015) (NBK Tripura ed., 2016) (NBK Tripura ed., 2017). GOB's earnest intention to develop CHT is revealed from its general allocation to MoCHTA during the 7th Five Year Plan (General Economics Division (GED), 2015).

Table 2: ADP Allocation for CHT in 7th Five Year Plan

FY	ADP in Current Price	ADP in Constant FY 16 Price	Remarks
FY 16	5.1	5.1	The allocation grew @ 29.01% from FY 16 to FY 20 in current price
FY 17	7.4 (45.09%)	7.0 (37.25%)	
FY 18	8.8 (18.91%)	7.9 (12.85%)	
FY 19	10.3 (17.04%)	8.7 (10.12)	The allocation grew @ 18.43% from FY 16 to FY 20 in constant FY 16 price
FY 20	12.1 (17.47%)	9.8 (12.64%)	

The table above shows that GOB's allocation for CHT to grow at the rate of 29.01% in current price while at 18.43% in constant FY 2016 price from FY 2016 to FY 2020. However, a significant amount of these allocations are given as block allocation of which lion share goes unaccounted for. Handsome money from these and also from the ADPs minimum 10% goes to the tribal political parties as illegal toll.

Recommendations

Long Term:

- GOB has already worked out its vision for the development of CHT and a strategic framework for sustainable development in the CHT which is a commendable job. A long term perspective plan is to be worked out for implementing the same.
- As a pre-condition to implement sustainable inclusive development, GOB should also work out a comprehensive perspective plan of neutralizing the Tribal Regional Parties in CHT and bringing them back to normal life.
- Develop and comprehensive perspective plan for mainstreaming CHT political parties and people to foster mutual trust, confidence and peaceful co-existence of all communities of CHT.

Short and Medium Term:

- The tourism potentials of CHT need to be utilized. Well-organized tourism concepts blend of MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conventions, Exhibitions) and Eco-tourism could bring better results in CHT.
- GOB has decided to establish a hundred EPZs all over Bangladesh by 2030. The biggest one is being established at Mirersorai (67 km distance from the Chattogram Port). Tripura and Mizoram are also developing

economic potentials considering the use of Chattogram port. So, some economic ventures might be taken in all three hill districts as the distance between CHT and Chattogram port is not that far.

- There might be food processing factories considering the abundance of different types of fruits in CHT. Some of the rare products like coffee, orange, strawberry etc are also showing potentials in CHT
- Involvement of the tribal leaders and important tribal personalities might be bestowed at the national level. It will elevate their status and they will contribute as proud Bangladeshi.
- The CHT ethnic people are very good in sports, especially football, weight lifting, hockey, arrow throwing, swimming etc. Concerned ministry should explore the potential tribal youths and train them in their subject of interest.

Conclusion

Bangladesh emerged with internationally recognized Bengali nationalism in which the dominant tribal communities under their leadership started feeling suffocation with a perceived identity crisis. As Bangladesh's war of liberation was coming to a successful conclusion, the dominant tribal leaderships started preparing for secessionist movement having formed their political and military wings. However, later they modified their demand from secession to the autonomy of CHT. Giving virtually no time to Bangabandhu, the head of a war-ravaged country, they completed all the preparations for an armed insurgency for Jumma nationalism to replace Bengali nationalism.

Jumma nationalism failed to create a unanimous appeal as the minority tribes saw the emergence of the hegemony of another majoritarian ethnic group, i.e., the Chakmas. This is why the movement for Jumma nationalism did not find a strong support base and was primarily dependent on India's support. As such the movement suffered a major rift only within 6 years leading to the assassination of the founding forerunner. They inflicted severe casualties to the innocent civilians of CHT with utter brutality, both tribal and non-tribal, for nearly two decades.

Finally, on 02 December 1997, the government of HPM Sheikh Hasina could strike an agreement with the rebels, called CHTA, which created an environment conducive to pursuing peace and development for the backward people and area. Following the CHTA, all SB members did not surrender weapons and UPDF emerged as a hardliner anti-agreement party with its armed group. PCJSS, later renamed JSS, got entangled with UPDF with major differences leading to a

destructive fight. JSS resorted to revitalizing their armed groups apparently to counter UPDF. So, both the groups needed huge funds to raise, sustain and modernize their armed groups for which both devoted to illegal fundraising through extortion leading to establishing dominance over as much area and people as possible. Both JSS and UPDF faced another divide; JSS R and UPDF D emerged with a separate armed group and a need for illegal funds for them too.

So the people of CHT, perforce, got divided under the coercive dominance of four parties, all hungry for money. To continue with armed groups and accumulation of funds, they needed support from IOs, NGOs and the international community for which they kept playing their old cards against the army and the non-tribal population for blaming violation of HRs in CHT and blamed GOB for adopting delay strategy on the implementation of CHTA. As the findings go, JSS is enjoying the major benefits of statuesque with unaccountable government money and position and also the illegal funds raised in the name of continuing the movement of full implementation of CHTA.

GOB should attach due focus to CHT and keep engaging the counterparts of peace. The research has aptly proved that CHT's peace and security is hampered by the Tribal Regional Parties and their evil design which in turn impacted the inclusive development of CHT. CHT is also proven to be an ideal case of the Security-Development-Security nexus.

Therefore, GOB must improve its strategic communication to make the world recognize the Tribal Regional Parties in CHT and their nexus with the Tribal Regional Parties in the proximity. GOB should also be harsh on illegal weapon and drug trafficking through CHT and the Tribal Regional Parties to the terrorists in the plains of Bangladesh. GOB should also propagate her huge development efforts and consequent weaker output due to the acts of the Tribal Regional Parties to persuade the IOs and NGOs for inclusive and unmotivated development in CHT.

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Critical analysis of Causes and Effects of Woman and Child trafficking: Bangladesh Perspective

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Abstract: Human trafficking is a complex phenomenon, resulting from the involvement of diverse national and transnational actors and factors. It is often inextricably linked with illegal migration. The end-object of this crime might be commercial sex work, forced labour, or other forms of exploitation. It was seen that many of the victims sought legal assistance from law enforcement agencies for redress of physical and sexual assault, with complaints directed against traffickers and their accomplices. Since poverty has been identified as the principal cause of trafficking, poverty alleviation programs should be put in place to prevent trafficking in the long run. Creating employment opportunities for vulnerable groups, awareness programs, capacity building, and easy access to the criminal justice system for the potential victims should be strengthened. Stress should be put on implementation of existing laws to combat this transnational organized crime.

Keywords: Trafficking, transnational crime, poverty, South Asia, Bangladesh

Introduction

Background

Trafficking in human beings constitutes first and foremost a grave human rights violation with severe mental and physical damage inflicted upon its victims. It also poses a strategic risk to a country and its society. Trafficking in women and children must primarily be viewed from a humanitarian and human rights perspective, focusing upon the severe and often irreversible damage it inflicts upon the victims of this crime.

Human trafficking is not only a heinous and inhuman offence, it is also a phenomenon which undermines the value, worth, and dignity of the persons trafficked. Human trafficking is a complex phenomenon, resulting from the involvement of diverse national and transnational factors. In whatever form it may happen, it is inextricably linked with forced, fraudulent or involuntary migration/movement of people, and the end-object of this crime is commercial sexual work, forced labour, prostitution, or other forms of exploitation. Many trafficked persons are lured and deceived by false promises of good jobs or marriage while others are bought, abducted, kidnapped, coerced, threatened or

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used as debt bondage. Some of these women and children are trafficked with the tacit consent of their impoverished families.

Various factors lead to vulnerability of women and children to trafficking, such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of awareness, gender discrimination, gender-based violence, natural disasters, and lack of proper implementation of the existing laws. However, in the absence of proper measures to address poverty, unemployment and violence against women and of proper structures to facilitate safe migration, the aspiring people willing to migrate for a better life will continue to be vulnerable to trafficking.

This study explored various dimensions of women and children trafficking that are rampant in the country and attempted to identify the principal causes and resultant consequences of this menace. A terrible and horrific picture of ill fated poor trafficked women and children has been transpired through this study.

Rationale of the Study

“Send me back home, I won’t stay here,” screamed Farida, a frail young woman, when she was brought to a rehabilitation centre of BNWLA in Dhaka after being rescued from a brothel in India. Spending a traumatic childhood in the whorehouse, Farida has lost her mental balance and is unable to understand that she has nowhere to go. Her plight began when her poor father gave her to a pimp in her seven years of age. The pimp promised to give her job in a bidi factory and money to her father regularly. He abused her until he sold her to the Indian brothel. She was later rescued by BNWLA. The incident mentioned above is one of thousands happening regularly in Bangladesh and Farida is one of those very few fortunate girls who could catch attention and rescued.

Trafficking is violation of human rights and threat to human security. UNICEF has described human trafficking as the “largest slave trade in history.” UNICEF also reported “The trafficking of human beings has burgeoned into a multi-billion industry that is so widespread and damaging to its victims that it has become a cause of human insecurity. According to US State department human trafficking is the third largest criminal enterprise worldwide. A study by ILO has calculated that the potential annual profit from human trafficking is \$31 billion and it is among the top three sources of illegal income world wide (Belser, 2005). Women and children are most vulnerable to trafficking and people living below subsistence level, especially women and minorities need to be made secure (Fokia, Kiran, Saba, 2008).

Migration of human beings started since the beginning of human civilization. People of Bangladesh are migrating both internally, regionally and globally.

Many a times, this migration happens in an unfair means of trafficking. Bangladesh is one of the vulnerable countries for trafficking because of its large population and this large population living in conditions of chronic poverty, regular natural disaster and gender inequality. Most reports emphasize that, in recent years, there has been a significant increase in the number of children and women being trafficked from Bangladesh into India and other countries. Bangladesh is a source and transit country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labor and commercial sexual exploitation. The causes of trafficking and the factors leading to this apparent increases in recent years are multiple and complicated.

Victims repatriated from abroad have to face numerous social, psychological, physical and financial problems in the home country. Divorced by the husband, loosing of previous job, illegitimate pregnancy, receiving adverse behavior by the own family members, suffering from complex and life threatening diseases, social dislocation etc are the serous problems need to be encountered. This study tries to reveal the main causes and effects of the trafficked women and children and dangers of violation of the human right and women and child trafficking.

Statement of the Problem

Trafficking in human being is both a cause and consequence of the violation of human rights. Human trafficking is not only a heinous and inhuman offence, it is also a phenomenon which undermines the value, worth, and dignity of the persons trafficked. Human trafficking is a complex phenomenon, resulting from the involvement of diverse national and transnational factors. Although trafficking in persons is often identified as a part of organized and/or cross-border crime, it also occurs within national boundaries. In whatever form it may happen, it is inextricably linked with forced, fraudulent or involuntary migration/movement of people, and the end-object of this crime is commercial sexual work, forced labor, prostitution, or other forms of exploitation. As such, unsafe/irregular migration always runs the risk of human trafficking. Various factors lead to vulnerability of men, women and children to trafficking, such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of awareness, gender discrimination, gender-based violence, natural disasters, and lack of proper implementation of the existing laws. However, in the absence of proper measures to address poverty, unemployment and violence against women and of proper structures to facilitate safe migration, the aspiring people willing to migrate for a better life will continue to be vulnerable to trafficking.

Scope of the Study

During conducting this study I have collected primary data from inmates of

different shelter homes for repatriated women and children in Jessore district. Jessore is a bordering district and happens to be one of the major routes of human trafficking. Vulnerable women and children are trafficked into India and repatriated through the porous border of Jessore. As a result many rehabilitation centre run by human rights, women rights organizations, NGOs and other social welfare organizations are located in this area. Victims those who are repatriated but yet to be received by their family are taken care of temporarily in those “Safe Homes”.

Also valuable opinions were collected from members of law enforcing agencies, NGO personnel, Lawyers, public representatives, rights workers and local elites on this issue. Apart from that I had the opportunity to serve as Superintendent of Police in Jessore district. Previous experience and keen interest in the subject, prompted me to conduct this research work. This is a limited scale academic study to shed light on causes and effects of women and children trafficking using very limited time and resource. Therefore, its exploration is also be limited but it is expected that it will at least inspire others to do more intensive and in-depth research.

Limitation of the Study

This study conducted on critical analysis of causes and effects of women & children trafficking: Bangladesh perspective has some limitations. Because of time constraint I could reach only few inmates of shelter at Jessore.. If more areas could be covered, findings could have been more representative. In this study interview is used extensively for data collection. It is always challenging to gather data through interview which is not biased personally. Make people agree to give time for interview was a challenge. Time and resource constraint also bounds the researcher to fix respondent number at one hundred and fifty.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to analyze main causes and dreadful effects of trafficking of women and children where they are forced to engage in sex trade, domestic work, forced pleading, jockeying and in fake hope of employment etc.

Specific objectives are:

- To find the main cause or causes of women and children trafficking
- To depict social and other problems facing by trafficked women and children after being repatriated.
- To visualize the real situation of trafficking and put forward some recommendation.

Review of Literature

There have been a lot of efforts worldwide to identify and recognize human trafficking as a crime of heinous nature. It is stamped as one of the grievous crimes against humanity in Bangladesh also. Several studies have been conducted so far to comprehend the issue. As a background study of this research, relevant books, reports and publications of different organizations in the area of trafficking, published case studies on trafficking and relevant many other issues from journals, newsletters, booklets, internet reports and newspaper clippings are reviewed. Information is extracted from various sources to make a comprehensive understanding of the issue.

Koettl (2009) did a study on trafficking and development, it shows that exploitation matters to development because of its adverse effects on efficiency and equity; it seems clear that exploitation is a cause for poverty and therefore is an obstacle to development. Siddiqui (2006) did another research on present trafficking nature of W&C, its causes and consequences. It does not focus on anything related to measures taken by organizations.

Shamim's (2001) research on missing, kidnapped and trafficked W&C from Bangladesh perspective. She shows the fate and destination of those victims. Hoque ((2010) did a qualitative study on female child trafficking in Bangladesh. He thinks the problem requires a careful assessment in the light of culturally organized perception of the particular society. Gazi, Chowdhury and others of ICDDR,B (2001) did a study on the current activities of different local NGOs to address trafficking along with the magnitude of the problem, underlying factors, modes and consequences of trafficking. It reveals that 130 different local and national level NGOs in Bangladesh are working on the issue presently and mostly involved in awareness raising, information dissemination, advocacy, repatriation, rehabilitation, etc. How much effective those activities are is not commented on.

Bhattacharica (2003), conducted a study on potential of ICTs to combat trafficking In Asia. She sees poverty as human poverty considering all dimensions of poverty not Income alone. She tries to prove how ICTs If moved to E-Governance where trafficked and there issues have a voice, more can be done at research and policy level to combat trafficking. Osmany (2007) in his study says, at present human security is a great concern and human trafficking is identified as the most alarming threat to human security. He says, "Interestingly, the issue of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, illustrates how a non traditional security issue can be a threat to both the state and its people."

A number of research, study or analysis is done by various international and national organizations. UNICEF (2008) study on child trafficking in South Asia shows the pattern of child trafficking in South Asia and gives a regional analysis of legal framework, policy responses of governments and civil societies. In a small portion of the study, prevention is highlighted. Preventive programs should investigate the social, cultural and economic conditions of the targeted people and Identify vulnerable groups who are particularly at risk- the study emphasizes on; but the study does not specify preventive actions taken so far nor does it give any assessment.

ADB (2003) in its regional synthesis paper talks about dynamics of W&C trafficking in South Asia and approaches to address trafficking. ADB (2002) in its trafficking related country paper on Bangladesh focuses on mainstreaming trafficking concerns in poverty reduction programs. It highlights that in prevention activities two components are targeted-awareness raising and community empowerment in Bangladesh. The paper discusses initiatives taken by various ministries and NGOs but does not go for evaluation or achievement assessment of those initiatives.

Another study done by INCIDIN (2001) describes the nature and extent of trafficking, its magnitude, routes and analyses the approaches to address the issue adopted by government of Bangladesh, international organizations, regional organizations and NGOs. It states that the interventions or the activities/initiatives undertaken by the different key players in Bangladesh can be categorized into two approaches- Preventive and Curative and most NGOs who work on anti-trafficking prevention activities have awareness raising activities.

ACD (1995), a leading NGO working on W&C trafficking in northern zone of the country carried out a research to understand and assess the reasons of migration to India from the district Chapai Nawabganj. ACD, Sanlaap and DAM (2006) conducted a study in border areas of Bangladesh and India supported by EU and Group Development. It focuses on factors behind trafficking, areas most vulnerable to trafficking and problems related to the laws and their implementation which allows trafficking to thrive in India and Bangladesh.

Literature reviewed so far focuses primarily on areas, routes, modes, causes and consequences of human trafficking. These also identify W&C as the worst victims of trafficking. Most of the studies show great concern regarding legal framework and government initiatives regarding enactment and implementation of trafficking related laws. Prevention, Protection, Prosecution, Reintegration- among these four stages of combating trafficking, prevention is identified as most necessary by all studies. Emphasis is given on integration of NGO, civil society and all stakeholders in anti- trafficking policy formulation and implementation.

Conceptual Framework

For any case of trafficking there is a unique set of causes and effects. The broad variation of trafficking in persons across regions and cultures means that there can be no uniform answer to the question “what causes trafficking?” That said, there are number of commonalities in trafficking. Root causes of trafficking in persons include the greed of criminals, economic pressures, political instability and transition, and social and cultural factors. Many traffickers are involved in other transnational crimes. Criminal groups choose to traffic in persons, in part, because it is high-profit and often low risk, because unlike other “commodities” people can be used repeatedly, and because trafficking in persons does not require a large capital investment.

Many, if not most, trafficking victims fall prey to this practice because they seek a better life or enhanced economic opportunities. They are, therefore, vulnerable to false promises of good jobs and higher wages. The destabilization and displacement of populations increase their vulnerability to exploitation and abuse through trafficking and forced labor.

In some countries, social or cultural practices contribute to trafficking—for example, the devaluation of women and girls in society, and the practice of entrusting poor children to more affluent friends or relatives. Some parents accept payment for their children, often rationalized as an “advance on wages”, not just for the money, but in the hopes that the children will be escaping a situation of poverty and move to a place where there will be a better life and more opportunities. The fear of HIV/AIDS also influences those who traffic victims into sexual exploitation, as children become more attractive to them and to their customers due to the relief that the children are free from the disease.

As defined by both international instruments and most national laws, trafficking is a process by which a person comes into a situation of slavery: the people concerned are controlled by force or by debt bondage, or are tricked into doing work they would not choose and for which they are not paid; and they are often subjected to some form of captivity or physical abuse. Fundamentally, an act is defined as trafficking by what occurs at the end of a process of transporting a person from one place to another. Whether an individual believes that they are being smuggled, entering another country legally, or is transported with their own cooperation within or between countries, if that person finds that they are in a situation from which they are not allowed to walk away, in which they are being paid nothing beyond subsistence, and in which they are being economically exploited, then human trafficking has occurred.

In recognition of this problem the United Nations General Assembly has promulgated a Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2000),

which includes a standard definition of trafficking in persons.

Trafficking in persons is (Art. 3.a)

- the action of: recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons
- by means of: the threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim
- for the purposes of: exploitation, which includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery or similar practices, and the removal of organs.
- Consent of the victim is irrelevant where illicit means are established, but criminal law defenses are reserved (Protocol Art. 3.b, Convention Art. 11.6).

Theoretical Framework

Human trafficking is not an automated phenomenon; instead it is a response to a wide range of driving forces. The socio-economic edifice of Bangladesh, like any other country, has colligated this cursed practice as a new form of slave trade intended primarily for sex industry or forced labor.

“Push And Pull Factors” Theory

To address the question of what factors were the strongest predictors of trafficking, ‘Push and Pull Factors’ can be used as a relevant theory. Human trafficking in an actual term is a response to a combination some push and some pull factors. While push factors force the victims to walk on the street of vulnerabilities to trafficking and create trafficking like environment, pull factors usually offer false promises and illusions leading to the exploitative condition at the end.

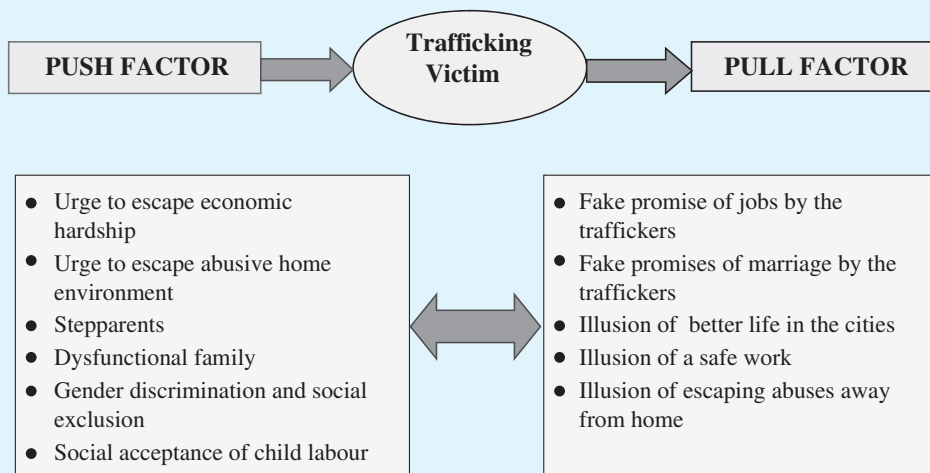
The principal elements or driving forces behind human trafficking can be summarized quite simply,

- Within an origin country such as Bangladesh, there is grinding poverty and little prospect for sustained economic opportunity, especially for women; consequently, a constant supply of victims remains available for exploitation; (the push factor)
- Within the destination countries, such as India, the Middle East and some western countries there is a constantly growing sex markets and/or a requirement for cheap migrant labour or other forms of exploitative

services fuelling an increasing demand for the services of the victims (the pull factors);

- Organized criminal networks have taken control of this economic ‘supply and demand’ situation to traffic and exploit the victims in order to generate vast profits for themselves.

Figure 1: Push-pull factor in Human Trafficking



Source: Rapid Assessment on Trafficking in Children for Exploitative Employment in Bangladesh, 2002, February, p.25.

The actual crime of human trafficking is made up of many serious crimes. It is virtually impossible to commit a human trafficking crime in isolation from other forms of criminal activity. Any investigation into the criminal activity of human traffickers should always, in addition focus on the related crimes that are likely to have been committed.

- Physical and sexual abuse of the victim, including murder, rape and assault;
- Facilitation of illegal immigration;
- Corruption & Money laundering;
- Various prostitution-related crimes against those exploiting the trafficked individual such as exploiting the prostitution of another, pimping, pandering, facilitating prostitution, soliciting a prostitute;
- Production and or possession of forged or stolen identity and travel documents.

Methodology of the study

Research methodology is the functional action strategy to carry out the research in the light of the theoretical framework and guiding research questions and or the proposed hypotheses (Aminuzzaman, 1991). This chapter is manifestation of methodology and procedures applied in this study. It is a detail description of the process and techniques used to collect and analyze necessary data from the study areas.

In this research to identify causes and effects of women and children trafficking, Qualitative and Quantitative as well as Content Analysis seemed necessary. So, all of these three methods- Quantitative, Qualitative and Content Analysis- have been used to carry out the research where total respondents were one hundred and fifty in number.

Quantitative Methods

Quantitative research is followed to describe trends or to explain relationship among variables of a research problem (Creswell, 2005). So in this study, quantitative data has been collected using questionnaire and among respondents were recently repatriated trafficked victim, members of law enforcing agencies, NGO personnel, Rights Workers, Lawyers, public representative and local elites etc.

Qualitative Methods

Trafficking of W&C is a crime deeply rooted in the society. It has various dimensions. The problem requires in depth understanding from different angles. Qualitative research is followed to explore a problem and to have a detailed understanding of a central phenomenon (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). So, in this study for qualitative data interview technique was used. Police Officials, Local elite, UP Chairman etc. were interviewed to fetch their views.

Content Analysis

“Content analysis method critically and objectively reviews the published or printed facts, figures, opinions, observations, generalizations in the light of its content value”(Aminuzzaman,1991). Content analysis has been used to conceptualize the problem and gather secondary data. Frequency distribution, relative frequency distribution and histogram and pie chart are used to describe the data.

Primary Data Collection

For this research both primary and secondary data have been used. As said earlier, questionnaire and interview have been used to get primary data and

content analysis for secondary data. Three types questionnaire are prepared for collecting information from three different group of respondents such as victims, law enforcing agency (LEA) and members of civil society (NGO, Human Right and Women right Organization, Public representatives, Lawyers, local elite etc). Questionnaire covered both open and close ended questions. Moreover, guided interview helped to get in depth understanding of the phenomenon and its relevance with other issues.

Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data was collected from organizations like Police Reform Program (PRP), Bangladesh Institute of Peace and security Studies (BIPSS), Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), Ain O Salish Kendra, ACD, BNWLA, and Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Ministry of Law and many others. Related papers, published books, printed documents, handouts are taken into consideration. Moreover, relevant government policies, agreements, action plans, documents published, meeting minutes and many others are studied.

Sample size

Stratified sampling is used and a total number of 150 (one hundred and fifty) people were taken as respondents who are equally divided into three groups. Data was collected from them using questionnaire. Sample population at a glance is given below.

Table 1: Sample population

Category	Respondent	Total	Technique used
1	Victims	50	Questionnaire
2	Member of law enforcing agencies	50	Questionnaire
3	NGO personnel, Lawyers, Rights workers, Local elites and Public representatives	50	Questionnaire & Interview

Findings

On the micro level, urge to escape economic hardship and abusive home environment, gender discrimination and social exclusion, dysfunctional family or stepparents, social acceptance of child labour and early marriages, and so on push people to be trafficked either willingly or forcibly. On the other hand, fake promises of jobs or marriage by the traffickers, illusion of a better life in the cities and safe work and illusion of escaping abuses away from home serve as pull factors attracting victims into modern slavery. Pull factors encourage young people or those already living in dangerous circumstances to seek out more glamorous or sustaining life options than they feel are available in their own communities.

Macro-factors such as the impacts of globalization, employment, trade and migration policies and conflicts and environmental disasters, rise of sex industry and sex tourism, demands for exploitable labor in harsh and criminal working sectors and development induced risks can put into motion to the circumstances that increase vulnerabilities.

Factors behind Trafficking

Poverty, Inequality and Discrimination

Poverty, social inequality and deep rooted discrimination particularly against women are the most commonly identified factors to the trafficking process. Who are living under extreme poverty, the promise of a better life, no matter how unrealistic, is worth the risk. Poverty provides traffickers with people who have no alternatives for survival; impoverished and desperate who trust the offers of work or marriage abroad, which ultimately lead them to be exploited through trafficking.

A UNICEF report revealed that most of the guardians of trafficked women and children are landless, and of them 45 percents are farmers and 16 percent day- labourers while the remaining are small traders. Similarly, income disparities between regions, countries or job opportunities encourage people out to exploitation. In addition, gender discrimination and the feminization of poverty are primarily responsible for the massive women trafficking. Deeply rooted discrimination and low status of women within Bangladesh society excluded them from development opportunities disproportionately. They experience poverty more intensely than men as they have fewer assets such as skills, education or resources to remove themselves from these situations, and the incidence of poverty is higher for women which make them at high risk of being trafficked.

Economic Motive

Human trafficking has become a profitable industry. Its high-profit, low-penalty-nature makes human trafficking attractive to criminal gangs. Economic benefit underlies why traffickers tend to smuggle women and children. Trafficking is a big business, primarily with respect to the utilization of trafficked persons, rather than their actual transport. The profits from transporting and handing over trafficked individuals (to brothels, sweatshops, etc.) are shared by many—traffickers, transporters, trafficking facilitators such as shelter provider, members of criminal gang, corrupt government or security officials, and the employers of the trafficked persons. Traffickers get the price for girls is between Tk. 10,000 to Tk. 30,000 for beautiful and healthy girls; and children are bought for Tk. 7,000 to Tk. 8,000. Usually prices vary according to age, ‘beauty’, skin colour and virginity. According to another study, the female touts earn about 10,000 to 50,000 takas (167 to 834 dollars) for each victim while the traffickers earn anything from 50,000 to 500,000 takas (167 to 8,334 dollars) after sales. Besides, organs trade of the trafficked children and women increases the volume of profit these days.

Poor Law and Order, Porous Border and Corruption

The law and order situation is not at the satisfactory level in Bangladesh. There is little enforcement of the existing laws on trafficking control. Despite the existence of legislation intended to extend such protection, many of the most vulnerable are not aware of or able to access adequate protection. Only few cases of trafficking are registered with the police compared to the number of women and girls identified as missing. The expansive and porous borders between Bangladesh and India and between Bangladesh and Myanmar are conducive to the external trafficking. Official procedures for exiting and entering Bangladesh are rarely enforced and there is no specific legislation addressing cross- border trafficking. Lack of border controls and lax documentation requirements also allows traffickers to freely shuffle people across borders.

Actor-Factor Nexus: the Trafficking Chain

The trafficking process operates through chains of events, actors and factors. The nexus between demand side actors-factors and supply side actors- factors forms the chain. While globalization, rise of sex industry, forced and illegal, migration child labor and the demand for women in domestic services stimulate employers to recruit trafficked labours, traffickers and criminal network exploit the demand by supplying the vulnerable people mostly young women and children since the victims are compelled to take dangerous decision due to their economic and family hardship or being deceived by the recruiting agents.

Table 2: Actor-factor Nexus in Human Trafficking Chain

Nexus	Actor	Factor
Demand Side	Employers (Sex industry, forced labour, domestic work, child labour), consumers of prostitution and child labor	Globalization, rise of sex industry, migration (forced, illegal), child labor and the demand for women in domestic services
Supply Side	Traffickers, criminal network, third party (middle man), victim themselves, victim's family and neighbours	Dysfunctional family, abuse, poverty, illegal cross country migration, or marriage, natural calamity, conflicts and war

Source: Country Paper on “Combating Trafficking in Women and Children in Bangladesh”, 2004, p.6

Targets and Forms of Human Trafficking

The main targets of the smugglers are teenage girls, widows, maidservants and the women abandoned by their husbands, floating women and children, slum dwellers and female garment workers and children from poor family. Street children living in the capital are among the prime targets of organized child-trafficking rings. Men are also trafficked but their portion in the total trafficking volume is relatively low and they are mostly from labor migration.

Forms of trafficking include fake marriages, sale by parents to “uncles” offering jobs, auctions to brothel owners or farmers, and abduction. Trafficking in Bangladesh exists for the purposes of sexual abuses and of forced labor. An estimated 90 percent of trafficked women were forced to engage in prostitution. 44 Besides, some are thrust into pornography, or forced beggary through use of violence, threat of violence, or drugs. Boys in Bangladesh are abducted or taken on false pretences to work as camel jockeys in the Middle East. A significant share of Bangladesh’s trafficking victims are men recruited for work overseas with fraudulent employment offers who are subsequently exploited under conditions of forced labor or debt bondage. There have been reports of trafficking in organs in Bangladesh. A group of anthropologists from the United States claim to have encountered “kidney theft” in Bangladesh.

Recruiting Agents and Origins of Victims

Recruiting agents are known as the traffickers who can be anyone involved in the recruitment and transportation of trafficked persons. Traffickers can be people known in the community including: family members, friends, neighbors, community representatives, employers, gang members or strangers. In

Bangladesh trafficking is carried out by well-organized regional gangs that have links with the various law enforcement agencies. There is a close nexus between agents, smugglers, and traffickers, all agents having good rapport with the BGB, BSF and police. Traffickers take advantage of Bangladesh's sizable borders to transport the women, often using large criminal networks and deceptive tactics to avoid detection and prosecution. Though the local communities are not prime perpetrators of irregular migration and trafficking, they participate directly or indirectly in the processes by providing transit shelter and other services, and at the very least, remain silent observers.

Those families who provide transit shelter charge anywhere between Rs 50 to Rs 500 per migrant, according to the area, condition of stay, services provided and the security situation at the border. The origins of trafficking victims are mostly from the capital city, Dhaka and the 30 border districts of Bangladesh. During the period of 1990-2010, most of the cases of trafficking of women occurred in Dhaka, Jessore, Bagerhat, Chapai Nawabganj, Rangpur and Barisal followed by Chittagong, Comilla and Dinajpur. Most of the children are from Dhaka, since it is the most densely populated area in the country, having three million slum dwellers with more and more people arriving everyday from the villages seeking better livelihoods. Comilla, Kurigram, Chittagong, Narayanganj and Jessore, Mymensingh and Rajshahi are also identified as common places of origin of trafficked children.

Destination, Trafficking Routes, and Transit Points

In the region of South Asia, India and Pakistan are the major two countries of destination or transit to other regions, commonly Gulf States or South East Asia for the trafficked persons from Bangladesh and Nepal, Kolkata in India being a major transit point for other destinations. Besides, Bangladeshi women and girls are trafficked to Middle East particularly Bahrain, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Bangladeshi boys are also trafficked to the UAE, Qatar, and Kuwait for forced work as camel jockeys and beggars. In the northern region, the districts of Kurigram, Lalmonirhat, Nilphamari, Panchagarh, Thakurgaon, Dinajpur, Naogaon, Chapai Nawabganj and Rajshahi and in the south Jessore and Satkhira are areas through which trafficked persons are moved to India. There are also transit points on the other side of the Indian border where women and girl children are kept for supplying to various destinations including Pakistan, and Gulf States. Trafficking to Myanmar and then on to other destinations in South East Asia are being smuggled out and gathered in Cox's Bazaar. The most advantageous route used by the traffickers is the land route followed by air and waterways. Those using the air routes usually have work permit or a false family visa to travel to the countries of the Middle East.

Effects of Trafficking on Women and Children

Harm Environment: Persecution, Paranoia and Point of No Return

Trafficked victims, both in the process of trafficking and in slave-like exploitative condition, have to face immense maltreatment and threat to their lives. This is called 'harm environment' that exists within the victims' perceived helplessness and lack of control over their freedom and choices. "Harm environments" that exist in brothels, exploitative workplaces, and homes that use trafficked labour usually come out from a combination of physical torture, sexual abuses, and threats of many kinds stimulating fear and sometime long term mental paranoia. Being lured, deceived, deprived of freedom and income, and compelled to engage in work against their will, victims who are trafficked painfully generally have no return to a pre- trafficked situation.

Trafficked persons have often faced extreme psychological stress such as isolation, fear, sexual abuse, rape and other forms of physical and mental violence that in turn leads to trauma, depression and in some cases suicide. Emotional stress is usually compounded by constant fear of arrest and public stigmatization making the thought of returning home fearful. There are evidence of mistreatment and torture of child camel jockeys by traffickers and their employers, including depriving them of adequate food and subjecting them to physical harm, for example by burning or beating them.

The mental stress in the early age results in long term effect on their ability to live their life normally. The use of children as jockeys in camel racing is itself extremely dangerous and can result in serious injury and even death. Rescued children often experience feelings of guilt, low self-esteem and depression. These harms are both short term and long term having the enormous impact of post- traumatic stress over many years that might influence the capacity of the victim to care for her family or negotiate through future emotional challenges once the original harm has stopped.

Vulnerability of Women and Children

Trafficking is essentially a gender and age specific phenomenon; it affects particularly women and children. Usually, Men are smuggled or illegally transported whereas women and children are trafficked. Gender-based differences and attitudes play an important role in both the supply and demand dynamics of trafficking. In Bangladesh, it appears that the "worst forms" of trafficking relate to the illegal movement of women and children for the purposes of exploitation in sectors such as commercial sex work, and child labor of all forms, and the low status of women increases their vulnerability as targets of traffickers and

limits their options as survivors seeking a new life. Most of the girls found to be trafficked were adolescent girls, since they can be easily manipulated and frightened into accepting the work, and good money can be got from their fresh youth. According to a survey conducted by UNICEF at 10 villages of the country 55 percent of the trafficked women are of the 17-24 age group while 25 percent are aged between 25 and 32, and 95 percent of the age groups are illiterate.

Sexual Exploitation

Sexual exploitation is the foremost human security concern of the trafficking victims. Sexual abuses include injection with sedatives for making them unconscious for days, breaking their resistance to forced sex by means of threat, torture, rape, group rape, keeping them starve, forced drinking of liquor and verbal assault. Children, both girls and boys, in the trafficked state are forced to experience unsafe sex.

For many victims, the first sexual assaults begin with the traffickers as well as border security personnel on either side of the border. Many of them are either raped by border security personnel or abused sexually by the agents during transit.

In the brothels, girls as young as 10 to 14 year-old have to serve an average of 10 clients daily which is extremely risky to their health. Besides, there are forced 'marriages' whereby women or girls are required to provide domestic labor while being held as virtual prisoners, raped continually by their 'husbands' and often forced to become pregnant for the purpose of providing their 'husbands' with children, while having no control over their own body or sexuality.

For these children, the gender-biased division of labor makes no other job as accessible as prostitution which makes them vulnerable to sexual abuse, reduce their choice of profession and thereby make them highly vulnerable to prostitution. Sexual infection and hemorrhage risk is very high since they practice dangerous and unhealthy ways to carry out abortion.

Chronic Diseases

Another substantial security concern derived from the exploitation of trafficked women and children is their susceptibility to chronic diseases. Women and children located in the commercial sex sector face higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and other diseases. There is growing link between Aids and other sexually transmitted diseases with the sexual abuses of trafficked girls from Bangladesh in the sex industry of India and Pakistan. In the Indian brothels, the girls and women are made to entertain clients ranging from five to 20 a day; and it does not take long for them to develop various

sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/AIDS. 60 percent of the women and children rescued from the prostitution have found with HIV positive. In addition, the links between trafficking and HIV/ AIDS inadvertently conveyed the message to fearful communities that all trafficked persons were infected with the disease leading to further stigmatization of all women returning to their communities. Besides, the trafficked children working as camel jockey, in most of the time, had sustained irreversible damage to both kidneys, probably from being deprived of water in order to make him lose weight.

Exploitation and Family Economic Consequences

Economic losses to communities are also vital source of vulnerability induced from human trafficking. People with limited recourses are usually more prone to go abroad to earn. They have to sacrifice or sell the very last resort of their survival to manage the cost of travel, visa, work permit and the share of the brokers with the hope of a better tomorrow. They borrow money to provide these costs. But in most of the cases, they end up with deception resulting in losses of both the present means of income and the future livelihood options. Since they are poor, the cost of migration is far higher than any other segments.

Besides, most often they face wage discrimination as the owners pay only little part of the amount the trafficked or enslaved persons earn either from forced labour or sexual work. What is grave is that the dependant family becomes largely impoverished due to loss of their means of income, burden of loans and discriminated wages. The situation gets direr, if the trafficked persons or illegal migrants get caught by the police and sent in prison for a long period. It breaks the entire family livelihood.

Slavery and Trade of Human Dignity

Trafficking in persons is a kind of modern slavery. It makes people particularly women and children vulnerable to be sold like commodities and to be consumed breaching their rights and freedoms. The very human dignity for which the civilization of today is fighting is under strain because of this slave trade. It denies the fundamental rights of people and their basic needs. Trafficked people are forced to live like service animal where their vulnerabilities are nothing but things of others profit and enjoyment.

Family Fragmentation and Social Incoherence

Another security concern is the drastic impact of trafficking on the key social organization that is family. The incidents of trafficking and even the forced domestic servitude by the women in most cases lead to the breakdown of family further stigmatization and victimizing women in our society. The resultant

consequence is the incoherence within the social fabric and cultural irregularities breaking the bondage on which socio-economic composition depends.

Dynamics of Trafficking

The three phases of the trafficking process

Trafficking of human beings is an international , complex and unique criminal phenomenon that involves many elements as indicated in the UN definitions that are discussed later. Before going on to consider the legal definitions, it is important to understand the actual structure and component parts of the crime itself in order to understand the nature of it and to design effective counter-measures. When describing the trafficking process three distinct phases are typically identified, the recruitment phase, the transit phase and the destination phase. It has to be mentioned that in reality these phases are partly overlapping, and concurrent. Also one individual trafficking case may have several transit and destination phases, as victims are frequently re-trafficked. Conversely, some cases may have no transit phase whatsoever.

The following describes the root causes of trafficking in human beings, with special focus on gender equality, in acknowledgment of the fact that the trafficking crime mostly affects female victims. Moreover, the three phases of the trafficking process, i.e. the recruitment, transit and destination phases are discussed in more detail.

1) Recruitment phase

During this phase traffickers target and acquire potential victims in order to ensnare them into the trafficking scheme. The term recruitment is understood in a wide sense and refers to the fact that victims are recruited or abducted for the purposes of sexual or other forms of exploitation through kidnapping, coercion, fraud and deception.

The methods of recruitment of women and girls by traffickers are varied and depend on the modus operandi and level of organization of traffickers. They range from individual recruiters looking for interested males and females to recruitment via informal networks of families and or friends. Advertisements offering work or study abroad are sometimes used to identify potential victims. Furthermore, agencies offering work, study, marriage or travel abroad can also be used as recruitment method.

There are four basic ways in which women are recruited into trafficking:

1) Complete coercion through abduction or kidnapping. This appears to be uncommon in Bangladesh. However anecdotal evidence suggests it is

common in parts of Asia. A variation of obtaining victims by abduction is the sale of a person, typically a child, to the traffickers by someone having control of him or her, typically the parents or an orphanage;

2) Deception by promises of legitimate employment/entry. Victims are convinced that they will be working in offices, restaurants, bars or that they are entering a country for marriage;

3) Deception through half-truths, such as that victims will be employed in entertainment, or dancing; and

4) Whilst some victims are fully aware that they are migrating for the purpose of prostitution, however they are unaware of the extent to which they will be indebted, intimidated, exploited and controlled.

The question as to whether or not a person has been coerced, deceived or has voluntarily consented to be trafficked is central to their being considered as ‘trafficked’ for the purposes of the UN Protocol. It should be noted however that Article 3(b) of the UN Protocol on Trafficking in Human Beings states that “the consent of a victim ... to the intended exploitation” as outlined in the Protocol (i.e. recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons) “shall be irrelevant” if any of the means described within Article 3(a) of the Protocol, e.g. threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, etc. have been used.

2) The transit phase – Transportation

The recruitment process is followed by the transportation and transfer phase which can also involve the harboring and receipt of the victim at a number of stages in the process, including initial receipt and transfer within Bangladesh. The victim may suffer grave human rights and physical abuses and be the subject of other crimes during the journey (although this is not required for it to be the crime of trafficking).

Traffickers move their victims as a deliberate effort to remove them from communities, families and friends with whom they are familiar and to isolate them in a place where their advantage in gaining and keeping control of their victims is as strong as possible. Traffickers manipulate and distort the immigration process to achieve their criminal objectives. Many victims have never left their country before and are completely dependent on the traffickers. Some leave their home country without an international passport since they

are told there is no real need for one, or that they will receive one later. If they do hold a passport, it is often taken from them and held by the trafficker as a way of securing the compliance of the victim.

The nature of the crime perpetrated against them and the extent of what they will be subjected to will not be revealed until they reach the destination. The “transporters” escorting the women, on the other hand, are an integral part of the trafficking scheme and there are likely to be laws, even in the absence of a specific anti-trafficking criminal provision, to permit prosecution in all of the countries in which they operate.

The Police should carefully examine all of the facts when they come into contact with these cases during the transit stage with regard to any assistance that can be given and the possibilities of criminal offences being committed against a victim.

Victims that are in an irregular situation are especially vulnerable to the whims of their agents, who are aware that their illegal status renders them less likely to gain police or state protection, should the process be interrupted or should they voluntarily seek protection. It should be remembered that some women voluntarily leave their homes in search of a better life and it would be wrong to assume that every woman who is or is suspected to be an illegal migrant is a victim of trafficking.

3) The destination phase – reception & types of exploitation

It is at this stage that the exploitation that is the objective of the trafficker is fully realized. Once victims have arrived in the country of final destination, they find themselves living under slave like conditions, mainly in the sex industry, but also in slavery-like conditions as agricultural, factory, sweatshop or domestic workers, working excessive hours under inhuman and exploitative conditions. It is not unusual for victims in the latter cases of forced labour to also be subjected to sexual abuse.

There are three basic methods of entry into the final destination country:

- **Stolen or forged document**– smuggled entry in vehicles, containers, trains, ferries or on foot etc.
- **False documents** - by presentation of forged documents that provide a right of entry, such as the use of stolen or forged passports.
- **False document** - by the presentation of bona fide documents that provide false visa entitlements to enter, such as tourist or student visas. Note that it is not unusual in these cases that the victim is not misrepresenting the purpose for which she is entering the country. She believes she is entering as a tourist or a student or a fiancé or to work in a legitimate position. It is the trafficker who is manipulating the immigration system.

Control and exploitation of victims

The fundamental aim of traffickers is to earn money or receive services through the long term exploitation of their victims. This requires them to protect their investment, i.e. to ensure that the victim will continue to work as instructed and not try to escape. Thus, the trafficker needs to ensure continuous control over his victim. Irrespective of the exploitative purpose, many different mechanisms are used to control the victims of trafficking. Each mechanism may be used in isolation from the others, but in the majority of cases, they will be implemented together so as to create a condition of actual or psychological imprisonment of the victim:

Debt bondage

One of the primary mechanisms of control is debt bondage in which the victim is required to repay the exaggerated costs allegedly incurred for bringing her into the destination country. Exorbitant and cumulative interest rates are usually attached to these costs which are then supplemented in the case of sexual exploitation for example by the requirement to pay vastly inflated prices for residential and brothel accommodation, advertising of the prostitution services and transportation costs, all of which adds to an ever-mounting fabricated debt bond that becomes effectively impossible to pay off.

Isolation-Removal of the identification and or travel documents

Traffickers will confiscate the identification and travel documents from their victims, usually immediately after arrival in the final destination country. This robs the victims of their official identity, confirms their illegal entry status and makes it difficult for them to seek help or to escape to another country or destination. Because many victims originate from countries where the police are viewed as a force of oppression, rather than a means of assistance, they are naturally unwilling to contact the police for help.

Isolation-Linguistic and Social

As a further measure of reinforcing control of victims through isolation, victims will often be kept in conditions where they are deliberately prevented from being able to communicate in their mother tongue or have any form of social contact with persons from similar backgrounds.

Use of violence and fear

Traffickers also make full use of violence and the threat of violence as an effective means of control. Victims are frequently beaten and raped, confined, kept in

long periods of isolation, deprived of food and water and drugged order to maintain obedience. These abuses may be inflicted as punishment for disobedient behaviour or may be designed to serve as a warning to the victims to ensure that they are fully aware of what the consequences of any transgression will be.

The use and threat of reprisals against the victim's family

The most effective and problematic threat and the one that makes the investigation of trafficking crime uniquely difficult is the threat of violent reprisals against the loved ones of the victim back in the country of origin. In many cases, the traffickers will ensure that they know a range of details of the victim's family circumstances.

The trafficker does not actually need to possess a great deal of family detail because it is the threat and the perception in the mind of the victim that ensures her obedience/subservience. Her problem is that she simply cannot take risks with the safety of her loved ones or gamble on whether or not her trafficker is 'bluffing' when he claims to know intimate details of her family relatives or that he will use violence against them if she 'misbehaves' or tries to escape.

Psychological imprisonment and torture

When the traffickers use any or all of the above control mechanisms, the outcome is a regime of actual and psychological imprisonment and torture. It is important to view the situation through the eyes of the victim. Consider the following;

The victims are alone in a foreign country and isolated from contact with friends and family and unable to communicate in the native language. They are denied possession of identity and travel documents. Disorientated by constant movement and re-location, subject to repeated physical and sexual abuse and denied access to police assistance through fear of the consequences. They are required to engage in dangerous and unprotected sex on a daily basis with clients with whom she cannot communicate.

The victim must exist under a regime of threats or reprisals against herself and or her family if she seeks to escape. With all of these very effective tools of physical and psychological control available to traffickers, it becomes simple to understand why so few trafficked victims seek to escape from their traffickers and why there is such a compelling humanitarian duty upon law enforcement officers to act against the traffickers.

Discussion

Primary data analysis suggest that allurement of job, allurement of marriage or love trap, kidnapping in disguise of pleasure trip (deception) are the principal causes of trafficking which are directly related to poverty. Mostly the poor women and children are the potential victim of trafficking. Among them, poor innocent girl and young women fall in the trap of traffickers. Victims had to encounter severe financial problem due to no or less income and as a result they became indebted. In case of married women, victim got divorced by their husbands. Other major consequences include non acceptance by the family, alienated from the society, suffering from complex diseases etc.

Victims sought legal assistance from LEA for physical and sexual assault or rape against people who are responsible for their anguish. Since poverty has been identified as the principal cause of trafficking, poverty alleviation program should be put in place through creating employment opportunities for vulnerable group of people. Other measures such as awareness program, capacity building, and easy access to the criminal justice system for the potential victims should be strengthened. Stress should be put on implementation of existing laws to combat this transnational organized crime..

Various factors lead to vulnerability of women and children to trafficking, such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of awareness, gender discrimination, gender-based violence, and lack of proper implementation of the existing laws. However, in the absence of proper measures to address poverty, unemployment and violence against women and of proper structures to facilitate safe migration, the aspiring people willing to migrate for a better life will continue to be vulnerable to trafficking.

So from the collected data as a primary source and considering and analyzing the relevant contents, we found the following main findings:

1. Poverty and unemployment are among the most important causes of W & C trafficking. Victims who are living under extreme poverty, they cannot overlook the promise of a better life, no matter how unrealistic, and trust the offers of a good job, which ultimately lead them to be exploited through trafficking. Other good reasons of trafficking are allurement of marriage or love trap, kidnapping in disguise of pleasure trip are mentionable.
2. Mostly the poor women and children are the potential victim of trafficking. Among them, poor innocent girl and young women fall in the trap of traffickers.
3. Repatriated victims, in most cases, had to encounter severe financial problem due to no or less income and as a result they became indebted. In case of married women, victim got divorced by their husband. Other major consequences

include non acceptance by the family, alienated from the society, suffering from complex diseases etc.

4. NGOs played significant role to facilitate the repatriation of trafficked victims. Government's contribution in this regard is very low.
5. Most of the victims sought legal assistance from the law enforcing agencies (LEA) for rape, physical and sexual assault and act of trafficking.

The root causes include extreme disparities of wealth, continuing and pervasive inequality due to class, caste and most importantly gender biases throughout the region, erosion of traditional family systems and values, iniquitous social conventions, lack of transparency in regulations governing labour migration (both domestic and cross border), poor enforcement of internationally agreed-upon human rights standards, and enormous profits ensured by the trafficking business to the traffickers.

Who are the Traffickers?

Traffickers of human beings exist on many different levels, from spontaneous low level contacts to highly complex, international, organized networks. These levels can be categorized as follows:

- Informal networks usually exist in the form of small groups of individuals within limited family networks and ethnic communities that extend over borders. One or two women are brought over as need arises in communities abroad. Often migrants use contacts with family and community members back home to recruit women for brothels or prostitution rings. Such networks are used frequently in the border regions between the country of origin and the country of destination, and within ethnic communities.
- Large scale organized criminal networks control every aspect of trafficking, from recruitment and transport to the management of local brothels and street prostitutes. The traffickers function like a business with a "recruitment agency office", "document procurement office", "transport office" and "victim management office". Traffickers take their job very seriously and professionally, and often use extreme violence to maintain order. The victims procured are regarded as merchandise or commodities to be traded, much as in a traditional slave trade.

Criminal distribution networks - networks of criminal groups recruit and transport victims from one country and sell them into locally controlled businesses in another country. One may call these 'wholesalers' or 'distributors' who sell to local 'retailers' who manage and control the local prostitution infrastructure. The victims may be sold several times to different brothels or

gangs in different cities or countries, or remain within one ring and be circulated to new markets.

Who are the victims?

It is essential to remember that there is no exact profile of the potential trafficked victim. Rather, it will depend on the end use of which the traffickers target the individual, such as begging, forced agricultural labour, or sexual exploitation or the demand in the destination countries/ areas, eg. children, women of a certain nationality, etc, There are certain basic characteristics that recur and seem to remain constant:

- Victims are overwhelmingly women and girls;
- Victims tend to be between the ages of 18 and 25; although an increasing number of younger women and girls are being trafficked;
- Victims are recruited from small rural villages, medium sized towns and cities in impoverished areas of the country;
- Victims are mostly unemployed and poor;
- Victims may be of low educational standards;
- Victims often come from dysfunctional families;
- Victims rarely speak languages from outside their country origin.

The main vulnerable characteristic of a ‘potential’ victim is a strong desire to improve her or his difficult and poor living conditions by traveling away from their home and earning money.

Recommendations & Conclusion

To reduce trafficking following recommendation need to be considered:

1. The Government needs to lay more stress on employment and income generation schemes for vulnerable families, along with vocational training and education in the source areas of trafficking.
2. Improving children’s access to educational and vocational opportunities and increasing the level of school attendance, in particular by girls and minority groups.
3. Enhancing job opportunities for women by facilitating business opportunities for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Organizing SME training courses and targeting them in particular at high risk groups.
4. Taking appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of gender equality, the right to equal

pay for equal work and the right to equality in employment opportunities.

5. Developing programmes that offer livelihood options and include basic education, literacy, communication and other skills and reduce barriers to entrepreneurship
6. More working women's hostels and shelter homes should be established in districts all over the country with the vulnerable districts getting the top priority.
7. Number of shelter homes should be increased to provide the repatriated victims with facilities of temporary residence, treatment, training and advocacy to overcome trauma experienced in abroad.
8. Government should have a specific monitoring mechanism – a task force / core committee to look into the issue of trafficking and NGOs should necessarily be a part of this Committee.
9. Awareness program for vulnerable women and children on human trafficking should be strengthen.
10. Marginalized women should be brought under various safety net provided by government such as Food for Work, VGF (Vulnerable Group Feeding), soft loan etc.
11. Mechanism should be developed by government to involve more women in decision making process.
12. Media should play proactive role in awareness development and policy formulation.
13. To guard against illegal migration, border security must be tightened.
14. Implementation of existing laws such as “ The Prevention and Suppression of Human Trafficking Act, 2012,” , “ Women and Children Repression (Prevention) Act, 2000 (amended on 2003) “ and other relevant laws should be ensured by stakeholders of the criminal justice system.
15. Easy access to legal assistance should be made available to the vulnerable groups.

Trafficking which is a form of abusive and irregular migration for commercial sexual exploitation and other illegal purposes has reached alarming proportions within the South-Asian Region. Trafficking of women and children within their own countries and across international borders against their will must be collectively addressed by law enforcement in order to banish what is essentially a clandestine slave trade.

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Bangladesh Police Response to Domestic & sexual Violence amid COVID-19

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Abstract: *This article is to explore the issue of violence against women, and how to apply the emerging trends within Bangladesh. To achieve this goal, the study will discuss the current severity amid the pandemic, attempt to identify the causes of the problems involved, the nature of violence (domestic & Rape) statistics of Violence against women (VAW), role of police to address VAW amid COVID-19, possibilities of finding out ways of prevention, and reduce the serious problems that have continued post-outbreak. Primary data were collected from structured interviews and secondary data from reliable sources were used to address the key objectives of this study, and provide possible recommendations for future policy action.*

Keywords: Violence against Women (VAW), COVID-19, Role of Police.

Introduction

Violence against women is not a unique problem for Bangladesh, rather it is global concern. It knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth. Women at different ages and classes are the victims of different types of violence. The 1993 United Nations Declaration on the elimination of violence against women provides a very broad definition that has been accepted by every country affected by violence against women. It states that ‘Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of violence, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life’.

The duties and responsibilities of the civilian security forces (i.e., particularly the police) are ever changing in the globalized world. Their responsibilities become increasingly crucial during times of crisis in a country, and the COVID-19 pandemic is such a case. Spreading havoc across the world during its global spread in early January of the year 2020, this pandemic has seriously tested the capacities and capabilities of police forces to respond to public safety issues across countries everywhere, and Bangladesh is no exception. Their invaluable support towards women affected by physical violence becomes irreplaceable, when the outbreak a very contagious and deadly disease cripples transport, communication, and response capacities of the general public.

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Methodology

The study was conducted on the basis of primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was collected using structured questionnaires. The study tried to find out the ongoing trends within cases of domestic violence and rape amid the COVID-19 pandemic, and to find out the methods with which the Bangladesh Police has endeavored to provide services to the citizens and thus, assessing the roles thereof. The data used in this study involved both primary and secondary sources of data.

The primary data was collected from July to December of 2020. It involves 280 case studies of rape against women and children during 2019 to 2020. The data was collected across 32 districts out of 64 districts within 4 divisions out of 8 divisions of the country –Khulna, Barisal, Rajshahi, and Rangpur. The participants of the study were selected based on the criteria of being a female, and having experiences of being a rape victim, or subject of a rape attempt during the timeline of the study (i.e., years 2019 - 2020).

The questionnaires focus on their experiences of being victims of rape during the study timeline, and details thereof are presented and explained in the following sections of this paper. The primary data collected and used in this study has been done with full and explicit consent from the participants involved, and their full and willing cooperation and participation were guaranteed.

The secondary sources of data were collected from books, Police Headquarters monitoring cells, articles, and reports published in different national and local daily newspapers. Databases have been used with explicit permission from the Bangladesh Police Headquarters monitoring Cell. Data from these secondary sources were scrutinized via consultation with relevant authorities and personnel. before being used for this study.

Findings

Violence against Women: Types and Trends

The Police Headquarters Monitoring Cell has collected and complied information from 662 Police stations all over the country. This ground-level data can assist us to get a picture of the scenario about violence against women before the pandemic and during pandemic of COVID-19 in Bangladesh. This comparison could provide insights regarding both the nature of such incidents with regard to pandemic and lockdown realities, and the effectiveness of police response to these incidents. The following table is drawn, taking data from the Police Headquarters Monitoring Cell and covering the last 3 years, from 2018 to 2020.

Table-1: Violence against women: types and trends

Year	Dowry related violence	Abduction	Rape	Murder	Rape by murder	Rape by hurt	Hurt	Acid violence	Other forms of violence	Total cases of violence
2018	3798	3218	3927	285	21	5	134	6	2953	14347
2019	4786	4094	5838	274	26	7	199	2	4183	19409
2020	4943	3928	6505	228	25	3	68	2	4265	19967
Total	13527	11240	16270	787	72	15	401	10	11401	53723

Source: PHQ Women and Children oppression monitoring cell.

Table-1 Shows different dimensions of violence against women that took place during 2018 to 2020 in Bangladesh. The most significant part of this data is rape is the highest reported case and dowry related violence is the second reported case to the police stations in Bangladesh during each year of the 2018-2020 timeline. This data indicates the decreasing trend of murder from 2018 to 2020.

Domestic violence

Domestic violence is a major social problem in Bangladesh. But our society does not perceive domestic violence as a serious crime. It is instead considered a private matter that should be resolved privately within the family.

According to the Domestic Violence Prevention and Protection Act 2010, definition of the domestic violence is described as, “causing physical abuse, psychological abuse, sexual abuse or economic loss against any woman or child member of the family by any person with whom that member of the family has family relationship”. About 80% of Bangladeshi married women are abused by their husbands in their lifetime.

However Women are not coming forward to lodge the complain against their husband. Naturally the question arises, ‘why do women not speak out against domestic violence?’ Reasons mainly involve a patriarchal society, social stigma, early marriage, and economic dependency. Different types of domestic violence are prevalent in our society.

Dowry related domestic violence:

Dowry related violence is the second highest reported violence in our police stations in the years from 2018 to 2020. Dowry has been given an extended meaning according to Bangladeshi law “whatever is presented whether before or after marriage under demand, compulsion or pressure as consideration for the marriage can be said to be dowry”

Rape

Rape is one of the most brutal forms of violence against women in Bangladesh. It needs to be mentioned that sometimes rape is followed by hurt, and murder. Rape is particularly injurious to a woman's self-identity and social future as well as her physical and psychological wellbeing.

Table-2: Rape and gang rape, 2019-2020

Year	Barisal	Khulna	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Total
2019	219	244	319	351	1133
2020	221	311	408	431	1371
Total	440	555	727	782	2504

Source: PHQ Women and Children oppression monitoring cell.

The above table (Table-2) indicates that across the four divisions, cases of rape and gang rape have increased, with Rangpur having the consistently high number of cases (i.e., 782) in the past two years, among these four divisions.

Table-3: Rape, gang rape, and attempt to rape cases, July-December, 2020

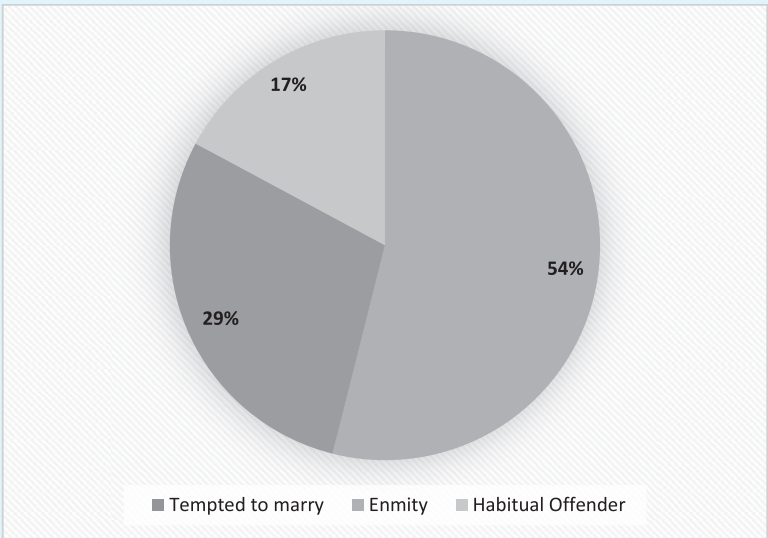
Serial no	Range Name	Gang Rape				Rape				Rape Attempt				Total
		0-12	13-16	17-30	31-65	0-12	13-16	17-30	31-65	0-12	13-16	17-30	31-65	
1.	Khulna	-	1	6	1	8	6	9	2	-	1	2	-	
2.	Barisal	-	1	3	3	6	22	22	4	15	7	13	6	
3.	Rajshahi	1	-	3	1	17	22	28	7	14	6	2	5	
4.	Rangpur	-	1	9	1	5	6	8	1	1	2	2	-	
Total		1	3	21	6	36	56	67	14	30	16	19	11	280

In an attempt to investigate the possible age groups for cases of, (a) rape, (2) gang rape, and (3) rape attempt, the 280 case studies have been distributed in the table (Table-3), across these four divisions during July-December of 2020. The age groups involve ranges of ages 0-12, 13-16, 17-30, and 31-65.

The table shows that rape cases are consistently high across the age groups of 13-16, and 17-30, cases where the perpetrator has been caught red-handed during the rape attempts. This sheds light on credibility issues against perpetrators that do not have eye witnesses observing their failed rape attempts. Women in those cases can only silently endure their humiliation. As

even a failed rape attempt can involve a traumatic experience for the females, lasting psychological affects of these cases remain unaddressed. Participants and informants have provided accounts of these types of cases regarding this issue during the fieldwork of this study.

Figure 1: Reasons for Rape



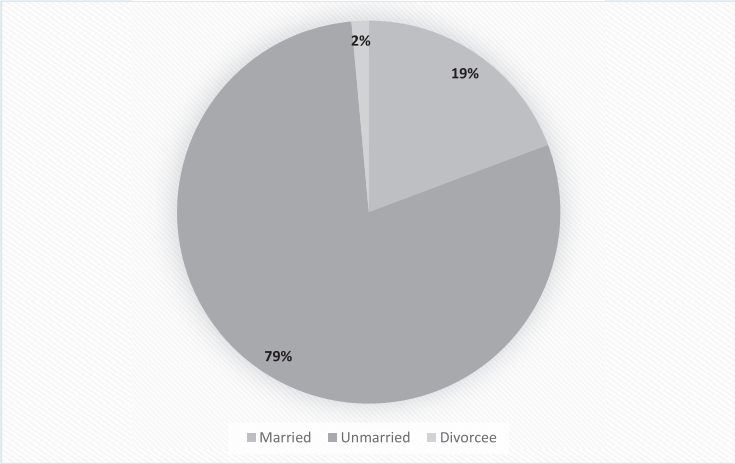
Source: Compiled by Researcher from fieldwork data for the period July-December, 2020

This pie chart shows that ‘tempted to marry’ has been the cause for most of the cases (i.e., 54%) analyzed in this study, as is seen in the above figure (Figure-2). Among these particular cases (i.e., 151), 5 of the victims were later found to be pregnant, and this has led to unwanted sufferings and complications for the victims. It shows that 29% enmity’, where previous or ongoing land disputes or deteriorating relationships between a male and a female.

In 48 cases out of 280 cases, we see that 17% rapes were perpetrated by the habitual offenders .Most cases (i.e., in over half of the cases) involve neighbors in nearby apartments, or close relatives living nearby who take advantage of the affected females. These perpetrators carry out rape against the victims during moments of vulnerability and isolation from other family members or witnesses.

The habitual offenders are mostly responsible for the cases of rape and attempts to rape against female children from the age group of years 0-12. In these cases, the study findings have indicated that the male perpetrators often enticed the knowing female victims with sweets or toys, to then lure them into secluded areas.

Figure 2: Marital status of the victims



Source: Construct by Researcher from fieldwork data for the period July-December, 2020

The above figure shows the marital status of the victims. Most of the victims in the analyzed 280 cases (i.e., 79% of the 280 cases) were unmarried, 19% were married and 2% were divorced during the incidence of rape.

Table-4: Investigating officer:
July-December, 2020

	Investigating officer	
Month Name	Male	Female
July	38	0
August	38	0
September	117	0
October	48	0
November	22	0
December	17	0
Total	280	0

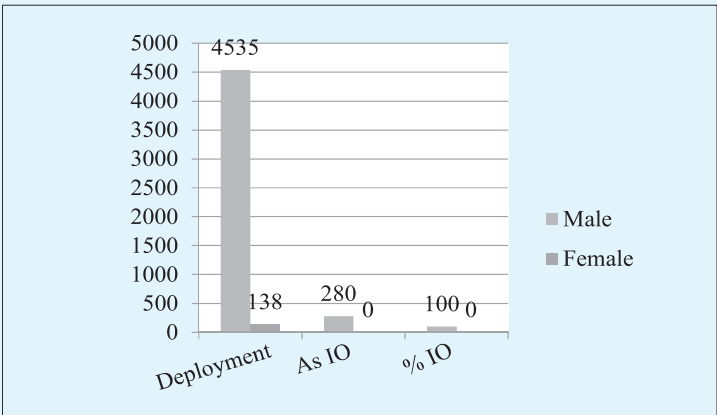
Table-5: Women Sub Inspector depoy-
ed in the year of 2020 in 4 Division11

Range Name	Women SI (UB) Deployment
Rajshahi Range	38
Rangpur Range	37
Khulna Range	42
Barishal Range	19
Total	136

Table-4 shows some crucial details regarding the selection of investigating officers (IOs). We find that male sub-inspectors were assigned as IOs in all 280 of sensitive cases. Incredibly, not a single female sub-inspector has been assigned these sensitive cases. This is not merely due to the lack of female sub-inspectors, since Table 5 shows that there are 138 female sub-inspectors and

4535 male sub-inspectors who could be potential investigating officers deployed in the 32 districts within 4 Ranges. Unfortunately, each and every case has been investigated by a male officer; in that point of view, the deployment of a women police officer as IO is 0%, as demonstrated in the figure below.

Figure 3: Comparative Statistics of Availability vs. Appointment of Female Officers as IOs



Source: Compiled by Researcher & O&M, PHQ

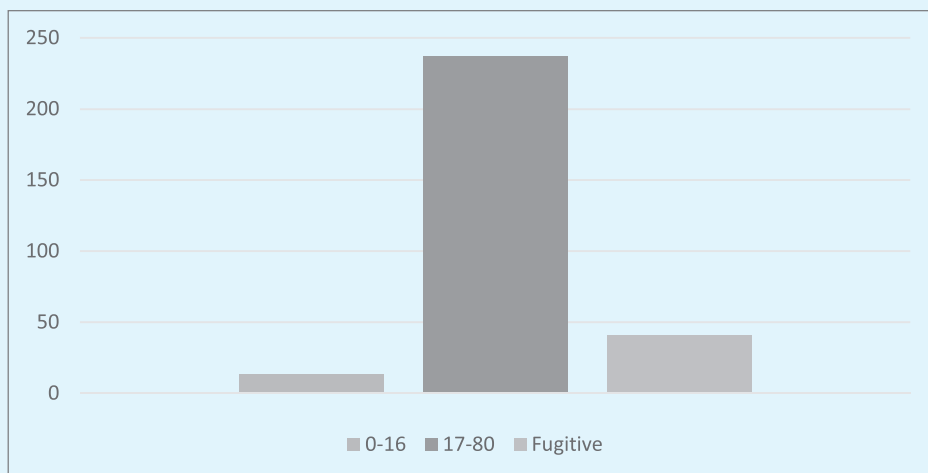
The above figure shows that the ages of the arrested accused perpetrators of the sexual assault cases (rape, gang rape and attempt to rape). The age of the arrested accused is mostly of adult age group. However, there are some cases that involve perpetrators at the age of 16 or lower. Seeing rape crime carried out by children at even the age of 10-11 sheds light on the status of social norms prevalent in the country. 41 offenders out of total 321 are fugitive.

Table-6: Rape Incident Hotspot, 2020

Year	Range	District Name	Total
2020	Rajshahi Range	Naogaon	795
	Rangpur Range	Dinajpur	386
	Khulna Range	Satkhira	356
	Barishal Range	Barishal	316
		Bhola	316
Total			2169

In providing a comprehensive overview of the rape incidents 4 Ranges out of 8 Ranges in Bangladesh in the year 2020. Table-6 shows the 5 districts out of 32 districts in 4 ranges. of rape hotspots (the high frequency of the reported cases of rape from these locations) in the year 2020 (see Annexure 1).

Figure 4: Age of the arrested accused in sexual assault cases



Source: Compiled by Researcher from data for the period July-December, 2020

Figure-4 shows that the ages of the arrested accused perpetrators of (the rape, gang rape and attempt to rape) cases have been outlined. The age of the arrested accused is mostly of the age group of 17-80 years. However, there are some cases that involve perpetrators at the age of 16 or lower. Seeing rape crime carried out by children at even the age of 10-11 sheds light on the status of social norms prevalent in the country. 41 offenders out of 321 are fugitive and their age could not be ascertained.

Role of Police amid the COVID-19 Pandemic: Innovative Platforms for Service Delivery in VAW cases

The important and crucial role of the police amid the pandemic cannot be overlooked. Their important role in maintaining safety and public order, especially during a global pandemic, has led to the improvement of civilian lives. fewer casualties with crimes being regularly addressed and criminals being apprehended. At the same time, the prevalence of VAW cases during the pandemic generated new challenges.

Due to the highly contagious nature of COVID-19, communication and response heavily shifted towards remote methods via cellular and internet-based communication channels. These proved to come in handy at a time when personal communication was difficult, yet women and children needed special attention. Bangladesh Police endeavored to provide support using these communication channels with dedication and responsiveness (See Annexure 2).

Recommendations

The recommendations derived from this study regarding the improvement of the public safety and security apparatus of Bangladesh, as presented as follows,

1. Active role of police, judiciary and public prosecutor: Coordination among Police, Judiciary and Public Prosecutor is indispensable ensuring justice to the victims. But partial functions of these three organs may jeopardize total criminal justice system. So, Police, Judiciary and public prosecutor need to function in harmonize way as if they are part of a team.
2. Women empowerment: Women have to empower themselves of their own capacity to address violence against women. Women have to participate in four sectors with the men in a similar way, such as in social, political, financial and ideological contexts. Women would be able to achieve common grounds in these four sectors through education and by ensuring their health and wellbeing.
3. Increase literacy rate: Education is the cornerstone of empowerment. Literacy is an effective instrument for social and economic freedom. A literate woman is able to determine herself better chances of survival. She can obtain more earning opportunities in a proper organizational and institutional hierarchy. Women constitute half of the population in Bangladesh, and without literacy they are a voiceless body of the people.
4. Preventing child marriage: Bangladesh is one of the world's most densely populated countries. The infant mortality rate is 49/per thousand births. Preventing child marriages and increasing female education rates have also contributed to the achievement of this mission. But further improvements are still necessary.
5. Role of media: Electronic media and Print media can play a pivotal role in addressing violence against women. Media can show the snapshots of the offenders and publish their punishments, but not the snapshots of victims. The media of Bangladesh can be utilized for creating awareness among the people about the problems of violence against women and its ramifications.
6. Gender-sensitive policing: Bangladesh comprises about 50% population of women. Women participation in the police department is 8.02%.²¹ Sometimes victims do not disclose the real matter for shame especially to the male police personnel. Integration of women within mainstream policing will not only balance the police service from a gender point of view, but also help in meaningfully combating violence against women.

Women participation in the police department is an inevitable part in carrying out an efficient investigation of cases of violence against women. If every police station ensures gender-sensitive policing, it would be more effective.

7. Awareness: Government and Non-government organizations can play a significant role in creating awareness in school & college levels about early marriage, dowry, domestic violence, sexual harassment, and trafficking.
8. Removal of a patriarchal mind-set: In Bangladesh, due to long conservative traditions, customs and religion, men are patriarchal in their beliefs. Without changing the mind-set of the men, it is very difficult for women to be empowered and to get rid of all sorts of violence against them.
9. Poverty elimination: Poverty is one of the crucial phenomena that is positively co-related with violence against women. Therefore, elimination of poverty is a must in combating violence against women. Government and Non-government organizations can undertake income-generating programs specially designed for women. If women can actively take part in the mainstream economic activities, they can then themselves be empowered to prevent violence against them.

Conclusion

The world had faced through the historical pandemic COVID-19 including Bangladesh. The contribution of Bangladesh Police was huge during pandemic peak time. They had to work with more dedication for not only preventing COVID-19 from spreading but also render the services to the citizens. In that time, Police provided the holy service and support to the citizens through 999, beat policing, victim support center, “Women, Children, Elderly and Disabled Service Desk,” Police Cyber Support for Women to reduce the crime.

Regarding the prevalence of VAW, parents must be sensitized regarding this crime and ensure the safety of their children. Dowry related domestic violence can be decreased by preventing child marriage. Girls have to raise their voices as well as empower themselves through education. The cooperation of the victims and victims’ families are also needed. The government, NGOs, police, public prosecutors, judiciary, lawyers, and media need to work in a cooperative manner. To eradicate violence against women, men need to ultimately generate respect for women from their hearts to create a better world. Nevertheless, it is not feasible that one fine morning, all bigoted and patriarchal mindset will change. The process will be time-consuming and needs to originate from family and educational institutions, ultimately resulting in a culture-wide shift..

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Annexure 1

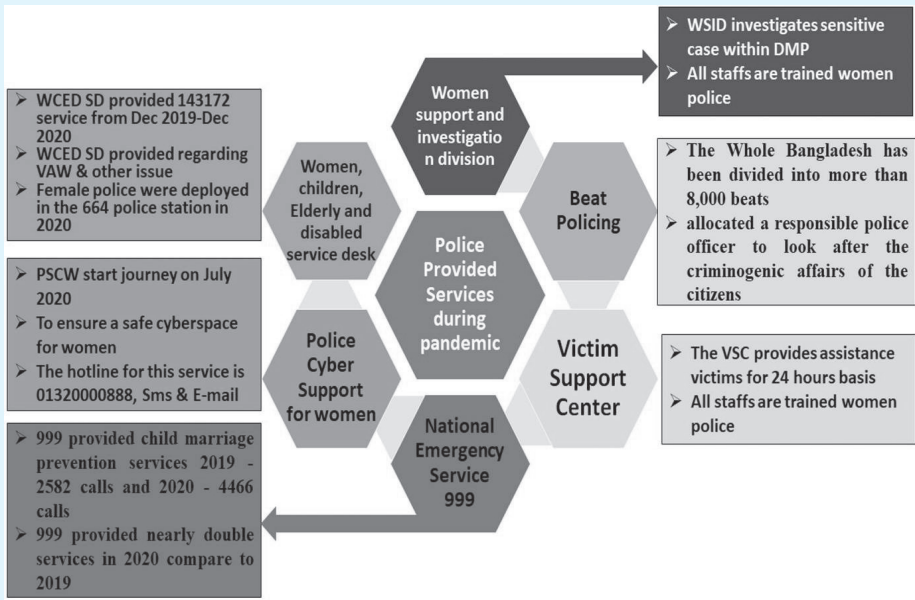
Rape incident hotspot in 4 Ranges in Bangladesh, 2020



Source: *Crime mapping from the report of PHQ Women and Children oppression monitoring cell -2020*

Annexure 2

Platforms for Bangladesh Police's services regarding pandemic-time VAW



Source: 999 National Emergency service data;
Women, children, elderly and disabled service desk data

