

Crime and Delinquency among Slum Children of Dhaka City: A Sociological Study.

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Abstract

Bangladesh has experienced one of the highest urban population growth rates (around 7% per year) over the past three decades. Dhaka, the capital city, attracts approximately 320,000 migrants from rural areas every year. The city is unable to provide shelter, food, education, healthcare, and employment for its rapidly-expanding population. An estimated 3.4 million people live in the overcrowded slums of Dhaka, and many more live in public spaces lacking the most basic shelter.

Overall condition of the slum of Dhaka city is the worst with minimum access to basic human rights. The society has to grapple with numerous social problems. Crime and delinquency among slum children is the societal problems experienced in the contemporary scenario. This refers to the phenomenon of slum children being active in criminal activities. This is a unique challenge since the individuals are below the stipulated age of adulthood.

My study found various types of crimes and delinquencies among children of Rayer Bazar slum such as violence, theft, robbery, mugging, trafficking, drug addicting, drug dealing, sexual harassment etc. and they are also used by outsiders drug dealing, mugging, robbery etc. They involve to these crimes and delinquencies for various reasons such as social condition, poor parenting, delinquent peer, economic insecurity, lack of education, labeling delinquent self image etc.

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Abbreviations

BELA Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association

BLAST Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust

CRC Convention of the Rights of Childs

CUS Centre for Urban Studies

FGD Focus Group Discussion

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

GDP Gross Domestic Product

ILO International Labor Organization

NGO Non Government Organization

NIPORT National Institute of Population Research and Training

OJJDP Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

PEDP Primary Education Development Plan

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development programme

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UN- HABITAT United Nations Human Settlements Programme

WB World Bank

WHO World Health Organization

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Chapter (1): Introduction

Children are the future of the nation. One-third of Dhaka's twelve million inhabitants live in slums (CUS, NIPORT, and MEASURE Evaluation 2006) and the city is projected to grow by another 7 million people over the next ten years (Baker, 2007). Among them around one third of the population is children. The slum children are deprived from basic human security such as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security.

The characteristics associated with slums vary from place to place. Slums are usually characterized by urban decay, high rates of poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. They are commonly seen as "breeding grounds" for social problems such as crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, high rates of mental illness, and suicide. In many poor countries they exhibit high rates of disease due to unsanitary conditions, malnutrition, and lack of basic health care.

Crime and delinquency among the urban slum children of Dhaka city is more or less prevails in all slums. It is often argued that crime and violence is the output of a complex set of factors including rapid urbanization, persistent poverty and inequality, social exclusion, political violence, the more organized nature of crime, and the growth of an array of illegal activities. As such, experiences in the US, Europe, and increasingly from developing countries themselves, have shown that crime and violence can be substantially reduced through well-planned prevention strategies that go beyond traditional police responses – especially at the local level. (Crime and violence and the urban poor. Bangladesh Development Series paper no:17 , 2007).

The behavior patterns of children are influenced in part by what goes on in the environment in which they live. Family members, friends, and peers all influence the development of children. It is sometimes accompanied by a desire for material things, fashion, peer pressure, cash and more. At times, the demands of wants and needs are intensified by a society that consists of high mobility, social change, and is materialistic. Also, social changes can create anxiety and disillusionment for children and thus they commit crime and delinquent acts.

Many other factors need to be considered before a juvenile act becomes a delinquent act. The norms of one society may differ significantly from another society. What could be considered delinquency in Africa or Asia might not be delinquent behavior in the United States. Laws, cultural norms, belief systems, traditions all play a determining role in various aspects of our lives. These factors allow society to create ideals and expectations for their citizens.

Children's crime and delinquent behaviors are influenced not only by what goes on in the environment in which they live, but also by what they observe in adults, what they listen to, learn from peer groups, parents, relatives, and society at large. Juvenile delinquency is not an inherent human condition, but rather is learned through association, imitation, observation, pressure, needs, wants, influence and desires.

My study on the children of Rayer Bazar slum reveals that there are complex mix of interpersonal, social, economic and structural factors that causes involvement of the children to various types of crimes and delinquencies. Drug addiction and drug dwelling are most prevailing crime and delinquency. Children of the slum are addicted to different types of drugs especially to marijuana. To manage money to buy drugs, they deal drugs or other types of criminal activities such as theft, robbery, mugging etc.

1.1 Operational Definition of the Concepts

Definition of some concepts related to this thesis title are given in the below.

Slum

UN Habitat, 2006 defines slum as “A slum is a run-down area of a city characterized by substandard housing and squalor and lacking in tenure security”. A slum is an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics-

- Inadequate access to safe water
- Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure
- Poor structural quality of housing
- Overcrowding
- Insecure residential status

In Bangladesh, slum dwellers are usually called shack dwellers. Many shack dwellers vigorously oppose the description of their communities as 'slums' arguing that this results in them being pathologised and then, often, subject to threats of evictions. Many academics have vigorously criticized UN-Habitat and the World Bank arguing that their 'Cities without Slums' Campaign has led directly to a massive increase in forced evictions.

Children

According to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), approved by the UN General Assembly in November 1989, any person under the age of 18 is a child (Article 1). Although article 12 recognizes that there are gradations of childhood and that children have evolving capacities, 18 remains the defining limit between childhood and adulthood. It must be noted that each country that signs and subsequently ratifies the Convention is free to enter a comment about one or more article with which there is disagreement. In other words, the Convention allows each member state to follow its domestic laws and customs in defining a child according to the relevant context. As Bissell (2003: 55) points out, “the Convention really tries to do two things, to embody universalistic principals while still recognizing, implicitly, that childhood is a social construct”.

Crime

Crime can refer to a wide range of activities, which include violent personal crimes, property crimes, organized crimes and political crimes. Van der Walt, Cronje and Smith (1985).

Juridically (legally), crime can be defined as a contravention of the law, to which a punishment is attached and imposed by the state (Van Velzen et al. 1998:20). In other words, crime is an act, which is forbidden by the law, and if detected, is likely to be punished.

Society is a network of interacting persons, groups and institutions. Interaction involves establishing relations between these individuals, groups and institutions. Crime is an act, which violates these social relations, and it is this violation which harms the individual and society at large. Therefore, crime (that is, when it is perceived as a personal threat) leads to feelings of fear and mistrust.

Delinquency

Delinquency is viewed as an act of antisocial behavior, which influences the quality of life of the individual, his or her community and society at large.

According to Oxford dictionary of Sociology, delinquency literally misdeed, guilt or neglect of duty and hence in this sense not strictly defined by law. The term is often used to embrace a broad range of behavior, from petty and occasionally more serious crime.

David Matza in his book *Delinquency and Drift* (1964) argued that delinquency did not emerge as a result of strongly deterministic forces, but rather through a gentle weakening of the moral ties of society, which allowed some young people to drift into delinquency.

Delinquency implies conduct that does not conform to the legal or moral standards of society. Delinquency is a term usually used to term child delinquency and juvenile delinquency. Any anti social behavior that is done by the children under 18 age is called child delinquency. The basic deference between crime and delinquency is that crime is strictly defined by law but delinquency is not strictly defined. It is anti social that means society constructs the deeds as wrong or illegal.

Dhaka city

The present study uses the definition of Dhaka Megacity based on Based on Bangladesh Population Census-2001. It states: The city corporation of the country and the adjacent areas having urban characteristics has been termed as Statistical Metropolis areas. The entire area of Dhaka City Corporation and the thanas of Gazipur sadar, Narayangong Sadar, Savar and

Keranigonj are included in Dhaka Megacity. The adjusted population of Dhaka Metropolitan area is 107,12206. Dhaka is the only megacity of the country.

1.2 Problem Statement

Crime and violence are no longer considered just a 'social' or 'law and order problem, but also as an obstacle to development which erodes the poor's human, physical, and social capital. Crime and violence affect all levels of society: the rich and even more the poor, women and men, and young and old. Urban crime by the slum dwellers is a security issue for the urban people. It also impacts to the peoples' socioeconomic and psychological development.

Escalation of crime and delinquency among urban poor children is a great obstacle for development. It has been argued that the Criminal Justice System with its three components, namely police, courts and correctional services institutions are either doing little or helpless to combat or prevent crime in this country particularly at MGC. It is an indisputable fact that where there is a high rate of Crime, one cannot expect viable infrastructure, i.e. telecommunication, roads, water, accommodation, electricity, business, etc. It is the researcher's concern that if crime prevails at these above mentioned areas and is not prevented by means of well thought of strategies, there will be unbeatable high rates of unemployment. Unemployment is one of the major causes of poverty, social disorganization, subculture, violation of human rights etc.

All people such as rickshaw puller, shop keeper, taxi-men, businessmen, strangers, neighboring residents etc are equally susceptible to crime and Victimization of theft, robbery etc at this area. The prevention of criminal victimization should be prioritized at these areas because it undermines the society and may handicap, menace and prevent its successful growth and viable development.

Children are the upcoming generation for our society. Crime and delinquency among the urban slum children are the main hindrance for these children to lead their prosperous future life. These are impacting other children to involve with them. Drug addiction and drug dwelling is a major delinquency among the urban children. Slum children get lower wages to work in shops, factories etc. But they are invited to dwell drug with higher income. Other delinquent behaviors such as theft, robbery, mugging, trafficking also prevails in the slum area by both slum children and outsiders. These crime and delinquent behaviors are impacting negatively to the social psychological development of the slum children.

Childs' involvement to crime and delinquencies impact themselves, their families and their whole society. Though percentage of criminal activities by the slum children is very low but it creates an environment of fear to the society.

1.2 Rational of the Study

Crime is a universal social phenomenon. It threatens the safety and security of people, their property, their sense of well being, social order and most importantly, it reduces people's quality of life (Ntuli 1998:2). If the quality of life experienced by the individual and the community is affected by crime, then crime itself can be viewed as a social problem.

Child delinquency at international level is a phenomenon that has determined in recent decades' researchers focus on several areas of study (sociology, psychology, criminology, medicine, education, etc.) for explaining and predicting the deviant and delinquent behavior of children.

How will be the next generation of our nation that depends on the development of the children. Present slum dwellers' socio economic condition cannot change within short period. But if the children are rescued from delinquent behaviors and are grown up with good environment their future life will be developed. So my study aims to explain theoretically explain the causes involvement of the slum children to crimes and delinquencies. It will focus on the family, parenting, peer groups, education, poverty and overall socioeconomic factor to increase crimes and delinquencies among the slum children.

There is lack of sociological research into the nature of crime and delinquency among slum children in Dhaka city. As there has been no study undertaken in the past, the present study aims at understanding this phenomenon.

My study area is known as occurring place of many types of crimes and delinquencies such as theft, mugging, robbery, violence, drug addiction, drug dwelling, sexual harassment to women etc. So it will be an effective research to study on what types of crimes and delinquencies are occurred here and what causes influence the slum children to involve to the crime and delinquencies.

1.3 Objectives of the study

For many years there has been an enormous amount of research conducted in order to find what the risk factors for delinquency are and which ones have a major impact on juveniles' lives. Determining the main risk factors is the key to establishing successful programs that keep juveniles away from delinquency and or prevent them from recidivating. In addition, targeting these known risk factors at a very early age is crucial because, "...the earlier the age at which children begin offending, the more likely are the delinquent careers to be chronic and serious, with an increased probability of official delinquency" (Thornberry, 2002, p. 316).

My study is done to ascertain the nature of crimes and delinquent behaviors among urban slum children of Dhaka city; their socioeconomic, environmental condition etc. to involve in the crime

and delinquency. My study has done theoretical explanation of involving of urban slum children to crime and delinquency.

By doing so I had in view to identify, understand and explain the main risk factors involved in the development and manifestation of delinquent behaviors, individual and social factors and how they interact and reinforce each other causing committing antisocial behavior. Studying these factors may allow the researcher, whatever of field of study, to find concrete and practical ways to help to the transformation of individual risk factors (psychological) and the micro social factors (family, school and group membership) into protective factors and support for confused child.

1.4 Slums in Dhaka

A UN Expert Group has created a definition of a slum as an area that combines to various extents of the following characteristics: inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; and insecure residential status. Low socioeconomic status of its residents is another common characteristic given for a slum.

In many slums, especially in poor countries, many live in very narrow alleys that do not allow vehicles (like ambulances and fire trucks) to pass. The lack of services such as routine garbage collection allows rubbish to accumulate in huge quantities. The lack of infrastructure is caused by the informal nature of settlement and no planning for the poor by government officials. Additionally, informal settlements often face the brunt of natural and man-made disasters, such as landslides, as well as earthquakes and tropical storms. Fires are often a serious problem.

Many slum dwellers employ themselves in the informal economy. This can include street vending, drug dealing, domestic work, and prostitution. In some slums people even recycle trash of different kinds (from household garbage to electronics) for a living - selling either the odd usable goods or stripping broken goods for parts or raw materials.

In April 2005, the director of UN-HABITAT stated that the global community was falling short of the Millennium Development Goals which targeted significant improvements for slum dwellers and an additional 50 million people have been added to the slums of the world in the past two years. According to a 2006 UN-HABITAT report, 327 million people live in slums in Commonwealth countries - almost one in six Commonwealth citizens. In a quarter of Commonwealth countries (11 African, 2 Asian and 1 Pacific), more than two out of three urban dwellers live in slums and many of these countries are urbanizing rapidly. The number of people living in slums in India has more than doubled in the past two decades and now exceeds the entire population of Britain, the Indian Government has announced. The number of people living

in slums is projected to rise to 93 million in 2011 or 7.75 percent of the total population almost double the population of Britain.

Around one-third of Dhaka's 12 million inhabitants live in slums (CUS, NIPORT, and MEASURE Evaluation 2006) and the city is projected to grow by another 7 million people over the next ten years (Baker, 2007: 23). While Dhaka is the richest part of the country, obscuring its poverty problem in many national statistics, it is also the most unequal. One study notes that mean per capita consumption amongst the poorest quintile in metropolitan parts of Bangladesh is actually lower than that of the poorest quintile in rural areas (World Bank, 2007); the human poverty index (2) for Dhaka district is also among the worst in the country, and appears to have worsened during 1995-2003 (Ali and Begum 2006).

The survey conducted by the Centre for Urban Studies (CUS, NIPORT and MEASURE Evaluation, 2006) reveals something of what life is like in slums in Bangladesh. Typically slum houses are just 75-100 square feet in size and consist of a single room. Very high population density, very poor environmental services and very low socioeconomic status were nearly ubiquitous characteristics. Poor drainage, flooding and very poor housing also affected most slums. Lack of electricity, cooking gas, tap water, garbage collection and NGO services each affected a minority of slums, as did insecure tenure, threat of eviction, and a need to share water sources and latrines with large numbers of other households. Where electricity and water are available it is often via illegal connections. Income in Dhaka slums varied considerably, with the mode and median averages estimated to lie in the range Tk. 3001-4000 (around US\$40-60) per household per month.

Main employment options for the urban poor are production work (including rickshaw pullers and other transport workers) and trade work (street vendors, retail, etc.) for men; and domestic work and garment work for women. Unemployment and underemployment are also common, and around 20 percent of children aged 5-14 work (Baker 2007). Delap (2000) finds that for both male and female children, participation in income generating work increases with age, with boys participating in income generating work from an earlier age than girls, while girls were more likely to be engaged in housework. Baker (2007) reports that 26 percent of slums in Dhaka have a government school, and 27 percent have an NGO operated school. Although disaggregated population and school data are hard to come by, there seems to be a severe shortage of government schools in some areas compared to the number of children (e.g. Rashid and Hossain 2005).

Similarly NGOs in Bangladesh have traditionally had a rural focus and have only recently started to move into urban areas, and to understand the particular challenges of serving slum populations. One difficulty is that slums are often evicted, potentially resulting in the loss of the NGO building as well as the relationships it has built up in that community, and leaving it unable

to demonstrate any outcome. NGOs wishing to operate in slums also have to gain the permission of “mastaans” – leaders with links to criminal gangs, the police and local political parties.

1.5 Socioeconomic condition of Rayer Bazar Slum

Like most of the slums of Dhaka city, Rayer Bazar Slum is also crowded. There are almost 4000 population in the slum. One third of them are children. People from different regions come to Dhaka to pull rickshaw, do small business or any other work and settle there. They have to pay three to five thousand as rent of one room per month. They are living with extreme poverty. They have to do various types of informal jobs such as rickshaw pulling, construction works, vendors, garments works etc. Overall socio economic condition of Rayer Bazar Slum are discussed in the below.

Living condition

Shelter is a basic human right and a pre-condition for maintaining privacy, safety and good health. But the availability of land for any sort of development is extremely limited in Dhaka has consequently contributed to a very large increase in land price and thus marginalizing the poor. This has been compounded by the recent craze for building high-rise apartments whose sole aim is profit making. This has pushed land price further up and created a crisis in the availability of land for housing the urban poor.

One of the major consequences of rapid urbanization in Bangladesh has been the persistent deterioration of housing situation in metropolitan areas. The concentration of the poor in such areas and the ever-widening gap between the demand for and supply of land for housing have led to the development of low income settlements on environmentally sensitive and hazard-prone lands. The problem is particularly acute in Dhaka where the poor residents have been increasingly constrained to such marginal land, as they are unable to buy or rent land in preferred sites.



Image (1): Room construction of Rayer Bazar Slum.

The Rayer Bazar slum is built with mainly bamboo, teen and polythine. This raises the risk of accident and disaster. The whole settlement can collapse endangering the lives of the residents. In 2010, there occurred a accident in this slum where 11 people died after their settlement collapsed into the water after several days of incessant rain.



Image (2): Living room in the slum.

Most of the area of the slum is on water stagnation. Water is polluted through dumping of all types of waste and human stool into the water. Polythene shopping bags, coconut shells and remains of other vegetables, untreated sewage, etc. pollute the water very soon. Living in polluted environment raises the incidence of diseases. These people have little awareness about the pollution. They are habited to stay in such condition. In accident, children sometimes fall into the polluted water.

Frequent breakout of fire is typical of slums and squatter settlements. Use of flammable mate like bamboo and polythene sheets raises the risk of fire for the slum.

Water and sanitation

They use tube well to get water and to take bath. There is shortage of tube well in the slum. one tube well is used by about 35 person. Both men and women take bath in open or polythine covered tube well area. This create problem to the women. Women don't feel secure to take bath and sanitation.



Image(3): Bath area at Rayer Bazar Slum.

They use hanging sanitation. Their stool directly fall into the stagnant water down the bamboo made slum.



Image (4): Hanging sanitation at the Rayer Bazar slum.

The slum is on the stagnant water pond and made by bamboo, polythene, teen etc. So heavy rainfall sometimes causes entering of water to their living room. They have to stay with waste water.

Food and vegetables

People have food security when they are able to grow enough food, or buy enough food to meet their daily needs for an active, healthy life. In many of the 21st century's developing cities, all of those conditions of food security are threatened.

Poor urban households spend from 60 to 80 percent of their income on food. It makes them highly vulnerable when food prices rise or their incomes fall. FAO estimates that in the wake of global food price inflation in 2007/2008, and the subsequent economic recession, the number of chronically hungry in the world has risen by at least 100 million to more than one billion people. The greatest increase has been among the urban poor, women and children.

Access to nutritious food is a key dimension of food security. In Africa and Asia, urban households spend up to 50 percent of their food budgets on cheap "convenience" foods often deficient in the vitamins and minerals essential for health. One study found that vitamin A

deficiency, a cause of blindness, was more severe among Dhaka slum dwellers than among even the rural poor.

Fruit and vegetables are the richest natural sources of micronutrients. But in developing countries, daily fruit and vegetable consumption is just 20-50 percent of FAO/World Health Organization (WHO) recommendations. Urban meals mixed of low-cost fats and sugars are also responsible for rising levels of obesity and overweight. In India, diet-related chronic diseases, such as diabetes is a growing health problem and mainly in urban areas.



Image(5): Fruit selling at Rayer Bazar slum.

The slum is situated beside Rayer Bazar. Slum dwellers are usually buy the lower quality food from there with lower price. They buy some spoiled food and fruits too with minimum price.

Education

Most of the people of the slum are not aware about the education of their children. I was surprised when I heard from some people that I have five children but none have taken even primary education. They cannot earn their livelihood well way. So they think it is better to work by their children than education. They cannot manage food for their children let alone education. But some are aware about their children. Some children have taken primary education. Some have studied to class eight and started reading at technical educational institution but their number is very few.

Political involvement of the Rayer Bazar Slum Dwellers

Slum dwellers are busy to earn food for their livelihood. They cannot spend much time to do politics. Very few of them are politically active. Some of them are connected to the political leaders. They are given some amount of money if they are joined to the political procession. Children are sometimes used as picketers in Hartal of the political party. Some of them are voters of their rural area. They have come to the slum from rural area to work and earn for their livelihood.

Economic condition

Economic condition of urban poor is considerably poor. Socio-economic status of slum dwellers can be characterized as mainly low income group with inadequate education (for both parents and children). Also, poor physical environment with non-existent solid waste disposal system is very common phenomenon in slum areas. Therefore, high prevalence of disease (water-borne) among children living in slums indicates leading unhealthy environment. In such circumstance, to ensure food security of urban poor is a challenge if their socio-economic condition remains bleak.

Lack of education and other livelihood options drive most of the slum dwellers to do informal jobs. There are various types of occupation of this slum dwellers such as small business of fueling wood, breaking materials' shops, vegetable's shop, fruit's shop, construction work, day laborer, rickshaw pulling, begging etc. Women usually work as housemaid to other's house. They earn money just for their livelihood.

Davis Mike's (2005) concept of "museum of exploitation" can be discussed to explain economic insecurity of the slum dwellers. According to Davis informal sector is not the brave new world envisioned but neoliberal enthusiasts, it is most certainly a living museum of human exploitation. Such as child labour, rickshaw pulling and other informal sector's jobs have been described as museum of exploitation. He argued that cities have become the dumping ground of surplus population working in unskilled, unprotected and low wage informal service industries and trade. The rise of the informal sector they declare bluntly is a direct result of liberalization. Some Brazillian sociologists call this process_ analogous to the semi proletarianization. Davis has argued a recent study in Dhaka , that discovered "nearly half of boys and girls aged to 10 to 14 were performing income generating work. The ILO has estimated that there are more than 3 million rickshaw pullers on the street of Asia, the second largest provider of employment in the city. Kidney trafficking, human trafficking and other human exploitations are also termed as museum of exploitation. He has explained non productive human labor such as rickshaw pulling, working as day labor, bricks breaking etc. as human exploitation because these works are only

based on human labor. No productivity is achieved from such jobs. Many of the slum dwellers are doing such jobs. They are just hand to mouth and living their livelihood poorly.



Image(6): Grocery vendor at Rayer Bazar slum.



Image(7): Dried wood vendor at the slum.

Most of them can't run their livelihood by their income. They have to borrow loan from wealthy people or cooperation society. They have to pay high rate of interest rate of their loan.

One authority of cooperation society was asked what the interest rate they give and take on loan, he answered 3%. But by asking to the slum dwellers, I got information that 1400 taka is paid for 1000 taka in a month. They have to pay 100 taka daily after fifteen days of the month. Interest rate varies from 20% to 40% on the loan for a month. They are sometime beaten if they don't pay the loan in time. One woman was asking me that if you give the loan and if we can't pay timely, will you not beat? They don't mind of the high interest rate because they don't get money without loan with high interest rate in need. But this interest rate increases their poverty further. They sometimes pay one' loan by borrowing money from another. This causes a debt circle to them.

There is acute economic crisis in some families. They have to starve sometimes if they cannot earn. Marzina, a widow of the slum. She is living in one room with her two sons. Her elder son is seek and younger son Ratul is a nut seller. If he earns some money by nut selling, they can eat or they have to starve.



Image(8) : Blind beggar at the slum.

There are some beggars too in the slum those who eat by begging. Mohsin, a blind man of the slum. He has come from Mymensingh with his wife. His sons stay in village. He and his wife are running their livelihood by begging in different areas of Dhaka city.

Fire hazard

Fire hazard in the slum causes huge cost to the urban slum children. Their living room, household furniture, money and valuable wealth are usually burnt. Many of them can exclude their wealth from the slum. Many people lose all of their wealth. Such hazards psychologically affect the slum dwellers. Slum dwellers are usually in extreme economic insecurity. Such hazard increases their extreme poverty. Many men and women are burnt due to blaze.

Fire hazard frequently occurs to the Rayer Bazar Slum, Baobazar Slum and other slums of Dhaka city that are made by bamboo and polythine. Breakout of fire is frequent due to illegal electricity connections, gas connection and wood stoves.

About 3,000 shanties were burnt and 10 buildings were damaged in a fire that broke out at Rayer Bazar slum in January 12, 2008 . About 10,000 people became homeless. Some local residents however said, the fire had originated from an oven in a shanty in the south of the slum.

Another devastating fire gutted around 1,000 shanties at Rayer Bazar slum in 17 November, 2011. The blaze completely destroyed two under-construction buildings adjacent to the slum.

1.7 Children at the Rayer Bazar Slum

Main employment options for the urban poor are production work (including rickshaw pullers and other transport workers) and trade works (street vendors, retail, etc.) for men; and domestic work and garment work for women. Unemployment and underemployment are also common, and around 20 percent of children aged 5-14 work (Baker 2007). Delap (2000) finds that for both male and female children, participation in income generating work increases with age, with boys participating in income generating work from an earlier age than girls, while girls were more likely to be engaged in housework. Baker (2007) reports that 26 percent of slums in Dhaka have a government school, and 27 percent have an NGO operated school. Although disaggregated population and school data are hard to come by, there seems to be a severe shortage of government schools in some areas compared to the number of children (e.g. Rashid and Hossain 2005).

The children of Rayer Bazar Slum are deprived from basic human security. According to UNDP (1994) report, there are seven specific values of human security, such as economic, food, health,

environmental, personal, community, and political security. Children of the Rayer bazar slum dwellers are more or less deprived from all these basic securities.

Food security

Food security refers to an individual's access to food via his or her assets, employment, or income. Economic condition of Rayer Bazar slum dwellers cannot earn their basic needs such as food clothing, housing etc. Many children have to starve sometimes if they or their guardian cannot earn money by working as day laborer, rickshaw pulling, vegetables' shop, breaking materials shop, garments working, nut selling etc. If they can work, they eat. When they don't get any job they have to eat through borrowing or to starve.

They usually take breakfast, lunch and dinner. But many times they have to live by only breakfast and dinner. They eat bread side by side rice to expend less money for food. Slum children usually live on eating vegetables. They seldom eat fish or meat because of their lower income.

Environmental security

Environmental security refers to the integrity of land, air, and water which make human habitation possible. Rayer Bazar slum is made by bamboo, polythine and tin etc. There is not enough space to live. Children have to share room with their family members. Like most other slum of Dhaka city, Rayer Bazar slum is also crowded with male, female and children. Many children came from different regions of the country and stay in the slum. The bachelor male children have some rooms in the slum. Where only bachelors those who have come from different districts of the country live crowdedly.

There is also crisis of water supply in the slum. They have to use one tube well by almost forty people. People keep the garbage beside slum or fall down the slum. Their stool directly falls down from their hanging sanitation. So the environmental condition of the slum is not good. They are not free from environmental pollution.

Education

Education is very important for an individual's success in life. Education provides pupils teaching skills that prepare them physically, mentally and socially for the world of work in later life. Education is generally seen as the foundation of society which brings economic wealth, social prosperity and political stability. Higher education helps in maintaining a healthy society which prepares health care professionals, educated health care consumers and maintaining healthy population. Education is major aspect of development of any modern society since if

there is a deficit of educated people then society will stop its further progress. Government should pay serious attention to education and support it economically and morally all over the country. Now I will discuss about the slum children education of Dhaka City.

The present studies suggest that the education situation in slums of Dhaka is as bad as for some of the poorest rural areas of Bangladesh. 58% of children aged 6-11 were out of school. As a result of education about 58% were underemployed and unable to find another job immediately after leaving a job. In these study areas most of the people are Bangladesh's second primary education development plan (PEDP II) included a large programme of building new classrooms – between 2004 and 2008, some 19,000 classrooms had been added (UNICEF, 2009b). The present study shows that in some areas, lack of physical access to government schools is still the key factor stopping children from enrolling. Some of this need – far from all of it – might be fulfilled by shifting the few remaining single shift schools to double shifts. But this would further reduce the amount of learning time in a context where learning time and learning outcomes are already low compared to international standards (UNICEF, 2009b).

In official data, Bangladesh has achieved impressively high enrolment rates while spending only 2.4% of its GDP (which is annually around US\$1,200 per capita) on education – very little even by South Asian standards (World Bank, n.d.). Arguably, though, it is over-reliant on NGOs to reach disadvantaged groups (Ardt et al., 2005). In this study, a full third of the school-going children were in NGO schools. Quality of education appears often to be higher in NGO schools (World Bank, 2006), but children who complete a basic education in an NGO school currently face difficulty in entering the formal system to get a secondary education and formal qualifications.

Most of the children of the Rayer Bazar slum cannot take education. Some have taken primary education. Some have studied to class one, two or three. There are some children those who are going to technical education. Most of the parents are not concerned about the education of their children. They don't have a plan about the future of their children. They are preferring to send their children to work just to survive their livelihood well way.

Child labor

Social norms and economic realities mean that child labor is widely accepted and very common in Bangladesh. Many families rely on the income generated by their children for survival, so child labor is often highly valued. Additionally, employers often prefer to employ children because they are cheaper and considered to be more compliant and obedient than adults.

When children are forced to work, they are often denied their rights to education, leisure and play. They are also exposed to situations that make them vulnerable to trafficking, abuse, violence and exploitation. Millions of children are reported not to attend school, however estimates vary. Among children aged 5-14, about five million, are economically active. “Child labor” is a narrower concept than “working children”. According to the International Labor Organization definition (right), there are about 3.2 million child laborers in Bangladesh.

Rapid urbanization means that more children will move into urban slums and be compelled to work. Child employment rates increase with age, but even about two per cent of five-year-olds and three per cent of six-year-olds work. Child labor is a visible part of everyday life in Bangladesh: young children serve at roadside tea stalls, and weave between cars selling goods to motorists. Other children work in jobs that are hidden from view, such as domestic work, which makes monitoring and regulation difficult. On average, children work 28 hours a week and earn 222 taka (3.3 USD) a week⁴.

Many of the jobs that children in Bangladesh perform are considered, hazardous and put their physical and mental development at risk. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child expressed concern in 2009 that many Bangladeshi children continue to work in five of the worst forms of child labor, namely welding, auto workshops, road transport, battery recharging and tobacco factories. The Committee also raised concerns about the lack of mechanisms to enforce child labor laws or monitor working conditions, and insufficient public awareness about the negative effects of child labor.

Many of the slum children have to work just for food. They work in shops, garments, construction works, pull rickshaw etc. Their parents cannot afford their foods and habitation let alone education. So they have to work with their parents or to engage with other works such as rickshaw pulling, garments, shops etc.



Fig: child labor in shop.

The boy in the picture is working with his mother in the shop of used papers and plastics. His mother was talking that they cannot run their livelihood by the shop. They have to pay rent for their housing and for their shop. They earn six to eight thousand taka form the shop but monthly rent of the shop is four thousand taka. They cannot send the boy to school because he has to work in the shop for their livelihood.

Another case states that Rahim, a seventeen years old children. He is living with his elder brother and widow mother in the slum. His brother is seek. He is the only earning source of the family. His mother sometimes works in other's house as cocker or cleaner. His mother was talking that if he earn money by selling nut they can eat or they are to starve.

Chapter (2): Review of the relevant literature

Relevant literature regarding to crime and delinquency among the slum children are reviewed in the below.

2.1 Crime and violence and the urban poor

(Crime and Violence and the Urban Poor. Bangladesh Development Series, Paper No. 17, pp. 63-92. The World Bank Office, Dhaka, June 2007).

The article “Crime and Violence and the Urban Poor” has described about overall crimes and violence occurred at the slum of Dhaka city. It has described some social, institutional and legal aspect of crime and violence at the urban slum of Dhaka city. In conclusion, it has argued some policy recommendations based on the experience of Mumbai slum. Community policing has been recommended to reduce crime and violence rates.

In my evaluation the article has given information about crime and violence and how crimes and violence are related to the development. It has argued crimes and violence as barricade to human, social and psychological development. But the article does not find out why and how slum dwellers involve in different crimes and violence. It has not described socioeconomic, environmental or other reasons of involving of slum dwellers to crime and violence.

It has given some recommendations by following the measures taken in Mumbai slum of India. It has emphasized on recreation to prevent slum children from involving to crimes. But not given enough emphasize on economic security, food security, and delinquent peers etc. to explain the cause of crime. It is not sociological enough to explain the root causes of crime and violence. Recommendations are not given following the cause of involvement to crimes and delinquencies. Recommendations have given directly following Mumbai slum of India. There may be contextual difference between Mumbai slum and Bangladeshi slum but that has not been emphasized.

A victimization study was carried out in the four slums included in the ‘Slum Observatory’ project in the 2004/05 round. The study asked key questions about the types of crime and violence in slums in Dhaka; how prevalent crime and violence are; the perceptions and the degree of fear of crime and violence; the costs of crime and violence and their impact on households; and lastly how the poor respond to crime and violence and information on their views about the police, victim support services, etc. The four slums located in Pallabi, Mohammadpur, Lalbagh and Rayer Bazar are quite distinct. They differ in age and type of settlement and have quite different levels of violence – Shahid Nagar reported to be the most violent slum, followed by Mohammadpur, after which the other two come with some distance.

Crime and violence have been identified as a key issue for Dhaka, and particularly affects the urban poor. Accurate data on levels of violence in Dhaka are scarce – but available information indicates that while levels of lethal violence (homicide rates) are much below, overall levels of violence are serious and perceived to be on the rise. The sheer scale and diversity of crime and violence in the poor slums of Dhaka means that it has become ‘routinized’ or ‘normalized’ into the functional reality of life, and affects every aspect of daily life for the urban poor.

It is often argued that crime and violence is the output of a complex set of factors including rapid urbanization, persistent poverty and inequality, social exclusion, political violence, the more organized nature of crime, and the growth of an array of illegal activities. As such, experiences in the US, Europe, and increasingly from developing countries themselves, have shown that crime and violence can be substantially reduced through well-planned prevention strategies that go beyond traditional police responses – especially at the local level.

The results from the focus group discussions and surveys indicated different types of crimes and violences that occur in the slums and confirmed the complex, multi-faceted, and all-present nature of the phenomenon. The vast majority of respondents, some 93 percent, said that they have been affected by crime and violence over the last 12 months with 33 different types of crime identified by the respondents (Table 5.1). Among the most commonly reported crime and violence are toll collection, mastaan-induced violence, drug and alcohol business, land grabbing and violence, gambling, violence against women and children, illegal arms’ business, arson in slum, murder and kidnapping, and sexual, physical, and psychological torture and abuse of wife. During FGDs and recording of life histories in particular, the widespread problem of alcohol and drug abuse - including serious heroin addiction - was often linked to crime and violence (trafficking, crime to support habits) and domestic violence.

Table: Percentage of Respondents affected by crime and violence

Slum					
	Shahid Nagar	Rayer Bazar	Mohammadpur	Pallabi	Total
Affected	250 100%	249 99.6%	213 85%	216 86%	928 93%
Not Affected	0 0%	1 0.4%	37 15%	34 14%	72 7%

When asked about the severity of crime and violence in the slum on a scale of 1-5, 1 being not at all and 5 being very severe, toll collection, political conflict, and the harboring of mastaans - musclemen and organized crime - to control the slum were considered most severe – followed by drug and substance trade, use of arms, sexual abuse, sex trade, hand bomb explosions, and murder. However, there is a clear difference in levels of severity between the different communities.

Political violence generally takes the form of clashes between the police and opposition political groups or between supporters of the government and opposition political parties. This is particularly noted during hartals (general strikes), processions, demonstrations and political meetings. Other political crimes are secret killings, looting, destruction of property, arson, and rioting (Siddiqui, et. al, 2000). The survey findings also indicate the strong links between political parties and criminals living in the slum areas – regularly paying (or compelling) slum dwellers, including children, to participate in political rallies, protests, and open-air meetings.

The survey results show that crime and violence occurs in a number of different places, most of it within the slum and about 35 percent reported to happen inside the household compound (which is usually shared by a number of different families). Other high risk areas are the roadside, the market side and the way to and from work. Female garment workers are particularly vulnerable on their route to work and will often walk in groups to provide some protection or even stay the night at the garment factory. Crime and violence appear to occur throughout the day; however, evening and night are ‘peak times’. When asked who is involved (perpetrator) in crime and violence the most commonly mentioned are the mastaans, from both inside and outside the community, husbands (mainly involved in domestic violence), law enforcing agencies, and neighbors and ‘others’. ‘Others’ include thieves, muggers, robbers, extortionists, teasers, snatchers, murderers, arsonists, etc. The respondents indicate that many poor slum dwellers are involved with activities such as the arms trade, drug trade, trafficking, and black marketing as a means to maintain their livelihoods.

The survey results show that there are significant financial costs associated with the crime and violence in the slums. Costs related to medical treatment, loss of productivity due to injuries and direct financial costs due to the collection of ‘tolls’ – many garment workers report routinely having to pay 10 percent of their wages in ‘protection’ for example. Other costs include the illegal land renting fees, electricity and water bill fees, ‘tolls’ collected by both local gangs and the police in the name of providing ‘security’, losses through thefts and muggings, etc. Unfortunately the study was unable to quantify the total monetary costs to the poor of the crime and violence they routinely face. This would certainly be an area of interest for further research.

The non-monetary costs are also considerable. It is clear that in many of the more violent slums there is lack of social cohesion and considerable levels of fear and mistrust. This negatively affects social capital and prevents community members from organizing. Many respondents report being afraid of moving about their community after dark which particularly impacts

women. If anything, these responses indicate that whilst crime, violence, and fear are 'routinized' and part of daily life, they do nevertheless have an enormous impact on the poor's wellbeing and their impacts on children are of particular concern. Some of the impacts mentioned include: children suffering high levels of insecurity and mental anxiety; family disruptions due to domestic violence; tremendous pressure on the parents of growing girls

due to the risks to them; working women getting worried and scared of sexual abuse; mental anguish due to unemployment status; and constant fear and insecurity due to use of arson, arms, and explosives.

Various frameworks to understand crime and violence and to develop corollary short-, medium-, and long-term policy responses have been developed. One prominent approach comes from the field of public health and is based on the identification and addressing of risk factors. The risk factors in this model are usually classified in three groups: individual factors, domestic/household factors, and societal factors. The available information on Dhaka shows that this model is consistent with the characteristics of crime and violence – they are a complex mix of interpersonal, social, economic, and structural factors. Crime and violence is carried out by a variety of different individuals and groups and ranges from widespread domestic violence, to disorganized 'opportunistic' street crime, to the extremely well organized - and who operate for motives that range from hunger, to greed, and to politics.

In most cases the victims do not lodge complaints against the criminals in fear of further retaliation by them because they often enjoy the protection of the law enforcement agencies. It is also widely reported that in addition to legitimate fees, the law enforcement agencies often collect bribes from victims just to record a case.

The enormous costs of going to court, the delays in court proceedings, and the lack of legal aid facilities has made the 73 Whilst looking at risk factors is very important, various authors have highlighted the need to also look at the strengths and assets or 'protective factors' of individuals and communities, not just their problems.

Judicial system virtually inaccessible for the vast majority of the poor. The main providers of legal aid to the poor are NGOs such as BLAST (Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust) and BELA (Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association). Despite constitutional provisions stating a citizen's right to legal defense, there is currently no legal obligation for the State to provide legal aid if the pleader or accused is unable to afford the fees(UNDP, 2002).

This article has rightly pointed out what types of crimes are occurred in the slums of Dhaka city, what are the impacts and costs of these crimes and what are the projects have been taken in different slums of India. It has emphasized on judicial system and argued about nongovernment organizations who provide legal supports to the poor. It has argued political violence through hartal, procession, demonstration and slum dwellers and slum children's involvement to these. It has described, poor slum dwellers are the most victim of crime and delinquency. They don't feel

safe in the slum. But why and how slum dwellers involve in the crime and violence that are not discussed in this article.

2.2 Juvenile Delinquency in Bangladesh

Ahmed Bulbul Mohammad and Khan Camellia, 2011. A Crucial Observation on Juvenile Delinquency: Bangladesh Perspectives. *ASA University Review*, Vol. 5 No. 1, January–June, 2011.

The article has argued children as the future of us and hope of better tomorrow. A segment of our society is lacking in self control and devoid of ethics and morals. Their family fails to instill in them traditional values. They hardly have respect for others.

Child rights in Bangladesh, signing in the UN convention of child rights (CRC) etc. have been discussed. The article described well way about juvenile justice system in Bangladesh. Corruption by the police regarding juvenile justice issue has been argued too.

The article has mainly talked about children, child rights, juvenile justice etc. but not talked any empirical data on delinquent juveniles. The causes of their involvement or how they involve in delinquencies are not discussed. Impacts of delinquent acts to the juveniles are not discussed though the writer has named the article “A Crucial Observation to Juvenile Delinquency”.

Children have been described as our future, our greatest resource, and our hope for a better tomorrow. In our society many people infuse fear in the mind of children. They represent violence, a segment of society lacking in self-control and devoid of ethics and morals. Their families fail to instill in them traditional values. They hardly have respect for others. Fear of crime, especially random violence perpetrated by young Bangladeshis, has become the greatest concern of the nation; we have been motivating a good number of people to change their lifestyle. Moreover, fear of crime has influenced politicians and laypersons to adopt the position of a conservative justice system, present system of dispensation of justice seeks to punish and deter. It aims at curtailing juvenile justice.

Aiming at child development, in 1974 the Children Act was enacted and in 1976 the Bangladesh Children Academy was established. Bangladesh is among the first few countries to sign the UN convention on the rights of child and has already taken steps to implement its provisions. It is a common phenomenon that a juvenile is a person who has not reached the age of majority and therefore, is deemed to have a special status. Juvenile are to be held to an alternative standard of behavior than are adults. Children are required to attend school from the age of 6 to 16; and are expected to obey their parents, they are forbidden to smoke cigarettes, to drink alcohol, or to drive motor vehicles; they may not marry without parental permission; they cannot enter into business or financial contracts; and they are not permitted to vote, enter the military, or run away from school.

Bangladesh has begun to experience the problems of weak juvenile justice system as a result of growing industrialization and urbanization, the phenomenon of delinquency is viewed by many sociologists and criminologists as a transitional phase through which the bulk of the population are passing from the status of peasant to that of industrial labor class. Moreover, reformation theory is being increasingly adopted in the case of juvenile offenders. However, the prime objective of the juvenile justice system is to protect the child from recidivism and ensure their rehabilitation as well as smooth reintegration within the society. In this context, Bangladesh has enacted the Children Act, 1974 and also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990.

The juvenile justice system comprised of those system agencies whose primary duty is to manage juvenile offenders. Today in developed countries most major police departments have officers whose sole responsibility is to deal with juvenile delinquency, in fact because of recent school shooting incidents, placing officers in schools has become even more common. In addition every state has separate places such as detention centers in order to confine juveniles apart from adults.

The juvenile justice system was founded on the belief of parent's patria, roughly translated into state as parent. The state acting through a juvenile court judge can act in the role of parents are deemed incapable or unwilling to control their children. Therefore, the juvenile justice system was designed to do whatever is in the best interest of the juvenile just as apparent will. The juvenile justice system has evolved significantly from its origins. The earliest historical accounts in the Babylonian and Roman cultures show that those societies sought to keep their youth and children under control, forcing them to conform to the expectations and standards set by them.

According to the articles 37 and 40 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Children in conflict with the law have the right to treatment that promotes their sense of dignity and worth, takes into account their age and aims at their reintegration into society, In this regard TJ (therapeutic jurisprudence) will do the promotional works scrutinizing. Also placing children in conflict with the law in a closed facility should be a measure of last resort, to be avoided whenever possible, that is why the convention prohibits the imposition of the death penalty and sentences of life imprisonment for offences committed by persons under the age of 18^{xiv}. We know that, before the establishment of juvenile justice system, courts and judges treated juveniles as adults and, in many instances, juvenile offenders received the same punishment as adults, and it is the absolute violation of human rights. The establishment of separate institutions to confine juvenile offenders separately from adults occurred in the early 1800s.

In Bangladesh, we have seen that the Children Act, 1974 and the Children Rules, 1976 govern the justice system for both children in conflict with the law and children in need of protection. It is a matter of fact that this legislation has been in place for almost 30 years; Bangladesh has yet to implement a fully comprehensive, separate system for juvenile justice to reform children in conflict with the law. In recent years there has been significant impetus for juvenile justice reform. The government has appointed a high level Juvenile Justice Task Force, and has

identified priority areas for action. A new national social policy on models of care and protection for children in contact with the law has been drafted to address both children in conflict with the law and children in need of protection. In 2004, Bangladesh raised the minimum age of criminal responsibility from seven years of age to nine. Criminal liability of children between the ages of nine and 12 is subject to judicial assessment of their capacity to understand the nature and consequences of their actions. While this amendment has made a modest improvement, the minimum age is still far below international standards.

In some cases, after a period spent in the police lock-up, the child is handed over to his/her parents in exchange of money. It is not one of the limitations of the Children Act, 1974 that it does not contain any special provisions limiting the use of physical force, restraints or handcuffs in the arrest of a child, nor does it have any special provisions with respect to the taking of statements or confessions from children. However, in Bangladesh especially to ensure juvenile justice application of Children Act in therapeutic way should be ensured without further delay. First thing is that to apply the law in therapeutic way for the children in conflict with laws it is not necessary to bring any vital change in the existing legal system. The existing correctional institution should be reformed also to make sure the application of law in therapeutic way. Some informal mechanism like mediation, counselling should also be introduced. The positive side is that there has been growing interest in promoting these informal mechanisms both to introduce a more restorative approach to conflict resolution, and also to reduce strain on the formal system.

2.3 Child Delinquency

Flores Robert J, Administrator, May 2003. Child Delinquency. Bulletin Series. U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

The article has described well way the increasing high rates of crimes among children aged 10 to 18 years in US. Twelve years old children are doing more drastic violence than adult people. The crime rate has increased 33% among children during last decade. The article has described about individual, family, delinquent peer and other risk factors to describe childs' involvement to crime and delinquency.

Sparked by high-profile cases involving children who commit violent crimes, public concerns regarding child delinquents have escalated. Compared with juveniles who first become involved in delinquency in their teens, child delinquents (offenders younger than age 13) face a much greater risk of becoming serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. OJJDP formed the Study Group on Very Young Offenders to explore what is known about the prevalence and frequency of very young offending, investigate how very young offenders are handled by various systems (e.g., juvenile justice, mental health, and social services), and determine effective methods for preventing very young offending. The Study Group identified particular risk and

protective factors that are crucial to developing early intervention and protection programs for very young offenders.

The number of child delinquents (juveniles between the ages of 7 and 12) handled in the US juvenile courts has increased 33 percent over the last decade (Snyder, 2001). This development is cause for concern not only because offense patterns reflect more serious crimes among these youngsters, but also because these very young offenders are more likely to continue their involvement in crime. Child delinquents are two to three times more likely to become serious, violent, and chronic offenders than adolescents whose delinquent behavior begins in their teens. Recent high-profile media cases of violence committed by children age 12 or younger also have drawn attention to the potential for child delinquents to inflict deadly harm. For these reasons alone, child delinquents represent a significant concern for both society and the juvenile justice system.

The arrest rate of child delinquents changed between 1988 and 1997: arrests for violent crimes increased by 45 percent (paralleling the increase in violence for all juveniles) and drug abuse violations increased by 156 percent. In contrast, arrests for property crimes decreased by 17 percent (Snyder, 2001). The Denver Youth Survey, which is a follow up study of more than 1,500 high risk youth, showed that at ages 11–12, about 10 percent of boys and girls had a police contact because of delinquency. (Espiritu et al., 2001).

Child delinquents have their own typical offense profile. They account for one-third of all juvenile arrests for arson, one-fifth of juvenile arrests for sex offenses and vandalism, one-eighth of juvenile arrests for burglary and forcible rape, and one-twelfth of juvenile arrests for violent crime (Snyder, 2001). This Bulletin summarizes the final report of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's (OJJDP's) Study Group on Very Young Offenders.

Historically, delinquency studies have focused on later adolescence, the time when delinquency usually peaks. During the 1990s, numerous studies examined chronic juvenile offenders, a group responsible for a disproportionately large number of crimes (especially serious crimes). However, OJJDP's Study Group on Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders—whose work was inspired by OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders (Wilson and Howell, 1993)—reported in 1998 that youth who are referred to juvenile court for their first delinquency offense before age 13 are far more likely to become chronic offenders than youth first referred to court at a later age. Specifically, this Study Group found that the onset of problem behaviors in male children starts, on average, much earlier than the average age of first court contact for Crime Index offenses. The discovery that minor problem behavior leading to delinquency often begins at a very young age was a major impetus for OJJDP to develop a new initiative, the Study Group on Very Young Offenders, which began its work in 1998.

This cooperative 2-year-long venture was undertaken to analyze existing data and to address key issues that had not previously been studied in the literature. Consisting of 16 primary study group members and 23 coauthors who are experts on criminology, child delinquency, psychopathology, and the law, the Study Group on Very Young Offenders reviewed hundreds of studies, undertook many special analyses, and received valuable input from a survey of more than 100 practitioners in the field. The Study Group concentrated on the delinquent behavior of children ages 7 to 12 and on children's persistently disruptive and precociously deviant behavior from the toddler years up to adolescence.

This concerted effort produced valuable insights into the nature of child delinquency. The Study Group found evidence that some young children engage in very serious antisocial behavior and that, in some cases, this behavior foreshadows early delinquency. The Study Group also identified several important risk factors that, when combined, may be related to the onset of early offending. To better understand the early origins of child delinquency, the Study Group emphasizes that research should focus on the preschool and elementary years, a time during which early interventions can be implemented, before the accumulation of multiple offenses and the commission of serious offenses. The Study Group report concluded with a review of preventive and remedial interventions relevant to child delinquency.

The Child Delinquency Bulletin Series draws from the Study Group's final report, which was completed in 2001 under grant number 95-JD-FX-0018 and subsequently published by Sage Publications as *Child Delinquents: Development, Intervention, and Service Needs* (edited by Rolf Loeber and David P. Farrington). OJJDP encourages parents, educators, and the juvenile justice community to use this information to address the needs of young offenders by planning and implementing more effective interventions.

The Study Group was concerned with three categories of children: Serious child delinquents who have committed one or more of the following acts: homicide, aggravated assault, robbery, rape, or serious arson. Other child delinquents (excluding serious delinquents). Children showing persistent disruptive behavior (including truancy and incorrigibility), who are at risk of offending. Generations of studies in criminology show that the best predictor of future behavior is past behavior. Children showing persistent disruptive behavior are likely to become child delinquents and, in turn, child delinquents are likely to become serious, violent, or chronic juvenile offenders.

During the preschool years, the most important risk factors stem from the individual and family. Particular predictors, such as aggressiveness and a child's level of impulsivity or sensation seeking, result from numerous influences—from genetics to the child's environment—over a period of years. Aggression appears to be the best predictor of delinquency up to age 12. For

example, physical aggression rated by kindergarten teachers is the best predictor of later self-reported violent delinquency (Haapasalo and Tremblay, 1994; Tremblay et al., 1994).

Loeber (1988) postulated that juveniles who eventually engage in both property offenses and violence show the following behaviors:

1. Onset of conduct problems in the preschool years.
2. Aggressive and covert problem behaviors, such as lying and shoplifting.
3. Hyperactive/impulsive behavior at a young age.

In addition to early antisocial behavior, family characteristics are important predictors of early-onset offending. The number of family risk factors to which a child is exposed and the child's length of exposure to these stressors also are important (Williams et al., 1990). Some family characteristics that may contribute to early-onset child delinquency include the following:

1. Antisocial parents.
2. Substance-abusing parents.
3. Parental psychopathology (e.g., Lahey et al., 1988).
4. Poor parenting practices, such as lack of monitoring (Patterson, Crosby, and Vuchinich, 1992) and/ or a lack of positive reinforcement (Bor et al., 1997).
5. The prevalence of physical abuse.
6. A history of family violence.
7. Large family size.

Many of the family risk factors interact with other social systems, such as peers and the community environment. Nevertheless, a recent study found that the strongest predictors of early-onset violence included large family size, poor parenting skills, and antisocial parents (Derzon and Lipsey, 2000).

Risk factors for child delinquency within the school and community have not been as well documented as individual, family, and peer risk factors (see table 2). The Study Group hypothesized that children who developed strong bonds to school (high commitment) would conform to the norms and values that schools promote, thereby reducing their probability of antisocial behavior. Studies addressing school influences on antisocial behavior have consistently shown that poor academic performance is related to child behavior problems and to the prevalence, onset, and seriousness of delinquency (Brewer et al., 1995; Maguin and Loeber, 1996). Weak bonds to school (low commitment), low educational aspirations, and poor motivation place children at risk for offending. (Hawkins et al., 1987; Hawkins et al, 1998).

The intersection of race, gender, and early childhood offending is a largely unexplored terrain. Too often, policymakers, law enforcement agents, and social services agencies rely on stereotypes and assumptions concerning race and gender when dealing with juveniles. Youth of color—particularly African American males—are overrepresented in arrest rates (especially

arrests for serious or violent offenses) in relation to their proportion in the population (Kempf-Leonard, Chesney-Lind, and Hawkins, 2001). Conversely, in relation to their proportion in the population, females are underrepresented in arrests for serious or violent offenses but overrepresented in arrests for status offenses and child welfare cases. However, rates of court referrals are rising faster for females than for males. When self report data are considered, the race and gender gaps apparent in official records are less pronounced.

The Study Group recommends that race and gender comparisons be routinely conducted in research on child delinquency. For example, in the Pittsburgh Youth Study, researchers found no race differences in offending once adequate controls were included for “underclass” status of neighborhoods (Peeples and Loeber, 1994).

Child delinquents constitute a population not usually recognized as needing services to prevent them from becoming tomorrow’s serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. The Study Group’s work has clear implications for policymakers at the federal, state, county, and municipal levels who can influence the day-to-day and long-term operation of agencies and or their funding to maintain, improve, or create new programs. Indirectly, the Study Group also addresses the frontline workers who deal every day with child delinquents and children with persistent disruptive behavior, whose voices and concerns should be heard by policymakers.

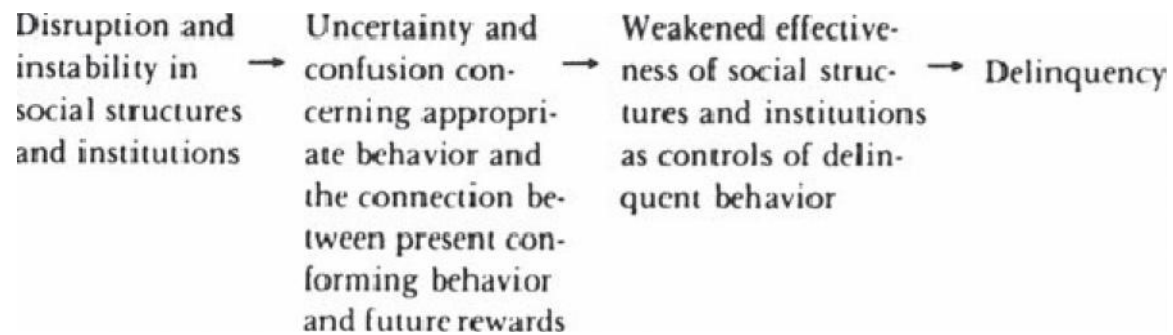
Chapter (3): Theoretical framework

There are various theories of crime and delinquencies. Such as social disorganization theory, differential association theory, labeling theory, the middle-class measuring rod theory of Cohen, the opportunity theory of Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (partly based on Merton’s anomie theory of deviance), and the lower-class value system explanation of Walter Miller. These theories have been used to give causal explanation of involving Rayer Bazar slum children to crimes and delinquencies.

Davis Mike’s concept of “museum of exploitation” has been used to describe economic insecurity of Geneva camp dwellers.

Social Disorganization theory

As explanations of delinquency, social disorganization and anomie share a common set of assumptions. First, delinquency is assumed to be primarily caused by social factors. Both explanations consider personal or situational influences in delinquency, but the dominant factor is social. Second, the structure and institutions of society are assumed to be in disarray or disorganization. Just specifically what component of society is thought to be in a state of disorganization is one of the factors that distinguishes the two explanations. Third, the uncertainty and confusion that accompany social disorganization and anomie are said, in this approach, to leave one vulnerable or susceptible to delinquent behavior. In essence, it is assumed



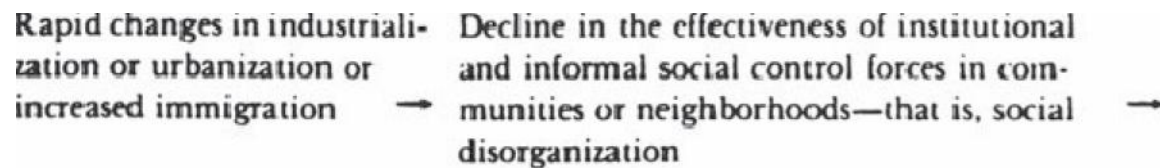
Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.100).

that social factors control delinquency and, when these factors become unstable, juveniles are rendered less able to resist deviant temptations. Fourth, it is implied that the erosion of stability in social structure is most pronounced among the lower classes, an assumption made because these theories were developed to explain a disproportionate rate of delinquency (and crime) among the working and lower classes. This excess of criminality among the lower classes of society was partly the result of using police and court records as the measure of delinquency. Nonetheless, both explanations assume that criminality is inversely related to social class, although, in the abstract, this assumption is not necessary for either theory.

It is apparent from the preceding discussion that social disorganization and anomie are partly social control theories of delinquency. That is, it is assumed that delinquency results, in part, from a lack of significant attachment to social institutions, such as the family and school. The thrust of these explanations, however, is on the social factors that produce weakened controls on delinquency.

Specific Assumptions:

The foremost assumption of social disorganization as an explanation of delinquency is that delinquency is primarily the result of a breakdown of institutional, community-based controls. The individuals who live in such situations are not necessarily themselves personally disoriented; instead, they are viewed as responding “naturally” to disorganized environmental conditions. A second assumption of this approach to delinquency is that the disorganization of community based institutions is often caused by rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration processes, which occur primarily in urban areas. Third, it is assumed that the effectiveness of social institutions and the desirability of residential and business locations correspond closely to natural, ecological principles, which are influenced by the concepts of competition and dominance. Largely because of this assumption, the social disorganization explanation of delinquency is associated with the term “ecological approach.” A fourth assumption is that socially disorganized areas lead to



Development of delinquency areas, as exemplified by high rates of delinquency, and the existence of delinquent traditions and values in specific geographical areas or neighborhoods

Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.102).

the development of criminal values and traditions, which replace conventional ones, and that this process is self-perpetuating. The causal chain depicting the assumptions of social disorganization in relationship to delinquency is presented in Figure 4.

key concepts

Social Disorganization This term is variously defined throughout the literature, but in relationship to delinquency, it typically refers to either: (1) a breakdown in conventional institutional controls, as well as informal social control forces, within a community or

neighborhood (cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927) or (2) the inability of organizations, groups, or individuals in a community or neighborhood to solve common problems collectively.

Growth Zones As formulated by Burgess (1967), this concept refers to concentric zones that represent distinctive characteristics and that are thought to appear in successive stages as the result of growth and expansion in a city.

Ecological Approach This term refers to the systematic analysis of delinquency rates as these are distributed geographically within a city or locality. The distribution of rates is often mapped, or spotted, and correlated with other community characteristics, and the results are used to describe patterns of delinquency in a statistical fashion.

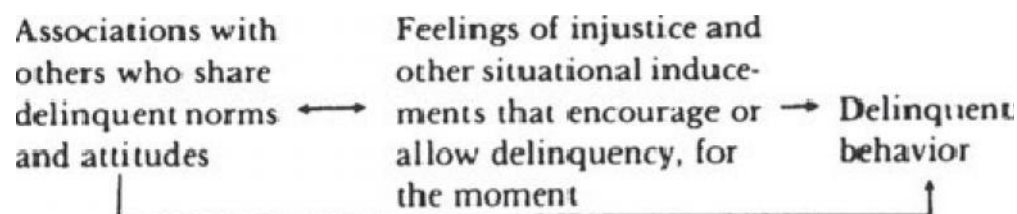
Delinquency Area A geographical unit (often approximately a square mile) that has a higher than average rate of delinquency is referred to as a delinquency area. It is also presumed that delinquency areas are characterized by traditions and values that support or even encourage criminality.

Interpersonal and Situational Explanations or differential association theory

Interpersonal and situational theories of delinquency are historically placed in time between the development of individualistic theories and the more recent labeling and radical perspectives. The interpersonal theory of Edwin Sutherland, differential association, was developed during the 1920s, from Sutherland's earlier education at the University of Chicago and from his continued contact with those associated with ecological studies of criminality in Chicago, such as Henry McKay. (Schuessler, 1973a, 1973b; Sutherland, 1973).

Generic Assumptions

A major assumption of interpersonal and situational theories of delinquency is the belief that human behavior, including delinquent behavior, is flexible and not fixed. Behavioral inclinations change according



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.182).

interpersonal and situational explanations 183 to circumstances or situations. A second assumption of these theories is that neither the delinquent nor the society in which he lives is deviant or “bad.” Delinquency arises from the same general social conditions as does no delinquent behavior, and the same person may be committing both kinds of acts at different times. A third assumption of these theories is that most delinquent behavior is committed in a group or gang context. While the particular situation in which delinquent behavior appears may fluctuate, the general setting will most typically include group norms and behavioral patterns.

Two points should be stressed relative to Figure 10. First, both peer associations and situational factors may independently lead to delinquent acts, even though they are thought to be related to each other. Second, the proper terminology to use in connection with these theories is delinquent behavior, because such activity is presumed to be situational, not indicative of long-term behavioral patterns or personal character (Sagarin, 1975); that is, the behavior is delinquent, but the individual ought not to be characterized as a delinquent, in the sense of a continuing identity.

Specific Assumptions of Differential Association: The best known interpersonal theory of delinquency (and adult crime as well) is the theory of differential association, developed by Edwin H. Sutherland. Unlike the developers of many other theories of delinquency, Sutherland outlined the major components of his theory in the form of propositional statements. These propositions also represent the basic assumptions of the theory, and they are discussed in detail here. Some of the major overriding assumptions of the theory, however, include the following: (1) all behavior is learned (that is, not genetically programmed) and, hence, delinquent acts are learned behavior; (2) the learning of delinquent behavior primarily occurs in small, informal group settings; and (3) the learning of delinquent behavior develops from collective experiences as well as from specific situational, current events.

key concepts

Differential Association According to the concept of differential association, a youth commits an act of delinquency in response to an excess of attitudes favoring law or norm violation, at that time, and that principally he has attained this excess in association with others. Since this idea also appears in the list of propositions which collectively define the theory, it will be elaborated on later.

Differential Social Organization This concept represents an alternative to social disorganization. Rather than arguing that certain environmental settings are disorganized, Sutherland reasoned that such areas are organized differently from other areas. In other words, there is some organization in any social setting, whether or not that setting is conducive to criminality. This

concept reflects the societal dimension of the theory of differential association. At the individual level, young people commit delinquent

acts in accordance with delinquent associations. At the community or societal level, norms, values, and behavior patterns are differentially organized to make it more or less likely that a juvenile will come into contact with, and be influenced by, delinquent values.

This concept is an important one. However, differential social organization has been neglected in most studies of differential association theory, and is difficult to analyze. Part of the difficulty is how best to measure differential organization. One effort addressed the concept by examining the social class composition of neighborhoods. This study failed to support any differential impact of social class composition on a sample of “serious juvenile offenders” (Reinarman and Fagan, 1988). However, as the authors acknowledge, it is difficult to capture the complexity of a construct such as differential social organization with a single measure. In fact, social class may at best be an approximation of differential social organization. Other variables, such as the existence of crime prevention groups, levels of tolerance of crime in a neighborhood, and so on, may be better indices of this variable.

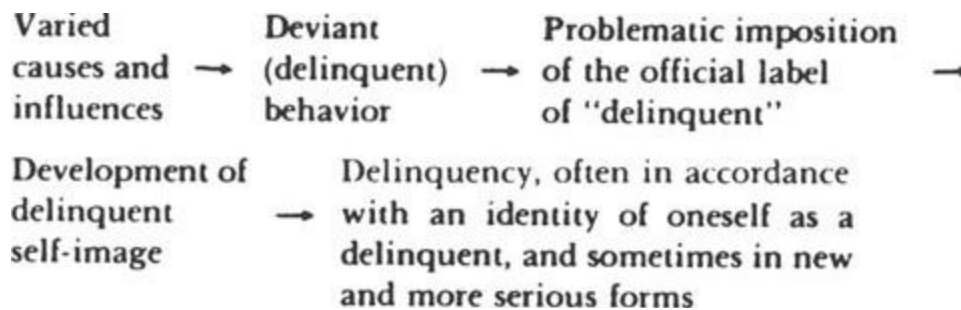
As indicated in Chapter 5, many of the contemporary studies of community and neighborhood influences on delinquency focus on the concept of social disorganization. Future research in this area may continue along this line of thought, but it does seem that a productive approach would be to refocus attention on Sutherland’s idea, namely, that areas are not disorganized so much as they are organized differently, some better for the prevention of crime, others for the encouragement of criminality.

Labeling theory

Interest in labeling theory was dormant during the 1950s, since numerous structural theories were introduced to explain delinquency, particularly lower-class gang delinquency. Increasing dissatisfaction with these, and other, theories and the growing awareness of middle-class delinquency, much of which was not officially recorded, prompted many criminologists to return to the earlier views of Thrasher, Tannenbaum, and Lemert. This renewed interest was particularly spawned by Howard Becker’s analysis of deviance in the early 1960s (later revised in 1973). Essentially, Becker proposed that deviance was “created” by rule enforcers, who often acted with bias against the poor and powerless members of society. This idea, coupled with the earlier notion of changing self-images, during the 1960s and early 1970s became a central topic of much research and commentary that focused on the subjects of crime, delinquency, and deviant acts.

Generic Assumptions:

One of the basic assumptions of labeling theory is that initial acts of delinquency are caused by a wide variety of factors. These factors, however, are relatively unimportant in the scheme of things, which leads to a second assumption. That is, the primary factor in the repetition of delinquency is the fact of having been formally labeled as a delinquent. This assertion is accompanied by another idea, which may be presented as a third assumption. Repeated acts of delinquency are influenced by formal labels because such labels eventually alter a person's self-image to the point where the person begins to identify himself as a delinquent and act accordingly.



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.260).

Contrary to Reckless' containment theory, therefore, the view of the labeling perspective is that a negative, or delinquent, self-image follows the act of delinquency rather than precedes delinquency. A fourth assumption of the labeling approach is that the official application of the label of delinquent is dependent on a host of criteria in addition to, or other than, the behavior itself, such as the offender's age, sex, race, and social class, as well as the organizational norms of official agencies and departments.

Of course, one does not have to be officially labeled criminal or delinquent in order to label himself as such. Moreover, an official label that calls one delinquent can be applied irrespective of any nonconformist act. For the most part, however, the advocates of the labeling approach to delinquency have maintained that usually some type of nonconformity precedes an official label and that most self-labeling occurs after official labeling.

key concepts

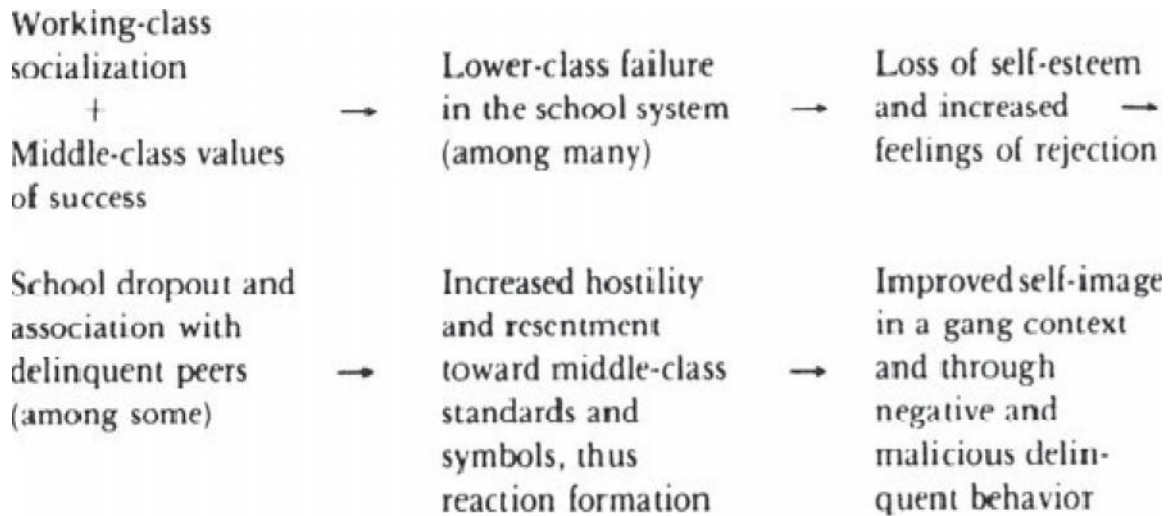
The focus of this chapter is on the effects of labeling on delinquent self-images and behavior rather than on the antecedents of the labeling per se. Two concepts that are important in this regard are primary and secondary deviance, as introduced by Lemert (1951). Primary Deviance This term refers to original acts of nonconformity that may be caused by any of a number of factors. Primary deviance is generally considered to be undetected, or not recognized, as deviant by others. Primary deviants have not adjusted their behavior to accommodate societal reactions to their deviance.

Secondary Deviance On the other hand, this term refers to deviance that is committed as the result of the problems of self-identity and social interaction, which are generated by the identification of the actor as a deviant. It is a new and often more serious form of deviance that is committed, in addition to the original causes of the primary deviance. Thus, secondary deviance is nonconformity created by the “pains of labeling.”

Cohen and the Middle-Class Measuring Rod Theory

The middle-class measuring rod theory has four basic assumptions: (1) that a relatively high number of lower-class youth (males in particular) do poorly in school; (2) that poor school performance is related to delinquency; (3) that poor school performance is mostly attributable to a conflict between the dominant middle-class values of the school system and the values of lower-class youth; and (4) that lower-class male delinquency is largely committed in a gang context, partly as a means of developing more positive self-concepts and nurturing antisocial values.

Fig : Cohen's(1955) theory of lower class delinquency.



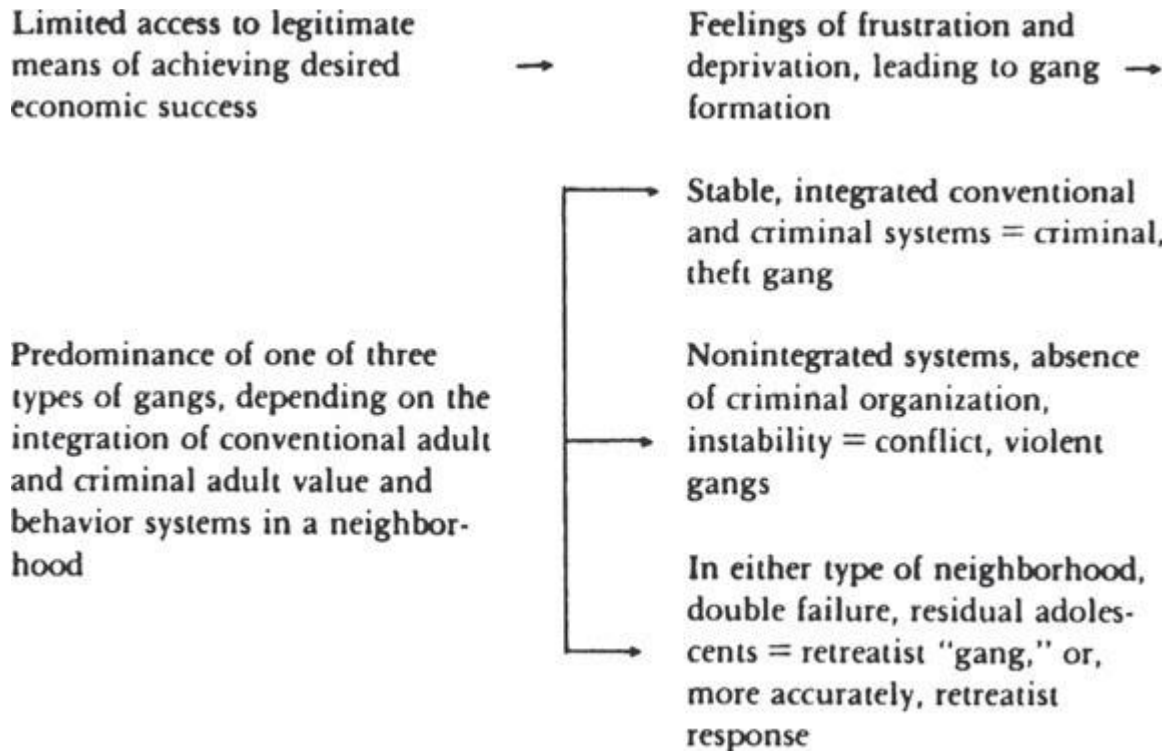
Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.146).

Evaluation

Cohen's theory is based on several assumptions. Evidence on the first assumption is fairly clear; lower-class youth generally do perform poorly in school relative to other students. The second basic point of Cohen's thesis, that school performance is related to delinquency, has also been supported by research. Loss of self esteem causes drop out of lower class Childs from schools and getting associated with delinquent peer. The fourth major component of Cohen's theory, that delinquency is a gang phenomenon and that gang members derive psychological gratification from gang membership.

Cloward and Ohlin's(1960) Theory of Differential Opportunity Structure

The differential opportunity theory has two basic assumptions: (1) that blocked economic aspirations cause poor self-concepts and general feelings of frustrations, and (2) that these frustrations lead to delinquency in specialized gang contexts, the nature of which varies according to the structure of criminal and conventional values in the juvenile's neighborhood.



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.156).

Miller's Theory of Lower-Class Culture and Delinquency: The lower-class culture explanation of delinquency rests on two very basic assumptions: (1) that clear-cut lower class focal concerns or values exist, independent of other values, and (2) that female-dominated households constitute an integral feature of lower-class life-styles and, as such, represent a primary reason for the emergence of street-corner male adolescent groups in lower-class neighborhoods.

According to Miller(1958), the key components of the lower-class culture are best described as "focal concerns," of which there are six: (1) trouble, (2) toughness, (3) smartness, (4) excitement, (5) fate, and (6) autonomy. Trouble involves run-ins with authority, police, bureaucratic personnel, or others. It also includes, for men, problems associated with fighting or sexual activity accompanied by drinking and, for women, complications associated with sexual activity.

Toughness is characterized as a concern for physical prowess and strength, so-called masculine traits (as exhibited by bravery and sexual skills, often symbolized through tattooing and shown by lack of emotion).

Smartness represents an ability to outwit someone through mental gymnastics. It involves being able to "play the game," to hustle the John, so to speak, particularly in the setting of the street.

Excitement represents a heightened interest in the “thrill”—particularly experienced through alcohol, sex, gambling, “making the rounds,” and “going out on the town.” It is considered a periodic adventure, often followed by, or preceded by, a period of inaction, referred to as “hanging out.”

Fate includes the feeling that one’s future is out of his hands, beyond his control, not necessarily because of religious powers, but more because of the strong forces of destiny or magic.

The last focal concern, autonomy, contains paradoxical elements. On the surface, Miller argues that autonomy represents a strong desire on the part of lower-class people to be independent of external controls (the “boss” or a spouse, for example). Underneath all this manifested independence, however, is a consistent pattern of seeking out nurturing situations, such as a steady job or a comforting wife, or perhaps a period of confinement, particularly after a round of trouble or excitement. The focal concerns of a lower-class culture relate to delinquency in two ways. First, the values of lower-class life often result in the absence of the father, or any other significant male role model, in the home. Thus, many adolescent boys leave the home in search of male identities in street gangs, called by Miller “one-sex peer units” (1958:14). Second, within the gang, needs and behaviors develop that are consistent with the focal concerns of the lower class. According to Miller, lower-class gang members are not psychologically disturbed. Instead, gang members typically represent the most “able” male youngsters in a neighborhood, in terms of both physical abilities and “personal competence.”

Davis Mike’s (2005) Museum of exploitation

According to Davis informal sector is not the brave new world envisioned but neoliberal enthusiasts, it is most certainly a living museum of human exploitation. Such as child labour, rickshaw pulling and other informal sector’s jobs have been described as museum of exploitation. He argued that cities have become the dumping ground of surplus population working in unskilled, unprotected and low wage informal service industries and trade. The rise of the informal sector they declare bluntly is a direct result of liberalization. Some Brazillian sociologists call this process_ analogous to the semi proletarianization. Davis has argued a recent study in Dhaka , that discovered “nearly half half of boys and girls aged to 10 to 14 were performing income generating work. The ILO has estimated that there are more than 3 million rickshaw pullers on the street of Asia, the second largest provider of employment in the city. Kidney trafficking, human trafficking and other human exploitations are also termed as museum of exploitation.

Chapter (4): Research Methodology

4.1 Location of the Study

The study on the crimes and delinquencies among slum children has been done at Rayer Bazar slum that is situated at Hazaribagh thana near Rayer bazar. Some local people call it “Rayer Bazar Bat Tala Slum”. In the map below, Hazaribagh thana has been showed. Rayer Bazar is situated at the northern part of the thana.

Fig: Fig: map of Hazaribagh Thana.



Source: zesun35geo.webs.com

4.2 Sources of data collection

Sources of data collection can be divided into two types such as Secondary source and Primary source. Secondary data were collected by reviewing different research papers and publications of various organizations working in the area of crime and child delinquency at the slum. Journal articles, reports, working papers and newspaper clippings were reviewed. Existing information were extracted from various sources to understand the crime and delinquency at the slum from sociological perspective. Primary data were collected by triangulation or mixed methodology.

4.3 Methodology

In my research, I followed the triangulation or mixed methodology. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were adapted to conduct the research. Survey was done on the inhabitants of slum dwellers about their socio economic and overall crime and delinquencies at the slum through a pretested questionnaire. Respondents were selected through random sampling. Case study was done on the delinquent children of the slum following a checklist. Delinquent children were found out from the slum through snow ball sampling.

4.4 Data Collection Strategies

Questionnaire, semi structured interview and case study etc. were done to collect data that are discussed in the below.

4.4.1 Random sampling

In random selection, each element in a population has an equal chance or equal probability of being chosen. Stratifying the population along different dimensions before random selection produces stratified random samples (Punch F Keith, 1998). In my study, the sampling was to survey on the slum dwellers about their socioeconomic and environmental condition and overall nature of crimes and delinquencies among slum children. The slum dwellers were stratified based on their living rooms. I have surveyed people after how many rooms that were selected by tossing. I took survey from respondents, man and woman by questionnaire after four rooms.

4.4.2 Snow ball sampling

A form of non-probability sampling in which the researcher begins by identifying an individual perceived to be an appropriate respondent. This respondent is then asked to identify another

potential respondent. The process is repeated until the researcher has collected sufficient data. Sometimes called 'chain letter' sampling. Snowball sampling can be a useful technique in research concerned with behavior that is socially unacceptable or involves criminal activity. The nature of such activities may make it a virtually impossible task to identify all members of the research population; even identifying a few members. (Paul Oliver, 2006). In my study, I used snow ball sampling to find out delinquent children of the Rayer Bazar slum.

4.4.3 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the responses, this is not always the case. The questionnaire was invented by Sir Francis Galton.

Many research projects and dissertations demand the collection of primary data from individuals. Questionnaires are often the best way of gathering such information and views. However, a badly designed questionnaire may get only unusable responses or none at all. In my study, I designed my questionnaire on the basis of my research objective. Types of crimes and delinquencies were preselected by discussing with local people. Inhabitants of the slum were asked about their socioeconomic condition, crimes and delinquencies at the slum.

4.4.4 Case study

A case study is an intensive analysis of an individual unit (e.g., a person, group, or event) stressing developmental factors in relation to context. The case study is common in social sciences and life sciences. Case studies may be descriptive or explanatory. The latter type is used to explore causation in order to find underlying principles. They may be prospective (in which criteria are established and cases fitting the criteria are included as they become available) or retrospective (in which criteria are established for selecting cases from historical records for inclusion in the study).

Thomas offers the following definition of case study: "Case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame — an object — within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates."

To conduct my case study, I first introduced myself, explained the purpose of the study, asked for permission to take notes, and explained confidentiality. I asked some easy, non-threatening questions at the start to break the ice and make people feel comfortable. I started with the easier, more general questions and gradually moved to more in-depth or 'risky' ones. Some straight forward questions were asked at the end to relax the interviewee.

4.4.5 Limitations of the study

The eminent limitation of this study was the lack of literature about socioeconomic and environmental condition of Rayer Bazar slum and the slum children. So to explain the causes of crimes and delinquencies based on their exact socioeconomic condition was difficult. There is also limitation of literature about crime and delinquency among slum children of Bangladesh. Another limitation was to find out criminal and delinquent children of the slum. I tried to find out them through snow ball sampling. But to find out all criminal and delinquent children were not possible. The slum dwellers frankly share everything about their socioeconomic condition. But when I asked about the crimes and delinquencies by the slum children, they couldn't talk frankly. Some information may be hidden by them. Some respondents stopped talking and some felt uneasy to talk about that question. So exact finding about the crime and delinquency rate to the slum was difficult.

Chapter (5): Crimes and delinquencies Committed by the children of Rayer Bazar Slum.

5.1 Different forms of crimes committed by the children of the slum

Different forms of crimes that are committed by children of Rayer Bazar slum are discussed in the below.

5.1.1 Theft:

Like most of the slums of Dhaka city, theft is a common phenomenon in the Rayer Bazar Slum. People of this area tell that some children of the area usually do it in chance. They are not

economically in well condition. Their parents don't fulfill their demands. Children usually thieves mobile, money bag, house hold materials such as bucket, bowl, clothes etc.

In my research, most of the respondents have told that their money bag, mobile, household furniture, shop's goods have been thieved during the last six months.

Kalam, a rickshaw puller at the slum. He has come the slum from Mymensingh. He told that he has lost three rickshaws during last one year. The rickshaws are usually thieved by both slum dwellers and outsiders. Some children under eighteen years old are involved to thieve. He was talking that mobile, money bag etc. thieving are regular occurrence by children and adults. During his stay at the slum, one child thief was caught up during his thieving. He was his neighbors. He is not professional thief. He was doing that to buy skin touch mobile. But there are some professional child thieves too in the area. They are trained. They can thieve within very short time and none can catch up them.

During my survey, a child thief who usually thieves shoe from mosque was caught up. People are beating him randomly and he escaped from that place by running. People are talking; he is the child of slum. But none is sure. So many criminal activities that are done in the nearby slum are thought done by the slum children.

There is also a group of thieves in the slum. When I was asking a delinquent boy about his theft, He was talking that he came here from Mymensingh with his brother. His brother works in a shop. He works as day laborer. After coming to the slum, he introduced with a child who is a member of a group of thieves. With him, he joined to the group to earn more money by thieving than working as day labor. He was showing me how he thieves mobile and money bag by picking pocket and how to switch off and pull out the SIM from the mobile very quickly. He is supported by the group in danger. Theft that are done by the children of the slum are in the below.

Theft	Percentage of people saw theft by children during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Mobile	68.33%
Money bag	35.00%
Auto rickshaw	8.33%
Household furniture/wealth	63.33%

Shop's goods	40.00%
Others	68.33%

Fig 1: Theft by the children.

The survey was done on the slum dwellers. They were asked if they have seen the crime during last six months. When I was asking about the crime and delinquencies to a woman about child thief, she answered that a child thief was taking his bucket and clothe. She saw him and shouted and the thief has escaped. The thief is not from the slum. She talked, some outsider child thieves also thieve from the slum.

5.1.2 Mugging and robbery

Mugging and robbery also occur by the children of the slum. There are some mastaans in the area those who move on the road beside the slum randomly. Some children are also involved with gang of mastaans. Local people fear of them and didn't talk anything in front of them against their deeds. They often talk violently and about sword using. They take away mobile, moneybag, and jewelry from the women. A woman was talking that her chain of gold was taking away beside the slum area when she was coming back to the slum from her parent's house in the evening.

Montu, a children of the slum was talking that his two mobiles have been taking away in the nearby area. There is close linkage of some children of the slum with outsider mastaans. They together do mugging in the area. He was making me conscious; please don't mix with group of children at night with your mobile and camera. They may take away that from you.

Mugging and Robbery.	Percentage of people saw mugging and robbery by the children during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Mugging	35.00%
Robbery.	20.00%

Fig(2): Mugging and Robbery by the slum children.

5.1.3 Criminal violence

Criminal violence such as injuring, using weapon, killing etc. are occurred by the slum children. Violence is the common scenario of the slum. Children under 18 years use weapon such as sword, axe, etc. to make violence.

Mokbul, a vendor of dried wood was talking; a violence has been done by the children today. Children use weapon such as stick, sword, axe etc. Many children are injured and some attended to die.

Jabbar, another vendor was talking; please don't go to the street now. There is ongoing clash between two groups of people regarding capturing the portion of the land there. Police may come to that place. They arrest anyone who is in the area. Children under eighteen years old also take part to the clash.

Criminal violence	Percentage of people saw criminal violence by children at Rayer Bazar Slum area during last six months.
Injuring	85.00%
Using weapon	60.0%
Killing	00.00%
Others	56.66%

Fig (2): Criminal violence by the children.

5.1.4 Drug dealing:

There is overwhelming presence of drug addiction and drug dealing among the children of the slum. It is the most vital crime among the children of the slum. Drug dealing has enormously increased by the slum children. There are various types of drugs that are dealt by the children such as Marijuana, Phensidil, Yaba, Tari etc.

Safer, a vendor near Rayer Bazar slum was talking, children take Marijuana now as like cigarette. Many of them have become dealers and whole sellers of drugs. They have close

connection with the police. So they don't fear to sell that. If anyone is arrested, he gets rid of easily by giving some bribe to the police. They have been potential bribe giver of the police. Some drug dealers regularly communicate with police to run their drug business.

Drug dwelling.	Percentage of people saw drug dealing by children at Rayer Bazar Slum area during last six months.
Marijuana	86.67%
Phensidil	31.67%
Yaba	30.00%
Tari	43.33%
Others	31.67%

Fig (3): Drug dealing by the slum children.

Drugs are available at the slum to many child drug dealers. They are usually supported by the outsider whole sellers. They sell drugs in the slum and nearby area. Some of them supply these to aristocrat places such as Dhanmondi, Shyamoli, Kallaynpur etc. Some supply it to the students of private universities such as State University, Asa University, University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh etc.

Some children of the slum prefer drug dealing than working in shops, rickshaw pulling, construction working etc. Because they don't get much money as like drug dealing by doing works. They earn ten to twelve thousand taka by selling drugs but they get four to five thousand taka by working. Some children involve in such criminal activity as they don't get job.

5.1.5 Sexual harassment

According to the UNFPA (2000) Bangladesh has the second highest incidence of violence against women in the world. A survey carried out in 1997 by the Ministry of Women and

Children's Affairs with the assistance of the Government of Denmark found that violence against women is not only widespread, it is also widely accepted: 50 percent of the women interviewed thought it the husband's right to beat his wife; 85 percent felt it was right to hit the wife if she was disobedient; 80 percent of the women respondents felt that if a man rapes a woman the woman should marry the rapist. As mentioned above, part of the relatively high response rate on violence against women in our survey may be explained by this high level of social acceptance of the phenomenon. Women, particularly poor women, face social and economic exclusion in Bangladesh which is evident through the high levels of violence against women.

Sexual harassment	Percentage of people saw sexual harassment during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area during last six months.
Teasing	28.33%
Physical harassment	13.33%
Rape	1.66%

Fig(4): Sexual harassment by the children.

Sexual harassment to the women is not common phenomenon to the slum. It seldom occurs to the slum. Girls are usually harassed in the bath area and outside the slum during at night. There is no separate toilet or bathroom facility for the women and children. Girls are harassed by both slum dwellers and outsiders in the bath area. There is no boundary to slum and bath area. So outsiders can easily enter to the area. Some women and girls are harassed during their returning to slum from workplace in the evening.

Case of Maleka

Maleka, a seventeen years old girl of Rayer Bazar Slum. She is staying in the slum for eight years. Her family consists of five members. Her father drives CNG and mother makes pockets from papers. Her father earns monthly nine to twelve thousand taka and mother earns monthly two thousand taka. They have to pay five thousand for room rent and five thousand to pay loan. Her father came here from Barisal to pull rickshaw. He has bought the CNG this year.

She has studied to class five. Her elder sister is married and brother reads in class one. She works with her mother now. She worked as housemaid for some years. Before one year, she was sexually harassed when she was returning home from her working house at night. She was always careful about her movement at night. But that day, she was only one. She was teased before that. Local people are now blaming her that she is a bad girl. Whenever her family involves in any clash with other family, they scold her that the family is characterless. Whenever anyone proposes about marriage with her, surrounding people say that she is bad girl. They have decided that they will move to another place to remove stigmatization about the girl.

5.1.6 Trafficking of women and children

In recent years, there has been a significant increase in trafficking of women and children in Bangladesh. South Asia is one of the most vulnerable regions for trafficking because of its large population, large-scale rural-urban migration, the large population living in conditions of chronic poverty, and recurrent natural disasters. Women and children are sold, traded and exchanged for sexual slavery and prostitution, and bonded labor across borders, such as from Bangladesh to India, Pakistan, and the Middle East; from Nepal to India; from Burma to Thailand; from Vietnam to Kampuchea; and from Philippines to Japan.

The Bangla equivalent of the word ‘trafficking’ is pachar. It has a mild connotation which means transfer from one place to another. If the term pachar is used in reference to women and children, in Bangla the phrase nari o shishu pachar means illegal transfer of women and children from one place to another.

According to Radhika Coomaraswami, UN special Rapporteur on violence against women defined trafficking in persons as, “the recruitment, transportation, purchase, sale, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons: by threat or use of violence, abduction, force, fraud, deception or coercion or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding such person, whether for pay or not, in forced labor or slavery-like practices in a community other than the one in which such persons lived at the time of original act described in”.

Trafficking, which is a serious problem and is considered a violation of human rights, is yet to be internalized emotionally by society at large in Bangladesh and also in other South Asian countries. It is yet to be emotionally internalized regarding what happens when an adolescent girl is abducted and taken to a brothel, threatened, beaten, and raped, and is compelled to submit for sex with men, seven days a week. Eventually she can become ill which may sometimes result in death.

Trafficking	Percentage of people saw trafficking during last six months at Rayer Bazar
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	slum area.
Children	3.33%
Women	5.00%

Fig(5): Trafficking by the children.

Trafficking of women and children at the Rayer bazar slum is very rare. During my survey very few respondent answered that they have seen trafficking of the women and children in the slum. One respondent describes that there was occurrence of trafficking in the slum. A child was involved with that trafficking. Maleka, a 18 years old girl children who was trafficked by his boyfriend who is 18 years old stayed in the slum. She was invited to go to a park for recreation. She worked in house as home maids. Not going to her working house, she went with her friend. Her friend is a professional trafficker. He came to the slum before only three months ago. He took her in Rajshahi nearer the border area to traffic her in India. She was sexually harassed. By chance, she escaped from there and rescued by some people.

5.2 Delinquencies by the slum children

Delinquencies that are occurred by the Rayer Bazar Slum children are described in the below:

5.2.1 Violence

Violence is a regular delinquency occurred at Rayer Bazar Slum. There are violence between children and between groups are occurred there. Violence is usually taken place regarding their personal matter. Sometimes it goes to the violence between groups.

Violence regularly occurs there by the children. They do violence by quarreling with each other. Beating, punching, kicking, striking by household furniture, weapons etc. are common phenomenon. Violence sometimes causes harmful injury. This violence usually takes part between two adult men or children. Sometimes this may causes clash between two families or two groups. Most of the violent crimes are not reported to the police station. As the slum dwellers feel that they do not get justice from police station, they sometimes take the law to their own hand.

Violence	Percentage of people saw violence during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Between two children	85.00%
Between two groups	43.33%

Fig (6): Violence by the children at Rayer Bazar Slum.

Hannan, a slum dwellers was talking about a violence of the Slum. He was talking; there was violence between two groups of rickshaw pullers some days ago by regarding the issue where the rickshaw will be kept at night. This was taken place between two child rickshaw pullers aged seventeen and eighteen years. But it causes violence between two groups that results serious injuries.

5.2.2 Drug addiction

Drug addiction has been a common aspect for the youth of this generation. It is gradually destroys future of the youth. Today, this is an open secret to everybody but there is no strong initiatives taken to prevent people from taking illegal drugs which are harming them.

There is a widespread prevalence of tobacco smoking among male populations in urban slums of Bangladesh. Certain groups of men tended to be at higher risk of illicit drug uses. The prevalence and risk of illicit drug use was high among men aged 25-34.

Worldwide, rapid urbanization along with living in the informal settlements such as urban slum areas has posed a changing behavior of lifestyle of its dwellers, particularly the male populations. Despite the overwhelming evidence of the harmful effects of smoking, tobacco consumption has increased in developing countries and become one of the most profound global health challenges. If current tobacco consumption patterns persist, there will be 10 million tobacco-related deaths per year, and 70% of such deaths will be from developing countries including Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, tobacco related illness accounted for 16% of the total deaths among people aged 30 years and above. Although, tobacco kills one person in every six seconds, unfortunately smoking information including correlates of smoking in the cities especially in the urban slums is very scarce. Urban informal settlements are characterized by congestion, high levels of unemployment, inadequate social services, extreme poverty, insecurity, crime and hopelessness,

and therefore, offer a unique setting to study the currently tobacco smoking and its effect on illicit drug use among male populations living in the urban slums of Bangladesh.

Overall, the prevalence of tobacco smoking was 59.3% among male populations living in the urban slums of Bangladesh. Individually, the prevalence of smoking cigarette and bidi was 52.8% and 10.9% respectively. The mean consumption of cigarette and bidi was 9.8 ± 6.8 sticks and 2.3 ± 0.8 sticks respectively per day. The prevalence of use of any illicit drug was 4.8%. The most reported illicit drug used by the male slum dwellers was ganja (3.3%), followed by tari (2.3%), heroin (0.4%) and phensidle (0.4%). Only 0.2% used injectable drugs in the last one month prior to the survey date. (kamal Mostofa S.M, 2011).

My study found overwhelming presence of drug addiction among the children at the Rayer Bazar Slum. They took various types of drugs such as cigarette, marijuana, phensidle, yaba, tari etc. Most of the children between fifteen to eighteen smoke. Many of them take marijuana too. It is the worst addiction of the slum children which cause involvement of other types of the crimes and delinquencies of the children. Whenever they fail to manage money to buy drugs, they involve to other types of crimes and delinquencies such as theft, robbery, mugging etc.

Akbar, a slum dwellers was talking that drugs are the most vital problem now for the children of the slum. Drugs are now more available and more cheaper than the previous times. Children now take marijuana like cigarette or bidi.

Drug addiction.	Percentage of people saw drug addiction by the children during last six months at Rayer Bazar Slum area.
Cigarette	100%
Marijuana	86.67%
Phensidil	40.00%
Yaba	21.67%

Tari	41.04%
Others	48.33%

Fig (7): Drug addiction by the children at Rayer Bazar slum.

Usually addiction starts from smoking. When they are addicted to it, they started taking marijuana for more addiction. Hasan, a 17 years old children of the Rayer Bazar slum was talking, he started smoking before four years. Now he takes marijuana. If he takes it once a day, addiction sustains the whole day. But he has to smoke several times to remain addicted that costs more than taking marijuana.

5.2.3 Picketing in the political procession

Poor slum dwellers are used in political procession especially in Hartal. Historically, the Hartal phenomenon has respectable roots in Ghandi's civil disobedience against Colonialism. But colonialism ended a long time ago, and today's political leaders of Bangladesh still exercising Hartal. The proponents of Hartal claim to be exercising globally agreed rights such as freedom of assembly and freedom of expression. But as long as Hartals are associated with intimidation, coercion and infringement on other people's freedom of movement, and as long as hartals inflict severe costs on the nation as a whole, attempts to justify Hartals by invoking principles of "freedom" do not come across as convincing or credible.

Children of the slum are sometimes used by the politicians in the political procession specially in Hartal, procession, demonstration etc. They are given some money to do picketing in the political procession. Habib, a sixteen years old children at the slum was talking that he went to a Hartal for picketing. He was eaten biriani and given 100 taka. Politicians contact with some people of the slum to manage children to involve in the picketing.

Percentage of people saw picketing in the political procession by the children during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.	
Picketing in the political procession.	28.33%

Fig (8): Picketing by the slum children.

5.2.4 Showing muscle power

Some children of the Rayer Bazar slum prefer to show their muscle power. They usually move in group, talk harshly to show their power in their voice. They usually spend most of their time in gossiping. All of them usually smoke and some take other drugs too. They don't care their parent and local people. They beat junior children with silly reason and take away money or anything from the children of outsider area.

Percentage of people saw children to show muscle power during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.	
Muscle power	65.00%

Fig (8): Showing muscle power by the children.

Matlab, A slum dwellers of the slum was talking that there are some delinquent children in the slum those who usually spend most of their time by gossiping and do bad deeds. They threaten people by showing muscle power. They are used by some people sometimes to threaten and strike their rival.

Chapter (6) Causes of crimes and delinquencies

It is often argued that crime and violence is the output of a complex set of factors including rapid urbanization, persistent poverty and inequality, social exclusion, political violence, the more organized nature of crime, and the growth of an array of illegal activities. As such, experiences in the US, Europe, and increasingly from developing countries themselves, have shown that crime and violence can be substantially reduced through well-planned prevention strategies that go beyond traditional police responses – especially at the local level. (Crime and violence and the urban poor. Bangladesh Development Series paper no:17 , 2007).

The behavior patterns of children are influenced in part by what goes on in the environment in which they live. Family members, friends, and peers all influence the development of children. It is sometimes accompanied by a desire for material things, fashion, peer pressure, cash and more. At times, the demands of wants and needs are intensified by a society that consists of high mobility, social change, and is materialistic. Also, social changes can create anxiety and disillusionment for childs and thus they commit crime and delinquent acts.

Many other factors need to be considered before a juvenile act becomes a delinquent act. The norms of one society may differ significantly from another society. What could be considered delinquency in Africa or Asia might not be delinquent behavior in the United States. Laws, cultural norms, belief systems, traditions all play a determining role in various aspects of our lives. These factors allow society to create ideals and expectations for their citizens.

Children's crime and delinquent behaviors are influenced not only by what goes on in the environment in which they live, but also by what they observe in adults, what they listen to, learn from peer groups, parents, relatives, and society at large. Juvenile delinquency is not an inherent human condition, but rather is learned through association, imitation, observation, pressure, needs, wants, influence and desires.

The available information on Dhaka shows that this model is consistent with the characteristics of crime and violence – they is a complex mix of interpersonal, social, economic, and structural factors. Crime and delinquency is carried out by a variety of different individuals and groups and ranges from widespread domestic violence to disorganized 'opportunistic' street crime, to the extremely well organized - and who operate for motives that range from hunger, to greed, and to politics.

My study at the Rayer Bazar slum argues that there are various reasons of the slum children to involve in the crime and delinquencies. Such as social environment, family, delinquent peer groups, economic insecurity, lack of education, drug addiction etc. These causes of child's involvement to the crime and delinquencies are discussed in the below.

6.1 Social environment

There is a close relationship between crime and grime. Like most of slum of Dhaka city, Rayer Bazar slum has no stable social structure. People from different regions of the country come to the slum to settle there and involve with different occupation for their livelihood. Many criminal and delinquent childs also settle there to do different crimes and delinquencies such as theft, robbery, mugging, drug dealing, trafficking etc. They do such crimes and delinquencies at the slum and nearby area. Some other children also involve with them. There is no barricade for the slum children that can prevent them from crimes and delinquencies.

The structure of the society is extremely disorganized. There is no association or committee of the slum. Outsider people can easily enter to slum and can use the slum children in mugging, robbery, trafficking, drug dwelling etc. My study found that some slum children are member of criminal gang group that is leaded by outsider terrorist.

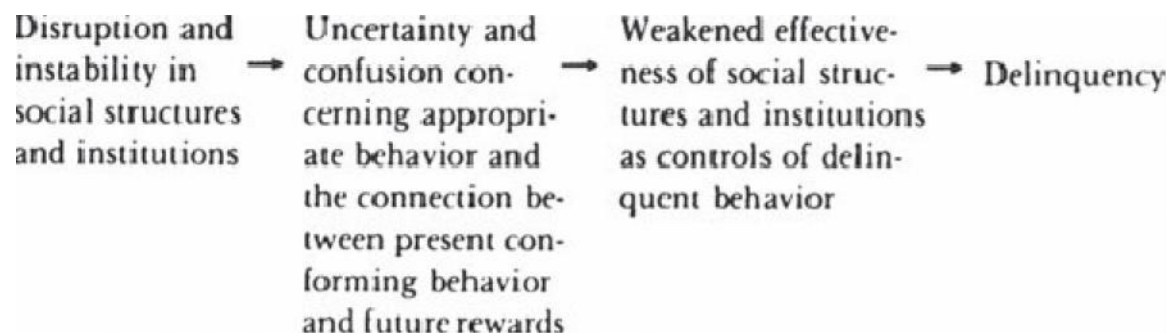
Case of kalam

Kalam, a 18 years old child of the Rayer Bazar Slum. He has studied till class six. His family consists of seven members. His father is a building construction worker and his mother is a house wife. His elder brother works in garment. His sisters is married and other two brothers are in class one and class three. His father earns seven to eight thousand taka and elder brother earns seven thousands taka monthly. He sometimes works with his father.

He is a member of a professional terrorist group. The head of the group is outsider. Political leaders contact with him to take some picketers in political procession by giving money. Many people contact with him to take criminal and delinquent childs to attack on the rival. Before two months, he was taken to attack on the rival to encompass a portion of land.

They sometimes do robbery to the nearby area and looted all wealth of the household. They use sword and gun to threaten the people of the house and looted valuable wealth. They do this to lead their livelihood and to earn much money.

To explain such social context of such crimes and delinquencies, social disorganization theory shares a common set of assumptions. First, delinquency is assumed to be primarily caused by social factors. Both explanations consider personal or situational influences in delinquency, but the dominant factor is social. Second, the structure and institutions of society are assumed to be in disarray or disorganization. Just specifically what component of society is thought to be in a state of disorganization is one of the factors that distinguish the two explanations. Third, the uncertainty and confusion that accompany social disorganization and anomie are said, in this approach, to leave one vulnerable or susceptible to delinquent behavior. In essence, it is assumed



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.100).

that social factors control delinquency and, when these factors become unstable, juveniles are rendered less able to resist deviant temptations. Fourth, it is implied that the erosion of stability in social structure is most pronounced among the lower classes, an assumption made because these theories were developed to explain a disproportionate rate of delinquency (and crime) among the working and lower classes. This excess of criminality among the lower classes of society was partly the result of using police and court records as the measure of delinquency.

Nonetheless, both explanations assume that criminality is inversely related to social class, although, in the abstract, this assumption is not necessary for either theory.

Children of the Rayer Bazar slum live in a violence and quarrel prone neighbourhood like most other slum of Dhaka city. They rear up in a quarreling environment. So they are also been quarreling and violent. There occur violence between two children or two groups regarding silly issue. They often use weapon such as sword, axe etc. that sometimes causes serious injury.

6.2 Poor parenting

We cannot always place the blame on parents. But the structure within the family household could determine the extent of delinquency manifested by a juvenile. Family relationships, duties, responsibilities and privileges, and the amount of control exercised over children all play roles in forming character and influencing behavior. The attitudes and actions of parents can create an important influence in the lives of children. Families in crisis will most likely affect the behavior of juveniles. If one member of a family becomes sick, schizophrenic, or alcoholic, a child may react based on the family's structural problems.

The family is therefore, an important factor in the forces that determine delinquency. The family determines a child's class, structure, and development, and the nourishing process is vital to formation of a child's development. Family exerts the most influence on a human being. Any severe disturbance in one or both parents can produce a devastating negative impact on a juvenile.

The family influence on roles and norms which Children follow comes through the socialization process that the individual experiences as part of the family culture. We could assume that children or juveniles would conform strictly to the rules taught in the family setting. However, that does not always work out. Adolescents and even adults deviate from rules. The single parent family setting could still prepare the child for family roles, but it was less effective in preparing children for their adult roles in society and the community. In most cases, a one-parent family, whether the result of divorce, desertion or death, consists of a mother and children living together. The mother often finds it difficult to provide sustenance and guidance, and the absence of a father leaves the male children without an adult male role model. Absence of family as a unit could affect childhood and how children socialize. Where the family fails, other socializing agencies will take on an increasing role in a child's life.

Sometimes families have a tendency to contribute to delinquent behavior. Conflict between parents who are demonstrating opposing ideas or a parental pattern of 'Don't do as I do; but do as I say', may indirectly teach lessons that were completely opposite those intended. This form of indirect learning by observing negative parental role models is a factor that causes delinquency.

Children are exposed to neighborhood modeling influences, at times favorable to criminal attitudes and behaviors. It is also impossible to separate out bad genes from either parental examples of criminal behavior or inadequate parenting which is likely to connect with childhood delinquency. But when a child rebels for his or her own personal reason or feeling, which may be unknown, that could become a mystery.

Discipline is another interrelated part of family relationships that affects delinquency. Disturbed family relations play a very important role in the problem of delinquency. In an investigation of high-delinquency areas in New York City, Craig and Glick found three factors related to increased likelihood of delinquency: 1) careless or inadequate supervision by the mother or surrogate mother; 2) erratic or overly strict discipline; and 3) lack of cohesiveness of the family unit.

Consistency and persistence in discipline are needed if controls are to be adequately internalized into a youth's personality. Situations, and appropriate methods of discipline to deal with a child, must occur regularly enough to let the child develop concepts of conduct and be able to distinguish suitable and unsuitable responses. Travis Hirschi was quoted in *Causes of Delinquency* by Haskel & Yablonsky. He cited an example of what may occur if the parent of a delinquent child were to be of a lower class. He states that, even if the father is committing criminal acts, he may not publicize the fact to his children. The father operates to foster obedience to a system of norms to which he himself may not conform. It sounds like a firm control but it may not be strict enough to make a child want to conform to rules or norms. Travis Hirschi argues that parents may not necessarily transmit delinquent values. However, Sykes and Matza state that even though the family of the delinquent may agree with society that delinquency is wrong, the family may tolerate or even encourage the commission of certain offenses, though not others, for example, drug offenses a high crime, big money societal issue of the 90's. Or consider the example of a parent with an alcohol problem who is setting an example that many children would follow.

It is also important to understand that the intimacy with which parents communicate is strongly related to the commission of delinquent acts. The idea is whether the parent is psychologically present when temptation to commit a crime appears. If in the situation of temptation, the child gives no thought to parental reaction, the child would tend to commit the act. Children who perceive that their parents are unaware of them are likely to do what they want, all of which suggests that the focus of communication can affect the likelihood that the child can recall his parents when and if a situation of potential delinquent behavior arises, or he or she may ignore it if he or she chooses to.

My study found that many delinquent childrens of Rayer Bazar slum have lost their parents and those parents are alive cannot take care of their children. There is no rules and regulations of their family to them. They can do whatever they want. What they do and with whom they are sitting together are not taken care by their parents. The age between 12 to 18 is a risky transition

period of the children. In this period, children may involve with bad boys, may be addicted to drugs, may fall in love with opposite sex and can do irrational sexual behavior. My study reveals that parents of many drug addicted children are also drug addicted. Family value has reflection to the Childs attitude and behavior. If parents are not careful about smoking, taking marijuana, phensidle etc, children have no barricade to prevent them from wrong deeds.

Most of the parents of the slum are not concern what their family will be in future. They have no plan about their children. Some of them want that their children will be better than them but have no plan how they will be. They are not concern about their child's good socialization. So their children usually adopt delinquent behavior as they have no target about their future.

6.3 Delinquent peer group

Although much more research is needed, the Study Group believes that an accelerated path toward child delinquency and subsequent more serious offending may be the result of a combination of the following factors:

- Antisocial tendencies of children with persistent early disruptive behaviors.
- Associations with peers who already show deviant behavior.
- Negative consequences of peer rejection.

As children get older, attend school, and become integrated into their community, the array of risk factors for child delinquency expands . Many studies show a relation between deviant peer associations and juvenile offending (Elliott and Menard, 1996). A major issue is whether “birds of a feather flock together” or “bad company corrupts.” Most hypotheses suggest that deviant peers can lead some youth with no previous history of delinquent behavior to initiate delinquent acts and may influence already delinquent youth to increase their delinquency. Youth who associate with deviant peers are likely to be arrested earlier than youth who do not associate with such peers (Coie et al., 1995). In addition, studies emphasize that a delinquent sibling can greatly encourage a child to become delinquent, especially when the siblings are close in age and have a close relationship (Reiss and Farrington, 1991;Rowe and Gulley, 1992).

Another study that followed children from first through fourth grade found that aggressive behavior and rejection by peers in the first grade predicted later self-reported delinquency. This indicates that first-grade rejection may be a useful marker for the early starter pathway to antisocial behavior (Miller-Johnson et al., 1997).Peer rejection may also influence child and adolescent delinquency by inducing the rejected child to associate with deviant peer groups and gangs (Patterson, Capaldi, and Bank, 1991). Gang membership provides a ready source of co-offenders for juvenile delinquency and reflects the greatest degree of deviant peer influence on offending.

Also, youth tend to join gangs at younger ages than in the past, which leads to an increased number of youthful offenders (Howell, 1998). The importance of having accomplices cannot be overstressed in child delinquency. For example, a recent study found that less than 5 percent of offenders who committed their first offense at age 12 or younger acted alone (McCord and Conway, 2002).

Gang membership has a strong relationship to violent delinquency, even when associations with delinquent peers, family poverty, poor parental supervision, low commitment to school, negative life events, and prior involvement in violence are controlled for (Battin et al., 2000; Battin-Pearson et al., 1998).

My study reveals that the slum children have been dropped out from school, addicted to drug addiction, being member of gang group by mixing with bad peers. Nahian a, slum children of the Rayer Bazar slum has been dropped out from school for his association with drug addicted peers. He gradually became drug addicted and dealer.

Case of Nahian

Nahian, a 18 years old child at Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum from the beginning of his life. He has four members in his family. His father has died before ten years. His elder brother and sister are garments workers. His brother and sisters are married. He lives with his mother in a separate household. His mother is a housewife. He studied till class six. He dropped out from school by mixing with bad boys. He has a group of companions those who take drug and spend most of the time by gossiping. They often go to see movies and concert. They took drugs together.

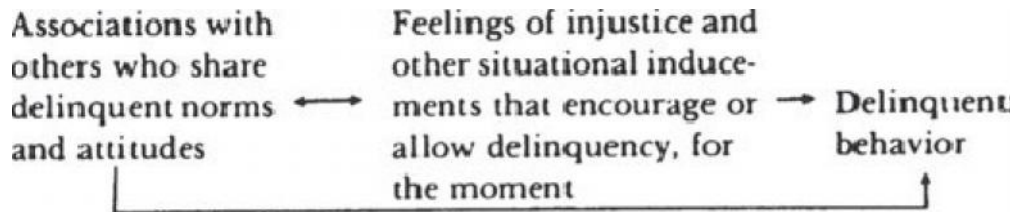
He took all type of drugs such as marijuana, phensidle, opium, yaba etc. He works in a photo state shop and earns four thousand monthly. But he earns twelve thousand per month by selling drugs. He is known to some students of State university, Asa university, Daffodil University etc. They call him to supply drugs to them. He says as such that he get only three to four thousand if he works in the shop, but he can easily earn much money by selling drugs.

He has a dream that he will be a millionaire by selling drug. He don't like drug dealing but he is doing that to run his household and to earn much money. He dosen't want to make another good children to involve in drug addiction. He only sells the drugs to the drug addicted people.

His family doesn't like his drug addiction and drug dwelling. Sometime they forbid him not to deal drug . Yet he cannot recue from it because he is earning much money by selling drug. Drug is available to his hand. Sometimes he tried to rescue from excessive drug addiction but he could not do that because drug is available in his hand.

He is supported by the whole seller to deal drug. He doesn't fear to disclose about drug dwelling to anyone. The whole seller has communication with the police station. If he is arrested by police, whole seller makes free him from police station.

Differential association theory can explain well way about association of the slum children with delinquent peers and their involvement to crimes and delinquencies. A major assumption of interpersonal and situational theories of delinquency is the belief that human behavior, including delinquent behavior, is flexible and not fixed. Behavioral inclinations change according



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.182).

interpersonal and situational explanations 183 to circumstances or situations. A second assumption of these theories is that neither the delinquent nor the society in which he lives is deviant or "bad." Delinquency arises from the same general social conditions as does nondelinquent behavior, and the same person may be committing both kinds of acts at different times. A third assumption of these theories is that most delinquent behavior is committed in a group or gang context. While the particular situation in which delinquent behavior appears may fluctuate, the general setting will most typically include group norms and behavioral patterns.

There is another case study in my research on how the slum children are involving with crimes or delinquencies through association of delinquent peers.

Case of Zabbar

Zabbar, a sixteen years old children of Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum for two years. His family consists of five members. His father and mother stayed at Mymanshing . He has come to Dhaka with his elder brother. His elder brother is a rickshaw puller and he too. He introduced with a group of thieves in the slum. They usually steal mobile and money bag from their neighboring houses and pick from pocket. They are usefully trained by a trainer how to pick pocket. They pick mobile, moneybag from the neighborhood areas and local buses.

He never thought he will be a thief. His companions have inspired him to involve in their group of thieves. They had a boss who rescues them from danger if anyone is caught up. He was just showing how to switch off and eject sim card from the mobile and how to pass. At the end of the day, they sit together to gather the theft products, sell that and share money among them.

Three months ago, he was caught up when he was picking mobile from a person. People have beaten him and asked him who the boss is. He was sent to police station but the boss managed it by giving some bribe to the police. He has felt from the stealing place two times. People knew about his picking from the pocket and he just escaped.

6.4 Economic insecurity

Conventional wisdom suggests that crime-prone neighborhoods are likely to be characterized by high levels of economic stress or disadvantage (as indexed by high rates of unemployment and or low average levels of household income). Research generally confirms this impression (Braithwaite 1979; Chiricos 1987; Belknap 1989). The classical view of the relationship between economic stress and crime is that economic stress, in one way or another, motivates individuals affected by it to offend (Cloward & Ohlin 1960; Becker 1968; Merton 1968; Wilson & Herrnstein 1985; Braithwaite 1988). But there are a number of findings which are difficult to reconcile with this view. The peak age for onset of criminal activity, for example, predates entry into the labor market (and, in some cases, entry into secondary school) by a large margin (Farrington et al. 1990). It is unclear why economic stress would motivate individuals to commit non-acquisitive crimes yet poor areas generally have high rates of both acquisitive and non-acquisitive crime. Cross-sectional studies favor the hypothesis of a strong positive relationship between poverty, unemployment and crime but time series studies frequently show a significant negative relationship (Chiricos 1987).

Aggregate-level studies almost universally show a strong positive association between measures of economic stress and reported rates of child neglect and child abuse (see Garbarino & Sherman 1980; US Department of Health and Human Services 1988; Garbarino & Kostelny 1992; Durkin et al. 1994; Coulton et al. 1995; Chaffin, Kelleher & Hollenberg 1996).

Studies which rely on self report or direct observation of families for information about parental behavior, rather than on official records, have also found that low-income parents are less likely to be nurturing, less likely to closely supervise their children and more likely to engage in inconsistent, erratic and harsh discipline (see Elder, Van Nguyen & Caspi 1985; Larzelere & Patterson 1990; Harris & Marmer 1996).

Importantly, these effects appear to be exacerbated when low income families are exposed to social stress (for example, the absence of a supportive partner, depression, drug use) and attenuated when low-income families enjoy strong social supports (for example, close and supportive relationships with other family members or neighbours). Research also shows a strong relationship between factors such as poor parental supervision of children, inconsistent, harsh and erratic parental discipline, and a weak parent-child bond, and subsequent juvenile and adult involvement in crime (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber 1986; Widom 1989; Larzelere &

Patterson 1990; Thornberry et al. 1991; Barnes & Farrell 1992; Martens 1992; Mak 1994; Smith & Thornberry 1995).

In Bangladesh, urban crime is often perceived as a problem amid areas with high poverty levels. This may be the case; however, many other factors, such as unemployment, population density, minority population, age distribution, and locality in Bangladesh, are correlated with crime and affect poverty as well. When these factors are controlled for, how much does poverty affect crime? Knowing more accurately how poverty affects crime can help us know if focusing on the reduction of poverty can aid in crime reduction or if money and effort should go to other areas.

Poverty's effects on crime can be explained through a variety of reasons. "There is a higher rate of mental illness in the poor than in the rich" (Brill 40). Poverty can lead to high levels of stress that in turn may lead individuals to commit theft, robbery, or other violent acts. Moreover, poverty may lead to an actual or perceived inferior education, which would cause youth to count on less access to quality schools, jobs, and role models, decreasing the opportunity costs of crime and increasing the probability of youth spending time on the street associating with gangs, etc (Ludwig 1).

Crime offers a way in which impoverished people can obtain material goods that they cannot attain through legitimate means. Often threat or force can help them acquire even more goods, this induces them to commit violent acts such as robbery, which is the second most common violent crime. For many impoverished people, the prize that crime yields may outweigh the risk of being caught, especially given that their opportunity cost is lower than that of a wealthier person. Thus, poverty increases crime rates.

However, many other factors influence crime and are correlated with poverty as well. Higher unemployment would certainly increase poverty and at the same time lead to more crime due to depression associated with being unemployed. Personal income per capita, which is inversely correlated with the poverty level, still may increase crime since greater wealth means greater benefits to thieves and robbers. Furthermore, because of social class gaps, personal income per capita rates may not affect poverty to a great extent (the income may be concentrated in a small percentage of the population). It might even accentuate the difference between the upper and lower classes, thereby inducing more crime.

Variations in the composition of population can affect crime in different ways. First, adolescents are often responsible for crimes committed. "The poor delinquent child... is more apt to be expelled from school or have a police record than a well-to-do delinquent..." (Brill 40). A higher percentage of inhabitants under the age of twenty-five may lead to higher crime rates. On the other hand, the elderly, because of their possessions and vulnerability, are believed to be the most frequent victims of crime.

The degree of minority population in an area is also correlated with poverty due to the disproportional amount of minorities living in impoverished urban areas. In addition, racism

towards minorities can lead to lower wages and fewer jobs, resulting in higher poverty rates. In 1995, all Metropolitan Areas with unemployment rates over 12% also had a population composed of at least 30% minorities.

Evidence greatly suggests that increases in poverty lead to increased violent crime. Whenever some delinquent children cannot earn just their livelihood and do not get any job, they involve in the crime. Some children involve in mugging or robbery when they cannot manage foods to eat.

Economic condition of Rayer Bazar slum is extremely poor. Socio-economic status of slum dwellers can be characterized as mainly low income group with inadequate education (for both parents and children). Also, poor physical environment with non-existent solid waste disposal system is very common phenomenon in slum area. Therefore, high prevalence of disease (water-borne) among children living in slums indicates leading unhealthy environment. In such circumstance, to ensure food security of urban poor is a challenge if their socio-economic condition remains bleak.

Lack of education and other livelihood options drive most of the slum dwellers to do informal jobs. There are various types of occupation of this slum dwellers such as small business of fueling wood, breaking materials' shops, vegetable's shop, fruit's shop, construction work, day laborer, rickshaw pulling, begging etc. Women usually work as housemaid to other's house. They earn money just for their livelihood. Lack of livelihood option for the slum children sometimes led them to crime and delinquencies.

At the Rayer Bazar slum, Some children involved in the crime because of their extreme economic insecurity. Some do theft, mugging robbery etc. when they cannot manage food for them. A respondent was talking that as some children cannot manage money to breakfast or lunch, they involve into crime in chance.

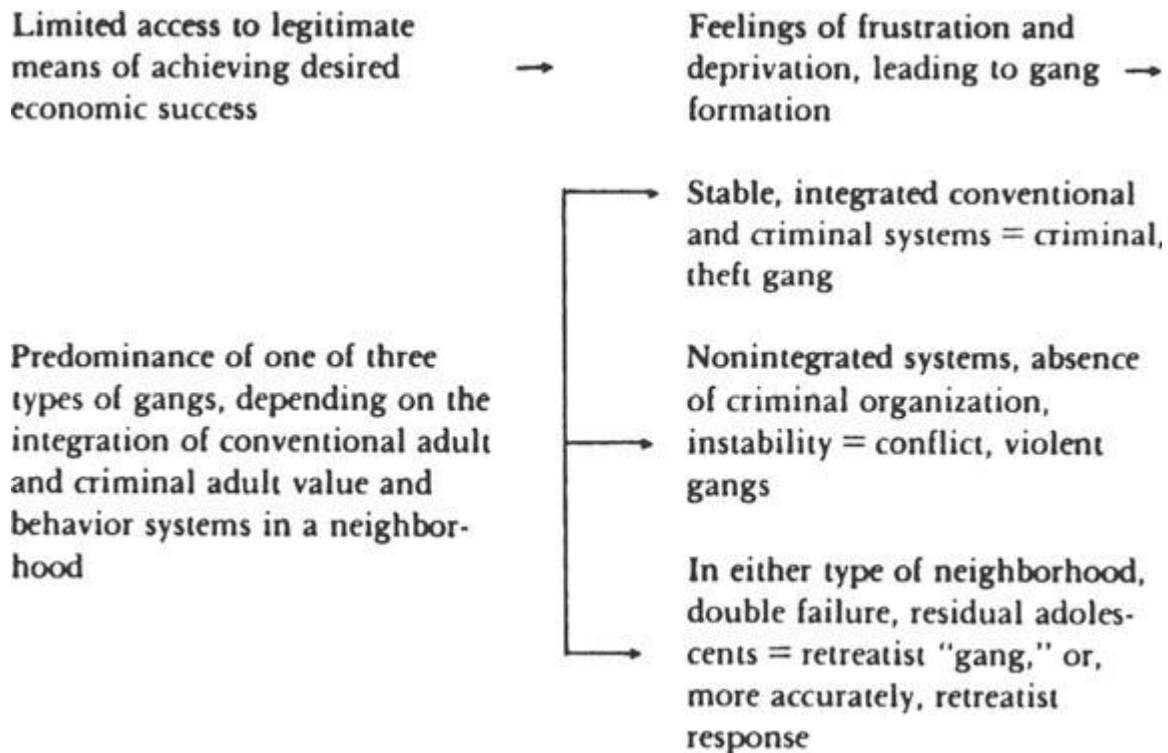
Case of Zakirul

Zakirul, a 17 years old children at Rayer Bazar slum. He is in the slum from his birth. His family consists of four members. His father has died before nine years and his mother is a house wife. His elder sister is married. He is physically week and looks like seek. They are living in a single room in the slum. His family depends on the income of his younger brother. They can eat if he can earn money by working a day laborer in construction work or they have to starve. Sometimes he has to be scolded that he cannot earn. So he sometimes tries to thief in chance. He usually thieves household materials and sell it to the breaking materials shop.

His mother and brother doesn't like his thieving and frequently ask him where he has got the money. He usually answered; he has got it by working at a shop. He personally doesn't like thieving but do this just to lead their livelihood. He was caught up two times during his thieving.

He is so much concerned when he thieves. He faces difficulties to thief because the slum and neighboring other slum are crowded.

Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) differential opportunity theory can be related to above economic insecurity as a cause to involve in crime and do delinquent behavior. There are two basic assumptions: (1) that blocked economic aspirations cause poor self-concepts and general feelings of frustrations, and (2) that these frustrations lead to delinquency in specialized gang contexts, the nature of which varies according to the structure of criminal and conventional values in the juvenile's neighborhood.



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.156).

Economic insecurity or blocked economic aspirations of the slum children cause poor self-concepts and general feelings of frustrations lead to involve in crime and delinquency through gang context with delinquent peers.

6.5 Lack of Education

Education is very important for an individual's success in life. Education provides pupils teaching skills that prepare them physically, mentally and socially for the world of work in later life. Education is generally seen as the foundation of society which brings economic wealth, social prosperity and political stability. Higher education helps in maintaining a healthy society which prepares health care professionals, educated health care consumers and maintaining healthy population. Education is major aspect of development of any modern society since if there is a deficit of educated people then society will stop its further progress. Government should pay serious attention to education and support it economically and morally all over the country. Now I will discuss about the slum children education of Dhaka City.

Study suggests that the education situation in slums of Dhaka is as bad as for some of the poorest rural areas of Bangladesh. 58% of children aged 6-11 were out of school. As a impact of education about 58% were underemployed and unable to find another job immediately after leaving a job. Bangladesh's second primary education development plan (PEDP II) included a large programme of building new classrooms – between 2004 and 2008, some 19,000 classrooms had been added (UNICEF, 2009b).

Study shows that in some areas, lack of physical access to government schools is still the key factor stopping children from enrolling. Some of this need – far from all of it – might be fulfilled by shifting the few remaining single shift schools to double shifts. But this would further reduce the amount of learning time in a context where learning time and learning outcomes are already low compared to international standards (UNICEF, 2009b).

In official data, Bangladesh has achieved impressively high enrolment rates while spending only 2.4% of its GDP (which is annually around US\$1,200 per capita) on education – very little even by South Asian standards (World Bank, n.d.). Arguably, though, it is over-reliant on NGOs to reach disadvantaged groups (Ardu et al., 2005). In this study, a full third of the school-going children were in NGO schools. Quality of education appears often to be higher in NGO schools (World Bank, 2006), but children who complete a basic education in an NGO school currently face difficulty in entering the formal system to get a secondary education and formal qualifications.

Researchers Loeber and Dishion conducted a meta-analysis study that showed that poor school achievement, limited vocabulary, and low verbal reasoning skills by the end of elementary school are all strong predictors of delinquency occurring later in life (Yoshikawa, 2010). David Brandt also identifies education as a risk factor. According to him, "...children who have experienced academic and behavioral problems in the early grades are going to find the higher levels of education more difficult and frustrating, increasing the likelihood of truancy or dropping out completely... These teenagers are more likely to find themselves relating to other

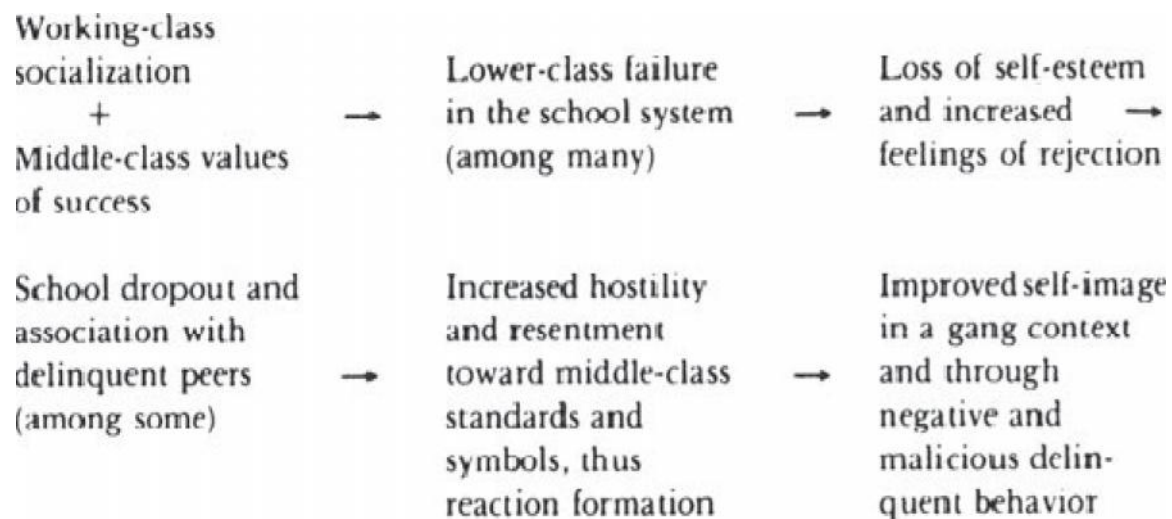
adolescents having similar difficulties... They are also more likely to be suspended or expelled from school, further increasing their isolation.” (Brandt, 2006, p. 54).

Most of the people of the slum are not aware about the education of their children. I was surprised when I heard from some people that I have five children but none have taken even primary education. They cannot earn their livelihood well way. So they thought it is better to work for their children than education. They cannot manage food for their children let alone education. But some are aware about their children. Some children have taken primary education. Some have studied to class eight and started reading at technical educational institution but their number is very few.

Many of them are dropped out from school due to their socioeconomic condition. They cannot maintain their educational status as like rich children for lack of support from their parents. These may lead to lower self esteem, dropping out from the school and involvement to gang context for higher self image.

Cohen and the Middle-Class Measuring Rod can be related to the slum children’s drop out from school and involvement to delinquency. The middle-class measuring rod theory has four basic assumptions: (1) that a relatively high number of lower-class youth (males in particular) do poorly in school; (2) that poor school performance is related to delinquency; (3) that poor school performance is mostly attributable to a conflict between the dominant middle-class values of the school system and the values of lower-class youth; and (4) that lower-class male delinquency is largely committed in a gang context, partly as a means of developing more positive self-concepts and nurturing antisocial values.

Fig : Cohen’s(1955) theory of lower class delinquency.



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.146).

Several assumptions of Cohen's theory can explain the causes of involving of slum children to crimes and delinquencies in gang context. Evidence on the first assumptions is fairly clear; lower-class youth such as Rayer Bazar slum children generally perform poorly in school relative to other students. The second basic point of Cohen's thesis is that school performance is related to delinquency, has also been supported by research. Loss of self esteem causes drop out of the slum children from schools and getting associated with delinquent peer. The fourth conception of Cohen's theory, that delinquency is a gang phenomenon and that gang members derive psychological gratification from gang membership.

6.6 Drug addiction

Drug addiction is a vital reason of involvement of the slum children to the crimes and delinquencies. Drug such as marijuana, phensidle, yaba, tari etc. are widely available at the slum. Children usually start their addiction from smoking. Later they start marijuana. Marijuana is taken by the slum children as like cigarette. Whenever they are addicted to drug addiction, they have to spend money to buy that. If they fails to manage money by working as day laborer, vendor, rickshaw puller etc.; they involve to different types of crimes and delinquencies such as theft, robbery, mugging etc.

Case of Forhad

Forhad, a seventeen years old child at Rayer Bazar Slum. He is staying in the slum for twelve years with his parents. His father is a rickshaw puller and mother is a housewife. He has four members in his family. His younger sister reads in class two. He studied to class five. He now works as day laborer with van in road construction.

Firstly, He used to smoke cigarette. He needed one pack a day and some days two packs. One pack costs 18 taka. So some of his friends told him that if he spends only 10 ten taka a day he will enjoy addiction all over the day. Thus he started marijuana. Later he became addicted to phensidle. It costs too high. He cannot manage money by working only. He mixed with other phensidle addicted companions those who are used to mugging and robbery in the nearby area. Gradually, he started mugging with his some other friends.

They usually take away mobile, money bag etc. They targeted children first to do mugging. He states that drug addiction has made him the mugger. He didn't like mugging. But he did it to manage money to buy phensidle. His parents didn't like his drug addiction. They usually forbid taking drug and scolds when they realize that their son has taken drug. They realize it by feeling the smell and seeing his movement and eyes after taking drugs.

He involves sometimes with local mastaans to show his power. He did violence in the area by involving with local mastaans. Sometimes they are hired by outsider people to make violence. They also involve to picketing in the political procession by taking some money from the politicians. If anyone of them is attacked, together they resist.

Case of Akbar

Akbar, a eighteen years old children at Rayer bazar slum. He is here from his birth. His family consists of eight members. His father is a grocery shopkeeper. His mother is a housewife. He is staying with his parents. He has three brothers and two sisters. His elder brother is a building construction worker. Another brother is garments workers. Another one is grocery shopkeeper. His two sisters are married. His brothers hold separate households. He and his father are the earning source of his nuclear family. He works as laborer in construction work. He earns two hundreds taka per day. But he doesn't get work all the time.

He studied till to class five. He dropped out from school for his economic insecurity and lower school performance. He mixes with some bad companions who take drugs. He took drugs for the first time when he was gossiping with his friends in the way of returning to the slum after seeing movies. He gradually addicted to marijuana and later to phensidle. It was very tough for him to manage money to take drugs. Firstly, he worked hard to manage money. Later he started thieving to manage money. He thieved tube well of bath area.

Once he took drugs and went to steal tube well and caught up by local people. He was caught up different times during his attempt of stealing after taking drugs. It has been his habit to attempt to steal after taking drugs.

His brothers, sisters and parents have forbidden him several times to thieve. They have beaten him too in several times. Once he was severally injured by beating after caught up during his thieving. None support him in his thieving.

6.7 Used in drug dealing

Some children of the Rayer Bazar slum are used as drug dealers. Outsider whole sellers of drugs contact with them and give them a amount of money for their drug dwelling. The whole seller has close connection to the police. So they supply drugs without any fear.

Case of Jamal

Jamal , a sixteen years old children of Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum from the beginning of his life. His family consists of four members. His father is a small businessman of a fueling wood shop. He earns monthly four to five thousand taka. They have to pay three thousand for his room rent. They need six thousand taka for their household.

He has taken no formal education. His brother reads in class one. He had to stay with his father in used paper and plastic shop. Income from the shop does not meet their basic need. He was invited by a outsider whole seller to sell drugs to earn money. He started drug selling taking the drugs from the outsider whole seller. His father doesn't forbid him to sell that because they need money. For the first time he was not addicted to drug later he became drug addicted.

He often angers to the people. He is talking, he has problem in his head that he often angers in illogical reason. It is a change to his behavior after taking drug. He involved in some violence with his neighbors. He attacked his one neighbor with weapon and he was injured too. Police came there and arrested some people those who were not involved with the violence. All of them were freed from police station by giving some bribe.

He is openly dealing drug with courage that the whole seller has communication with police station. So he will not be arrested and if arrested, will be freed quickly. Before two months, some local people informed about his drug dwelling to police. Police came to his shop and arrested him. Within three hours, he was freed from the police station.

6.8 Used as Picketers

Political violence generally takes the form of clashes between the police and opposition political groups or between supporters of the government and opposition political parties. This is particularly noted during Hartals (general strikes), processions, demonstrations and political meetings. Other political crimes are secret killings, looting, and destruction of property, arson, and rioting (Siddiqui, et. al, 2000).

Some of the Rayer Bazar slum children are used by the politicians as picketers in the political procession. They are given two hundred to four hundred taka for their picketing in Hartal. Political leaders usually conduct with someone of the slum to take some children as picketers. They have to break motor vehicles, set fire on vehicles and picketing to the police etc. Some of them are arrested or injured during the picketing.

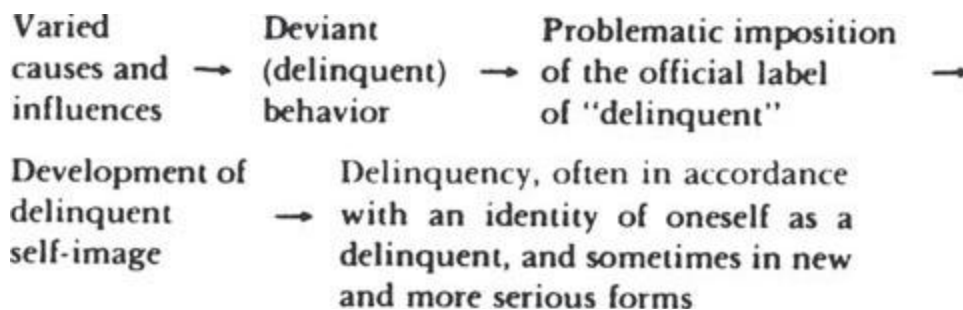
Masud, a 17 years old children at the Rayer Bazar slum was talking, he went to picketing in Hartal. He has broken bus and set fire in it and got injured too in his mouth by glass of the bus. He was given only four hundred taka but he had to spend many times in bed without working for the injury.

6.9 Labeling delinquent image

Some children of the Rayer Bazar slum are stigmatized as they take drugs, deal drugs, thief, mugg etc. Some of them are identified and hated by the society as thief or mugger. This bad identity leads them to do more criminal and delinquent activities.

Habib, a 17 years old children of the slum was talking, he is known as drug addicted children and drug dealer too. He was caught up two times during his selling drug. He stayed some days in jail after his arrest. After coming from jail, he has communicated with big drug dwellers those who have communication with the police station. Before going to jail, he dosen't talk about his drug dwelling openly. But after coming from jail, people have assigned him as drug dweller. So he openly started drug dwelling now.

Labeling theory can explain the development of self image of the slum children as criminal or delinquent. One of the basic assumptions of labeling theory is that initial acts of delinquency are caused by a wide variety of factors. These factors, however, are relatively unimportant in the scheme of things, which leads to a second assumption. That is, the primary factor in the repetition of delinquency is the fact of having been formally labeled as a delinquent. This assertion is accompanied by another idea, which may be presented as a third assumption. Repeated acts of delinquency are influenced by formal labels because such labels eventually alter a person's self-image to the point where the person begins to identify himself as a delinquent and act accordingly.



Source: Shoemaker J. Donald (2010, P.260)

Contrary to Reckless' containment theory, therefore, the view of the labeling perspective is that a negative, or delinquent, self-image follows the act of delinquency rather than precedes delinquency. A fourth assumption of the labeling approach is that the official application of the label of delinquent is dependent on a host of criteria in addition to, or other than, the behavior itself, such as the offender's age, sex, race, and social class, as well as the organizational norms of official agencies and departments.

Of course, one does not have to be officially labeled criminal or delinquent in order to label himself as such. Moreover, an official label that calls one delinquent can be applied irrespective of any nonconformist act. For the most part, however, the advocates of the labeling approach to delinquency have maintained that usually some type of nonconformity precedes an official label and that most self-labeling occurs after official labeling.

In my study, I founded some injustice by the police to the slum area. If any violence occurs, police comes to that place and arrest some people recklessly. Sometimes innocent or less criminal people get punished. In future, they became more aggressive and do more criminal activities.

Hamid, a seventeen years old child of the slum was arrested by the police after a violence regarding grabbing a small pace at the slum. He was not involved to the violence. But police arrested him and punished him. After coming from the police station, he strikes a boy seriously. From then, he is a member of a gang of mastaans. He did many wrong deeds in the meantime. He cannot escape from the gang because he fears; he will be attacked, if he doesn't remain with the gang.

6.10 Instinctive or sub cultural crimes

Theft, mugging, drug addiction, drug dwelling etc. have become a sub-culture among some children of Rayer Bazar slum . Some slum children involve in theft in chance. It has been their instinct habit to thieve. Mobile, moneybag, household materials etc. are thieved by them.

Case of Asma

Asma, a 16 years old girl of Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum for ten years. His family consists of four members. His father is a blind man and used to beg. His mother goes with her father to beg. His elder sister is married to another slum dwellers of Baobazar Slum. They have one room to live there. He has to use the toilet that is used by almost 35 people. She has studies to class two. Then she was engaged to work as homemade to nearer area. He was only given food and clothe for her work. Now He earns almost 2000 tzka per month. Sometimes he cannot manage any work. He often steals to neighbored area. She came to do it for the first time to manage food for her family. He steals household materials such as clothe, jugs, plates, bowels, pots, kitchen pots etc. He usually sell it to the breaking materials' shop. She got cheap rate to sell it.

She was caught up two times during his stealing and was beaten. Once she was beaten, sexually harassed and sent to the police station for her thieving during her work in a bachelor mess. Her

elder sister paid money to the police to make her free from police station. She sometimes feels psychological pressure when she is scolded by her parents and neighbors. She doesn't get well manner from her neighbors. They always stigmatized her as thief. They stigmatized her as sexually harassed girl too. So she think, as she has got the identity of thief, it is usual to thieve. She does not like thieving personally. Her parents and family members don't like it too. She usually does it when she does not get any job. It has been her bad habit too that she steals in chance.

She is not supported by another to do the thieving. Only the breaking materials' vendors know her. They buy from her in cheap rate. Sometimes she is inspired by some dishonest vendors to steal and patronize to rescue her.

Smoking, taking marijuana, tari etc. are conceived as smartness and fashion by some children. They openly do that. Showing muscle power by some delinquent children has also been a subculture of the slum children. They find muscle power as the sign of man. They spend most of their times through gossiping. They feel self esteem in gang context.

Case of Mannan

Mannan, a 18 years old children at Rayer Bazar Slum. He is staying in the slum from his birth. His family consists of five members. His father does a small business of vegetables' shop. His elder brother is a garment's workers and two sisters are married. He has studied to class one.

He is a reputed young mastaan in the area. He has a group of companions those who make violence and show muscle power. They usually smoke and take marijuana. They take away moneybag, mobile etc. to manage money. They spend most of the time by gossiping and showing muscle power to do wrong deeds. They do wrong behave to the elder too. Local people are very much angry to their behavior. They make climate of fear to general people by threatening and scold irrelevantly. They beat children if they do not follow their order. They sometimes take away money, valuable instrument openly from the children those who are not known and from another place.

He was talking openly that doing violence, threatening, beating etc. is the expression of their power. They lead their livelihood by taking away money bag, mobile and other valuable things. This has been their inherent culture.

He was arrested two times by the police for his involvement in a violence and a mugging. Firstly, his father has made him free by bribing the police. Secondly, he was freed by his partners of mugging.

Miller's Theory of Lower-Class Culture and Delinquency can be related to explain some instinctive or sub cultural crimes of Geneva camp. The lower-class culture explanation of

delinquency rests on two very basic assumptions: (1) that clear-cut lower class focal concerns or values exist, independent of other values, and (2) that female-dominated households constitute an integral feature of lower-class life-styles and, as such, represent a primary reason for the emergence of street-corner male adolescent groups in lower-class neighborhoods.

According to Miller(1958), the key components of the lower-class culture are best described as “focal concerns,” of which there are six: (1) trouble, (2) toughness, (3) smartness, (4) excitement, (5) fate, and (6) autonomy. Trouble involves run-ins with authority, police, bureaucratic personnel, or others. It also includes, for men, problems associated with fighting or sexual activity accompanied by drinking and, for women, complications associated with sexual activity.

Toughness is characterized as a concern for physical prowess and strength, so-called masculine traits (as exhibited by bravery and sexual skills, often symbolized through tattooing and shown by lack of emotion).

Smartness represents an ability to outwit someone through mental gymnastics. It involves being able to “play the game,” to hustle the John, so to speak, particularly in the setting of the street.

Excitement represents a heightened interest in the “thrill”—particularly experienced through alcohol, sex, gambling, “making the rounds,” and “going out on the town.” It is considered a periodic adventure, often followed by, or preceded by, a period of inaction, referred to as “hanging out.”

Fate includes the feeling that one’s future is out of his hands, beyond his control, not necessarily because of religious powers, but more because of the strong forces of destiny or magic.

The last focal concern, autonomy, contains paradoxical elements. On the surface, Miller argues that autonomy represents a strong desire on the part of lower-class people to be independent of external controls (the “boss” or a spouse, for example). Underneath all this manifested independence, however, is a consistent pattern of seeking out nurturing situations, such as a steady job or a comforting wife, or perhaps a period of confinement, particularly after a round of trouble or excitement. The focal concerns of a lower-class culture relate to delinquency in two ways. First, the values of lower-class life often result in the absence of the father, or any other significant male role model, in the home. Thus, many adolescent boys leave the home in search of male identities in street gangs, called by Miller “one-sex peer units” (1958:14). Second, within the gang, needs and behaviors develop that are consistent with the focal concerns of the lower class. According to Miller, lower-class gang members are not psychologically disturbed.

Instead, gang members typically represent the most “able” male youngsters in a neighborhood, in terms of both physical abilities and “personal competence.

They above six focal concerns of lower class subculture goes with the children of the Rayer Bazar slum to describe their involvement to crime and violence.

Chapter (7) Conclusion

Crime and delinquency by the children have direct and indirect socio-economic costs as well as social and economic multiplier effects. Direct costs include the costs of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence; for example, medical, police, criminal justice, housing and social services costs. Indirect costs, though more difficult to measure, include, pain, suffering, increased morbidity and mortality, drug and alcohol abuse and depressive disorders. The economic multiplier effects of crime and violence take the form of depressed savings and investment, lower rates of labor market participation, reduced productivity, increased absenteeism, lower earnings and decreased accumulation of human capital. The social multiplier effects of crime and violence include the erosion of social capital, reduced social cohesion, a reduced quality of life and the acceptability of violence as a legitimate means of resolving conflict within families and across generations.

Delinquent identity is quite complex and is, in fact, an overlay of several identities linked to delinquency itself and to a person's ethnicity, race, class and gender. Delinquent identity is always constructed as an alternative to the conventional identity of the larger society. Violence and conflict are necessary elements in the construction of group and delinquent identities. The foundations of group identity and activity are established and strengthened through the maintenance of conflict relations with other juvenile groups and society as a whole. Violence serves the function of integrating members into a group, reinforcing their sense of identity, and thereby hastening the process of group adaptation to the local environment. Other factors that may provide motivation for joining a gang are the possibilities of economic and social advancement. In many socio-cultural contexts the delinquent way of life has been romanticized to a certain degree, and joining a gang is one of the few channels of social mobility available for disadvantaged youth. (Juvenile Delinquency, World YOUTH Report, 2003). Crimes and delinquencies by the slum children give them delinquent identity that is great obstacle for their development. Local people are in fear of crime and fear of involving their children with delinquent gang. This creates a climate of fear that is obstacle to human, social and psychological development of people.

Basic economic security, poor parenting, delinquent peers, lack of education etc. cause limitation of livelihood option of slum children and their involvement to crimes and delinquencies. Deprivations in getting basic rights address the slum as poverty stricken community and lack of identity widened their experiences regarding crime and insecurity. The overwhelming experiences of crime and insecurity discouraged them to undertake any social and economic activities, which evolved further tension of becoming victim of crime or depriving basic rights.

In order to secure children from crimes and delinquencies, their basic needs such as food security, habitation, education should be insured. Government and Non Government

organizations have to take initiative to improve their socioeconomic and environmental condition.

People of the slum area should be conscious about crimes and delinquencies among slum children. Effective committee can be made to prevent and rescue children from criminal and delinquent activities. The medium and long term, much attention and programs are needed that target the needs of children and youth, boys and girls. International experience has shown different violence prevention programs to be effective for different groups, in different types of communities, and in different countries. Still, based on reports, evaluations, and research studies, certain types of efforts seem warranted. These can take the form of school-based, community based, or family-support programs such as (Guerra, 2005).

Drugs are vital risk factors for crime and delinquency. Although large scale studies are scant, my study found, reducing drugs' availability is related to drop down in crime and delinquency rate. In addition, drugs prevention and treatment programs specifically targeting slum children are needed.

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Appendices

Appendix (1): Questionnaire for slum dwellers: They questions in the below were asked to the slum dwellers to learn about their socio economic condition and to ascertain types of crimes and delinquencies that are occurred by Rayer Bazar Slum Children.

1. Sex: male or female .
2. Age: Below 18 18- 40 40+ .
3. How many years are you in this slum?
4. How many members are in your family? Male Female Children .
5. What do you do?
6. Who are the earning sources?
7. How much do you earn per month?
8. How much money is needed for your family?
9. How many rooms are for your family?
10. What about your sanitation?
11. What about the children?
12. Have you seen the following crimes by the children during the last six months?

(a) Theft.

Types	Seen.	
	Yes	No
Mobile		
Money bag		
Rickshaw		
Household furniture or wealth.		
Shop's goods		
Others		

(b) Mugging and robbery.

Yes	No
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(c) Illegal drug dwelling.

Yes	No
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(d) Injuring.

Yes	No
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(e) Using weapon.

Yes	No
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(f) Killing.

Yes	No
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(g) Trafficking.

Yes	No
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(h) Sexual Harassment.

Yes	No
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13. Have you seen the following delinquencies by the children during the last six months?

(a) Violence.

Types	Seen.	
	Yes	No
Between two		

children		
Between two groups		

(b) Drug addiction.

Types	Seen.	
	Yes	No
Cigarette		
Marijuana		
Phensidil		
Yaba		
Tari		
Others		

(c) Picketing in the political procession.

Yes	No
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(d) Gender violence.

Yes	No
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(e) Showing muscle power.

Yes	No
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Appendix (2): Questions in the below were asked to delinquent slum children as checklist for in-depth case study to give causal explanation of their involvement to crimes and delinquencies.

1. Sex:
2. Age:
3. How many years are you in this slum?
4. How many members in your family?
5. What is your father?
6. What is your mother?
7. What are your brother and sister?
8. Who are the earning sources?
9. What do you do?
10. How many rooms for your family?
11. What about your sanitation?
12. Who are your peer groups?
13. What do they do?
14. How are they?
15. Do you have taken education?
16. Have you involved to any violence?
17. Have You injured?
18. Do you take drug, cigarette, marijuana, phensidle, Yaba, Tari etc.
19. Do you dwell drug?
20. Have you done thieved?
21. Have you done mugging or robbery?
22. Have you picketed in the political procession?
23. Have you done trafficking?
24. Have you done gender violence or sexual harassment?
25. How and why have you involved to the above crime and delinquencies?
26. Have you ever been the victim of trafficking?
27. Are you used by the mastaan or criminal of your slum?
28. Do outsider criminal hire you?
29. Do outsider drug dwellers use you?
30. Do you get justice from the police?
31. Do you like crime and delinquency?
32. Do your parents like crime and delinquency?
33. If not, why do you do that?
34. Who support you?

List of Figures:

Figure (1): Theft by the Children.

Theft	Percentage of people saw theft by children during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Mobile	68.33%
Money bag	35.00%
Auto rickshaw	8.33%
Household furniture/wealth	63.33%
Shop's goods	40.00%
Others	68.33%

Fig (2): Mugging and Robbery.

Mugging and Robbery.	Percentage of people saw mugging and robbery by the children during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Mugging	35.00%
Robbery.	20.00%

Fig (3): Criminal Violence.

Criminal violence	Percentage of people saw criminal violence by children at Rayer Bazar Slum area during last six months.
Injuring	85.00%
Using weapon	60.0%
Killing	00.00%
Others	56.66%

Fig(4): Drug Dwelling.

Drug dwelling.	Percentage of people saw drug dealing by children at Rayer Bazar Slum area during last six months.
Marijuana	86.67%
Phensidil	31.67%
Yaba	30.00%
Tari	43.33%
Others	31.67%

Fig(5): Sexual Harassment by the Children

Sexual harassment	Percentage of people saw sexual harassment during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area during last six months.
Teasing	28.33%
Physical harassment	13.33%
Rape	1.66%

Fig (6): Trafficking by the Children.

Trafficking	Percentage of people saw trafficking during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Children	3.33%
Women	5.00%

Fig (6): Violence

Violence	Percentage of people saw violence during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.
Between two children	85.00%

Between two groups	43.33%
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Fig (8): Drug Addiction.

Drug addiction.	Percentage of people saw drug addiction by the children during last six months at Rayer Bazar Slum area.
Cigarette	100%
Marijuana	86.67%
Phensidil	40.00%
Yaba	21.67%
Tari	41.04%
Others	48.33%

Fig (8): Picketing in the Political Procession.

Percentage of people saw picketing in the political procession by the children during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.	
Picketing in the political	28.33%

procession.	
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Fig (8): Muscle Power.

Percentage of people saw children to show muscle power during last six months at Rayer Bazar slum area.	
Muscle power	65.00%

List of Images:

Image (1): Room construction of Rayer Bazar Slum.



Image (2): Living room in the slum.



Image(3): Bath area at Rayer Bazar Slum.



Image (4): Hanging sanitation at the Rayer Bazar slum.



Image(5): Fruit selling at Rayer Bazar slum.



Image(6): Grocery shop keeper at Rayer Bazar slum.



Image(7): Dried wood shop keeper at the slum.



Image(8) : Blind beggar at the slum.



List of Case Studies:

Case of Maleka

Maleka, a seventeen years old girl of Rayer Bazar Slum. She is staying in the slum for eight years. Her family consists of five members. Her father drives CNG and mother makes pockets from papers. Her father earns monthly nine to twelve thousand taka and mother earns monthly two thousand taka. They have to pay five thousand for room rent and five thousand to pay loan. Her father came here from Barisal to pull rickshaw. He has bought the CNG this year.

She has studied to class five. Her elder sister is married and brother reads in class one. She works with her mother now. She worked as housemaid for some years. Before one year, she was sexually harassed when she was returning house from her working house at night. She was always careful about her movement at night. But that day, she was only one. She was teased before that. Local people are now blaming her that she is a bad girl. Whenever her family involves in any clash with other family, they scold her that the family is characterless. Whenever anyone proposes about marriage with her, surrounding people say that she is bad girl. They have decided that they will move to another place to remove stigmatization about the girl.

Case of kalam

Kalam, a 18 years old child of the Rayer Bazar Slum. He has studied till class six. His family consists of seven members. His father is a building construction worker and his mother is a house wife. His elder brother works in garment. His sisters is married and other two brothers are in class one and class three. His father earns seven to eight thousand taka and elder brother earns seven thousands taka monthly. He sometimes works with his father.

He is a member of a professional terrorist group. The head of the group is outsider. Political leaders contact with him to take some picketers in political procession by giving money. Many people contact with him to take criminal and delinquent childs to attack on the rival. Before two months, he was taken to attack on the rival to encompass a portion of land.

They sometimes do robbery to the nearby area and looted all wealth of the household. They use sword and gun to threaten the people of the house and looted valuable wealth. They do this to lead their livelihood and to earn much money.

Case of Nahian

Nahian, a 18 years old child at Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum from the beginning of his life. He has four members in his family. His father has died before ten years. His elder brother and sister are garments workers. His brother and sisters are married. He lives with his mother in a separate household. His mother is a housewife. He studied till class six. He dropped out from

school by mixing with bad boys. He has a group of companions those who take drug and spend most of the time by gossiping. They often go to see movies and concert. They took drugs together.

He took all type of drugs such as marijuana, phensidle, opium, yaba etc. He works in a photo state shop and earns four thousand monthly. But he earns twelve thousand per month by selling drugs. He is known to some students of State university, Asa university, Daffodil University etc. They call him to supply drugs to them. He says as such that he get only three to four thousand if he works in the shop, but he can easily earn much money by selling drugs.

He has a dream that he will be a millionaire by selling drug. He don't like drug dealing but he is doing that to run his household and to earn much money. He dosen't want to make another good children to involve in drug addiction. He only sells the drugs to the drug addicted people.

His family doesn't like his drug addiction and drug dwelling. Sometime they forbid him not to deal drug . Yet he cannot recue from it because he is earning much money by selling drug. Drug is available to his hand. Sometimes he tried to rescue from excessive drug addiction but he could not do that because drug is available in his hand.

He is supported by the whole seller to deal drug. He dosen't fear to disclose about drug dwelling to anyone. The whole seller has communication with the police station. If he is arrested by police, whole seller makes free him from police station.

Case of Zabbar

Zabbar, a sixteen years old children of Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum for two years. His family consists of five members. His father and mother stayed at Mymanshing . He has come to Dhaka with his elder brother. His elder brother is a rickshaw puller and he too. He introduced with a group of thieves in the slum. They usually steal mobile and money bag from their neighboring houses and pick from pocket. They are usefully trained by a trainer how to pick pocket. They pick mobile, moneybag from the neighborhood areas and local buses.

He never thought he will be a thief. His companions have inspired him to involve in their group of thieves. They had a boss who rescues them from danger if anyone is caught up. He was just showing how to switch off and eject sim card from the mobile and how to pass. At the end of the day, they sit together to gather the theft products, sell that and share money among them.

Three months ago, he was caught up when he was picking mobile from a person. People have beaten him and asked him who the boss is. He was sent to police station but the boss managed it by giving some bribe to the police. He has felt from the stealing place two times. People knew about his picking from the pocket and he just escaped.

Case of Zakirul

Zakirul, a 17 years old children at Rayer Bazar slum. He is in the slum from his birth. His family consists of four members. His father has died before nine years and his mother is a house wife. His elder sister is married. He is physically week and looks like seek. They are living in a single room in the slum. His family depends on the income of his younger brother. They can eat if he can earn money by working a day laborer in construction work or they have to starve. Sometimes he has to be scolded that he cannot earn. So he sometimes tries to thieve in chance. He usually thieves household materials and sell it to the breaking materials shop.

His mother and brother doesn't like his thieving and frequently ask him where he has got the money. He usually answered; he has got it by working at a shop. He personally doesn't like thieving but do this just to lead their livelihood. He was caught up two times during his thieving. He is so much concerned when he thieves. He faces difficulties to thieve because the slum and neighboring other slum are crowded.

Case of Forhad

Forhad, a seventeen years old child at Rayer Bazar Slum. He is staying in the slum for twelve years with his parents. His father is a rickshaw puller and mother is a housewife. He has four members in his family. His younger sister reads in class two. He studied to class five. He now works as day laborer with van in road construction.

Firstly, He used to smoke cigarette. He needed one pack a day and some days two packs. One pack costs 18 taka. So some of his friends told him that if he spends only 10 ten taka a day he will enjoy addiction all over the day. Thus he started marijuana. Later he became addicted to phensidle. It costs too high. He cannot manage money by working only. He mixed with other phensidle addicted companions those who are used to mugging and robbery in the nearby area. Gradually, he started mugging with his some other friends.

They usually take away mobile, money bag etc. They targeted children first to do mugging. He states that drug addiction has made him the mugger. He didn't like mugging. But he did it to manage money to buy phensidle. His parents didn't like his drug addiction. They usually forbid taking drug and scolds when they realize that their son has taken drug. They realize it by feeling the smell and seeing his movement and eyes after taking drugs.

He involves sometimes with local mastaans to show his power. He did violence in the area by involving with local mastaans. Sometimes they are hired by outsider people to make violence. They also involve to picketing in the political procession by taking some money from the politicians. If anyone of them is attacked, together they resist.

Case of Akbar

Akbar, a eighteen years old children at Rayer bazar slum. He is here from his birth. His family consists of eight members. His father is a grocery shopkeeper. His mother is a housewife. He is staying with his parents. He has three brothers and two sisters. His elder brother is a building construction worker. Another brother is garments workers. Another one is grocery shopkeeper. His two sisters are married. His brothers hold separate households. He and his father are the earning source of his nuclear family. He works as laborer in construction work. He earns two hundreds taka per day. But he doesn't get work all the time.

He studied till to class five. He dropped out from school for his economic insecurity and lower school performance. He mixes with some bad companions who take drugs. He took drugs for the first time when he was gossiping with his friends in the way of returning to the slum after seeing movies. He gradually addicted to marijuana and later to phensidle. It was very tough for him to manage money to take drugs. Firstly, he worked hard to manage money. Later he started thieving to manage money. He thieved tube well of bath area.

Once he took drugs and went to steal tube well and caught up by local people. He was caught up different times during his attempt of stealing after taking drugs. It has been his habit to attempt to steal after taking drugs.

His brothers, sisters and parents have forbidden him several times to thief. They have beaten him too in several times. Once he was severally injured by beating after caught up during his thieving. None support him in his thieving.

Case of Jamal

Jamal , a sixteen years old children of Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum from the beginning of his life. His family consists of four members. His father is a small businessman of a fueling wood shop. He earns monthly four to five thousand taka. They have to pay three thousand for his room rent. They need six thousand taka for their household.

He has taken no formal education. His brother reads in class one. He had to stay with his father in used paper and plastic shop. Income from the shop does not meet their basic need. He was invited by a outsider whole seller to sell drugs to earn money. He started drug selling taking the drugs from the outsider whole seller. His father doesn't forbid him to sell that because they need money. For the first time he was not addicted to drug later he became drug addicted.

He often angers to the people. He is talking, he has problem in his head that he often angers in illogical reason. It is a change to his behavior after taking drug. He involved in some violence with his neighbors. He attacked his one neighbor with weapon and he was injured too. Police

came there and arrested some people those who were not involved with the violence. All of them were freed from police station by giving some bribe.

He is openly dealing drug with courage that the whole seller has communication with police station. So he will not be arrested and if arrested, will be freed quickly. Before two months, some local people informed about his drug dwelling to police. Police came to his shop and arrested him. Within three hours, he was freed from the police station.

Case of Asma

Asma, a 16 years old girl of Rayer Bazar Slum. He is in the slum for ten years. His family consists of four members. His father is a blind man and used to beg. His mother goes with her father to beg. His elder sister is married to another slum dwellers of Baobazar Slum. They have one room to live there. He has to use the toilet that is used by almost 35 people. She has studies to class two. Then she was engaged to work as homemade to nearer area. He was only given food and clothe for her work. Now He earns almost 2000 tzka per month. Sometimes he cannot manage any work. He often steals to neighbored area. She came to do it for the first time to manage food for her family. He steals household materials such as clothe, jugs, plates, bowels, pots, kitchen pots etc. He usually sell it to the breaking materials' shop. She got cheap rate to sell it.

She was caught up two times during his stealing and was beaten. Once she was beaten, sexually harassed and sent to the police station for her thieving during her work in a bachelor mess. Her elder sister paid money to the police to make her free form police station. She sometimes feels psychological pressure when she is scolded by her parents and neighbors. She doesn't get well manner from her neighbors. They always stigmatized her as thief. They stigmatized her as sexually harassed girl too. So she think, as she has got the identity of thief, it is usual to thieve. She does not like thieving personally. Her parents and family members don't like it too. She usually does it when she does not get any job. It has been her bad habit too that she steals in chance.

She is not supported by another to do the thieving. Only the breaking materials' vendors know her. They buy from her in cheap rate. Sometimes she is inspired by some dishonest vendors to steal and patronize to rescue her.

Smoking, taking marijuana, tari etc. are conceived as smartness and fashion by some children. They openly do that. Showing muscle power by some delinquent children has also been a subculture of the slum children. They find muscle power as the sign of man. They spend most of their times through gossiping. They feel self esteem in gang context.

Case of Mannan

Mannan, a 18 years old children at Rayer Bazar Slum. He is staying in the slum from his birth. His family consists of five members. His father does a small business of vegetables' shop. His elder brother is a garment's workers and two sisters are married. He has studied to class one.

He is a reputed young mastaan in the area. He has a group of companions those who make violence and show muscle power. They usually smoke and take marijuana. They take away moneybag, mobile etc. to manage money. They spend most of the time by gossiping and showing muscle power to do wrong deeds. They do wrong behave to the elder too. Local people are very much angry to their behavior. They make climate of fear to general people by threatening and scold irrelevantly. They beat children if they do not follow their order. They sometimes take away money, valuable instrument openly from the children those who are not known and from another place.

He was talking openly that doing violence, threatening, beating etc. is the expression of their power. They lead their livelihood by taking away money bag, mobile and other valuable things. This has been their inherent culture.

He was arrested two times by the police for his involvement in a violence and mugging. Firstly, his father has made him free by bribing the police. Secondly, he was freed by his partners of mugging.