

Policing the Mega City- A Study of Metropolitan Dhaka



A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Public Administration, Dhaka University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the content of this thesis “Policing the Mega City- A Study of Metropolitan Dhaka” submitted by me in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy represents my own work and has not been previously submitted to this or any other institution and is the original work of the author unless otherwise stated.

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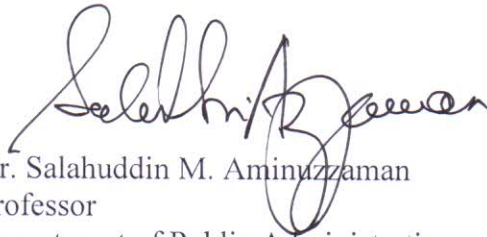


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List of Abbreviations/Acronyms

AB	Armed Branch
AC	Assistant Commissioner
ACR	Annual Confidential Report
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADC	Addl. Deputy Commissioners
Addl. DIG	Additional Deputy Inspector General
Addl. IG	Additional Inspector General
Addl. IG (HR & P)	Additional Inspector General (HR &P)
Addl. SP	Additional Superintendent of Police
AFIS	Automated Fingerprint Identification System
AHRC	Asian Human Rights Commission
AIG	Assistant Inspector General
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASI	Assistant Sub-Inspector
ASP	Assistant Superintendent of Police
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BIGD	BRAC Institute of Governance and Development
BLAST	Bangladesh Legal Aid & Services Trust
BLD	Bangladesh Law Digest
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BPATC	Bangladesh Public Administration Training Center
BPSC	Bangladesh Public Service Commission
BRAC	BRAC NGO in Bangladesh
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
BRTA	Bangladesh Road Transport Authority
C.R. Case	Complaint Registered Case
C.R.P.	Complaint Registered Petition
CCTV	Closed-circuit television
CHRI	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
CSE	Civil Service Examination
DB	Detective Branch
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
DESA	Dhaka Electric Supply Authority
DHUTS	Dhaka Urban Transport Network Development Study
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DIT	Dhaka Improvement Trust
DLR	Dhaka Law Report
DMA	Dhaka Metropolitan Area
DMCH	Dhaka Medical College Hospital
DMCs	Developing Member countries
DMP	Dhaka Metropolitan Police
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic acid
DNCB	Dhaka Transport Co-ordinating Board
DNCC	Dhaka North City Cooperation
DOHS	Defense Officers' Housing Society
DPC	Departmental Promotion Committee
DPC	Deputy Police Commissioner
DSCC	Dhaka South City Corporation
DSMA	Dhaka Statistical Metropolitan Area
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
DTCA	Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority
DTS	Detective Training School
DUTP	Dhaka Urban Transport Project
D-WASA	Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIR	First Information Report

GD	General Diary
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GR	General Registered Case
HRM	Human Resource Management
IBA	Institute of Business Administration
IGP	Inspector General of Police
JAICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JASAD	Jatiyo Samajtantric Dal
MLR	Mainstream Law Reports
MOHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MOPA	Ministry of Public Administration
MRT	Mass Rapid Transit
MVO	Motor Vehicle Ordinance (MVO),
NAP	National Awami Party
NGO	Non-government Organization
NHRC	The National Human Rights Commission
NIPA	National Institute of Public Administration
NPC	National Police Commission
NSF	Nationalist Students Federation
OC	Officer in Charge
PC	Police Commissioner
PHQs	Police Headquarters
PIO	Police Internal Oversight
POM	Public Order management
PPRC	Power and Participation Research Centre
PRB	Police Regulations, Bengal
PRP	Police Reform Programme
PS	Police Station
PSC	Public Service Commission
PSP	Police Service of Pakistan

RAB	Rapid Action Battalion
RAJUK	Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
RSTP	Revised Strategic Transport Plan
SARA	Scanning, Analysis, Response, Assessment
SI	Sub-Inspector
SMA	Statistical Metropolitan Area
SP	Superintendent of police
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
Sr. AC	Senior Assistant Commissioners
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
STP	Strategic Transport Plan'
TDP	Town Defense Party
TIB	Transparency International Bangladesh
TIP	Test Identification Parade
TNA	Training need assessment
TRC	Trainee Recruit Constable
UB	Unarmed Branch
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
VIP	Very Important Person
WHO	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

Unprecedented urban growth in recent decades has led to the formation of megacity specially in the developing countries. In fact, the rapid urbanization has tremendously transformed the dynamics of the society and brought about multidimensional changes and challenges in the socio-economic and political institution in the society. Like other cities of developing countries, Dhaka has emerged as a megacity with a huge population approximately 14.65 million people. In the last 400 years, Dhaka megacity witnessed its growth and evolution in the different phases of history. But in recent times, Dhaka city's growth is phenomenal as Dhaka, as the capital of Bangladesh, has been the major focus of administrative, social, educational and cultural activities. The megacity Dhaka has all the features of rapid urbanization and the concomitant challenges of urbanization. In fact, Dhaka city has grown haphazardly but without the support of necessary infrastructure, facilities and urban amenities. As a consequence, Dhaka megacity has been facing huge problems and challenges which are beyond the management capacity of the urban authorities. Moreover, socio-political tension, economic deprivation, marginalization and political conflict have been some of the major challenges of the megacity Dhaka. All these factors are contributing to the escalation of violence and crimes in the megacity Dhaka which have created major challenges for the effective policing in the megacity. Virtually, the phenomenal growth has put heavy strain on the security apparatus of the state.

It was against this background the study formulated research questions whether the policing system of Dhaka city has been organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in metropolitan Dhaka and whether the police have been enforcing law, maintaining public order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people of the megacity Dhaka. In this context, the study set the multiple objectives to explore the features and challenges of megacity Dhaka, made rambling survey of the historical perspective with a focus on the policing of metropolitan Dhaka, examined the incidence of crime and the police strategies adopted to prevent and detect crime and to apprehend criminals, surveyed the regulation, control and governance issues of vehicular traffic movement in metropolitan Dhaka and evaluated the public perception of police in the metropolitan area.

Dhaka city has a long legacy of policing during the various phases of history. The Mughals consolidated the security system introduced by the early Muslim rulers. In fact, the Mughal

emperor, Akbar organized the administrative set up with Faujdar, the emperor's chief representative, the Mir Adel and Kazi, the head of the judiciary and the Kotwal, the chief police officer at the larger towns. Virtually, the Kotwal emerged as an institution in the Mughal regime was entrusted with the security of the people living in the Dhaka city. At the seat of the Provincial Government at Dhaka, the maintenance of peace and protection of life and property were secured by the Kotwal. On the debris of Mughal public security system, the British introduced and organized formal policing for rural area in the whole of Bengal by the Police Act, 1861 (Act no. V of 1861) and the Commissionerate system of policing in 1856 by the Act of 1856 in the Presidency towns of Kolkata, Madras and Mumbai. As an important city since the Mughal rule, Dhaka also witnessed the British colonial model policing under the Police Act, 1861. The rural policing model introduced and consolidated by the British continued to operate in the Pakistani period and even in the Bangladesh period.

The framework of policing introduced and organized by the Police Act, 1861 is appropriate for policing a small township but it cannot be replicated in the big urban agglomeration. In fact, it could not keep pace with the increasing security challenges in urban setting as the Dhaka city grows rapidly by the migration of people from the rural area. Since the problems in metropolitan cities are different from those in rural areas, it demands a different approach with prompt action, functional autonomy under a single line of command for sustainable and credible public security system. Therefore, the commissionerate system of policing though not new in the subcontinent was introduced in the megacity Dhaka in 1976. Since then, the commissionerate system of policing has been working for the enforcement of law and order in the metropolitan area by the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance (DMP Ordinance No. III of 1976) that provided for the constitution of a separate police-force for the Dhaka Metropolitan Area and for the regulation thereof.

The Ordinance replicates the colonial practices in spite of the fact that the DMP Ordinance, 1976 was passed in the independent Bangladesh. The people in the megacity Dhaka witnessed the enthusiastic reinforcement and replication of colonial practices in the form of suppression, repression and systematic abuse of authority for the petty interests of the government disregarding the popular demand and socio-economic and political aspirations of the people. In the past few years, successive governments abused the police for their own interest. In fact, police attitude had remained the same as a legacy of the British colonial past. Still today, the common public complaints against police are refusal to register cases, impolite behavior and highhandedness,

corruption and delay in investigation. Since the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance of 1976 can also be traced back to the colonial law and procedures, there has not been any fundamental departure from the practices of the colonial police. This has been reinforced by the law and legal process such as CrPC, 1898; Penal Code, 1861 and Evidence Act, 1878 of the colonial era.

Though Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised in 1976, it does not have the human resource policy in line with the modern day policing of a Metropolis. Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is an integral part of the national police of Bangladesh. Therefore, recruitment, training culture, posting, promotion, discipline and accountability are affected by the legacy of Police Act, 1861. DMP does not have any role at any stage in the three tiers of selection and recruitment system of Bangladesh police. Moreover, the recruitment and selection procedure of Bangladesh police at all level lack transparency, integrity and merit. Since the Police Headquarters drafts all the subordinate ranks for Dhaka Metropolitan Police from the old stock recruited under the Police Act, 1861 and the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943, it has been found that the system inherits the tradition and weaknesses of the dilapidated age-old police recruitment system which affects the whole gamut of operational capability and efficiency in the context of policing the emerging challenges in the megacity of Dhaka.

There is a decline of discipline among members of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Officers irrespective of rank and status seek extra departmental patronage for posting, transfer, rewards and protection against punishment by disregarding the code of conduct. In practice, the authority of police leadership in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was eroded over time by political interference, leading to a loss of discipline in the force. In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, police officers are not individually and collectively sensitized towards the issue of the accountability towards citizens though in the democratic system police are answerable to multiple organizations and bodies such as line officers in command, Ministry of Home Affairs, judiciary, Parliament, National Human Rights Commission and media etc. It has been found that there is the decline in the effectiveness of departmental mechanisms to ensure police accountability. The Dhaka Metropolitan Ordinance, 1976 and Dhaka Metropolitan Rules, 2006 do not have any clear cut process to lodge complaint against any alleged police misconduct and to have the complaint investigated in a prompt and impartial way. All other institutions could not establish strong oversight mechanism over the police activities. The Ministry has no separate inspecting body to investigate into any event of allegation. Judiciary takes cognizance when it comes to its notice. On

the other hand, there is no clear-cut and transparent procedures defining appropriate political control over police in order to reduce illegitimate interference in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Therefore, political intervention for personal or group interest is widespread in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) preventing the police from the rightful work in accordance with law. Such activities range from recruitment, selection, appointment, posting, transfer to day to day policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). In fact, political interference has been the major threat to professional and impartial policing with integrity. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) is not empowered to directly investigate into allegations of human rights violations against the disciplined forces or any of its members for the allegations of human rights violations committed by them (Section 18, National Human Rights Commission Act 2009). Media is also biased and do not maintain objectivity in reporting. There is no independent ombudsman or nonpartisan independent body to oversee the functioning of the police service so as to limit and ideally eliminate political interference. It was found that the effective human resource management policies are not fully practiced in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Even, there is no strong institution to establish the strong internal and external accountability mechanism in Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

The management of crime has been the fundamental work of policing. But the quality of police investigations has been tainted by inefficiency, rudeness, intimidation, suppression of evidence, favouritism and influence, conniving at false accusations, concoction of evidence, and malicious padding of cases, and confession by third degree method. In the process of investigation, it is generally alleged that Dhaka Metropolitan Police incorporates torture as an integral part of the investigative mechanism to extract confession. Moreover, police use force at the time of arrest and torture in the detention centres or Police Stations. There are systematic allegations of abuse of the authority of arrest by the police. In the aftermath of criminal cases of rioting, gang violence, political conflict, group violence, police indiscriminately arrest people without any regard to their involvement in the offence. In fact, arbitrary arrest, detention and custodial torture by law-enforcing agencies have remained a persistent feature of policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area irrespective of the forms of government since 1971.

In its process involving the prevention of crime, police in Metropolitan Dhaka are reactive, though police are trying to replicate community policing in the neighbourhood. The community police forums organized by DMP have lost the collective voice of the community people about

the neighborhood security concerns. Moreover, the community police forum has been used to develop a sort of nexus between the police and the members of public in the forum for personal gain and parochial interest. Besides, there is the absence of government patronage and ownership in granting the financial allotment in the police budget. On the other hand, police officers are not transparent, responsive and accountable to the forums of the community policing.

The people's perception of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police has been dominated by the negative image. People do not believe in the legitimacy, professionalism, impartiality and integrity of Dhaka Metropolitan Police which restrain the smooth operation of the policing and police governance in compliance with the legal process. Partisan outlook, inhuman and degrading treatment, arbitrary arrests, promoting of drug business and implicating innocent people in fabricated cases, corruption and lack of professionalism have created the image crisis of police in the society and thus, it has lost people's confidence and cooperation. Therefore, people perceive that the police are not enforcing law and order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people living in the metropolitan Dhaka.

In view of the research questions, the study made the final analysis and concluded that the Dhaka Metropolitan Police lacks functional autonomy supported by the robust human resource, innovative approach and legal process though there have been spatial fragmentation and augmentation of manpower. In fact, it has been found that the policing system has not been well organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in metropolitan Dhaka. Therefore, DMP requires the robust human resource policy, an attitudinal change in the enforcement ethos, the highest standard of discipline, integrity and professionalism, a formalized police public-partnership to fight emerging crimes and strong accountability mechanism within a regulatory framework and functional autonomy incorporating the defined role of the political executive in order to establish democratic policing in metropolitan Dhaka.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late grandfather and late grandmother.

Chapter 1: Background of the Study

1.1. Context

Policing in any society under any system of governance for any period of time has always been a challenging task (Brennan, 2000; Chalom, *et al.* 2001). On the threshold of the new century, it is worthwhile to make a futuristic introspection of emerging issues of policing in the megacity Dhaka. The last decade has witnessed enormous changes virtually in all aspects-economic, technological, political, social and cultural at global as well as national level. All these changes have progressed at unprecedented scale, coverage and speed but there is a growing concern of the non-traditional security challenges that could be mitigated by quality of policing (Roy, 1999).

The question of security in a massive urban agglomeration is the result of a complex range of socio-economic, political and demographic factors. In the age of globalization, the process of rapid urbanization along with the advancement in communication, weaponry and information technology, the covert and overt support, has given enormous impetus to many of violent outfits. In fact, internal security challenges have emerged as transnational issue crossing the national boundary. In the context of this emerging scenario, policing in the 21st century is a very complex and critical exercises which call for a comprehensive appraisal of the tasks and challenges, the police are likely to face in the coming years. This synthesis of introspection between the past and the future would be of enormous help for the policy makers, planners and police administrators to formulate long term and short term strategies to meet those challenges and threats with proper perspectives, planning and preparedness (Huda, 2009; Mishra, 2011; Roy, 1999).

Dhaka, as a megacity, has all the security challenges of the century (Siddiqui *et al.* 2010; IGS, 2012; Rahman,2010; Shafi, 2010; Siddiqui *et al.* 2000; Khan *et al.*,1989). Therefore, efficient, credible, accountable, intelligent and effective policing is important for the maintenance of law and order and the establishment of peace and security in the metropolitan Dhaka. In this context, it is imperative to make a deep retrospection into the recent past and introspection into the future at this time of the new millennium in order to understand the dynamics of the multi-dimensional non-traditional security challenges, identify needs and priorities and formulate strategies of policing in the twenty first century.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The world has experienced unprecedented urban growth in recent decades. More than half of the world's total population now lives in urban settlements. In 2000, about 47% of the world's population i.e. about 2.8 billion lived in urban areas (World urbanization prospects: the 2003 revision). More developed nations are 76% urban as compared to 40% in developing countries. However, urbanization is taking place rapidly in many less developed countries. By the year 2025, the urban population will represent more than two-thirds of the global population and more than 90% of the new urban people will be living in developing countries (Fuchs *et al*, 1994; Hazel *et al.* n. d; Moscow Urban Forum, 2013). A salient feature of this rapid urbanization has been the emergence of megacities, with populations of 10 million or more. In 1950, New York was the only megacity (population was more than 10 million) in the world. By 1975, there were five such mega-cities Tokyo, New York, Shanghai, Mexico City and São Paulo in order of size. By the year 2000, the total number had increased to at least 21, with 11 megacities located in Asia. Five of these 21 megacities (Delhi, Dhaka, Karachi, Kolkata and Mumbai) are in South Asia – the least urbanized region in the world (31 percent) (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2007 revision; 2005 revision; 2003 revision and Kotter & Frank, n.d.).

Dhaka has witnessed a much faster rate of urbanization. Dhaka's urban population is growing at an estimated 4 per cent each year since independence, at a time when national population growth was at 2.2 per cent (World Bank, 2007; World Urbanization prospects, 2009). This phenomenal growth has been driven by migration from rural areas. Pull factors such as employment, business and education opportunities are the main reasons for the shift to urban areas (Dewan and Corner, 2014). In the year 1990, Dhaka was ranked as the 24th largest mega city and it is now the 9th largest megacity in the world. It also forecasts that Dhaka will be the 6th largest megacity of the world with a population of 27.374 million in 2030 (World Urbanization prospects, 2014). As the growth of population in Dhaka is taking place at an exceptionally high rate, it has become one of the most populous megacities in the world. As a primate city, Dhaka megacity has been found to be an effective engine of economic growth and socio-cultural development. Rapid growth of Dhaka has made heavy demands on urban utilities and services. In each of these sectors, scarcity or inadequacy of the

service and mismanagement in general has caused crisis situations (Rahman, 2017).

Urbanization catalyzes multidimensional changes in society. The rapid urbanization has tremendously transformed the dynamics of the society- the working of socio-economic and political institutions in society. With the process of urbanization, the concept of space and culture has changed, new culture and value patterns in the existing society have emerged in a new way. It has tremendously influenced interpersonal relationship, the conduct and the response and behavior pattern of human beings. Moreover, massive urban infrastructure and haphazard urban sprawl restrain cities from developing capacity to respond to population growth. The most critical aspect is the security of the people living in the society. This rapid urbanization resulting in the massive urban agglomeration has affected the form and the nature of crime and policing everywhere. The process of transformation has generated criminal activities in the big city (Mishra, 2011).

Since megacity acts as engines for economic growth and employment, it fosters advanced telecommunications systems and facilitates the transfer of information and money and operates as transportation hubs for the hinterland (Spence *et al*, 2009). Therefore, migrants are moving to these megacities particularly in developing countries for better lives. Big urban agglomeration in developing countries are expected to be the sites of nearly all future population growth worldwide. Therefore, many of humankind's coming social, economic and political dramas will be played out in megacities (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2007 revision; 2005 revision; 2003 revision and Kotter & Frank, n.d.).

Since migrants cannot manage descent house for living in megacities, they are compelled to live in slums. Some 62 per cent of urban populations in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, live in slums. In 2001, the slum population of Greater Mumbai was over half the population of the city, and just under half of the land occupied by the slum population was privately owned (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994). Slum population are sometimes perpetrators but sometimes residents of slums and poor areas equally victims of crimes. Therefore, all slums are neither equally dangerous places nor dens of criminals (WHO, 2010).

The rapid urbanization resulted in the uneven nature of urban growth which impacted hugely upon every sphere of life in the megacity. Megacities have a large number of youthful

population; they are the worst victims of income inequality. Much of them have remained unemployed. In Asia and African megacities, levels of youth unemployment have risen over the past 10 years and are among the highest in the world (Rodgers 2009; Graham 2004; United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2007). Therefore, unemployment among young people is a critical issue related to crime and violence. Unemployed youth are excessively more likely to be perpetrators, as well as, victim of crime and violence. This has been manifested by their involvement in bank robbery, house breaking, street mugging and abuse of substance. Unemployment and especially long term unemployment depreciates human capital which virtually affects work abilities and motivations (Koonings and Dirk, 2009; Dewan and Corner, 2014). In Dhaka, some young people are disillusioned in the city of opportunities. Being frustrated, a section of them involved in crime such as hijacking, murder, drug addiction, extortion and prostitution and other anti-social activities. The large majority of the young people who came from poor family background are found battling for the basic amenities of life, such as food, clothing, education, shelter and medical care. Therefore, they are forced to fend for themselves and earn for their families at a very young age as labourers, *tokais* (street children), beggars and prostitutes (Siddqui *et al.* 2000).

Megacities tend to experience sporadic unrest which is a serious concern for the national government. The social exclusion, marginalization, poverty and inequalities generate protests, resentment and demonstrations. Some of them become violent which require intervention by the security apparatus of the state. As a burgeoning democracy, Dhaka megacity experiences sporadic political conflict and confrontation for political or economic issues which create lawlessness resulting in the deterioration of law and order and increase of violent crimes in the societies (Khan, 1996; Khan *et al* 1989; Hossain, 2008; Rahman, 2010).

21st century societies face an array of public security challenges, such as corporate crime, globalized criminal networks, transnational crimes, violence by non-state actors and ever increasing crime and victimization rates. Therefore, the phenomenon of growing crime has now become an integral part of urban life, culture and environment all over the world (Fuchs, *et al.* 1994). In fact, the problem has acquired an altogether new dimension with growing urbanization and industrialization in the age of globalization. Today, with the open market economy, crime too

has become globalized. With this, the rapid urbanization contributes to the surge of crimes in the megacities. In the megacity, the diversity of life styles and cultures and the interplay of various key actors generate dynamic and complex social organization. Life style contrasts at various segments in the megacity are the products of social exclusion, economic deprivation, political suppression and income disparities. This has been exacerbated since the urban poor are concentrated in the low income neighbourhoods (Krass, 2003; Barros & Xavier, 2011). It is not the fact that the megacity generates crime and violence; rather poverty, inequality in income, unemployment of young people, social and political exclusion in the decision making process and economic deprivation are the causes (International Center for the Prevention of Crime, 1995; Brennan, 2000). All these growing social and spatial inequalities prevalent in the megacity Dhaka which may generate various negative social, economic and political consequences and a destabilizing impact on societies.

The surge of crime in some developing countries poses important challenges for governments (Krass, 2003). The seriousness of the crime, and the rate at which it takes place, make particular demands on governments. In megacity, police are least equipped to resolve the problem of crimes and criminals. Moreover, police have poor relationship with the community which acts as a stumbling block to identify a criminal. Finally, there are greater number of crime prone individuals and dangerous criminals in the megacity (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996). In order to deal with the surge of crime, police always resort to reactive and repressive strategy in contravention of the fundamental policy of inclusive strategy and proactive policy to incorporate community mobilization in the enforcement ethos for the better safety and security of the people living in the megacity (Fuchs, *et al.* 1994; Creutzberg, 2014).

Dhaka is unique as it is the national capital and primate city of Bangladesh. Therefore, the security challenges in the megacity are quite challenging adding a variety of additional policing responsibilities, maintenance of security, law and order and control of crime to the security apparatus of the metropolitan Dhaka. Embedded as the metropolis into millennia of old history, diversities of cultures, communities, ecology and historical memories, its social dynamics has a potential to ignite numerous forms of social contradictions and social deviance, conflict and confrontation. Growing urban crime, with its multifarious manifestations, sophistication and

linkage with progress and prosperity, is another crucial area of policing in the megacity. In the fast growing city with its changing social environment, culture and style of living coupled with nexus between organized mafia gangs, politicians and police, urban crime management emerges as unconventional challenges and threats (Siddiqui *et al.* 2010; IGS, 2012; Rahman,2010; Shafi, 2010).

1.3. Research Questions

In view of the context and the increasing complexities of the evolution of Dhaka city, the study initiates the following research questions:

- a. Has the policing system of Dhaka city been organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in metropolitan Dhaka?
- b. Are the police enforcing law, maintaining public order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people living here?

1.4. Objectives of the study

Based on the problem statement and the research questions, the main objectives of this study are:

- a. To examine the features and challenges of megacity Dhaka.
- b. To explore the historical perspective with a focus on the policing of metropolitan Dhaka.
- c. To examine the incidence of crime and the police strategies adopted to prevent and detect crime and to apprehend criminals. More so, to explore whether emerging crimes like drug abuse, violence against women, human trafficking, are impairing the security of the people in metropolitan Dhaka.
- d. to examine the regulation and control of vehicular traffic movement in metropolitan Dhaka; and
- e. To evaluate the public perception of police in the metropolitan area.

1.5. Significance

The security challenge becomes one of the most crucial aspects of a megacity. As the megacity is growing exponentially, so is the significant increase of crime and violence. This unprecedented growth of megacities has impacted hugely on the security apparatus of the state since crime and violence have created a sense of insecurity among the people. In fact, various process involved in the formation of megacity and the social changes associated with the rapid urbanization shape the nature and pattern of policing (Chalom, *et al.* 2001; Gomez,1989).

Public security and law enforcement by police in Dhaka megacity have been more multidimensional, complicated and challenging than anywhere else in the country since it is the capital of burgeoning democracy bedeviled by conflict and confrontation which have been embedded in the socio-economic milieu of a small developing country. As a primate city, Dhaka has the leading role almost in all the business enterprises in the country. Due to all these socio-economic activities, Dhaka metropolis has virtually emerged as a city of crime, insecurity and violence, social unrest, theft, robbery, murder, hijacking, possession and use of illegal arms, illegal rent or toll collection, drug abuse, violence against women and chaotic road traffic (Siddiqui *et al.* 2010; IGS, 2012, Rahman,2010, Shafi, 2010). Since the metropolitan Dhaka emerged as large urban agglomerations with huge population, policing is becoming more and more complex, challenging and over stretched.

In this context, the research topic ‘Policing the Mega City- A Study of Metropolitan Dhaka’ has been selected to explore critical issue of public security. This study claims its originality that this type of research has not been undertaken before with a focus on the perspective of synthesizing empirically the policing in a fast growing megacity riddled by multidimensional and complicated security issues and challenges. The available literature on megacity in general and the megacity of Dhaka in particular highlighted the challenges of governance in the context of structural deficit. But no research has been undertaken to study the most critical issue of the security of life and property in the megacity of Dhaka. In this context, it would fill the gap in the existing literature by showing the lacuna in the policing for providing security in the spatial fragmentation of Dhaka megacity. This would also widen the understanding of the broader spectrum of the public security and the apparatus entrusted to enforce law, maintain peace and security in the megacity of Dhaka.

Therefore, it will add value to the theory of policing in the bigger agglomeration which may be helpful in replicating policies and practices to other similar environments in Bangladesh or anywhere in a big agglomeration in the third world countries.

The significance of this study also revolves around its unique research approach supported by the researcher's long institutional memory to studying police-public relations. The positive and negative value derived from the public perception of police can generate the police-public debate in a new perspective by clarifying and reconciling police officers' authority, process and practice in the enforcement of law and order with the need and expectation of the people. It also brings focuses on the genuine grievances of citizen over police performance. Police and policy makers can get the scope to review the issue of police professionalism, police practices such as use of force, police arrest, individual attitudes and behaviors during police contacts within the legal parameter. The findings of this research provide practical recommendations for improving community relations and police-citizen engagement, which, in turn, can directly foster bilateral reforms in legitimate and rightful policing practices in the delivery of service. It may also raise public awareness of police actions which can catalyze the police public coalition in fighting against crime and delinquency. It is also expected that the results of this study can be used to inform public security policy decisions by future law enforcement officers, police managers, academics and policy makers, police training institutes and political leaders.

Finally, the results of this study may offer a baseline for repairing the gap between the police and public in the area of community safety in the megacity of Dhaka. It may also promote more non-enforcement responses to community problems, and establish higher levels of mutual respect, police legitimacy, and feelings of justice and equality through interaction, dissemination and internalization among all segments of police and the community. Therefore, the significance of this project is huge and can help reintegrate public safety policies and process for citizens, police officers, and the communities they serve.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature that concerned to the study of previous research work in the field of chosen research problem related to policing in general and policing in urban setting in particular. In order to appreciate and grasp the research process and to understand the research gaps in the chosen research problem, earlier research studies associated with published materials were reviewed and the reviewed literature is presented in the following section. However, there is an extreme paucity of literature on policing in Dhaka. However, the following books written in different context may give some insights into policing and its problem in the sketchiest form.

Khandaker (1998) reminisced the last phase of the British rule, partition of the sub-continent, struggle for freedom and the emergence of Bangladesh. Huda (2009) attempts to highlight some crucial segments of law enforcement dynamics, causative factors and the required intervention in a transitional democratic society. Kibria (1976) discussed the methodology of police administration principally in the context of independent Bangladesh. Siddiqui *et al.* (2010) makes a sociological study of Dhaka city with a focus on the broad social coordinates of Dhaka. The book contained the analysis of the salient characteristics of the major classes and groups, delineation of their interrelationships and interactions, and identification of the change agents among them and assessment of the prospects of change. A chapter describes crimes in the megacity Dhaka. The book did not mention anything about the law enforcement and policing. Siddiqui, *et al.* (2000) in 'Overcoming the Governance Crisis in Dhaka City' analyzed the governance problems of Dhaka city from a holistic perspective. The work examines the role of all important service providing organizations individually including the law enforcement in Dhaka as well as in relation to one another. Finally, the authors came up with a set of practicable reforms agenda for overcoming the crisis and suggested a strategy for its adoption by the policy makers. In another book, Siddiqui *et al.* (2004) compared the governance arrangements in the five megacities of South Asia, namely Dhaka, Kolkata, Mumbai, Delhi and Karachi. The trends in the quality and extent of city services and major components of good governance etc. are discussed. Authors have explained all these in terms of the city power structure, resistance from within the municipal government, the degree of social capital and the strength of mobilization among the

intended beneficiaries of municipal services. There is no mention of policing and law enforcement in the book.

Gourlay (1916), Gouldsbury (1912), Cox (1910), Griffiths (1972) and Curry (1932) speak about the reminiscences of the authors of the then police organization and its historical growth, the police administration and crime pattern prevalent in the British colony in India. Whereas Mishra (1970), Ghosh (1971, 1989), Bhardwaj (1978), Sharma (1977), Bhattacharya (1972) and Chatterjee (1973), Gupta (1979), Begum (1996), Saha, (1989), Bharti (2006), Chaturvedi (2006), Chaturvedi (1988) and Mehra (1985) generally narrated the existing police administration and its complexities, with a focus on the history of policing in India. Dhillon (2005) analyzed that law enforcement and politics are essential, irrevocable and interdependent features of state power but unwarranted political manipulation of state institutions, especially the police and the magistracy, a marked feature of Indian law enforcement mechanisms in recent times, is bound to impair democratic freedoms and human rights of the people.

Bayley (1969) explores the Indian Police as an element in the democratic process and its significant role in the post independent period. Chaturvedi (1985) in his book 'Metropolitan Police Administration in India' has traced the history of urban police structure during ancient, medieval and British period in India with a suggestion to tangibly achieve crime control and maintenance of law and order in society. Roy (1999) in his edited volume seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the multi-dimensional challenges, needs and strategies of policing in the present century. Mishra (2011) focuses on the nature of the crime, its distribution or patterns, its control and administration in the backdrop of the capital Delhi's history, social structure, culture and political economy of urbanization, and growth. It highlights the imperatives of continual policy innovations for policing Delhi metropolis, which has had a unique past and is evolving through a dynamic present. The book also analyses a variety of infrastructural limitations in policing Delhi and offers a systematic strategy for crime control and its efficient administration by appreciating the urban dynamics of Delhi metropolis. The author did not mention, public perception of police and the investigation and detection of crime in Delhi.

Talukdar, (2006) in his PhD research deals with the growing problems of Asian megacities in general and Dhaka in particular. He shows how governance has developed in a sectoral and

national way rather than being place oriented which has been inadequate to solve the deep environmental, social and economic problems of the megacity Dhaka. The governance issues of megacities are traced to the primary problem of the need for integrative functions in strategic and statutory planning as well as development facilitation of the Extended Metropolitan Region. He established core principles for Extended Metropolitan Region. The problems of Dhaka are outlined; then an analysis of Dhaka governance options is attempted based on the core principles. There is nothing about security governance in it. Dewan and Corner (2014) in their book presents the use of geospatial techniques to address a number of environmental issues, including land use change, climatic variability, urban sprawl, population density modelling, flooding, environmental health, water quality, energy resources, urban growth modelling, infectious diseases and the quality of life in the megacity Dhaka. Similarly, Ahmed (2010), has described the decline and revival of Dhaka in historical perspective. The work also discusses the development in Dhaka of a western style municipal organization and its financial and practical problems, and also the economic transition of the city. But there is nothing about public security system in and around Dhaka. World Bank (2007) report presents a comprehensive look at poverty in Dhaka with the goal of providing the basis for an urban poverty reduction strategy for the Government of Bangladesh, local authorities, donors and NGOs. Given the magnitude of the problems, this study focuses on understanding the characteristics and dynamics of poverty, employment, land and housing, basic services and crime and violence.

Islam (1996) gives some perspectives on several of the important and critical issues of growth of contemporary Dhaka, from a small city to a huge megacity. It also covers the people, places and some planning and development issues. He discussed how, Dhaka, over the years, has emerged as one of the most populous cities of the world. The book does not discuss anything about the security of the citizen or policing system. Shafi (2010) presents the result of a study carried out on urban crime and violence in public places of the metropolis. It focuses on the types of crimes that occur in it and throws light on the reasons behind the criminal activities that take place in Dhaka. The book aims to identify the victims as well as the perpetrators of crime and highlights trends and types of crime and violence affecting the people of the city. It reveals the nexus between crime and violence and the socio-economic situation of Dhaka city. The study concludes with a set of recommendations for all authorities concerned so that they can provide safer spaces for its

residents through the formulation of policies that will help reduce crime and violence. It does not give any light how the law enforcement apparatus responds to the crime and manage the crime and criminals.

Ahmed (1989), deals with the past and present conditions of the different aspects of the life and culture of Dhaka, and how Dhaka would look like in 2025. It also discusses history, politics, society, and culture, monuments and paintings, contemporary and future issues, urbanization and urban society. The book did not incorporate any single article on urban crimes in Dhaka, security of the city dwellers and policing of Dhaka city in historical perspective. Chowdhury and Ahmed (2011) dealt with the politics, society and administration of capital Dhaka during the years 1608-2008. This book reveals in great detail the rise, development and fall of the city during the various phases of its history, and how Dhaka became the capital of the newly independent sovereign state of Bangladesh. Scholars have dealt with the political history of Dhaka in great depth. So is also the administrative history of the capital city even at the very local level. But more importantly, light has been thrown upon social formation and social structure during the Mughal, Colonial and Pakistan periods of about 400 years in capital Dhaka. In the book, an article mainly deals with the role and function of the police in the capital Dhaka in the post independent period and presented crime figures from the official data. Hafiz and Rabbani (2011) traced the physical growth of Capital Dhaka during the last 400 years and discussed various aspects of urbanization and urbanism of capital Dhaka. It also deals with the glorious days of the past and the unsatisfactory state of the present with a focus on the future of the Dhaka megacity.

The United Nations (2010) on Practical Approaches to Preventing Urban Crime, includes a summary of some key trends in urban growth and crime in cities, and recent crime prevention practices and tools. It outlines some of the challenges for urban areas, in particular megacities and high crime cities, such as the exclusion of segments of the urban population, including slum dwellers, minority and migrant groups and women. Some of the recent achievements and developments in integrated crime prevention policy and practice in urban areas are highlighted, such as participatory approaches to integrating excluded population segments, as well as tools and technological advancements in strategic intervention, learning and capacity building. Similarly, in the United Nations' (2011)

'Introductory Handbook on Policing Urban Space' addressed the dimensions of urban crime problems in the growing cities of low- and middle-income countries and how collaboration between urban planners, civil society, government officials and different types of police can help to solve those problems. It also examines a variety of crime control strategies, such as community-oriented policing, problem-oriented policing etc. It also addresses broader principles of managing urban space to control crime and strategies for evaluating crime control programmes. Chalom, *et al.* (2001) focuses on the relationship between the police and local coalitions for crime prevention. He argues that the security is a collective task of all citizens under the co-ordination of local authorities. The publication also analyses different examples of the evolving role of the police. United nations Human Settlements Programme (2007) 'Enhancing urban safety and security, global report on human settlement' addresses major threats to the safety and security of cities and analyses worldwide conditions and trends with respect to these threats and pays particular attention to their underlying causes and impacts, as well as to the good policies and best practices adopted at the city, national and international levels. The report adopts a human security perspective and highlights concerns that can be addressed through appropriate urban policy, planning, design and governance. All books give some lights on urban crime, criminals and some policy initiatives to control and prevent crimes. But these books did not mention about the law enforcement and policing in the context of the megacity.

Kraas, *et al.* (2013) analyzed the impact of socio-economic and political activities on environmental change and vice versa, and identified solutions to the worst problems. They propose ways of improving the management of megacities and achieving a greater degree of sustainability in their development. The book covers an array of topics, from health management in Indian megacities, to planning in New York, to transport solutions for the chronically traffic-choked Bangkok with a focus on socio-political fragmentation in the urban areas of Rio de Janeiro. Koonings and Dirk (2009) examined the massive urbanization of the world's population and recent world wide trends in poverty and social exclusion, urban violence and politics, and linked these to the challenges faced by policy-makers and practitioners in megacities across the globe. Sorensen and Okata, (2010) examine how issues of megacity development, urban form, sustainability, and unsustainability are conceived, how governance processes are influenced by these ideas, and how these processes have in turn influenced outcomes on the ground, in some cases in transformative

ways. The studies are organized around a shared set of concerns and questions about issues of sustainability, land development, urban governance, and urban form. Fuchs, *et al.* (1994) have examined a range of issues related to the mega city phenomena. It deals with the growth of megacities and explores demographic issues, labour force change in the big cities of Asia, the effects of macroeconomic forces on the world city system and the relations between technology and the city with a focus on the economic and social consequences of megacity growth. It looks at the crucial issue of management of megacities, taking up such issues as infrastructure financing, land and shelter needs, transportation, and environmental management. Gomez (1989) describes and compares the pattern and distribution of urban ordinary criminal behaviour in a variety of cultural settings, the social, economic and cultural structures or processes that may be conducive to the spread of ordinary crime, the strategies and programmes undertaken by governments and communities to prevent and control ordinary crime. It analyses the accumulated cross-national experience in order to help identify those strategies which appear best to combine respect for human rights. Buijss, *et al.* (2010) deals with the definition, evolution, governance and design guidelines of megacities. It attempts to understand their processes and systems of organization in the context of megacity. It incorporates reflections on what megacities could mean in the Dutch planning context. All these books written on megacity describe various features but did not contain anything about the law enforcement and policing.

Mawby (1990) explored the emergence of modern police systems - their structure and functions and the relationship between police and public in an international perspective. Following an examination of how the modern police emerged, he focused on policing in a wide range of different societies. Wright (2002) provides an introduction to the role and function of the police and policing, examines the issues and debates that surround policing. It looks at the core functions of the police, the ways in which police functions have developed, their key characteristics, and the challenges they face. From the outset, questions are asked about the conceptual contestability and ambiguity of policing, and different views of police roles are addressed in turn: policing as social control, crime investigation, managing risk, policing as community justice, and as a public good. Maguire (2003) places the study of police agencies within the parameters of organizational theory and examines the behavioral aspects of American police agencies, in so far as they are affected by various internal and external phenomena. The basic model that Maguire proposes to look for the

impact of contextual factors on police organizational complexity and ultimately on the network of controls that operate within the police agency. Contextual factors such as geographical location, age of the organization and its environment influence the complex organization in a social setting. Levels of complexity, in turn, shape degrees of hierarchy, formalization of policies, and the structures of administrative apparatus. The bigger the police organization in the massive urban agglomeration, the bigger the formal hierarchy, formalization of procedures and a centralized control system in a crime prone jurisdiction. Dunhan & Geoffrey (1997) examined the complex elements of policing within the broader social context. The book provides access to fundamental information about the evolution of policing and its current composition; the distinctive make up of policing and police organizations; public assumptions and perceptions of police and the effects of current trends in training, community-oriented policing, and use of high-tech information systems. In-depth coverage offers readers a vivid and pragmatic understanding of the issues confronting law enforcement personnel, policy makers, and the public.

Policing in this subcontinent including Bangladesh has a colonial legacy. Still today, the colonial hangover has been dominating the operational process of law enforcement in the independent Bangladesh. Therefore, it requires a holistic approach to reform the whole process in policing in compliance with the hopes and inspirations of people of an independent country.

Crimes are increasing in the big agglomeration where marginalization, deprivation, socio-political tension and continuous changes of information and communication technology, weapons and drug are fomenting the surge of crime. Domestic terrorism, gangs, illegal narcotics, gun violence, cyber-crimes, and other safety issues pose significant challenges for law enforcement at all levels. The massive urbanization of the world's population and recent world-wide trends in poverty and social exclusion, urban violence and politics, are linked to the numerous and varied challenges faced by policy-makers, practitioners and law enforcers in megacities across the globe. Therefore, issues of public security and good governance are prime concern in the present-day society.

Some of the recent achievements and developments in integrated crime prevention policy and practice in urban setting are such as participatory approaches to integrating excluded population segments, as well as tools and technological advancements in strategic

intervention, learning and capacity building. The dimensions of urban crime problems in the growing cities of low- and middle-income countries can be addressed and solved by collaborating among multiple stakeholders such as urban planners, civil society, government officials and different types of police. It also recommends a variety of crime control strategies, particularly police-public partnership such as community oriented policing, problem-oriented policing etc.

The fast growth of megacity is a new phenomenon in the human settlement. Like other megacities of the world, the governance of Dhaka city from a holistic perspective is a critical issue and challenge. Service providing organizations with structural deficit and lack of coordination and governance problems cannot cope with the increasing demand of service provisions. Therefore, studies on Dhaka megacities came up with a set of practicable reforms agenda for overcoming the crisis and suggested a strategy for its adoption by the policy makers. But few studies recognized a variety of infrastructural limitations in policing bigger urban agglomeration and offered a systematic strategy for crime control and its efficient administration by appreciating the urban dynamics of megacity.

The law enforcement and politics are essential, irrevocable and interdependent features of state power but unwarranted political manipulation and intervention in the day to day law enforcement and police governance have afflicted the security apparatus of state institutions, especially the Dhaka Metropolitan Police in Bangladesh. This has, thus, jeopardized, damaged and impaired the democratic freedoms and human rights of the people.

It has been found that very few interesting institutional analysis of police in urban setting is available but very little attention has been paid to study the urban police problems with a focus on people friendly police in the age of globalization. The most important aspect of today's life-policing for promoting the security of life and property and establishing the rule of law in a big urban agglomeration has remained beyond the scholarly exploration and research. All these literatures reveal the problems of megacity especially impinging on the service provisions and the security apparatus of the country. But very little has been highlighted on the process, organizational capacity, approach, resolution and handling of issues and challenges of non-traditional internal security issues and challenges in the massive urban agglomeration.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Approaches of the Study

This chapter focuses on the methodology and approaches of the study. It explains analytical framework of this research work and supports the selected design, data collection methods and validity and reliability procedures used in this study.

3.1. The analytical framework

In an era of rapid urbanization, the cities, especially of ‘megacities’, have become prominent objects for intervention and speculation. Conceptualized often through narratives of collapsing infrastructure, incapacitating politics, poor governance and overwhelming poverty, the concept of the ‘megacity’ presents a dilemma for urban scholars.

A megacity is defined by the United Nations as a metropolitan area with a total population of more than 10 million people (World urbanization prospects, 2001). Some definitions also set a minimum level for population density (at least 2,000 persons/square km). A megacity can be a single metropolitan area or two or more metropolitan areas, which have grown to such an extent, that they now form one urban area. The terms mega polis or megalopolis are sometimes used synonymously with megacity. The term hyper city is also sometimes used to describe cities with more than 20 million people (Koonings and Dirk, 2009; Buijjs, *et al.* 2010; Kraas *et al.* 2013).

Dhaka is one of the oldest cities of South Asia (Hossain 2008; Khatun 2009). Located centrally in the country, Dhaka has been growing at a rate faster than most other cities in the region. Dhaka city, the capital of Bangladesh, has emerged as the world’s 9th largest megacity (World Urbanization prospects, 2014). Now, it is the 11th most populous city of the world with 16.982 million people. Dhaka was 24th in 1990 with only 6.621 million people and saw a 3.6 percent annual rise in its population between 2010 and 2015 (World Urbanization prospects, 2009 & 2014). By 2025, Dhaka will be home of 20.94 million people- larger than Mexico City, Beijing or New York. In 2025, Dhaka will be the 5th largest megacity (World Urbanization prospects, 2009). In fact, Dhaka has emerged as a fast growing megacity in recent times. It has 35% of the total urban population where together all four cities have 60% (Dewan and Corner, 2014). The primacy of Dhaka among Bangladeshi cities is not dependent upon the population growth alone. Dhaka, being the capital of Bangladesh, has been the centre of administrative functions, civil

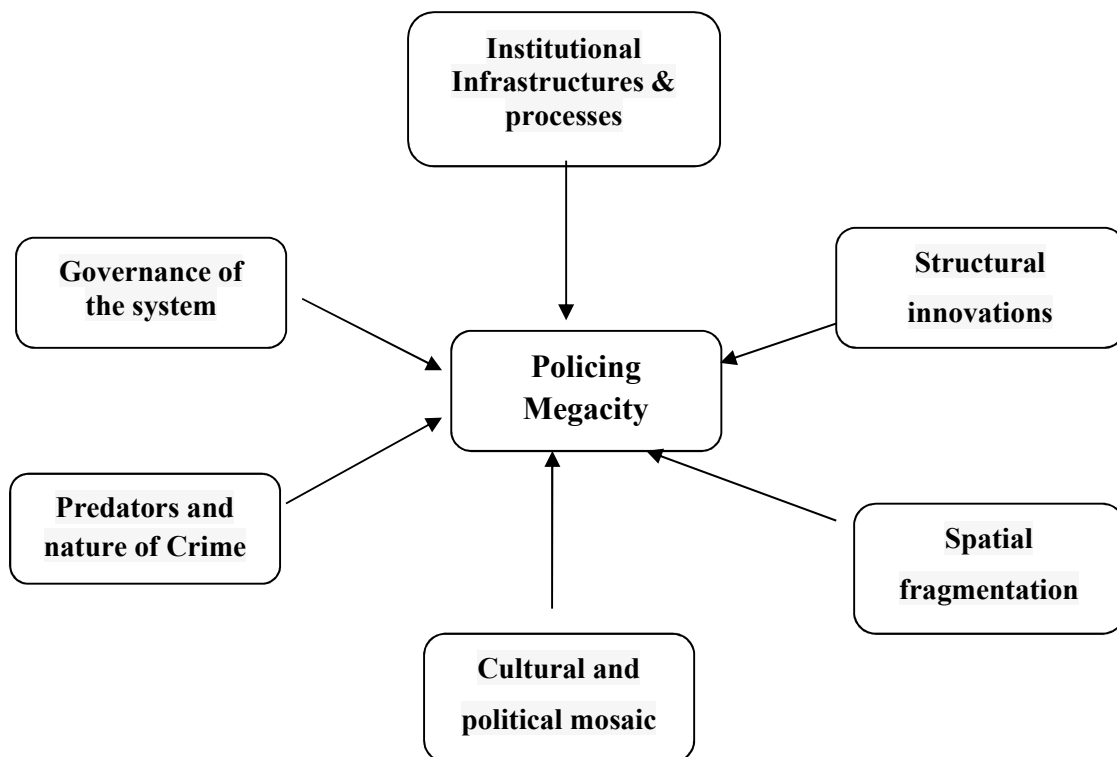
employment, financial and banking services, international commerce and business activities, etc. (Ahmed *et al.* 2007). Dhaka is incorporated into the global commodity chains of consumer goods, in particular through its garments industry, in which more than two million people work. It, thus, connects millions of people to the global economic system. Like many other megacities of the South, global integration was achieved in Dhaka at the cost of growing spatial fragmentation and socio-economic polarization (Islam, 2008). However, Dhaka has never been a planned urban settlement and growing in the most haphazard fashion with attendant problems affecting heavily on the security and service providing apparatus (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Islam, 1996).

Generally, urbanization shows a set of indicators such as population density, industrial units, factories and commercial establishments, traffic congestion and migration from rural to urban areas (Buijss, *et al.* 2010; Fuchs, *et al.* 1994). This rapid urbanization is the integral to some social problems such as floating population, slums, unemployment, drug addiction and violence (Chalom, *et al.* 2001; Gomez, 1989). Dhaka has all these indicators. The city is, however, increasingly characterized by large slums, poor housing, excessively high land prices, traffic congestion, water shortages, poor sanitation and drainage, irregular electric supply, unplanned construction, increasing air pollution and poor urban governance. It is a city of extreme poverty, giving a stark contrast between the rich and poor. The huge numbers of slums and squatter settlements on the edges of lakes, rivers, sewers and railway tracks are distributed in an irregular manner throughout the city (Ahmed *et al.* 2007; Siddiqui *et al.* 2010). This wretched condition complicated by a highly dense population, gives rise to a myriad of social, health and environmental problems. More so, Dhaka Metropolitan city is the nerve center for commercial, industrial, cultural, political, religious, academic and defense activities. Therefore, it becomes vulnerable to emerging problems associated with all these activities. This dynamism in the process of change at every section has escalated the increasing challenge of security of the people (Ahmed, *et al.* 2007; Shafi, 2010).

Since the problem of the ‘megacity’ is framed through overlapping terrains of urban practice and theory, many cities around the world are drawn into the orbit of its conceptualization, from resource-stretched smaller cities to large metropolitan areas which invoke the specter of ‘ungovernability’. Interrogating the ‘megacity’ requires theoretical innovations embedded in the

experiences of the given city concerned, as well as its historical, cultural and political milieu. A megacity has its own character as well as distinct evolutionary process depending on some features or characteristics. The researcher presented a set of independent but explanatory variables to study the policing of the megacity of Dhaka. The framework selected some of the critical variables that proved the policing the megacity of Dhaka. The framework is based on the empirical analysis of various studies and the conceptual foundations as developed by Maguire, Edward R. (2003), Wright, Alan (2002) and Dunhan & Geoffrey (1997).

3.1 Schematic diagram of the theoretical framework



The operational definition of the variables is given below:

Policing megacity: This concept encompasses all the activities police do in the megacity to establish the law and order, maintain peace and security, uphold the law fairly and firmly, prevent crime; pursue and bring offenders to justice and reassure the community with a sense of security as a key player in the criminal justice system.

Institutional infrastructure: It means the fundamental facilities and systems for the operation of police function. The formal organizations of police execute its operation and carry out function by the support of the physical, material, cultural and human resources. It develops a pattern of working procedure in compliance with legislation. It also encompasses a robust and feasible institutional process, framework, hierarchy and structure for giving service to the people.

Predators and nature of crime: The predators and the nature of crime are not uniform in the world. Therefore, only those crimes defined by the penal law for the time being in force in the metropolitan area have been incorporated in this research.

Culture and political mosaic: Culture and political mosaic dictate the operation of policing in the megacity. The society in the Dhaka megacity is polarized along the line of culture, economy and politics generating divergence and multiplicity. Police tend to mitigate and resolve the conflict among the diverse elements for peace and security.

Structural innovation: It covers the whole gamut of physical, psychological and functional facilities and operational methodology and instrument innovated for the smooth policing in a big agglomeration. This has always been necessitated by the increasing demand of law enforcement and maintenance of public security in the big city.

Governance of the system: The operational process involved in the management, governance and administration of this huge organization for policing the metropolitan area. It may include all the processes that coordinate and control an organization's resources and actions, ethics, resource-management processes, accountability, oversight, police-political government interface and management controls.

Spatial fragmentation: The increasing growth of urban agglomeration entails the high spatial fragmentation for multiple purposes and generates diverse and conflicting elements. All these fragmentations are brought under the security coverage of the law enforcement apparatus.

The theoretical framework conceives that the phenomenon of policing is integral to the process of urbanization. Policing means what police do in the enforcement of law and order. In the context of Dhaka, policing is very complex and multidimensional. Given this background, the police practice in metropolitan Dhaka has been examined under the institutional development and organizational theory of Maguire, Edward R. (2003). According to Maguire, most large police organizations perform the same tasks. However, there is a significant variation in how individual organizations are structured within the system. This theory asserts that the relevant features of an organization's context are its size, age, technology, and environment that affect its performance and role. Size is a primary factor to be considered, since there is considerable evidence that size does influence organizational structure, and it makes sense intuitively that larger organizations will be more complex and more centralized than smaller ones. Using this theory, multiple aspects of the institutional structure and the processes of police were analyzed. More so, the study focused on the efficacy of the police performance in the enforcement of law with a view to providing security to the people, public perception on policing, management of public order and traffic management in metropolitan Dhaka.

Since megacities have the unique characteristics with multidimensional problems, policing is a governance challenge for megacities of the developing countries such as Bangladesh, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan and South Africa (Fuchs *et al*, 1994). There is a complex relationship between policing and the process of rapid urbanization since the bigger urban space witnesses a surge of crime and violence which generate a feeling of insecurity among the people and an increasing strain on the police. In fact, police grapple with the crime situation in the absence of robust institutional and regulatory framework and local crime prevention partnership. Corruption, political intervention and abuse of power also affect the operational capability of the police. Faced with increased insecurity and a crisis in the role of the police, the state, the law enforcement apparatus and local authorities have agreed to decentralize security and incorporated civil society organizations in crime

prevention strategy. Local crime prevention coalitions, composed of institutional actors and civil society, are exploring concrete solutions through innovative approaches and responses based on the context of the particular urban agglomeration. This has led to a re-evaluation of the role of the police within a framework of local partnerships and good urban governance. The partnership between the police and the people forges a greater sense of police force accountability to the people. Innovative approaches can also bring about an improvement in the overall security problems faced by city residents, such as minor delinquencies and the protection of vulnerable neighbourhoods or groups at risk (Brennan, 2000; Chalom, *et al.* 2001; Sherman, *et al.*1998).

Policing constitutes elements of the organized exercise of coercive power within the framework of law to establish and secure a certain social order in any society. Moreover, policing in the bigger agglomeration establishes values, norms and rules in order to guide all their activities in the cultural and political mosaic for the integrity of diverse elements and the establishment of secured environment. This also entails a robust and feasible institutional process, framework and structure for giving service to the people. In the big urban agglomeration, high spatial fragmentation is characterized by separation of land use activities, such as housing, businesses, recreation, and manufacturing, into separate and distinct areas. All these spatial fragmentations are to be brought under the jurisdiction of police structure and innovative police process. Police also devise ways to serve in compliance with the consensus approach to restore order in the society. Therefore, police resort to structural innovation for giving the maximum impetus to carry out the fundamental responsibility to establish peace and order in the society (Grieve *et al.* 2007; Gomez,1989).

3.2. Methodology

The geographical area for this study has been selected the jurisdiction of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Since the study area of the dissertation focused on the main city area, it is necessary for the selection of respondents as well as organizations and institutions related to policing and traffic management in the Dhaka metropolitan area. There are two specific questionnaire sets -one is about the public perception of police and another is the traffic management in the Dhaka Metropolitan area.

3.2.1. Research Approach

Firstly, both quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted for the study of public perception of police in Dhaka metropolitan area. Since this research is an attempt to evaluate the public perception on policing in Dhaka metropolitan with reference to problems, issues and social perception, both the primary data and the secondary data have been collected. In order to investigate the factors chosen for the study of public perception of police, questionnaire on the personal profile, the experience of victimization of crime, perception of security, experience of contact with the police, perception of satisfaction about the service given by the police, police conduct and integrity of the police, knowledge of lodging a complaint against the police, physical torture, the image and efficacy of Dhaka Metropolitan Police were incorporated into the questionnaire.

Secondly, both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been adopted for the study of the traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. The mixed method is the appropriate tool to study this type of issue affecting people of Dhaka megacity. Qualitative study allows for in-depth analysis of comments and perceptions of different stakeholders such as traffic police who are assigned to manage the traffic in the streets and drivers and members of civil society who are the daily commuters in the streets of the megacity Dhaka. This approach provides room for discussions between the researcher and stakeholders capturing insights and direct understandings from participant's perspective.

In both the cases, secondary data consist of published and unpublished materials like books, government reports, police report and records, police statistics, journals and periodicals. Desk review includes government reports, previous surveys, policy, strategy and statistics. Academic and news media articles, non-governmental and think tank publications, and reports of international organizations were also consulted.

3. 2.2. Sample selection

In the case of public perception of police in Dhaka Metropolitan area, maximum efforts were made to select sample from all strata and types in the universe to make sampling more representative. Respondents were chosen at random. Therefore, stratified random sampling was

chosen for the study. For in-depth and exploratory nature of the study, the researcher has taken a doable sample size of 301 randomly. In consideration with the citizen's busy life in the megacity Dhaka and the impracticability of augmenting the sample size, it was decided to fix the size at 301 which would justify the reasonable representation to various strata of Dhaka megacity. Moreover, this has been further reinforced by the conviction of researcher's long association with the law enforcement agency of the country.

On the other hand, in the case of traffic management in Dhaka megacity, a stratified random sampling procedure was also used for selecting the respondents. A sample size of 100 respondents has been taken to capture the perception of traffic management in the megacity of Dhaka. The stratification was 50 from police personnel serving in the traffic division of Dhaka Metropolitan police and 50 from the members of civil society living in the megacity of Dhaka. This technique was employed to ensure a fairly equal representation of the variables for the study. It has also given the scope to weigh the views from different perspectives. It is also very challenging to capture the opinion of all traffic police responsible for traffic management in the metropolitan area. However, the respondents police officers are in the rank of traffic Sergeants and above directly associated with the management of traffic in the megacity of Dhaka. The respondents who belong to the civil society segment is huge in number in the metropolitan city. Therefore, it is very difficult to fully comply with the statistical grammar of random sampling. However, regular commuters have randomly been selected as respondents in order to capture the perception of the traffic management. The reason for using this cutoff in the sample size of both the cases is that it would produce a rich source of information about explanatory variables in the model. Furthermore, samples of 301 and 100 are the minimum to achieve a relatively small sampling error. Theoretically, the variation of major variables should not be limited in this study. However, all these have been substantiated by other rich literatures and the institutional memory.

3.2.3. Data collection tools and method

Various research tools were used for collecting the quantitative and qualitative data for this study. Since the purpose of this research is to make an empirical analysis of the policing issues and traffic management in the megacity Dhaka, focus group discussion, open discussion, in-depth interviews, and surveys with both the police officers and people living in the megacity Dhaka

were organized and conducted. A survey research method was adopted to address the research questions, using the questionnaire as the main instrument. Survey data were, thus, obtained through pre-determined questions that were sent to the respondents by the researcher. All these are the most appropriate method of data collection. This process was facilitated by the consideration of selected literature consulted principally both before and after all these methods had been conducted and analyzed. Moreover, interviews play a central role in the process of collecting data for qualitative research methods. The process of conducting in-depth interviews is an effective method of gaining access to the interviews' subjective meanings and interpretations that they give to various aspects of policing and traffic management in the megacity Dhaka (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

3.2.4. Questionnaire development

The researcher used a quantitative survey design. Both the questionnaires were designed in a way that easily offered the views of the traffic management and policing in the megacity Dhaka. In the questionnaire of traffic management, respondents were given a list of answers to get their feedback as it offered respondents a reasonable range of answers to choose from. As questionnaire survey is an effective method to seek a sample size for quantitative data analysis, representative practitioners with experience in traffic management such as Sergeants, drivers and commuters of Dhaka megacity were targeted. On the other hand, in order to investigate the factors chosen for the study of public perception of policing, questionnaires on the day to day policing, issues, problems and public perception were constructed by the researcher. Being aligned with the research objectives and equipped with an extensive literature review, meetings and discussions with some professional and academicians were conducted prior to the conceptualization of the possible questionnaire items. This ensured that they were representative of what respondents should know about the traffic management and policing in Dhaka megacity.

All questionnaires were distributed to respondents by the researcher personally. Side by side, face to face interview, discussion and focus group discussion were conducted to verify the views that came out of the survey. Above all, content analysis was used to study the policing and the present traffic management system of Dhaka metropolitan area. Various research projects, articles, reports were analyzed which gave the picture of traffic management scenario and policing

in Dhaka mega city.

3.2.5. Pre-test and validity test

For the purpose of pre-test, the questionnaires were sent to two groups of respondents who gave some feedbacks. The questionnaire had been modified accordingly upon receiving feedbacks and comments from these people. In each case, a new set of questionnaires had resulted after the pre-test sessions. To ensure that the measures developed in the instrument were relevant and appropriate, the instruments were tested for its validity and reliability. Validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). During the preparation phase, the researcher took the advice of a professor in the department of statistics, Dhaka university. Finally, in both the cases of questionnaires, the researcher consulted the supervisor, incorporated his correction and finalized the questionnaires.

The questions were formulated in English but later on it was translated into simple Bangla language for the participants' clarity and ease of understanding. Clear instructions were given to the subjects. In some cases, respondents completed the questionnaires in the presence of the researcher. This was done to prevent subjects from giving questionnaires to other people to complete on their behalf.

3.2.6. Interview

The interview is undoubtedly the most common source of data in qualitative studies. The person-to-person format is most prevalent, but occasionally group interviews and focus groups are conducted. Interviews range from the highly structured style, in which questions are determined before the interview, to the open-ended and conversational format. In qualitative research, the highly structured format is used primarily to gather socio-demographic information. For the most part, however, interviews are more open ended and less structured (Merriam, 2001; Sampson, 2017). The respondents were allowed to express freely their own thoughts without any input or help from the researcher to avoid any kinds of bias. The interviews were structured and guided in order to get the best possible answers in line with the research objectives. Focus group method was done in a group discussion setting. In the focus group discussion, members were chosen with

some common characteristics such as age, academic qualification and employment status. For this discussion, the researcher chose Police Staff College, Mirpur, Traffic Training Centre, Mill barrack and Bisho Sahityo Kendra, Dhaka.

The researcher discussed with officers on some sensitive issues which emerged during the interview and which cannot be otherwise proved independently since it is the privileged information gathered in the tour of duties. In fact, discussion has been conducted only for the clarification and veracity of the statement received from any one during the interview.

3.2.7. Data about crime

Dhaka Metropolitan Police provided the data of criminal cases lodged with the police station on the monthly basis but it is not available in the aggregate form. However, the researcher has managed the data of crime during the period from 2000 to 2016 in the aggregate form stored in their office. Only police cases known as GR (General Registered Case) cases have been taken and court cases known as CR (Complaint Registered Case) have not been included in this study. Generally, GR cases reveal the bulk of criminal cases in the city. A major concern in the collection of crime statistics from the police is the validity and uniformity of the data received. However, the statistical figures have some inherent limitations:

(a) All crimes committed in the Dhaka Metropolitan area do not come to the attention of police. Sometimes, people do not come forward to lodge complaint with the police. Seemingly, this indicates the people's apathy that they do not want to get involved in the criminal justice system with a view to avoiding any perceived encumbrances. (b) Besides, white collar crimes, transnational crimes, organized crimes and cybercrimes including commission of offences in the underworld remain beyond the orbit of exposed data. Police statistics accurately do not reflect the actual crime committed (Shely, 1987). This has been called as the 'dark figure' of crime. In spite of these limitations, the fact remains that they serve as a primary source of information about the types of crime which are more likely to occur in a particular area in a particular time (Paranjape, 2008). Crime statistics from police are used for the consideration of the volume, magnitude and intensity of crimes recorded annually in a particular country, region or place. In other words, the magnitude of crime can best be understood to compare current levels of crime with those of the past (Shely, 1987). In Dhaka Metropolitan police, there is no

other source of verification of crime statistics. Media reports only serious crime but petty crimes do not get any space in the media.

3.2.8. Data Analysis

Thematic principle had been applied in the process of qualitative data analysis. The collected information was sieved, sorted, grouped and assembled in accordance with the question numbers that acted as the coding system in order to obtain the emerging issues and to establish certain patterns in all the answers. The summarization of the collected information was done mainly based on typology and quasi statistics i.e. classified, grouped, themed or patterned and the number of times or frequencies a subject was mentioned in the process. Quantitative data analysis for the questionnaire was done by using the common statistical software SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science). All questions were individually analyzed, taking into considerations all the available factors and supported with descriptive and inferential analysis. Frequency tables were drawn and finally, the data were presented in bar graphs and tables. The open-ended questions were analyzed through quantitative content analysis by the researcher with the aim of quantifying emerging characteristics and concepts.

3.2.9. Ethical Consideration

During the beginning of this research, the researcher was a serving police officer in the capacity of a senior officer designated as Deputy Inspector General (DIG) of Bangladesh police. The researcher began his career as Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) and served almost 30 years of service in various capacity in Bangladesh police. The researcher's background as a police officer placed him in a sound position to understand the whole gamut of policing in the megacity Dhaka. The institutional memory of the police and the personal experience gathered over a long period of time gave a new dimension to form pragmatic and sustainable opinions in respect of the policing in the megacity Dhaka. Any research involving the police and police activities in Bangladesh is very sensitive and therefore, it is very difficult to get any of the inner story, culture and practice from the respondents especially from police officers. Since policing remains beyond the orbit of any academic research in Bangladesh, it is also impossible to get any authenticated academic materials on any issue of policing. Press media have little access to any of the inner practices and culture. Media pours in some stories which do not always tell the true story. On the

other hand, police officers are reluctant to reveal ill practices in the service since it goes against themselves, government in power and the politicians. Therefore, police officers evade any analysis and any interaction involving police practices in the interview. Because of the researcher's institutional memory and the long attachment with the police department, the researcher has the opportunity to approach any officer and interact on any sensitive subject. By virtue of length of service, the researcher had become reasonably well known to a number of other officers who had progressed to senior management positions. Therefore, the researcher was able to contact and communicate with these officers freely. In fact, the researcher's experience helped to penetrate the blue line bastion by developing rapport and requesting responses from participants that they might not have otherwise revealed to an outsider. However, the researcher has always remained objective in the evaluation of their opinions during the interview with police officers.

During this research, the researcher took steps to ensure that interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner only with regard to introductory comments at the commencement of each interview and that subsequent questions were confined to seeking clarification of respondents' comments and that the researcher's own ideas did not override the issue arising from analysis of the data. The researcher was in a position to weigh the right or wrong issues coming from the discussion. The researcher had always made a conscious effort to ensure that what was revealed was the subjective view of reality held by employees that was not superseded by the researcher's own occupational experience as a police officer.

All information was collected anonymously and the researcher has not reported the names of the places that the respondents occasionally mentioned in their open-ended written responses. Some of the revelation might provoke negative feelings. In order to ensure anonymity, the names and locations mentioned in the interviews have been omitted. They were also given the highest assurance that the information collected would be treated with strictest confidentiality. All their words, statements, comments, opinions, criticisms, appraisals, wishes and hopes were noted down.

3.2.10. Limitation

Since the questionnaires, prepared in *Bangla*, were given to the citizens of various background living in Dhaka megacity, it was not possible for the researcher to guide every

individual respondent. No case study was made at all within this limited time frame. While requesting for filling out the survey questionnaire, it came to the notice of the researcher a sort of evasive attitude of the respondents. Since the questionnaire is about the perception of police in Dhaka megacity focusing on the evaluation of performance and the image of the police in the heart of the people, it gave a shade of doubt and sensitivity in the eyes of the respondents lest they might incur the displeasure of the security apparatus of the state and fear had really made them a bit hesitant to fill out the questionnaire. Moreover, the researcher's association with police as a senior member of the force compounded the apprehension which acted as inhibiting factor for the survey. However, the researcher received the feedback from 301 and 100 respondents of different professions respectively. There were some conflicting views on some issues which had been investigated by the face to face interview with respondents. This limitation does not impact in any meaningful way of the interpretation of the findings. On the other hand, the researcher did not encounter any difficulty during the survey on the traffic management since the researcher approached them as a retired police officer. Rather, the researcher found them cooperative, open and cordial in giving the information the researcher asked for. There was not any reluctant and evasive attitude at all.

The researcher's law enforcement experience may contain some biasness in the interpretation and analysis of officers' perception and people's perception that was minimized by coding during the data collection and replicated the essence of participants' meaning during analysis phases. Moreover, maximum effort was taken to provide the transparency necessary to establish trustworthiness. In the megacity Dhaka, the nature and dynamics of police contacts with citizens are sometimes contentious. Therefore, participants may have altered their answers to interview questions to express viewpoints they found more socially, politically, or legally acceptable and palatable. To mitigate this concern and to assess veracity, this study contrasted those interpretations with the environmental and situational factors on the ground. Both the police officers and the public were encouraged to disclose detailed perspective about their personal experience. This experience also aided in the analysis and comparison of participant's interpretations with contextual and environmental variables affecting the contacts.

However, demographic composition is an inherent and unique limitation of all community-level examinations, and citizen–police relations specifically. Efforts were taken to make a sample inclusive of all attitudes to policing and traffic management issues. Another concern is the number in the sample size. In this study, especially, the relatively small sample size of respondents within the metropolitan area provided limitations on the measure of policing issues. In spite of long association with policing experience, the researcher has strong commitment to remain pretty innocent of any potential research biasness in the presentation and the analysis of issues raised in the research objectives.

Finally, this section had been organized to include theoretical framework, research design, population and determination of sample size, data collection method, questionnaire development, interviews, research general guidelines, data analysis and summary. Elaboration and explanation of the issues related to research methodology had been highlighted that included the choices of research methodology and data collection methods. The researcher’s experience throughout the data gathering process was also mentioned.

3.3. Structure of the thesis

The thesis has been organized into eleven chapters. The following sections give the brief narratives of each chapter.

Chapter 1 presents the introductory background of the study, statement of research problems and issues, research questions, scope and objectives of the research.

Chapter 2 reviews literature that concerned to the study of previous research work in the field of research problem related to policing in general and policing in urban setting in particular. In order to appreciate and grasp the research process and to understand the research gaps in the chosen research problem, earlier research studies associated with published materials were reviewed.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology and approaches of the study. It explains analytical framework of this research work and supports the selected design, data collection methods and validity and reliability procedures used in this study.

Chapter 4 attempts to delineate the features and characteristic of megacity, sketches out global trends and dynamics of the formation of megacity specially of developing countries. An approach has also been made to discuss the challenges megacity presents.

Chapter 5 has reviewed the growth and evolution of the megacity Dhaka through different stages of development in historical perspective.

Chapter 6 explores policing in Dhaka city within historical perspective with a focus on the present system organized and consolidated in the megacity.

Chapter 7 assesses how the personnel manage, govern and administer the huge police organization for policing the metropolitan Dhaka. It includes all the processes that coordinate and control an organization's resources and actions, ethics, resource-management processes, accountability, oversight, police-political government interface and management controls.

Chapter 8 focuses on three aspects (a) crime pattern and prevalence in the urban setting of the metropolitan Dhaka (b) Investigative process and (c) Prevention of crime. It also examined the incidence of crime and the police strategies adopted to prevent and detect crime and to apprehend criminals. More so, to explore whether emerging crimes like drug abuse, violence against women, human trafficking, are impairing the security of the people in metropolitan Dhaka. It makes a critical appreciation of the theory and practice of the process adopted by the Dhaka Metropolitan Police to maintain law and order, establish the public security and finally promote the rule of law.

Chapter 9 explores the status and effectiveness of traffic law enforcement in Dhaka city, the roles of stakeholders regarding the law enforcement, the forms of breach of traffic laws and effect of the legal process initiated by the regulatory organ, the question of governance problem and finally the gaps and way forward in case of traffic law enforcement and governance.

Chapter 10 focuses on public opinion about the experience of victimization of crime, perception of security, experience of contact with the police, perception of satisfaction about the service given by the police, police conduct and integrity of the police, knowledge of lodging a complaint against the police, physical torture, the image and efficacy of Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

Chapter 11 explores the institutional capacity to establish the public security in the megacity of Dhaka within the context of a political government. It will also focus on difficulties and challenges of governance in the urban setting with specific suggestions and recommendations paving the way forward. Here, the analysis is tied together and the central findings and arguments are reiterated. Important policy implications are highlighted. Limitations of the study were outlined. Suggestions are made for further research to answer questions raised by this study.

Chapter 4: Megacity- Concept and Evolution

Megacity is a unique phenomenon in the global urbanization process. The huge size of population and features have made it different from other urban areas. Though megacities are new forms of human settlement, they have developed in different physical locations of different countries with different growth rates and socio-economic histories. However, this chapter tries to trace out its evolution along with a definition in the present day context of rapid urbanization. It will also make an attempt to delineate the features and characteristic of megacity, sketch out global trends and dynamics of the formation of megacity specially of developing countries. An approach has also been made to discuss the challenges megacity presents.

4.1. Megacity- as a concept

The term 'megacity' has generated much debate over not only questions about its physical aspects of territorial size, population and density but also considerations about its system of governance and organization. Most scholars agreed that the phenomenon of megacities is characterized by economic role but not by size, it seems that there is still a misinterpretation of this term.

Hall (2010) traced the concept through a historical evolution and the development of megacities through time. The term was coined by Janice Pearlman in 1987. Therefore, the term megacity is relatively new but the phenomenon is not. There were many megacities in history such as the Greek Megalopolis which had a population of 40,000 in 370 BC. After that, Rome emerged as the first megacity in world history with the populations about 1.4 million. This was twice or thrice bigger than Patna 300 years earlier or Babylon 150 years before that. For almost a thousand years, Rome was the largest, wealthiest, and most politically important city in Europe. Rome's population started dropping in 402 AD when Flavius Honorius, Western Roman Emperor from 395 to 423, moved the government to Ravenna. Thus, Rome's population declined to a mere 20,000 during the Early Middle Ages. Actually, this reduced the sprawling city to groups of inhabited buildings interspersed among large areas of ruins and vegetation (Wikipedia, 2013). For the next seven hundred years, there was no such a giant city like that the world had witnessed.

This megacity developed a complex system of administration, food supplies, traffic, water and waste disposal.

Later on, there were Constantinople in the Middle Ages, and Peking in the early modern period. After the 1800s, London showed rapid urban development and by 1885, London emerged by far the largest city in the world with a population larger than that of Paris, three times that of New York or Berlin within their erstwhile limits. London could not retain this position since New York soon overtook it as the third largest city of the world in 1875, as the second in 1900 and the first by 1925 (Hall, 2010).

London and New York retained some kind of global pre-eminence into the 1950s, until the growth of Western cities like Los Angeles and other great cities of the developing world rapidly overtook them. Since then, driven by high rates of natural increase and internal migration, many cities in this group have grown to number among the world's largest cities. This surge of development was followed by cities in North America and Australia in the nineteenth century, and those in the developing world followed closely behind in the twentieth century. Thus, Dhaka in Bangladesh and Lagos in Nigeria each grew by 5.8 per cent annually; Delhi in India by 4.1 per cent; Karachi in Pakistan by 3.6 per cent; Jakarta in Indonesia by 3.4 per cent; Mumbai (Bombay) in India by 3.1 per cent; and Manila in the Philippines by 2.5 per cent. For the future, six of the 22 megacities projected to exist in 2015 are projected to grow by more than 1.9 per cent per year, the average annual growth rate projected for the global urban population during 2005-2015. These cities are: Lagos in Nigeria, Dhaka in Bangladesh, Karachi in Pakistan, Jakarta in Indonesia, Guangzhou in China and Delhi in India, in order of their annual growth rates (World urbanization prospects, 2005). In 2025, of the fifteen largest cities in the world, thirteen will be located in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Mumbai (26 Million), Delhi (23 Million), Dhaka (22 million), Sao Paulo (21 million), Mexico City (21 million), Kolkata (21 million), Shanghai (19 million), Karachi (19 million), Kinshasa (17 million), Lagos (16 million), Cairo (16 million), Manila (15 million) and Beijing (14 million) (Koonings *et al.*2009)

Since the term megacity has no agreed definition, it has given the scope of misinterpretation. However, for convenience, earlier United nations used a simple statistical definition to characterize the megacity. It is an urban agglomeration with more than 8 million

inhabitants (Guest, 1994; United Nations: Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1986, 1987, 1989). This created an unusual situation that city like London does not qualify as a megacity. For example, under the 1980 UN megacity criterion of 8 million population, London was dropped because it had declined to 7.7 million, whereas cities like Moscow, Mumbai and Rio de Janeiro did qualify (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994). Therefore, in the last issue of the United Nations “World Urbanization Prospects” the definition of UN has changed:

“.....urban agglomerations with more than 10 million inhabitants are known as megacities” (2001:93).

Likewise, the Asian Development Bank emphasizes a population of 10 million. This has been explained in a paper in *Population and Development Review*:

“A megacity is defined as a large metropolitan area with a complex economy, a large and highly skilled labour force, and a transportation system capable of maintaining daily communications among all its residents. A threshold population of 10 million is used to define megacities in DMCs [Developing Member countries] for the purpose of uniformity. In many cases, this population is for an extended area beyond the administrative boundaries of the constituent municipalities. In higher-income countries, the population threshold would be lower” (1997:453).

Indeed, megacity is depicted as the most extreme variety of ‘over urbanization’. Many of the manifest characteristics of this type of urbanization are visible in all cities in the developing world, irrespective of size and population.

Since a threshold population of 10 million is the only criterion to define megacity, it has created some questions. Has anything changed in Istanbul in recent years due to the crossing of the 10 million line? Do any disparities between the megacity Lagos and the ‘non-megacity’ Chicago stem from the difference in population size? Do Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro have, except for the size of their respective population, enough in common to be qualified in the same category of cities? The threshold for designating a megacity is also a matter of personal taste. A city with 9 million inhabitants probably faces the same problems as a city with 10 million inhabitants. Ultimately it is useless to fight over a fixed definition of megacities, as any setting of minimum/maximum values is arbitrarily subjective and thus, open to debate. Furthermore, there are the problems of inconsistent spatial boundaries for administrative districts, as well as the reliability of up-to-date population figures given inconsistent censuses, projections and

estimations. It is difficult to define the outer limits and accurately estimate the population of megacities. International statistics are not based on similar areas of reference, so that the figures given for the size of cities and megacities are generally not comparable (Krass, 2005).

Therefore, we need to choose a qualitative definition of the urban phenomenon of the megacity. The definition of megacity on the basis of the size of its population or the size of its spatial territories should not be the only criterion. Then, what is the definition of megacity? In fact, the definition is associated with the agglomeration of functions and networks. Ideally, a more clearly delineated set of criteria, based on such variables as size, financial resources, industrial and commercial structure, political role, educational facilities and scientific personnel, service function, and position in the world system, should be considered for classifying selected cities as megacities (Fuchs *et al*, 1994).

"Megacities, then, are large cities in which geographic and demographic size are just one out of many factors that shape a certain kind of urban pathology: a systematic disjuncture between opportunity structures for livelihood, service provision, security and overall urban planning and regulation, on the other hand and composition of the urban population on the other. Inequality, exclusion, segregation, violence and insecurity are apparently endemic features of megacities. The fault lines of urban exclusion are drawn by class, caste, race, ethnicity and religion. To the extent that these fault lines contribute to the disarticulation of urban systems, megacities can be considered 'fragile'." (Koonings *et al*, 2009:10).

In fact, megacities are clusters of large and small daily urban systems that have become powerhouses and central nodes of the world network economy. A megacity is therefore a concept that is imposed on a particular urban agglomeration which consists of a number of networked metropolitan cores and which houses a large number of populations and covers a vast spatial territory (Buijs *et al*, 2010).

In spite of strong argument against the threshold of 10 million set arbitrarily by UN, a workable definition is necessary. Finally, a megacity is a metropolitan area with a total population in excess of 10 million which, by linking with global economy, maintains central nodes of the world network economy. Having a large and highly skilled labour force, it has networked metropolitan cores which facilitate its citizens to share an urban way of life. It can be a single metropolitan area or two or more metropolitan areas that converge.

4.2. Features and characteristics of megacity

Although megacity is increasingly the phenomenon of the developing world, it has some unique features. Krass has argued,

"Among the most important common characteristics are high population concentration and density, with extreme levels, in some cases severe infrastructural deficits, high concentration of industrial production, signs of ecological strain and overload, unregulated and disparate land and property markets and insufficient housing provision, in some cases extreme socio economic disparities- as well as high level of dynamism in all demographic, social, political, economic and ecological processes. One must nevertheless be wary of generalizing statements, for among megacities there are clear differences in infrastructural quality, the level of economic development, social polarization or political leadership and governability, differences which should not be ignored." (2003:62).

The analysis of the aforementioned paragraph reveals the following characteristics features of megacities that bring these agglomerations into the focus of science, policy and economy: -

4.2.1 Density of Population

Since the growth in the population of cities is an inevitable trend for the majority of megacities, there has been high population concentration in the built-up city areas having largely uncontrolled spatial physical (both vertical and horizontal) expansion. In fact, the population explosion and massive rural to urban migration in the developing countries are among the key determinants of the rapid growth of the third world megacities. The fastest growth continues to be in the developing world particularly in Asia and Africa. By 2020 Mumbai, Delhi, Mexico City, São Paulo, Dhaka, Jakarta and Lagos will each have populations of over 20 million. Moreover, the megacities of many countries contain a very large percentage of the country's total population particularly the case in developing countries. In Africa, for example, the percentage of urban population residing in Lagos rose from 9 percent in 1950 to 20 percent in 1990. Likewise, the number of inhabitants in Nigeria's Lagos will double by 2020, mainly through expansion of informal settlements. Similarly, due to the high growth rate, Dhaka's share of the country's total population has been steadily growing, currently at over 10%. By 2020, almost 13% of Bangladesh's total population, more than 20 million people, is projected to be the residents of the megacity Dhaka. By contrast, most of the megacities in the developed world are growing slowly,

if at all. Tokyo remains the largest with 37.2 million inhabitants. However, the populations of New York, Los Angeles and Moscow form only a small share of the urban population of the United States and Soviet Russia. This density of population often causes discontent among citizens and social tensions, resulting in segregation, the appearance of ghettos, increasing crime, etc. It is also placing huge pressure on infrastructure in those locations. The megacities of the developed countries will need to address a different kind of demographic challenge in the form of population ageing. At the same time, immigrants possess a wealth of positive potential. Besides, their purely economic potential, they also bring with them a huge cultural capital, their national culture, diversity, etc. (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994; Hazel *et al.*, n. d; Moscow Urban Forum 2013; Ahmed *et al.*, 2007).

4.2.2. Land and property markets

In megacities, there have been moderately regulated and disparate land and property markets. The land supply problem is generally independent of the type of ownership. It is as severe in cities where much of the land is publicly owned such as Karachi and Delhi, as in cities where most of the land is privately owned such as Bangkok, metro Manila. In all cases, the price of land has increased much faster than the consumer price index. This has exacerbated the difficulty of acquiring land for low income housing. In some cities, the price increase is partially explained by special circumstances, such as the absolute scarcity of buildable land not subject to flooding (Dhaka), purchases by national returning from working in the Middle East (Karachi and Dhaka) with whom locally income earners can hardly compete, or the existence of a large green belt (Seoul).

Moreover, people consider land as a secured investment for storing capital and generating future capital gains. Since there are hardly enforceable measures for controlling land usage, the spatial structure of many cities has been determined primarily by private development. This is obviously governed by on-site profitability rather than long term general welfare. Remittances from overseas earnings have ignited the land market in Dhaka. It is estimated that one one-third of the remittances of expatriate workers have been used to purchase land. In fact, land prices have risen about 40-60 per cent faster than the prices of other goods and services. In recent times, owners of garment industries, other entrepreneurs and black money holders have been the more

conspicuous buyers of land. Therefore, there is intensive speculation for the development and expansion in urban areas. Such an increase in the value of the land had pushed out the lower income groups, who constitute the large majority of the city population, from the urban land market (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994; Islam, 2008).

4.2.3. Insufficient housing provision

The issue of housing is central for the majority of cities especially in developing countries and rapidly growing megacities. Undeveloped infrastructure and capital markets, and growth in the population of cities all contribute to the lack of available housing. In developing countries, there exists a trend of continuous increase of housing prices. This is accompanied by a lag in the improvement of quality of life. In such context, housing remains or becomes inaccessible for the majority of residents. Insufficient housing provision especially for poorer people have been widening inequalities among various zones (Moscow Urban Forum, 2013).

In many low- and middle-income countries, the urban poor are most visible in large-scale slums. Today, huge population live in slum conditions which represent around one third of the world's urban population. The vast majority of slums – more than 90% – are located in cities of developing countries. It is often the fastest- growing cities that have the highest concentrations of these informal settlements (WHO, 2010).

Slum dwellers often experience difficult social and economic conditions. These are different forms of deprivation – material, physical, social and political. They live in overcrowded, poorly constructed housing, often with insecure land possession. Reduced access to safe food and water, poor sanitation, a breakdown of traditional family structures, high crime and high unemployment rates affect slum dwellers' health. Slums are home to a wide array of infectious diseases including tuberculosis, hepatitis, dengue fever, pneumonia, cholera and malaria. All these spread easily in highly concentrated populations. Despite the tremendous need, health-care services are generally not available in these areas.

Slums are no longer just marginalized neighbourhoods housing a relatively small proportion of the urban population. In many megacities, they are the dominant type of human settlement, carving their way into the fabric of modern-day cities, and making their mark as a

distinct category of human settlement. Now, this characterizes so many cities in the developing world (WHO, 2010).

4.2.4. Concentration of assets

Megacities show the highest density of inhabitants, industrial assets and production, social and technical infrastructure. Since megacity gradually emerges as the centres and junction of global economy, they act as a catalyst in the national, regional and international development. In such agglomerations, a cost-effective labour force with a wide array of skills, a large number of suppliers, diversified financial and commercial services, venture capital, access to information on foreign markets and technologies, as well as the social amenities (health and education) are available. All these make a conducive environment which requires to attract managerial talent and investment. It is in these places that a low income economy can reap the benefits of a rapid diffusion of new skills and technologies. At the same time, local market will place concentrated purchasing power at the door step of the business community. In effect, the megacity becomes a giant supermarket with the greatest array of choices in the country (Fuchs *et al.* 1994). Urban agglomerations and megacities generate a lot of income and their local economies have an importance for their rural surroundings. Moreover, diversified development of labour market for the formal and informal sector, capital accumulation, high capacity for innovation and attractiveness are conducive to international direct investment (Krass, 2003).

4.2.5 Primacy of megacities

Many megacities have been recognized as primate cities. A disproportionately high percentage of the national population is concentrated in them. This has produced an extremely polarized urban system, where other cities in the state are of almost no significance. This is also true for functional primacy. It means that the megacity plays a dominant role in national administrative, political economic, social and cultural affairs. However, some megacities in developing countries ultimately do not play a significant political or economic role in the global urban system, in spite of their enormous populations and size. The megacities in the industrialized countries such as Tokyo, New York or Paris with global political and economic centres of power and influence belong to world Cities or Global Cities. Moreover, they emerge as a critical actor in the global economy (Krass, 2003). Megacity Dhaka, for example, has been a primate city. The

primacy of Dhaka is reflected not only in terms of its population but also in other functional and socio-economic conditions. Administrative functions and civil employments, financial and banking services, international commerce and business services etc. are all largely concentrated in Dhaka. Educational, cultural and political activities are also over concentrated in the city. Such concentration of economic, social and political power in the city shaped Dhaka as a city magnet. Dhaka plays a key role in the global supply chain of consumer items through the export of ready-made garments. However, Dhaka occupies a unique position in the ranking of other cities of Bangladesh such as Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi. All are identified to be less significant than Dhaka (Islam, 2008).

4.2.6 Dynamism of growth

Megacities are characterized by the highest dynamics in the fields of spatial and demographic growth, change of land use and consumption of land for settlement purposes. This may take place in absence of urban planning. The formal and informal urban economic sectors are on a high dynamic level. The local, regional and global markets and the connection with the international economic circulation induce various increasing economic activities, so that megacities have the economic potentials and power to initiate economic growth also in the regions around the urban areas. The special potential of megacity economies is to be found in the broad spectrum and high dynamism of their economic activities; national and broader regional potential is maximised here and connected into international economic cycles (Krass, 2003). Megacities are generally strong actors of the global economy; they concentrate corporate areas specialized in services, an industrial production with a tendency of moving away from urban centers and settling in strategic locations for the mobilization of products, and, in addition, megacities are great consumption centers. They have large new urban extensions made up mostly of informal settlements or slums and, in some cases, such as in Mexico City, by large, spreads of social housing produced by state bodies (Barros and Xavier, 2011).

Megacities have become the economic engines of the modern world. This is particularly evident in the leading countries with developing market economies: Russia, Brazil, India, China, Mexico, Turkey and Indonesia. The modern world is characterized by the increasing role of megacities, which are growing in terms of size and population. Often, this is accompanied by the

issue of such cities having too great a significance. Moscow, for example, accounts for almost a quarter of Russia's GDP, despite possessing only 8% of the population and that they take resources away from the surrounding regions and the country as a whole. On the other hand, the development of megacities is often obstructed by a lack of alignment of policy in relation to the city and the surrounding area (Moscow Urban Forum, 2013).

4.2.7 Settlement, infrastructure and land tenure

In the most urban agglomerations and megacities, urban planning and public infrastructure can only partially guide the urban development in order to achieve a proper sustainable structure. The extension of cities is always in advance of urban development work and the provision of public facilities. The conventional urban planning should conform to the feasibility within the legal framework. But in many cases, the development in megacities proceeds outside the law with the absence of land use planning. Especially the informal housing areas and in times, also illegal housing areas (squatters) that are built up by the migrants themselves lead to an extensive settlement structure. The illegality of those residential areas results mainly from the land tenure system (Kötter & Frank, n. d.). In many cases the infrastructure, public and private transportation, garbage removal and sewage systems with waste water purification are not efficient or not available. Most urban dwellers have no sanitation facilities and the rainwater drainage systems are totally inadequate. This situation has serious consequences on the environment and public health (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994).

4.2.8 Socio-economic disparities

In megacities, one can recognize a wide range of social standards and social fragmentation as well as social-cultural conflicts. This is visible due to the different backgrounds of the immigrants. A great number of urban poor are badly provided with public facilities and infrastructure and their housing areas are often edged out by stronger economic purposes and land use. The development and extension of cities is accompanied with rising urban poverty. Roughly, a quarter of the population of the developing countries (1.2 billion people) are living in situations of absolute poverty on less than one dollar per day (World Bank, 2004). Rapid, unplanned urbanization also contributes to urban poverty, which is becoming a severe, pervasive and largely

unacknowledged feature of urban life. Poverty can be found in all parts of the world, including cities in Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. However, a resident in a poorer housing area in Chicago has better living conditions than about 80 % of the megacity-dwellers in the developing countries. In Kolkata, Madras, Bombay and Delhi more than 50 % of the inhabitants are living in informal settlements. The growing socio-economic disparity within the megacities and the lack of social cohesion is the most serious matter for conflict (UN-Habitat, 2004).

4.2. 9 Risks and vulnerability

Megacities are highly vulnerable to natural and man-made disasters. Most of them are concentrated in disaster-prone areas where floods, earthquakes, landslides etc. are most likely to happen. It has been recognized that the major part of the damage will take place in developing countries. Certainly, this will create a heavy impact on poor people and ethnic minorities. Countries with low human development account for 53 percent of recorded deaths from disasters even though they are home to only 11 percent of the people exposed to natural hazards worldwide (UNDP, 2004). Primarily, the unplanned urban growth causes a lot of different ecological, economic and social problems and risks. Considering the high density and the large number of inhabitants combined with the accelerated urban development, megacities run highest risk in cases of disasters. It is expected that the vulnerability of the society and the human environment as well as the threat by disasters will intensify continuously in the future (Kötter & Frank n. d). The megacities of the world are comprised of heterogeneous societies with divergent background. Optimistically, this has created a broad range of tolerance but it also increases the risk of relationships based on social discrimination (Barros & Xavier, 2011). Global trends of poverty and social exclusion will have a predominantly urban face in the present century. Especially megacities around the world are rapidly becoming the scene of deprivation and exclusion. In increasingly violent megacities, the urban excluded face the brunt of what in many cases seems like-intensity urban warfare. Unemployment, urban growth, a high proportion of youth with little prospects, and poor welfare induce fragility and violence (Koonings and Dirk, 2009).

4.2.10 Signs of ecological strain

Megacities throughout the developing world are experiencing tremendous environmental stress. The huge population directly affects the spatial concentration of people,

industry, commerce, vehicles, energy consumption, water use, waste generation, and other environmental strains (Brennan, 2000). All of these aspects, directly related to the economic and social strategies for city development, make up the complex ecological policy of an agglomeration. In fact, the majority of the world's megacities suffer from severe negative externalities in the form of inadequate sewerage facilities, insufficient solid waste disposal and poor air and water quality (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994). The growing amount of wastes generated by the urban communities goes beyond the capacity of cities to collect and dispose of them safely and efficiently. Air pollution in most large cities is getting worse due to emissions from fossil fuels used for transport and industry. Inappropriate land development and inappropriately disposed toxic wastes generated by industry are causing damage to groundwater, wetlands, and other sensitive ecosystems. These environmental consequences have directly translated into negative impacts on human health and quality of life, especially for the urban poor. Congestion, air and water pollution, waste management and degradation of green areas are particularly extreme in the megacities of the developing world. In London and Tokyo, for example, air quality has improved over the last 50 years. In Shanghai and Kuala Lumpur, it has gone down (Hazel *et al.*, n.d.; Fuchs *et al.*, 1994).

4.2.11 Urban Governance

Megacities generally witness explosive population growth and an expansion of economic activities. All these have huge impact on the localisation of industry and extension of the region far beyond the core city. To develop the appropriate institutional framework is a serious problem in managing the growth of megacities. Municipal administrations cannot perform the task well because their jurisdictions are under bounded and they are fully occupied with the day to day problems of routine administration, service provision and finance. In many megacities, metropolitan development and planning authority have been established but they tend to languish as weak institutions with nothing to do and little to say e.g. Metro Manila Commission. The limited territorial control of existing municipalities and the extensive jurisdictional fragmentation usually mean that metropolitan problems cannot be handled at the sub-metropolitan level (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994). On the other hand, many cities appear to have problems with unclear and overlapping responsibilities amongst internal and external agencies, leading to operational dysfunction. For example, Sao Paulo comprises component cities all with their own governance

arrangements. Likewise, approximately 42 entities are in charge of the various planning, implementation and maintenance aspects of urban development of the megacity Dhaka. But there is little coordination among these entities, for they are administered and regulated through different ministries and often with a different set of laws and priorities. For example, RAJUK does not always include the Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) in the planning process (Morshed, 2011). It is clear that solutions to problems facing megacities require concerted response from many internal units and regional and national agencies in areas such as planning, infrastructure, development and land use controls, transportation, environmental management and water management. Mandates might be clear, but rationalisation of functions and more effective levels of cooperation and information sharing are needed (Potsiou, 2010). Population growth and economic activities in cities strain the natural resource base in and around megacity and they generate ever increasing amounts of waste that is beyond the capacity of urban authorities to dispose of. The inability of many local and municipal governments in developing countries to provide adequate infrastructure and services has led to the degradation of the living and natural environment in and around megacities (Fuchs *et al.*, 1994). Increasingly, megacities are subject to an up to now unknown loss of governability and controllability – with the consequence that more and more processes are unregulated and take place informally or illegally (Krass, 2003).

4.2. 12 Polycentric nature

Megacities are polycentric. It means they do not have a single center, but rather that the same urban extension includes different areas capable of attracting economic, social, and political activity. Megacities are structured around different centers (Barros & Xavier, 2011). These polycentric characteristics of megacities are that their shapes are basically associated with urban sprawls and polycentricism, they combine a large number of different spaces with different uses, they juxtapose rural areas and urban ones and they entail multiple centralities. People who live in them are very mobile; they work in one part, live in another one, do their shopping in a third one, and go to a fourth one for entertainment or sport. They tend to be affected by a high degree of social and spatial polarisation, stretching, in some of them, from wealthy gated communities to large zones of slums (Auby, n.d.).

4.2. 13 Commonality and Uniqueness in diversity

All the megacities are not similar. There are great differences between megacities in developed countries and megacities in developing countries. In developed countries, there are conurbations controlled by the extension of infrastructures on territories that are gradually added in an orderly fashion, whereas in megacities of the developing world, conurbations occur in the form of informal settlements, with no planning or infrastructure. In fact, in these settings, urban planning is normally made after the consolidation of an urban area and tries to equip the new neighborhood with infrastructures. In these cases, urban management addresses the most pressing needs rather than the most important needs. Governments sometimes become more preoccupied with finding problems to specific, immediate, and emerging problems (floods, waste, water supply, etc.) than to solving the urban viability of an area in the medium or long term (Barros & Xavier, 2011). Emerging megacities witness the high growth rates of population facilitated by migration and natural growth. This has been mostly manifested in informal settlements which have neither infrastructure nor services. The megacities of the developed countries have much slower growth rates. Populations tend to be younger and more male, with a high proportion of poorly educated rural migrants. The developed megacities have older population profiles and are responding to the increased and changing demands for services of all types posed by their ageing population (Hazel *et al.*, n. d.). The following table will show perspective of growth of megacities in the different parts of the world.

Table 4.1 The different perspectives of megacities

American	European	Latin American	Asian
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Industrial-age centralized cities *Decentralized suburban communities. * Vast urban continuum (Consumption services, new economic production hubs-Edge Cities and automobile-dominated sprawl). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Demographic change. *Economic restructuring. * Distributed central place systems. * Centres absorbed into expanded urban space. * Networks of existing nodes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Population floods primate cities. * Incorporation of low-density rural spaces. *Too few jobs. *High density of peripheral slums. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Growth of primate cities. *Migration. *Mass production. *Manufacturing-led export development. *Globalization of trade and technology.

Source: Buijs *et al* (2010) p. 94

4.2.14 Traffic congestion

Megacities experience huge traffic congestion with a largely uncontrolled mass transit system in down town areas in the day time. In some cases, there have been very severe infrastructural deficits, often with motorized and non-motorized vehicles on the same street (Talukder, 2006). In fact, transport is a major challenge for people who live in these mega cities. The lack of efficient public transport and the growing number of personal cars on the roads cause major traffic jams which hold people up for hours trying to get to and from work. There are many issues associated with the problem of transport, including growing health concerns for people dwelling in the cities. Loss of working hours has become a consequence because of the overwhelming time spent sitting in traffic jams. Bangkok sees traffic jams which cause a loss of 2 working hours every day. Generally, this incurs huge financial loss. In Mexico City, congestion slows down the movement on the roads to 16 kilometers per hour at peak times. In Metro Manila, travel along one quarter of the primary road network is now less than 15 kilometers per hour. In Dhaka, traffic moves at an average of only 13 kilometers per hour. Congestion is severe in many megacities. The congestion compels people to modify and relocate trip destination and time of travel. This issue of transport continues to grow due to the lack of maintenance on the roads, lack of space allocated to roads, poor modes of public transport (Fuchs *et al*, 1994, p.247).

4. 3. Global trend and dynamics of the formation of megacity

Without understanding the global trend and dynamics of the formation of megacities, it is very difficult to appreciate the role of megacities in the present day world. A megacity is a complex organism and its development is largely a spontaneous process. The first question, in terms of dynamics, is: Why do megacity attract? Why does such a large population flow there and want to live there? What is the global trend?

By 1970, the world had only two megacities: Tokyo and New York. Since then, their number has increased exponentially and most new megacities have emerged in developing countries (table 4.2). Today, Asia has 13 megacities, Latin America has four, and Africa, Europe and Northern America have two each (table 4.2). Thirteen of those megacities are capitals of their countries. By 2025, when the number of megacities is expected to reach 37, Asia would have gained another nine, Latin America two, and Africa, Europe and Northern America one each. This indicates a clear trend of accelerated urban concentration in Asia. In 2011, the world counted 23 megacities of at least 10 million inhabitants which accounted for 9.9 percent of the world urban population. The number of megacities is projected to increase to 37 in 2025. At this time, they are expected to account for 13.6 per cent of the world urban population (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision; 2005 revision; 2003 revision and Kotter & Frank n.d.).

Between 1970 and 2011, the number of people living in megacities has been multiplied almost 10 times. The population increases from 39.5 million to 359.4 million. It is expected that this number will almost double by 2025 and reach 630 million. Today, about 1 person out of 10 living in urban areas resides in a megacity of at least 10 million inhabitants; by 2025, it is expected that about 1 person out of 7-8 living in urban areas will live in a megacity. In relation to the overall population of the world, the share of megacities was 5.2 per cent in 2011. This implies that just about one in every twenty people on earth live in megacities. By 2025, the population living in megacities is expected to reach almost 8 per cent of the overall world population. One out of 13 people will then reside in a megacity (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision; 2005 revision and Kotter & Frank, n.d.).

Although megacities of more than 10 million inhabitants emerged during 1950s, when New York and Tokyo were the largest cities in the world, “metacities” – massive conurbations of more than 20 million people – are now gaining ground in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Some scholars called it “hypercities”. Indeed, cities of more than 20 million inhabitants represent a new type of settlement above and beyond the scale of megacities. Driven by economic development and increased population, they gradually swallow up rural areas, cities and towns. These become multi-nuclear entities counted as one. The world has never seen before these huge agglomerations which have been trending towards the formation of metacities (UN Habitat, 2004).

Tokyo, the capital of Japan, is today the most populous urban agglomeration. Tokyo continues to be the only metacity in the world today, with a population of 37.2 million people in 2011 – more than the total population of Canada, Algeria, or Uganda. To reach such a large number of inhabitants, Tokyo, the megacity, is actually an urban agglomeration that comprises not only Tokyo but also 87 surrounding cities and towns, including Yokohama, Kawasaki and Chiba, large cities in their own right. Often, megacities emerge because of the blend of several cities or urban localities that are functionally linked and form an urban agglomeration (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision and 2005 revision).

Following Tokyo, the next largest urban agglomerations are Delhi in India with 23 million inhabitants, Mexico City in Mexico, New York- Newark in the United States of America, Shanghai in China, São Paulo in Brazil and Bombay in India, each with about 20 million inhabitants. The smallest megacities are located in Africa and Europe. They include the two megacities in Africa, namely, Lagos in Nigeria and Cairo in Egypt, each with 11 million inhabitants, and the two megacities in Europe, namely, Moscow in the Russian Federation with 11.6 million inhabitants and Paris in France with 10.6 million inhabitants (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision and 2005 revision).

Table 4.2. Population of urban agglomerations with 10 million inhabitants or more, 1950, 1975, 2011 and 2025 (millions)

1970			1990		
Rank	Urban agglomeration	Population	Rank	Urban agglomeration	Population
1	Tokyo, Japan	23.3	1	Tokyo, Japan	32.5
2	New York-Newark, USA	16.2	2	New York-Newark, USA	16.1
			3	Ciudad de México (Mexico City),	15.3
			4	São Paulo, Brazil	14.8
			5	Mumbai (Bombay), India	12.4
			6	Osaka-Kobe, Japan	11.0
			7	Kolkata (Calcutta), India	10.9
			8	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana,	10.9
			9	Seoul, Republic of Korea	10.5
			10	Buenos Aires, Argentina	10.5
2011			2025		
Rank	Urban agglomeration	Population	Rank	Urban agglomeration	Population
1	Tokyo, Japan	37.2	1	Tokyo, Japan	38.7
2	Delhi, India	22.7	2	Delhi, India	32.9
3	Ciudad de México (Mexico	20.4	3	Shanghai, China	28.4
4	New York-Newark, USA	20.4	4	Mumbai (Bombay), India	26.6
5	Shanghai, China	20.2	5	Ciudad de México (Mexico City),	24.6
6	São Paulo, Brazil	19.9	6	New York-Newark, USA	23.6
7	Mumbai (Bombay), India	19.7	7	São Paulo, Brazil	23.2
8	Beijing, China	15.6	8	Dhaka, Bangladesh	22.9
9	Dhaka, Bangladesh	15.4	9	Beijing, China	22.6
10	Kolkata (Calcutta), India	14.4	10	Karachi, Pakistan	20.2
11	Karachi, Pakistan	13.9	11	Lagos, Nigeria	18.9
12	Buenos Aires, Argentina	13.5	12	Kolkata (Calcutta), India	18.7
13	Los Angeles-Long Beach-	13.4	13	Manila, Philippines	16.3
14	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	12.0	14	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa	15.7
15	Manila, Philippines	11.9	15	Shenzhen, China	15.5
16	Moskva (Moscow), Russian	11.6	16	Buenos Aires, Argentina	15.5
17	Osaka-Kobe, Japan	11.5	17	Guangzhou, Guangdong, China	15.5
18	Istanbul, Turkey	11.3	18	Istanbul, Turkey	14.9
19	Lagos, Nigeria	11.2	19	Al-Qahirah (Cairo), Egypt	14.7
20	Al-Qahirah (Cairo), Egypt	11.2	20	Kinshasa, Democratic Rep. of the	14.5
21	Guangzhou, Guangdong, China	10.8	21	Chongqing, China	13.6
22	Shenzhen, China	10.6	22	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	13.6
23	Paris, France	10.6	23	Bangalore, India	13.2
			24	Jakarta, Indonesia	12.8
			25	Chennai (Madras), India	12.8
			26	Wuhan, China	12.7
			27	Moskva (Moscow), Russian	12.6
			28	Paris, France	12.2

	29	Osaka-Kobe, Japan	12.0
	30	Tianjin, China	11.9
	31	Hyderabad, India	11.6
	32	Lima, Peru	11.5
	33	Chicago, USA	11.4
	34	Bogotá, Colombia	11.4
	35	Krung Thep (Bangkok), Thailand	11.2
	36	Lahore, Pakistan	11.2
	37	London, United Kingdom	10.3

Source: World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision, United Nations Department of Economic and social affairs, Population Division, New York pp. 6-7.

In 2025, Tokyo is projected to remain the world’s most populous urban agglomeration, with almost 39 million inhabitants. Scholars do not predict that its population will scarcely increase. It will be followed by Delhi in India with 33 million inhabitants and Shanghai in China with 28.4 million inhabitants. Mumbai in India would come next, with almost 27 million inhabitants. All three cities are expecting important population gains.

Megacities are experiencing very different rates of population change (Table 4.2). The megacities such as France, Japan, the Russian Federation, the United States and the four megacities in Latin America experience the lowest rates of population growth. Very high rates of growth are expected in Lagos in Nigeria, Dhaka in Bangladesh, and Karachi in Pakistan (all having growth rates well above 2 per cent per year). In addition, the megacities in India (Delhi, Kolkata and Bombay) and in China (Shenzhen, Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai) plus Manila in the Philippines are expected to grow considerably faster than those in Egypt or Turkey. Between 1950 and 2020, the New York-Newark metropolitan area is expected to have increased its population by only 40 per cent, whereas Mumbai will have grown by 88 per cent, and Dhaka will have grown to more than 50 times its size in 1950. Throughout the past half-century, the largest cities of the developing world absorbed huge increases in their urban populations while many cities in the developed regions have grown considerably less, or, as in the case of London, decreased in population. These trends are consistent with the overall differentials in fertility among the national populations concerned. The excess of births over deaths is an important component of population growth in most urban areas and the projected rates of population growth in megacities reflect the gradient in natural increase of the countries they belong to (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision and 2005 revision).

Megacities represent the extreme of the distribution of cities by population size. These are followed by large cities with populations ranging from 5 million to just under 10 million. In 2011, these types of cities were 40 and are expected to number 59 in 2025. Over three quarters of these “megacities in waiting” are located in developing countries and account for about 9 per cent of the urban population (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision and 2005 revision).

The huge urban agglomeration entails new forms of urban planning and management. Therefore, this led to the growth of city- regions and “metropolitanization”. As cities increase in size, metropolitanization is becoming a progressively more dominant mode of urbanization, particularly in megacities and newly emerging megacities. Metropolitanization can take various forms; it may involve densely settled regions in which villagers or people living in suburbs commute to work in the nearby cities but where many of the production and service activities are located in rural areas and suburbs; it may mean that a stagnating and declining population and economic base in the core of a city shifts to nearby secondary cities; or it may refer to the development of interconnected systems of cities that create city-regions linked by manufacturing and other activities, such as the Hong Kong/Pearl River Delta region of China (UN Habitat, 2006).

Metropolitanization calls for new, innovative and more decentralized forms of governance. Already, many large cities are decentralizing governance to the appropriate levels with more municipalities and boroughs managing different parts of the city. This calls for better inter-municipal coordination, more intermediate metropolitan levels of governance, more civil society participation and more autonomy for various parts of this new organism called the metacity (UN Habitat, 2006).

Metropolitanization is leading these giant cities into world cities. They are not only simply the concentrations of people and resources. Rather, as hubs of trade, culture, information and industry, cities also articulate and mediate major functions of the global economy. In developed countries, megacities generate over 80 per cent of national economic output, while in developing countries, urban economic activity contributes significantly to national revenue. This generates up to 40 per cent of gross domestic product. Wealthy world cities are also increasingly operating like city-states and city-regions, independent of regional or national mediation. Global urban economies are increasingly

reliant on advanced producer services for their income: advertising, finance, banking, insurance, law, management consultancy, and other service-based businesses (World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision; 2009 revision; 2007 revision and 2005 revision).

Today, several major cities play pivotal roles in global networks, such as producing goods and services and hosting institutions, generating related economic and civil society activity in other cities. These “world cities” provide economies of scale and access to resources of local and global significance. Connectivity, economic production and cultural innovation have long kept London, New York, Paris, and Tokyo at the top of the world-city scale, closely followed by cities such as Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Amsterdam, Singapore, São Paulo and Shanghai. In fact, they are emerging as trend-setters on the global financial scene. Other cities, such as Dubai and Rotterdam, are becoming global transport hubs, while Bangalore, Seattle and Silicon Valley have emerged as world leaders in the area of information technology. But all these world cities are not necessarily megacities in terms of minimum threshold of population (UN Habitat, 2006).

In the new urban millennium, several key cities in developing regions are going to take the shape of world city status. This is based on their new roles in the global economy and their capacity for linking resources with populations in need. Big cities such as Istanbul and Mumbai have already established the cultural trends in their countries and regions. This influence could cross international borders through films, literature and satellite television networks and entertainment. Large cities in the developing world, such as Nairobi, Addis Ababa and Bangkok are increasingly bringing together major national and international partners by hosting international agencies and development partners, and offering avenues for constructive peer exchange, mediation and diplomacy (UN Habitat, 2006).

At the same time, cities are becoming more competitive with each other. The world cities are desperate for hosting major international events and corporate headquarters. Some world cities of the developing regions are also vying for each other to become important regional, corporate and development centres. The primary economic rival of India’s financial capital of Mumbai, for example, is Shanghai in neighbouring China. The latter has similar global aspirations, but has a much smaller proportion of its population living in poverty.

Table 4.3. Population of urban agglomerations with 10 million inhabitants or more in 2011 and their average annual rates of change, selected periods, 1970-2025

<i>Urban agglomeration</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2025</i>	<i>1970-</i>	<i>1990-</i>	<i>2011-</i>
Lagos, Nigeria	1.4	4.8	11.2	18.9	6.08	4.08	3.71
Dhaka, Bangladesh	1.4	6.6	15.4	22.9	7.86	4.02	2.84
Shenzhen, China	0.0	0.9	10.6	15.5	18.44	11.89	2.71
Karachi, Pakistan	3.1	7.1	13.9	20.2	4.15	3.16	2.68
Delhi, India	3.5	9.7	22.7	32.9	5.07	4.03	2.67
Beijing, China	4.4	6.8	15.6	22.6	2.14	3.96	2.66
Guangzhou, Guangdong,	1.5	3.1	10.8	15.5	3.45	6.01	2.54
Shanghai, China	6.0	7.8	20.2	28.4	1.30	4.52	2.43
Manila, Philippines	3.5	8.0	11.9	16.3	4.07	1.89	2.26
Mumbai (Bombay), India	5.8	12.4	19.7	26.6	3.80	2.20	2.12
Istanbul, Turkey	2.8	6.6	11.3	14.9	4.30	2.58	2.00
Al-Qahirah (Cairo), Egypt	5.6	9.1	11.2	14.7	2.42	1.00	1.98
Kolkata (Calcutta), India	6.9	10.9	14.4	18.7	2.26	1.33	1.87
Ciudad de México (Mexico	8.8	15.3	20.4	24.6	2.79	1.38	1.32
Los Angeles-Long Beach-	8.4	10.9	13.4	15.7	1.31	0.99	1.13
São Paulo, Brazil	7.6	14.8	19.9	23.2	3.31	1.42	1.08
New York-Newark, USA	16.2	16.1	20.4	23.6	-0.03	1.12	1.05
Buenos Aires, Argentina	8.1	10.5	13.5	15.5	1.30	1.20	0.98
Paris, France	8.2	9.3	10.6	12.2	0.64	0.62	0.97
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	6.6	9.6	12.0	13.6	1.84	1.05	0.93
Moskva (Moscow), Russian	7.1	9.0	11.6	12.6	1.17	1.22	0.56
Osaka-Kobe, Japan	9.4	11.0	11.5	12.0	0.80	0.19	0.33
Tokyo, Japan	23.3	32.5	37.2	38.7	1.67	0.64	0.27

Note: Urban agglomerations are ordered according to their projected rate of population change during 2011-2025.

Source: World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, New York p.8.

In the developing world, megacities attract those who are seeking a better life- a higher standard of living, better life and better opportunities. Indeed, megacities have become magnets of innovation, creativity, leadership and business activity. There is a great variety of analytical framework offering motivation for the emergence of urban culture and urban agglomeration forces.

Table 4.4: Overview of perspectives of urban analysis frameworks

Perspectives	Description	Proponents
Market-oriented	Urban rent gradient is the spatial-economic representation of the supply and demand for urban land by different categories of users, while considering density externalities.	Advocated inter alia by classical authors like Alonso, Muth Henderson, etc.
Ecological socio-cultural	A blend of sociological and organismic urban viewpoints is offered to explain the structure of urban living and working patterns.	Advocated in particular by the so-called Chicago School.
Clustering and industrial networks	Urban dynamics is analysed from the perspective of a multiplicity of conflicting interests of urban stakeholders.	Outlined by advocates of the so-called Los Angeles School, such as Scott and Storper.
Political-economic power	In a globalizing world, large cities act as global command centres with centripetal and centrifugal forces all over the world.	Advocated inter alia by Sassen.
Agglomeration advantage	Urban agglomerations generate overwhelming advantages of scale and scope, so that cities become by necessity strong players in the space economy.	Advocated inter alia by Glaeser.
Creativity	Cities are the source of rejuvenation, innovation, radical breakthroughs and permanent change, as a result of the leading role of the creative class.	Florida
Virtual	Emerging digital e-society cities act as key nodes in a virtual network and exploit all the agglomeration benefits of their territory in a worldwide arena.	Advocated inter alia by Graham and Marvin.

Source: Buijs et al. (2010) p.103

Megacities offer large efficiency benefits, which result in extraordinary gains in productivity and competitiveness. They are the centres of knowledge, innovation and specialization of production and services. They facilitate creative thinking and innovation. A high concentration of people in cities generates more opportunities for interaction and communication, promotes creative thinking, creates knowledge spillovers and develops new ideas and technologies. They provide more opportunities for learning and sharing. They facilitate trade and commerce by providing super

market places. Megacities serve as production and services centres since the production of many goods and services is more efficient in a high-density urban environment. They provide consumers with more choices of goods and services. They are the agents of social, cultural, economic, technologic and political changes and advancement (Zhang, 2010).

These advantages make megacities more productive than rural areas. megacities are the driving forces of national economies. They generate a disproportionately higher rate of economic growth than rural areas. In developed countries, statistics show that megacities have higher productivity per capita than rural areas. For example, Tokyo has 26.8 percent of the national population and produces 34.1 percent of national GDP. London has 20.3 percent of the population and accounts for 25.4 percent of GDP. Paris, with 16.2 percent of the national population, accounts for 26.5 per- cent of the national GDP (Zhang, 2010).

Megacities contribute to national economic growth in developing countries. This is very significant since the economic future of developing countries depends much more on primate cities. The central role of cities in national economies is more significant in developing countries than in developed countries. For example, Sao Paulo has 10.5 percent of the population and generates 19.5 percent of GDP. Shanghai, with 1.2 percent of the population generates 2.9 percent of GDP. Buenos Aires, with 32.5 percent of population produces 63.2 percent of GDP. Mumbai, with 2 percent of the population, accounts for 6.3 percent of GDP. Nairobi, with 9 percent of the population, generates 20 percent of GDP. Megacities like Shanghai, Manila, Karachi, Nairobi generate more than 100 percent higher GDP than their population share. Dhaka and Mumbai generate more than 200 percent higher GDP than their population share (Zhang, 2010).

It has been recognized that there is a strong correlation between economic development and level of urbanization. Clarke (1996) gave the reference to the per capita income of some countries which has grown with urbanization. For this, he divided the economic development of three broad groups of countries. These groups are:

First. These group are countries of Australia, Japan, New Zealand and the newly industrial economies of Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan.

They have per capita incomes of over \$3,200 per year and levels of urbanisation between 70 and 100 percent.

Second. These include countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Pakistan. They have per capita incomes of between \$500 and \$3,200 per year and urbanisation levels between 23 and 43 percent.

Third. These include countries of South Asian countries, People's Republic of China, and other East Asia and Pacific nations have incomes below \$500 and urbanisation levels below 28 percent (Clarke, 1996, p.61-62).

Economic growth and urbanisation are clearly inter-connected and therefore, it is imperative that megacities will continue to grow. Much of this growth is determined by the natural growth of the population and migration of people. It is very difficult to forecast the scale of growth since it depends on the factor of absorbing agricultural and rural land holdings by megacities which will result in impacts on rural urban migration (Talukdar, 2006). This type of growth is conspicuous in the developing countries. Whereas London took 130 years to grow from 1 to 8 million, Dhaka took 37 years and Seoul only 25 years. This growth is commonly attributed to the population surges after the WW II. However, transition of economic structure from agriculture to industries and services has been the key to sustained growth of all megacities. The transition in Japan and Korea has been complete and projected to stop growing within the next ten years. However, megacities in countries that are in early stages of industrialization and experiencing rapid natural population growth will continue to grow at a high rate (Rahman, 2011).

4.4. Challenges of megacities

Megacity is characterized by rapid population growth and physical expansion that spills over the boundaries of the core cities. This has strong locational impacts on an ever expanding metropolitan region. The impacts constantly challenge the agenda of governance in megacities and almost it is difficult to change it. Megacities are often confronted with a multitude of key challenges, like high urban densities, economic (the informal sector), transport, traffic congestion, energy inadequacy, unplanned development and lack of basic services, illegal construction both within the city and in the periphery, informal real estate markets,

creation of slums, poor natural hazards management in overpopulated areas, crime, water, soil and air pollution leading to environmental degradation, climate change and poor governance arrangements. All these make the megacity governance very difficult.

4.4. 1. Unmanageable population

Emerging megacities tend to be characterized by high growth rates driven by migration and natural growth. Much of it occurs in informal settlements not served by the installed base of infrastructure and services. Annual growth rates are on the order of between 3% and 6%. A 3.5% growth rate implies a doubling of population in 20 years. Emerging megacities are typically in countries with urban populations of less than 50%. Populations tend to be younger and more male, with a high proportion of poorly educated rural migrants. Social polarity and the gaps in wealth, health, education, and political power between groups is generally highest in emerging cities (Hazel *et al.*, n. d.). The growth of Asian megacities has been called extraordinary. Whereas London took 130 years to grow from 1 to 8 million, Dhaka took 37 years and Seoul only 25. The explosive growth of population in the megacity create socio-economic and environmental challenges which become difficult for the government to manage. Dhaka megacity, for example, exhibits a very high density 'human population'. Megacity Dhaka's population is expected to rise to 30 million or more by year 2030, if the current growth rate is not reversed. Approximately, 2,200 unskilled people from rural areas pour into Dhaka each day in search of opportunities in the informal economic sector. About 30% of Dhaka's population live in the inhumane urbanity of sprawling slums, where 60% of the children are chronically malnourished. With inadequate space to live and much lesser road infrastructures to move, the rapidly growing urban population in Dhaka and its outskirts is enhancing environmental pollution posing problems to human health and threatening the general quality of life (Rahman, 2011).

4.4. 2 Informal economies

Megacity offers the best ground for manufacturing, commercial, and other service enterprises to flourish, since there is the widest potential for formal and informal business linkages, as well as opportunities for domestic, retail, and other service industry jobs. The economy of megacities generates huge demand for labour. Thus, people migrated to megacity in

search of better life but cannot find enough job in formal sector in megacity. Therefore, they are bound to look for opportunities in the informal sector. They sell anything from water to state-of-the-art electronics. Moreover, the growing absorption of women into formal and informal employment is typical of the labour situation and a fundamental feature of the economies of megacities. These provide much needed work that protects them destitution, introduce some social stability and offer the prospect of new economic opportunities and a better quality of life (Talukdar, 2006).

Table 4.5 shows how megacities employ huge informal sector employment. It has been also recognized that the informal sector declines if there is an inclusive development. Seoul and Bangkok are much more developed economies where informal sector employment does not exist at all.

Table 4.5 Informal Sector Employment in Asian Megacities

City	Employed in Informal sector (%)
Bangkok	-
Kolkata	30
Dhaka	65
Jakarta	40
Karachi	75
Manila	50
Seoul	n. a.

Source: Stubbs and Clarke (1996, p.525).

Under-employment, unemployment are characteristic features of the labour situation of megacities. In fact, there are a substantial portion of jobless people in the megacities. This is an enormous challenge, as it demands a drastic transformation of the work picture in the megacities of the developing world. Today megacities are characterized by substantial unemployment, low productivity among those who are employed, a large service sector, a small manufacturing sector, and a large and generally inefficient government sector. There is also a large informal sector of employment in family enterprises and small enterprises, from peddlers to small retail stores. The employment difficulties are compounded by limited job mobility, inadequate transportation to jobs

for poorer citizens, and the lack of legal protection for workers, particularly in the informal sector. This unavailability of jobs, along with the lack of housing and the conditions of life at the margins of the megacity, physically speaking in the barrios, slums and favelas has led to the growth of socio-economic problems (Bugliarello, 1999).

Urban poverty is often rural poverty transferred from the countryside by rapid population growth and a rural economic and political environment unconducive to change (Fuchs, 1994). Moreover, under-employment, or unemployment is both a cause and effect of urban poverty. As trapped in poverty of megacity, people are desperate for informal employment in the absence of available formal opportunities. Therefore, informal employment is generally reflection of urban poverty. The Table 4.6 shows that the number of people who live below the poverty line in the Asian Megacities.

Table 4.6 Poverty in the Asian Megacities

City	Population below the poverty line (%)
Bangkok	15%
Kolkata	33%
Dhaka	42%
Jakarta	34%
Karachi	60%
Manila	15%
Seoul	0.36%

Source: Stubbs and Clarke (1996, p.525).

Widespread poverty is a striking feature in a number of megacities in the Asian region. The issue of social equity is a complex formation in the megacities of developing countries. Therefore, megacities accommodate people of divergent socio-economic background. In the globalized economy, there are extremes of wealth but a large section of the megacity is often trapped in their poverty. Some are richer but the majority are poorer. Reducing urban poverty is a complicated process. Therefore, it cannot be achieved without an inclusive and balanced socio-economic development. In a complicated process, it takes a longer time. In this context,

managing urban poverty and the informal sector in megacities of the developing country is a great challenge for megacities governance (Talukdar, 2006).

4.4. 3. Slums

In megacities, it has been recognized that the absolute number of slum dwellers has been rising. The majority of these are located in legal and illegal settlements with insufficient housing and sanitation. This has been caused by massive migration, both internal and transnational, into megacities. This exodus has virtually contributed to the explosive growth of urban populations and spatial concentrations. Since megacity governments could not plan and provide affordable housing for the low-income segments of the urban population, squatter and slum housing is the housing solution for this low-income urban population. These issues raise problems in the political, social, and economic arenas. Slum dwellers often have minimal or no access to education, food, clothing, shelter, healthcare, or the urban economy. The high prevalence of slums in Dhaka and Mumbai demonstrates that people living in the slums do not have the basic necessities to sustain a healthy and safe livelihood. Governments are often unable to provide services. Moreover, megacities often have significant numbers of homeless people. All these are the most visible manifestation of urban poverty especially in the megacities of developing countries. It emerges as a potential challenge for any megacity since informal settlement cannot be done away with overnight¹.

4.4. 4. Environment

Megacity generates enormous amounts of domestic and industrial wastes of various kinds. These wastes often cause severe and wide-spread environmental damage to ecological systems within and adjacent to urban regions. In fact, megacities throughout the developing world are experiencing tremendous environmental stress. Nevertheless, it is widely recognized that environmental degradation in many of the world megacities is becoming worse. The sheer magnitude of population growth is an important variable affecting urban environmental problems since it directly affects the spatial concentration of people, industry, commerce, vehicles, energy, consumption, water use, waste generation and other environmental stresses.

¹ http://www.unhabitat.org/jo/en/inp/Upload/1051050_Part%20two%205.pdf

The per capita environmental costs or damages in the megacity are huge. With the considerable growth rate of megacities, environmental problems have worsened. Economic development aggravates many environmental problems because the quantity of urban waste generated per capita also increases steadily with increased per capita income (Brennan, 2000).

The contamination of water supplies in megacities of the developing world are discharge of untreated industrial wastes into watercourses; leakage of liquids from industrial or municipal waste dumps into surface or ground water; inadequate treatment of municipal sewage; hazardous and toxic materials flushed into watercourses because of poor solid waste management. Most rivers and canals in developing country megacities are literally large open sewers, with the organic wastes from industries, drains, sewers and urban runoff rapidly depleting the dissolved oxygen (Brennan, 2000).

Moreover, sanitation is a major problem affecting water quality. As cities become more densely populated, the per household volumes of wastewater exceed the infiltration capacity of local soils and require drainage capacity and the introduction of sewer systems. Most municipally provided sanitation system are based on conventional sewer systems. The population served by piped sewerage is 20% in Dhaka, Karachi and Manila, 30% in Delhi, 40% in Jakarta and 45% in Kolkata. Megacities are being inundated in their own wastes as a result of inadequate waste management policies and practices. Uncontrolled, unsegregated dumping of municipal solid waste, hazardous/ industrial wastes and the medical waste at the same sites in peri-urban areas and near squatter settlements increase the risk of exposure to other health hazards (Brennan, 2000).

Throughout the developing world, the problem of air pollution arises from the fact that emissions from vehicles, industrial boilers and domestic heating sources exceed the capacity of cities' natural ventilation system to disperse and dilute these emissions to non-harmful exposure level. Of the major sources of air pollution in the world's megacities, sulfur dioxide comes chiefly from emissions from oil burned in power generation and industrial plants; suspended particulate matter comes mainly from domestic fires, power, and industrial plants; carbon monoxide and nitrogen dioxide come mainly from gasoline fumes of motor vehicles

and ozone is formed by the action of sunlight on the smog from vehicles emissions (Brennan, 2000).

4.4. 5. Unplanned growth of cities

Unplanned and moderately regulated growth and development in the ever expanding urban fringe and in the city key areas pose serious challenges for megacities. Private landholders' personal aims and wishes are fully realized only when a city exponentially grows and expands in the absence of optimum land use plan or well-regulated development scheme. Private landholders are least concerned about public interests or retention of elbow spaces and setting up of wider infrastructure that ensures clean water and comfortable transport access to the commoners. Arable lands close to the probable place of a future city are gradually being mutated into for urban use. Natural wetlands which are effective protection against flood water are also being consumed by the ever-expanding township projects. This is our common experience that illegal temporary settlements (shanty) are erected on or near the flood embankment areas or in other places which are vulnerable to natural calamities. Unplanned and short-sighted city expansion project allows growth of undesirable industries and closely set residential blocks to the detriments of living environment. This further causes serious harm such as filling of drains, ducts and water channels. Unplanned rise of city uproots and pushes the low-income groups to more health-hazard areas and the greater harm that it engenders is that it leaves no scope for further redevelopment in case of dire necessity in future. When a megacity is overburdened with a huge population, the natural propensity would be to expand the urban boundary with no ending, devouring all arable and wetlands on the way. This unsustainable demand for land and housing threatens the fragile land - river ecosystem that historically has sustained the megacity (Hardoy *et. al.*, 2001).

4.4. 6. Crime

Crime in the world's megacities is a serious concern for public security. In fact, crime challenges the very foundations of the social order, takes a heavy toll in terms of human suffering, and results in economic waste and a general deterioration in the quality of life. In recent years, there have been massive public protests and riots in cities such as Delhi, Jakarta, Karachi, Dhaka, London, Paris and a number of African cities. All these have resulted in significant loss of life and widespread destruction of property. These disturbances have at times been triggered by immediate

economic circumstances (e.g. rising food prices, food scarcity, currency devaluation) or by political upheavals. In some cases, simmering ethnic, political and communal tensions (e.g. between Hindus and Sikhs in Delhi, Mohajirs and Pathans in Karachi, and Indonesians and ethnic Chinese in Jakarta, multi-ethnic conflict in Paris and London, political conflict in Dhaka) have come to the surface during such episodes. These result in an even higher toll of death and destruction. Such escalation of citywide violence has serious potential for destabilizing worldwide financial markets and destroying infrastructure, thereby impacting already fragile national economies, or igniting violence in entire geographical regions (Brennan, 2000).

Worldwide, however, urban crime is dominated by crimes against property (e.g. theft, burglary, car hijacking), which account for at least half of all offenses in the world's cities. During the early 1990s, 61 percent of the population in urban areas of over 100,000 inhabitants at world level were victims of crime over a five-year period; in the developing regions, 68 percent of the urban population in Latin America, 44 percent in Asia and 76 percent in Africa were crime victims. Violent crime, including murder, assault, rape and sexual abuse, and domestic violence, now accounts for 25 to 30 percent of offenses in cities in developing countries. One noteworthy aspect of violent crime is the increase in murders. In several of the world's largest cities, including Los Angeles, Rio de Janeiro, Bogotá, and São Paulo, more than 2,000 people are murdered each year. In Rio de Janeiro, more than 6,000 people were murdered in 1990 alone, resulting in a murder rate of 60 per 100,000 inhabitants; as a point of comparison, the murder rate in Washington, D.C. was over 70 per 100,000 in the early 1990s (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996).

It has been recognized that urban crime and violence in the world's large cities is generally the product of inequality, social exclusion, economic deprivation, political, and income disparities. These disparities are usually combined with very poor and overcrowded housing and living conditions, and often insecure tenure. This type of environment presents fertile ground for the development of violence. In the process of rapid urbanization, megacity offers the diversity of lifestyles and cultures, interest groups with such dynamic and complex social organisation. Crime is also associated with this type of this environment (Box 4.1). It may not be the megacities that generate crime and violence; rather poverty, social and political exclusion from the decision-making process are the causes. The Montreal Conference of Mayors (1989) noted that 'the basic

causes of violence are: urban growth with the marginalization of the underprivileged and the isolation of groups at risk, qualitative and quantitative insufficiency of social housing programs and community amenities, unemployment of young people'. The contrasting lifestyles of different zones are exacerbated when the urban poor are concentrated in low income neighbourhoods (Talukdar, 2006, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2007).

BOX. 4.1: Conflicts, Violence and Crime in Megacities

High levels of urban crime and perhaps especially of violent crime are bringing major changes in the spatial form of many cities of the world and of their built up areas and public spaces. Violent crimes are most visible in cities, and they help create a sense of insecurity that generates distrust, intolerance, the withdrawal from community life, and in some instances, violent reactions. Middle- and upper-income groups in many cities around the world journey by private automobile between apartment complexes, shopping centers or malls and office complexes each with sophisticated security systems and their own secure car parks so there is little or no necessity to walk on the streets or to use open spaces. High levels of crime and fear of violence have helped to push shopping malls, office complexes and leisure activities to suburban areas and in some cities, this has reached the point where it is increasingly rare for middle- and upper-income groups to visit the city center (International Center for the Prevention of Crime, *Urban Policies and Crime Prevention*, paper presented for the Prevention of Crime, Montreal, 1995).

The desertion of neighborhoods by the most constructive elements; the decrease in traffic and the risks of break-ins and armed robbery drive business out. Industries opt for other sites because these areas no longer have the labor force they are looking for and the physical conditions they need to operate. The juxtaposition of these pockets of poverty and more affluent areas generates envy on one hand and fear on the other (International Center for the Prevention of Crime, *Workshop on Urban Violence*, The UN Congress on Crime Prevention, Cairo, 1995).

Urban violence is the result of many factors which affect each city depending on the specific local context - and there is a considerable debate about the relative importance of different factors. It is because of the significant inadequate incomes which are usually combined with very poor and crowded housing and living conditions, and often insecure tenure, as fertile ground for the development of violence.

Source: UNHABITAT (1996, *An Urbanizing World- Global Report on Human Settlement 1996*, p.124-125.

4.4. 7. Road Traffic

The rapid urbanization process and increase in vehicle ownership have resulted in enormous environmental pollution from road traffic, traffic congestion and accident problems. Transport resurfaces a specific problem in a huge urban agglomeration due to rapid spatial growth. This is compounded by traffic congestion and deteriorating air quality. Congestion has direct impact on economic efficiency since it creates a polluted urban environment and often degrades the city as a place to live. Congestion threatens prosperity and expectations of an improving quality of life for all sectors of society in a city. Since the vehicle numbers increase exponentially, megacities of developing countries are increasingly congested, polluted, and sprawling, and out of control (Kutzbach, 2010).

Every day millions of people travel in Asian Megacities. Most of these journeys are by public and private vehicles. However, the use of transport moves varies from megacity to megacity. Public transport of Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul and Tokyo plays the dominant role but Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Dhaka, Jakarta and Bangkok could not widely practice public transport. Those former cities have restrained/ restricted private vehicles and allow a greater use of public transport, are less congested and more easily accessible. Hong Kong is mostly served by public transport (74%) and is the most efficient city in the Asian region serving the most densely populated urban centre. The wealthier the city the better the public transport system is organized in this sample of Asian cities. Comprehensive planning and management of transport is one of the most important aspects of urban governance (Talukdar, 2006).

Table 4.7: Asian Cities - Mode of Transport Use, Distance Travel, Journey Time, Air Quality and City Wealth

Cities	JtW Private %	JtW Public %	JtW NMM %	JtW (km)	JtW (mins)	Total CO ₂ Per Capita (kg)	City Wealth GDP/capita (US\$) in 1990
Hong Kong	9.1	74.0	16.9	10.9	44.0	760.4	14,101
Seoul	20.6	59.6	19.8	11.2	41.2	704.7	
Singapore	21.8	56.0	22.2	9.0	33.1	1317.4	12,939
Tokyo	29.4	48.9	21.7			1397.4	36,953
Manila	28.0	54.2	17.8	6.1	40.0	528.9	1,099
Kuala	57.6	25.5	16.9	9.0	27.2	1424.0	4,066
Jakarta	41.4	36.3	22.3	8.3	39.8	653.2	1,508
Bangkok	60.0	30.0	10.0	5.5	31.7	1304.4	3,826

Source: Newman and Kenworthy (1999, pp.344-347).

Note: JtW-Journey-to-Work, NMM-Non-Motorized Mode/ Walk, CO₂- Carbon Dioxide.

Dhaka lacks the required percentage of land for smooth traveling. Dhaka's 3000 km road network comprises less than 7 per cent of the total built-up area. Almost 40 per cent of these roads are occupied by street vendors, garbage bins, or construction materials. The private automobiles occupy nearly 70 percent of Dhaka's streets serving only 20 percent of the commuters, whereas mass transit and non-motorised vehicles take up 30 percent, mobilising 80 percent of the people. A moneyed middle-class minority contributes to the traffic congestion by relying exclusively on personal vehicles. The high-occupancy mass-transit vehicles are vastly outnumbered by low-occupancy personal vehicles in using the street space, urban mobility suffers and many work hours are wasted (Mortuza, 2012).

4.4. 8. Gentrification

Urban gentrification denotes the socio-cultural changes in an area resulting from wealthier people buying housing property in a less prosperous community. As a part of this process, the average income increases and average family size decreases in the community. This may result in the informal economic eviction of the lower-income residents in the megacity, because the real estate develops, the rent increases, the price of house increases and property taxes becomes high. This type of population change reduces industrial land use when it is redeveloped for commerce and housing. Moreover, new businesses, catering to a more affluent base of consumers, tend to move into formerly blighted areas. This further increases the appeal to more affluent migrants and decreases the accessibility to fewer wealthy natives. All these changes in the area and dislocation create socio-economic imbalances, contrast and complex situation in the megacity (Wikipedia, 2013).

4.5 Conclusion

Megacities are increasingly a phenomenon of the developing world especially in Asia. The most important common characteristics of megacities are high population concentration and density, in some cases severe infrastructural deficits, high concentration of industrial production, signs of ecological strain, unregulated and disparate land and property markets, insufficient housing provision, socio economic disparities and high level of dynamism in all demographic, social, political, economic and ecological processes. Driven by the massive rural to urban migration and natural growth in the developing countries, megacity expands physical in an

inconceivable dimension. It goes beyond the boundaries of the core cities. Megacity creates huge locational impacts on an ever expanding metropolitan region such as high urban densities, economic, traffic congestion, violence, crime, environmental degradation, climate change and poor governance. The impacts constantly challenge the agenda of governance in megacities. Thus, the most critical governance issue is the enforcement of law and order in the spatial fragmentation of megacity.

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Chapter 5: Growth and Evolution of Dhaka Megacity

This chapter will focus on the growth and evolution of the megacity Dhaka. Dhaka city, the capital of Bangladesh, is at the geometric centre of the country. It lies between 23.55° and 24.18° N latitudes and 90.18° and 90.57° E longitudes with its location in the central region of the flat deltaic plain of the three large rivers, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna (Dewan and Corner, 2014). In 1980, Dhaka Statistical Metropolitan Area (DSMA) was created by the census authorities of BBS to conduct the census. Since there was the explosive growth of population in urban areas, Dhaka SMA has been elevated to the status of Dhaka megacity in 1991 with a population of 6.8 million (BBS, 1998, p. 78). Since then, Dhaka SMA or DSMA has been regarded as the territorial jurisdiction of Dhaka megacity. This definition has been accepted by the academicians. At present, the megacity comprises six municipalities such as Kadamrasul, Gazipur, Narayanganj, Siddirganj, Savar and Tongi, the entire area of Dhaka City Cooperation-north and south (DCC) and 68 adjacent unions. The total area of the megacity, as indicated by the BBS Urban Area Report – 2008 – is $1,371 \text{ km}^2$; however, a calculation through the Geographic Information System (GIS) revealed that the total area is $1,383 \text{ km}^2$ (Islam, 2008).

5.1. The Evolution of Dhaka megacity

Dhaka megacity stands on the northern bank of the river Buriganga. This river which is about 26 miles long originated from the Dhaleswari ($23^{\circ}43'$ N Lat and $90^{\circ}24'$ E Long), a little below Savar (Dewan and Corner, 2014). The river forms like a loop and meets the Dhaleswari a little to the north of Narayanganj. The river Buriganga facilitates Dhaka city to establish connection by water with great rivers, the Padma, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna. This gives the convenience of riverine communication with the neighbouring districts. Located almost in the middle of the country, Dhaka has also been well placed for land communications since it is on the southern edge of an old alluvial terrace which is not inundated in the rainy season (Hossain, 2008; Khatun, 2009).

There are five major river systems across the megacity, namely, the Buriganga-Dhaleshwari system to the south, Bansi- Dhaleshwari system to the west, Turag-Lubundha rivers to the north and the Lakhya-Balu system to the east and southeast (Dewan and Corner, 2014). The

major geomorphic features of Dhaka city are the high lands of Madhupur tract, low lands or flood plains, depressions and abandoned channels. Relatively young flood plains form the vast area. The low-lying swamps in the hearts of the high areas are such as in the case of the Mirpur to Cantonment depression from the west to the east as also the Baridhara-Khilkhet-Uttara depression from the east to the west. The northern part of the city is on a laterite terrace that broadens out northwards towards Mymensingh (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). The elevation of Dhaka megacity ranges from 0 to 16 m above the mean sea level. These geomorphic features dictated the growth and physical expansion of the city in its different phases of existence. Dhaka stretches from the Buriganga bank in the south towards the north practically to the Tongi river and the stretch of high land is flanked on either side by low-lying marshes and old river beds (Ahmed, 2010; Khatun, 2009).

In the last 400 years, Dhaka megacity witnessed its growth and evolution in the different phases of history. The Mughals established their capital in Dhaka in 1610 and developed the Dhaka city as the defense headquarters and business hub as well. The British made the provincial capital in 1905. After the partition of the Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan in 1947, Dhaka became the provincial capital of the then East Pakistan. As the capital of Bangladesh since 1971, Dhaka city's growth is phenomenal as Dhaka has been the major focus of administrative, social, educational and cultural activities. The four hundred year history of the megacity Dhaka can be divided into five different stages of development: 'Pre-Mughal Dhaka: Before 1608'; 'Dhaka under the Mughals: 1608-1764'; 'Dhaka under the British: 1764-1947'; 'Dhaka after Partition: 1947-1971' and 'Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh- Since 1971'.

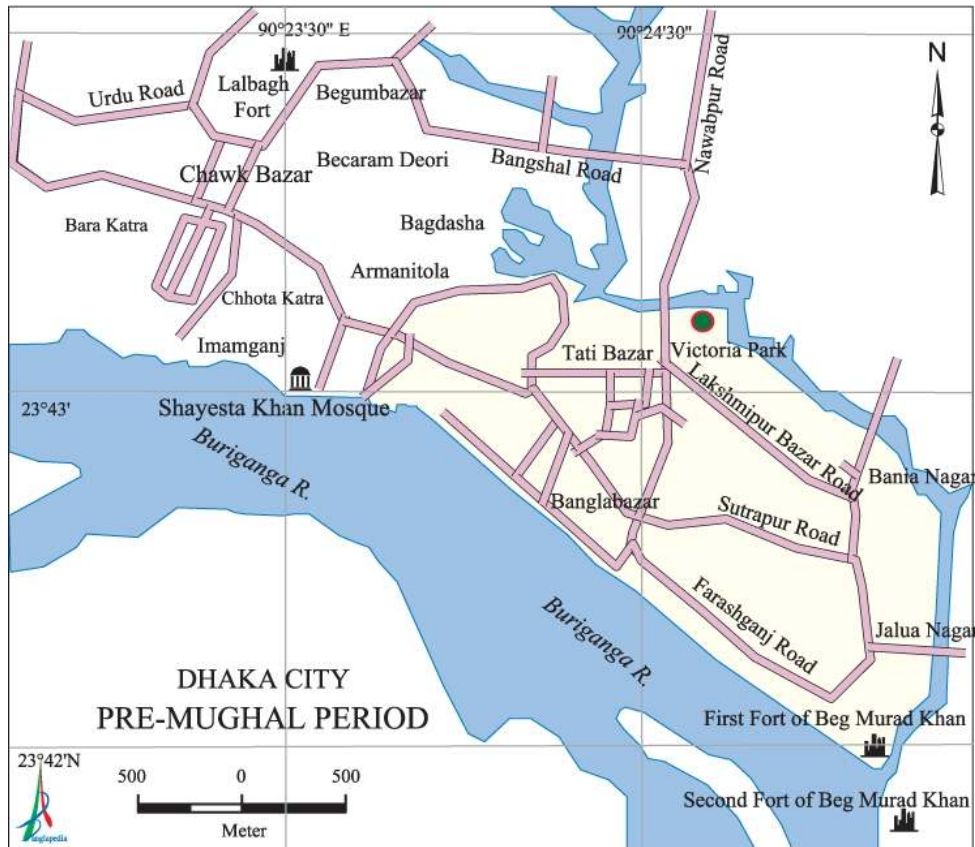
5.1.1. Pre-Mughal Dhaka: Before 1608 A.D.

Dhaka's pre-Muslim past is obscure (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). Therefore, it is very difficult to form a distinct idea about the existence of any settlement at the present old core of Dhaka before the advent of the Muslim in Bengal. During the period from the 10th to 13th century AD, the nearby capital city of Vikramapura became prominent. In the late 13th and early 14th century, the Muslim occupied the south eastern Bengal and established the capital of Bengal at Sonargaon. The establishment of these two locations as capital cities suggests that Dhaka did not

attract the attention of the then rulers (Islam, 1996; Chowdhury, 2012; Mowla, 2003; Khatun, 2009).

Dhaka was a small Hindu trading centre in Pre-Mughal time during the period from 14th to 16th centuries (Nilufar, 2011). The oldest city comprises of a few market centres like Lakshmi Bazaar, Bangla Bazaar, Sutrapur, Jaluanagar, Banianagar, Goalnagar, Shankhari Bazaar, Tanti Bazaar etc, and a few localities of craftsman and businessmen like Patuatoli, Kumartoli etc (Dani, 1962). The conglomeration of Hindu names of localities of old Dhaka would testify the existence of the Hindu craftsmen and professionals of pre-Mughal Dhaka. The area lying to the east, north-east and south-east of Babur Bazar on the left (northern) bank of the Buriganga formed the pre-Mughal town (map-5.1). (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Islam, 1996; Chowdhury, 2012; Karim, 1964; Mowla, 2003; Ahmed, 2010; Khatun, 2009).

Map-5. 1: Dhaka City Pre-Mughal Period



Source: Banglapedia

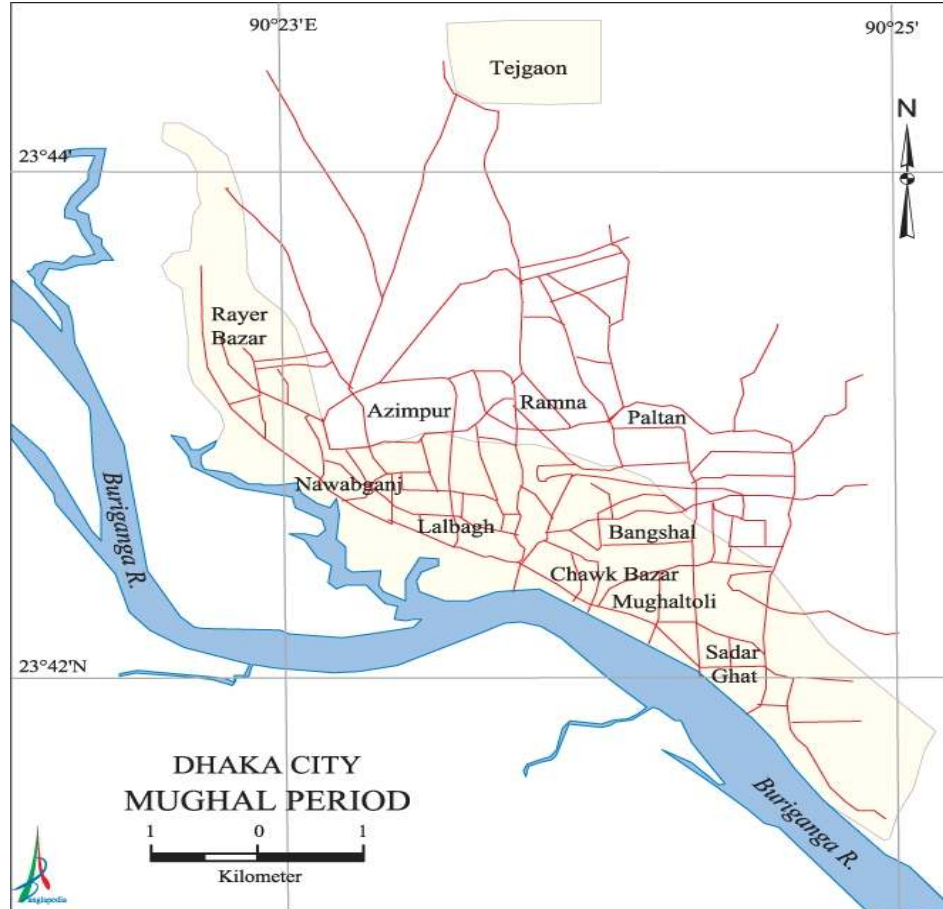
The Buriganga and the Dulai formed its southern and eastern boundary. The western limit extended beyond Baburbazar to a line in the Dhakeswari - Urdu Road axis. This is testified by the Naswallagali Mosque inscription (1459 AD) that indicates the existence of a mosque at the western side of the present Central Jail (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). Some historians considered that the Dhakeswari temple existed before Mughal occupation, which means that the western limit extended beyond Baburbazar to a line in the Dhakeswari - Urdu Road axis. Moreover, the existence of the *dargah* of Shah Ali Baghdadi at Mirpur, who died in 1577 AD, proves the existence of a pre-Mughal locality in the area (Chowdhury, 2012; Islam, 1996; Karim, 1964; Ahmed, 2010; Nilufar, 2011; Khatun, 2009). Settlements grew on the southern, western and north-western parts of the city following the course of the Buriganga. During this period, Dhaka was a small rural settlement on relatively high flat land surrounded by flood affected swampy land until the end of the 16th century.

5.1.2 Dhaka under the Mughals -1608-1764

The Mughal rule ushered in a new era of growth and evolution of Dhaka. During the Mughal rule for about a century, Dhaka became the centre of all government and private establishments, trade and commerce. During the period from 1583-1605, Akbar launched military expeditions against the independent chiefs of lower Bengal. During the period, the pre-Mughal Dhaka was turned into military outpost. It is for the first time Dhaka rose to prominence when in 1610, Islam Khan Chisti established the capital at Dhaka and renamed it as Jahangirnagar (Karim, 1964). The fort on the site of present central jail and Chandnighat, on the river bank straight to the south of the fort mentioned in the *Baharaistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan* have grown during this time. The Badshahi Bazar in-between the fort and Chadnighat (present Chawk Bazar) and Urdu Bazar (market place of the camp), lying to the west of the fort and close to the Chakbazar emerged that time (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Chowdhury and Hasan, 2011; Islam, 1996; Chowdhury, 2012). For strategic reasons, Islam Khan excavated a canal joining the Buriganga near Babur Bazar with the Dulai Khal near Malitola-Tantibazar corner. This canal virtually separated the pre-Mughal Dhaka from the new Dhaka of Islam Khan (map-5.2). The area lying parallel to the riverbank from Babur bazar to Patuatuli was named Islampur. During the time of Islam Khan, the city extended

from Chaukbazar in the west to Sadarghat in the east. But its expansion towards the north cannot be determined (Taylor, 2010; Ahmed, 2010; Dani, 1962).

Map-5.2: Dhaka City Mughal Period



Source: Banglapedia

After Islam Khan, Dhaka witnessed its uninterrupted growth under the subsequent subahdars till 1717, when the provincial capital was officially shifted to Murshidabad. Dhaka enjoyed the status of a provincial capital for slightly more than a century. During this period, there was the expansion of city and the increase in the number of building for administrative requirements and commercial purpose of the capital city. The names of different localities in Dhaka, which is retained even today, suggest how the city grew and developed. For example, Urdu Road suggests the camp of soldiers. Nawabpur, Diwanbazar, Bakhshibazar, Mughaltoli, Hazaribagh, Peelkhana, Atishkhana, Mahouttoli all signify that they had been occupied and inhabited by the Mughal civil and military officials (Karim, 1964). Commercial and professional

groups also contributed to the growth of the city. Kayettolui signifies the residence of the Kayets or Kayasthas, the Hindu writers of the Mughal Government. Places like Tantibazar, Sankharibazar, Banianagr, Kamarnagar etc. were residences of Hindu professional groups. Places whose names end with ganj, like Nawabganj, Alamganj etc were developed by business interests and places ending with dewri, like Becharam Dewri, Mir Jammal Dewri, etc were associated with landed interests (Siddiqui et al., 2010; Mamoon, 1991; Taifoor, 1956). During this period, many palaces, mosques, roads, bridges, gateways, gardens, aqueducts, tanks, markets and ghats were built to meet the needs of high officials (Ahmed, 2010).

The Peelkhana (the stables of the elephants) was developed at the western end. The residential quarters of the officials, government functionaries, merchants etc. grew in the area between the Fort and the Peelkhana to the west and between the Fort and Fulbaria to the north (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Islam, 1996). The Fort served as the nerve centre of the city and new residential and commercial areas grew out of it. The area to the south and south-west of the Fort up to the river grew as commercial areas and the areas to the north, north-east and north-west grew as residential areas. The Mughal Dhaka extended to the east up to Narinda, to the west up to Maneswar and Hazaribagh and to the north up to the gateway built by Mir Jumla (1660-63), which at present lie near the modern mausoleum of three leaders and to the west of the Dhaka University Science Library on the fringe of the Ramna area (Chowdhury, 2012; Karim, 1964).

Mir Jumla built two roads connecting Dhaka with a network of forts built for the defense of the capital. One road connecting the city with northern districts, now, known as Mymensing road, was guarded by a fort at Tongi Jamalpur. The Tongi bridge was also built by him. The other road was to the east connecting the city with Fatulla where two forts were constructed. The Pagla bridge built by Mir Jumla lies on the Dhaka-Narayanganj road. These two roads had much influence on the growth of the city in the two directions (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Islam, 1996; Chowdhury and Hasan, 2011; Chowdhury, 2012; Mowla, 2003; Karim, 1964).

Shaista Khan's period (1663-78; 1679-88) is regarded as a new era in Dhaka's expansion and large-scale building activities. The foreign travellers left the eye-witness accounts about Dhaka. Manucci, who came to Dhaka in 1663, was the first foreign traveller of this period. He narrated that the city was not large enough though it had many inhabitants (Karim, 1964).

Tavernier, who came to Dhaka in 1666 AD, speaks of Dhaka as a great town, which extended only in length, since everyone liked to have a house by the side of the river. The length of the town was above two leagues (Chowdhury and Hasan, 2011). Thomas Bowrey (wrote in about 1669-79) found the city no less than forty English miles in circuit (Islam, 1996). The early records of the East India Company (1786 and 1800) mentioned the boundary of the city as the Buriganga in the south, Tongi in the north, Jafarabad-Mirpur in the west and Postagola in the east. The present day Satmasjid Road running up to Shaista Khan's Satgambuj Mosque possibly formed the axis of Mughal settlements in the north-west. But the area lying to the north of Mir Jumla's gate was very sparsely populated. The European trading companies had their factories in the Tejgaon area (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Chowdhury, 2012).

During the Mughal period, Chawk was the city centre with the main administrative and commercial power base located around it. Two principal streets crossed each other at Chawk; one was running east west parallel to the river and another was from the river to the defence outpost in the north to Tongi through Tejgaon. Since the city was vulnerable to attack from the river front in the east, a series of forts were built on the way (Chowdhury, 2012). Moreover, two forts were built on either side of Dholai *Khal* in the 16th century at the entry point of the city. The city was well protected by a natural system of rivers and a network of canals. There was not any corporate or municipal institution in Dhaka during the Mughal period. However, the Mughals constructed forts and other administrative establishments on newly cleared land at strategic locations (Mowla, 2003).

The European traders - the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Armenians came in Dhaka in the 17th century and established their factories in the Tejgaon area, which continued to enjoy commercial importance during the next century or so. The road built by Mir Jumla formed the axis of the European settlements on its either side, north of the Karwan Bazar which was also an important trading centre in the Mughal period (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Mamoon, 1991; Chowdhury, 2012; Karim, 1964).

Dhaka had lost its status as the provincial capital with the shifting of the provincial capital to Murshidabad in 1717(Karim, 1964). This practically put an end to further growth and development. At that time, the size of Dhaka city was about 4.5sq.km and the population were

about 1 million. The main city formed a small area on the northern bank of the river Buriganga around the Lalbagh and Chouk-Mughaltoli area which was the urban core of Dhaka city (Chowdhury, 2012). However, Dhaka did not lose its importance as an important centre of administration, trade, commerce and manufactures since Dhaka became the seat of Naib Nazim (Deputy Governor) and continued to remain the headquarters of the Mughal army and navy in eastern Bengal. However, its commerce increased heavily through the activities of the European trading companies and other foreign merchants. (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Chowdhury and Hasan, 2011; Islam, 1996; Siddiqui *et al*, 2010, Mowla, 2003; Ahmed, 2010; Asaduzzaman and Rob, 1997).

5.1.3 Dhaka under the British: 1764-1947

In 1757, the Battle of Plassey was a decisive victory for the British East India Company over the Nawab of Bengal. This triumph paved the way for the establishment of the Company rule in Bengal. As Kolkata became the centre of the British East India Company, Dhaka further lost many of its administrative functions. The abolition of the Mughal naval establishments at Dhaka in 1768-69 hastened the process of decline. By 1828, the city was reduced to a mere district headquarters, though retaining its position as a provincial Court of Circuit and Appeal (Chowdhury, 2012; Karim, 1964). The handcrafted cotton textile trade in the late 18th and early 19th century in Bengal could not compete with those cotton textiles from the automated British industry and faced extinction of the textile industries. This contributed to the decline of population in the city (Dewan and Corner, 2014). In 1824, Bishop Heber described the city as ‘.... merely the wreck of its ancient grandeur’ (Islam, 1996). By 1840, most of the former Mughal city had either been deserted or infested with jungles. Dhaka suffered physical shrinkage; once populated areas like Narinda, Faridabad, Wari, Alamganj, Phulbaria, Dewanbazar, Dhakeswari and Azimpur became desolate. The census of the city and suburbs carried out in 1838 showed only 68, 610 inhabitants (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Chowdhury and Hasan, 2011; Siddiqui *et al*. 2010). In 1859, Rennell prepared a map of Dhaka city which shows the extent of the city from Narayanganj to Iron Bridge and from the Buriganga river to Nimtali Kothi [the present Asiatic Society]. The map covers an area only a little over three miles and a quarter by one and a quarter (map-5. 3) . In fact, the decline in economy, population and administrative importance brought

about the shrinkage in the area of Dhaka city. (Taylor, 2010; Mowla, 2003; Ahmed 2010; Nilufar, 2011).

Map-5. 3 Dhaka City British Period (1859)



Source: *Banglapedia*

During the early colonial period, the then collector, Charles Dawes took some initiatives to regain the lost glory of Dhaka. In 1840, the Municipal Committee was formed and in 1841 the Dhaka College was established. These created some semblance of rejuvenation in the life of Dhaka. In the second half of the 19th century, the British constructed metalled roads adorned with street lights, created open space, installed drainage network and introduced piped water-supply (Chowdhury and Faruqi, 2009). All these activities gradually transformed Dhaka into a modern city under the European influence. In fact, Ramna was developed during the Mughal Rule. After the fall of the Mughal rule, the Ramna racecourse (now, the open green area of Suhrawardy Udyan)

was then a barren area with bushes, abandoned or dilapidated buildings, tombs and old temples. But Ramna area began to regain its glory since 1825, when Mr. Dowes initiated the process, cleared up the bushes, demolished tombs and monuments except the Ramna Kali Mandir (Chowdhury, 2012). The Arathoons, an Armenian zamindar family, bought land to the west of the racecourse (present Atomic Energy Commission and Dhaka University's TSC) and built a house. The Maharaja of Burdwan built a mansion Burdwan House (CM's house in 1948, now, Bangla Academy) on the west fringe of Race course. Nawab Abdul Ghani acquired land in Shahbagh and Paribagh, took lease of race course from the British to patronize horse racing. The nawabs (family of Khwaja Alimullah) developed Dilkusha and Motijheel area in the north eastern outskirts of the city for garden (Dewan and Corner, 2014; Hossain, 2008).

Paltan located at the north-east of Nawabpur was transformed into a cantonment. Artillery forces of the East India Company were housed in Topkhna. The malaria forced to abandon the cantonment for Lalbagh fort in 1853. After the Sepoy wars of 1857, finally it was shifted to the Mill Barracks (the present Dhaka District Police Lines) at the eastern end of the city on the river bank. The Purana Paltan area continued to be the practice ground of the sepoy (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009; Chowdhury, 2012; Islam, 1996).

Till the last quarter of the 19th century, the city developed along the bank of the river Buriganga. Some of the big beautiful houses like the Ahsan Manjil and the Ruplal House were built by the wealthy citizens (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). In 1880's, Divisional Commissioner C.E Buckland patronized the construction of an embankment known as the Buckland Bund on the northern bank and the boulevard on it. This made the riverfront a picturesque site and a rendezvous of the city's nature lovers (Chowdhury, 2012). The Dhaka Government School, the Mitford Hospital, the Dhaka Water Works and the St.Thomas Church Complex were some of the landmarks of the nineteenth century Dhaka. But with the expansion of the city towards the north especially laying the railways, the river bank gradually lost its importance (Hossain, 2008).

In the late 19th century, the old areas of Narinda and Gandaria in the eastern and south-eastern part of the city were developed for new residential areas. At the same time, the Hazaribagh and Nawabganj areas in the western part of the city were also developed (Islam, 1996). The Courts of the District and subordinate judges and the offices of the Magistrates and Collectors were built

in 1866 in the area opposite to the St. Thomas Church. Even today, they exist on the same site. In 1885, Frederick Wyer, the Collector of Dhaka, developed the Wari area as a fully planned residential area for the upper-middle class with all provisions of civic amenities (Chowdhury, 2012)

The Fulbaria area was developed into a complex of the Railway including the Dhaka railway station. In 1885, 144 km Narayanganj-Dhaka-Mymensingh meter gauge (1000 mm) railway line was opened (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). The rail line was laid almost parallel to the Mughal road from Tongi through Tejgaon, Karwanbazar to the Shah Bagh area. Then, it formed a loop around Ramna in order to save the garden area and turned towards the east cutting through the Nimtali-Fulbaria area. Afterwards, it turned south towards Fatullah and Narayanganj (Chowdhury, 2012; Nilufar, 2011).

Post 1905 Partition phase

In 1905, Dhaka became the capital of the newly formed province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. This event opened a new era in the emergence of modern Dhaka. Lord Curzon laid the foundation of the Curzon Hall in the *Bagh-i-Badshahi* to the northeast of Musa Khan's mosque. The Ramna area from the Curzon Hall in the south to the Minto Road in the north and from the Government House (Old High Court building) in the east to the Nilkhet area in the west was developed during the period 1905-1911 (map-5.4) (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). During this period, the Governor's Residence (the old High Court and now, seat of the special war crimes tribunals), the Secretariat Building (now, the Dhaka Medical College Hospital), the Curzon Hall were constructed. The whole area witnessed modern European type buildings and planned network of metalled roads. The first staff colony for middle and lower ranking government officials was started in the Dhakeswari area (Chowdhury, 2012; Islam, 1996).

Map-5.4. Dhaka City British Period 1905-1911



Source: *Banglapedia*

In 1908, the government began the development work for Ramna Park. It took as long as 20 years to complete. The area of the park is 68.50 acres of land and the lake is 8.76 acres. The experts from the London’s Kew Garden were brought to plan the flowerbeds, the planting of rare trees and the excavation of lakes (Chowdhury, 2012). During this time, Siddheswari area to the northeast of Ramna was developed as a residential area. A club was built (Gymkhana club) only for the whites on the north edge which was opened in 1911 by Lord Lanslott. This is now the ‘Dhaka Club’. The British rulers inaugurated the beginning of the ‘new Dhaka’ of the 20th century. But unfortunately, in 1911, the partition of Bengal was annulled. Then, Dhaka reverted to the status of a district town and the entire project of building a new capital was abandoned (Chowdhury and Faruqi, 2009; Islam, 1996)

In spite of the setback, the British town planner Sir Patrick Geddes recommended a detailed master plan for the city in 1917 but it was implemented over the next few decades (Dewan and Corner, 2014). In 1921, the British established the University of Dhaka in the Ramna area in order to appease the people of Bengal for the loss incurred seemingly by the annulment (Chowdhury and Faruqi, 2009; Chowdhury, 2012). The location of Dhaka University and Ahsanullah Engineering School (later renamed as Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology) facilitated road communication in and around Ramna such as the major thoroughfares from Ramna to Purana Paltan, Shantinagar and Segunbagicha. Many new buildings like the science buildings along the Curzon Hall and the Salimullah Muslim Hall were also constructed (Islam, 1996).

5.1.4 Dhaka after partition 1947-1971: Pakistan phase

India and Pakistan emerged as two independent states in 1947. The erstwhile East Bengal became the East Pakistan and Dhaka became the capital of this province. During that time, Dhaka city witnessed unprecedented growth since the capital city had to accommodate people who are engaged in the new administration, business establishments. Moreover, a large number of Muslim population who came from India made their new settlement in the vacant areas in the city. Initially the official needs were fulfilled by appropriating the government buildings in the Ramna area (Dewan and Corner, 2014). The whole of Nilkhet and a part of the Shah Bagh came under the University for its own development. The government started the construction of quarters in the Dhakeswari, Palashi Barrack (established by the English in the post-Sepoy war period) and Azimpur areas. The construction of the New Market was completed in 1954 (Chowdhury, 2012). Purana Paltan to Naya Paltan, Eskaton to Mogbazaar, Siddheswari and Kakrail to Kamlapur through Razarbagh and Santinager, Segun Bagicha were already developed areas. Still, within the built-up area, there were different pockets of land which came to be occupied for residential purpose in quick succession without any formal planning. In fact, in the post-1947 period, city expanded in the available highland of north, north-east and north-west of Ramna. Dhaka's urban area increased from 6 square miles in 1947 to 25 square miles within two decades in 1962 (Islam, 1996; Nilufar, 2011).

In fact, the geography of Dhaka dictated its growth especially towards the northward expansion for high land. In 1952, the declaration of Dhaka Cantonment was made in accordance

with the Dhaka Cantonment Act though planning, acquisition and other works were completed at the end of the second world war. The total area is 3697 acres of land (Interview with ex Dhaka Cantonment Executive, 2014). At the same time, the British had built military airstrips at Tejgaon during the Second World War for operating warplanes towards the battlefields of Kohima (Assam) and Burma. After partition in 1947, Tejgaon Airport became the first airport to operate civil aviation in the then East Pakistan. In 1941, during the Second World War, the British government built a landing strip at Kurmitola, several kilometres north of Tejgaon, as an extra landing strip for the Tejgaon Airport. Located in Kurmitola in northern Dhaka, Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport started operations in 1980, taking over as the country's sole international airport from Tejgaon Airport. The airport has an area of 1,981 acres (802 ha) (Wikipedia, 2014).

Motijheel was once a deserted area located on the periphery of marshes and swamps. In 1954, it came to be earmarked as the commercial area. By that time, the area north of the Nawabpur Railway crossing up to the Purana Paltan was developed as an open area where in the Dhaka Stadium (present Bangabandhu National Stadium) was constructed for sporting activities. During this time, the Jinnah Avenue (now, Bangabandhu Avenue) was laid to form the main thoroughfare by the western side of this expansive open area (Chowdhury, 2012). In the 1950s, for the first time a dual carriageway was built along the Jinnah Avenue which went up to the Airport. Several other roads were broadened. In the early 1960s, the Baitul Mukarram, the national mosque, was built as a landmark in the area. During the Pakistani days, the DIT Building, the seven-storied Adamjee Court, the office of the Pakistan International Airlines, and Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation building were some other landmarks of this area (Islam, 1996).

Dhanmondi, lying towards the north-west fringe of urban core, was actually a vast paddy field. It became a planned residential area after 1955. The high land on its either side of the Mirpur road came under a residential belt right up to Mohammadpur and Mirpur. The government developed these localities in mid-1960s mainly to accommodate the migrant Muslim population. The Tejgaon industrial area came under governmental schemes in the early 1950s (Nilufar, 2011).

The rich Muslim businessmen got their accommodation in the newly built Ispahani colony and Bilalabad. The area of Eskaton Gardens was developed where on one side private houses and

on the other government flats were built right up to the Ladies' Club. In March 1953, the Holy Family Hospital was founded. About the same time, the government built staff quarters in Rajarbagh for the police and for the employees of Post and Telegraph and others in Shantinagar. Rapidly, the whole area of Shiddheswari, Kakrail, right up to Kamalapur grew up into a large residential colony (Chowdhury, 2012).

Then, the government established Dhaka Improvement Trust [DIT] in 1956 (Renamed Rajdhani Unnayan Katripaksa [RAJUK] in 1987). This is for the first time Dhaka witnessed some forms of planned development approach by DIT though in a piecemeal manner: industrial district in Tejgaon, New Market in Azimpur, staff housing in Motijheel, high class residential area in Dhanmondi (Chowdhury, 2012). By that time, Dhaka was becoming more and more unmanageable. So, a Master Plan was eventually prepared by consultants in 1959 on behalf of DIT. The DIT developed Gulshan model town in 1961, Banani in 1964, Uttara in 1965 and Baridhara in 1962 [though developed in 1972]. The Dilkusha Gardens, adjacent to Motijheel, were occupied to meet the ever-growing commercial needs. In fact, the sites for Gulshan, Banani, Baridhara and Uttara along the Dhaka-Tongi axis road were highlands (Nilufar, 2011).

In the mid-1960s, Dhaka city was also designated as the second capital of Pakistan, and accordingly, a new crop of offices and residences for government functionaries came up in what is now known as Sher-e-bangla nagar. The project, designed by Louis I. Kahn, though started in the sixties was finally completed in the mid-1980s. The 400 hectares area of Sher-e-Bangla Nagar is a beautiful landscape with trees and lakes. The huge Sangsad Bhavan located here emerges as the important landmark in the architectural history of Dhaka (Chowdhury, 2012).

In the mid-1960s, a new Railway station was built at Kamalapur. The railway track was shifted; it turned eastward after Tejgaon and rejoined the old track near Swamibagh-Jatrabari cutting through Rajarbagh, Kamalapur and Basabo. The old railway track has since been transformed into a link road which has connected Karwanbazar with Jatrabari through Nilkhet, Palashi Fulbaria and north of Wari and Narinda (Chowdhury, 2012).

It is noticeable that all the highlands in the north of the urban core were picked up for all these developments which brought about a fundamental change in the character of the city. The old Mughal city remained the same with narrow and winding streets and crowded dwellings,

shopping centres and bazars. Planned new extensions in the north were spacious in sharp contrast to the old area. This makes the great divide between the Mughal 'old Dhaka' and the northern extension as the 'new Dhaka'. Till 1971, Dhaka city stretched from Buriganga river in the south to Mirpur in the west and Ghulsan, Banani in the north; Mohammadpur, Rayer Bazar, Hazribagh and Nawabganj in the west to Khilgaon, Gopibagh, Jatrabari and Dholaipur in the east (Islam, 1998).

5.1.5. Dhaka- the capital of independent Bangladesh since 1971

Bangladesh became independent in 1971. For the first time, Dhaka became the capital of a sovereign country. This historical change in the status of the city brought about significant changes in the urban morphology of Dhaka city. The city's population suddenly increased to 2, 068,353 in 1974 (Dewan and Corner, 2014). This is attributed to the large scale exodus of people from rural area to Dhaka. In fact, Dhaka became the nucleus of the country. It emerged as the administrative, economic and commercial hub of the country. As a primate city, Dhaka had all the best establishments and institutions. All these led to Dhaka's phenomenal growth as a result of infilling of peripheral lowlands of the city and development of government and non-government residential areas in a number of places.

Urbanization in Dhaka picked up a tremendous momentum in the late seventies. Dhaka city expanded in all directions obviously for huge demand. RAJUK embarked upon the development of some areas for housing. But it was not enough to meet the demand. Side by side, private initiative played a dominant role in the development of these areas. Therefore, both planned and haphazard development is evident in the Dhaka city. In the late 1970's, Dhaka looks like a conurbation since its outward growth started to link up with outlying towns, particularly Narayanganj and Keraniganj in the south and Tongi, Savar and Gazipur in the north (Siddique *et al*, 2010). The corridor between Dhaka and Narayanganj was occupied due to industrial growth. With the growth of the Ultra Model Town and the development of Kurmitola area, open spaces between Narayanganj and Tongi started to reduce rapidly (Chowdhury, 2012).

The area to the east of Sutrapur-Shampur, Motijheel, Khilgaon, Rampura, Gulshan-Baridhara, Uttara stretching up to the Balu River was low and marshy. During the rainy season, earlier the whole area became inundated. In the mid-eighties, some patches of high land were

occupied for residence. Later on, Jurain-Jatrabari-Bashabo-Mugda-Shabujbag-Goran-Banasree-Merul Badda-Madhay Badda- Uttar Badda- Khilgaon-Rampura- Nadda-Kuril-Khilkhet-Daksin Khan and Uttar Khan which were low lying areas of the eastern periphery of Dhaka were developed for human habitation (Chowdhury, 2012). It became the low density, mainly low income, unplanned, uncontrolled and mainly residential area. The private initiative acted as a catalyst in the development of the area. Since 1990s, habitation gradually grew up and it became quite a densely populated area for the people of low and middle income group. During 1990's, the construction of the Progati Sarani further facilitated the private initiative to carry on extensive earth work for the development of the area (Islam, 1996) (map-5.5).

Map-5.5. Dhaka at Present (2011)



Source: Banglapedia

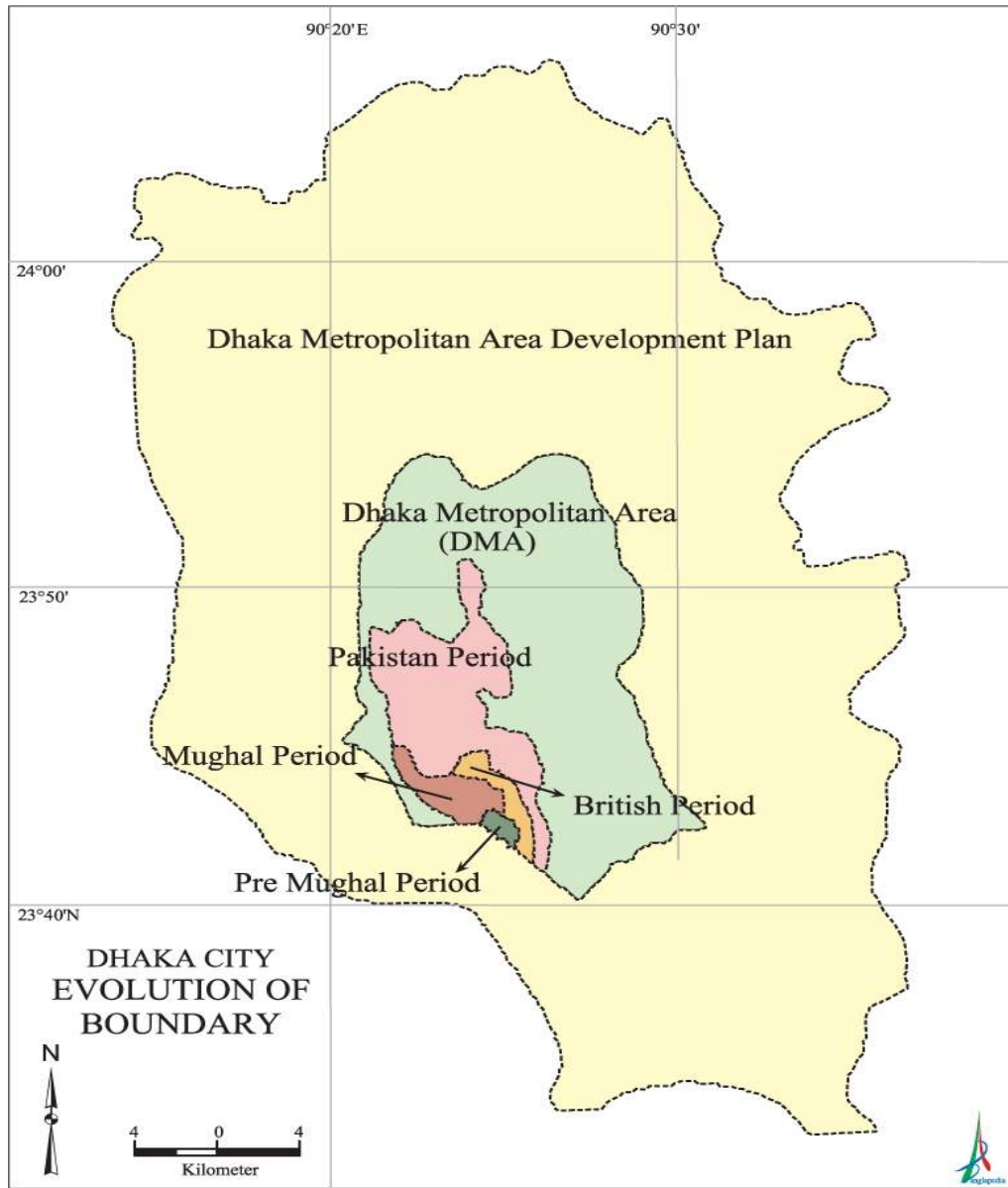
The flood protection embankment built around the city during the regime of President Ershad became a blessing for the city since it protects the city from the ravages of the seasonal flood. Virtually, this gave a new impetus for the private entrepreneurs to fill up the low-lying marshy lands both on the eastern and western side of the built-up city. Therefore, the more new residential areas were developed for human habitation. On the western part of the city, Katasur, Adabar, Shekertek, Darus Salam, eastern part of Shyamoli, and Kalyanpur had their growth during this period (Chowdhury, 2012). However, the western expansion of Dhaka city is severely restricted by seasonal flood. But private housing societies developed residential plots by infilling of land further west of the area. This expansion continued further west in recent years into Savar thana as typical suburban area (map-5.6, 5.7 and table 5.1.) (Islam, 1996).

**Table 5.1. Area of Dhaka City
(Period from 1608-2015)**

Year	Period	Area (sq.km)
1608	Pre- Mughal	2
1700	Mughal Period	40
1800	British Period	4.5
1867	British Period	10
1872	British Period	20
1881	British Period	20
1891	British Period	20
1901	British Period	20
1931	British Period	20
1941	British Period	25
1951	Pakistan Period	85
1961	Pakistan Period	125
1974	Bangladesh Period	336
1981	Bangladesh Period	510
1991	Bangladesh Period	1353
2001	Bangladesh Period	1,371
2015	Bangladesh Period	1,371

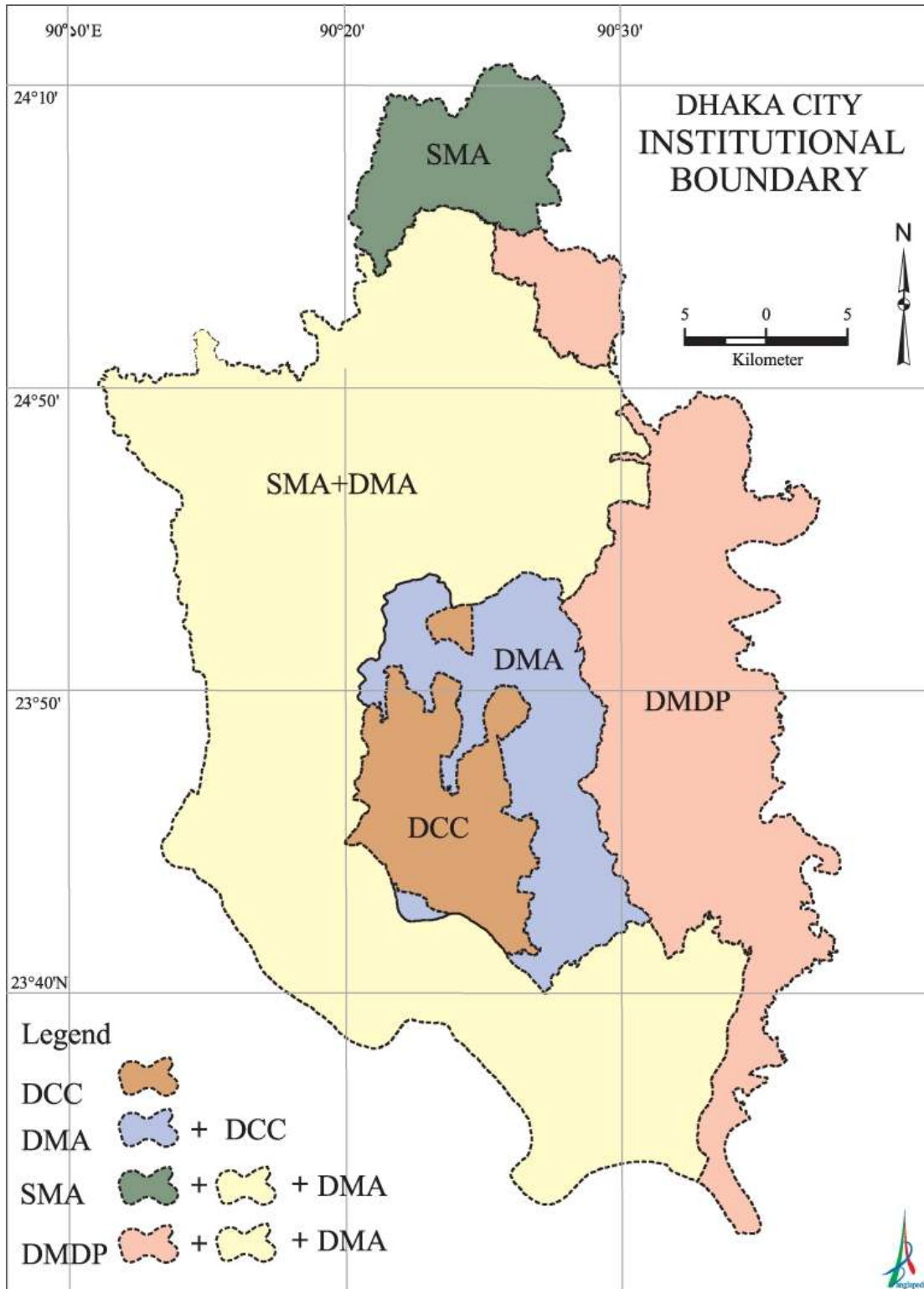
(Source: BBS Population Census 1974, 1981, 1991, 2001; BBS urban Area Report 1991; Taylor, 1840; Siddiqui et al. 2010; Islam, 2008)

Map-5. 6 Dhaka City Evolution of boundary



Source: Banglapedia

Map-5.7 Dhaka City Institutional boundary



Source: *Banglapedia*

The construction of the Rokeya Sarani running parallel to the Old Airport from Bijay Sarani to Mirpur Sector 10 Roundabout gave the opportunity to develop the low lying areas on either side of the road. This area grew to be residential areas for the lower-income group of people. Private initiative played a major role in this growth as well. The Government took up the development of the area from the Mirpur Stadium to the National Zoo and the Botanical garden (Chowdhury, 2012). Adjacent to the north eastern side of it, the Mirpur Cantonment area was developed. The Mirpur Cantonment is an extension of Dhaka Cantonment which, occupying 539.889 acres of land, was developed in 1980's (Interview with ex-cantonment Executive, 2014). But Pallabi area was developed under private initiative. The area to the western side of the Shahjalal International Airport up to Pallabi are the vacant low-lying land. Mirpur accommodated a number of planned public sector residential schemes for low-income families and formal and informal sector industries and several pockets of uncontrollable residential settlements (Islam, 1996).

The Dhaka-Chittagong Highway offered the opportunity for the growth of the city towards the south-eastern side of the city, almost up to the Sitalakhya River. The localities of Dhania, Shanir Akhra, Rayer Bag on the southern side of the Highway and large areas of the Demra police station on the northern side of the highway were developed by filling the low lying and inundated areas. New residential enclaves have been created by the low income group of people. Since this expansion was uncontrolled and haphazard, there was serious lacking of many civic amenities (Chowdhury, 2012).

It should be mentioned that Keraniganj has historically been a commercial and trading center. But the construction of three bridges over Buriganga created a new prospect for suburban growth on the south of the river. The construction of the Bangladesh China Friendship Bridge over Buriganga opened for traffic in 1989 facilitated the southward extension of habitation from Jatrabari towards the bridge road. But the congested residential areas emerged conspicuously in Zurain and adjacent areas. Both the sides of the connecting road towards the First Buriganga Bridge witnessed huge infrastructural development. Soon, it became centres of trade and commerce with markets and godowns (Islam, 1996). Two more bridges on the Buriganga were constructed in 2001 and 2010 respectively. The second bridge located at Babubazar with

Keraniganj, and the third bridge connected Mohammadpur, with the Atti Bazar on the other side, offered the scope for the development of the entire area on the southern side of the Buriganga from Keraniganj to Atti and little beyond. Some twenty five years back, this area looked like villages with water bodies and low lying lands. Now, it really looks a suburban town with roads, high rise buildings having all other civic amenities (Chowdhury, 2012; Siddique *et al.* 2010).

Side by side with the private initiative in the south, the government also has embarked upon the development work for residential purpose known as Jhilmil. The project is situated at a distance of two KM west of China-Bangladesh friendship bridge over the Buriganga river and by the side of the Dhaka-Mawa Road at Keraniganj. The project area comprises of 381.11 acres of land. There will be about 1740 residential plots and 9,500 apartments for lower- and middle-income groups with available necessary infrastructure and urban services. Moreover, the government helped to develop and expand the existing industrial units in the area. In the foreseeable future, if these public-private initiatives continue to develop Keraniganj as an urban fringe, Dhaka may truly be called as the ‘Venice of the East’.²

In the South-western part of the city within the river Buriganga, a *Char* land gradually emerged. In a map of 1859, it is marked as ‘Chur Bagchand’. On the western side, a part of it is marked as ‘Chur Kumrungee’. Now, it is Kamrangirchar which is a big landmass from Hazaribag to the opposite side of Islambag (Chowdhury, 2012). Since the Buriganga took east ward turn, it has caused the accumulation of the landmass resulting in the creation of this char. Now, the western part of the char is practically a contiguous area of the city and just a narrow strip of the water body opposite Islam Bag is still visible. Gradually, this Char becomes a good area of habitable land. Since land is scarce in Dhaka, this area has been occupied by the poor people. In the absence of all civic provision and amenities, it looks like a big slum (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009).

There have been some key planning initiatives used to guide Dhaka’s urban planning and development issues. The Dhaka Master Plan 1959, prepared by DIT, was the first formal plan for Dhaka city covering a period of 20 years which expired in 1979. Next, in 1981, the Dhaka Metropolitan Area Integrated Urban Development Project was prepared for Dhaka city. This was

² www.rajukdhaka.gov.bd/

followed by Dhaka Metropolitan Development plan 1995-2015(Dewan and Corner, 2014). This offers development strategies, plans and programmes for 20 years for the entire RAJUK development area. But there were scores of allegations that the authority could not implement it for lack of proper initiative. Moreover, there were alterations of policies and strategies from time to time which made it an unimplementable plan.

The earlier planned areas of Gulshan, Banani, Baridhara and Uttara were fully occupied. RAJUK took up another project in Khilkhet area known as Nikunja for residential accommodation. Nikunja occupies the area between the Kurmitola cantonment and the new airport (Chowdhury, 2012). Since the area was low, RAJUK developed it by earth filling to make it habitable. Recently, RAJUK undertook Nikunja Second Phase development, to the north of the First Phase. Uttara has been further extended to the north up to the Tongi river and leftwards towards Ashulia. Under RAJUK's initiative, Uttara has grown in size towards the west. In 1999-2000, RAJUK took up "Uttara Residential Model Town (3rd Phase) Project", as an extension to the Uttara Model Town. It is located at the western side of Uttara Model Town (2nd Phase) Project, northern side of Mirpur Cantonment and east side of Flood Protection Embankment through Mirpur-Ashulia.³

RAJUK has already embarked upon developing a new residential area called 'Purbachal New Town'. It is the biggest self-contained New Township in the country with all modern facilities and opportunities. The Project area comprises of about 6150 acres land divided into 30 sectors. It is located in between the Shitalakhya and the Balu River at Rupgonj thana of Narayangonj district and at Kaligonj Thana of Gazipur district, in the north-eastern side of Dhaka at a distance of 16 KM from zero point of Dhaka. The township will have provision of about 26,000 residential plots of different sizes, with all necessary infrastructure and urban facilities. The project is expected to be complete by 2015. It has given much impetus for the private sector to develop the area to the south of Purbachal New Town for residential purposes. Already, private developers have scrambled for the occupation and development of the low lying areas around Purbachal.⁴

³ www.rajukdhaka.gov.bd/

⁴ www.rajukdhaka.gov.bd/

The increasing population in Dhaka city creates huge demand for housing. The government can meet only 7% of the total demand, whereas the rest of the total housing demand has been dependent upon the private sector. In Dhaka, Private Housing Cooperatives and Housing Companies have been active since the 1950s. But it gained some momentum in the 1990s. Only few companies were involved in this sector earlier but now, there are more than 800 companies in this sector. Almost 650 companies are member of Real Estate and Housing Association of Bangladesh. There are about 143 private housing projects within RAJUK boundary (Akther and Hossain, 2011). Private companies buy land in the flood flow zones and agricultural blocks etc because of low price and availability of large segment of land. Housing projects have emerged as a new player in the growth of the Dhaka city. Taking the advantage of a part of the Gulshan Lake beside the Tejgaon Industrial Area-Gulshan Link Road, a housing enclave has been developed by filling up the low lying areas, now known as Niketan. To the south-east of Niketan and east of the Pragati Sarani, due east of Rampura, Banasree Housing has come up by filling up the low marshy lands under private initiative (Chowdhury, 2012).

But the biggest housing project Basundhara emerged under the initiative of private concerns. It is located on the eastern side of the Pragati Sarani and due east of Baridhara DOHS and slightly north east of Baridhara proper. During the last 15 years, this vast housing area was developed by filling up low lands. Basundhara has now come to be recognized as the most developed private housing complex in Dhaka city. The area beyond Basundhara on the east, south and north are now low lands which get inundated during the rainy season. Recently, the Kuril Flyover was opened for traffic. This is the gateway of Dhaka and entry point of modern Purbachal City. It will make easy the communications with Purbachal, reduce traffic congestion and create positive impacts on economy. This connectivity has also created a new dimension in the development of the area since people have rushed for the occupation of land in the whole area from Purbachal in the north to the Tarabo bridge in the south and from the Sitalakhya in the east to the Balu river in the west. If the present growth rush continues with the same vigour and pace, it is certain that the area will be a fully built up area within few years (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009). Recently, the government has allowed some real estates and private bodies to develop low lying areas, conservable flood flow zones and water bodies in Rupganj for residential purposes

seemingly in violation of the provisions in the Detailed Area Plan with an area of 1528 square kilometers (The Daily Star, 2014).

During the last 20 years or so, another change has occurred in the urban morphology of Dhaka. The recent phenomenon of high rise buildings, both in the commercial and residential sectors, demonstrates that the highlands within the city have been exhausted. Therefore, there is no scope of horizontal expansion. In response to the huge pressure generated by dense population in the city, Dhaka has started going upwards. This has made Dhaka virtually to emerge as a megacity from the Mughal outpost in course of about four centuries. The areas, which were developed by the RAJUK as residential areas have changed their character. This was possible by the leading role played by the real estate developers.

There are, indeed, many Dhakas in this city. Dhaka has given rise to several urban morphologies, each of which represents a particular social, economic, and environmental destiny. Dhanmondi is one of the high-class residential areas of Dhaka city developed in the early fifties. Every plot has a single structure with lot of open spaces and tall trees around. But now, every plot contains a multistoried flat complex. At present, nearly half the plots of Dhanmondi Residential Area are used for non-residential purposes, which include shops and stores, government and semi-government offices, show rooms and warehouses of business firms, NGO offices and clinics, educational institutions and even manufacturing units (Nabi *et al.* 2004). Similar vertical growth has been seen in the residential areas of Banani, Gulshan, Baridhara and Uttara. All these residential areas were planned under government initiative but the catalysts in this change of the character of the residential areas were the Real Estate Developers. Gradually such vertical development engulfed almost all the residential areas of the city. Dhaka megacity witnessed a boom in apartment development in all residential areas including Paribagh, Maghbazar, Siddeshwari, Shantinagar, Dhanmondi, Mirpur, Banani, old and new Defense Officers' Housing Society (DOHS), Gulshan and Baridhara. Thus, the increasing housing demands are being fulfilled essentially by multi-storied apartments. The dwelling culture has also changed gradually over a short span of time. As land becomes scarce, the price of both land and flats started to go up (Siddique *et al.* 2010; Kamruzzaman and Ogura, n.d.).

Likewise, densification has occurred everywhere all over the city such as Hazaribagh, Jatrabari, Kamrangir Char, Rayer Bazar, Demra, Kalabagan, Kathal bagan, Agargaon, Khilkhet, Mirpur and Badda. Government offices and banks, insurance companies and private sector firms are concentrated in the Dilkhusha, Motijheel, Segunbagicha, Kakrail and Purana Paltan areas, Tejgaon, Karwan Bazar etc. Old Dhaka, the historic urban core of Dhaka city, is an area of 5.6 square kilometers along the north bank of the river Buriganga (Siddique *et al.* 2010). Roads are narrow and congested and the physical infrastructure is overloaded and inadequately maintained. Since 1971, the city registered a steady growth in the number of residents. With this process of urbanization, there is another dismal picture that Dhaka city has a large floating population. This has resulted in the growth of slums in all vacant pockets in between the built-up areas.

Since 1990s, there has been the rapid infrastructural development in Dhaka city. Mirpur Road, Sat Majid Road, the Dhanmandi Residential Area Mohammadpur, Karwanbazar, Shantignagar, the Rampura Road and Mouchak-Malibagbazar road, Baridhara, Gulshan, and Uttara areas have given a new panoramic view of multi-storied shopping plazas and commercial chain shops with modern escalators, elevators, central air conditioning and underground shopping facilities and car parking. There are many shopping malls in Dhaka city. Among them, the most notable ones are Bashundhara City at Panthapath near Kawranbazar, Pink City Shopping Complex at Gulshan, Maskat Plaza at Uttara, etc. Besides, in the last 10-15 years, the establishment of super shops like Meena Bazaar, Almas, Agora, etc. competes with the traditional bazaar system and serves a great majority of the people of Dhaka city. Private Universities, the Diagnostic Centers and Private Hospitals have also been noticed as a new phenomenon in Dhaka city (Ahmed and Mohuya, 2013).

Recently, the government completed a huge project Hatirjheel. Located at the centre of the capital city, the project is surrounded by Tejgaon, Gulshan, Badda, Rampura, Niketon, Maghbazar etc. Hatirjheel made transportation much easier for the people living near Tejgaon, Gulshan, Badda, Rampura, Mouchak and Maghbazar. It was primarily created for accumulating rainwater, for preventing flood, reducing the rate of impure water, and above all for moderating traffic jam. The entire Hatirjheel is meticulously designed with about five bridges having 40m to 170m length with bored pile foundation and RCC/P.C Girder superstructure and

several overpasses for pedestrians. There are also many sitting arrangements for pedestrians by the river-side. A lake flows through the heart of the project with a 16 km road beside the lake for traffic⁵.

From the Mughal outpost, Dhaka has emerged as the world's 9th largest megacity with major changes in urban morphology during its various phases of development and evolution. (World urbanization prospects, 2014). Now, it is the 11th most populous city of the world with 16.982 million people. Dhaka was 24th in 1990 with only 6.621 million people and saw a 3.6 percent annual rise in its population between 2010 and 2015. (World urbanization prospects, 2009; & 2014). By 2025, Dhaka will be home of 20.94 million people- larger than Mexico City, Beijing or New York. In 2025, Dhaka will be the 5th largest megacity (World urbanization prospects, 2009). It has been projected that Dhaka would become the 6th most crowded city by 2030 with a population of over 27.374 million. Tokyo tops the list with a population of around 38 million, followed by New Delhi and Shanghai with around 25 and 23 million people respectively (World urbanization prospects, 2014). In fact, Dhaka has increased many times in the last 60 years due to the migration of people from the rural Bangladesh. The topography dictated the terms and direction of the growth of Dhaka megacity. Moreover, in the absence of defined urban policy, Dhaka has grown really on its own, in a haphazard manner. Low lying areas, swamps and marshy land have been developed by private initiatives to meet the huge demand of the large population in the city. In recent times, Dhaka megacity experiences vertical expansion. Once planned residential settlements by the public initiatives have also lost their original character.

5.2. Conclusion

As a primate city, Dhaka experiences rapid urbanization in the post liberation Bangladesh. Therefore, Dhaka city has emerged as a fast growing megacity in recent times but without the support of necessary infrastructure facilities and urban amenities. As a consequence, Dhaka megacity has been facing a huge problems and challenges which are beyond the capacity of the urban authorities to manage them. Poor governance, corruption, complex problems and lack of

⁵ www.media.wix.com/ugd/11b263_a12f071079cf48d79e5c7e7b2f63cc77.pdf

funds are some of the major obstacles for giving urban provisions and amenities. The continuous exodus from the hinterland to Dhaka megacity for better opportunities put further pressure on the existing financial, technical, administrative and governing capacity of the various city management authorities. Urban services like electricity, gas and fuel supply, water supply, sewerage and excreta management, solid waste management and so on are inadequate compared to the need of the megacity. The urban poor have little access to social services for health, education and recreation. The poor living in the squatter settlement are the worst sufferers. Crime and violence have created a sense of insecurity among the people. In fact, the authorities in Dhaka megacity could not play an effective role in its planning, implementation, administration and management to make it worthy of livable megacity.

In this context, it was felt in 2011 that it would be impossible to manage a city by a single authority the Dhaka City Corporation. Therefore, the Dhaka City Corporation has been divided into two parts; Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC) and Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC) by the Local Government (City Corporation) Amendment Bill 2011 (29 November 2011). This division came into effect on 04 December 2011(Dewan and Corner, 2014). There have been waves of criticism from the city planners, academicians and civil society as the bifurcation would complicate the megacity management which is a complex system requires holistic approach to its management.

Chapter 6: Policing Dhaka City: A Historical Preview

6.1 Introduction

The history of the city of Dhaka has been relegated to the background of historical antiquity. Therefore, this chapter attempts to make a rambling survey of the history of policing to have a glimpse into urban public security system in Dhaka. Policing may be understood in institutional terms as the police service forms a key part of the broader criminal justice system. However, policing encompasses a wide variety of activities which cannot be incorporated into the discourse of the justice system. Much of the order maintenance and service-oriented functions of the police service do not contribute to the criminal justice system. But whenever, there is a discussion on the efficacy and efficiency of the system, it tends to evaluate the service of the police. In fact, policing means what police do in the enforcement of law and order as a key player in the criminal justice system. A police organization is the civil agency of a government responsible for the enforcement of laws, regulation of conduct, protection of life and property and observance of law for social, economic and political growth. In other words, policing may be defined as the service of the police to uphold the law fairly and firmly; to prevent crime; to pursue and bring to justice those who break the law; to protect, help and reassure the community with a sense of security. All these must be seen to have been done with integrity, common sense and sound judgment. No matter how the concept is defined in the respective framework of law, policing is associated with the enforcement of law through the coercive legal sanctions to bring the offender to justice (Dunham & Alpert 1997; Wright 2002; Brogden *et al* 1988). Now a days, policing is pro-people, proactive, community oriented and sensitized to issues like human rights, gender and children. Since the beginning of formal policing in the society, the concept of policing has evolved through the ages.

In fact, the policing in Bangladesh has a long history. Thus, the study of the policing in Dhaka in historical perspective displays the existence of several distinct regimes in the chronological time frame. Those are from 324 BC to 1200 AD – Buddhist and Hindu period, from 1200 to 1757 – Muslim period, from 1757 to 1947 – British period, from 1947 to 1971 – Pakistan period and from 1971 to date – independent Bangladesh period.

Due to extreme paucity of materials, it is very difficult to know any elaborate machinery for law enforcement, criminal investigation, and pattern of crimes, judgment and punishment during the ancient time. In the edicts of Ashoka, certain glimpses of polity are found but the information furnished is inadequate for an assessment of the police system of that period. However, Kautilya's "Arthashastra" (310 B.C.) gives some forms of policing which has been considered as the earliest reference to policing. Kautilya classified spies into nine distinct categories. During that time, police activities were confined to the collection of intelligence for the prevention of crime and subversive activities against the state. The king's ministers and army commanders were put under surveillance and plied with all manner of temptations, though Kautilya gracefully says that the king shall not make the Queen 'an object of testing the character of his councillors'. The monumental work gave systematic information about investigative techniques and agencies, punishment to the guilty and vice control devices (Griffiths, 1971; Khan *et al.* 1989). A thousand years later, during the time of Harsha (700A.D.), violent crimes were sporadic but the roads and river routes were not safe for traveling as Hiuen Tsang was robbed by robbers more than once. But police as an organization did not exist at all. Actually, civil, police and military functions were rolled into one (Gourlay, 1916).

In ancient Bengal, the maintenance of public security was based on the collective responsibility of the community though there were village watchmen. Standard of maintenance of law and order was high and the criminals were treated with great severity. Mutilation was a common punishment and death penalty was awarded even for such offences as evasion of taxes, injuring a sacred tree or intrusion of royal hunting procession. There existed a system of self-government under village superintendent called '*Sthanikas*' and '*Nagarikas*' in charge of cities. They used to administer justice, settle quarrels, impose fines and issue prohibitions. In the village, the task of keeping law and order was the responsibility of the headman who was assisted by watchmen for reporting all arrivals and departures of strangers (Griffiths, 1971; Khan *et al.* 1989).

6.2 Pre-Muslim period

Details of policing during the middle age cannot be found as well. However, during the periods of the great sultans, an official holding the position of Muhtasib used to perform the duties of policing. He was the Chief of Police, Superintendent of Public Works as well as the Inspector of Public Morals. In the cities, he used to delegate his police duties to the Kotwal. The Muhtasib

exercised his power and performed duties through spies and watchman (Griffiths, 1971; Khan *et al.* 1989). Historians describe Kotwal as an institution in such a way,

“The Kotwal was a minor luminary under the Muhtasib. The wide powers of the latter and the nature of his duties required him to keep his eyes and ears always open. He used spies and as well as the regular Police for this purpose. The routine duty of the police was to patrol thoroughfares at night and to guard vantage points. Leading men were appointed wardens in every quarter of the city; and thus, public cooperation was enlisted. The Kotwal maintained a register of inhabitants within his limits, noting down their addresses and his instructions, so that particulars of people without jobs and those living on other people’s stupidity or gullibility came to his notice without any delay. It was therefore, easy for him to note the arrival and departure of strangers and keep track of them. He was also a committing magistrate. The force under him entirely civil in character” (As quoted by Griffiths, 1971: 14).

In fact, the Kotwal was essentially the chief of city police.

But the pre-Muslim period of Dhaka city is obscure. Therefore, we have little knowledge of policing in the Buddhist and Hindu period of Dhaka city. Whereas Vikrampur and Sonargaon became prominent during the period from 10th to 14th century, Dhaka city, as a place, did not receive any strategic consideration from the rulers (Chowdhury, 2011). The record of internal administration during the early Muslim period is meagre. Though Dhaka was a trading centre during the pre-Muslim period, nothing can be found about the system of public security there. The only thing is that a strong fort existed in Dhaka in the present central jail compound (Taifoor, 1956). However, there were two forms of policing system prevalent both during the pre-Muslim period and Muslim period in Dhaka. One was the law enforcement apparatus organized and managed by the rulers and another was a system of village police and watchman sponsored and managed by the local people. The village headmen as the chief of the village community used to organize the police force within the precinct of his village. This responsibility of the village headmen gradually passed to the zamindars (Shirin, 1982).

6.3 Mughal period

The Mughal period ushered in a new era in the history of Dhaka city. It is the Mughals who established administrative machinery in Dhaka city. Some of the revenue staffs of the *zamindars* were simultaneously entrusted with police duties. Moreover, some of the *zamindar’s*

military and police functions to a certain extent merged into one. The *thanas* or police stations resembled military bases. In fact, *thanas* had their origin as fortified military garrisons. The *thanadars* with their subordinates performed both police and revenue duties. Therefore, it is very difficult to identify the fiscal and police staff of the *zamindars* for the amalgamation of responsibilities. However, a system of policing in the modern sense of the term did not fully grow up in Bengal. Moreover, the system of policing lacked also uniformity all over the country. Where the authority of the government was strong, police organization developed well. In most Districts, the police staff was remunerated in grants of rent-free lands. Taxes on the *raiyats* were also levied for meeting the police expenses (Shirin, 1982).

Since Akbar, the Mughal emperor assigned the governorship of Bengal to Raja Mansingh, he conducted several military expeditions against Pathans when Dhaka was turned into a military outpost. It is not clear whether the Mughal ruler established any administrative set up during this period. However, the Aine-Akbari gave an account of police system of the Mughal. Emperor Sher Shah initiated the process of policing which was later developed and consolidated by the great Mughal Emperor, Akbar. He organized the administrative set up with Faujdar (the emperor's chief representative), the Mir Adel and Kazi, the head of the judiciary and the Kotwal, the chief police officer at the larger towns. The Kotwal was a very powerful agent of the government (Obaidullah, 1960). The city Police Stations in some districts of Bangladesh are still known as Kotwalis, a term which has been derived from the word Kotwal. The Kotwal used to maintain a force of horseman and barkandazes (foot Constables) and had outposts in important wards of the town. The routine duty of his force was to patrol the city and guard important points. He prevented crimes, investigated and reported offences (Khan *et al.* 1989).

About the Kotwal, the Ain i Akbari (Mubārak, 1891: 41), says,

"The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Through his watchfulness and night patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequent roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one

among the obscure residents with whom the other should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny. He should establish a separate *serái* and cause unknown arrivals to alight therein, and by the aid of diver's detectives take account of them. He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration."

The *Ain i Akbari* (Mubarak, 1891:41), vividly portrays the duties:

The Kotwals of cities, *husbahs*, towns and villages, in conjunction with the royal clerks, shall prepare a register of the houses and buildings of the same, which registers shall include a particular description of the inhabitants of each habitation. One house shall become scrutiny for another; so that they shall all be reciprocally pledged and bound each for the other. They shall be divided into districts, each having a chief or spics shall be appointed to each district, who shall keep a journal of local occurrences, arrivals and departures, happening either by day or night. When any theft, fire or other misfortune may happen, the neighbours shall render immediate assistance; especially the prefect and public informers, who failing to attend on such occasions, unless unavoidably prevented, shall be held responsible for the omission. No person shall be permitted to travel beyond, or to arrive within, the limits of the district, without the knowledge of the prefect, the neighbours or public informers. Those who cannot provide security shall reside in a separate place off abode, to be allotted to them by the prefect of the district and the public informers.

In fact, the Kotwal had to raise and maintain a police force, to regulate night patrolling, to maintain surveillance over visitors, spies, and migrants, to arrest criminals, to keep the prison, and to eliminate prostitution and consumption of alcoholic beverages. It is clear that the Kotwal was the *de facto* ruler of many towns. The Kotwal received a big amount of money in the form of salary from which he paid the expenses of the police establishment. He had to maintain a very large establishment of peons, some horse patrols, and a considerable number of Ramosis. In Poona, for example, the Kotwal received Rs. 9,000 a month (Griffiths, 1971; Police commission Report, 1902). Because of the enormous power entrusted to him, the position was coveted by many. However, the Kotwal is usually depicted as being ruthless, cruel, arbitrary, and effective (Bayley, 1969).

The Kotwal had also many other municipal duties, such as organizing markets, preventing misuse of drugs and like. It seems that both the Kotwal and Faujdar were appointed officially to maintain law and order by their own force within their own jurisdiction. But in practice the

Faujders and Kotwals had to act through local sources of power and influence as well. In the towns, the Kotwal appointed the leading men of the Muhallas as warden in every part of the city making them responsible for the peace and order in the area. He engaged men of the sweeper community as his spies (Shirin, 1982). There were a numbers of subordinate Kotwals under the control and supervision of the chief police officer or the Kotwal-Bakali (Banglapedia)

In the Mughal history, the first mention of Dhaka can be found in *Ain-e-Akbari* under Sarkar Bazuha where it was called Dhakabazu. From *Akbarnamah*, it appears that there was a thana called Dhaka in the charge of a thanadar named Syed Husain who was taken prisoner by Isa Khan (Taifoor, 1956). Moreover, it rose to prominence after the establishment of capital at Dhaka by the Mughal Subader, Islam Khan Chisti in 1610. Therefore, it is fairly assumed that the Kotwal emerged as an institution in the Mughal reign was entrusted with the security of the people living in the Dhaka city. At the seat of the Provincial Government at Dhaka, the maintenance of peace and protection of life and property were secured by the Kotwal. However, the administration of police was harsh but it appears to have been sufficient so far as peace and order within the town were concerned (Gourlay, 1916; Obaidullah, 1960). During the time of Shaista Khan, Aziz Beg and Muhammad Husain were Chief Kotwal in Dhaka city respectively. The latter was subsequently made a faujder of Hugli (Taifoor, 1956). This testifies that the assignment as the Kotwal of the city occupied a prestigious position among the high functionaries of the Mughal Empire. Moreover, they were appointed from the centre and could be transferred to some other higher assignment in the province.

In the days of the Mughal rule, Dhaka and other riverine areas were vulnerable to the raids of Maghs, Arakanese and Ahoms. Theft, dacoity, burglary, robbery and murder were common crimes in those days. The more dangerous were the gangs of bandits which infested all rivers, rendering life and property unsafe within their reach (Bradely-birt, 1906). However, a full-fledged police system did not develop in rural Bengal during the period. Indeed, it was very difficult to maintain law and order and to suppress criminals with medieval means of communication and transport. But the Muslim Rulers were benevolent and impartial in the dispensation of justice. They exercised personal supervision over criminal administration and emphasized on punishments (Rizvi, 1961). Therefore, policing was so strict in all things and

particularly with reference to safety of the roads.

6.4 British Period

It is unique that the East India Company which was a trading concern in Bengal for about a century since 1650 gradually emerged as the de facto rulers of Bengal after the acquisition of the Diwani in 1765. But it avoided tactfully the responsibility of criminal administration of the territories under its possession, although it took over the civil administration in the form of revenue collection. However, during the decline of Mughal Empire, the anarchy which reigned the whole region destroyed any system of police which ever existed. The existing system of policing continued despite the establishment of Diwani and Faujdari adalats in 1773. In the rural areas, the zamindars continued to maintain some sort of peace and security. During this time, zamindars protected numerous gangs of dacoits, robbers and criminals infesting the country (Griffiths, 1971; Gourlay 1916; Police Commission Report 1902). It is against this background the whole gamut of policing by the colonial rulers shall be taken into consideration.

Warren Hastings, Governor-General and President of the Council, was the first to introduce the police organization of any kind in Bengal. He appointed Fouzdars in 14 stations. On 18th, October, 1775, Muhammad Reza Khan (who resided at Murshidabad) was appointed Naib Suba and Naib Nazem with authority to superintend the Fouzdari court and the administration. But he was not successful to organize a policing system in the areas held by the East India Company. The country plunged into utter chaos and confusion. The offences against property, particularly, dacoity increased to an alarming extent. The collectors could hardly exercise any effective control over police administration. In fact, some zamindars were harbouring the criminals and socially undesirables (Madan, 1980; Griffiths, 1971; Kibria, 1976; Khan *et al.* 1989).

In 1787, Lord Cornwallis found that crimes like robberies, murders and other offences were rampant in the country. The whole system of policing had been in utter disarray and was rendered ineffective to prevent the crime and maintain law and order. Therefore, Lord Cornwallis abolished the police powers of the nizamat and re-organized the police force for the province and issued Regulations for the police of the collectorships in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 7th, December, 1792 (subsequently enacted as Regulation XXII of 1793) (Gourlay, 1916). Under the Regulation, the zamindars in the rural area were relieved of their traditional privileges of policing. Instead, English

Magistrates were given the control of the police. During this time, the districts of Bengal were divided into police jurisdictions called *thanas*, each covering an area of about 400 square miles and having a 'daroga' in its charge with some police establishment under him (Madan, 1980; Gourlay, 1916). The Regulation XXII of 1793 contains:

The darogas were required to give security in the sum of Rs. 1,000. The magistrates at Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna cities were directed to revise their cities and their environments into wards, each ward to be guarded by a daroga and the daroga to be under the immediate authority of a Kotwals. Kotwals had to give security of Rs. 5,000. The darogas and Kotwals could not be removed without the sanction of Government. The numbers of the police force and their stations were left to the discretion of the Magistrate. But in the cities the Jamadar with half the establishment patrolled for the first half of the night and the Daroga with the other half of the establishment patrolled from midnight till dawn. The instructions in the regulation are that the patrols are to move about with as little noise as possible, that thieves and other disorderly persons may not be apprised of their approach. The patrols of the several wards and such part of the stationary watchmen as the Kotwal shall appoint are to be furnished with singhara or horns, which they are to sound when they meet with robbers and other persons guilty of breach of the peace and when they have occasion to give the alarm to each other or to the inhabitants of the ward that they may operate for the apprehension of the offenders. The Kotwal is to be careful that the stationary watchmen, and the darogas and their officers, perform the efficient duties prescribed in this clause regularly and properly and report to the Magistrate every instance in which they may be guilty of negligence or misconduct in the discharge of them.

In the process of policing the area, Kotwal and daroga were dependent upon the *mohulladars* who were held responsible for any offenders or strangers within their mohulla and had to report daily the arrival and departure of travellers. All private watchmen who were required to assist the police were subservient to the orders of the Kotwal and daroga. They had no powers of fining or of passing sentence. The Kotwals had also to make inquests in cases of murder or unnatural death (Gourlay, 1916).

All these police officers became the paid servants of the Company and were placed under the general supervision of the European Magistrates. This Thanadari system, thus, introduced an element of hierarchical order in the police organization and continued to remain the basis of the police organization in Bengal for a long time. In order to exercise close monitoring, supervision and coordination, an officer with the title of Superintendent of Police was appointed under

regulation X of 1808 in Dhaka and other cities. But the post was abolished in 1829 when the powers and duties given to S.P. were entrusted to Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit. Again, it was reconstituted by Act XXIV of 1837. But in 1854, Lord Dalhousie abolished the post but Police Act V of 1861 restored the post of Superintendent of Police (Gourlay, 1916). But this change was devised exclusively for strengthening the arms of the Magistrate so that he could exercise an efficient control over the police. However, the police organization under darogas was not strong enough to deal with the violent crime and unrest. Crime continued to escalate and social conditions became even more unsettled. Crimes especially dacoity, civil unrest and insecurity continued unabated. The Thanadari system failed to bring about a change in the public security (Madan, 1980; Kibria, 1976; Bayley, 1969)

In 1817, a new regulation was made (Regulation XX of 1817) which incorporated the whole of the law relating to the police. By this Regulation, all the rules which had from time to time been enacted in respect of the duties of darogas and other officers of police were arranged under 34 sections. One important change was made that the appointments of all police officers were vested in the Magistrate (Gourlay, 1916). The Commission of Circuit, created by Cornwallis, assumed the general control of police in their jurisdictions. This Regulation remained almost intact until the introduction of the Police Act, 1861 (Madan, 1980; Khan *et al.* 1989).

In spite of the best efforts to organize *Thandari* policing, it failed utterly. The subordinates were corrupt, inefficient and oppressive, while the superior officers, overburdened with the multiplicity of duties, were unable to exercise an adequate supervision. Gourlay (1916) commented that the Thanadari system had broken down; the village watchmen were useless either for the detection or the prevention of crime; the darogas were notoriously corrupt and misused the large powers with which they were entrusted, practically without supervision; and the minute body of Magistrates- with the best intentions in the world-could not cope with the work. As a result, the administration of criminal justice and the detection and prevention of crime deteriorated rapidly. There was not necessarily any increased disposition to crime on the part of the people but the whole thanadari and judicial system led to grievous oppression and its extreme unpopularity with the people forced the Government to give it their urgent attention.

All these changes impacted upon the security apparatus in Dhaka city. During the closing decade of the 18th century and the opening one of the 19th century, the city of Dhaka was divided into wards, guarded by daroghas and armed parties. Both of them were under the control and the superintendence of Kotwal. In fact, Kotwal which was retained from the earlier system continued to police the city and regulate the market (Rizvi, 1969).

In the process of reorganization through trial and error under the British, there had been significant changes in the police administration which produced institutional shifts for the maintenance of law and order within the city itself. Initially, the District Magistrate (or the Collector-Magistrate as he came to be known from 1859) in addition to his judicial powers exercised administrative authority over the local police force. In fact, the British concept was grafted onto a Mughal stem. Henceforth, a professional body of policemen was to function under the traditional daroghas in charge of rural thanas (circles), while the Kotwals remained their counterparts in the towns. Both of them were subordinate to the District Magistrate, aided by a body of covenanted and uncovenanted assistants (Ahmed, 2010).

In the city of Dhaka, however, the pruning of the Mughal system cut deeper. The Kotwal's office was abolished in 1814 and the District Magistrate became the head of the police administration. Below him were the daroghas, each with his own staff in charge of a thana. By 1838, the number of daroghas had been reduced to ten, six Hindus and four Muslims. In November 1838, James Grant, the Magistrate, reorganized the police administration in the city to develop the capacity and efficiency of the police. Consequently, the number of daroghas was reduced from ten to three, as were the thanas and attendant outposts. All these were placed under the control of the District Magistrate (Ahmed, 2010). The police authority above the district level from 1808 to 1829 and from 1837 to 1854 was the Superintendent of police. In the intervening years and from 1854 to the great reorganization of 1861, it was the Revenue Commissioner. Thus, from 1854, Dhaka became the centre of a police administration stretching over six revenue districts (Griffiths, 1971; Ahmed, 2010). However, all these changes and reforms did very little for the very basic character of the force. It was ineffectual, oppressive, corrupt and utterly useless for maintaining peace and law and order (Banglapedia).

6.4.1. The New Police, 1860

The *Sepoy* Mutiny of 1857 exposed the inherent weakness of dealing with any serious law and order situation and demonstrated the necessity of having an efficient police force. By a proclamation in 1858, the British Government took over the full control of the Indian territory from the East India Company. Soon, the British Government initiated the process of reforming the police system in the sub-continent on the line of the Irish Constabularies, a colonial model developed by the British in Ireland. As directed by the Secretary of State, Charles Wood, the Government of India appointed a Commission headed by H. M. Court to enquire into the whole question of police administration in British India to recommend measures for the "creation of a perfect and economical police". On the basis of the recommendations submitted by the commission, Sir Bartle Frere introduced the Police Bill in the Legislative Council in 1860 which resulted in the promulgation of the Police Act (Act V of 1861). A regular police force was raised on the Irish Constabulary (Cox, 1910; Madan, 1980; Griffiths, 1971; Khan *et al.* 1989; Stead, 1977).

The Police Act (Act 5 of 1861) laid the foundation of an organized police service in the country and much of the provisions of the Act are still in force in the country. And for the first time, it made the policing of the country the sole responsibility of an independent and separate department. The police force was made the stipendiary body dependent upon the government. This was the final departure from the age-old traditions of the country that the new police would have no connection with the community. Furthermore, the Magistrate who replaced the Mughal *Faujdar* lost all his police functions but remained an executive officer with control over police matters and in addition, retained judicial authority in the administration of criminal justice (Banglapedia; Gouldsbury, 1912; Stead, 1977).

The police force created under the Act was placed under the control of the Provincial Government. The administration of the police in a province was entrusted to an Inspector General of Police, who was to be responsible for the efficiency and discipline of the entire police department. The executive functions of the Commissioners of Divisions were withdrawn. The Inspector General of Police was to be assisted by a Deputy Inspector General. The District Superintendent of Police, who was hitherto under the control of the Divisional Commissioner, was

now to be subordinate to the Inspector General of Police. The district Superintendent of Police was to be assisted by an Assistant Superintendent of Police. The subordinate police force was to consist hierarchically of the Inspector of Police, the Head Constables, the Sergeant and Constables (Griffiths, 1971; Banglapaedia; Khan *et al.* 1989).

This force, created and organized to protect the British colonial interest was organized on the basis of jurisdiction. A district should be under a Superintendent of police (SP), who was a British officer. Each district was headed by a District Magistrate who was also a British officer and was overall in-charge of the district administration. SP was basically responsible for the control of crime and the internal police administration of the district. For better control and coordination, the districts were divided into a number of Circles and police stations (PS). The PS is the pivot of police administration and crime control. The same set-up exists today except for certain modifications.

The Act also defined the nature, characteristics and scope of the police force; degrees of punishment for the offenders; rules governing the appointment, transfer, promotion, dismissal and discharge of police personnel; modes of investigation and search for criminals; General Diary of the cases (GD), First Information Report (FIR); discipline and deployment of the force; the power and jurisdictions of various officials etc. For Bengal, a sum of 40 lakh rupees a year was sanctioned for police expenditure. Mr. Carnac was appointed as the first Inspector General of Police of Bengal (Banglapedia).

From the very beginning, the reorganization of an efficient police force encountered serious setback for low budget. Moreover, the Act itself generated a friction between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police at the district level over the management and deployment of the police force since the administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the district was placed under the Superintendent of Police subject to the general control and supervision of the District Magistrate. The friction soon touched all the layers of the set-up and continued to strain the relationship even today. This turf war could never do well to the public security in the country (Huda, 2009).

The newly-created Police Department of Bengal witnessed the anomaly of the existence of two separate police forces in many towns and cities. Therefore, the Bengal government passed

the Act VI in 1867 that authorized the amalgamation of the Imperial and Municipal Police. In Dhaka, for the two bodies was substituted one, under the name of Municipal Police, with jurisdiction both over the city and suburb. However, the Municipal Police had to work under the general control of the District Superintendent of Police. The new force consisted of one Inspector, two sub-Inspectors, eight Head Constables and 191 Constables. The cost was Rs. 20,068 annually out of which the Dhaka Municipality paid some Rs. 17,000. The Municipality continued to pay for the city police until 1882 when the government itself took over the charge of the entire force (Ahmed, 2010).

Here, it is relevant to note that the British remodeled and developed the indigenous Kotwali system of policing in the urban area side by side the development of rural policing in the country. In fact, on the debris of Kotwali system of policing in the major cities, the British replicated the commissionerate system of policing in line with the London Metropolitan Police organized in 1829 by the Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel. But the system did not embrace the whole of the country; only Kolkata, Mumbai and Madras- the three Presidency Towns witnessed the introduction of this system in 1856 long before the consolidation of an organized and hierarchical police force by the Police Act (Act V), 1861. The juxtaposition of the two styles of policing was shrewdly calculated to serve the colonial interest. These cities became the hub of commerce and trade and some cities had flourishing trade with European countries and were turned into the abode of the European people. J. C. Curry comments,

“Thus, these cities act as magnets to attract the most hardened criminals of all the criminal classes of Asia. They have incredible underworlds, sordid, inflammable and incurable, whose people, the goondas of Calcutta and the Mawalis of Bombay are men who live by trading in every kind of human vices: chicanery, fraud, drugs, women, murder, and the whole gamut of evil. There are many who have spent, perhaps, 40 years of adult life in Bombay, nearly half of it jail, with 15 to 200 convictions; and for very crime at which they are caught they have probably committed a dozen other” (1932: 49).

Therefore, the British brought these cities under a centrally controlled efficient police set-up known as the commissionerate system as per Act XIII of 1856 which was later on, amended by the Act XLVIII of 1860. The Commissioner was given wide ranging regulatory and restrictive powers and made justice of peace. But Dhaka was not privileged to embrace the commissionerate system of policing.

However, the administrative set-up of Dhaka was changed by the reorganization of the Police Act. Before 1861, the police were directly under the Magistrates who tried cases brought before them by the police. Since 1861, there has been in the Dhaka district, a Chief Police Officer, who is separate from judicial staff and who, subject to the control of the District Magistrate, directs and manages the police and their work throughout the district (Rizvi, 1969). Like other districts, the District Magistrate of Dhaka lost all direct responsibility for the training, discipline and efficiency of the police, while the Commissioner of Revenue, too, lost his police powers. But the deployment of the police was still very much within the say of the District Magistrate. Moreover, the Commissioner as executive head of the division continued to act as co-coordinator for the entire police force and write to government suggesting changes and reforms. The city, however, gained a new police department headed by a European District Superintendent. A police hospital was also established (Ahmed, 2010).

In this process of reorganization, however, the strength of the regular police force for both the city and the district was largely reduced. The annual cost of this smaller force in Dhaka was increased by Rs. 12, 540. Major changes were also introduced in the Chaukidari Police of Dhaka, marking a new milestone in the city's history. The Chaukidari Police was called the Municipal Police Force or City Constabulary. Its strength was also reduced from 166 to 129 men. A European Inspector was appointed to become the immediate chief of the new Municipal Police Force. The evolution of the Chaukidari Police into a Municipal Police Force was closely tied up with the legislation of the Bengal Government, Municipal Improvement Act, Act III, 1864 which led to the transformation of many of the cities and towns in the province including Dhaka, into municipalities. Dhaka, like other towns, was obliged to bear the cost of its city police (Ahmed, 2010).

But gradually, the new police system became corrupt, oppressive and inefficient. Therefore, in 1902, Lord Curzon constituted a Police Commission with Sir Andrew H.L Fraser as its president to make a through inquiry into the functioning of the police. At the initial enquiry, the commission found that the system failed to achieve high levels of performance because of the unsatisfactory recruitment and training of superior officers, undue interference with the police by Magistrate and Commissioners; inadequate staff, insufficient remuneration of all ranks from

Inspectors downwards and the consequent employment of ill-educated and unsuitable men and the failure to make enough use of the village police. Moreover, the corruption of the rank and file became rampant (Griffiths, 1971). The Commission's following observation which has become a benchmark for evaluation of the police has been often quoted in literature on the Indian police:

"The police is far from efficient; it is defective in training and organization; it is inadequately supervised; it is generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive; and it has utterly failed to secure the confidence and cordial cooperation of the people" (Police Commission, 1902: Para 201).

The police had earned such a notoriety that respectable parents were unwilling to allow their sons to accept direct appointment to the rank of Inspectors (Gourlay, 1916; Kibria, 1976).

Finally, the commission submitted the report and strongly endorsed the organizational principles established in 1861. The recommendations include the development of district police, railway police, river police, recruitment and training, pay, discipline, village police, prevention and investigation of offences and prosecution. It spoke specifically about the enlargement of the Dhaka Town Police. Based on the recommendations, the government created Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Railway Police and the posts of Range Deputy Inspector Generals (DIGs) by dividing the province into ranges. The Commission further created the cadre of Sub Inspectors and Armed Police at each district headquarters (Obaidullah, 1960; Gouldsbury, 1912).

Dhaka witnessed some institutional development during this period. In 1903, Mill Barrack Police Training School was established for imparting training to Bengali Sub-inspector cadets and Constables up to 1912. Later on, the Mill Barrack was turned into a police training centre only for district police personnel. With the establishment of Dhaka as the capital of Bengal and Assam province in 1905, CID at the provincial level was organized and housed in a nobly vaulted building belonging to the Nawabs of Dhaka at Wise Ghat on the bank of the river Buriganga (now Bulbul Lalitakala Academy). Though the partition of Bengal was annulled in 1912, CID continued to operate in Bengal from this house. In 1963, the CID left this office of Wise Ghat for its own office constructed at Malibagh near Rajarbagh Police Lines. The police forces specially Garoali police were stationed in the Lalbagh Fort during the British period (Chowdhury, 2011).

Through a long process of reorganization and reformation of police in Bengal, in the beginning of the twentieth century, it emerged as a strong and loyal organization capable of serving the interest of the British. The strength was at an optimum level. The Police Force in Bengal numbered about 35,000 men and was under an Inspector General, who had command of a Range, usually consisting of five or six districts. Each district was divided into sub-divisions of about five or six police stations under the charge of an Inspector. The officers in charge of the stations were Sub-Inspectors. They came into the police department by direct entry. They are assigned to investigate the criminal cases. The size of force in each district varied. The average would be 800-900. There was a Superintendent in charge of each district, and in the larger ones, he was supported by one or two Additional Superintendents and sometimes an Assistant Superintendent, as well as two Deputy Superintendents, who were not in the Secretary of State's Service but had risen from the ranks of the Provincial Service (Finney, 2000). Likewise, Dhaka was a district except the period from 1905 to 1912 when it was the capital of Bengal and Assam. The Police Headquarters of Bengal headed by Inspector General remained at Shillong in Assam (Chowdhury, 2011). In 1930's, the British redefined the jurisdiction of four thanas of Dhaka city such as:

Table-6.1 Government Order/ Notice about the jurisdiction of four Thanas

Name of thana	Area (sq.mile)	Government Order/ Notice No
Kotwali	0.98	Notifications No. 438PI, dated 2th 1 January 1932, No. 6478PI, dated 12th November 1934 and No 1190 dated 17th November 1934
Sutrapur	2.22	Notifications No.1309PI dated 27th March 1924 and No.438PI dated 21st January 1932
Lalbagh	2.82	Notifications No. 1309PI dated 27th March 1924 and No.438PI dated 21st January 1932 and No. 6478PI, dated 12th November, 1934
Tejgaon	1.04	Notifications No. 2237PI dated 28th June, 1919, No. 620 PI dated 12th February 1920 and No. 6478PI, dated 12th November, 1934

Source: Kabedul, 2013).

In 1840's, there were various types of crimes committed in Dhaka. Gang robbery and the murder of children were crimes of less frequent occurrence. However, the rivers were infested with dacoits. Roads were not safe also from criminals. The prevalent crimes were larceny, affrays and assault. Perjury, incendiarism and adultery were common crimes. Daring burglaries were of rare occurrence, but house breakings were common. Money, ornaments, clothes and household

appliances were frequently stolen. Pick pockets were very frequent in bazars and annual fairs. Intoxicating drugs constituted the chief physical source of crime in the district. Opium and liquor were consumed by the people in the city. Petty affrays and assaults were of frequent occurrence in the city and were usually committed by persons under the influence of opium or ganja. They generally originated in land dispute. Gambling, which is itself an offence punishable by the Magistrate, was very prevalent in the town. It was also a genuine source of crime in the city. There were instances of homicides in Dhaka city (Taylor, 2010). In 1920's, crimes such as murder, burglary, thefts, cheating, rioting, gambling and poisoning cases were common crimes which were recorded by W. A. Davies, City Superintendent of Police, Dhaka in the Confidential Note Book maintained in the police office.

All these offences were codified in the Penal Code, 1860 which defined the crimes and punishment in detail. Some of the new crimes such as conspiracy against state were incorporated into the Code. Indian Evidence Act, 1872, introduced the law of evidence for appreciating the investigation carried out by police and presenting the same in the courts. It continues to operate even today with minor changes. CrPC was enacted in 1862 (Later on in 1898). Finally, a large number of minor Acts to meet the demand of the time were legislated. In fact, the Indian Penal Code laid down the substantive criminal law whereas the Criminal Procedure Code defined the adjective law or law of procedure. Virtually, the two Codes along with the Evidence Act made the criminal justice system in operation. The policing work involves mainly prevention, investigation, detection and prosecution of crime. The code virtually contains provisions to guide the police for almost all aspects of policing. In this respect, Huda commented

Crime control was only a secondary objective to be achieved through fear of the police. The Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code and the Evidence Act put in place a legal framework and a police force equipped for the maintenance of British rule by force. The Penal Code prioritizes offences against the state and the maintenance of public order. It begins consideration of traditional crime only from Section 299 onwards. The Criminal Procedure Code begins with the 'arrest of persons' and the maintenance of 'public order and tranquility' before getting to grips with criminal procedure relating to investigation and trial (Huda, 2009:38).

In spite of the remark, the Criminal Procedure Code defined the procedural framework of policing such as the information to the police and their power to investigate any offence and bring the offender to justice. This frame work still exists today. Virtually, the police investigation into a

cognizable case begins with the First Information Report. It is a complaint to get the criminal law in motion. The Code stipulates:

Every information relating to the commission of a cognizable offence if given orally to an officer in charge of a police station, shall be reduced to writing by him or under his direction, and be read over to the informant ; and every such information, whether given in writing or reduced to writing as aforesaid, shall be signed by the person giving it, and the substance thereof shall be entered in a book to be kept by such officer in such form as the Government may prescribe in this behalf (154-CrPC).

After the first information is recorded, the investigating officers set forth to gather evidence, record testimony, make an arrest if possible, and establish a case for trial. For the purpose of his investigation, police may require the attendance of witnesses who are bound to answer any relevant questions other than those which might incriminate them. A statement made by any person to a police officer in the course of investigation cannot be used for any purpose except by the accused so as to contradict such witness (Section 145 Evidence Act). Statement to the police recorded under section 161 Cr. P. C. cannot be used by the prosecution to corroborate or explain the evidence of the witness in court but the defense can use it for testing veracity. The officer making the investigation is also empowered to search without warrant any place where he has reason to believe that anything necessary for the investigation may be found. If the investigation leads to an arrest, the accused cannot be held in custody by the police without a magisterial order for more than twenty-four hours. Police can take the remand of the accused for a period not exceeding 15 days in the whole. The investigation results either in Charge-sheet or Final Report i.e. whether the case is prima facie proved or not proved. At the conclusion of investigation, it is also sent to the presiding judge so that he may be able to appraise police methods and tactics. During the British period, police went beyond the purview of law. In the name of investigation, the police harassed innocent persons, accused them on the basis of fabricated evidence and inflicted corporal punishments upon them. Suspects and innocent people were intimidated and threatened into giving information they were supposed to possess. The police officers tried to extract confessions by improper inducements, threats and undue influence which were prohibited in the Evidence Act (Section-25, 26 and 27). They did not spare even the respectable persons.

The British established the complaint recording investigation led policing in the sub-continent with a focus on adversarial or accusatorial in nature of trial. It means that the whole process is a contest between two parties- the state on the one hand and the person accused of the crime concerned on the other hand. In the process, court takes a non-partisan role; court plays no significant role in preparation of a case; the trial itself is not an investigation into events or allegation but rather a hearing to decide within a complex set of rules, whether the accused is proved to be guilty of the particular offences which the prosecution have charged him with. Moreover, a person accused of a crime is presumed to be innocent until the prosecution proves his guilt beyond every reasonable doubt. If there is a little doubt in proving the elements of the offence concerned, the accused will be set free. This is the criminal standard of proof, i.e., proof of guilt beyond reasonable doubt (Halim, 2010).

The colonial power did not encounter any serious law and order problem throughout Bengal. At the end of the 19th century, the nationalist movement against British rule gradually emerged which was never a problem for police initially. In the beginning of the 20th century, the whole scenario was changed. The disorder with which the police had to deal with was of various forms and dimensions. Revolutionary movement, Non-cooperation Movement and communal strife continued to trouble the British rule. In 1904, a revolutionary party known as the Dhaka Anusilan Samitis was founded in Dhaka. It extended its influence to other provinces. The main centre of the Samiti was located at Dakshin Mousundi in the heart of the city. Another great revolutionary party, named after the Bengali newspaper *Jugantar* founded also at the same time had its sphere of influence mainly in Kolkata and neighbouring district. Both these organizations launched activities such as to collect funds for procuring, guns, pistols and bombs. With these, they would be able to kill the officials. During 1907 and 1908, the Dhaka Anushilan Samity took a number of actions. On 2nd of June, 1908, a dacoity took place at Baddah, Dhaka. More than hundred dacoities were committed in Dhaka by the Samity. From this, they raised money and deposited in the head office of the Samity. The master mind behind all these actions was Pulin Das, the head of the Dhaka Samity. The Dhaka conspiracy case was lodged with the police.

On the face of increasing activities of the secret societies, this time, officers became victims of frequent attacks. Mr. Allen, who had been District Magistrate of Dhaka, was shot in the back

and survived (Mukherjee, 1995). During the period from 1906 to 1917, nearly two hundred outrages had been committed in connection with the revolutionary movement. In 1916, R.B. B. Chatterji, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Intelligence Branch, Bengal was shot dead in Dhaka. Some twenty police officers or Constables were murdered. Between the two wars, the revolutionary activities continued to put strain on police. A number of officials were killed by the revolutionaries. During this time, there was a gunfight between the members of the Dhaka Jugantar and police party led by Mr. Wardle, the Superintendent in charge of Dhaka Intelligence Branch. One was dead (Finney, 2000). In 1930, Benoy Bhusan Bose, a fourth year medical student fired twice at F.J. Lowman, Inspector General of Police, Bengal and three times at Mr. Eric Hodson, Superintendent of Police at Dhaka while visiting a sick colleague in the Mitford Hospital. Two days later, Lowman died but Hodson recovered after a long illness. At the same time, attempts were made on the life of Casselle, the Commissioner of Dhaka Division and Magistrate Durno respectively. Kamakhya Sen, a Sub Deputy Magistrate of Dhaka, was shot dead by the members of the Samity. This campaign of killing the British officials put a great strain on the police (Griffiths, 1971; Finney, 2000).

In 1938, the Anushilan Samity became a political party known as the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and conducted political activities openly. On 10th of August in 1942, a massive demonstration took place in Dhaka as a part of the Quit India Movement. All schools and colleges in Dhaka were closed. On 13 th August, 1942 the Munsif Court was attacked by mobs. The police fired on them and one person was killed. On 14th August, a huge procession went from Dakshin Mousundi via Bonogram through Nawabpur Road encompassing Laxmibazar. The procession was barricaded by the police at Tantibazar junction and came into direct confrontation with the police. Police opened fire and two persons died instantly. Almost all the revolutionaries were arrested and tortured at one time or other. Some of them such as Uma Prasad, and Gauranga Bose died in police custody but continued their movement till 1946 (Peter, 1993, Mukhopadhyay, 2011).

At the time of civil disobedience in Bengal, attacks of varying degrees of seriousness on police officers were of almost daily occurrence. In dealing with civil disobedience, the main task of the police was to contain or disperse aggressive or obstructive crowds but police did it with

heavy hand. Near about 500 members of police forces were injured during this time in Bengal. On the other hand, as the prospect of self-government drew nearer, political considerations accentuated communal differences and made the last three decades before 1947 a period of profound communal unrest. The communal strife emerged as a great burden on the police though this was deliberately fomented by the British. Sometimes, police officer might often have to take action against his own community, even to the extent of firing on them. By the twentieth century, police organization developed itself as a reliable and loyal force to deal with communal furies (Mukhopadhyay, 2011). In the early 1930's, Dhaka experienced some Hindu-Muslim riots. In May, 1930, a communal tension ensued in old Dhaka involving the playing with tops in the main street between one a Hindu boy and a Muslim boy. People from both the sides locked into fierce riots which continued for ten days. Instantly, 500 houses in the city were burned down. The police imposed curfew which was defied by the riotous people. Tikatuli, Madan Mohan Basak Lane, Dolaiganj, Thataribazar, Jorepool, Faridabad, Begumbazar, Badamtoli, gandaria, Takerhat and Aga Sadek Road were worst affected. After some days, another riot took place. Police suppressed the disorder and dispersed rioters (Rizvi, 1969; Griffiths, 1971). The most devastating Hindu-Muslim communal violence known as Dhaka Riot, 1941 started on 14 March. The conch-shell workers at Shankari Bazar were celebrating the Holi. Incidentally coloured water fell on a Burqa-clad Muslim lady and there was a minor clash that the police brought under control. On 18 March, a Muslim was stabbed to death in Kabiraj Lane and a Muslim boy was killed when a Hindu mob attacked Manohar Khan Bazar. On the evening of the same day, a Muslim hawker was found murdered in Gandaria. The Muslims in retaliation attacked and put fire on Hindu shops at Chawk Bazar and Maulvi Bazar. On 19 March, Hindus and Muslims clashed at the Victoria Park area when the Muslim Provincial Library and the Hindu Associated Press were set on fire. On 21 March, a sub-divisional officer was stabbed near the Lion Cinema Hall. Mosques at Thatari Bazar and Rankin Street and a temple at south Maisundi were attacked and desecrated. The riot soon spilled over the adjoining areas. On 3 April 1941, Hatch Barwell, a police official was severely beaten at Rahimabad and his revolver was snatched away. According to police report 2,519 households of 81 villages were attacked and looted affecting 15,724 persons in these areas. 60 persons were stabbed and 25 persons were murdered. The victims were predominantly Muslims

in Dhaka and Hindus in the rural areas. These disturbances continued up to 7th of May, 1941. The police failed to quell these disturbances (Rizvi, 1969; Banglapaedia).

Political agitation against foreign rule by the people gathered momentum throughout the country which quite often took a violent turn. The police employed to maintain law and order became more and more authoritative and repressive in their duties for which people condemned police as a repressive instrument of a colonial government. During the days of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements, Dhaka witnessed huge agitation and demonstration against the British rule (East Pakistan Police Committee, 1953). Secret societies and revolutionary group were also formed to end the colonial rule. Police used all repressive means to contain, suppress and repress the nationalist movement. During the British period, policing for the service of the people was not within the enforcement ethos of the functionaries (Madan, 1980; Bayley, 1969).

The police repressed all these by the promulgation of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (Act X of 1911), Regulation III of 1818, the Newspapers (Incitement of Offences) Act 1908, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1924, and the Indian Press Act (Act 1 of 1909). The Second Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932 gave the government wide powers to order detention without trial. During the period from 1930 to 1946, a number of revolutionaries were arrested and tried under this legislation. Among them, 17 members were from Dhaka who were awarded by the court various types imprisonment. In fact, all these legislations were instrumental in suppressing revolutionary activities. Repressive measures were undertaken not only on the revolutionaries but also on their families. Many families lost their homes due to the government, 'power to take possession of immovable property'. Under the law, many revolutionaries were arrested while many other families were brought under police surveillance. Such repressive measures severely affected residents of old Dhaka, especially those living in peripheral areas like Wari, Dakshin Mousundi, Thatari bazar, Bonogram, Narinda and Gandaria. From time to time, the whole area was combed by the police to flush out suspicious people. Many suspects were detained, arrested and tortured (Mukhopadhyay, 2011). During the British period, the method of policing was harsh and tyrannical. Therefore, police failed to win the confidence of the people they served.

Some further changes were made as a result of Blandy-Gordon Committee report of 1937. In the meantime, World War II started and no other reform was possible. The Administrative

Committee of 1944-45 considered that the police organization was not in a position to keep pace with the volume of work. But nothing was done immediately to strengthen the police organization. During the British rule, there had been enormous structural changes in the police but there was no qualitative change in the performance of police duties at all. Structure came and went, but there was no qualitative evolution of policing the country. Gourlay rightly commented:

"The police established by the British-Indian Government is, in its outline, precisely similar to that of London; the former is considered by the people as an intolerable evil, the latter is universally allowed to be a most admirable establishment, highly conducive to the public good. The requisites for the improvement of our Indian police are, first, respectable salaries for those employed; second, rewards and promotion for good conduct; third, additional powers in certain petty cases, thus destroying the anomaly which at present exists in the extent of their authority; fourthly, some authority to be entrusted to the upper class of landholders, who would then be induced to give that assistance which they now withhold; and lastly, that there should be the strictest surveillance on the part of the magistrate, over everyone connected with the establishment."(1916:70)

In spite of that, the law and order situation was better when the British left in 1947. There was a remarkable achievement in the establishment of rule of law in Dhaka since the foundation of a modern police system was laid down by the Police Act (V of 1861). Griffiths (1971:257) remarked:

"Much indeed had been achieved in ninety years. Thuggee and the cult of poisoning were things of the past; dacoity had been brought under control; scientific technique had been applied to the detection of crime; and life had been made secure for the ordinary citizen. A man could now send his wife or children from one end of the country to the other in safety and a merchant could remit funds knowing that they would reach their destination."

6.5 Pakistan period

India and Pakistan emerged as two independent dominions as per the India Independence Act passed by the British Parliament on 18 July 1947. By the same stroke, the province of Bengal was divided into East Bengal and West Bengal. East Bengal became a part of Pakistan and West Bengal that of India. The province of 'East Bengal' was born on 14 August 1947 and its name was changed to 'East Pakistan' on 8 September 1955 (Banglapedia).

Soon the political schism and the decline of popularity of the Muslim League vitiated the socio-political integrity in East Pakistan. This was fomented by the West Pakistan's discriminatory policy towards East Pakistan. The political instability was so acute that seven cabinets were formed in East Pakistan and Governor's rule was imposed thrice between March 1954 and August 1958. Finally, an anarchic situation developed in the Legislative Assembly on 23 September 1958 and the Deputy Speaker Shahed Ali died on 25 September after being hit by a group of unruly members. After this episode, Martial Law was imposed throughout Pakistan on 7 October 1958 which buried the democracy forever during the Pakistani regime (Islam, 1997). Since the police were the executive arm of the government, policing in East Pakistan shall be considered in the context of political reality and the policy of the central government. Moreover, during the martial law regime, police played the role of a second fiddle in the restoration of law and order in the society in accordance with the dictates of the military authorities.

During the Pakistani regime, the police organization and its policing were based mainly on the Police Act, 1861 which was amended by the recommendations of the Police Commission, 1902-1903. The police force of Pakistan continued the same system of British period. In fact, the provincial police force started policing in East Pakistan on the foundation of the colonial police. Therefore, police attitude had remained the same as the legacy of the British colonial past. During the British rule, policing was directed primarily to serve the interest of and according to the policy of the government. In the enforcement ethos, the interest of citizens was given less priority. This attitude created all evils of highhandedness, lack of respect for lawful rights of the citizens, indiscipline in the force and unjustified oppression of the citizens. This legacy continued without any change in the policing ethos in East Pakistan. The people complained against police of impolite behaviour and highhandedness, corruption and delay in investigation (Huda, 2009; Kibria, 1976).

During this period, the police department encountered two problems (i) shortage of personnel in all ranks of the police and (ii) serious shortage of equipment for the police force. Virtually, the government did little to augment the strength of police personnel and procure logistics for the police in East Pakistan. Moreover, there were disaffections in the police force in East Pakistan. On 13 July, 1948, a group of police force mutinied against the government, surrounded the government house and picketed the civil secretariat. This was quelled by the army.

Again on 21, November, 1955, the provincial police force staged an abortive mutiny which was negotiated by the government (Chowdhury, 2011).

6.5.1. Organizational structure

Dhaka city was under the jurisdictional control of SP Dhaka district. In 1965, one Additional Superintendent of Police was assigned as the in-charge of the police organization of Dhaka city though he acted under the close supervision of the Superintendent of Police of Dhaka District. There were other officers such as the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants, Assistant Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables, Naiks and Constables in Dhaka city. At the initial stage of East Pakistani rule, a permanent staff was sanctioned to control the rapidly increasing traffic problems of the towns of Dhaka. Traffic areas have been enlarged and traffic posts for controls were erected. With the expansion, Dhaka assumed the status of a large town with all its complex law and order problems specially crowd control. In 1956, Mounted Police was organized for Dhaka city with 30 horses for the purpose of regulation of meeting and processions of particular importance (Obaidullah, 1960). Dhaka city comprised of Kotwali, Lalbagh, Sutrapur, Ramna and Tejgaon *thanas* and a number of Outposts (Rizvi, 1969). There was a police outpost at Rajarbagh during the British period. Basically, the present Dhaka Metropolitan Police Lines grew from this tiny outpost. Since 1956, various establishments of the East Pakistan Police especially the Reserve Forces of East Pakistan Police and Special Armed Forces of Dhaka District were accommodated in the barracks at Rajarbagh Police Lines (Chowdhury, 2011).

Since Dhaka became the capital of East Pakistan, there was a Provincial Police Headquarters in Dhaka. The Inspector-General of Police is the head, working under the Home Department of the Government of East Pakistan but exercises his authority in the internal management of the force. He is assisted by the Deputy Inspectors-general in charge of territorial divisions such as Dhaka, Chittagong, Saidpur and Khulna. There were specified functional departments such as Intelligence Branch under the Deputy Inspector-General of Police; Criminal Investigation Department under the Deputy Inspector-General of Police and Railway Police under the Deputy Inspector-General of Police in Dhaka city (Obaidullah, 1960).

6.5.2. Police Commissions

During this period, East Pakistan police force experienced various organizational, financial and other problems. Therefore, reforms in the organizational structure and work culture became imperative. In this context, the Shahabuddin report of 1953, the Hatch-Barnwell Report of 1956 and the Committee regarding increase of forces in Dhaka and Narayanganj in 1957 examined different aspects of the capacity building of the Police Force but no substantial measure was taken by the Government to improve the effectiveness of the Police Force. In 1960-1961, a Police Commission headed by Justice B.G. Constantine made a comprehensive enquiry into the working of the Police Force and gave recommendations which were accepted by the Government. In 1969, another Police Commission headed by Major General A.O. Mitha made recommendations for the capacity building of the Police Force. However, recommendations submitted by these two committees were not implemented.

6.5.3. Prevention of crime

During the period from 1947 to 1971, the pattern of crime was simple and traditional. Police employed generally the usual traditional practices for prevention and detection of crime. Crimes against property and crime against person committed by the professional criminals were rampant. Dacoity, robbery, burglary, theft, murder and riots were common crimes committed in Dhaka. It is evident that there was an increase in the number of juvenile offences (Rizvi, 1969). Economic crimes of certain descriptions, not known before, appeared in the criminal scenario in Dhaka city. In the sixties, the pattern of crime was influenced by the repercussions of political awakening and agitation. Incidence of violent crimes also increased. White-collar crimes emerged in Dhaka city. Foreign loans, aids and grants provided opportunities for thriving of such crimes (Khandaker, 1998).

The disposal of a criminal case lodged with the police is a long process bound down by legal framework. With the registration of a criminal case, the police generally arrest the suspect in order to clear cases. On completion of investigation, the investigating officer is required to submit either a Charge Sheet or Final Report. If a Final Report is submitted, it means that no case of the offence has been made out of the investigation and as such the accused should be released if he is in custody or if not, no charge shall be framed by the Court. On the other hand, if Charge Sheet is

given, this means that there is a recommendation for prosecuting the offender (Criminal Procedure Code, 1898). This was the process adopted by the police to investigate the cases. Moreover, preventive detention was ordered under the amended Security of Pakistan Act of 1952 and under Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code when, in the opinion of the authorities, there would have been a strong likelihood of public disorder. Similarly, Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, frequently invoked by magistrates for periods up to two months, prohibited assembly of five or more persons, holding of public meetings, and carrying of firearms. In addition, the Disturbed Areas (Special Powers) Ordinance of 1962 empowers a magistrate or an officer in charge of a police contingent to open fire or use force against any persons breaching the peace in the disturbed areas and to arrest and search without a warrant. The assembly of five or more persons and the carrying of firearms may also be prohibited under this ordinance. Persons charged with espionage are punishable under the Official Secrets Act of 1911, as amended in 1923 and 1968. As revised in May 1968, this statute prescribes death as the maximum penalty for a person convicted of espionage (Khandaker, 1998).

Since the police were preoccupied with the maintenance of law and order in the context of volatile political situation aggravated by other socio-economic problems, police could not devote much time to the fundamental work of policing such as the investigation, prevention and detection of crime which were to be done in accordance with the procedural laws promulgated by the British. A system of surveillance was maintained against the habitual offender and a number of preventive actions as provided in law generally proved effective (Interview with ex IGP, 2015).

6.5.4. Policing public order

Public remonstrance in East Pakistan assumes various forms like demonstrations, rallies and processions, *hartals* and strikes, civil disobedience, rioting, violence between groups and communal violence. The policing of political violence has always been a sensitive issue. The police actions to quell, suppress, control and manage political violence generate controversy. It polarizes political debate between those who support and those who criticize the use of force whether moderate or excessive. During the Pakistani regime, police action to control ruthlessly the political agitation and demonstration was always viewed by the people of East Pakistan as an act detrimental to the exercise of the legitimate rights of the Bangalee.

After the emergence of Pakistan, police confronted the agitation of the students of Dhaka University. The first protest was against the arbitrary decision of the government for the declaration of Urdu as the state language of Pakistan. The language movement in the 1952 marked the beginning of the cleavage and chasm of distrust created by the West Pakistani rulers between the two wings of Pakistan. Gradually, this issue generated a constant conflict and confrontation in the province. A province-wide strike called on 21 February, 1952 was suppressed with wanton police repression. On that day, the all-party Students Action Committee brought out a procession violating section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. When the procession was intercepted in front of the Dhaka Medical College, students reacted violently by pelting brickbats. Thereafter, Masud Mahmood, a Punjabi officer, an Additional Superintendent of Police of the Dhaka city, ordered the police to open fire which resulted in the death of Abul Barkat, Salam and Abdul Jabbar on the spot (Khandaker, 1998). The students who died by police firing in the language movement became a source of inspiration to the nation as a whole. Since then, students remained at the forefront of the nationalist movement for the Bangalee. In 1968-69, students emerged as the most potential force in the political theatre of Pakistan and actively participated in the mass upsurge against the Ayub Government and the Students Eleven Points added a new dimension to the anti-government struggle for freedom for the people of East Pakistan. Student leader M. Asaduzzaman embraced martyrdom in police firing on 20 January, 1969. During the last days of Pakistan, Dhaka city became a theatre of pitched battle between students, political elements and police. *Hartal*, blockade became every day phenomenon. Moreover, the student's political movement was fuelled by the formation of a student front known as the Nationalist Students Federation (NSF) who were equipped with illegal arms by the tacit consent of Abdul Monem Khan, the then Governor of East Pakistan. The Front used to create lawlessness by using force under the patronage of the party in power to suppress their opponents, who were in majority. This gave birth to violence amongst students which became a constant headache for police. There were frequent riots between the non-Bangalee and the Bangalee in Dhaka. Police responded to all these violently and suppressed with brute force (Khandaker, 1998).

The Agartala Conspiracy case played a very dominant role in causing mass upsurge in 1969 which ultimately led to the liberation movement. After the institution of the Agartala conspiracy, the anti -Pakistani feeling of the people of East Pakistan manifested in the growing incidence of

lawlessness. There were reports of many horror stories like nailing of people and keeping them suspended against trees, chopping off noses and plucking out eyes. In the middle of 1969, incidents of lawlessness also were everywhere in Dhaka city. Mirpur was reported to be worst. The Biharis were involved in wanton killing of Bangalee. Even, Mamun Mahmud, the then Superintendent of Police, Dhaka was physically assaulted by Biharis and came back with bleeding injuries (Khandaker, 1998).

During the Pakistani rule, the principal focus of policing was mainly to maintain the law and order situation. Therefore, the fundamental work of policing- the crime control and investigation was neglected. The regional disparity and discrimination created the volatile political situation resulting in continuous movement and agitation against the Government. No serious measure was undertaken to organize the police department. In the absence of new organizational setup and trained manpower, the police department with existing manpower under previous organization format met the exigencies. They encounter the new challenge of emerging crimes and political conflict with an inappropriate professional response without any legitimacy. The result was that the police continued to be a symbol and tool of oppression and repression of the State. The people of East Pakistan experienced brutality and killing by the then Pakistani government during their struggle for self- determination and liberation in the late 60's till its freedom in 1971 (Discussion with a retired police officer, 2014).

6.6. Bangladesh period

During the war of liberation which began on the night of 25th March, 1971 and ended in victory on 16 December, 1971, there was a revolutionary change in the psyche of the Bangalee police personnel serving in East Pakistan. In fact, the Bangalee policemen all along supported the struggle for independence and actively participated in the war in spite of the fact that police, as the executive arm of the government, always showed loyalty and remained subservient to the authority of the government and were dutiful to enforce the decision of the government. It is indeed, a rare occasion in the history of police in this country that the Bangalee police personnel who served in the then East Pakistan were imbued with the spirit of patriotism and supported covertly the struggle for self-determination of the Bangalee at different phases and stages of its development. Actually,

Bangalee police expressed their solidarity with the mass people for the movement since the general election of 1970 (Chowdhury, 2011; Arefin, 2012).

In the mid-night of 25th march, 1971, suddenly the Pakistan army launched a military operation known as ‘the Operation Search Light’ against the people of Bangladesh. It was the police force which put up the first armed resistance at Rajarbagh Police Lines, Dhaka. Rajarbagh Police Lines became a battle ground fought between the armed Bengali policemen of East Pakistan and Pakistan army at midnight of 25th March, 1971. Nearly, 2000 policemen put up strong resistance with 303 rifles against heavy machine gun supported by mortar and tank fire of Pakistan army numbered nearly 800. Many of the Bangalee policemen laid down their lives in this first armed struggle for independence and nearly 150 policemen were captured. In fact, Bangladesh police was born on the battleground at Rajarbagh Police Lines (Chowdhury, 2011; Huda, 2009).

6.6.1. Policing in the post-war Bangladesh

After the liberation of Bangladesh, the law and order situation in Dhaka city became quite abnormal. Cases of armed robberies, human trafficking, smuggling, organized crimes, extortion and high rate of armed violence emerged as potential threats to human security. Huge quantities of firearms were surrendered at the call of the government but a sizable quantity of unrecovered arms and ammunition had gone to the hands of criminals. These unauthorized arms then posed a dangerous threat against liberty and the lives and properties of law-abiding citizens (Hossain, 2004; Hussain, 2013). Since the then government led by the Awami League could not implement the pragmatic policy for ‘Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration’ (DDR⁶), Bangladesh plunged into a fierce internecine conflict leading to political instability and cycles of violence

⁶ Disarmament is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population. Disarmament also includes the development of responsible arms management programmes. Demobilization is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups. The reintegration is a long-term, continuous social and economic process of development with an open time frame at the local level by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income.<http://www.unddr.org/whatisddr.php> viewed on 10.05.10.

(UNDP, 2005). Moreover, some of the political parties, particularly the National Awami Party (NAP Bhasani) and the Jatio Samaj Tantrik Dal organized frequent hartals, agitation and procession which at times created serious law and order problems in Dhaka city (Khandaker, 1998). Policing effectively to combat depredations of the criminals was the demand of the time but the police felt helpless to cope with the situation since the Dhaka city police were handicapped by the shortage of man-power, lack of mobility, training and logistic support (Khan *et al.* 1989). However, the new police force was considerably augmented by recruitment in 1972, absorption of a few Bengali officers and forces from erstwhile East Pakistan police and reintegration of war veterans. The demand for service was so acute that the police officers were assigned to the field without proper training (Huda, 2009).

During this time, the integration of war veterans and the recruitment generated controversy because it deviated itself from the earlier laid down recruitment policy. Since the beginning of the organized policing in this region, there were three tiers of police recruitment with a focus on the qualitative intake through the competitive examination. But the reintegration of the war veterans was done at the huge cost of compromising quality if compared with the skill, knowledge and ability of their predecessors in the leadership and workforce of police. Even a large number of officers and force inducted this time could not receive proper training for lack of facilities in the training institutes. It has been observed that some of the officers could not even develop the core competency and professionalism in policing during their tenure. New recruitment process brought in a group of people who were below the minimum requirement standard. The overwhelming number of this newly inducted people created an awkward situation for the existing leaders of the police who were outnumbered by them. During the 23 years of Pakistan, around 47 Police Service of Pakistan (PSP) officers and 10 Deputy Superintendents of Police (DSPs) were directly recruited. As against this number, a total of 150 DSPs was inducted in the post liberation Bangladesh. Moreover, there were a few cases of later entry from the armed forces in 1978. Because of military background, they could not be internalized in the enforcement ethos of police. The recruitment of Sub-Inspectors who were actual field level investigating officers was done in the same way without conforming to the standard recruitment procedure. As a result, internal accountability system degenerated, corruption increased, professionalism deteriorated and quality of service became the

casualty. Later on, the infusion of fresh recruitment of police personnel in successive years could not ameliorate the situation (Discussion with a retired police officer, 2014).

In spite of the effort, the law and order situation continued to deteriorate in Dhaka. The new police force had to encounter enormous challenges posed by the emerging crimes in the post-war Bangladesh. On the face of worsening security situation, Rakkhi Bahini was organized to help police in the enforcement and maintenance of law and order. In Dhaka, after midnight, Rakkhi Bahini personnel conducted search and checked almost every rickshaw, taxi and private car (Mascarenhas, 1986). But Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini turned into a monster within a very short time. Within three years, it was alleged that Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini killed about 30 thousand people who were politically affiliated to Jatiyo Samajtantric Dal (JASAD). Many political leaders were abducted and killed by this force. Both the police and the Rakkhi Bahini used the extra-departmental method such as cross fire, encounter death and forced disappearance in Dhaka city to control crime and eliminate political dissent (Interview with police officers, 2014). Siraj Sikdar, a veteran freedom fighter and founder of the 'Purba Bangla Sharbahara Party', was arrested and tortured and ultimately killed by Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini. Later on, this Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini was absorbed into national army on 4 October, 1975(Adhikar, 2006).

6.6.2. Formation of Metropolitan Police in Dhaka

Immediately after liberation, the population in Dhaka continued to grow at an alarming rate. So was the jurisdiction of the Dhaka metropolitan area. With this rapid urbanization, some of the problems such as floating population, slums, unemployment, crimes, drug addiction and violence became common phenomena. New types of crime such as hijacking, crime against women and *Mastani* emerged. The enforcement and maintenance of law and order in a fast growing city like Dhaka, posed a serious challenge to the police (Zaman, 2005; Khandaker, 1998).

Since the problems in metropolitan cities are different from those in rural areas, they demand different solutions. Therefore, it was felt that the introduction of the commissionerate system of policing would be appropriate to maintain unbridled law and order situation and promote the public security in the megacity. The system would hasten the decision-making process, ensure a single line of command and control, offer functional autonomy and utilize the professional expertise of police officers in the field of law enforcement, lead to speedy redress of the grievances

of the people, and prepare them for quick response to any unbridled law and order situation (Chaturvedi, 1985; Bihar Police Commission, 1958). Based upon this rationale, it was recommended that an efficient police force, highly professional, capable of combating crimes and dealing quickly with law and order problems effectively has become imperative for a Metropolitan city like Dhaka.

The concept of Metropolitan Police may be traced back to the London Metropolitan Police introduced in 1829. Soon this system became the British model which was with necessary changes gradually accepted during the next three decades or so in this subcontinent. The special features of this new organization such as its distinct uniform, strict discipline, unity of command, mobility and efficiency impressed all the people of the world. The concept of Metropolitan Police in this subcontinent as distinct from the rest of the Police forces dates back to 1856 (prior to enactment of Act V of 1861) when separate Police forces were created for the cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay by the Indian Act XIII of 1856. Subsequently, however, this Act was replaced by Bengal Act IV of 1866 by which Kolkata Police was organized and followed subsequently in Madras, Bombay and some other big cities of India by separate statutes (Khan *et al.* 1989).

The Dhaka Metropolitan Police came into existence on January 20, 1976 by virtue of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976 (Ordinance No. III of 1976) with a force numbering 6322 under a Police Commissioner of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police (D.I.G). The Ordinance provided for the constitution of a separate police force for the Dhaka Metropolitan area comprising of 116 sq. miles with 12 Police Stations, which have now increased to 49. The Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) Ordinance had some unique features. In certain matters, the Police Commissioner enjoyed parallel powers and privileges as that of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) with regard to the administration of Ordinance vis-a-vis the Police Act of 1861 (Khandaker, 1998). The Police Commissioner has also been vested with regulatory powers for orderly movement of traffic, maintenance of peace and order in all public places including powers of Section 144 Cr.P.C. (vide Section 29 of the Ordinance) to prohibit assembly or processions whenever he considers such prohibition necessary for the preservation of public peace and safety. The Metropolitan Police Ordinance marks a significant departure from the conventional police system based on Act V of 1861 which is not applicable to the Metropolitan areas (Khan *et al.*

1989). Another salient feature of the Ordinance is that the jurisdiction of the District Magistrates in matters of criminal administration has been barred in the Metropolitan areas (Section 4 of the Ordinance). This has been justified by the fact that a single authority could deal well with multi-facet law and order problems without waiting for orders from the District Magistrate as is the case in a normal district within the framework of the Police Act, 1861 (Khandaker, 1998).

In the police hierarchy of Bangladesh police, the assignment as the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Commissioner occupies an important place for its growing responsibilities of promoting the public security in Dhaka city. Therefore, the post of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner was subsequently upgraded to the rank of Additional Inspector-General towards the end of 1981. The Police Commissioner is assisted by Additional Police Commissioners and Joint Police Commissioners in the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police (D.I.G) and Additional Deputy Inspector General of Police (Addl. DIG) respectively and other officers (Khan *et al.* 1989). All officials of all ranks and files are posted in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) for a fixed period, since the general principle is that the induction of subordinate ranks into Dhaka Metropolitan Police shall be made by drafting from the national police. However, Police Headquarters, subject to the approval of the Government, may recruit subordinate officers (excluding Inspectors) for Dhaka Metropolitan Police in accordance with the procedure laid down in the relevant chapters of Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943 or any other Rules for the time being in force (DMP Rules 2005, 135 and 137). In fact, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) itself does not recruit any official. Once the tenure is over, they are posted out. Because of the growing complexities of city life, the strength of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was increased gradually and reached 10,000 by 1981. The Government increased the man-power in 1988 on the recommendations of the Committee on Reorganization and Modernization of Police, 1986. The sanctioned strength now is 26,661 in 2013(Commissioner, 2013). The Dhaka Metropolitan Police consists of five operational divisions such as (a) Detective and Criminal Intelligence Division, (b) Crime and Operations Division (c) Traffic Divisions (d) Protection and Protocol Division and (e) Public Order management (POM) and Headquarters Division.⁷

⁷ <http://www.dmp.gov.bd/index.php>

6.6.3. Functions of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police

Policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area means the prevention and investigation of crime, regulation of traffic, maintenance of public order and management of major events affecting law and order, control of drug abuses and protocol and protection duties. Moreover, police are mandated to serve summons and obey and execute warrant or other order lawfully issued to him by competent authority and to take every lawful steps calculated to bring offenders to justice or to prevent the commission of cognizable offences, or the commission of non-cognizable offences within his view; and any other duties assigned to maintain, promote and develop public security by any law for the time being in force (DMP Ordinance 1976).

Like all other metropolitan police, policing in Dhaka is not dedicated only to the prevention and detection of crime; police virtually do many things which are not absolutely anti-crime activities. It is almost a regular phenomenon for police to deal with law and order problems such as crowd control, VIP security and public order management functions. The routine duties of providing assistance to citizens involve static guard at numerous functions, examination centers, universities, industries and important installations, deployment for traffic duty, escorting prisoners to and from prison to courts, attending court for testimonies and dealing with official paper work. These absorb much time and energy of the police. Sometimes, police are called for protection and traffic arrangements in marriage and other social functions, eviction of unauthorized persons on request from different government and semi government organization, and different government offices. Police arrangements are also required in games, sports and sometimes even to hold interviews for recruitments and for bidding procedure in government procurement at the cost of fundamental works of dealing with crime (Interview with ex-Additional Police Commissioner, 2014, Khan *et al.* 1989).

6.7. Conclusion

Although police are considered the main driving force of law, rulers never allow police to play the central role in the criminal justice system. There were a lot of changes in police structure but no qualitative changes in the function of police. Structure came and went, but there was no qualitative evolution from one régime to another. Since the beginning of policing in Dhaka, the police were abused by the successive rulers. The Mughals used police to realize land and crop

revenues from the poor farmers through fear, torture and even causing death. The British reorganized policing system of the Mughals; consolidated a formidable police force in Bengal to rule the country. Therefore, police remained loyal and obedient during their long two hundred years of oppressive rule in Bengal. The police and other regimental forces used to enjoy total immunity for any of their misdeeds and illegal acts. General Dyer who killed 360 civilian people at Amritsar, Punjab in a single day, was let off without any proper punishment. By the dictates of the British, police committed excesses which helped to perpetuate their rule over alien subjects (Kibria, 1976). With the passage of time, political use of police metamorphosed into political abuse of the police force which still persists to this day although Bangladesh is now an independent and sovereign country. In fact, the phantom of colonial police still haunts the police force of Bangladesh. Bygone British type police excesses, repression, torture, arbitrary arrest, intimidation, disappearance and institution of false cases against innocent men and political opponents are still this day the perennial feature demonstrated in the policing ethos of Dhaka Metropolitan police (Huda, 2009).

Chapter 7: Human Resource Management in Dhaka Metropolitan Police

7.1 Introduction

Human Resource Management is a core function of any organization since the people of the organization are its most important resource. The organization gets the people's services by developing their skills and motivating them to the highest levels of performance and commitment for the attainment of the organizational goal (DeCenzo and Robbins, 2003; Noe *et al*, 2013; Cynthia *et al*. 1997). People are behind every success. Machines don't have new ideas; it can't solve problems or grasp opportunities. Only people, who are involved, can make the difference. The workforce gives any organization its true competitive edge. Therefore, human resource management is responsible for identifying, selecting, inducing the competent people, training them, facilitating and monitoring them to perform at high level of efficiency and providing mechanism to ensure that they maintain their affiliation with their organization (Dessler, 2014, Mathis *et al*, 2014; Reece and Grady, 1984; McKenna and Beech, 1995).

This chapter explores the way the Dhaka Metropolitan Police is organized, managed and governed for policing the Dhaka megacity. It includes all the processes that coordinate and control an organization's resources and actions, recruitment, training, career progression, culture and ethics, resource-management processes, accountability, oversight, police-political government interface and management controls.

7.2. Practice of HRM in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)

The human capital of the police is critical to develop professionalism for offering service to the people. Well formulated and dynamic human resource management and development processes support recruitment, promotion, transfer and development opportunities that are administered in a manner which is based on transparency, merit and competency. Therefore, HRM is very important in police organization since police officers as a most visible regulatory symbol of the government are entrusted with the task of maintaining peace and security in the society. Thus, it is very imperative to analyze HRM policy in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) since a dynamic personnel management is the sine qanon to get effective optimum results in the long run through the development of professional, dedicated, motivated and productive human resources.

The police personnel, who are qualified, well trained, best motivated and led by the competent superiors will improve the present work culture and contribute to the security architecture of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) (Wall, n.d.; 2007; Police Reform Programme 2010; United Nations Development Programme 2004; the International Crisis Group, 2009; Shahjahan, 2006).

Bangladesh police follows outdated colonial HRM policy and technique. HRM techniques and procedures are described in Police Regulation, Bengal (PRB), 1943. Several efforts were made to update it in compliance with the increasing demand of the time but it was scrapped by the successive governments. Even during the period of caretaker government, efforts were made to modernize Police Act, 1861 by the intervention of UNDP and other donor agencies funded Police Reform Programme (Wall, n.d.; 2007; Police Reform Programme 2010; United Nations Development Programme 2004; the International Crisis Group, 2009; Shahjahan, 2006) but it was also not successful. But it may be mentioned that political influences and sometimes other unethical malpractices play a major role in HRM activities in Bangladesh police (Shahjahan, 2006). Though Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised in 1976 by the effect of the Ordinance No. III of 1976, it does not contain the HR policy in line with the modern day policing of a megacity. Surprisingly, still today, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) does not have any laid down policy about the human resource planning and management of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) personnel (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2018). But the general principle is that the induction of subordinate ranks into Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) shall be made by drafting from Police Department. For this purpose, a Selection Board, consisting of one Police Officer not below the rank of Deputy Inspector-General of Police nominated by the Inspector General of Police and two other Police Officers not below the rank of Deputy Police Commissioner nominated by the Commissioner of Police, shall take interview, verify service records and examine physical fitness of subordinate officers. On the recommendation of the Board, a panel of subordinate officers shall be prepared and forwarded to Police Headquarters. Inspector General or Additional Inspector General specially empowered by the Inspector General may transfer such persons from the panel as and when required (DMP Ordinance, Section 8, 1976).

7.3. Human Resource Planning

Human Resource planning is the process by which the organization anticipates future requirement of employee and plans programs to ensure that the accurate number and types of employees are available when they are necessary. It is also concerned with the flow of people into an organization, through an organization and out of an organization (Schweiger & Papenfub, 1992; Walker, 2008).

Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) or as a whole police department in Bangladesh follows top-down HR planning where decisions are made centrally usually at Police Headquarters or at a policy level of the government. Concerned units normally provide required information. In recent years, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) expanded more or less exponentially keeping pace with the rapid urbanization and influx of people to Dhaka from villages. Rapid urbanization, change of pattern of crimes, advent of technology, government policy and increased number of vehicles and other equipment etc. have direct influence in HR planning in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) and Police department (Interview with Police Commissioner, 2017).

7.4. Recruitment and Selection Processes of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)

Recruitment is the process by which organizations discover and attract individuals for job vacancies (Butler, 1984). Its primary purpose is to identify and attract potential employees through the process of searching for prospective employees and stimulating them to apply for jobs in the organization (Flippo & Edwin, 1984). On the other hand, selection is the process by which organizations decide who will or will not be allowed to enter the jobs by assessing their qualifications through the utilization of appropriate methods, techniques and procedures. (Butler, 1984; Dessler, 2014).

In the process of recruitment, selection and placement, the government through Public Service Commission, Recruitment Boards at the Police Headquarters and at District level recruit select police personnel in the Bangladesh national police. There are three entry points in the recruitment process of the police department: (i) Assistant Superintendent of police (ASP), (ii) Sub-inspector (SI)/Sergeant and (iii) Constable. A Bangladeshi male or female citizen fulfilling all required eligibilities can apply for any of these three positions and gets selected

through rigorous physical and written test, oral interview as well as police verification [PRB 739, 741 and 746 of, 1943; BCS (Age, Qualification and Examination for Direct Recruitment) Rules, 2014 and BCS Recruitment Rules, 1981]. However, all senior gazetted officers in the rank of Superintendent of Police (SP) and above are placed by the government but police officers of all other ranks are placed in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) by Police Headquarters. In other words, it virtually drafts police officers from other police units or directly from the training institutions after the completion of training through Police Headquarters [Interview with Addl. DIG (Training and Planning), 2017].

7.4.1. Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP Direct Recruitment)

The recruitment and selection of the highest level of direct entry to the Bangladesh Police Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) is governed and managed by the Public Service Commission (PSC) as an element of the broader public service selection process (Bangladesh Constitution Article 137-141). In fact, an ASP is recruited through the competitive Civil Service Examination (BCS) conducted by the Bangladesh Public Service Commission (PSC). The current recruitment system of BCS is that the Ministry of Public Administration (MoPA) gathers staffing requirement from ministries and government bodies to determine the number of vacant posts and then, communicates the same to the PSC for administering the recruitment process (Interview with ex-Joint Secretary, MOPA, 2017). Based on the calculation of the vacancy of the sanctioned strength in the police department, the Police Headquarters through Home Ministry sent requisition to PSC for the recruitment of Assistant Superintendent of Police (Interview with Ex-Joint Secretary, MOHA, 2017). After receiving the requisition along with all other vacant cadre posts of all departments or ministries of the government, the public service commission makes an open advertisement inviting eligible candidates to apply against the available post and selects officers through an open competitive examination (Interview with the member of PSC, 2017).

Post-graduation or 4-year length degree or equivalent degree has been prescribed as the minimum academic qualification for any direct entry in the civil service. The process involves both written, oral, psychological and medical test. Generally, after the initial curriculum vitae screening, the eligible candidates are asked to appear at a Multiple-Choice Questions (MCQ)

preliminary examination of 100 marks to screen out the less qualified candidates. The applicants who qualify preliminary examination are invited to appear at a written test consisting of 900 marks. The candidates obtaining 50 percent marks in written test are qualified for the viva voce of 200 marks. The merit list is prepared on the basis of written and viva marks. Candidates who are selected by BPSC are required to appear at a Medical Board for Physical Examination. At the same time, candidates are required to have a police report in order to know whether there is any criminal report against them and whether the candidates are engaged in any activity subversive of the state. After completing merit list, the candidates are selected for different types of cadre based on the quota specified by the Government. Subjects for written examination are determined by Bangladesh Public Service Commission (BPSC) [BCS (Age, Qualification and Examination for Direct Recruitment) Rules, 2014 and BCS Recruitment Rules, 1981]. Officers who have given options for Police Cadre (police department) are selected on the basis of merit and quota.

Among the total sanctioned posts of ASPs, two-third is recruited directly from outside sources through the Public Service Commission and the rest one-third posts are recruited from internal source that is, through the promotion of the subordinate officers (Inspectors). [PRB 741(b) and BCS Recruitment Rules, 1981, Schedule 2-PART-XXIV]. It has been alleged that the authority does not always comply with this rule resulting in the backlog of promotion of subordinate officers to higher ranks (FGD with Subordinate officers, 2017). The direct recruitment to the post of ASP results in the appointment of some highly capable, well educated, young and energetic officers. But it constrains the ability of a great many lower ranked officers from rising higher and bringing with them significant operational and practical experience of policing. This may be considered as an adverse situation, affecting morale and lowers the attractiveness of entry for many highly capable people at lower ranks. The current process is a constraint to the long-term reform of Bangladesh Police and creates a significant divide between senior officers and other ranks. On the other hand, it helps in aligning with the officers of other departments and cadres and makes an avenue for entrance of bright, highly educated young man with a wider life experience. However, an ex-Inspector General claimed that Bangladesh Police department is like a melting pot where diverse group can work together in a regimented environment for the attainment of organizational goal (Police Reform Programme, 2010; UNDP, 2004).

ASP direct entrants are all graduates but they are not necessarily people who were specifically seeking a police career as their first choice but were those seeking general admission to the public service after graduation. The age limit for this category is 30 years and this ensures that entrants have much wider life experience than those Constables or Sub-Inspectors. However much of this time is often spent in tertiary education (Wall, 2007).

Since the beginning of direct entry to the position of class 1 officers, families encouraged their children to prepare for, take, and pass the competitive examinations to enter the civil service and get encadred to any cadre post especially preference is given for administration, foreign service and police cadre. During the British and Pakistani period, it was an honor and a privilege to be a cadre officer. But, beginning in the 1970s, the status of the civil service began to change in liberated Bangladesh by the intervention of political government such as the recruitment of the candidates on the political identity disregarding age-old rule of selection and recruitment through the examination. It has been revealed that the situation in the post-liberation Bangladesh was so precarious that the nascent government had to accommodate jobless youths who just laid down their arms. By employing them in the job, the government had really reintegrated the ex-combatant into the mainstream of life (Interview with member of PSC, 2017). It is true that the politicization and corruption that led to faulty selection, badly affected the quality of civil service and undermined the people's trust in the recruitment process. However, later on, there was the improvement of the recruitment process but the syllabus was curtailed and deviated from the earlier extensive syllabus. In fact, successive governments remove the elite status of the civil servants and the best, talented and brightest do not pursue a civil service career though it opens up the civil service to the middle classes in the liberated Bangladesh (Ahmed, 2002). The quota system has plagued the recruitment and selection process in the BCS. 55% post reservation for various categories denies meritorious individuals from entering the civil service. This process gives scope for inappropriate manipulation with too many discretionary marks for viva voce of 200 marks given to selectors (Wahhab, 2009; TIB, 2007).

7.4.2. Sub-Inspector /Sergeant Direct Recruitment

The Sub Inspector is the second-class job mid-level entry position of Bangladesh Police. The Sub Inspectors are the backbone of the police service; they are the field operatives and detective of the police department. It is upon the performance of the Sub-Inspectors that the law and order situation of the country depends to a large extent. Vacancies at the Sub-Inspector level are filled 50% by recruiting from outside sources i.e. by fresh graduates (direct entry) and 50% by recruiting from internal sources i.e. by promoting Assistant Sub-Inspectors. As there is no direct recruitment for Armed Sub Inspector (Another group of police officers having the same rank and pay structure of Sub Inspectors or Sergeants are normally engaged in riot control and the management of security of different premises and they also provide physical training to other officers), 100% officers are recruited from internal resources; i.e. by promotion from lower ranks (PRB 746). However, questions of written examinations are set and answer scripts are evaluated centrally and it is not undertaken on a district by district basis, though ultimate selection of candidates is made on a district quota basis. The direct recruitment procedure of Sub Inspector is conducted by Police Headquarters. The Board at this level is also more senior and comprises an Additional Inspector General of Police and two officers in the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG) and Superintendents level officer and a representative from Ministry of Home Affairs. Minimum educational requirement is a Bachelor Degree from a recognised University and the age parameters are raised to 19 – 27 years. For direct recruitment, the candidate is required to undergo a written examination after preliminary physical and medical screening tests which are conducted at Range (Division) level. Considerable weight is still given to the oral interview of short-listed candidates, facilitating the scope for interference and corruption in the process (PRB, 741).

The Sergeant is a mid-level entry position of Bangladesh Police. The Sergeant is directly recruited from external sources mainly for the management of traffic anywhere in Bangladesh. There is no scope for recruiting Sergeant from internal sources i.e. promoting from lower ranks. The direct recruitment procedure of Sergeants is conducted by the Police Headquarters. Graduation or equivalent degree is the minimum requirement. The selection board is similar to selection board of Sub-Inspector. Total number of written examinations is 250 and total number of viva voce

examination is 50. (PRB, 741 and 739). English and Bengali essays and composition are of 100 marks, General knowledge and mathematics are also of 100 marks and psychological test is of 50 marks. Subjects of examination are determined and questions are set by the Bangladesh Police Headquarters (PRB, 739). The selection procedure of Sergeants is almost similar to that of SI with a very few or no exception. It is to be mentioned that Sub-inspector and sergeants recruited at the mid-level tier are of the same status but the basic difference is that the sergeant has not been entrusted with the legal power to investigate any criminal cases even if it is a case of accident whereas the Sub-Inspector can investigate any case (Interview with AIG, 2017).

7.4.3. Constable Recruitment

Constable is the primary level entry position of Bangladesh Police. Constables are the public face of policing in Bangladesh. They serve the community at the most basic level. The selection process is decentralised to district level where the Superintendent of Police acts as Head of a Selection Board. This Board also generally comprises of two Additional Superintendents of Police from two neighbouring districts and a Medical Officer. SSC or equivalent degree is the minimum academic requirement with some physical and age limitations. Aspirants, who gather at police lines on a specific date published in newspaper, are tested physically, interviewed both written and oral and selected after a thorough medical screening locally at district level (PRB 746). To streamline the process, all physical, written, oral and medical tests are undertaken over two or more consecutive days. Total number allotted for written examination is 40 and viva voce is 20. Written examination questions are set and the answer scripts are assessed by each Selection Board (Interview with AIG, 2017). However, there is no consistency and uniformity, standards or evaluation mechanism across the country. This can lead to considerable variability in standards from district to district. Some restrictions may be relaxed with the availability of applicants to those who generally have few 'life skills and experiences'. No active recruitment is undertaken in academic institutions or elsewhere to target specific high-calibre candidates for recruitment, however vacancies are advertised in national newspapers. One positive aspect of the recruitment process at Constable level is the allocation of district quotas that ensure an equitable number of candidates are selected from all 64 districts. The disadvantage of this policy is that it provides 64 different points at which the process can be compromised and as the standards and merits of the

candidates varies from district to district there is no assurance that successful candidates are of an equal standard (Police Reform Programme, 2010; UNDP, 2004).

7.4.4. Colonial process of recruitment

The existing recruitment and selection system especially of Sub-Inspector and Constable follows an extremely antiquated process which has its genesis in the colonial past. The regulations governing recruitment such as the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943 and the Police Act, 1861 are irrelevant and out of context in the independent country. Direct entry at three levels does not take into account of the increasing number of highly educated individuals in Bangladesh who are becoming available as job applicants for lower level entry (Shajahan, 2006). It also constrains highly capable junior officers from progressing through the ranks as professional career officers though they gradually gain more and more field experience, knowledge and competency in preparation for subsequent senior roles. For example, only 33% of subordinate officers from the rank of Inspector are eligible to be promoted to ASP level, while 67% are direct entry recruits. On the other hand, 50% of subordinate officers from the rank of Sub-Inspector are eligible to be promoted to Inspector where as 50% are recruited directly as Sub-Inspectors [BCS Recruitment Rules, 1981 Schedule 2-PART-XXIV and PRB 741(b)]. Moreover, the quota system in all cases has plagued recruitment at all level (Shajahan, 2006). Since Police Headquarters drafts all the subordinate ranks for Dhaka Metropolitan Police from the old stock recruited under the Police Act, 1861 and the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943, it has been found that the system inherits the tradition and weaknesses of the dilapidated age-old police recruitment system which impinges the whole gamut of operational capability and efficiency in the context of policing the emerging challenges in the megacity of Dhaka. This has been further exacerbated by the persistence of the traditional and stereotype police image in the country; the rigid value system of the police without any relevance to the needs of the society though Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised and organized in the independent Bangladesh in 1976 (IBA/NIPA,1979).

7.4.5. Political intervention

The present process involved in the selection and recruitment is not transparent since it has too many subjective variables giving wider scope to severe manipulation. Accordingly, it is significantly corrupted and suffers from political interference and manipulation. Local politicians

influence the recruitment process by putting pressure on the local police (Huda, 2009). It is also alleged that the head of the selection board himself i.e. Superintendent of Police (SP) or his board members or hierarchal senior police officer may indulge in corruption and influence the selection process. It is widely reported that an applicant for appointment to Bangladesh police especially Sub-Inspectors and Constables are required to pay a bribe to secure entry. In most cases, the applicants borrow this bribe money from family and friends or sell land or other properties. At present, observers note that bribes for Constables, Sub-Inspectors and Sergeants range between Tk. 8,00,000 and Tk. 15,00,000 (Interview with Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables, 2017). The motivations for paying a bribe range from the lust for power and financial security of a government job. Bribes are also lucrative for bureaucrats in the Ministry of Home Affairs which often has the final word on appointments, transfers and promotions (The International Crisis Group, 2009). This sets up a base for institutional corruption. Therefore, Constables, Sergeants and Sub-Inspectors resort to corrupt and illegal money generating activities in order to pay back the usually large debt or regaining the sold properties. However, politically recruited persons afterwards demonstrate greater allegiance to the political party and serve the interest of the sponsor or political person by breaching rules, regulations and the spirit of law. (Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004). As it stands, the recruitment and selection process, particularly at the lower two levels, is a substantial intractable impediment to the medium and long-term reduction of corruption, political interference and inefficiency in the Bangladesh Police (The International Crisis Group, 2009).

Like the recruitment and selection procedure, placement or posting is also a source of corruption. It has been alleged that there are endemic corruption and systematic political intervention in appointment for a particular assignment. Appointments for a particular post have been alleged to be tainted by corruption and political intervention. Police officer desiring to be transferred to a particular station as officer-in-charge has to pay an amount which varies depending on the prospects of regaining the money invested for buying the assignment. SIs, ASIs, and Constables also spend handsome amount of money to get desired prize postings (Interview with Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables, 2017; Shajahan, 2006, Huda, 2009 and Khan *et al.* 1989).

7.4.6. Under representation

It is observed that women in Bangladesh Police are very much underrepresented and that Bangladesh Police is still modeled with masculine institute. This is attributed to a prejudice in Bangladesh culture that women do not have all the necessary qualities – both physical and psychological, to be effective in policing works. The total number of police women stands at 1,937 or roughly 1.5 percent of the force, which is well below the 8.5 percent average for low-income countries. (The International Crisis Group, 2009; Bangladesh Police Gender Policy 2015, Police Reform Programme, 2010).

In terms of human resources, it is imperative to build a foundation for quality police services. The recruitment and selection procedures should be reviewed to allow only at two entry points such as either Assistant Superintendent of Police and Constable or Sub-Inspector and Constable and provide for the participation of an independent third party in making appointments to ensure transparency and integrity. A benchmark of qualifications needs to be formulated to meet the highest standard of policing. In addition, the promotion system should be standardized based on merit and competence. A laid down framework under the monitoring of the oversight body with independent and constitutional status shall be made for the security of tenure to shield police officers from politically motivated transfers and removal from service and lust for gaining illegal gratification in the transfer and posting (Shajahan, 2006; Khan *et al*, 1989).

It was found in the research that the significant features of the selection scheme are the absence of a psychological test. Many experts feel that psychological testing should be incorporated in checking the emotional intelligence necessary to combat stress associated with policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Situations such as attending fatal injury cases, facing riotous situations and dealing with hot-tempered criminals, etc. affect the sensibilities of police officers and may interfere with their psychological equilibrium. Officers need to have the faculty to recover fast from such traumatic experiences so as to maintain their psychological and emotional balance. Police officers who are mentally stable and capable of functioning in stressful and adverse conditions and still, able to take right decisions are necessary for police work. Therefore, psychometric test, at selection stage, is essential to select psychologically and

emotionally suitable candidate (Khan *et al*, 1989). The police of lower echelon constitute majority of police force. But they, particularly the Constables and low ranking police officers, do not possess substantial intellectual attainments since their entry point qualification is the SSC. Their treatment and exposure to the general people is very arrogant and frightening (Karzon, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to raise the academic qualifications of the Constables.

7.4.7. Board for recruitment

The present recruitment methodology, in spite of all the recent years' refinements and improvement did not fulfill all elements for the selection of a suitable candidate in the police job. The task of recruiting 15 to 20 thousand Constables and a sizeable number of Sub-Inspectors every year cannot be left with ad-hoc arrangements to 64 Superintendents of Police in the districts who are indeed over engrossed in day to day problems of enforcement of law and order, prevention and detection of crime. Moreover, this board is tainted by the lack of transparency, uniformity and credibility. There seems to be a strong case for consideration of Police Recruitment Board for recruitment up to the level of SIs and Sergeants to obtain the best potential materials in order to ensure selection of the best available manpower (Khan *et al*, 1989; Shajahan, 2006).

7.5. Training and Development to Police Staff in DMP

Training is a process of acquiring essential knowledge, skill and attitude required to perform a job better (Jacobs & Jones, 1995). In an organization, training deals with the design and delivery of learning, the systematic development of knowledge, skill and attitude for better performance (Wall, n.d.; wall, 2007; Van Dyk *et al*.2001; Brookfield, 1986). It is a goal oriented and organized procedure by which people learn knowledge and skill for a definite purpose (Meyer, 2007). Training may have different forms, methods and dimensions. Generally, Bangladesh police conduct basic and in-service training program in the form of refresher, orientation and specialized courses for all ranks of the police force (Interview with Addl. DIG training and Planning, 2017).

Training is the systematic development of knowledge, skills, attitudes required by an individual to perform adequately a given task or job. For the nature of job, police training unlike the other department demands a different type but a high standard of curricula for the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Mathur, 1987). It is said that raw materials for police are

collected from the society, acclimatized in isolation and trained up in the styles so as to shoulder the greater responsibility for policing the society. The indoctrination and the inculcation of the ideas and ideals such as the sense of responsibility, habits and skills to accept tasks and challenges in conformity with the police job are the sine qua non for the new entrants (Zehra, 1993).

In the police department like any organization, training is very important for career development planning (Van der Waldt, 2004). Therefore, training is regarded as a continuous process to develop professional skill in order to make a police organization effective and responsive to community needs. Fundamentally, training inculcates knowledge, professional skill, appropriate attitudes of mind towards their police work and the people they come into contact with, in the discharge of their duties. It also develops the cognitive and the conative abilities of an individual and his affective responses (DeCenzo & Robbins, 2010). Police have been facing the increasing complexities of new problems in the context of rapid social changes. It is, therefore, necessary to design a good training program so as to develop both physical and mental qualities, instill ideologies and philosophies with regard to discipline, punctuality, integrity, service to people and allegiance to the state (Gore *et al*, 1971). Moreover, introduction of competency-based training to link the acquisition of skills and demonstration of competencies to further career progression is vital in the police department (Khan *et al*, 1989).

In this context, different types of training provided for different ranks of police officers in police training institutions are analyzed below:

7.5.1. Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP)

After joining the service, officers undergo one-year basic training at the Bangladesh Police Academy as probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP). This training which is a blending of classroom and field training focuses on law, physical drill in the field, driving, equestrian skills, musketry etc. After the completion of basic training, officers undergo six months of on- the- job training in a district or any other units of the police department as a probationer. There they learn actual policing by doing themselves and by seeing the activities of other officers both senior and junior. Then, they have to attend six-month long Foundation Training at Bangladesh Public Administration Training Center (BPATC). There are other professional trainings for officers conducted by both the police department and other government agencies

during their service career (PRB 789 & 790, Police Academy Manual, 1934 & Syllabus of ASP, 2010).

7. 5.2. Sub-Inspector

The Sub-Inspector known as Outside Cadets undergoes one year-long training course at Bangladesh Police Academy. The training consists of law, physical drill in the field, driving, equestrian skills and musketry etc. After the basic training, the recruits are put through another one year-long on- the- job coaching with different police units. Sub- Inspectors also undergo different in-service training courses conducted by police department and other public agencies. Like the ASP, they are not substantially appointed in the service and are not on pay roll, rather get training allowances during the training period at the Bangladesh Police Academy. After the successful completion of training, they are substantially appointed in the police department (PRB 789 & 791, Police Academy Manual, 1934 & syllabus of Outside Cadet, 2010).

7. 5.3. Sergeant

A Sergeant undergoes a six-month long training program at Bangladesh Police Academy as a Probationary Sergeant. After passing out from the academy, they are put through 6-month long orientation followed by on-the-job training in their place of posting as a probationer. In addition to these trainings, Sergeants also undergo different internal and external training courses. These include special training courses on Human Rights at Detective Training School (DTS), Criminal investigation Department and Basic Immigration Course at Special Branch and Refresher Course at Police Training Centre, Noakhali. After the successful completion of training, they may be posted at traffic divisions of various police units or non-traffic units such as police outpost, airport immigration and police station for other police works (Police Academy Manual, 1934 & syllabus of Sergeant, 2010).

7.5.4. Constable

Constables undergo a six-month basic training at different training centers, District headquarters police lines and Bangladesh Police Academy as Trainee Recruit Constable (TRC). Constables receive legal, physical and weapons training at various training centres. A Constable must pass a physical test and a written examination on legal procedure at training centres.

Different training courses are designed based on the need of the police unit for their skill development and professional growth (PRB 789, Police Academy Manual, 1934 & syllabus of Constables, 2010).

7.5.5. Training Professionals

Bangladesh police does not have a pool of professional trainers. However, police officers who have practical knowledge and field experience are transferred as a trainer to training institutes both for basic and in-service training without little consideration to their qualifications, competency and skill of imparting training to the police trainees (Interview with Addl. IG, HR and Planning, 2017 & Addl. IG Administration and Operations, 2017). A good operational police officer does not automatically make one a good trainer (Sharma & Kurukshetra, 2013); therefore, it is a gross wastage of resource and energy of those experienced officers who could show functional effectiveness in the field. But as a trainer, these officers are not qualified to serve in the training institutes. This has been further exacerbated by the reluctant and negative attitude of the police officers who also see a posting to any training institute is not a prize assignment, rather it is a punishment posting for them. Since there is no reward mechanism in place to recognize a critically important assignment as a trainer in the police department, police officers do not take pride in being a police trainer. As a result, many officers try to avoid transfer to training facilities by bribing or influencing their superiors by the powerful lobbyist (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004, the International Crisis Group, 2009). It is also alleged that the low morale of trainers also impacts the quality of training. Incentives such as special allowance and pay increases for officers posted at training facilities or allowing them to choose their next transfer could make any training institutes more attractive. Therefore, qualitative improvements in training will be elusive without incentives for police trainers, transparent policy and laid down principles involved in the process of selection and transfer to police training institutes (Shahjahan, 2006; FGD with trainers, 2017; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

Training is largely delivered in a didactic, teacher centred format and does not employ competency-based, problem-oriented approaches in compliance with adult learning principles. There is very little introductory training, virtually no programmes such as ‘training of trainers’ and no ongoing professional development for police trainers (Wall, n.d.; Police Reform Programme

2010, the International Crisis Group, 2009). While Bangladesh Police does utilize the services of ‘guest’ lecturers, resource persons and presenters from outside the police ranks, there are no external partnerships with training service providers, such as formal links to tertiary institutions. Such professional associations would assist in professionalizing police training and could eventually lead to external accreditation for the quality of training in the training institute (Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004). Moreover, the larger training institutions such as the Police Staff College, Bangladesh Police Academy, Sardah and the Detective Training School have no academic or legal professionals as staff. There is also little specialization within these institutions. This constrains the professional development of police trainers and limits the quality of the subjects they deliver (Huda, 2009; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006).

7.5.6. Training Curriculum and Materials

The basic training at all police training institutes consists of two parts- physical and academic. The existing curricula of the academic part in various courses specially for the basic training of new entrants are primarily focused on imparting knowledge and skills for the investigation of crime, the maintenance of law and order, study of law, legal procedures and the physical part on building physical fitness required for the strenuous and hazardous nature of police work (Regulations 789, 790, 791 of PRB, 1943, Police Academy Manual, 1934 & Syllabi of ASP, OC, Sergeant and Constables).

The curricula are largely a colonial legacy reinforced by enduring perceptions from the British colonial administration. Like the Police Act, 1861, little has changed at the academy and training institutes since colonial times (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; Wall, 2007; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009). New recruits are still given training on horse riding and practice of fighting with bayonets. Although Bangladesh doesn’t have a mounted police force, a trainer at the Bangladesh Police Academy, Sardah explains the horse riding is intended to instill confidence, courage and valour. The perception is that if an officer can control a wild animal like a horse, he or she can manage a district. But this type of myth is easily eroded in the practical field when they combat, encounter and fight hardened criminals, terrorist and militant outfits equipped with highly

sophisticated weapons. On the other hand, earlier bayonet was used in the battle. But now a days, it sounds ludicrously irrelevant as police neither take part in a close quarter battle nor use any bayonet in the day to day law enforcement (Kibria, 1976; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; United Nations Development Programme 2004; Shahjahan, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009). The basic training courses for Constables and Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Superintendent of police (ASP) emphasize too much on physical, weapons and drill training without giving due importance to the attitudinal change, indoctrination to service to the people and development of mental faculty of the newly recruited police personnel. Very little attention is given to basic police skills such as searching procedure for evidence, body search of an accused, self-defense, stop and search, arresting procedure and weapon handling drill, strategy and tactics for counter-terrorism, human rights and gender perspective, management and unarmed combat, mock trial, simulated practical investigation procedure and driving of vehicles etc. (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006). Moreover, it is not enough for policemen to acquire professional knowledge without proper understanding of the interplay of social forces and human behaviour. Senior officers claim that the competency based skill training and specialized training are given in their later career progression in various training institutes. However, by the intervention of Police Reform Programme (PRP), some relevant subjects such as community policing, gender perspective, human rights in the enforcement of law and order were introduced in 2008. But with the departure of donor agencies, the PRP ends prematurely and the sustainability of this initiative has been at stake (Interview with the Principal, 2017 and the Rector, 2017).

Another aspect of police training curriculum is the military regimentation. The Academy and other training institutions maintains barrack discipline, regimentation and highly rigid environment (Interview with the Principal, Academy, 2017 and FGD with trainees, 2017). Police have to work in an environment, which is democratic. Since a trainee acquires authoritarian attitudes and behavior from his training institution, he finds it difficult to deal with citizens, who expect democratic behavior from him. This type of military training was introduced by the British and it continued throughout the ages. By this time, it has become obsolete, unacceptable and irrelevant for a civil force entrusted to maintain law and order as a catalyst in the democratic society of an independent Bangladesh (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006 & Karzon, 2006). There must be a paradigm shift with a focus on training from

drill and regiments for the development of attitude through the study of social and behavioural science and modern management concept. (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004 & Shahjahan, 2006). Ultimately, a degree in police management and liberal education along with subjects connected with professional training would be more appropriate to broaden the outlook of the officers and ensure better understanding and appropriate handling of present daily problems. But opportunities for advance education and training for police officers are limited within the country and there have been a few offers to the Bangladesh police for higher studies of general subjects abroad (Khan *et al.*, 1989). A senior officer confirms that now a days, there are some officers on leave for higher studies on cyber security and transnational crime (Interview with Addl DIG Training and Planning, 2017). This was more a result of personal initiative of the officers than the offer facilitated by the initiative of the police department. Two professional courses for Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) and Outside Cadets known as Master in Police Science under the affiliation of Rajshahi University and Master of Applied Criminology and Police Management in the Police Staff College have been introduced respectively (Interview with Principal, 2017 and Rector, 2017). But Constables who are the bulk of the police force in Bangladesh remain beyond these courses. Therefore, Constables are unable to take a broader policing role at least in the context of knowledge, skill and attitude (FGD with Constables, 2017). Since the curriculum of most institutions does not align with contemporary needs and far too little on preparing the recruits for the reality of the role, police officers in contemporary Bangladesh are unable to perform the job the community expects of them.

In this context, it has been revealed that there is no noticeable implementation of the training management cycle specially training need assessment (TNA) for each category of police officers, exploration of performance gap, formulation of training objectives, curriculum design, identification of methodology and short and long term evaluation of the training imparted at various training institutes. There is no initiative of the capacity building of the training institutes, no expertise and resources to support extensive training material production. These are the key factors why the existing curricula are so out of date (Wall, n.d.; 2007; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004].

7.5.7. Strategy

There is no holistic training strategy for Bangladesh Police. Therefore, there is no clear articulation of the current training baseline and no blueprint for future training directions. In the recent past, Bangladesh police formulated three strategic plans incorporating the broader aspects of training for Bangladesh police (Bangladesh Police Strategic Planning, 2008-2010; 2012-14 & 2016-2020). An analysis reveals that it does not contain any mechanism to link new directions in Bangladesh police policy and strategy to new training needs and then to new training programmes. Even, the strategic plan does not take into consideration the capacity of the police department to plan, implement and evaluate the ongoing regular and new trainings. There is also a focus on training rather than learning. The approach to the professional development of police is considered by many to the province of training institutions, and not to supervisors and managers in the workplace (Interview with ex-IG, 2018).

7.5.8. Capacity

There are a number of different police training institutions functioning in Bangladesh. Without exception, they do not have the institutional capacity to meet the demand for training. The physical facility at the training institute is not sufficient enough to cope with the increasing numbers of new recruits since the sanctioned strength of police personnel augmented overtime and currently, demand for training exceeds capacity of the training institutes (Interview with Addl. DIG, Training and Planning, 2017). The worst scenario is the ad-hoc arrangement of training facilities developed at Divisional, Armed Police Battalion Units and Districts Headquarters police lines. It lacks proper training environments, supportive staff and other facilities necessary to make the training meaningful and effective (Police Reform Programme, 2010). However, there is no effective, coordinated system of in-service training and workplace learning critical to maintaining the standard of police skills. There is no minimum mandatory requirement for training days for police officers and most of them specially Constables receive virtually no training for years in the whole service career after completing the basic training. This has hugely impacted upon the efficiency of police performance (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Wall, 2007; Shahjahan, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

7.5.9. Coordination

There is little collaboration between the primary training institutions and trainers. Specifically, there is little coordination between the activities and staff of the Police Academy, Sardah and the Zonal Police Training Centres at Noakhali, Tangail, Khulna and Rangpur organized for imparting training to Trainee Recruit Constable (TRC), (Discussion with Commandants, 2017). A module was developed for Constables which is out of date requires edition, modification and inclusion of new subjects. There are no centrally developed modular training packages for other officers distributed among the training institutions to ensure consistency of approach and delivery (Interview with Addl. DIG Training and Planning, 2017). There is no regular forum that brings all training specialists together to analyze and develop new responses to training needs or delivery techniques. Accordingly, there are few economies of scale, significant duplication of effort and considerable inconsistency between the training content and delivery standards of the different institutions (Wall, n.d.; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

7.5.10. Resources

Equipment and training materials are in very short supply in most training institutions. Training has a very low priority among the range of competing interests and functions of the police department. Generally, the classrooms and administration areas in all training institutions are substantially less than necessary to achieve the minimum desirable outcome. Living accommodation is very poor. The situation with regard to equipment, particularly computers, teaching aids and consumables is no different. A very small percentage of the police budget is currently allocated to training (Wall, n.d.; 2007; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; the International Crisis Group, 2009].

The officers of various ranks undergoing basic training at various training institutes reveal that they were forced to bribe the instructors. Otherwise, they might be unsuccessful in the final test. Non-compliance with their demands entails more regimentation in the movement, extra drill and punishment etc. Therefore, it is perceived that no police can pass the basic training courses without giving bribes. This is supported by a survey that 75% of trainees who bribed the instructors had passed the course (Shajahan, 2006).

The most frustrating aspect is that Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is the largest unit of Bangladesh police. It has no organized training institution. Even, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) itself does not provide any sort of basic training for any level of officers. Only induction training and sometimes a few skill developments training for only lower ranks usually Constables are provided in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) (Interview with DC, Force, 2018).

7.6. Promotions and Transfers in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)

7.6.1. Promotion

Promotion is the advancement of an employee to a better job with greater responsibility, more status, greater skill and especially increased rate of pay or salary (Pigours and Myers, 2010). In other words, promotion is the upward reassignment of an individual in an organization's hierarchy, accompanied by increased responsibilities, enhanced status and usually with higher pay (Arun and Mirza, 1997).

Since the first class gazetted officers of Bangladesh police are recruited by the Public Service Commission (PSC) and appointed by the government, promotion of all these officers are made by the government based on the laid down policies and regulations. In fact, there are various types of promotion committee to recommend the eligible candidate for promotion. The Board for Assistant Commissioner to Deputy Commissioner known as the Departmental Promotion Committee and the Board for Joint Commissioner to Police Commissioner known as the Senior Selection Board are empowered to evaluate the performance based on the record of an individual candidate for promotion (BCS recruitment Rules Schedule 2). Inspector General of Police (IGP) is a member in the former board but not even a member in the latter board, not to talk about the Police Commissioner (PC). Therefore, neither Police Headquarters (PHQs) nor Dhaka Metropolitan Police has anything to do in the process of promotion of senior officers except the institutional support such as keeping and submitting the service record etc. Interestingly, there is no written or oral examination for promotion except the performance appraisal made in the Annual Confidential Report (ACR). However, only Assistant Commissioner (AC) either directly appointed or departmentally promoted appears at a confirmation examination conducted by the Public Service Commission (PSC). Since then, there is no written or oral examination for promotion during the

whole service career (interview with ex-IGP, 2018; the Bangladesh Civil Service (Police) Composition and Cadre Rules, 1980, Part-XXIV).

Inspectors are non-cadre first class gazetted police officer. When they are promoted to the rank of Assistant Police Commissioners, they become members of the Bangladesh Civil Service (Police) and therefore, are appointed by the President of the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh in compliance with the recommendations made by the Public Service Commission (BPSC) and the Departmental Promotion Committee (DPC). Promotion is given on the basis of performance appraisal and seniority. There is no written or oral test for Inspector. All Promoted Assistant Police Commissioners shall ordinarily be on probation for one year (Bangladesh Civil Service Recruitment Rules, 1981; the Bangladesh Civil Service [Police] Composition and Cadre Rules, 1980, Part-XXIV).

In consonance with the entry points, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) aligning with the Bangladesh police offers better opportunity for career progression for subordinate officers. Therefore, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) follows the promotion policy based on the rules and regulations framed by the government. Sub-Inspectors and Sergeants are promoted to the rank of Inspector. Selection of sub-Inspectors and Sergeants fit for promotion to the rank of Inspector for inclusion in the approved list is made by a Committee under the Inspector General of Police (the Junior Police Service Rules, 1969). Procedure involved in the promotion of subordinate ranks (excluding Inspector) is made by Dhaka Metropolitan Police itself. Virtually, like other units of the Bangladesh police, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) conducts written examination on law, knowledge on parade and oral interview on competency. In addition to the merit list prepared on the result of promotion examination, Annual Confidential Report (ACR) and service record are taken into consideration for promotion (MOHA Memo-493 P-10 M-129/90 (2) Dated 9-991).

As a rule, the promotion of police officers irrespective of rank and status is given on the basis of performance appraisal known as Annual Confidential Report (ACR) and satisfactory service record but it does not happen always. The recent trend is that, in some cases, political consideration and bribery in the process of promotion plague the fair, transparent and merit based promotion in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Sometimes, officers are branded as politically affiliated with opposition political parties or blamed for disfavoring the ruling party when they were

in opposition party. Sometimes, serious allegation of integrity in the work place or lack of competency in performing job in compliance with legal dictates are also levelled against officers. The first casualty is that the officer is deprived of the promotion as a punishment or transferred to other units. It may also happen that they are either made Officer on Special Duty (OSD) without any assignment or forcefully retired without showing any cause which has been construed as the flagrant violation of fundamental human rights (Discussion with senior police officers, 2017).

In the subordinate ranks, there are promotion examinations held annually in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) but the evaluation of examination paper lacks uniformity and standard since the Police Commissioner organizes a good numbers of examination boards and every board has its own discretion to evaluate it in its own way. When inquired about the formation of numerous boards, it has been revealed that a huge number of subordinate officers take promotion examinations making it very difficult to manage and handle by a single board (Interview with the Police Commissioner, 2017). There is no system of sending answer script to other units for evaluation though questions are set by Police Headquarters for holding the examination throughout all the police units in Bangladesh. However, the promotion examination for sub-Inspectors aspiring for promotion to Inspector is conducted centrally by the Police Headquarters (Interview with Additional IG HR &P, 2017). Viva-voce and drill test for subordinate ranks offers wider scope of manipulation and discretionary power to favour or disfavor any candidate. It sounds a discriminatory approach that there is no competency based written or oral interview for senior level officers for promotion except the performance appraisal submitted in the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) (Interview with ex-Joint Secretary, MOPA, 2017). Another frustrating phenomenon is that passing in the examination and inclusion in the approved list of the subordinate officers for promotion does not necessarily mean that the officer of subordinate ranks shall be promoted unless there is any clear vacancy of a substantive post. The validity of the promotion list is for one year. If the officer is not promoted at all within this year, he shall have to take the promotion examination again for inclusion in the promotion list. There is another aspect that a subordinate officer with better score may manage to go for another unit where he may occupy the top position in the approved list of the unit because of his higher score. This gives the better possibility and opportunity for promotion as soon as the substantive vacancy occurs. It has been alleged that this type of transfer

is made by illegal means and it certainly affects the prospect of promotion of officers included in the approved list of the unit (FGD with subordinate officers, 2018).

The promotional policy has long adherence to historical legacy. The position of Assistant Commissioner of Police is filled up 1/3rd by promotion from amongst Inspectors of Police and 2/3rd by direct recruitment. On the other hand, the position of Sub-Inspectors is filled up 50% by direct recruitment and 50% from feeder posts (MOHA Memo-493 P-10 M-129/90 (2) Dated 9-991; the Bangladesh Civil Service (Police) Composition and Cadre Rules, 1980, Part-XXIV). The entry of candidates at Assistant Superintendent of Police (the same rank and status of Assistant Commissioner of Police) level without previous police experience means that they take considerable time before gaining police-relevant technical, supervisory and management skills. It has also been alleged that higher level entry at Assistant Superintendent of Police level is blocking the upward movement of the vast majority of Sub Inspectors and Inspectors. Lengthy stays at these ranks (regularly 18 - 20 years) is breeding inefficiency, indifference and corruption and is driving down performance and morale (UNDP, 2004; the International Crisis Group, 2009). Similarly, recruitment at the Sub Inspector level also denies upward promotion prospects for most Constables. It is clear that a higher calibre recruit is required at the Constable level and is arguably required at Sub-Inspector level. Since it is very difficult to implement without opening upward movement prospects, it will compound frustrations at lower levels which, in the long run, constrains the capacity of the subordinate police officers to become more efficient and competent. The promotional structure within the police system is not conducive to the fulfillment of the legitimate career ambition of the constabulary. A large majority of Constables retire as Constable without even one rank promotion in entire career (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004).

7.6.2. Transfer

Transfer is the moving of an employee from one job to another. It may involve a promotion, demotion or no change in job status other than moving from one job to another. In fact, it is a lateral shift causing movement of individuals from one position to another usually without any marked change in duties, responsibilities, skills needed for compensation (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

The government appoints Assistant Police Commissioner up to Police Commissioner in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Virtually, all officers subordinate to Police Commissioner are placed under the disposal of Police Commissioner who transfers and appoints them anywhere in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Police Headquarters only places officers of subordinate ranks under the control of Police Commissioner. In turn, the Police Commissioner, the Additional Police Commissioner and the Joint Police Commissioner place or relocate all officers under the disposal of the head of unit such as Deputy Police Commissioner (DPC) who finally reallocates all officers put under his jurisdiction. Officers of all ranks spend usually two years at each duty station but sometimes, a large number of subordinate officers are rotated from one place to another in less than a year. This type of untimely transfer becomes a sole point of grievance of subordinate ranks. In their view, the transfers were too frequent, ad-hoc and arbitrary in nature and were mostly ordered as a means of punishment and harassment sometimes due to the influence of local politicians. Frequent transfers decrease skill and efficiency level of the subordinate officers and increase the corruption among officers (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006 & the International Crisis Group, 2009). Citizens and officers alike complain that transfers result in a loss of police efficiency and lower skill levels. Frequent transfers make it difficult to develop trusting relationships whereby accountability is established through greater personal interaction. Once a police officer develops local knowledge and builds trust with the community, he is transferred which seriously hampers policing in the jurisdiction since crime control and law enforcement is very difficult without the local support of the people.

Transfers also strain family finances and relationships, resulting in low morale of officers. For instance, an officer transferred from one unit to another in the middle of the year, has to encounter difficulty for paying two accommodations, one for his family in the old station and one for himself at his duty station. Schooling for children is a factor in Dhaka city. If the children are in a good school now and if he moves them to another place, they may not be able to get into another good one. It is very difficult to get children moved every time officer gets transferred (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

Abuse of the transfer system encourages corruption, politicization of the force, and promotes passivity in police activities. It is alleged that officers can't carry out their duties when they are so insecure about jobs and positions all the time in Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Virtually, there is no safeguard against arbitrary transfer and no right to appeal to higher authority. As a matter of policy, officers should remain at their duty station for two years before being transferred, but police expert argues that the police should serve three or four years in a station. This could allow officers to develop requisite skills and local knowledge for effective crime control and build the relationships necessary for successful community policing efforts (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Police Reform Programme 2010; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

Transfers are often made wrongly for political and extraneous reasons. It is revealed that politicians intervene in the transfer of officer from one place to another when the political leadership finds that officers are not working in accordance with their dictates. Sometimes, there may be genuine ground that officers are not performing well or engaging themselves in corrupt practices. However, politicians say that there is no way to manage police officers except by using the tool of transfer. If the fear of transfer goes away, the country would be ruled by police and the political leaders would become redundant (Interview with a member of Parliament, 2017). On the other hand, in violation of the service rules and code of conduct, police officers themselves approach political leaders for transfer from one assignment to another prize posting always in exchange for huge amount of money if they could not manage the officers empowered to transfer him. There are systematic allegation of widespread corruption and bribery in the process of transfer involving the senior police officers. Motivated transfers can be avoided only when the government would be able to establish accountability at all level and provide merit based compensation and promotion and eliminate corruption in government. Till such time, frequent transfers are inevitable (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004 & the International Crisis Group, 2009).

7.7. Leadership in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)

Leadership is very important in every organization since leadership enables each member to lead its organization to the pinnacle of success (Gardner, 1993; Hughes *et al*, 2005, Prince *et al*, 2003). In fact, the essence of leadership is the ability to obtain the highest quality of service from each member of the organization. In other words, leadership is the process of influencing the

behavior of others to work willingly and enthusiastically for achieving pre-determined goals (Giuliani, 2002; Schein, 1992; Hohnson, 2001, Davar, 1996). Thus, leadership is essentially a relationship through which one person influences the behavior or actions of other people (Arthur and David, 2010). In fact, a leader has the ability to win the confidence, inspire the loyalty and maintain the enthusiastic interest and support of subordinates for the attainment of organizational goal (Arthur and David; 2010; Wilson, 1950).

In the context of police organization, leadership plays a critical role in the enforcement of law and order in the society. In fact, the quality of leadership is the most important trait in a police officer. Police leadership stimulates and influences members to use their energies willingly and appropriately to facilitate the attainment of goals set up by the police organization (Kibria, 1976). A successful police leader promotes *esprit de corps* among the subordinate, develops human relationship by recognizing and fulfilling their individual and collective needs. In fact, police leadership does not only lead its people but also manage through motivation the under command police officer as the human resource for the attainment of organizational goal (Vadackumchery, 1999). In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, all officers whether senior or junior are appointed leaders with defined responsibility bound down by rules and regulations. Even, a Constable, a rank lowest in the police hierarchy, by virtue of his work experience and seniority, can command a small section of people and may act in response to any critical situation and apply the discretion of a leader. By such leadership, the officer may influence and stimulate the under-command to achieve the objectives of the police (Kibria, 1976, FGD with subordinate ranks, 2018).

Since the inception of Dhaka Metropolitan Police as a specialized police unit, members of the service especially mid-level and subordinate officers have been chosen and appointed at a young age. The objective has been to attract bright, highly qualified young people to assume leadership role at an early stage. It is expected to enhance integrity and dynamism in the police leadership. But in spite of that, over the last several decades, political expediency and interference in the day to day law enforcement have compromised the operational autonomy provided to officers of Dhaka Metropolitan Police and guaranteed by the constitution, law and regulation (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006). The governments from time to time have abused the power of appointment and transfer, deprived the promotion, gave untimely forced

retirement, stripped off duties and privileges. There were several attempts to reform the police but successive governments have made the mockery of recommendations of many police commission to make it as pro-people, credible, responsible and democratic civil law enforcement apparatus based on the foundation of good governance (Interview with ex IGP, 2017). As a result, the police leadership today has become self-centered, arrogant and reactive. Seeking political patronage and promoting self-interest to the detriment of organization has become the norms of the day (Huda, 2009; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

In the harrowing political condition and grave law and order situation, leadership suffers from serious image crisis for partisan outlook. In fact, police stand between two fires when they encounter large scale political demonstration, labour strike and student unrest etc. Without making any resolution proactively, successive government preferred to quell the disturbance, suppressed the political dissent ruthlessly by the brutal force. Police leadership acted in compliance with the dictate of the ruling party. Virtually, police have become a pawn in the hands of the unscrupulous politicians. This portrays poorly the image of the police as the most repressive and anti-public arms of the government (Huda, 2009; Karzon, 2006). In the absence of democratic policing practices, police leadership becomes authoritarian in the enforcement of law and order, consider police profession as a force, never a service as the harbinger of peace and security. It is the leadership who abides by the illegal order of the political master. This has eroded the public confidence in the police and made a cumulative effect in the image crisis of police leadership (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; Shahjahan, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

The police department is, by nature, a service organization. Therefore, police activities are constantly scrutinized by social leaders, politicians, businessman and the press. Keeping in view the public good, the police are expected to enlist their support for public goods. Leadership shall withstand the evil, criminal and corruptive influence. It is essential to improve the quality of service through a combination of teamwork and community involvement in decision making for the enforcement of law and order with a focus on especially the disadvantaged weaker section of society and an appropriate environment where servant leadership model can be of immense utility (Smith, 2001; Kouzes & M. 1995). In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, this is very much conspicuous by its absence in forging a robust, credible and sustainable but collaborative

partnership effort between the community and the police for the maintenance of law and order in the metropolitan area (UNDP, 2015). By virtue of the nature of job, police come into contact with various forces. While leading the police force, police officers in Dhaka Metropolitan Police fail to understand the social forces at work (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; Wall, 2007).

7.8. Motivation

Motivation is an important factor in bringing about the change of behavior and attitude of the personnel for the accomplishment of responsibilities and the attainment of organizational goals (Melnicoe & Mennig, 1978; Allen, 1978). What cannot be achieved by other means, can only be achieved by motivation. Therefore, managers motivate the personnel under their control in the positive way quite in conformity with the goals of the department. Otherwise, high expectation of better service with integrity, transparency is sure to decline. In fact, motivation increases work and gives supervisors the upper hand over the subordinates who assume greater responsibility, work with more enthusiasm, correct their deficiencies, use more initiative, follow directions better and attain goals effectively (Berman, 1987; Bunyard, 1979). Incentives such as recognition, praise, opportunity for development, welfare and fair treatment by supervisors are strong forces in motivating people and can be directly controlled by supervisors (Butler, 1992; Leonard, 1951; Nathan *et al*, 2013; Parmar, 1992).

Motivation is more important in the police department. If police officers are not motivated by ethical standard, dedication ideals, mission and vision of the department, it is very difficult to get the service of maintaining law and order, peace and security in the society (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1990; Raghavan, 1999). In this context, an analysis reveals that there are numbers of demotivating factors for police officers associated with the policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Subordinate officers stated various elements such as partisan outlook of the senior officers in giving due recognition and appreciation of the work they do every day sometimes risking their lives. A sub-Inspector alleges that there was an occasion where senior officer grabbed the gallantry award by depriving the real hero who showed extraordinary valour and courage in a pitched battle against terrorists in Dhaka Metropolitan area (FGD with subordinate ranks, 2018). Moreover, there are enormous discretion given in the legal code but senior officers with ulterior motive of personal gain or dictated by political element, intervene in their work in the name of supervision and

guidance sometimes preventing them from doing the rightful work legally authorized them to perform (Huda, 2009). Another perennial concern is that some senior officers demand illegal gratification which forces them to follow unethical practice in their work and thus, they get themselves involved in corruption. Subordinate officers cannot turn down their demand in anticipation of the fear of harassment, unfair treatment and punishment (Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009). It has been also revealed that the press and the electronic media are highly critical without understanding the whole episode and misrepresent the police action that damages the police image. Sometimes, it happens that the entire police personnel bear the whole burden of blame, accusation, image crisis, mistrust and disrepute for an individual officer's misdeed. All these revelations were not refuted by some retired police officers who served in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) in various capacities (The International Crisis Group, 2009).

7.9. Morale

Morale is a state of mind reflecting the degree to which an individual has confidence in the members of his group and in the organization, believes in its objectives and desires to accomplish them (Melnicoe & Mennig, 1978). It means specifically spirit, mental attitude, level of optimism, strength, self-confidence, self-assurance, resolution and esprit- de- corps. It is a catalyst among the personnel which stimulates their potential and improves zeal in their work. Morale in employees is generated through various incentives, awards, rewards, recognition and appreciation. But an ill-conceived act of a supervisor, a display of partiality, an act of unfairness, unjustified criticism by people, literature against police or the like may adversely affect the morale of the group or the individual (Butler, 1992).

Morale is an outcome of motivation. Employee's morale is said to be high when they feel enthusiastic, disciplined and optimistic about their work, and is said to be low or poor when they are dissatisfied and frustrated with their jobs. When police personnel are demoralized, it affects their performance. In Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), there are always some factors for low morale of police. Police specially the subordinate ranks perform long and impossible hours of duty. By doing so, they do not get any overtime compared to other services of the government (Huda, 2009). There is the tremendous pressure of job. Therefore, police cannot enjoy social life. Even their social status is very low. The subordinate officers can hardly manage any accommodation for

living with the family in Dhaka city. More so, majority of Constables live in barrack that lacks spatial facilities and the food supplied in the mess gives a vivid show of sub-human standard of existence of Constables in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Constables who are entitled to live outside the barrack could not simply afford to rent a house for family accommodation in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). A large number of Constables and others of lower hierarchy regimented into the barrack life without any physical connection of his spouse. They have a sense of deprivation of the basic human rights (FGD with a group of field officers, 2017).

Police personnel become over fatigued by multifarious duties and jobs, continuous shifting duty at night and frequent operation at night. This may tell heavily upon the body and mind of the police personnel. In addition to these health-related issues, family and general lifestyle are also important matters. Because of the nature of police work and sometimes negative public reaction, the officer including spouses and children may have adjustment problems. Officers have difficulty in communicating their feelings about the job or they may go through personality changes as a result of their experiences. This can result in serious marital problems and divorce. Since police have to work always in such adverse situation, he has to pass through mental crisis. But in Dhaka Metropolitan Police, there is no formal or informal organization for the stress management. This is imperative for the welfare of the personnel working in the police department (Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

Police officers are more autocratic in managerial style. The autocratic style in day to day police management is justified by the nature of job policemen perform in the discharge of their duties. Police have to work in an inhospitable region always against the odds of the society. As a result, police managers think that the strict disciplinary code of conduct is necessary for policemen for the maintenance of high professionalism. The imposition of strict disciplinary code of conduct cannot be always compromised with the welfare and benefits of the policemen. Subordinate officers allege that the regimented culture and behavior does not allow the slightest violation of the code of conduct that may be met by rigorous punishment such as extra drill, withdrawal from duty and censure (Shahjahan, 2006).

Subordinate officers have little access to the higher echelon though Police Headquarters has ordered to hold a welfare meeting once in a month with a view to redressing their grievance.

In this meeting, it has been alleged that officers listen to them without giving any redress to the genuine grievance (FGD with a group of field officers, 2017). Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) does not have any vertical mobility in career planning. The bulk of the police force is police constabulary. They are treated at par with unskilled labourers and 80 percent of them retire in the same rank after serving the police force for more than 30 years. Rewards and commendation are very few (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2018). Leave, posting and transfer are arbitrarily given with little consideration to the meritorious and competent officers (FGD with a group of field officers, 2017). Unfounded criticism, pouring of literature against the police in press without shedding a single glimpse of light on police chivalry, heroism and gallantry works shatters the very fabric of police morale. In some of the Hindi and English films, a police hero becomes a potential image in making a real protagonist in the society where people are hemmed in between groups for personal gains. This certainly elevates the public esteem of police personnel. Unfortunately, this is very much conspicuous by its absence in Bangla films and press media which portray the police as an antagonist and villain in the public eye, thus, making a potential enemy to the society as a whole (Huda, 2009).

7.10. Discipline

Discipline is a force that prompts an individual or group to observe rules, regulations and procedures necessary to the attainment of an objective. In other words, it is a fear of force that restrains individuals or groups from doing things that are deemed destructive to group objectives (Nathan *et al*, 2013; Ghosh, 1971). Generally, it is understood of an action taken against an employee who has been guilty of some violations of good behavior and code of conduct. But this type of action is always branded as negative discipline. In its positive meaning, it can be thought of as a form of training and a constructive tool of leadership used to eliminate weakness and prevent its reappearance (Melnicoe & Mennig, 1978; Chatterjee, 1973).

Like the Bangladesh police, Dhaka Metropolitan Police have assumed the quasi-military character. Therefore, the nature of police discipline is quite different from other organizations (Khan *et al*, 1989). In fact, discipline is the essence of police service and key to efficient police administration. If discipline cannot be maintained and enforced in the police service, nothing can be done effectively, efficiently and timely (Ghosh, 1989; Mishra, 1970). The administration of

prompt, fair and effective disciplinary action is essential to effective operations and good employee relations. The supervisor takes steps to correct workers who breaks the rules of good behavior or to rid the department of uncooperative, incompetent, or dishonest employees (Melnicoe & Mennig, 1978). The best disciplined police forces are the best trained and, for this reason, they are the least punished. Well-disciplined employees accept and live according to certain behavior patterns, voluntarily and often without conscious effort or thought. Characteristics of poor discipline are low morale, lackadaisical attitude toward job, superiors, the department and the public, lack of direction or objective, inattention to duty, violations of rules and regulations, disregard for the rights of the public, resulting in the loss of public confidence and trust (Begum, 1996; Bhardwaj, 1978).

DMP Ordinance, 1976 lists some offences for which a police officer can be disciplined or prosecuted such as: a willful breach or neglect of any rule or regulation or lawful order, withdrawal from duties of the office or being absent without permission or reasonable cause, engaging without authority in any employment other than their police duty, cowardice and causing any unwarrantable violence to any person in their custody. The penalty for these offences ranges between a fine of up to three months' pay to imprisonment of up to three months or a combination of both (DMP Ordinance, 1976, Section 12).

In practice, the authority of police leadership in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) has eroded over time by political interference, leading to a loss of discipline in the force. Officers irrespective of rank and status developed a tendency to seek outside patronage for rewards and protection against punishment, a serious violation of code of conduct (Shahjahan, 2006). There are also allegations that Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) sometimes suppress incidents of misconduct by individual police officers because the revelation of the facts could damage the image of the police force. All these serve as the reasons for decline in the effectiveness of departmental mechanisms to ensure police accountability (Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009, FGD with a group of field officers, 2017). Though the police authority always claims that they do punish a good number of police officers each year (On an average major punishment 1.75% and minor punishment roughly 2% of the forces) for their wrongdoings, people do not see any visible outcome of such internal accountability mechanism. Day by day, it is alleged that the

incidents of police misconduct, encroachment of legal process and abuse of power are increasing (FGD with members of civil society, 2017).

7.11. Authority, responsibility and accountability

In every society, police have been entrusted with the prime responsibility to enforce law and order within the framework of legal process (Bayley, 2006; Sharma, 1998). In order to fulfil this responsibility, therefore, police exercise discretionary legal authority, supported by functional autonomy and resources commensurate with its requirements. However, in any democratic society based on the rule of law, such authority and autonomy are not absolute, rather these are balanced with clearly defined formal system of accountability (Murtaugh, and Michael, 2010; UNODC, 2010). It means that the police officers are individually as well as collectively responsible for effectively delivering basic services of crime control and maintaining law and order, while treating individuals fairly and within the bounds of law and are held responsible if they fail to do so (Wikipedia, 2018). Therefore, accountability means a system of internal and external checks and balances in order to prevent the police from misusing their powers and deter political authorities from abusing their control over the police. This process of accountability enhances public confidence and establish police legitimacy for effective policing (Law Teacher, 2013; Philipp and Anders, 2003).

In the course of carrying out duties, police may fail to do something that gives occasions of the violation of operational and legal norms and procedure. Generally, people do not like to complain against police officers if it is rudeness or high-handed behaviour which does not amount to aggression, and the aggrieved person may be satisfied with an excuse. But police may commit some serious offences such as custodial violence and death, neglect of duty, false statements and entries in official documents, destroying or altering official documents and records, abuse of authority, unnecessary violence, illegal arrests, corrupt and improper practices and forced disappearance etc. These require a formal process to investigate into the alleged violation of law, commission and omission of offences for appropriate action (Law Teacher, 2013; Interview with ex IGP, 2018).

In all countries, police are answerable to multiple organizations and bodies. Generally, the police are accountable to the line of command within the police force and also to external

authorities, such as Ministry of Home Affairs, judiciary, Parliament, National Human Rights Commission and media etc. (Murtaugh, and Michael, 2010; UNODC, 2010). The key players in establishing police accountability are police officers themselves since they are primarily responsible for the integrity of the police force (Philipp and Anders, 2003; Cole *et al.* 2008). In Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), individual police officer is accountable for many of their activities to officers senior to them. Senior officers through the rank structure in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) establish accountability by controlling and supervising the works of the subordinate. If there is any deviation, senior officer can initiate appropriate action against him within the framework of law. The practice is that people can file a complaint directly with the police, usually with the Officer-in –Charge, line officers and Police Commissioner (PC), who then, decide on the next steps, which could include an investigation. Ultimately, all officers are answerable to the Police Commissioner for their actions (DMP Ordinance, 1976 and Rules, 2006). But there is no clear-cut institutional set up to receive any complaint or no dedicated body to watch over the police activities in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). However, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is under the control and supervision of Police Headquarters (PHQS). A specialized wing named as ‘Police Internal Oversight’ (PIO) was set up in 2007 in Police Headquarters to oversee and monitor operational aspects and collect intelligence about the activities of the police officers across the country including Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). This Internal Oversight is headed by an Assistant Inspector General in Police Headquarters and directly reports to the Inspector General of Police.⁸ Accountability mechanisms to check police abuses in Dhaka Metropolitan Police have been so far largely ineffective.⁹

In both the cases, people of Dhaka megacity feel reluctant to file a complaint about the police with the police themselves for varieties of reasons. (a) effective accountability requires a proper complaints system that is easily accessible to the public and that can effectively investigate allegations and recommend disciplinary sanctions or refer cases for criminal prosecution (UNODC, 2010; Bayley, 2006; Philipp and Anders, 2003; Cole *et al.* 2008; Commonwealth

⁸ <http://www.police.gov.bd/>

⁹ <http://www.nipsa.in/bangladesh>

Human Rights Initiative, 2007). But it is very difficult for common people to approach any officer in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) to lodge a complaint against the delinquent officer for investigation. If the complainant manages to meet officers with an allegation, he or she apprehends reprisals and harassment from delinquent officers. (b) Moreover, the common perception is that police officers would not really like to investigate into any complaint made against their fellow colleague police officer by an aggrieved member of the community. People allege that police investigation into any complaints raised against their own people fail to guarantee the transparency and neutrality of the procedure. (c) It is also revealed that in most of the cases complaints against police are not taken seriously, and are covered up by internal investigation without any visible outcome of the investigation. (d) Sometimes, it happens that police do not investigate their immediate colleagues in order to avoid any conflict of interest. Moreover, police consider that there is no scope to favour the fellow colleague since the public want to see the investigation as unbiased and impartial (Discussion with members of civil society, 2018). (e) The right to complain about alleged police misconduct and to have the complaint investigated in a prompt and impartial way has not been enshrined in the Dhaka Metropolitan Ordinance, 1976 and Dhaka Metropolitan Rules, 2006.

7.11.1. Ministry of Home Affairs

The Ministry of Home Affairs or the Ministry of Interior plays an important role in the security architecture of the country. It provides guidance, develops the national vision on policing, drafts operational guidelines and evaluates compliance with those guidelines (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007; UNODC, 2010). The Ministry of Home Affairs in Bangladesh also guides the operational and financial conduct of officers individually and collectively and takes action for correction and deviation. If there are any reported cases of deviances, the Ministry investigates into it and if necessary, takes disciplinary proceedings against the delinquent officers. But people are not aware of the action taken against police officers in the context of barrage of allegations raised against officers in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). It

has no separate inspecting body to investigate into any event of allegation.¹⁰ (Discussion with members of civil society, 2018).

7.11.2. Judiciary

The experts feel that police should be answerable to law and law alone. It is the law which police enforce; it is again the law which binds them down and holds them responsible if there is any violation (UNODC, 2010). However, the functional independence of police is also backed by the other agencies of the criminal justice system. In spite of that, judiciary plays an important role in police accountability, especially the judge who finally decides whether police have acted in conformity with the law. Police are answerable to the courts for the way they exercise their powers in the investigation of a case, apprehension of criminals, clearance of a case and finally the prosecution of a case. Police officers may also be subject to civil or criminal court proceedings (Cole *et al.* 2008; Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007; Miller, 2002). There are a few cases where judiciary takes cognizance of criminal offences against police in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) when there is a specific public litigation cases levelled against any police officer. Even in cases of police firing, Assistant Commissioner and above are empowered to order firing and conduct executive enquiry for the justification of firing since the Ordinance bars the intervention of the District Magistrate. If there is an occasion of commission of criminal case, police lodge the criminal case against the accused police and investigate it (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2018, DMP Ordinance, 1976).

7.11.3 Parliament

Public accountability through elected leaders lies at the heart of the democratic system. In a democratic political theory, the elected public representatives and parliamentarians exercise cautious review and watch over the police personnel for the fulfilment of people's mandate with a vision to lead the country to the pinnacle of glory, development and progress. Therefore, political government devises means and ways to guide the police, provides clear policy direction, prepares policing plans and sets standards or performance indicators, establishes integrity, transparency and

¹⁰ www.mha.gov.bd/

accountability to get the work done for the greater welfare of the people (UNODC, 2010; Bayley, 1969). Parliaments also approve laws that accord with international human rights principles and facilitate policing with integrity for which police are to be held accountable. It is believed that a police force free from the political direction can easily degenerate into an unaccountable force that may undermine the foundation of democracy. The coercive power of the police can easily encroach on liberty unless it is guided by responsible political direction. But appropriate democratic government control entails the existence of clear and transparent procedures defining appropriate political direction and well-functioning accountability systems (Murtaugh, and Michael, 2010; Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2005; Miller, 2002). But in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), there is no clear-cut and transparent procedures defining appropriate political control over police in order to reduce illegitimate interference. Therefore, political intervention for personal or group interest is endemic in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) preventing the police from the rightful work in accordance with law. Such activities range from recruitment, selection, appointment, posting, transfer to day to day policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). In fact, political interference has been the major threat to professional and impartial policing with integrity (Huda, 2009).

7.11.4 National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of Bangladesh is an autonomous public body constituted in 2009 as a national advocacy institution for human rights promotion and protection. It is committed to the promotion of human rights, dignity, worth and freedom of every human being, as enshrined in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and different international human rights conventions and treaties to which Bangladesh is a signatory (Rahman, *et al* 2015). NHRC's activities are limited to only making a statement in cases of violation of human right. The NHRC is not empowered to directly investigate into allegations of human rights violations against the disciplined forces or any of its members for the allegations of human rights violations committed by them (Section 18, National Human Rights Commission Act 2009). Rather, it must request that the government provides it with a report on the matter but the government does not respond in the majority of cases. Even, the Commission does not have any

financial and administrative independence. Moreover, the NHRC has the inadequate number of support staffs with required knowledge of human rights (Interview with activist, 2018).

7.11.5 Media

Police actions are ubiquitous and visible and therefore, vulnerable to media scrutiny. Police believe that the media are over-critical, biased and motivated. Thus, police are the most abused, the most unfairly criticized and the most unspoken minority in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). However, media acts as a deterrent to the police. Sometimes, police ignore the media report or make an enquiry reluctantly to show the public they are acting on it and taking appropriate action. But police take cognizance of any report of allegation if directed to act by the higher authority (Murtaugh, and Michael, 2010; UNODC, 2010; Law Teacher, 2013; Bayley, 2006; Philipp and Anders, 2003).

In many countries, all police officers on duty are answerable to an independent statutory oversight body. External civilian oversight is the symbol of a democratic police service that is responsive, transparent and accountable to the needs of the public. Given the status of an independent neutral body, it can take up any investigation into any alleged complaints against any police officer or can direct an investigation or can review the facts and conclusions drawn by police investigators and can order a re-investigation if necessary. This increases public confidence in the police complaint system and ensures justice (Cole *et al.* 2008; Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007; 2005; Miller, 2002). Since the inception of DMP, there is no external body to watch over police. The Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) Ordinance, 1976 has failed to introduce the public accountability of police. The Police Reform Project (PRP) sponsored ‘Draft Police Ordinance, 2007’ proposes an independent oversight body. Chapter IV of the Draft says that the National Police Commission (NPC) would be a non-partisan body that would oversee the functioning of the police service so as to limit and ideally eliminate political interference. But the Draft has never seen the light of the day (Draft Police Ordinance, 2007; Interview with ex-IGP, 2018). In fact, in the democratic system, all police officers should be individually as well as collectively sensitized towards the issue of the accountability towards citizens. However, there is no initiative to institutionalize the strong internal and external accountability mechanism in Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

7.12. Superior–subordinate relationship in DMP

In the enforcement of law and order, police, though a civil force, require the highest standard of team spirit, discipline and *esprit de corps* through the development of relationship among the employees (Nathan *et al*,2013; Ghosh, 1971). It is the mode of communication that promotes a sense of bond and working relationship among themselves. Communication is a way of reaching others by transmitting ideas, facts, thoughts, feelings and values. In the regimented and compartmentalized cultural setting in police department, there are some entrenched personal and physical barriers in communication (Melnicoe & Mennig, 1978). Police department has a bureaucratic organizational structure having more of down ward communication with a flow of information from higher to lower levels of authority (Kibria, 1976).

In this context, the superior-subordinate relationship in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is not always pleasant and cordial. The morning parade, salutation to the senior officer, the armed sentry at the gate of the residence and office of the senior officers (Deputy Police Commissioner and above) and armed escort on the tour are the symbol that places the superiors on a high pedestal. Even the gazetted officers are also accompanied by an armed body guard who facilitates in opening and closing the door of the car carrying the officer. The cult of the senior rank is also visible in the common form of gatherings and interaction where subordinates salute and come to attention before senior officers. This style of governance created a cultural ethos in which the police officers are above those of the subordinate and the people of the community as a whole. Constables and even mid-level officers don't sit down in front of the Deputy Police Commissioner (DC) and above though all members of the police are officers within the meaning of law (FGD with subordinate officers, 2017). A senior officer never shakes hand with subordinate especially Constables (Discussion with retired police officers, 2018). Even, police personnel below the rank of Sub Inspector can't even directly see Deputy Police Commissioner to appeal for his legitimate claims or personal problems. He is to appear before the Deputy Police Commissioner on weekly basis normally at the muster parade day through orderly room. That means he is to apply to Deputy Police Commissioner for appearing before him to describe his grievances (DMP rules, 1976).

Senior officers employ Constables as personal orderly who literally serve as the servant of the officer. Subordinate officers escort the children to school or the spouse for shopping and

making social visits. The Constables are used in different types of menial personal jobs of seniors. Similarly, subordinate officers are routinely employed for making purchase and making arrangements during private parties and functions. Thus, the superiors, who themselves misuse subordinates and demand services from subordinates have little legitimacy and moral strength to take a firm action against the extortions indulged by their under commands. There is a growing feeling among the rank and file that the senior officers are neither able to protect them from unwarranted intervention from political and other quarters, nor effective in getting their legitimate grievances redressed by government or appropriate authority (FGD with subordinate officers, 2018).

However, in recent years, Police Headquarters' administrative order introduced a monthly welfare meeting in all police units where police personnel can raise their welfare matters or even personal problems to the superior officer. But it has been revealed that senior officers are too preoccupied to hold any meeting with subordinates on regular basis. If the welfare meeting is convened at all, it cannot resolve any problem instantly since some actions require the consent and intervention of Police Commissioner and Additional Police Commissioner. There is not frequent arrangement of different social, cultural and sportive events. These informal gatherings may help to forge bond between senior and subordinates in a team (Interview with DC, DMP, 2018).

7.13. Compensation Management in the Metropolitan Police

Compensation is an integral part of human resource management that helps in motivating the employees and improving organizational effectiveness. It is the remuneration received by an employee in return for his/her contribution to the organization (Cardy and Carson, 1996; Dessler and Varkkey 2009). Compensation provided to employees can be direct in the form of monetary benefits and/or indirect in the form of non-monetary benefits known as perks and time off, etc. The monetary benefits include basic salary, house rent allowance, conveyance, travel allowance, medical reimbursements, special allowances, bonus and gratuity etc. (Dessler and Lloyd, 2004; Gomez-Mejia *et al*, 2008; Legge, 1995; Lles and Salaman, 1995). They are given at a regular interval at a definite time. Non-monetary benefits offered and provided to employees in lieu of the services provided by them to the organization include leave policy, overtime policy, car policy,

hospitalization, insurance, leave, travel assistance, retirement benefits and holiday homes etc. (Losey *et al*, 2005; Pinnington, *et al*, 2007).

Members of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) get the same compensation as available to Bangladesh police. In police department, mostly direct compensation is provided in the form of basic pay, house rent allowance, medical allowance, kit allowance, education allowance for kids going to school, festival allowance, rest and recreation leave allowance etc. for the rank of inspector and above (FGD with subordinate ranks, 2017). Besides, Constable up to Sub-Inspector get basic pay, house rent allowance, rest and recreation leave allowance, free kit, laundry allowance, risk allowance and motorcycle allowance etc. They also get an extra Metropolitan allowance like all other Metropolitan Police units which is Taka 60 per month only up to the rank of Sub-Inspector. In addition to all these, Constable gets extra tiffin allowance, rifle allowance and conveyance allowance in Dhaka megacity. In the form of indirect compensation, police in DMP get a few perks such as free medical treatment for themselves and outdoor medical facilities for family members in police hospitals, 15 days' rest and recreation leave every after 3 years, insurance and retirement benefits etc. [Government Pay Scale (Police) 2015].

In the megacity of Dhaka, which is also the nation's capital, police are awfully preoccupied with the law enforcement duties, round the clock patrol and other duties. On some occasions, police encountered terrorist attack which put the police on high alert for days and night together. All these situations demand extra duties which have forced the police into stressful situation with long hours of duties. But the amount paid as compensation to them is not enough to subsist their daily family life mitigating all the expenses of their daily life, children's tuition fees, house rent etc. in this mega city. Police officers of lower ranks hardly dare to live with their family. Officers who manage family accommodation may have to live in slum type houses. Only 1.5 % Constables, Naik or Assistant Sub-Inspector can be provided with housing facilities in Dhaka megacity. Therefore, if the rest of them want to live with family, they have to rent a house. House rent is much higher than the amount they get as house rent allowances (Interview with ex-police Commissioner, 2017; FGD with subordinate ranks of DMP, 2018). The police in western countries because of its job nature and risk involved in carrying out their duties enjoy special pay and benefits different from other governmental and non-governmental organizations (FGD with police officer of FPU, 2018).

7.14. Performance Appraisal in the Police Department

Performance Appraisal is the systematic evaluation of the job performance of employees in order to understand the abilities of a person for further career growth and development. A common approach to assessing performance is to use a numerical or scalar rating system whereby managers are asked to score an individual against a number of attributes. Employees also need feedback about their performance which helps them know what to do and how well they are meeting their own goals (Haque, 2012; Dessler and Varkkey 2009).

In practice, the performance appraisal in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is the same as those of the Bangladesh police. It is done annually through a prescribed scalar form called Annual Confidential Report (ACR) for all second class and first class officers. This ACR form prescribed by Ministry of Public Administration is also applicable to all gazetted officers of all civil departments. It has 25 attributes to be rated by the senior with rating ranging from 4 through 1 (Bangladesh Form No-290 Gha). For non-gazetted officers, a CC roll having also 25 attributes is prescribed (Bangladesh Form No-290 Kha and Kha).

ACR system is unidirectional. Only senior has the authority to rate the junior. Junior officer remains totally ignorant of the evaluation. They only come to know about the adverse remark made by the controlling officer at the time of promotion though adverse comment should be communicated soon (Haque, 2012; Discussion with junior and senior officers of DMP, 2018). For non-gazetted officers, even no such communication is done for letting the officers know their deficiencies. But except for the purpose of promotion, it has little value. In recent years, it is used to bar promotion if there is a lower rating or adverse comments about an officer (FGD with senior police officers, 2017). Even, lower rating or adverse comment does not affect the promotion if officers have good connection with political leaders of the ruling government party. Officers also allege that some officers offer bribes to buy the promotion (Discussion with retired officers, 2018). Even, in the cases of gazetted officers, promotion is dictated by the politicians. Officers are identified as either 'our man' or 'their man' based on the political affiliation with the political party. An officer who served in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) categorically stated that he was not affiliated with any political party but he was deprived of promotion simply on the imaginary allegation of political affiliation with a larger opposition political party. He alleged that

the authority did not conduct any enquiry whether it is real or imaginary. Some of them became the innocent victim of political biasness and affiliation (FGD with senior officers, 2018). Because of limited vertical progression of career in police department, there is a fierce competition to malign promising officers for getting a career upliftment. This blame game derails the officer from pursuing the legitimate path and deprives of getting legitimate claim and entitlement (Interview with ex-IGP, 2017).

In the case of field officers, there is no departmental practice of evaluating the performance of the investigation in terms of cases investigated, cleared and prosecuted. Achievements on the basis of such criteria as responsiveness to community needs, sensitivity to gender issues and respect for human right are not also taken into consideration for performance evaluation. The manual system of maintaining records have made impossible to do any kind of performance appraisal. It is the digitalization of records which offers the scope to keep effective control over their actions (Interview with ex-DC, DB, 2018 and FGD with senior officers, 2018).

The Dhaka Metropolitan Police came into existence on January 20, 1976 by virtue of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976 (Ordinance No. III of 1976) with a force numbering 6322 under a Police Commissioner of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police (D.I.G). The Ordinance provided for the constitution of a separate police force for the Dhaka Metropolitan area comprising of 116 sq. miles with 12 Police Stations, which subsequently were increased to 49. Considering the growing responsibilities of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, the post was subsequently upgraded to the rank of Additional Inspector-General towards the end of 1981. At the top of the organization, the Police Commissioner stands as the chief manager and executive of DMP. In fact, he is the embodiment of Metropolitan Police. Under the DMP Ordinance, the Police Commissioner may frame rules and issues orders relating to every phase of the police activity, organizational matters, distribution of force, arms, equipment, efficiency and discipline of the force. He is also responsible for detection and prevention of crime and maintenance of law and order in the metropolitan area. He ensures that the officers subordinate to him do their best to achieve the police objectives. DMP functions are divided into five operational Divisions with an Addl. Commissioner each in the command assisted by a band of Deputy Commissioners, Addl.

Deputy Commissioners, and Assistant Commissions [DMP Ordinance, 1976; Khan, 1989; the Annual Administrative Reports (1988-2016)].

Since the increase of population and the extension of area, of course, necessitated better policing and quality service for public security, the police authority initiated to reshape DMP in respect of force, size, modernization and institutional structure and process. As a part of the first step, 49 police stations were created. There are 5 Addl. Commissioners, 9 Joint Commissioners, 31 Deputy Commissioners (DC), 48 Addl. Deputy Commissioners (ADC), 66 Senior Assistant Commissioners (Sr. AC), 123 Assistant Commissioners (AC), 453 Inspectors, 2907 Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants, Armed. Sub-Inspectors, Town Sub-Inspectors, 3087 Assistant Sub-Inspectors (AB/UB) and other rank and files. At present total strength of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (all ranks and status) is about 26,661(including ministerial staff). (The Annual Administrative Reports,1988-2016).

In DMP, strength has almost quadrupled from 6300 to nearly 26,661 since its inception but it must be noted that at the same time the population of Dhaka city increased by more than 100% from 2.7 million in 1976 to an estimated 5.5 million in 1988, and 14.0 million in 2008 and at present it is the 11th most populous city of the world with 16.982 million people (World Urbanization Prospects, 2009 and 2014). As a result, the police-population ratio which stood at 1:421 in 1976 increased to 1:500 in 1988 and 1: 608 in 2008 and 1:636 in 2016. The Metropolitan area itself has increased vertically in shape over the years (The Annual Administrative Reports,1988-2016).

Like other police organizations, DMP maintains a hierarchy which is rigid, disciplined and regimented for command and control. The organizational structure is departmentalized for wide ranges of work performed by the police officers. It has a chain of command, which provides a line of authority that reaches from the top of the organization to the bottom and spells out who reports to whom in the organization. DMP has a reasonable span of control; police personnel receive adequate leadership and support from their police managers. However, police officers from all ranks and files can exercise a wider discretionary power for the enforcement of law and quick response for the law and order situation in spite of the fact that policing is a formalized job that

has clearly defined procedures and leaves organizational members little freedom in regard to how they perform their tasks (DMP Ordinance (1976), DMP Rules (2006).

7.15. Conclusion

Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised in 1976 by virtue of the DMP Ordinance, 1976 but still, it could not adopt the dynamic and robust human resource policy in line with the modern day policing of a megacity. Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is one of the units of the national police of Bangladesh which has been organized and managed in accordance with the Police Act, 1861 and the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943. Therefore, the Police Headquarters and the Ministry of Home Affairs virtually draft all police officers from other police units or directly from the training institutions after the completion of training for DMP. In fact, recruitment, training culture, posting, promotion, discipline and accountability are affected by the legacy of the Police Act, 1861. DMP does not have any role at any stage in the three tiers of selection and recruitment system of Bangladesh police. Moreover, the recruitment and selection procedure of Bangladesh police at all level have been tainted by the lack transparency, integrity and merit. Since Dhaka Metropolitan Police has been manned totally by the old-stock of the national police recruited under the Police Act, 1861 and the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943, it has been found that Dhaka Metropolitan Police inherits the system, the value, the tradition and the weaknesses of the colonial legacy which affects the whole gamut of operational capability, professionalism, integrity and efficiency in the context of police governance in the megacity of Dhaka. Like the recruitment and selection procedure, placement in important units or posting to a particular assignment has been tainted by the endemic corruption and the systematic political intervention. The promotion policy also lacks transparency and fairness at least in the subordinate ranks of DMP. Sometimes, police officers in DMP are promoted on the basis of political affiliation with the party in power. Since the promotional policy has long adherence to historical legacy, it does not encourage and fulfill the legitimate career ambition of the promising meritorious officers.

The police leadership in DMP has become self-centered, egotistical, snob and reactive. Senior officers seek political patronage for personal gain for variety of reasons such as transfer, posting and promotion. Therefore, the leadership acts in compliance with dictates of the political leaders irrespective of legitimacy. This has eroded the public confidence in the police and made a

cumulative effect on the image crisis of police leadership. Moreover, it affects the discipline and team spirit in the day to day law enforcement.

In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, police officers are not individually and collectively sensitized towards the issue of the accountability towards citizens though in the democratic system police are answerable to multiple organizations and bodies such as line officers in command, Ministry of Home Affairs, judiciary, Parliament, National Human Rights Commission and media etc. Moreover, there is the decline in the effectiveness of departmental mechanisms to ensure police accountability

From the empirical analysis and review of literature, it was found that the effective human resource management policies are not fully practiced in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Reforms in human resource practices are urgently required to develop a group of officers who will be internalized to serve the people. Additionally, a dynamic human resource policy will create healthy work culture in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) and job security that in turn ensures the sense of security of citizens. The areas like recruitment, posting, transfer, training and accountability are key areas for improvement. Rightly selected and recruited, professionally trained and highly motivated police officers and Constables will definitely improve public image of police at all level in the metropolitan area.

Chapter 8: Crime Management in the Metropolitan Dhaka

Crime management is the core function of police. It consists of the prevention of crime and initial response to the occurrence of crime by police officers and law enforcement officers such as the detection of offenders, investigations of crime and bringing the offender to justice in compliance with the provision of the law of the country. This chapter deals with the (a) prevalence of crime, (b) the prevention of crime and (c) the investigation of crime in the Metropolitan Dhaka. It evaluates the strategy and policy adopted with a focus on their effectiveness for the maintenance of public security in the spatial fragmentation of the megacity Dhaka.

8.1. Prevalence of crime in the Metropolitan Dhaka

Crime emerges as a serious governance concern for all members of the society. It challenges the very foundations of the social order, takes a heavy toll in terms of human suffering and results in economic waste and an overall deterioration in the quality of life. Fear of crime changes the living style of the people. Virtually, pervasive insecurity acts as a barrier to the development and transforms the spatial forms of many cities. In fact, violence, crime and fear directly threaten life in society, good governance and the sustainable development of the society (UN-Habitat, 2007; Gomez, 1989).

Urbanization, particularly in the developing world, has been accompanied by increased levels of crime, violence and lawlessness. In some countries, crime and violence have been exacerbated by the proliferation of weapons, substance abuse and youth unemployment. Global studies show that 60% of all urban residents in developing countries have been victims of crime, at least once over the past five years, 70% of them in Latin America and Africa (Brennan, 2000). Likewise, the surge of crime and violence in the process of rapid urbanization in the megacity Dhaka emerges as the non-traditional security challenges and threats to the society (Ahmed *et al.* 2007; Islam, 2008)

Throughout the world, however, urban crime is dominated by crimes against property (e.g. theft, burglary, robbery, car hijacking), which account for at least half of all offenses in the world's cities (Brennan, 2000). Theft is the highest among the crimes against property. However, the most important crime is auto theft in the Dhaka Metropolitan area. During the period from 2000-2016, about 565 cars on an average every year were stolen. On the other hand, murder is the most violent

form of crime in the category of crime against human body. During the period from 2000-2016, 300 murders were committed on an average every year.

Urban crimes such as demanding toll or attempt to collect toll, obstruction of vehicular movement, damage to vehicle, destruction of property, mugging or snatching by force, terrorizing the people, obstruction to tender dropping and obstruction to the performance of lawful duty are crime against public order. During the period from 2004 to 2016, about 485 cases on an average every year were committed. Of these crimes, hijacking is the crime committed on the highways and main thoroughfares of the city. They generally snatch away ornaments, vanity bags from women and valuables from men by such threat of arms. Nowadays, cell phone become a target of hijacking. If there is any resistance, they may go to the extent of injuring and killing anybody by indiscriminate firing or bomb hurling, which ultimately baffle any attempt by anyone to chase or apprehend them. Another crime is the Mastani committing a wide range of crimes such as taking meals in restaurants without payment, forcible extraction of tolls and subscriptions, particularly from house owner, tenant, shop owners, businessmen, contractors etc. bus stands, real estate companies, owners of industries and clinics etc (Siddiqui *et al.* 2010). The Suppression of terrorism Act 2009, Order Disruption Crimes (Speedy Trial) Act, 2002 and the Speedy Trial Tribunal Ordinance 2002 have been enacted to deal with these types of criminal offences.

Violence of various forms and manifestation against women and children is reported every day in the newspaper. According to the UNFPA (2000), Bangladesh has the second highest incidence of violence against women in the world. Women in Bangladesh have been subject to the domestic violence, attacks by acid and other corrosive substances, trafficking, divorce, dowry violence and murder by their husbands and others. A majority of incidents of domestic violence are for the dowry demands. Children especially girls are also victims of violence in the Metropolitan Dhaka. During the period from 2000 to 2016, 1425 cases were recorded for violence against women and children. The Repression Against Women and Children (Special Ordinance) 2000, Acid Crime Control Act 2002 and Dowry Prohibition Act, 1980 are special laws to combat crime against women (Rahman, 2011; Amin and Sheikh, 2011).

Juvenile delinquency has emerged as a matter of serious concern in recent times since delinquent juvenile may be a professional criminal in future. They are involved in different types

of offences such as theft, hijacking, carrying illegal arms and drugs, killing, trafficking, smuggling and fraudulent activities. Crimes like dacoity and murder committed by juveniles are indicative of the dangerous trend. According to Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) crime statistics, at least 15 murders in Dhaka over the last five years had alleged involvement of juveniles. However, clashes between teenage gangs over power struggle is far more frequent. (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2016 and FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017).

Since the eighties, drug addiction has become a serious social menace in Dhaka city. Among the addictive drugs, the most common is the phensydyl. Other drugs such as heroin, cocaine, morphine, pethidine and the new one Yaba have been consumed by youngster both from the poor and affluent society in Dhaka city. Some crimes in Dhaka city are associated with drug addiction. Bangladesh is used as a transshipment point for drugs produced in both the 'golden triangle' and 'golden crescent' regions. These drugs are ultimately bound for markets in other countries (Rahman, 2011). During the period from 2000 to 2016, on an average every year, 5906 drug related cases were lodged with Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

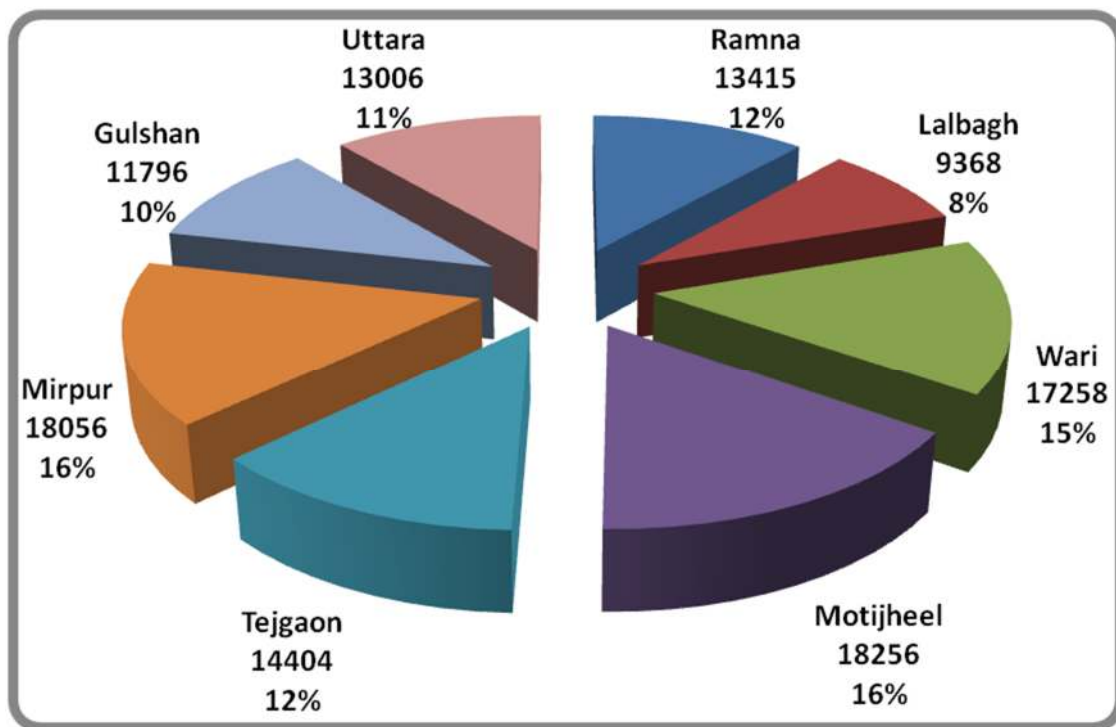
During this period from 2000-2016, police recovered arms, explosives and smuggled goods and on an average every year, 6171 criminal cases recorded in connection with the recovery of illegal weapons, explosive substance and smuggled goods. Small arms are used extensively both by petty criminals and organized syndicate in various criminal activities in the megacity of Dhaka viz, extortion, robbery and kidnap etc., often resulting in human casualties. Explosive substances are also used for committing various types of crime. Drug trafficking and trafficking in persons are the principal sources of criminal proceeds for money laundering. During this period from 2000 to 2016, a total of 2489 criminal cases in connection with economic crimes such as money laundering, fraud and misappropriation in the recent years were registered.

Anonymous death threats to important persons, threats in general through emails, hacking of websites run by law enforcing agencies and defamation of private information of respected and popular individuals of the country, publishing cartoons and obscene photographs, malicious mail to foreign diplomatic mission and other VIPs, use of e-mail for illegal activities, use of internet for transmitting false and malicious information, use of internet for prostitution and women &

child trafficking are some of the examples of cybercrime in Bangladesh. During the period from 2013-2016, about 100 cases were reported every year.

Besides, there are other offences related to land litigation, breach of peace, forgery, misappropriation, attempt to murder, abatement to murder, attempt to commit murder, election related offences, public nuisances, counterfeit coins and forgery of currency etc. The annual volume of this residual category is comparatively large though there is the slight variation of cases from year to year. In the year 2007, 12437 cases are the highest number registered under this category. (All crime statistics have been shown in the chart in the appendix). The following is the spatial distribution of crime in the metropolitan area of Dhaka:

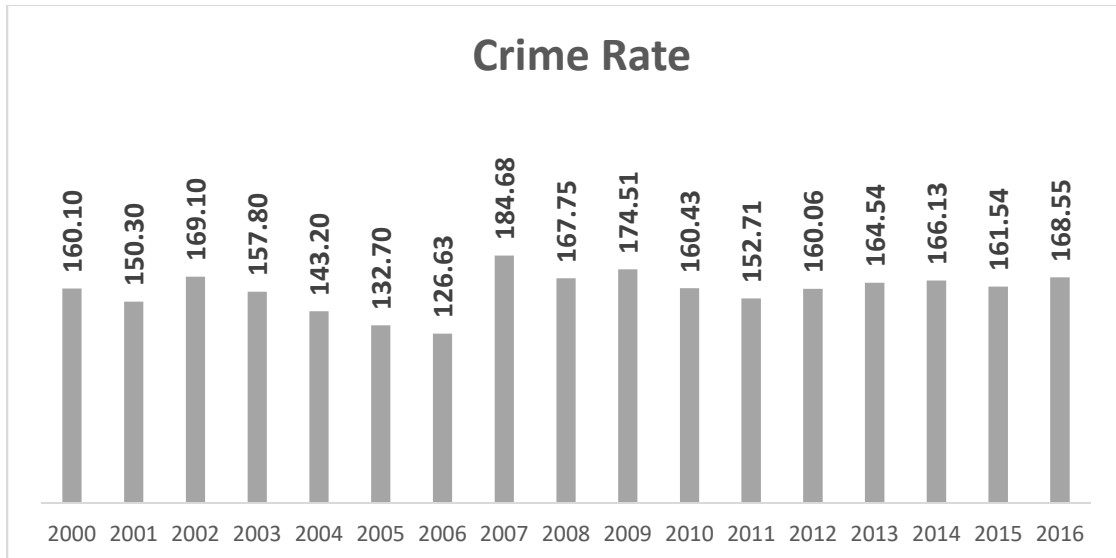
Figure 8. 1. Spatial distribution of crime 2007-2016



There are 8 crime divisions and 49 police stations in Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Motijheel division which is the business district of Dhaka megacity has recorded 16%, the highest number of crimes followed by Mirpur and Wari divisions during the period from 2007 to 2016. Lalbagh has the lowest number of crimes recorded during the same period. Multiple factors are responsible for the causation of crimes in Dhaka megacity. Because of huge economic activities, the business

district Motijheel witnessed the surge of crimes whereas strong community control, integrated social bond and community based policing in old Dhaka may explain the decreasing numbers of crimes committed and recorded in Lalbagh division. Moreover, different socio-economic settings may contribute to the commission of crimes in a large number in the urban setting. The following is the crime rate (per lakh population) in the Dhaka metropolitan area:

Figure 8.2. Crime rate (per lakh population)



During the period from 2000 to 2016, an average 159.00 crimes per lakh population were recorded. However, the highest crime rate per lakh population was 184.68 in 2007 and the lowest rate was 126.63 in 2006. The graph shows that there is a moderate variation. This view was supported by studies about the crime rate in the megacity of Dhaka. Since Dhaka is the megacity of deprivation and plenty, growth and congestion, poverty and wealth, it has been reported that 17 percent of the total crimes of the country are committed in Dhaka city and out of 80 known organized criminal syndicates in Bangladesh, 28 of them operate in Dhaka city (Shafi, 2010).

In the U.S. alone, the statistics for violent crimes are staggering. According to the FBI, on average a person is murdered every 22 minutes; someone is raped every 4 minutes, a robbery is committed every 26 seconds. The official FBI statistics on crime were only the tips of the iceberg (Rudow, 2013). The Japan has the lowest rate of crime with levels just below 2,000 per 100,000 and Sweden the highest with a rate of just below 14,000 per 100,000 of the

population. Ireland is placed very much toward the lower end of the distribution with a rate of just above 2,000 per 100,000 (Young *et al.* 2013).

Almost everywhere in the world, the incidence of crimes against persons or property is on the rise. Between 1975 and 1990, the number of offenses reported worldwide each year rose from 350 to 500 million. According to the United Nations, violent crimes increased almost 10 percent during the last decade. Offenses such as larceny, robbery and fraud account for 70% of reported crimes and increased by 30% between 1980 and 1990 (Chalom *et al.* 2001). For all categories combined, more than three-quarters of these crimes are committed in urban areas, with robbery and assault being the principal causes of victimization in industrialized countries. In many countries, economic growth and urban development are associated with rates of crime two to three times higher than those reported 10 or 20 years ago

8.2. Crime prevention approaches and strategies in the Metropolitan Dhaka

Crime prevention has become an increasingly important component of many national strategies on public safety and security. It is a fact that well-planned crime prevention strategies prevent crime and victimization, promote community safety and contribute to the sustainable development of countries. Effective and credible crime prevention enhances the quality of life of all citizens. It has long-term benefits in terms of reducing the costs associated with the formal criminal justice system, as well as other social costs that result from crime. Crime prevention offers opportunities for a humane and more cost-effective approach to the problems of crime (Shaw, 2010).

In simple term, crime prevention is the attempt to reduce and deter crime and criminals. It is applied specifically to efforts made by governments to reduce crime, enforce the law, and maintain criminal justice. Crime prevention may be defined as strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring, and their potential harmful effects on individuals and society and fear of crime by intervening to influence their multiple causes. The focus is on making the environment safe from crime and reducing the potential for crime in high -risk situations (Paranjapi, 2001; Shaw, 2010). There are many actors involved in the prevention of crime.

8.2.1. Prevention of crime in the context of legislature

The major laws governing the police action of Dhaka Metropolitan Police within the framework of the criminal justice system are the Penal Code, 1860; CrPC, 1898; Evidence Act, 1872, and Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976. However, there are some special and local laws to deal with the special types of crimes. The prevention of crime is at the heart of the criminal justice system. Of all the elements of the criminal justice system, police play a critical role in the prevention of crime. In fact, the first and most important duty of the police is the prevention of crime and the maintenance of law and order. In fact, the police can afford a large measure of protection, either directly by regular and efficient patrolling, or indirectly by the exercise of a proper surveillance over bad characters (Regulation 118, PRB).

8.2.2. Preventive Power of the Police under Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance

Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance defines the functions and duties of police along with specific legal context of preventing crime. In the Ordinance, the police officer has been assigned to obey and execute all lawful order given by the competent authority. The order must be directed to promote and uphold the rule of law. The fundamental duty of a police officer is to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisances. He will collect and communicate intelligence affecting the public peace. He has been authorized legally to apprehend any person for whose apprehension sufficient ground exists and he will detect and bring offenders to justice. It shall be lawful for every police-officer without a warrant, to enter and inspect any drinking-shop, gambling-house or other place of resort of loose and disorderly characters. Police officers may lay information before a Magistrate, and to apply for a summons, warrant, search-warrant or such other legal process as may by law issue against any person committing an offence. Police officers shall take charge of unclaimed property, which will be subject to Magistrate's orders for disposal. All these duties and functions of police are directed to prevent the commission of offences [Section 15 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) of DMP Ordinance].

8.2.3. Types of Prevention Strategies

There are two types of preventive strategies adopted by the police in preventing crime-reactive and proactive (Rahman, 2014; Braga, 2015). The reactive strategy also known as traditional or conservative model of crime prevention is based on the theory of crime control through adherence to the law. Thus, the law enforcement for the prevention of crime is directed at addressing potential and current violations of the law (White, 1996). Responding to a complaint from individuals or groups in the community after a crime has been committed is reactive policing. The traditional reactive policing incorporates routine patrol, immediate response to calls, and follow-up investigations (Skogan and Frydl, 2004; Unsinger and Kuykendall, 1975; Sherman *et al.* 1998). On the other hand, proactive strategies are the practice of deterring criminal activity by showing police presence and engaging the public to understand their concerns. These police public collaborative engagements prevent crime from taking place in the first place. More specifically, proactive policing involves the police to act on their own initiative to develop information about crime and strategies for its prevention in collaboration with the members of the community (Hunter, *et al.* 2010; Louis, *et al.* 1994; Mohanan, 1987; Friedmann, 1992; Sherman *et al.* 1998). Bayley (1991) shows the conceptual difference between proactive and reactive preventive strategies in the manner that a policeman, in proactive policing, acts like a postman who goes to every house in order to deliver whatever service he can to the inmates whereas in the reactive system of policing, a policeman conducts himself like fireman since they only move in response to any emergency or a crisis situation.

8.2.4. Reactive policing: Reactive Arrest

It is a common practice that, after the occurrence of crime, police arrest anyone suspected to be involved in any criminal offence for the clearance of the case. In other words, any police-officer may, without an order from a Magistrate and without a warrant, arrest any person who has been concerned in any cognizable offence or against whom a reasonable complaint has been made or credible information has been received, or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists of his having been so concerned in (Section 54 of CrPC 1898). Since this section authorizes the police to arrest any suspect in response to any occurrence of criminal offence, there are allegations of abuse of the authority of arrest by the police. In the aftermath of criminal cases of rioting, gang

violence, political conflict, group violence, police indiscriminately arrest people without any regard to their involvement in the offence. It has been alleged that some people even buy bail from the police station which is the serious deprivation of the liberty of a person (Huda, 2009; Khan *et al.* 1989; Article 33 of the Constitution of Bangladesh & Universal Declaration on Human Rights under Article 9). Moreover, the arrest, without any regard to the due process of law, especially for minor offenses erodes the public faith in police legitimacy. This also provokes offender more likely to commit future crime. When any person especially the juvenile offender comes into contact with law, they may commit more crime than if they have not been arrested.¹¹

8.2.5. Police patrol: a means of prevention of commission of offences

Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) conducts all types of patrol either on foot or in the motorized car in the area on regular basis round the clock prioritized on the rate of crimes in a geographical location or criminal infested areas (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017). Most police executives consider that preventive patrol on foot or in radio cars served as a deterrent to criminal behavior. However, permanent, long-term increased preventive patrol of an entire area of Dhaka Metropolitan Police is not cost- effective, economically feasible or practical for a department's operations (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2016). In spite of preventive patrol, many serious crimes occur in locations such as homes, alleys and lanes not easily visible from a passing radio car. A resident reveals that the some areas of the megacity of Dhaka have been plagued by hijacking though there are foot patrols nearer to the place of occurrence (FGD with residents of the megacity Dhaka, 2017). The radio car patrol in Dhaka Metropolitan area is handicapped by non-availability of sufficient number of cars. Sometimes, police requisition private vehicle for patrol which hardly fulfill the increasing demand of conducting extensive patrol in the area. The mobility of the car patrol is greatly hampered by the chaotic and slow traffic in the megacity of Dhaka (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017).

Traditionally, police strategies for crime fighting are reactive. Officers patrol neighborhoods in relative isolation from the surrounding community. Contact with citizens would

¹¹ (<http://www.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/49259>)

only be established when officers are called to respond to a specific call. Moreover, police conduct patrol, traffic stops, and search and interrogations on the spot while patrolling in the main thoroughfares of the megacity. Crime prevention and control are believed to be achieved through the threat of arrest and punishment (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Police authorities want the public to accept the legitimacy of granting discretionary authority to the police to allow them to fight crime in the community. But people in general and human rights activist in particular are critical of the authority by which they are being stopped, searched and questioned, arrested, and jailed by the police as part of police crime-fighting authority (Braga, 2015; Ford, 2007). They question whether the police have the authority to intrude into people's lives by stopping them on the street or in cars, by questioning them, and by arrests and detentions since it encroaches the personal liberty and fundamental rights of the citizen (Articles 27, 31, 33 and 35 of the Constitution of Bangladesh).

Police in Dhaka Metropolitan area are primarily a reactive force with a philosophy of public control through enforcement; it endears the nomenclature 'police force', not necessarily 'police service'. Traditionally police put considerable emphasis on solving crime after it occurs, rather than preventing it from happening in the first place. It seems that police are not competent enough to appreciate and replicate the proactive strategies in order to prevent crime. Dhaka Metropolitan Police does not systematically make any assessment of the crime situation and analyze the underlying causes of crime except the compilation of crime data presented in a highly aggregated form showing the ascending and descendent trend of crime and cannot be used to directly analyze factors and underlying conditions responsible for the causation of crime (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.*1989). Since there is no systematic scientific analysis on crime prevention strategy by the police in Dhaka Metropolitan area, they can neither adopt any policy guidelines on crime prevention for police nor provide advice to the public on what preventative actions they can take. In fact, police themselves lack competency based training and experience in crime prevention and community safety (PRP, 2009). Police in Dhaka Metropolitan area follow the old practice of reducing the incidence of criminal behaviour either by deterring the potential offenders or by incapacitating and preventing them from repeating the offence (FGD with police officers in DMP, 2017). With the changing pattern of modern societies, the approach of crime control has also undergone a radical change (Paranjape, 2001).

8.3. Proactive policing

The following strategies of proactive policing adopted by the Dhaka Metropolitan Police for the prevention of crime have been assessed:

8.3.1. Surveillance

It is used by government agencies for the intelligence collection, the prevention of crime, the protection of a process, person, group or object, or the investigation of crime. The criminal organizations also conduct surveillance to plan and commit crimes such as robbery and kidnapping (Newburn and Stephanie, 2002; FGD with police officers in DMP, 2017). It is alleged that surveillance is often a violation of privacy, and is opposed by various civil liberties groups and activists (Huda, 2009; Bayley, 1991). Surveillance is conducted from a distance by means of electronic equipment such as closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras, or interception and monitoring of electronically transmitted information such as internet traffic or phone calls, SMS; and relatively low-technology methods such as human intelligence agents, fixed guard posts, organized security patrols and postal interception. Biometric surveillance is a technology that measures and analyzes human physical or behavioral characteristics for authentication, identification, or screening purposes such as fingerprints, DNA, and facial patterns and behavioral characteristics include gait (a person's manner of walking) or voice (Newburn and Stephanie, 2002; Karzon, 2008; PRP, 2009b; Wayne, 2009). Dhaka Metropolitan Police conducts surveillance by engaging all types of scientific gadgets and electronic equipment. An officer claims that police solved a number of crimes by monitoring cellular phone calls (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2016). A political figure reveals that surveillance is more often conducted over members of opposition political parties than over offenders in the megacity of Dhaka (Interview with a political leader, 2017).

Proactive arrest: The higher the police-initiated arrest rate for high-risk offenders, the lower the rates of serious violent crime. The police attempt to deter criminals by arresting them. It is widely believed that such arrest acts as a deterrent and disincentive for committing crimes in the future. The police also believe that arrests would prevent crime since it incapacitates criminals by driving them out of the streets and subsequently police prosecute and incarcerate them in jail. In particular, the police seek to prevent repeat offenders from continuing their criminal careers

through specific deterrence, incapacitation and subsequently correction and rehabilitation (Braga, 2015). The police rely on the other actors of the formal criminal justice system to pursue these goals, but they are the prime movers to set the criminal justice system in motion by making a proactive arrest of offenders, lodging credible cases against them, investigating cases in compliance with the procedural law and bringing the offenders to justice (Krishnamurti, 1998)

Police in Dhaka Metropolitan area are legally empowered to arrest any suspect for the prevention of crime by some legal instruments (Sections 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 54, 55, 56, 57 Cr.P.C., Special Powers Act 1974 and Sections 86 and 100 of DMP Ordinance). Thus, every day police arrest a number of people on suspicion with a view to preventing crime. These people are either sent up to the court for prosecution if they are found to be genuinely involved in any criminal offence or may be given bail by the Officer –in- Charge if there is no implication in any crime. There is a conflicting opinion as to the effectiveness of arrest for deterring criminals. But police officers believe that it has a tremendous effect on the reduction of crime. Frequently, in the persistent predictive security threat from militant outfits, police launch extensive combing operations to crack down on militants and extremists, and also deal with all types of criminals in order to prevent crime (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017). Police officers believe that police in Dhaka Metropolitan area are successful in apprehending and eliminating them proactively and thus, help to prevent terrorist attack (Interview with ex- Police Commissioner, 2016). In some cases, specially, before any large political agitation or antigovernment demonstration, police embark upon mass arbitrary arrest and detention for deterring them from committing any prejudicial or subversive activities (FGD with residents of the megacity of Dhaka, 2017). Under Special Powers Act 1974, a person can be detained if the authority suspects that he is about to commit a prejudicial act though the individual has not yet committed such an act. However, it is alleged that the common people and members of opposition political parties become victims of arrest. This power of arrest is systematically abused by the police on the plea of reasonable suspicion of being involved in the crime (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989). Since suspicion has not been defined in any law, the implication in any criminal offence depends on the discretion of the officer making the arrest. There is hardly any yardstick to measure this discretionary power to arrest anyone merely on suspicion that he or she is involved in the crime (Islam, 2008; Mahmood, 2003; Huq, 2005; Kapoor, 1989). Proactive arrest has a positive impact in the reduction of crime

if it is accomplished in the context of rightful policing. Otherwise, it will create an aura of injustice amounting to a flagrant violation of fundamental rights. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile or be deprived of his liberty except in the cases of lawful arrest and detention, which is to be done in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law. In majority of the cases, police in Dhaka Metropolitan area fail to prove the culpability of the arrestee in the court of law which may affect the whole gamut of the rule of law (Article 9 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and Article 33 of Bangladesh Constitution).¹²

Another policing strategy in Dhaka Metropolitan area is the extrajudicial killing by law enforcement agencies (AHRC, 2013). The Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) established in 2004 as an elite force to combat spiraling crime in the country adopted the extrajudicial killing in the form of ‘crossfire’ and ‘encounters’. Being encouraged by the actions of RAB and the impunities they enjoyed, the police in Dhaka Metropolitan area have now also indulged in extra-judicial killings calling it crossfire which is justified by giving the same version of story in every case about a gun fight between any suspected criminal group and the police where the suspect succumbs to bullet injury.¹³

Besides, enforced disappearance in Bangladesh has been increasing for the past few years. It has been alleged that law enforcement agencies secretly picked up some body in the guise of criminals and killed them. In some cases, dead bodies are found but, in most cases, it does not happen. Md. Chowdhury Alam, a member of the National Executive Committee of BNP, was allegedly picked up by RAB members in civilian dress on June 25, 2010. On April 18, 2012, former Member of Parliament and Organizing Secretary of the Central Committee of BNP, M Ilias Ali and his driver Ansar Ali were allegedly picked up by members of law enforcing agencies from Banani in Dhaka city. No trace has been found of their whereabouts (Adhikar, 2012). Disappearance after being arrested by law enforcement authorities is increasing.

¹² <http://www.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/49259>).

¹³ <http://www.albd.org/autoalbd/index.php?>

Mizanur Rahman Sumon, Akbar Ali, Md. Selim , BNP leader Shipu were all taken by plain clothe police and later on some of them were found dead. (Adhikar, 2011; Islam, 2013)

During the difficult times of organized violence from unlawful assembly, political demonstrations and hartal, police are obliged to use force for the restoration of law and order which has been recognized as regular responsibilities of police over the years. In Dhaka metropolitan area, it has been seen that sometimes the police use excessive forces against any political rallies and demonstration of the opposition which conforms neither local law nor international law. It is evident that the over-zealot police irrespective of rank and file aggressively suppressed all anti-government movements and activities with a heavy hand. In the recent time, the engagement of brute force by police superseded all previous records. On the day of *hartal*, the law enforcing agencies under the instruction of government acted violently. They beat mercilessly a number of opposition workers, although there was no instance of violence on the part of opposition workers. Aggressive police actions received unqualified appreciation from the government. If there is any slightest semblance of cynical views expressed in the media, government comes forward to defend publicly the justification of the use of brute force by the police and showers gallants upon them. Dhaka Metropolitan Police enjoy the magisterial power to use of force within the frame work of Metropolitan Ordinance without any judicial enquiry after the incident of firing. Moreover, in the name of sustaining public tranquility, police indiscriminately opened fire, violating the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and the UN Code of Conduct for the Law Enforcement Officials (Adhikar, 2011, 2012 & 2013).

Four decades since its independence, the People's Republic of Bangladesh continues to struggle with legitimacy and maintenance of the rule of law. Political factions fuelled violent confrontation. The government hardly allows the opposition to hold public rallies. The law-enforcers are routinely used to arrest and detain opposition activists on a large scale prior to any political programme announced by the opposition parties (Adhikar, 2012). Police implicate the innocent political leaders. Some of them are remanded and tortured inhumanly. During the last successive regimes after liberation, this tendency of falsely implicating the political leaders is visible. Limitations on freedom of speech, expression, and assembly are enforced by the ruling regime; journalists are jailed, threatened, and killed for the criticism of the regime. Human rights

defenders face harassment, threats, ill-treatment, and arbitrary detentions for fabricated charges (AHRC, 2013). Arbitrary arrest, detention and custodial torture by law-enforcing agencies have remained a persistent feature of crime fighting strategy of police (Huda, 2009; Adhikar, 2008). Thus, decades of political manipulation and lack of true institutional autonomy made police force a source of instability and fear rather than a key component of a democratic society.

Since the liberation, there were occasional interferences in the freedom of expressions. Government especially the martial law period and the autocratic regime of Hussain Muhammd Ersad imposed various injunctions and thus, curtailed the freedom of expression. In the recent past, police arrested Newspaper Editor Mahmudur Rahman in series of cases. He was subsequently abused and tortured by the Detective Branch of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police. On April 20, 2013 in a press conference organized by the daily *Amar Desh*, journalists stated that Mahmudur Rahman received cruel and degrading treatment during remand. The police shut down the daily *Amar Desh* on April 1, 2013, without any justification. Adilur Rahman Khan, Secretary and Mr. ASM Nasiruddin Elan, Director of Bangladeshi human rights organization, Odhikar, were detained in prison by the Cyber Crimes Tribunal of Dhaka, under the Information and Communications Technology (Amendment) Act, 2013 for publishing a report about 61 deaths in an overnight crackdown against a pro-Islamist group of demonstrators in the early hours of May 6, 2013. TV channels known as the Diganta and Islamic TV were shut down for live broadcasting of the event (AHRC, 2013; Adhikar, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

8.3.2. Community Policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area

Since the 1980s, community policing has been considered to be an effective tool of preventing crime, reducing the fear of crime, keeping peace and order in the community, detecting criminals and bringing them to justice as the conventional method of policing has proved to be ineffective in dealing with crimes and criminalities in a fast changing socio-economic order. In fact, community policing has been described as both a philosophy of policing and an organizational strategy for the police and community to work together in new proactive ways to solve problems of crime, disorder and safety (Skogan and Frydl, 2004; Unsinger and Kuykendall, 1975; Hunter *et al.* 2010; Louis *et al.* 1994 and Mohanan, 1987).

In police parlance, it has been widely accepted that community policing reduces the fear of crime, establish police legitimacy and create a partnership approach to crime prevention. The legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public is important because it is the fulcrum of the relationship between the police and the public. It is also believed that, if the public views the police as legitimate, then, they are more likely to obey the law (Tyler, 2004). This gives a greater leeway that community policing should be the basis of policing in the megacity of Dhaka since the gap between the police and the community could never be bridged because of the antiquated enforcement ethos of the colonial era. As a result, police could not project itself as a people friendly service providing organization (Huda, 2009; Khan *et al.*1989). Community policing, a new concept in Bangladesh, was initiated in 90's in Mymensingh town in the form of Town Defense Party (TDP). The Mymensingh model was replicated in Chandpur and Jamalpur. Similar experiments were carried out at Kafrul area in Dhaka some years back in 1994, and this was not fully implemented in other areas of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). However, persons in the name of the community policing are hired by the local people to conduct night patrols in some localities and some of them are deputed for traffic management in the older part of Dhaka city (Siddiqui *et al.* 2000).

Given the limitations of traditional strategy of crime control and lack of initiative of fully implementing the proactive strategies of policing in the megacity Dhaka, Police Reform Programme undertook to transform 11 police stations as Model Thana in different locations of Dhaka Metropolitan areas since Police Station is the pivot of all police activities. The main focus of the PRP activities in Model Thanas is on community-police engagement, development of standard operating procedures and changing the attitudes and mindset of police officers working in the police stations, improving the attitude and behavior of the police officers working in the Model Thanas. In order to support these activities, PRP constructed and refurbished the service delivery centre equipped with all other facilities and logistics. This strategy was replicated in other areas of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (Interview with officers of PRP, 2016; PRP, 2009a).

In order to give the community policing an institutional shape, a number of community police forums and committees were organized at each neighbourhood throughout the jurisdiction of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). There are about 990 Community Policing Committees/Forums

at different levels comprising of about 22,811 persons who are directly involved in Community Policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area under the overall guidance and supervision of crime prevention Center at the Police Headquarters (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2016). It has been revealed that the committee includes only people of the ruling political party excluding the opposition political parties and other civil society members of divergent faith and thus, it has lost the collective voice of the community people about the neighborhood security concerns. Some members of this committee act as a pressure group in the enforcement of law and order much to their own benefit. Even, they intervene in the clearance of cases lodged with the police. It is also alleged that some of them have been used as henchman of police for collecting illegal money from various sources. The spirit of community engagement for improving the safety and security of the neighbourhood has been vitiated by the discriminatory approach to the formation of the committee. In fact, the community police forum has been used to develop a sort of nexus between the police and the public for personal gain and parochial interest (FGD with residents of the megacity Dhaka, 2017). Besides, the most important impediment seems to be the absence of government patronage and ownership in granting the financial allotment in the police budget. Administrative supports such as changes in the organizational structure and legal frame work as envisaged by the Police Reform Programme do not exist (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2017). Moreover, many officers at various levels do not like to share their authority with the community people. They are reluctant to be transparent, responsive and accountable to the forums of the community policing as it might expose their weakness and evil practices. At the grass-root level, it has been revealed that community policing forum comes into sharp conflict with elected representative of local bodies as they would see an encroachment on their authority in their own domain by some persons in the locality not elected by people. Moreover, people do not believe in the legitimacy and integrity of police in Dhaka Metropolitan area which is acting as a stumbling block to the community policing (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017, Huda, 2009; Kashem, 2003).

One of the most widespread community policing programs, is "block watch"/neighbourhood watch or beat policing that incorporates increasing volunteer surveillance of residential neighborhoods by residents. Beat policing is a community policing strategy designed to make an individual police officer responsible for the community's policing needs in a defined geographical area known as the beat. Beat officers are assigned to take responsibility of their area

and employ proactive strategies to address the underlying causes of crime and community problems within their beat. This should deter crime because offenders know the neighbours and police are watching (Braga, 2015; Sherman *et al.* 1998; Wheat and Grant, 2013).

However, police in Dhaka Metropolitan area have implemented the beat policing in its jurisdiction comprising of eight Crime Divisions having forty-nine Police Stations where 287 beats are organized. Here every police station area is divided into 3 to 10 beats and in every beat one Sub-inspector and one Assistant Sub-Inspector are assigned to work. Again, one Inspector is assigned to monitor or inspect the beat activities. Every beat in-charge can be reached by government's authorized cell number and the number is available to general public. For quick response to the crime spot, police use the patrol car of that beat area to reach that spot. Every beat police conducts 'Uthan Baithok' (Meeting at the courtyard) regularly at various places of his own beat area (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017). That's why he becomes acquainted with everyone and people feel free to seek help from him. There are some people who are seen patrolling in the neighbourhood and busy with the management of traffic in the neighbourhood though they are paid by the local people collected through the subscription from the residents of the area. But no volunteer is assigned to conduct the agenda of community policing in the neighbourhood. Rather in the megacity of Dhaka, residential building in the neighbourhood emerges as a gated community guarded by private security paid by the residents of the building.¹⁴ (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017).

The Police Open House Day has been introduced with the objective of allowing the community to engage in and raise issues concerning crime and public order with the local police. Senior officers also attend this Open House Day held once in a month in Police Stations but there is no study on the outcome of reduction of crime but police officers believed that it makes a positive impact in the improvement of police community relationship (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2017).

¹⁴ (<http://dmp.gov.bd/application/index/page/about-beat-policing>;

8.3.3. Problem-Oriented Policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area

The western police have adopted SARA (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment) model in their application of problem-oriented policing with a focus on addressing problems rather than simply responding to incidents in order to prevent crime (Goldstein, 1990; Miller, *et al*, 2013). This analytic approach provides an appropriate framework to discover the complex mechanisms at play in crime problems and to develop tailor-made interventions in collaboration with the community, social service and criminal justice partners to address criminogenic situation, that cause crime problems to recur (Eck and Spelman, 1987; Goldstein, 1990; Braga, 2015). To the best of the researcher's exploration, neither the police nor the academics make any systematic research on the crime, victimization and community safety and disorder in the megacity Dhaka. Only media report on incident in the journalistic way condemning the public institutions specially police failure in solving the problem has been more visible. But there is no attempt to unearth the underlying conditions facilitating the incident of crime and disorderly situation. This view is supported by a research article of Kashem (2003).

8.3.4. Hot Spots Policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area

Researches show that crime does not occur everywhere and therefore, crime is not evenly distributed across urban areas; rather, it is concentrated in a very small place and is absent in other places. When crime is concentrated in such places, they are commonly known as hot spots. It is a common understanding that a hot spot is an area that has a greater than average number of criminal or disorder events, or an area where people have a higher than average risk of victimization. In traditional policing, police have routinely considered their units of operation in terms of large areas, such as police precincts and beats. In hot spots policing, place refers to very small micro-units of analysis, such as buildings or addresses, block faces or street segments, or clusters of addresses (Eck and Weisburd, 1995). Often times, police attempt to prevent crime and disorder in hot spots by police presence and arrests, patrol and surveillance (Eck *et al*, 2005).

In Dhaka Metropolitan area, police apply various strategies to reduce crime at hot spots. In each police station, police maintain a crime map indicating all reported cases of crime against property at hot spots. Dacoity, burglary for committing theft and house thefts only are entered on the map in proper places, the former in black ink and the two latter in red. The initial letter of

the crime, viz., D—Dacoity, B—Burglary, T—Theft is used for the purpose and underneath the initial letter, the number and month of the case are given. But in other cases, police depend on the institutional memories explored from other registers maintained in the police station. In the megacity of Dhaka, police patrol the hot spots, establish static guard, make dominance through surveillance, search and question strangers and suspect, and make arrest and bring the offender to justice (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2017).

8.3.5. Disorder Policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area

Broken windows policing focused on the strict enforcement of laws against disorderly behavior and minor offenses, such as prostitution, public urination, and public nuisances (Sousa & Kelling, 2006). The broken windows theory could be applicable to the megacity of Dhaka in the context of disorderliness. Some of the neibobourhoods shows more broken windows, remains unfixed for days together and there is nobody to take care of it giving a shabby appearance of dilapidated building in the densest and the fourth least livable city in the world in the Global Livability Ranking 2016. In the tattered squatter settlement, one may not be able to discover window panes at all. Thus, the whole megacity gives a bleak look of complete lawlessness and disorderly situation. This has been further aggravated by a lack of civic sense such as jay walking, road crossing and violation of traffic signals, indiscriminate honking, and crisis of enforcement of traffic rules, public urination and disposing of garbage in public places. However, police grapple with the situation without any visible success to restore the minimum semblance of orderly situation in the megacity ¹⁵ (Siddiqui *et al.* 2000).

8.3.6. Focused Deterrence in Dhaka Metropolitan area

The focused deterrence framework incorporates core deterrence ideas of deploying traditional and nontraditional law enforcement tools such as communicating incentives and disincentives directly to targeted offenders (Kennedy, 2008). The deterrence theory advocates that the certainty, severity and swiftness of punishment can go a long way to prevent crime (Nagin, 1998). Police in Dhaka Metropolitan area do not apply all the perspectives of the deterrent theory in the process of preventing criminality. But there are provisions in the procedural law known as

¹⁵ <http://www.newagebd.net/article/15984/poor-planning-turns-dhaka-least-liveable>)

bad livelihood cases detailing about security for keeping the peace contemplated under sections 106 and 107 and security for good behaviour by some persons specified in sections 108 to 110 CrPC for the prevention of offences. Security means furnishing guarantee to the satisfaction of the court that a certain conduct is to be maintained for a certain period by a certain person concerning a certain thing. It is a bond to be executed by such person from whom security is demanded. It may be with sureties or without sureties (Mughal, 2011). Security may be executed for keeping the peace on conviction (Section-106 Cr.P.C.) or security for keeping the peace in other cases to prevent the accused from doing in future something that might occasion a breach of the peace (Section-107 Cr.P.C) or security for good behavior from persons disseminating seditious matter (Section-108 Cr.P.C) or security from vagrants and suspected persons (Section-109 Cr.P.C.) or security from habitual offenders (Section-110 Cr.P.C).

The Police Commissioner is legally empowered to exercise extraordinary power to direct the members of any gang to disperse and remove themselves outside the Metropolitan area or direct person about to commit offence so to conduct himself as may seem necessary in order to prevent violence or to remove himself outside the Metropolitan area or direct the repeat offenders to remove himself outside the Metropolitan area within such times as he may specify and not to enter or return to the area (Section 38, 39 and 40, DMP Ordinance). All these powers are rarely exercised by the Police Commissioner (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2017). Interagency coordination, research, social service and rehabilitation of the offenders are absent in its effort to fight against crime.

It is very difficult to compartmentalize the various strategies employed for the prevention of crime. There are similarities, dissimilarities and overlapping features among focused deterrence strategies, community-oriented, problem-oriented, and hot spots policing. Community-oriented policing depends much on the proactive partnership between law enforcement organization and community-based groups. Hot spots policing strategies rely mostly on traditional law enforcement approaches. However, police powers and resources are directed toward dealing with a specific crime-ridden area or group of offenders. Problem-oriented policing combines the resource targeting strategies of hot spots policing with the variety of approaches of community-oriented policing (National Research Council, 2004). Focused deterrence strategies

rely primarily on a problem-oriented policing approach, but also use elements of community-oriented policing such as forming partnerships between the police and community-based organizations through the creation of an interagency work group (Sherman, *et al.* 1998).

In the context of the present day violence, crime and victimization in the megacity of Dhaka, the code or any other laws for the time in force in the country have not mentioned anything about the conflict resolution or peaceful resolution of any conflict through arbitration or prevention of crime through the participation of the people (Cr.P.C.1898, Penal Code, DMP Ordinance, 1976 and Rules, 2006). The western societies have adopted the proactive policing such as community policing or policing by partnership and alternative dispute resolution or restorative justice in order to reduce the criminality and disorderly situation (Braga, 2015, Kashem, 2003). Police in Dhaka Metropolitan area follow both the traditional and non-traditional way of policing in conformity with ground realities of the present day. Still, there are some issues and challenges in the enforcement of law and order far beyond the ambit of police (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017).

In the megacity of Dhaka, there are various socio-economic and political issues which fuel the conflict and violence in the society. Sometimes, there have been incidents of large scale violence among various segments of society which require immediate police intervention. The alarming violence, often of a high magnitude, is seen during the time of hartal or demonstration by the opposition political party, student's agitation, inter and intra party violence, labour unrest etc. There are sudden outbursts of violence which police quell by using the force. However, if police could know it earlier through community engagement, generally they intervene and negotiate for the peaceful resolution of the emerging conflict or any upheaval likely to occur (Khan *et al.* 1989, Huda, 2009). But the peaceful settlement of the inter or intra party conflict of political nature remains elusive since police cannot dictate the politicians who are virtually political master backed by the people's mandate to rule the country and also to control the police. Police are helpless in the process of political arbitration since it involves political parties for the realization of some demands. Political parties always show a sort of uncompromising and obstinate attitude. For example, the demand of neutral government by the opposition political party BNP was rejected by the ruling party Awami League. This has sparked protest, violence etc. since 2012(Suman,

2012). In such a case, police do not have guts to persuade the political party for any peaceful settlement (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017).

Organized violence takes place within institutions in the megacity of Dhaka. College and university campuses have turned into battle grounds for students who beat up, and even kill, fellow students, motivated by the desire to monopolize the power to extort and the privilege to be close to the political power (Hannan, 2000; Alam and Shahjamal, n.d.; Bayes, 2012; Khan and Hussain, 1985). Moreover, violence of any dimension has its genesis in the socio-economic milieu of the country and therefore, police do not have any control over the variables and factors responsible for this type of conflagration. However, police adopt both pro-active and reactive arrest to control the situation. In case of police intervention with force, people do not welcome, rather condemn it which virtually erodes the discretionary power of the police and question the legitimacy of police authority (Khan *et al.* 1989; Huda, 2009).

8.4. Investigation of Crime in the Metropolitan Dhaka

Investigation of crime is the fundamental work of the criminal justice administration. In general term, 'investigation' means to "examine systematically". In other words, systematic examination of anything may be called investigation. But investigation has a broader connotation in the criminal investigative process. 'Investigation' includes all the proceedings under the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898 for the collection of evidence conducted by a police-officer or by any person (other than a Magistrate) who is authorized by Magistrate in this behalf. In fact, investigation is the process of ascertainment of facts, sifting of materials, search for relevant data and a fact finding process by the police. Criminal investigation is an applied science that involves the study of facts, used to identify, locate and prove the guilt of an accused criminal (Krishnamurti, 1988). A complete criminal investigation includes searching, interviews, interrogations, evidence collection and preservation, identification and arrest of the accused and finally clearance of the case by submitting the report to the court (Sections 154-173 of Cr.P.C, 1898).

In the legal frame work of Bangladesh, the investigation of offences begins when information comes to the police that a crime has been committed. If the offence is cognizable, the police may investigate the same without any order of a Magistrate (Section 156, Cr.P.C). On the

other hand, if the offence is non-cognizable one, a police officer can investigate only after a Magistrate has given him an order to do so (Section 155, Cr.P.C).

8.4.1. First Information Report (FIR) in Cognizable Offence

The complaint or information of the commission of any cognizable offence comes to the Police Station and shall be recorded in the following manner:

"Every information relating to the commission of a cognizable offence if given orally to an officer in charge of a direction, and be read over to the informant; and every such information, whether given in writing or reduced to writing as aforesaid, shall be signed by the person giving it, and the substance thereof shall be entered in a book to be kept by such officer in such form as the Government may prescribe in this behalf." (Section 154 Cr.P.C)

The complaint or information of the commission of any cognizable offence may come to the Police Station in the four ways such as: First, any individual may file an FIR (First Information Report) under Section 154 about the commission of a cognizable offence to police station; second, police may come to know about the commission of a cognizable offence from any other source, e.g. on a phone call, from hearsay source or on their own (Section 157 Cr.P.C); third, after taking cognizance of an offence, cognizable or non-cognizable, under Section 190 a Magistrate may send the same to a police station for investigation and report (Sections 155(3) Cr.P.C and 156(3) Cr.P.C (also Regulation 245 of the Police Regulation, Bengal, 1943); fourth, having accepted a complaint under Section 200, a Magistrate may send the same under Section 202 Cr.P.C to a police station for inquiry. Having received information from any of the above sources, the officer-in charge must record the same in a book to be kept at every police station and this written information will be treated as First Information Report (Section 154, Cr. P. C, 1898).

The police write down the substance of the information, read it over to the informant, and have him to sign it. This is called a First Information Report and it plays a vital role in subsequent investigation and trial. This report (Known as an F.I.R.) is not admissible in evidence during trial; rather, it can, however, be used as corroborative evidence to substantiate the story which emerges during trial about the commission of the crime. Since the F.I. R is the earliest version of the crime reaching the police, it is presumed that it is apt to be the truest, having been made before embellishments or fabrications have been made. The significance of the F.I.R. for prosecution

depends upon the position of the informant to the crime: if he is a chance bystander who saw very little, his F.I.R. will not figure in the trial proceedings; if, on the other hand, he is a complainant or a material witness, his earlier statement may be used to support or undermine his entire trial testimony (Krishnamurti, 1988).

After the first information is recorded, the investigating officers set forth to gather evidence, record testimony, make an arrest if possible, and establish a case for trial. The investigation results into either Charge-sheet or Final Report i.e. whether the case is prima facie proved or not proved. At the conclusion of investigation, it is also sent to the presiding judge so that he may be able to appraise police methods and tactics (Cr.P.C, 1898).

8.4.2. Complaint in Non-Cognizable

When a police officer receives information as to the commission of a non-cognizable offence, he cannot investigate it without the order of a Magistrate; he just makes a case entry in the General Diary and forwards the informant to the Magistrate and then, the Magistrate examines the informant under oath (Sections 155 Cr. PC and 200 Cr. PC). Secondly, any person may complain to the Magistrate in writing about the commission of a non-cognizable offence. The Magistrate having received such information will examine the complainant upon oath under Section 200 Cr. PC. Upon such examination, the Magistrate may take cognizance of the case; or he may dismiss it or he may order for inquiry or investigation on the matter. If cognizance is taken, the complaint is registered as a Complaint Registered Case (C.R.Case). On the other hand, if inquiry or investigation is ordered before cognizance is taken, the complaint is entered as a petition [Complaint Registered Petition (C.R.P.) with a CRP case number].

8.4.3. Lodging a complaint

Lodging a complaint with police has all along generated much criticism about the police service they offer to the people. In fact, law requires that every information relating to offence, be it cognizable or non-cognizable, true or false, if given to the Officer-in-Charge either orally or in writing, shall be recorded by entering in the relevant books (Section 54, Cr.P.C). This means that it is a legal binding on police to record any complaint regardless of the nature of complaint. But it has been revealed that police officers do not always comply with this legal binding, rather police

have developed a practice of rampantly refusing to record a sizable number of serious crimes like dacoity, robbery, hijacking etc. not to speak of cases of petty nature (FGD with practicing lawyers, 2017 and residents of the megacity Dhaka, 2017). Khan *et al.* (1989) recorded that only 30% of crimes in metropolitan area are either reported or recorded whereas other remaining cases are either not reported or not recorded. A senior officer admitted that crimes in the Metropolitan area have remained awfully underreported but did not support the view of 30% of crime reported or recorded (Interview with ex-DC, DB, 2017). Police officers have also pernicious tendency to minimize the serious offences by converting serious offences into light offences such as cases of dacoity or robbery into those of theft and simple hurt.

Thus, fewer crimes are recorded and the result is that crimes in the Metropolitan area remain highly underreported. These facts are supported by the crime statistics prepared by police showing crimes in the megacity of Dhaka have been reduced to nearly half of those which occurred few years back. But the fact is that crimes are increasing day by day in the fast changing society and therefore, crime statistics given by the police are certainly inconsistent with the ground reality and do not reflect the true picture of crime in Dhaka Metropolitan area. However, police authorities take pride to announce such statistics in different forums as a mark of credit of their success in controlling crime and of a good reflection of better performance in the crime management. This suppression, minimization and refusal to register cases invite more offences and disorderly behavior from the offenders since offenders can easily evade the action of the criminal justice system (Khan *et al.* 1989; Ahmed, 2013; Rahman and Shakhawat, 2014; UNDP, 2003).

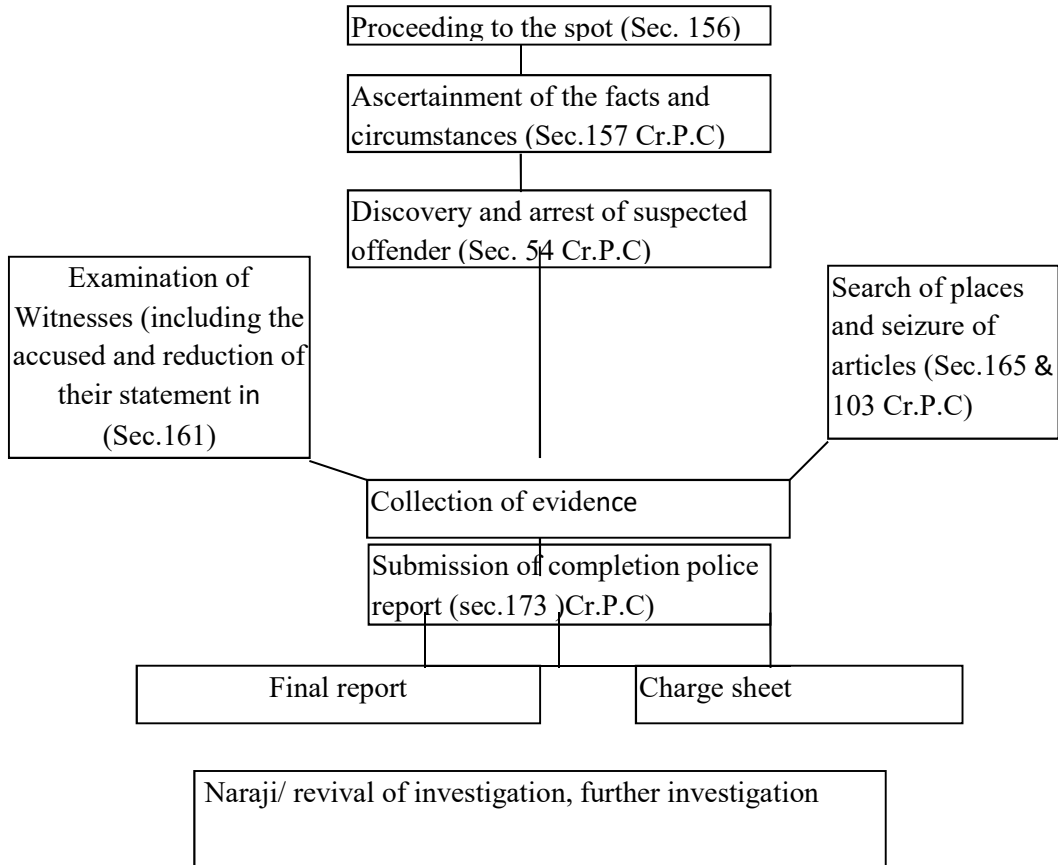
Police station, a service delivery point, is a highly guarded unit of the police department. Armed sentries are deployed for the security of premises, persons and property in the police station. The access control by the sentry for security reasons reinforced by bureaucratic mentality and colonial practice of police officer makes difficult for the ordinary people to have an easy access to the police station though the police station remains open and functional round the clock. Sometimes, it takes hours together for an ordinary man to reach the duty officer in a metropolitan police station of Dhaka. There has been the rampant allegation that police officers in the police stations shall have to be induced either by payment or by exerting influence through men in power or authority in order to make the police station officers record a First Information Report (FIR)

and to take up the investigation promptly and properly or even to record a General Diary (G.D) entry. Therefore, victims who do not have money may not get service or redress from the police even in very serious cases. Adding fuel to the already much damaged police image, this has created a sense of frustration and reluctance among the people to go to the Police Station to report the crime unless the situation or the nature of crime compels them to seek help from the police (Khan *et al.* 1989; Ahmed, 2013; Rahman, 2014; UNDP, 2003).

It is mandatory for police to record any complaint as soon as the information of it comes to their notice but police do not do it in compliance with the legal dictate; rather it has been alleged that the investigating officer spends quite a lot of time in making preliminary queries and visiting the place of occurrence before recording the crime even in a vast majority of important cases like murder, dacoity etc. Thus, delay at the inception gives the scope for embellishment of the whole occurrence of crime that adversely affects the prospect of collection of evidence and immediate arrest of the real culprits. Since they get enough time to prepare cooked-up story, complainant in connivance with or without police involves some persons who have really not committed crime or it may happen that complainant does not implicate people who are the real culprit in the occurrence. Thus, it gives an opportunity to the officer to concoct the real facts in issue and realize money from innocent persons by threat of prosecution (Khan *et al.* 1989; Ahmed, 2013; Rahman, 2014; UNDP, 2003).

The following is the step followed in the investigative process of crime.

8.1. A Schematic diagram of the investigative process



Source: [Mosharraf Hossain v State, 30 DLR (SC) 112]

8.4.4. Proceeding to the spot

As soon as the complaint in the form of FIR lodged with the police, the investigation officer invariably proceeds to the place of occurrence for the collection of evidence. Law also requires that investigation of cognizable cases shall be taken up and completed without unnecessary delay. The most important aspect of evidence collection and preservation is protecting the crime scene. This is to keep the pertinent evidence uncontaminated until it can be recorded and collected. The successful prosecution of a case can fulcrum on the state of the physical evidence at the time it is collected. The protection of the scene begins with the arrival of the first police officer at the scene and ends when the scene is released from police custody (Krishnamurti, 1988).

8.4.5. Response Time and Collection of Evidence

Another common police performance measure is response time, which is the time it takes the police to arrive at the scene of a crime when they receive the call. Though the impact of quick response on apprehending suspect and thus, solving crime is not well supported by research, however, the logic supporting the use of this measure is that the sooner police can arrive at the scene of a crime, the more likely they save lives, prevent property loss and ultimately solve the crime (Stevens *et al.* 1980; Weisburd & Eck, 2004). Faster response times are considered critical because they reduce the potential for the loss or contamination of evidentiary material and the likelihood of arresting the offender is greater if the police could arrive at the crime scene quickly (Geberth, 1996).

8.4.6. Crime scene management

Crime scene management is an important phenomenon in the process of investigation. It is an accessible introduction to the common forms of evidence that may be encountered at a scene of crime and the techniques used for the recovery of that evidence (PRPa, n.d; FBI, n.d; Baggili, 2010; Ramsland, 2001; Wayne, 2009). The purpose of crime scene management is to control, preserve, record, and recover evidence from the scene of an incident. Any evidence found and removed from a scene by investigators must be packaged and labelled correctly to prevent injury and contamination (Rahman, 2016).

Today, physical evidence plays a major role in the investigation and solution of criminal acts. Courts now quite rightfully question confessions made by suspects, as well as the testimony of eye witnesses. Physical evidence however, has the ability to corroborate the testimony of suspects and witnesses. Forensic science has greatly increased the value of physical evidence as a tool of today's law (Baggili, 2010; Ramsland, 2001; Wayne, 2009; Ramsay, 1987). Crime investigation is also concerned with the method people use to commit crimes. This is called "*modus operandi*". Since this involves the use of physical things and the use of certain skills, an examination of the physical evidence and exhibits relevant to a crime may identify the criminal. In addition to the 'forensic physical evidence', or evidence that requires expert testimony in court, there are simple physical observations, such as tool marks at a house breaking, whether a suspect

is left handed or right handed, scratches, injuries and those other things which can be observed and a reasonable link made to other evidence or observations. Such evidence is as much as a suspect or offender leaving their 'signature' at the scene (PRPb, n.d; Rahman, 2016; Ramsland, 2001; Ramsay, 1987; Adler, 2013). Police employ the scientific approach to crime management but there are certain legal obligations for the custody of the evidence collected from the crime scene.

8.4.7. Search of place and seizure of articles

The police officer making a search shall call upon two or more respectable inhabitants of the locality to attend and witness the search. Even the police officer is empowered to issue an order in writing to them or any of them to attend and witness the search and seizure [Cr.P.C, 103(1); 47, 48, 49, 96, 98, 99 (a), 100, 102, 165, 166]. The search shall be made in their presence, and a list of all things seized in the course of such search and of the places in which they are respectively found shall be prepared by such officer or other person and signed by such witnesses (Regulation 280, PRB). It is a fact that police must search premises or seize articles from persons in order to recover physical evidence from the crime scene. But police officer encounters the difficulties in getting the cooperation of the members of the public. Since search must be accompanied by at least "two respectable inhabitants of the locality," witnesses are extremely hard to obtain witness for seizure list. It has been revealed that witnesses of the seizure list shall have to depose in the court of law which they try to avoid considering as an encumbrance. Moreover, the scene is manipulated by the curious people unconsciously. People cannot be kept away from the scene of a crime; they walk around it, handle every object in sight, make scuff marks on the dirt floor and generally make a shamble of the scene. After all, in most cases, they have several hours to wait until the police arrive and in the meantime, physical evidence is manipulated and contaminated beyond any recovery for investigative purpose (Khan *et. al.* 1989).

8.4.8. Sketch map

According to PRB 273(a), investigating officer prepares a sketch map of the place of occurrence in the cases involving murder, dacoity, serious riot, mail robbery, highway robbery, burglary, theft of value Taka 600 (six hundred) and above. Though a sketch- map of the place of occurrence is not legal requirement to be drafted in other offences, the investigating officer

usually may prepare it at his own discretion. Importance of sketch-map lies in the fact that it shows the place of occurrence with specific exhibits in and around it. Moreover, it essentially gives a fair idea about the crime scene to understand the evidence of the witnesses in connection with the alleged offences.

8.4.9. Collection of scientific and forensic evidence

Research suggests that the enormous development in scientific technology (new instruments and techniques) such as DNA profiling and scanning electron microscopes give forensic scientists an enormous ability to examine physical evidences. At the same time, the computer-aided fingerprint search would increase the capability of police in identifying suspects (Marais, 1992; Reid, 1997; Gilsinan, 1990; Conklin, 1989; Ramsland, 2001; Mannle & Hirschel, 1988; Sheley, 1987). Though the vast majority of the investigating officer told that they are familiar with the Automated Finger Identification System (AFIS) technology but in reality, the use of fingerprints as a tool of investigation is rarely practiced in Bangladesh. As compared to developed countries, the use of modern forensic tools such as computerized matching of fingerprints, and DNA profiling of suspects in crime investigations has yet to be introduced in Bangladesh (Interview with Addl. IG, CID, 2017). It is widely believed that DNA evidence in homicide investigations is more effective in identifying the suspects. However, a study by Schroeder and White (2009) revealed that the impact of DNA evidence on homicide clearance is not conclusive. Examining homicide cases in New York City the authors found that the use of DNA did not actually increase clearance. In other words, the DNA evidence was found to be statistically irrelevant to homicide investigations conducted by the New York City Police Department (NYPD). It may be noted that under the Police Reform Program, the Criminal Investigation Department is in the process of establishing DNA Labs for the Bangladesh Police (Interview with Addl. IG, CID, 2017).

Interviews with the senior officers suggest that financial constraints and the lack of specially trained evidence technicians for crime scene processing in particular at the police station level affect the quality of forensic evidence. This has been supported by a number of studies and reports on criminal investigation in Bangladesh (Shahjahan, 2006; Kashem, 2015, 2015a; UNDP, 2003; 2009; 2011; 2014; 2015). However, the senior officers of the Criminal Investigation

Department (CID) claimed that the use of forensic evidence in criminal investigations has increased in recent years (Interview with Addl. IG, CID, 2017). A study conducted by Kashem and Saadi (2007) found that more than 94 percent of the respondents report that there are no crime scene specialists at their police stations while over 62 percent report the unavailability of investigating kits.

Given these limitations, almost in every case, the investigating officers collect physical evidences and send them to a forensic laboratory situated in the capital city, Dhaka, for analysis. In many cases, police investigators do not receive the examination reports in a timely fashion. Very often, it takes several months which causes enormous delay in case clearance. It often takes two or three months to obtain the results of an inquiry. Postmortems are done by a doctor in Dhaka Medical College Hospital (DMCH) (Interview with Addl. IG, CID 2017; FGD with investigators of DMP, 2017).

The lack of equipment for collecting physical evidence, as well as the lack of training in its use, and the failure to be alert to physical clues compels the investigating officers to rely almost exclusively on oral evidence. Thus, the reliable testimony of witnesses is the key stone of most police cases; at the same time, according to police officers, it is extremely difficult to obtain the cooperation of witnesses in the process of investigation (Khan *et. al.* 1989).

8.1. Box. Murder case of Sagor-Runi

On February 11, 2012 married journalists Meherun Nahar Runi and Golam Mustofa (Sagar) Sarowar were brutally killed in their home in the capital city, Dhaka. This has generated a great media attention on one side and strong public opinion for the apprehension of the perpetrators. Unfortunately, by this time, the case has shown up itself as a clueless murder without any visible progress in the process of detection and apprehension of any perpetrator involved in this murder. Still then, the problem remains that police do not care for the collection of physical evidence. Police may solve the case by arrest of the accused but the accused may be acquitted for lack of physical evidence since it is a conclusive proof to determine the guilt of a person beyond any reasonable doubt. Moreover, the court does attach little evidentiary value to the oral testimony if not corroborated by other substantive physical evidence. In the instant case of Sagor-Runi, police tried to collect physical evidence but according to police, it was really lost and lost forever. On the other hand, media reported that DNA was collected and sent to Singapore to synchronize with the DNA of those suspects in custody. The DNA report did not match with the suspects. It reveals

the fact that police have little capacity to collect and test the DNA sample in Bangladesh. It also manifests the wretchedness of the investigation on one side and the lack of public initiative for replication of any innovative approach or in that context any scientific gadget in the process of investigation.¹⁶

In the absence of crime scene specialists in many police stations, sometimes the line officers (Constables) and Assistant Sub-Inspectors (ASI) attend the crime scene as first responder who is not trained to manage a crime scene (FGD with investigators in DMP, 2017). Therefore, the capability of these officers must be improved through proper training.

8.4.10. Discovery and arrest of suspected offender

Arrests and Remand: Any person may be arrested who has been concerned in any cognizable offence or against whom a reasonable complaint has been made or credible information has been received or a reasonable suspicion exists of his having been so concerned (Section 54 of Cr. P. C). Thus, the investigating officer can arrest anybody in connection with a cognizable offence without the permission of the Magistrate and keep in custody for 24 hours but beyond that, police seek remand from the Magistrate for sending the arrestee into the custody of police for interrogation to determine the involvement in the criminal offence. If the Magistrate is satisfied with the proposal submitted by the police for remand, the Magistrate may pass a detention order. Law permits remand of arrestees in police custody for certain period, particularly when investigation cannot be completed within 24 hours (Section 167, Cr. P.C.). Physical torture, intimidation and cruelty ostensibly for the purpose of eliciting information or extracting confession from the arrestee have been prohibited (Article 35 of the Constitution). It has been alleged that the police power is abused under two sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898- section 54 which empowers police to arrest on "suspicion", and section 167 under which police can take an accused on remand to police custody where the accused is subjected to torture for eliciting confession and information about his/her involvement or accomplices who have committed the crimes (BLAST v Bangladesh 55 DLR 363).

¹⁶ <http://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/>

Examination of witness, oral testimony and confession: Any police officer making an investigation may examine orally any persons supposed to be acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case and take down his statements (161 Cr. P.C). The police officer may, by order in writing, require the attendance of such persons. An accused may also be examined under section 161 Cr. P. C. A statement made by any person to a police officer in the course of investigation cannot be used for any purpose except by the accused so as to contradict such witness. Statement to the police recorded under section 161 Cr. P. C. cannot be used by the prosecution to corroborate or explain the evidence of the witness in court but the defense can use it for testing the veracity of the statement (Section 145, Evidence Act; 162 Cr. P. C.). Where there is the lack of physical evidence, the reliable testimony of witnesses is the key stone of most police cases; at the same time, according to police officers, it is extremely difficult to obtain. During the discussion with investigators, they revealed that the people do not cooperate with police in criminal investigations. Moreover, some of them are biased, motivated, hostile and over enthusiastic. These are the greatest handicap to successful investigation and prosecution of a case in the whole process of the criminal justice system (Interview with investigators in DMP, 2017).

Test Identification Parade (TIP): Test Identification Parade (TIP) is the process of identifying and ascertaining the person or property connected with the commission of a crime. The identifying witnesses are kept at such distance from the place where the proceedings are held as to have no chance of seeing the suspects. The person or property under TIP should be mixed with similar kind of person or property whatsoever, preferably with 8 (eight) to 10 (ten) persons or property selected at random. The suspected persons should be paraded along with 8 or 10 persons, or, if there are more than one suspect, with as 20 or 30 persons, similarly dressed and of the same religion and social status. It should be also be ensured that each identifying witness should be brought up singly and identification of such witness shall be conducted out of sight and hearing of the other witnesses. There must be a certificate to the effect that no previous communication has been possible between the police and the identifying witnesses (Regulation 282, Police Regulation, Bengal, 1943).

But the practice of holding TIP has been made ineffective by the intervention of the present day aggressive media. As soon as the accused is apprehended, it comes to the view of media which

gives enormous scope to the witnesses to see the accused, and suspects and others involved in the occurrence. This pre-identification of the accused affects the integrity of the whole episode of holding a TIP. Therefore, judicial officers give little importance to this process (Interview with prosecutors, 2017).

8.4.11. Investigation and maintaining Case Diary

It is the legal obligation that the investigating officer records in his diary the date and time when he receives the FIR and begins the investigation as well as the day to day steps taken by him in that connection. In fact, an investigator keeps a case diary in which he must record all his activities in connection with the investigation of a cognizable case such as the record of facts ascertained by the officer during the investigation and action he has taken showing the time and date against every action he has initiated. The diary provides a record of the officer's every move, the exact times of them, and the result of the day to day investigation. Even, if any arrest is made during the investigation and the investigation could not be completed within 24 hours of arrest, the police officer must note it in the case diary, produce the arrested person before a Magistrate and may seek police remand for the arrested person for more interrogation. The Magistrate may give remand on the perusal of case diary. A copy of the case diary must be sent each day to the supervising officers (Section 172, Cr.P.C; Regulations 263, 264, PRB). The case diary is of crucial importance for both the court and the prosecuting authority. It gives a pen-picture of facts, circumstances and other activities of the officer in respect of a crime and also his findings. But investigating officers evade the legal obligations by delaying the submission of case diary (Khan *et. al.* 1989).

8.4.12. Submission of Police Report: Clearance of case

The completion of investigation may result in the submission of police report. During the investigation, the police generally arrest the suspect in order to clear cases since the registration of a criminal case. If police fail to arrest any suspect in connection with a criminal case, they report the judicial Magistrate and ask for proclamation and attachment of the property for person absconding. If all these legal procedures fail to compel the appearance of the accused irrespective of the fact that the case has been detected or not, police clear the case by submitting the Police Report (Section 173, Cr.P.C). The Police Report is virtually the combination of Charge Sheet and

Final Report. On completion of investigation, the officer is required to submit either a Charge Sheet or Final Report. If a Final Report is submitted, it means that no case of the offence has been made out of the investigation and as such the accused should be released if he is in custody or if not, no charge shall be framed by the Court. On the other hand, if Charge Sheet is given, this means that there is a recommendation for prosecuting the offender. Therefore, in a police case when Charge Sheet is received against an accused person and that the accused was neither produced under arrest nor appeared or surrendered before the court, and in a complaint case in which process has been issued against an accused person and he has been absconding all along, the provision enshrined in Section 339 (b) of Cr.P.C shall apply. That means that the trial in-absentia starts following the completion of legal formalities when the court, by order, shall notify in the official gazette and also publish in two national dailies. Within the legal frame work of Bangladesh, police are, therefore, believed to have cleared the case either by arrest or without arrest (if they detect the case) and the court also makes the trial in-absentia without the appearance of the accused if the investigation supported by all other substantive evidence beyond any doubt, has been completed (Regulations 272, 273 of PRB).

8.4.13. Final Report and Naraji Petition

If police submit a final report recommending that there is no case against the accused, the Magistrate after carefully scrutinizing the report may accept or reject it. After rejecting the final report, he may order for further investigation. He may direct inquiry and after examination of the complainant, may take cognizance of the case if satisfied (Munshi Lal v Khan Abdul Jalil, 5 BLD 24). If the Magistrate accepts the final report, the aggrieved informant can file a naraji petition in the court. Naraji petition is considered a complaint and the Magistrate, upon examination of the complainant or other witnesses if any, is satisfied, may issue process upon the accused or he may direct inquiry into it by any other Magistrate [Syed Azharul Kabir v Syed Ehsan Kabir, 4 MLR (AD) 343].

8.4.14. Obstacles to conduct an effective investigation

Lack of Proper Supervision: Senior officers usually an Assistant Commissioner of Police (ASP) or above play an important role in the supervision of a criminal case in their jurisdiction.

Through their supervision and monitoring, investigating officers receive proper guide and directive in the matter of conducting the criminal investigations (Regulations 54, 55, 200, PRB). Interviews with the investigating officers suggest that the lack of proper supervision by the senior officers during the investigations affects the quality of police investigations. Supervising a criminal case is a critical task of the senior officers who require devoting sufficient time and energy. As the supervising officers are over involved in various duties, they cannot give sufficient time; therefore, effective supervision of the investigating officers under their control is not always possible for them. Thus, the over engagement of the superior officers in various duties are impediments to effective supervision, inspection and follow up. Interestingly, some investigating officers even raised the question about the competency of their immediate supervisor to effectively supervise the sub-ordinate officers in investigating complicated and sensitive cases. The reason could be the Assistant Superintendents of Police (ASPs) who are directly appointed by the Public Service Commission do not have hands-on -experience in conducting investigation (FGD with investigators of DMP, 2017).

Overburden of works: The investigation of a criminal case demands concentrated attention and devotion along with legal knowledge and competency. If investigating officers are frequently assigned to other law and order duties, the work of investigation will be affected by the distractions of other responsibilities. Studies have shown that heavy workloads are associated with low crime clearance rate (Greenwood *et al.* 1997). Like other police stations in Bangladesh, it is important to mention that police stations in Dhaka Metropolitan area are functionally divided into two units: law enforcement and investigation. The main purpose of this division is to give officers of the investigating branch sole responsibility and dedicated attention of conducting criminal investigations. However, this cannot be implemented strictly because of the volume of other police duties including the paramount law and order duties in the burgeoning democracy bedeviled by frequent conflict and confrontation. This type of critical law and order situation demand more officers for deployment. Therefore, the situation compels the officers of the investigation unit to perform duties in the enforcement work. Moreover, an investigating officer may require performing day to day enforcement duties like street patrol, protocol and ordering maintenance etc. (Interview with ex-police commissioner, 2017). The result is that the inadequate number of investigating officers compared with the increase of crimes is one of the main causes

for quality investigation and low clearance rate. This division of work in some places created a turf war between the operational and investigating officers which may be called the personality clash involving the exercise of power. The designated Officer- in Charge of the Police Station and the head of the investigation wing are of the same rank as Inspector but the former is senior who commands his subordinates in the Police Station and acts as a key player in the whole decision making process in the jurisdiction. The police code of conduct has failed to discipline the internal power struggle for power with the pernicious consequence on the maintenance of balance of power between the two officers and the quality of work in the Police Station. The quality of investigation is further compounded by inefficiency and want of integrity of the investigating officers which are acting as a stumbling block to the clearance of cases. Improper recruitment, training and promotion are mainly responsible for the inefficiency of the investigating officers (FGD with investigators in DMP, 2017).

Availability of Resources: As Edwards argues “collection and analysis of samples are theoretically applicable to many crimes but are both labor intensive and expensive, so, in practice, financial constraints limit the use of most scientific forensic examinations to the investigation of the most serious crimes which involve death or critical injury, serious sexual assault or large amounts of property” (2005:107). A study by Wellford and Cronin (1999) argued that the police department must provide adequate resources (financial and logistic) to the investigators for the improvement of clearance rate. In other words, the amount of resources is an important factor in the clearance rate. Interviews with the Officer-in-Charge of the police station revealed that virtually there is no operational budget for the police station. The government recently allocated Tk. 2000- 3000 for conducting investigations. This is extremely inadequate when compared to the actual costs of an investigation of crime. All of them complained that they are unable to conduct proper criminal investigations with this limited resource. Lack of adequate transport and modern equipment including investigation kits especially in all the police stations and skill to use the modern equipment in the investigation affect the investigation (FGD with investigators in DMP, 2017).

Non-cooperation of Victims and Unwillingness of the witnesses: Research has consistently pointed out the importance of witness identification and cooperation. An earlier study

by Kashem and Saadi (2007) revealed that non-cooperation of victims and unwillingness of the witnesses to testify before the courts are the principal reasons for “high fall out” rate of police submitted investigation reports (Charge Sheets). Interviews with the investigating officers revealed that witnesses and even the victims’ family members do not cooperate with the police during the investigation. The most cited reason for non-cooperation is the absence of “witness Protection Program.” Citizens argued that lack of adequate securities for the witnesses very often discourage the witnesses to provide information to the police and testify before the court. All the respondents emphasized that victim’s information especially naming the suspect in the First Information Report (FIR) is crucial for solving the case. In other words, the strength of preliminary information plays an important role in identifying suspects that may ultimately lead to clearing the case. Want of public cooperation is also a fact acting as serious handicap in the work of investigation as it becomes difficult to get proper witnesses and collect sufficient evidence in order to trace out the real culprit in many cases (FGD with investigators in DMP, 2017).

External Pressure: Social and Political: The state exercises strong control over police agencies in Bangladesh. As a consequence, many policy decisions regarding police are instigated for political purposes. Evidence indicates that politicians even manipulate preparation of charge sheets and final reports; as a result, the “fall out” rate of arrest is high (Kashem & Saadi, 2007). Most importantly, the investigations of sensational cases have been redirected according to the will of the ruling party (Kashem, 2010). There are many actors in the process of investigation. Therefore, case clearances depend on coordination and collaboration with prosecutors, managing relationship with medical examiners or coroners, relationship dynamics with lab personnel examining forensic evidence, interaction and oversight by judiciary and organizational politics within the police agency itself (Keel, 2008). External pressure, for example, politicians especially the members of the ruling political parties and social elites exercise significant control on police practices and procedures. They also interfere in the investigative decision-making process in political cases and, as a result, in many cases the investigating officer cannot work independently and impartially which affects the clearance rate (Huda, 2009). There are also instances of interferences through superior officers. For such undue interferences from men of influence and authority including political leaders, investigating officers fail to maintain neutrality and

transparency in exercising the discretionary power in compliance with the codified law resulting into the low clearance rate and quality of investigation.

The crime clearance rate is considered an important indicator of performance appraisal for the police departments around the world. Low clearance rate means that criminals could not be arrested, implicated in the commission of crime and could not be brought offenders to justice. Research suggests that an amount of information provided by witnesses and victims at the crime scene has a significant impact on clearance. Also, sending trained forensic science technicians to crime scenes is crucial for collecting physical evidences and maintaining the crime scenes as these both have been found to increase the likelihood of solving cases (Kashem, 2010). Interviews suggest that witnesses and victims are less willing to cooperate with police in crime investigations due to lack of trust in the police and lengthy trial process. Therefore, the introduction of witness protection program will increase the existing clearing rates as that will protect the witnesses and victim's family members from potential harm and motivate them to co-operate with police investigators in clearing cases successfully. As suggested by the police officers, inadequate police resources, lack of professional competency and time constraints affect clearance rates (FGD with investigators in DMP, 2017).

8.5. Conclusion

In the final analysis, Dhaka megacity experiences increasing number of crimes, sporadic violent conflict and confrontation of various dimension and magnitude. This has been further compounded by the fact that criminals are using modern gadgets such as guns, internet, social network, transport and cellular communication etc., sophisticated technique and modus operandi (such as the criminals are harbouring in foreign land, taking advantage of the easy transfer of money) in the commission of organized crimes. In this context, like other big cities of the world, the study reveals that crimes of all patterns in Dhaka witnessed an upward trend in the present day globalization. In fact, the crime statistics demonstrate that Dhaka megacity has really experienced increasing numbers of crimes.

In the context of increasing violence, delinquency and crime, Dhaka Metropolitan Police have both practiced reactive and proactive strategies in policing. However, in the present day law and order situation, the crime prevention framework has not been designed on the analysis of

underlying causes of specific crime problems, by engaging the community and a broad range of governmental and nongovernmental partners, and by using a diversity of tools and strategies having a dimension of proactive approach. There is no systematic and organized research on crime prevention strategies and the desired impact on the reduction of crime. Dhaka Metropolitan Police have been continuing the prevention of crime with ineffective police strategies. Appropriate interventions tailored on the need assessment within the framework of rightful policing and legal process have not been developed and implemented in the megacity of Dhaka. This has negatively impacted the sense of insecurity in the psyche of the citizens in the neighbourhood of Dhaka megacity.

In the investigation of criminal cases, Dhaka Metropolitan Police could not demonstrate the expected performance in the clearance of cases since they have been constrained by both the external and internal factors. Professional investigators with sound knowledge of the procedural law along with the expertise in the application of forensic evidence are very few. Moreover, corruption, inadequate police resources, lack of professional competency, over burden of non-police work, absence of supervision and guidance, political intervention, social pressure and time constraints affect clearance rates and the quality of crime investigation. This shows the poor performance of the police and therefore, affect the all overall security situation in the megacity of Dhaka.

Chapter 9: Traffic Management in the Metropolitan Dhaka

Dhaka has been recognized as the fast-growing and the most densely populated megacity of the world (UN, 2015). As Dhaka further grows, the most overarching issue is the management of the traffic since it affects the economy, health, environment and other aspects of city life. Therefore, it is the prime concern for all to make Dhaka megacity free from the traffic juggernaut. Institutions assigned to manage its road traffic have been grappling with the chaotic traffic in easing the traffic congestion. Dhaka Metropolitan Police has been legally empowered to enforce the traffic rules, establish discipline in the street and manage and control the movement of vehicle (DMP Rules, 2006). Traffic management, though may not be strictly within the domain of policing, has been a vital work of Dhaka Metropolitan Police and traffic police are the visible symbol of disciplining, managing and controlling of traffic in the street in the megacity of Dhaka. In this context, this chapter explores the status and effectiveness of traffic law enforcement, the roles of stakeholders regarding the law enforcement, the forms of breach of traffic laws and the effect of the legal process initiated by the regulatory organ, the question of governance problem and finally the gaps and way forward in the case of traffic law enforcement and governance in the megacity Dhaka.

Traffic management is the process of planning, monitoring and controlling traffic for the travel and transport of people and goods. It is the measure aimed at improving the safety and flow of traffic, reducing traffic emissions and utilizing traffic artery capacity more effectively (Finnish Transport Agency, 2010). In other words, it maximizes the effectiveness of the use of existing infrastructure, ensures reliable and safe operation of transport, addresses environmental goals and ensures fair allocation of infrastructure space (road space, rail slots, etc.) among competing users. Traffic management is used to curb demand for transport and affect the selection of the mode of transport, route, or the time of travel or transport (Cameron, 2004). Traffic management comprises the elements: traffic information for road users, both before and during travel, traffic control legally, accident management, demand management, driver support and monitoring, and fleet and transport management such as the movement and operations of a vehicle fleet and its drivers. It also requires reliable and up-to-date status information on the transport system.

9.1. Road traffic in the Dhaka megacity

Dhaka emerges as one of the largest and most densely populated cities in the world (UN, 2015). A population of just 3 million in 1971 has increased to 18 million today (The daily Star, May 09, 2016). Dhaka's urban population is growing at an estimated 4 percent each year since independence, at a time when national population growth was at 2.2 percent (RAJUK, 2015, Mowla, 2016). This unprecedented urban growth has resulted in a city more densely inhabited than any other major city in the world. As one of the fastest-growing and the overpopulated megacities, Dhaka has witnessed the worst traffic congestion and poor traffic management in the world. Though Dhaka is one of Asia's least motorized capitals, its traffic management has been a persistent concern for the people of the megacity. The traffic congestion is the worst and steadily deteriorating day by day (Ahamed *et al.* 2016). The rapid growth of population cannot keep pace with the other provisions of urban lives making the megacity of Dhaka as one of the least livable cities in the world (UN, 2015).

9.2. Vehicle growth and present road transportation system in the megacity

The road networks of Dhaka Metropolitan Area cover about 3000 km, of which 200 km are primary roads, 110 km are secondary roads, 150 km are feeder roads and the rest are connector and access roads (Rahman 2008; Siddique and Iffat 2011, STP, 2005). There are approximately 436 kilometres of four-lane roads and 1,408 kilometres of two-lane roads (Andaleeb *et al.* 2007). The available footpaths for pedestrians are very low (only 400 km) of which 40% are illegally occupied by vendors, shop keepers, garbage bins or construction materials and others (BIGD, 2016). There are no effective bicycle lanes and safe walkways. Although a 37-km long rail-road passes through the heart of the city but it has little contribution to the city's transport system, as it is only an intercity rail road. The city has around 100 open markets on the streets and 3000 shopping malls by the side of the roads without adequate parking provisions (Rahman, 2008).

The transportation system of Dhaka is primarily based on road with a mixture of both motorized (*viz.* bus, mini-bus, truck, car, auto-rickshaw, auto-tempo, motorcycle etc.) and non-motorized (*viz.* rickshaw, rickshaw van, bicycle, push cart etc.) transportation. In the case of the primary mode in this city, about a third (34%) of people uses rickshaws, almost half (44%) relies on transit/buses and 14% prefers walking and 8% depends on non-transit motorized modes (STP,

2005). The current average trip length is 5.37 km (8.4 km by bus; 2.34 km by rickshaw) and average trip time is about 15 minutes. Pedestrian volumes of 10,000 to 20,000 per day are common and reach as high as 30,000 to 50,000 per day in the city area (Zamir, 2017).

The high traffic congestion with mixed-modes of transport using the same road space is the feature of the road transportation system of the megacity Dhaka. Although the motorization level in Dhaka is still very low compared to other cities of the world, there has been a significant increase of various types of vehicles every year (Khan, 2017). According to the BRTA report (BRTA, 2017a), motorized vehicles, private cars, jeep, micro-buses and motor cycles have increased significantly each year in the megacity Dhaka, when compared to the incremental growth of taxis, buses, minibuses, trucks and auto-rickshaws over the period 2010-2016 (Table 9.1). At the same time, private vehicles' growth increased significantly rather than the public transportation growth. Due to the higher growth of vehicles, in 2004, the average daily speed of traffic was estimated at about 21.2kph (STP, 2005); five years later, according to the Dhaka Urban Transport Network Development Study (DHUTS), this had fallen to 15.1kph (DHUTS, 2010), and by 2015, this had fallen further to 6.8kph (RSTP, 2015). At present, the average traffic speed in Dhaka is 6.4 kph. But if vehicle growth continues at its current pace, without substantial public transport investment, the average speed may fall to 4.7 kph by 2035 (The daily Star, May 09, 2016). Alam and Habib (2003) predicted that by 2020, about 60% of the major roads in the megacity Dhaka will become highly congested with a speed of less than 5 km/hr during peak hours.

Apparently only about 6.0 to 8.0 per cent of the commuters in this city use private transports (cars and auto-rickshaws) to reach their destination. They, however, occupy nearly 65 per cent of the road space. Public transports, on the other hand, use about 10 per cent of the road space, but carry about 60 per cent of the commuters (Zamir, 2017). According to STP (2005), a major proportion (43%) of all motorized vehicles within this city are car or light vehicles, but in the case of passengers' services, their contribution is relatively very low (only 9.6%). Traffic congestion coupled with inadequate parking facilities, lack of mass transit facilities, poor traffic management and vehicular pollution have worsened Dhaka's road transport each day (STP, 2005). According to ADB (2011), the main problems of traffic system in the megacity Dhaka include a lack of clear traffic regulations and their poor enforcement and air-noise pollution from old and ill-maintained

motorized vehicles that emit toxic suspended particulate matters (SPM), carbon monoxide (CO), sulphur dioxide (SO₂) and high level of noise.

Table 9. 1 Number of Registered Motor Vehicles in Dhaka (Year wise)

Type of Vehicles	Upto-2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	31/Sept/16	Grand Total
Ambulance	1374	137	114	190	254	358	234	2661
Auto Rickshaw	7664	112	111	60	56	428	541	8972
Auto Tempo	1662	1	1	0	0	0	0	1664
Bus	16783	1501	1218	971	1364	2221	2698	26756
Cargo Van	3231	477	278	676	603	398	681	6344
Covered Van	4277	1910	1170	1850	2352	1855	1864	15278
Delivery Van	11990	839	577	709	901	1464	1427	17907
Human Hauler	2718	569	145	115	109	502	653	4811
Jeep(Hard/Soft)	19520	1698	1241	1107	1582	3109	3343	31600
Microbus	46202	3540	2643	2227	3842	4569	4075	67098
Minibus	9490	136	103	83	135	103	115	10165
Motor Cycle	210081	34708	32810	2633	32894	46764	39134	422722
Pick Up (Double/Single Cabin)	20481	7258	5149	4908	7295	7916	6132	59139
Private Passenger Car	163004	11423	8187	9231	12972	18422	13941	237180
Special Purpose Vehicle	759	60	28	78	50	66	163	1204
Tanker	817	152	90	136	163	146	130	1634
Taxicab	36011	52	43	4	302	54	1	36467
Tractor	9923	4169	2841	1634	1443	1637	1896	23543
Truck	26922	4205	2824	3522	5767	4424	3278	50942
Others	168	0	0	660	967	1307	1675	4777
Total	593077	72947	59573	5449	73051	95743	81981	1030864

BRTA, 2017a

9. 3. Key Stakeholders and Their Role and Institutional Arrangement of Traffic Management in Dhaka City

Since independence in 1971, Dhaka has been witnessing an explosion in population, physical size and vehicle numbers (Gallagher, 2016). In response to Dhaka's expanding population and growing demand for transport, various institutions have been established successively. Various transport projects, plans and policies were initiated to meet the city's needs. At present, over 31

agencies have responsibilities in the transportation sector in Dhaka, and most are stakeholders of different transportation projects (BIGD, 2016). Among them, six agencies and institutions play a leading role in managing Dhaka’s transportation such as (i) Formulating policy and plans, (ii) developing infrastructure and maintenance, (iii) regulatory role and (iv) enforcing laws on the road.

Table 9.2: Six key agencies for transportation of Dhaka city and their authority

Name of agencies	Name of act/ ordinance/rules followed	Type of authority
Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA)	Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority Act, 2012	Policy formulation, planning and monitoring
Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC)	The Local Government (City Corporation) (Amendment) Act, 2011	Infrastructure development, maintenance and enforcement
Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC)		
Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)	The Motor Vehicles Ordinance, 1983, The Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976 and The Dhaka Metropolitan Rules, 2006	Traffic management and enforcement
Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK):	The Town Improvement Act, 1953 and Dhaka Improvement Trust (Allotment of Land) Rule, 1969	Planning, approval
Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA):	Motor Vehicle Ordinance, 1983	Regulatory

Source: DMPnews (2018), BRTA (2017b), RAJUK (2018), DSCC (2017), DNCC (2017), DTCA (2017)

9.3.1. Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority (DTCA)

Dhaka Transport Coordination Board (DTCB) was established under the Dhaka Transport Coordination Board Act, 2001. In 2012, this body was formally re-constituted as the Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority (DTCA). Previously, in 2005, the DTCB had laid out a comprehensive transport plan called the ‘Strategic Transport Plan’ (STP) for the greater Dhaka city and its adjoining areas. This plan revised in 2015 by DTCA with the support of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) came to be known as ‘Revised Strategic Transport Plan’ (RSTP). Key responsibilities are formulation of strategic transport planning and urban transport

policy; coordination of transport related activities in the Dhaka Metropolitan Area (DMA); setting public transport policies and guidelines; route and network planning to develop an efficient public transport network introduction and expansion of Mass Rapid Transit system, traffic management planning and monitoring and traffic safety initiatives etc. (DTCA, 2017a).

9.3. 2&3. DNCC &DNSC

Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) is the formerly self-governing corporation associated with the task of running the affairs of the city of Dhaka. In 2011, Dhaka was divided into two City Corporations: Dhaka North and Dhaka South city corporations. The mayors of the city are elected by popular vote every five years. Key responsibilities are maintenance and development of the city streets/roads/lanes, maintenance and operation of street lights and traffic signals, traffic control, registration of rickshaw and sweeping and clearing of streets, roads, lanes, drains, markets and public places, supply of water and waste disposal etc. (DNCC, 2017; DSCC, 2017).

9.3.4. Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)

The traffic division of DMP is mandated to control and manage the vehicular movement, enforce the traffic rules, control parking, maintain lane discipline, free foot path and pedestrian crossing etc. (DMP Ordinance, 1976 and DMP Rules, 2006). In this context, Bangladesh police formulated ‘the Bangladesh Police Strategic Plan 2016-2020’ where the goal was set to enhance traffic clearance, enforcement of traffic law and create public awareness to ensure better traffic management in the metropolitan area with the following targets:

- Maintain traffic discipline in a more professional manner;
- Shift from manual to accredited auto signaling traffic signals in metropolitan areas;
- Take steps gradually to free road and footpath from illegal occupants to ensure maximum use of the same;
- Introduce digital traffic prosecution system in all metropolitan area; contact relevant authorities to prepare and introduce parking plan in metropolitan area;
- Impress relevant authorities to consult the Traffic Division of Police while designing flyover, U-loop, underpass, overpass, bus bay and other road infrastructure;
- Arrange Traffic Awareness Programme regularly involving all stakeholders;

- Maintain close contact with DTCA to implement Revised Strategic Transport Plan (2015-2035);
- Coordinate with JICA, World Bank, DTCA and City Corporation to gradually cover metropolitan cities under Digital Traffic Signaling System;
- Coordinate with City Corporation, BRTA, DTCA, BRTC, Accident Research Institute and other agencies related to traffic management;
- Ensure construction of sufficient bus stops with the help of City Corporation and World Bank Project and compel buses to stop at bus stands;
- Encourage having traffic updates through FM radio broadcasting system.

9.3.5. Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK)

The major functions of the organization are the preparation of development plans, formulation of Master Plan for Dhaka Metropolitan Area, land use planning and zoning control, detailed area planning, planning and construction of new major roads, link roads, bridges and culverts, widening roads and reducing traffic congestions, lay out plans for better traffic circulation, providing open spaces for recreation, acquiring of land under Town Improvement Act 1953 for area development, planned housing areas within the city, satellite town development, construction of markets and shopping centers, implementation of special projects and providing urban facilities and services for public uses and for improvement schemes (RAJUK, 2018).

9.3.6. Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA)

The Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA), established in 1983 under Motor Vehicle Ordinance (MVO), 1983 is the apex government organization in the road transport sector mandated to regulate registration of motor vehicles, issuance of fitness certificate of motor vehicles, issuance of route permit for transport vehicles, issuance of motor driving licenses, issuance of motor driving Instructors' license, registration of motor driving training schools, inspection of motor vehicles involved in road accidents and inspection of government vehicles for repair etc. BRTA is the main regulatory authority to control, manage and maintain standards in the road transport sector in Bangladesh. It also controls ownership transfer, fitness and tax token, route permit, number plate, driving licence and driving competency test board (BRTA, 2017b).

From time to time, all these agencies have taken various policies in response to immediate problems and needs for traffic management, but all these policies do not show any long-term vision and planning. Since these policies aimed at instant results, they could not yield any long-term gain and benefit and certainly without any visible improvement in the robust traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. Policies and plans are okayed by agencies faced major challenges during the phase of implementation. Moreover, a lack of integration is visible in all aspects of transportation. Even, different institutions or agencies were established to manage different aspects of transportation, but in practice were not integrated under an independent and unique authority though the Dhaka Transport Co-Coordinating Board was formed for coordination in 2001(RSTP, 2015; BIGD, 2016; Chowdhury, 2003).

The policy making process in Dhaka is very complex and involves a number of stakeholders but every process is constrained by lack of coordination among key agencies, absence of appropriate manpower, want of logistical support, and lack of vision (BIGD, 2016). Each and every agency formulates policy separately during the planning stage without sharing it with other agencies. It happens that RAJUK does not know about the plans of City Corporations for road construction and BRTA does not know DMP's plan about the management of traffic flow. DMP does not know the road works in the area of the Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority (D-WASA) and Dhaka Electric Supply Authority (DESA). Agencies take their decision in their own way and then sit together in a meeting in order to justify their decisions (Interview with SP, DTCA, 2018; City planners, RAJUK, 2018). In this process, agencies do not explore the local experts or if available at all, do not employ them for any work. For example, STP was prepared by the foreign experts the 'Louis Berger Group Inc' (2005) and the revision of the project was made by JAICA and the metro rail project would be implemented by the foreign experts. Even experts or consultants' opinion are not fully complied with, rather, the top management tailored the plan in their own way (STP, 2005, RSTP, 2015).

In order to solve the immediate problem, agencies in the megacity take up the engineering solution and prefer major infrastructure development projects such as new roads, flyovers, bus acquisitions which have big financial implications but do not give any positive results in reducing the traffic congestion (BIGD, 2016). For example, all flyovers constructed so far have rather

complicated the traffic at the entry and exit points instead of easing the traffic congestion (FGD with Sergeants, 2018). Whereas other less costly non-infrastructure measures such as travel demand management and traffic management are not taken into consideration (ADB, 2011). Similarly, rickshaws in Dhaka, for example, are an important mode of transport but no one knows the exact number of rickshaws plying in the megacity (STP, 2005). Even, there is no policy framework for them. Rickshaw management issues such as licencing and registration are in utter disarray (Interview with DC, Traffic South, 2018).

In interviews, some respondents mentioned that RAJUK's plan does not always conform to the ground reality. RAJUK uses a unique standard value of land-use ratio for the entire city which cannot be replicated everywhere in the megacity of Dhaka for different physical and geographical structure and land use (BIGD, 2016). Similarly, there is neither planning nor enforcement of parking facilities for mushroom growth of various structures and shopping malls etc. RAJUK had built a multi-storied car parking facility at Gulshan but very few people use the facilities; instead, dwellers of this area often park on the road. The failure to enforce the parking law shows organizational inertia of RAJUK. It does not have skilled manpower, capacities and effectiveness (Gallagher, 2016). Similarly, Dhaka City Corporations frequently dismantle, reconstruct and eliminate road islands and dividers which have a financial implication but it reflects the absence of long terms plans. Likewise, traffic police change no entry provisions and one-way road without resorting to sustainable traffic management (Interview with road users and drivers, 2018).

The implementation process is also challenged by lack of capacity or interest to enforce, non-compliance by transport users and politics and political economy. For example, RAJUK is responsible for planning, approving land use, building plans and monitoring and enforcing of development plans. But RAJUK fails in monitoring and enforcing the development plans approved by them. There is no visible coordination in planning between RAJUK and private builders or developers in Dhaka city and consequently, the RAJUK plans are frequently disregarded (BIGD, 2016). Likewise, the City Corporations are the authority for issuing licences of non-motorised vehicles like rickshaw, but they have not issued licences for a long time which gave occasion to make fake licences. Pedestrian and bicycle facilities have not been given priorities in spite of the

recommendation made in the STP and RSTP. Respondents stressed that BRTA licensing procedure for drivers is too time-consuming and largely fails the large and growing demand for such licenses. Therefore, some functions such as driver licensing, particularly of trucks and buses, are controlled by the trade union leaders of the sector. Licensing examinations are typically waived for bus and truck drivers on the recommendation of the association leaders (Rahman, 2014).

As Dhaka is growing, it is imperative to consider various transport alternatives, such as MRT (Mass Rapid Transit), BRT (Bus Rapid Transit), light rail, heavy rail, metro or underground rail, and the express highway. But the government prefers some projects which involve huge cost undertaken ostensibly for the political gain of government and monetary benefit of interest groups. The interest groups who have strong preference for capital-intensive schemes are foreign companies, automobile industry, contractors, consultants, politically influential and ministry personnel. The metro rail project cost was originally estimated in 2011 at \$1.7 billion but experts reveal that it will not be completed within this budget (BIGD, 2016).

Moreover, each organization lacks skilled manpower and resources. For example, traffic police in DMP are three thousand only. They hire Ansars who do not have institutional training, skill, knowledge and attitude (FGD with Sergeants). Sometimes, technical positions are often filled by non-technical persons in other agencies. This creates internal tension with a negative impact in the effectiveness of the organization. Another crucial aspect is the absence of accountability. Very few organizations have monitoring processes except for monthly meetings and there is no evidence that such meetings hold anyone to account. The line Ministry can establish accountability but it is far away from the ground. For example, remnants of road work remain for days together to clean out and to remove from the roads though it creates awful situation for road users. No one is held responsible for this suffering. Moreover, auditing processes are also very weak, and there is very little transparency (BIGD, 2016, Rahman, 2014).

The most crucial aspect of the traffic management is the non-cooperation from the drivers and owner's association who are directly affiliated with the political party. It is very difficult to enforce any traffic rules against the drivers of buses, minibuses and trucks in the city. Even, a mobile court under the direction of the Executive Magistrate abandoned the eviction of illegal truck parking at Mirpur in the face of organized resistance of the truck drivers and owners

(Interview with ex-police Commissioners, 2018). On another occasion, Mayor Anisul Haque of Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC) himself failed in a bid to evict illegal establishments in the capital's Tejgaon area. At least 10 people suffered injuries in a clash between police and truck labourers during the eviction. DNCC Mayor was blocked at the office (The Daily Sun, 9th November, 2015).

One thing has penetrated into the core of every organization is the corruption. From the process of procurement to tender process, there is corruption everywhere. The enforcement apparatus and other regulatory organizations, officials and influential political supporters are involved in the corruption since cash money flows are very attractive to all in the transport sector. This has a serious negative impact in the enforcement of rules (Interview with members of civil society, 2018).

Finally, multiple organizations assigned to manage the Dhaka's transport system are challenged by their feeble policies, poor internal governance system, overlapping mandate and acute absence of integration and externally lacking in co-ordination. There are a number of policies undertaken by the institutions to ensure the orderly, timely and easy flow of traffic without any tangible outcome. Rather, Dhaka's traffic congestion is increasing day by day, becoming more complex and chaotic. In fact, an integrated visionary policy based on the ground reality and effective implementation, together with good coordination among key agencies for the traffic management is absent.

It is imperative to review the past studies on transportation system and the different transportation studies on Dhaka City with special emphasis on traffic congestion and traffic management issues. A review of literatures reveals that, only a limited number of studies have been completed on Dhaka City and no studies have so far been accomplished to point out the governance issues of the road traffic in Metropolitan Dhaka. Some ideas from this review have been incorporated in the current study.

Baquee (1979) conducted a study regarding traffic problem in the old Dhaka. It was a comprehensive study on nature, cause and probable solution of traffic congestion in the old Dhaka. This study recommends time restriction for some heavy vehicles, parking provisions improvement, one-way system, banning of selected vehicles from selected roads to solve the congestion. But the

study is too old to replicate in the changed scenario. Shankland Cox Partnership (1979) Study was a comprehensive study on transport development in metropolitan Dhaka, which emphasized on the construction and management of road network. This engineering solution has become unsuitable for the heavy congestion in today's megacity Dhaka. Ahmed (1980), Ahmed and Hoque (1988) discussed different aspect of failure of traffic management and administration of Dhaka city. It was found that existing transport facilities were not adequate to meet travel demand and mixed mode situation, which resulted in traffic congestion and danger. Suggestions for modifications of traffic management and policies had been made. This may not suit to the present day volume of traffic in the megacity Dhaka.

Md. Asadullah Khan has described the scenario of traffic jam in Dhaka city in the Daily Star with the title "When shall we get rid of Dhaka city traffic jam?", published on October 20, 2007 (Khan, 2007). He mentioned that the huge fleet of cars, buses and all other types of vehicles gridlocked everywhere in the metropolitan city. Karim (1997) found that limited resources were invested for the development of transport facilities. The poor infrastructure and huge number of vehicles, coupled with the rapid rise in transport demand, existence of a huge number of non-motorized vehicles on roads, lack of application of adequate and proper traffic management schemes are producing severe transport problems in almost all the urban areas of Bangladesh. According to Nasrin Khandoker and Jonathan Rouse (2004), the congestion in Dhaka has been a growing problem during the last 15 years (Khandoker and Rouse, 2004). Shuichi and Hironao (2003) have shown in their study that the implementation of the traffic signalling strategies can improve the traffic situation of the street cars.

BIGD (2016) in 'State of Cities: Traffic Congestion in Dhaka City- Governance Perspectives' focused on 'governance perspective' in developing and explaining the traffic management system and its associated dynamics in Dhaka city. It argues that, without a much fuller understanding of the governance perspective and developing a comprehensive view of different dynamics, no effort will provide the traffic juggernaut in the metropolitan Dhaka. Therefore, this study focuses on the governance aspects of traffic management in Dhaka to assess its successes and shortcomings, and to identify how it could be strengthened.

Mahmud *et al.* (n.d.) ‘Inherent Weaknesses of Transportation System in Dhaka Metropolitan City and Challenges for Sustainable Development’ have pointed out the inherent weakness of Dhaka Metropolitan city in particular relation to transportation system and identifies some of the forthcoming challenges for sustainable development. Moreover, a brief outline of the existing land use and transport scenario and detailed quantitative analysis with accessibility and functionality of the existing road network have been presented.

Chowdhury (2013) focused on causes of road congestion such as significant increase in population and also all types of vehicles, simultaneous presence of motorized and non-motorized vehicles in the same street, traffic mismanagement and poor transportation and infrastructure planning. He recommended that all these problems can be solved by undertaking infrastructure development. Barnamala, (2015) has pointed the causes behind the huge traffic jam in Dhaka megacity and the traffic jam has created adverse impact on economy and environment.

Shihab (2018) stressed the importance of conducting research to find out the innovative ways for the improvement of traffic management. Taking into consideration of all the issues in the poor traffic situation, he suggested that many countries in this world have already overcome this issue by creating public-private partnership to make a plan for everyone to win.

Arefin (2012) considered that the crux of Dhaka’s traffic problem stems from mismatching of 'design traffic' and the ‘capacity failure’ of the road network. Therefore, these issues should be addressed with viable solutions to solve Dhaka’s traffic problem. Since there are flaws in the design of basic vehicle modes, encouragement of motorized traffic even to a limited scale would require constructing some new road infrastructures, some new rules and regulations. He recommended some suggestions to overcome this traffic impasse in the metropolitan Dhaka.

The government has taken following studies for the traffic management of Dhaka megacity:

Table-9.3: Past Transport Projects/Studies on Dhaka City

Name of the Project	Project Period
<u>Dhaka Integrated Transport Study</u>	1992-1994
<u>DUTP - Dhaka Urban Transport Project</u>	1997-1999
<u>The Bus Route Franchising Study</u>	2003

<u>Strategic Transport Plan (STP)</u>	2005
<u>Study on Bus Operation in Dhaka City</u>	2007
<u>Dhaka Urban Transport Network Development Study (DHUTS)</u>	2009
<u>Greater Dhaka Sustainable Urban Transport Project</u>	2010

Source: Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority, 2018

Table-9.4: Ongoing Transport Projects

Name of the project	Project Period
BRT and Corridor Restructuring Implementation Study and Preliminary Design Work for the Uttara-Mohakhali-Ramna-Sadarghat Corridor in Dhaka	2010- 2011
Bus network and regulatory reform implementation study and design work	2010-2011
Review of DTCB Act and Motor Vehicle Ordinance (MVO)	2010-2011

Source: Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority, 2018

All the above projects were undertaken with the target of specific goal for the transportation in the megacity Dhaka. The Greater Dhaka Metropolitan Area Integrated Transport Study (DITS, 1992-1994) produced numerous recommendations to improve traffic flow in Metropolitan Dhaka. As a result, Dhaka Urban Transport Project (DUTP), a technical assistance project, was created. The main objective of this project was to provide detailed plan and scope for structural improvement of road transportation system of Dhaka city. Efficient urban management, cost recovery, community participation and involvement of the private sector were identified as the key tools for providing efficient, affordable and sustainable transport. After DUTP, the major study made for traffic and transportation planning has been termed as Strategic Transport Plan (STP) for Dhaka City which has been planned for 20 years starting from 2005 to 2025. STP has proposed for installation of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) as a solution of transport problems of Dhaka City among ten alternative transportation strategies based upon an initial assessment of the technical information from the travel demand model. These strategies include a broad range of road investment, transit investment and various mixes of both road and transit investments, together with other multi-modal transportation components comprising the diverse system that serves Dhaka. The ten strategies are described in terms of three distinct levels of increasing investment in roads and three distinct levels of investment in mass rapid transit. Already, 7 years have passed after the finalization of STP, yet no significant improvement has

been observed in the traffic situation of the Dhaka city. In 2014, the much hyped Strategic Transport Plan, 2005, was reviewed. The Revised Strategic Transport Plan (RSTP) was drawn up for a twenty-year-long project from 2015-2035. The RSTP includes the construction of five metro rails, six flyovers at a cost of Tk3.86cr which have been finalized with JICA in coordination with Dhaka Transport Coordination Authority (DTCA).

From the above review, it appears that most of the transport studies in metropolitan Dhaka were concerned with causes of traffic congestion and recommended engineering and enforcement solution to traffic management. Some of them dealt with mass transit system in the metropolitan area. But there is virtually no study about the governance issues of traffic management. The overall transportation system of Dhaka city has not been developed in a planned way rather it has been developed in dynamic response to increasing travel demand. Even there is no definite policy to a sustainable transportation system. Uncontrolled land-use together with increasing migration of rural people towards Dhaka is increasing pressure on transportation system and creating traffic congestion and other related problems.

For better understanding of the traffic management in the megacity Dhaka, the researcher used a quantitative survey design. Side by side, face to face interview and focus group discussion were conducted to verify the views that came out of the survey. Above all, content analysis was used to identify the present traffic management system of Dhaka City. Various research projects, articles, reports were analyzed which gave the picture of traffic management scenario in Dhaka megacity. Questions were based on information gathered during the literature review to ensure that they were representative of what respondents should know about the traffic management in Dhaka megacity. Content validity was further ensured by consistency in administering the questionnaires. After the collection of data, it was organized and analyzed by using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequency tables were drawn and from these, the data were presented in bar graphs and table. The open-ended questions were analyzed through quantitative content analysis by the researcher with the aim of quantifying emerging characteristics and concepts.

9.4. Respondents' demographics

A sample size of 100 respondents were chosen at random. The stratification was 50 from police personnel serving in the traffic division of Dhaka Metropolitan Police and 50 from the

members of civil society living in the megacity Dhaka. This sample size of 100 respondents is enough to generalize and make recommendations based upon the findings. The following is the tabular format of the respondents' demographics.

Table:9.5: Demographic Profile

Type of respondents		
Respondents	Number	
Public	50	
Police	50	
Area of the respondents		
Dhaka North City Corporation	46	
Dhaka South City Corporation	42	
Others	5	
Gender of the respondents		
Male	94	
Female	4	
Age		
Respondent	Minimum	Maximum
Public	25	69
Police	29	56
Occupation		
Jobholder	88	
Student	1	
Businessman	2	
Engineer	1	
Total	92	
Education		
Secondary	5	
Higher Secondary	6	
Graduation	18	
Post-Graduation	69	

The above table shows that 46 respondents lived in Dhaka North City Corporation, 42 respondents in Dhaka South City Corporation and 5 respondents in other areas. 94 respondents are male and 4 respondents are female. The minimum and maximum age limit of public and police respondents are between 25 and 69, 29 and 56 respectively. Almost all the respondents are job holders and majority of the respondents have post graduate education.

9.5 Respondent's use of the transport modes in the megacity Dhaka during the past 3 months (from January to march, 2018)

The travel mode of the commuters in Dhaka megacity is road based. The rail system passing through the megacity is not a suitable alternative of the road-based travel modes particularly in the case of inner city commuter movements. On the other hand, there is no waterways for a viable alternative particularly at the fringe areas. In this context, commuters are bound to use either motorized and non-motorized mode of transport operating on each and every road, except some important routes in the megacity Dhaka.

The following is the tabular format of the travel mode of the respondents in Dhaka megacity.

Table: 9.6: Respondent's use of the transport modes

Use of the Transport Mode	Respondents	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	All the time	No Comments
Rickshaw	Public	0	6	20	22	2	0
	Police	5	12	25	5	3	0
Auto Rickshaw	Public	3	20	16	5	1	5
	Police	15	13	22	0	0	0
Bus	Public	6	10	9	7	18	0
	Police	10	11	19	3	6	1
Cargo Van	Public	43	2	0	0	0	5
	Police	47	0	1	0	0	2
Covered Van	Public	39	5	1	0	0	5
	Police	48	0	0	1	0	1
Delivery Van	Public	39	5	0	6	0	6
	Police	45	3	0	1	1	1
Human Hauler	Public	39	4	2	0	1	4
	Police	37	9	3	0	0	1
Jeep	Public	22	12	9	1	3	3
	Police	31	13	5	0	0	1
Microbus	Public	15	13	17	2	1	2
	Police	20	17	10	2	1	0
Minibus	Public	13	16	13	2	5	1
	Police	15	18	8	6	3	0
Motor Cycle	Public	14	11	11	11	2	1
	Police	3	3	5	10	29	0
Pick Up	Public	37	5	2	1	0	5

	Police	34	10	2	0	4	0
Private Passenger Car	Public	8	9	16	7	8	2
	Police	14	16	18	2	0	0
Taxicab	Public	17	18	9	4	0	2
	Police	23	10	13	2	0	1
Tractor	Public	45	0	0	0	0	5
	Police	45	1	3	0	0	1
Truck	Public	43	2	0	0	0	5
	Police	49	0	0	0	0	1
Ambulance	Public	42	5	0	0	0	3
	Police	39	7	2	0	1	1
Others	Public	19	3	1	0	2	23
	Police	19	3	0	0	0	25

The above table shows that respondent's use of the transport modes in the megacity Dhaka in the past 3 months are predominantly rickshaw, bus and motorcycle. 24% public respondents often use rickshaw whereas a tiny percentage (8%) police respondents use the rickshaw. This may be explained that police get the government vehicle such as pick up, jeep and motorcycle for movement from one place to another. Moreover, the rickshaw dominates the streets of Dhaka megacity though it operates only on some designated routes mostly inner lanes and by-lanes. On the other hand, 18% public respondents use bus all the time, the only mass transit in the megacity whereas 6% police respondents use bus. Very small percentage of both the police and public respondents uses mini bus though the number of minibus operating in the megacity is not large. 13% public respondents and 39% police respondents use motor cycle since it can go faster to any lane and by-lane by any means even disregarding the traffic law. Interestingly, like 'Uber', the megacity Dhaka has witnessed the recent introduction of rented motor cycle known as 'Pathao'. Therefore, commuters avail themselves of the rented motor cycle as pillion riders operating in the streets of Dhaka (Interview with a passenger, 2018). Police respondents who have been working in the traffic division of Dhaka Metropolitan Police are given motor cycle by the police department and the use of motor cycle by the police respondents is higher than those of the public respondents. 15% public respondents and 2% police respondents use private passenger cars. In reality, private cars dominate the streets of the megacity Dhaka as demonstrated by the increasing number of registrations of private cars compared to other vehicles. Respondent's use of private car is at minimal level. It means that the use of private car, though large in number plying in the streets of Dhaka megacity, is not still

within the reach of the low-income group. Rented taxi car are not large in numbers operating in the Megacity Dhaka.

9.6 Respondents' assessment about the overall road traffic situation in Dhaka megacity during last quarters of 2017

Respondents were asked to assess the overall road traffic situation in the megacity Dhaka during last quarters of 2017. The opinion of both police and public respondents on the overall road traffic conditions in terms of congestion level are shown in the following table.

Table 9. 7: Respondents' assessment about the overall road traffic situation

Respondents	No congestion	very Slight congestion	Slight congestion	Moderate congestion	Heavy congestion	Do not know
Public	0	1.01	2.02	4.04	42.42	0
Police	2.02	0	4.04	17.17	27.27	0

The above table shows that 17.17 % public respondents and 4.04% police respondents consider that there is a moderate congestion in Dhaka megacity. Whereas 42.42 % public respondents and 27.27% police respondents consider that there is heavy congestion in Dhaka megacity. This indicates that the road traffic congestion in Dhaka megacity is severe. Moreover, FGD with drivers proves that the drivers are more critical of the traffic situation since they are more affected by road traffic congestion. Public perception of the heavy road congestion is supported by RSTP (2015) and STP (2005). During the face to face interview, some of the police officers of the traffic division do not consider heavy traffic congestion in the megacity. Since police officers of the traffic division are entrusted to manage and ensure the smooth flow of the traffic in the megacity, they do not want to take any liability for traffic congestion and therefore, reluctant to term it as heavy congestion. Moreover, there are some streets where the traffic situations are better compared to other streets of the megacity Dhaka. In spite of the conflicting opinion, it is a fact that the streets of Dhaka megacity are heavily congested.

9.7. Respondents' assessment about the overall road traffic situation in Dhaka megacity compared to five years ago

Respondents were asked to make an assessment about the overall road traffic situation in the Dhaka megacity compared to five years ago. The results of the survey are summarized in the following table.

Table 9. 8. Respondents' assessment about the overall road traffic situation compared to five years ago

Respondents	Has improved than before	No change	More congested than before	Most congested	Do not know
Public	8	8	30	54	0
Police	48.98	6.12	28.57	16.33	0

The above table shows that only 8% of public and 6.12% of the police personnel consider that there is no change of the road traffic condition compared to five years ago. However, 8% public respondents and 48.98% police respondents consider that the situation has improved. As against the view of the public respondents, majority of the police respondents agree that the traffic situation has improved compared to five years ago. In the face to face meeting, police officers also claim that the situation has improved considerably but interview with drivers and road users do not confirm the view expressed by the traffic police. On the other hand, 84% public respondents and 44.90% consider heavily congested than before in the megacity Dhaka. This view was supported by the FGD with drivers and members of the civil society. Since police are the visible symbol of the traffic management in the streets of Dhaka megacity and people tend to put the responsibility on the police for good or bad performance in the traffic management, police could hardly admit any failure on their part in mitigating the traffic congestion. Therefore, a substantive numbers of police officers consider improvement in the traffic situation.

9.8. Respondents' opinion about factors responsible for the poor traffic management and road traffic congestion in Dhaka megacity

Both the police and public respondents were given a list of 22 factors and asked if they would agree with each of them as the cause of road traffic congestion and poor traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. The results are summarized in the table below.

Table :9. 9. Factors responsible for the poor traffic management and road traffic congestion

Factors responsible for poor traffic management and road traffic congestion	Respondents	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally Agree	No comment
Lack of Planning	Public	0	1	2	28	18	1
	Police	17	4	0	20	9	0
Lack of Inter-agency coordination	Public	0	1	3	21	25	0
	Police	2	1	0	31	16	0
No land for building new roads	Public	1	9	0	23	16	1
	Police	8	1	1	27	13	0
Too many road works without coordination	Public	0	0	1	21	28	0
	Police	2	0	0	26	22	0
Too many vehicles on roads	Public	3	2	2	20	23	0
	Police	4	1	1	24	20	0
Growth of private vehicles	Public	2	5	1	19	23	0
	Police	1	4	1	17	27	0
Absence of mass transit	Public	5	7	3	20	15	0
	Police	6	5	2	18	18	1
Unfit vehicle on the road	Public	5	1	4	21	19	0
	Police	8	2	4	21	14	1
Dominance of non-motorized transport	Public	6	7	3	20	14	0
	Police	2	1	1	17	28	1
Inadequate trained manpower	Public	2	3	4	25	15	1
	Police	6	9	0	19	16	0
Poor knowledge of traffic rules	Public	1	4	2	25	17	1
	Police	2	2	1	18	27	0
Flouting traffic rules	Public	2	1	3	23	21	0
	Police	4	3	1	19	23	0
Obsolete traffic rules with less fines	Public	3	5	7	20	13	2
	Police	8	1	1	16	24	0
Illegal parking on the road	Public	0	1	1	14	34	0
	Police	2	1	1	19	27	0
Passengers picking-up/ dropping-off & goods loading and unloading on roads	Public	0	1	0	16	33	0
	Police	2	1	1	19	27	0

Pedestrians jaywalking	Public	1	0	0	24	25	0
	Police	3	0	1	19	27	0
Encroachment of roads and sidewalks	Public	0	1	0	15	34	0
	Police	3	2	0	22	23	0
lack of rigorous traffic law enforcement	Public	0	2	0	28	20	0
	Police	8	7	2	15	17	1
Easy availability of driving license	Public	7	11	3	15	13	1
	Police	7	10	3	20	10	0
Faulty traffic signaling systems	Public	3	2	2	20	22	1
	Police	14	10	2	15	9	0
Lack of Traffic education and awareness	Public	2	1	6	20	21	0
	Police	4	1	2	21	22	0
Frequent VIP & senior officers' movement	Public	2	3	3	19	23	0
	Police	9	4	3	16	15	3

The above table shows that majority of both the group of respondents agree with the list of factors responsible for traffic congestion. In the face-to-face interviews, the general public, drivers and the police were asked to tell the major causes of traffic congestion in the megacity of Dhaka. In the interview, they mentioned that the lack of planning for a comprehensive traffic management system, lack of inter-agency coordination, enormous growth of private vehicles and absence of mass transit are the fundamental causes of road traffic congestion in the megacity Dhaka. Besides, they reveal that one of the major problems of Dhaka city roads is the uncontrolled access directly connected with the major roads which reduce the mobility of the road. RAJUK provides the alignment of road but the layout of access or position of access is not identified. For the lack of proper pre-positioning of access, the owner who has plot on road side, constructs building without considering the accessibility or road connectivity of the backside communities. In this context, the community people made connection with the main road haphazardly on the land. Moreover, the lack of enforcement on illegal stopping and parking at and around intersections and a complete breakdown of lane discipline worsen the smooth traffic flow, mostly beyond of control of the traffic police. Besides, inappropriate road side's land use activities and the corner point development further decrease the capacity of the intersection and fully damage the future improvement options. Encroachment of road and road side walkways is one of the major inherent operational problems of the city transportation system. The hazards by these encroachments hinder smooth flow of traffic and occupy almost one third of the operational space of the major road. Insufficient parking facilities at shopping centers as well as the commercial areas have remarkable

impact on traffic flow in adjacent roadways.

In an e-mail communication, ex-Inspector General revealed that poor traffic management and traffic congestions are due to the system that works without any ground rules for compliance in the entire traffic system. It is the driver who is primarily the key actors- both the protagonist and villain in the whole system of traffic management. There has never been any initiative from any side to educate and train the drivers about the traffic rules and conduct on the street. Traffic law enforcers have never attempted to record the driver's address and antecedent along with the address of the owners of vehicles. Violation of traffic rules by any driver is inflicted on the owner of vehicles without bringing its drivers to the ambit of traffic law. Tracking a driver from registration number is a near impossible task as there exist no system of maintaining latest and updated address of drivers and owners of vehicles. It is worth noting that the most developed countries have the provision of recording details of punishments and fines in the license booklets of offending drivers. The perpetrators of penal actions are made visible and readily available as information to the enforcement authorities. Where drivers are frequent violators of traffic rules, their licenses show the details of the fines and punishment meted out to them. Such drivers may be liable to the forfeiture of their licenses. In Bangladesh, no such provision exists at all (Rahman, 2014). There are unfit vehicles visible in the streets of Dhaka megacity which got the clearance of fitness from BRTA. The process of fitness by the BRTA lacks transparency and expertness. Some Motor Vehicle Inspectors who do not have proper education and competency were given the entire responsibility of taking care of the mechanical fitness of all vehicles in the country.

9.9. Respondents' opinion about the responsibility of vehicle for the chaotic traffic in the megacity Dhaka.

The mode of transport in the megacity is the mixture of both motorized (viz. bus, mini-bus, truck, car, auto-rickshaw, auto-tempo, motorcycle etc.) and non- motorized (viz. rickshaw, rickshaw van, bicycle, push cart etc.) transportation on the same road. Some of them are very slow-moving transports which are considered to be responsible for the chaotic traffic in the megacity. In this context, opinions of the respondents were sought about the responsible vehicle for the chaotic traffic in the megacity.

The following table shows the distribution of the opinion of respondents.

Table:9. 10: Responsibility of vehicle for the chaotic traffic in the megacity Dhaka.

Vehicle's responsibility for chaotic traffic	Respondents	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	All the time	No Comments
Rickshaw	Public	0	4	10	16	20	0
	Police	1	5	9	4	31	0
Auto Rickshaw	Public	2	6	15	17	7	3
	Police	1	8	19	10	10	2
Bus	Public	2	8	10	20	9	1
	Police	2	6	14	12	15	1
Cargo Van	Public	6	11	22	6	3	2
	Police	9	22	8	5	5	1
Covered Van	Public	8	9	21	8	2	2
	Police	8	23	9	4	5	1
Delivery Van	Public	6	11	22	7	2	2
	Police	8	23	12	5	1	1
Human Hauler	Public	8	5	16	9	5	7
	Police	6	10	16	9	8	1
Jeep	Public	7	17	15	6	3	2
	Police	11	20	7	6	5	1
Microbus	Public	5	19	14	5	5	2
	Police	10	16	10	8	4	2
Minibus	Public	3	20	11	8	6	2
	Police	5	10	12	12	10	1
Motor Cycle	Public	17	10	9	10	3	1
	Police	16	13	6	5	8	2
Pick Up	Public	5	23	13	4	4	1
	Police	3	16	14	11	5	1
Private Passenger Car	Public	5	6	11	9	19	0
	Police	10	6	15	7	12	0
Taxicab	Public	6	23	11	6	2	2
	Police	10	10	21	7	1	1
Tractor	Public	24	11	3	1	0	11
	Police	19	6	8	5	6	6
Truck	Public	3	14	12	14	5	2
	Police	9	8	21	8	3	1
Ambulance	Public	26	9	5	3	0	7
	Police	24	5	10	6	3	2
Others	Public	11	6	2	0	0	26
	Police	7	5	7	1	1	24

Of the non-motorized transportation, rickshaw is the dominant mode of transport in the lanes and by lanes of neighborhood in the megacity Dhaka. Both the public (46%) and the police (44%) have assigned responsibility to rickshaw for the chaotic traffic in the megacity Dhaka. Similarly, auto rickshaw has been considered for the worst traffic in the megacity Dhaka as reflected by the opinion of the public (39%) and police (39%) in the above table. It is the opinion of the expert that the bus and mini bus as a mass transit should facilitate the flow of traffic since it can carry a large number of commuters. But here both the public (bus 39%, minibus 25%) and the police (bus 41%, mini bus 34%) put responsibility on the bus and minibus for creating chaotic traffic in the streets of Dhaka megacity. This has been due to the poor planning, timing and management of the operation of the bus and mini bus in the city. As to the private passenger car, both the public (39%) and the police (34%) consider a transport for the poor traffic condition in the megacity.

9.10. Respondents' opinion about the highest priority given to transport modes to use roads

Respondents were asked to give opinion about the highest priority to transport modes to use roads. Respondents' views on the types of vehicles to be given priority are shown in the table below.

Table:9. 11. Distribution of opinion about the priority given to transport modes to use roads

User friendly mode	Respondents	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	All the time	No Comments
Rickshaw	Public	18	13	15	2	1	1
	Police	24	6	13	1	1	5
Auto Rickshaw	Public	6	14	17	9	4	0
	Police	10	16	8	0	11	5
Bus	Public	1	2	2	8	37	0
	Police	3	3	5	5	30	4
Cargo Van	Public	14	23	7	3	1	2
	Police	22	9	10	0	4	5
Covered Van	Public	13	24	6	2	3	2
	Police	21	10	14	0	0	5
Delivery Van	Public	8	27	7	3	2	3
	Police	15	8	18	1	3	5

Human Hauler	Public	10	21	12	2	3	2
	Police	10	9	12	3	11	5
Jeep	Public	1	7	25	8	8	1
	Police	9	5	11	8	12	5
Microbus	Public	2	6	16	11	14	1
	Police	4	8	11	3	19	5
Minibus	Public	0	4	9	13	22	2
	Police	0	5	9	6	25	5
Motor Cycle	Public	3	2	10	12	22	1
	Police	1	5	6	3	31	4
Pick Up	Public	5	20	12	5	5	2
	Police	9	4	16	5	6	9
Private Passenger Car	Public	4	9	16	8	12	1
	Police	9	4	21	2	9	5
Taxicab	Public	2	5	16	12	13	0
	Police	0	2	14	9	21	0
Tractor	Public	37	7	1	0	0	5
	Police	27	12	4	0	0	7
Truck	Public	19	21	7	1	0	2
	Police	30	9	6	0	0	5
Ambulance	Public	3	1	3	4	38	1
	Police	8	6	3	5	26	2
Others	Public	3	3	3	0	1	35
	Police	14	1	5	0	0	22

The above table shows that the majority of both the general public and the police respondents consider that buses (45% public and 35% police), microbus (25% public and 22% police), minibus (35% public and 31% police), motorcycle (34% public and 34% police), private passenger car (20% public and 11% police) and ambulance (42% public and 31% police) should be given priority in the streets of Dhaka. Interestingly, interview with the private car owners and drivers indicates that private passenger car should also be given priority. Rickshaw which is dominating the streets of Dhaka megacity does not get priority from both the groups of respondents. Blaming Rickshaws for traffic congestion and subsequently banning them from major roads has not had the desired effect. Traffic is still as bad now as it was before the rickshaws were banned on major roads (Shoyan, 2008).

All these views were supported by FGD with drivers and civil society members. Moreover, the following points came out from the discussion:

- (a) There is also strong support to giving priority to some transport modes such as bus minibus, rickshaw and private passenger car in using the limited road space in Dhaka megacity;
- (b) There is a dominant view that priority should be given to franchised buses, and there is also some support to give priority to minibuses;
- (c) Most people support giving priority to private cars since private car owners are increasingly registering with the ‘Uber’, while some people do not support giving priority to goods vehicles to ply in the megacity Dhaka.

9.11. Respondents’ recommendation for the mass transit (Bus, Mini bus and metro rail) to improve the traffic situation in Dhaka megacity

In the megacity Dhaka, there is virtually no organized mass transit system. Neither the waterways nor the railways as mass transit are of any service to the commuter in the megacity Dhaka. The transportation system of Dhaka city is predominantly road based. Therefore, bus is the only mass transit for commuters in the megacity. Buses in Dhaka city are operated both by private and public sectors. The current bus network provides low coverage, has several route overlaps and does not meet passenger trip patterns. Alone in the Dhaka Metropolitan Area (DMA), a staggering 21 million trips take place daily yet failing to attend passengers’ demand due to their erratic routing. This results in buses piling up in the arterials, with combined frequencies that even reach 9 buses per minute in the same direction (Khan, 2017). According to Strategic Transport Plan (2005), present contribution of mass transit is around 30-40 percent of the passenger trips whereas mass transit should share 80 percent of the total trips to provide an efficient transportation system. Private cars have taken up more than 50 percent of available road space in Dhaka and a car can merely accommodate two people in a 10-square-foot space, while a public transport can accommodate 15 people on the same space. Therefore, cars account for just 6-8 percent of passenger transport while buses are responsible for 49 percent. This insignificant 6-8 percent of the users is occupying 76 percent of the streets (Khan, 2017).

The following table shows the respondents' recommendation for the mass transit (Bus, Mini bus and metro rail) to improve the traffic situation in Dhaka megacity.

Table 9. 12. Distribution of respondents' recommendation for the mass transit

Respondents	Not suggest at all	Not suggest	Neutral	Suggest	Suggest very much	No comment
Public	9.28	7.22	2.06	17.53	14.43	1.03
Police	17.53	2.06	0	19.59	9.28	0

The above table shows that majority of both police-public respondents (public 31.96 % and police 28.87%) agreed that the mass transit (Bus, Mini bus and metro rail) would improve the traffic situation in Dhaka megacity. This was supported by discussion with civil society members.

9.12. Respondents' suggestions to improve the mass transit

Both the police and public respondents were given a number of suggestions whether they agree or not to improve the mass transit especially the operation of bus. The following table shows respondents' recommendations for the improvement of the mass transit.

Table:9. 13. Distribution of respondents' suggestions to improve the mass transit

Suggestions to improve mass transit	Respondents	Not Agree at all	Not Agree	Neutral	Agree	Totally Agree
Approved fare collection	Public	3	2	2	27	16
	Police	2	3	2	34	9
Improved ticketing system	Public	4	1	3	24	18
	Police	5	6	5	25	9
Increased number of various modes of public transport	Public	6	1	1	19	23
	Police	3	6	6	17	18
Obedience to law & discipline on the road	Public	1	0	1	21	27
	Police	0	1	0	15	34
	Public	1	0	0	18	31

Taking and dropping passengers at a designated spot	Police	0	0	0	15	35
Transport of good quality with fitness worthy of plying	Public	0	0	1	19	30
	Police	0	0	0	14	36
Well trained drivers	Public	1	0	1	13	35
	Police	0	0	3	18	29
Separate mass transit for women	Public	4	7	2	15	21
	Police	8	4	5	20	13
Air-Conditioned facilities	Public	6	4	11	17	12
	Police	15	14	4	11	6

In the above table, both the public and police respondents agree with the proposition such as approved fare collection (43% public and 43% police), improved ticketing system(42% public and 34% police), increased number of various modes of public transport (42% public and 35% police), obedience to law & discipline on the road (48% public and 49% police), taking and dropping passengers at a designated spot (49% public and 50% police), transport of good quality with fitness worthy of plying (49% public and 50% police), well trained drivers (48% public and 47% police), separate mass transit for women (36% public and 33% police) and air-conditioned facilities (29% public and 17% police). In the focus group discussion, more issues came out. They stressed that bus operation specially trip of both private and public buses should be managed keeping in view of the travel demand. Otherwise, bus will wait for passengers and make congestion in the street. FGD with members of civil society also focused on the subways, metro rail and circular waterways for commuters in the megacity.

Interviews with police officers and some bus owners point out that Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) has huge benefit and large potentials. But there are so many conflicting and constraining issues like insufficient road width, insufficient space for Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) station, uncontrolled and excessive access road, huge pedestrian movement, unorganized and non-integrated road network, mixed operation in major roads of the route, lack of traffic signal and lack of passenger information etc. on the existing transport system of the city, which directly conflict the implementation of the Bus Rapid Transit BRT successfully. These issues should be addressed to implement the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT).

9.13. Respondents' opinion about the necessity of the interagency coordination for the robust traffic management in the megacity of Dhaka

Coordination is complex and crucial, both at the day-to-day operation level and at the policy level. Coordination problems may occur when several institutions are required to act together to achieve certain objectives, and the problems may worsen if the various institutions' activities, operations and areas of jurisdiction overlap. Lack of cooperation and coordination among government agencies whose nature of operation and system for reporting decisions are different. This acute lack of coordination has also to a large extent made it difficult for the implementation of various policies and solve the problems of their clientele. Lack of coordination complicates the work in the field (Khan 1997; Panday and Jamil, 2010). Coordination is very important in the difficult task of traffic management of megacity Dhaka. Six agencies are playing critical role directly in formulating policy and plans, developing infrastructure and maintenance, regulatory role and enforcing laws on the road (BIGD, 2016). The following table shows the distribution of respondents' opinion about the necessity of the interagency coordination for the robust traffic management in the megacity of Dhaka

Table 9. 14. Distribution of respondents' opinion about the necessity of the interagency coordination

Respondents	Yes	No	Do not know
Public	49	0	0
Police	51	0	0

The above table shows that almost all the respondent gave their opinion in support of the interagency coordination for the robust traffic management in the megacity of Dhaka.

9.14. Respondents' rating of the interagency coordination for the traffic management in the megacity of Dhaka

Respondents were asked to rate the interagency coordination for the traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. The following table shows the distribution of the respondents' rating of the interagency coordination for the traffic management.

Table:9. 15. Distribution of respondents’ rating of the interagency coordination for the traffic management

Agencies	Respondents	Weak	Very Weak	Somewhat Strong	Fairly Strong	Strongest	Do not Know
Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC)	Public	13	21	11	1	0	4
	Police	13	20	10	0	0	7
Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC)	Public	12	30	4	0	0	4
	Police	10	23	8	1	0	8
Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA)	Public	6	35	3	0	1	5
	Police	11	20	10	2	0	7
Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA)	Public	12	29	2	1	1	5
	Police	10	21	14	0	0	5
Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK)	Public	11	25	9	0	0	5
	Police	10	26	7	0	0	7
Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)	Public	9	19	14	2	2	4
	Police	5	6	7	16	11	5

The above table shows that both the public and police respondents rated Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC) (34% public and 33% police) as weak; Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC), (42% public and 33% police) as weak; Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA), (41% public and 31% police) as weak; Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA), (41% public and 31% police) as weak; Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK), (36% public and 36% police) as weak; Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) (28% public and 11% police) as weak; Only police rated themselves strong but public respondents rated police as weak.

There is very limited coordination among the relevant institutions in Dhaka in preparing their transport policies and plans, from inception to the end of the project. There may be meetings of top management at organizational level, but field officers are not often informed about the decision. They are often stunned by each other’s initiatives as they work separately. At field level, there is even no cooperation (BIGD, 2016). Sometimes, traffic police do not know the road works that cause enormous and unexpected challenges for police to keep the traffic flowing. Moreover, frequent political and social events, VIP and VVIP movement create unprecedented impacts on

traffic congestion. Parking and footpath are systematically rented illegally by the local mastan with powerful political lobby but the responsible organizations do not come forward to deal with the problem. Other agencies are not free from political influence (Rahman, 2014).

In the discussion with civil society members, RAJUK was rated the weakest in cooperation among the six institutions. The other five organizations were rated good in inter agency cooperation and coordination. In the discussion, it is also revealed that RAJUK has been responsible for all the problems, Dhaka city is now facing. The land use policy without taking into consideration of the mobility of people and the utter failure to enforce the plan have created this chaotic situation in the traffic management. Moreover, most of the time RAJUK does not share its plans during the plan making stages.

9.15. Respondents' opinion about the agencies' responsibility for the poor traffic management

Respondents were asked to evaluate the agency's responsibility for the poor traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. The following table shows the agency's responsibility for the poor traffic management.

Table:9.16. Distribution of respondents' opinion about the agencies' responsibility for the poor traffic management

Poor traffic management	Respondents	Not at all	Partially	Fully	No Comment
Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC)	Public	0	32	14	4
	Police	1	30	14	5
Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC)	Public	0	32	14	4
	Police	1	30	13	6
Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA)	Public	0	18	29	3
	Police	2	24	19	5
Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA)	Public	0	27	18	5
	Police	2	28	14	6
Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK)	Public	0	30	15	5
	Police	3	28	14	5
Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)	Public	3	23	22	2
	Police	17	22	6	5

The above table shows that Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC) (46% public and 44% police), Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC) (46% public and 43% police), Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA) (47% public and 43% police), Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA) (45% public and 42% police), Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK) (45% public and 42% police) and finally, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) (45% public and 28% police) were responsible for the poor traffic management. Interestingly, 17% police respondents did not agree that Dhaka Metropolitan Police are responsible for the poor traffic management. In the discussion with members of civil society, people consider that RAJUK, City Corporations and the traffic division of Dhaka Metropolitan Police are responsible for the poor traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. These organizations have vital role to play in the robust traffic management in all areas. Moreover, drivers have anti-traffic police attitude indicating that traffic police are all along non-cooperative.

9.16. Respondents' opinion of the most common and frequently violated traffic offences in the megacity of Dhaka

A list of 20 offences were given in the questionnaire to seek respondents' opinion about the most common and frequently violated traffic offences in the megacity Dhaka. The following table shows respondents' opinion about the most common and frequently violated traffic offences.

Table:9.17. Distribution of respondents' opinion of the most common traffic offences

Traffic offences	Respondents	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally Agree	No comment
Overtaking when prohibited	Public	2	3	0	30	15	0
	Police	2	2	0	30	16	0
Using the mobile phone when driving	Public	1	1	1	34	13	0
	Police	1	2	0	32	15	0
Violation of traffic red light signal	Public	2	2	1	30	15	0
	Police	0	5	1	26	18	0
Failing to wear the seat belt	Public	3	3	4	24	15	1
	Police	1	3	1	34	10	1
Getting off the road to bypass a traffic jam	Public	2	0	2	20	26	0
	Police	1	6	2	20	19	2
	Public	3	1	0	31	15	0

Not stopping at pedestrian crossing when given signal	Police	1	3	2	24	20	0
Stopping at undesignated areas to pick-up and dropping passengers	Public	0	1	0	24	25	0
	Police	1	0	0	20	29	0
Exceeding the speed limit	Public	6	1	3	26	14	0
	Police	9	5	3	18	15	0
Movement on the wrong side of the road	Public	2	0	1	23	24	0
	Police	4	0	4	21	21	0
Plying of unfit vehicle	Public	2	2	1	25	20	0
	Police	5	8	3	16	18	0
Driving without driving license	Public	5	3	2	23	15	2
	Police	4	5	1	27	13	0
Unregistered vehicle	Public	5	2	4	25	12	2
	Police	9	7	5	20	8	0
Blowing of hydraulic horn	Public	2	3	3	27	15	0
	Police	7	6	0	27	10	0
Motor cycle driver and pillion rider without helmet	Public	9	2	2	23	13	1
	Police	6	7	3	15	19	0
Driving dangerously and carelessly	Public	5	0	3	27	15	0
	Police	1	10	5	17	17	0
Disobey police order	Public	3	2	5	29	11	0
	Police	5	2	3	20	19	0
Black smoke emission	Public	1	4	4	26	15	0
	Police	5	9	6	23	7	0
Overloading	Public	1	2	3	22	22	0
	Police	4	3	7	16	20	0
Blocking road or public place	Public	0	1	1	19	29	0
	Police	1	3	4	11	31	0
Lane violation	Public	0	2	1	29	18	0
	Police	0	1	3	19	26	1

The above table shows that respondents agree with the most frequently violated traffic offences mentioned in the table in the megacity Dhaka. Face to face interview and discussion with both the police and public revealed that the most frequently violated offences are using the mobile phone while driving, violation of traffic red light signal, failing to wear the seat belt, not stopping at pedestrian crossing when given signal, stopping at undesignated areas to pick-up and dropping

passengers, movement on the wrong side of the road, indiscriminate honking, disobey police order, blocking road or public place and lane violation etc.

DMP performs the role of enforcing authority at field level and in case of any violation of traffic laws, there are arrangements of legal cases, fines, seizing, towing away and dumping of vehicles. The following is a sample of four days of enforcement activities by DMP in January and February, 2018.

Table 9.18: DMP traffic police actions against violations of traffic laws (sample of 4 days)

Penalties for violation of law	January24, 2018	Feb 2, 2018	Feb 3, 2018	Feb 17, 2018	Total (4 days)
Legal cases	2788	1732	1906	2728	9154
Wrecking vehicles	481	154	262	407	1304
Dumping	31	42	78	40	191
Seizing motorbikes	29	19	4	41	93
Seizing cars	3	1	2	0	6
Fines (Tk)	1968000	769874	1047675	1469007	5254556

Source:¹⁷ and DMP News a, b, c, d,

It shows that DMP traffic police seized 6 cars and 93 motorbikes and filed 9154 legal cases against violation of traffic rules by vehicle drivers. The violations included using hydraulic horn, hunter beacon lights, driving on the wrong side and using prohibited tinted window glass. These four days also witnessed 1304 vehicles being towed away ('wrecking'), 191 vehicles dumping, and total fines of over TK.52,54,556.00.

BRTA also arranges the mobile courts conducted by Executive Magistrates and supported by law enforcement authorities. A 'Mobile Court' is a moveable court established under the Mobile Courts Act, 2009 with powers to enforce laws immediately (Mobile Court Act, 2009). Their powers in case of violation of law include search, seizure, disposal, and on-the-spot penalties.

¹⁷ <https://dmpnews.org/>

The following table shows the activities of the Mobile Court during one year from September 2016 to October 2016.

Table 9.19: Statistics of Mobile Court

Date	No. of Mobile Court	No. of case	Fine (Taka)	Vehicle Dumping	Sent to Jail	Seizure of paper
30/10/2016	03	34	81,500	01	00	01
27/10/2016	03	42	48,300	01	02	06
26//10/2016	03	60	89,600	02	05	04
25/10/2016	03	49	78,700	06	01	06
24/10/2016	03	32	50,000	01	00	05
20/10/2016	02	43	57,900	04	01	00
19/10/2016	03	42	1,34,400	08	02	06
18/10/2016	03	27	49,500	02	07	02
17/10/2016	03	52	52,700	01	00	05
16/10/2016	03	18	42,500	00	00	01
13/10/2016	02	25	42,000	02	02	01
10/10/2016	03	23	22,600	00	00	05
09/10/2016	02	19	34,500	00	00	03
06/10/2016	02	38	36,500	00	00	03
05/10/2016	02	16	40,200	00	00	04
03/10/2016	02	11	21,700	00	07	00
02/10/2016	02	35	53,500	00	00	03
29/09/2016	03	66	1,18,000	00	00	05
28/09/2016	03	39	79,500	00	00	10
27/09/2016	03	120	2,07,300	00	00	08
26/09/2016	03	94	1,71,500	02	00	02
25/09/2016	03	33	71,500	02	00	01
24/09/2016	03	29	60,500	02	00	05
22/09/2016	03	22	51,000	01	03	00
24 days	65	969	1695400	35	30	125

Source: BRTA, (2017c)

The above table shows that 65 Mobile Court operations took place during 24 days and 969 legal cases were filed. 1695400 tk. were penalized, 35 vehicles were dumped and 30 were sent to jail and documents were seized in 125 cases. The Mobile Courts help to make the situation better at least few days against the public tendency to flout the traffic rules (Interview with ex-DG, BRTA, 2018).

9.17. Respondents' suggestions to improve traffic law enforcement in the megacity Dhaka

A list of 20 suggestions were given to seek respondents' evaluation in order to improve the traffic law enforcement in the megacity Dhaka. The following table shows the distribution of suggestions given by the respondents for the improvement of the traffic law enforcement.

Table:9.20. Distribution of Respondents' suggestions to improve traffic law enforcement

Suggestions to improve traffic law enforcement	Respondents	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally Agree	No comment
Planning for comprehensive traffic management	Public	0	0	0	22	28	0
	Police	1	2	3	26	18	0
Inter-agency coordination	Public	0	0	0	21	29	0
	Police	0	2	0	22	26	0
Reduction of non-motorized transport	Public	2	2	6	16	24	0
	Police	0	2	2	15	31	0
Reduction of growth of private vehicles	Public	2	4	3	11	30	0
	Police	1	2	1	18	28	0
Introduction of viable mass transit	Public	0	0	2	13	35	0
	Police	0	1	0	14	35	0
Removal of unfit and unlicensed vehicle	Public	0	0	1	18	31	0
	Police	5	0	3	14	28	0
Increase of trained manpower	Public	0	0	1	28	21	0
	Police	2	2	2	20	24	0
Strengthening of traffic law enforcement system	Public	0	0	0	19	31	0
	Police	2	3	0	11	34	0
Conduct of mobile court	Public	2	6	2	17	22	1
	Police	4	11	1	14	20	0
Special incentive and facilities for traffic police	Public	1	6	6	19	18	0
	Police	5	0	3	7	35	0
Updating traffic rules with higher fines	Public	2	3	3	21	0	0
	Police	5	1	1	11	0	0
Eliminate illegal parking on the road	Public	0	0	0	12	38	0
	Police	0	0	0	16	34	0
Stop picking-up/dropping-off	Public	0	1	3	13	36	0

	Police	0	0	0	14	36	0
Stop pedestrians jaywalking	Public	0	1	1	19	29	0
	Police	0	0	0	21	29	0
Reducing the encroachment of roads and sidewalks	Public	0	0	2	11	37	0
	Police	0	0	3	13	33	1
Maintain standard in driving license in offering driving license, improvement of licensing and vehicle inspection system	Public	0	0	2	15	33	0
	Police	2	2	1	15	30	0
Proper management of traffic signaling systems	Public	1	0	0	22	27	0
	Police	1	1	2	20	26	0
Automatic traffic violations central database	Public	0	0	0	17	33	0
	Police	0	1	2	14	33	0
Awareness building	Public	0	0	1	28	21	0
	Police	0	2	1	18	29	0
Control VIP & senior officers' movement	Public	0	1	0	15	33	1
	Police	8	3	2	17	18	2

The above table shows that all respondents agree with all the suggestions given for the improvement of traffic law enforcement. Only one thing both the respondents did not agree was the updating of the traffic law and the enhancement of fines. People are not concerned about the law though the law was made in 1983 (The Motor Vehicle Ordinance, 1983) and by this time, it has become obsolete in the present-day volume of transportation and the increase of vehicles in the megacity Dhaka. The Motor Vehicle Ordinance, 1983 originally regulated motorized vehicles only, but not the non-motorized and gas driven vehicles, and even pedestrians. The gas-fuel and battery-powered engines have not been incorporated into the law, and the issue of registration and fitness certificates to CNG- and battery-powered vehicles are beyond the jurisdiction of the law. The other relevant legal and administrative instruments pertaining to road traffic and road safety include a) The Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940 and Motor Vehicles Rules-1984, b) Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976. FGD with drivers, police and members of civil society reveal that planning for comprehensive traffic management, inter-agency coordination, reduction of non-motorized transport, reduction of growth of private vehicles, introduction of viable mass transit, strengthening of traffic law enforcement system, conduct of mobile court, updating traffic

rules with higher fines, reducing the encroachment of roads and sidewalks and maintaining high standard in offering driving license may ease the traffic congestion.

9.18. Causes of non-operationability of traffic signal

The peculiarity of the traffic control in the megacity of Dhaka is the mixed use of digitalized and hand signal. In this context, respondents were asked to assign the causes of non-operationability of traffic signal in the megacity Dhaka. The following is the distribution in the tabular format.

Table:9.21. Distribution of causes of non-operationability of traffic signal

Causes of non-operationability of traffic signal	Respondents	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally Agree	No comment
Huge volume of vehicles cannot be synchronized with signal time Traffic signal is not maintained regularly by DCC	Public	4	6	2	21	17	0
	Police	7	10	2	16	15	0
Signal is not maintained regularly by DCCs	Public	1	0	1	26	22	0
	Police	0	9	2	22	17	0
Road users and drivers do not abide by the traffic signal	Public	4	8	5	21	12	0
	Police	6	4	2	17	21	0
Traffic police are reluctant to use traffic signal	Public	4	4	7	19	14	0
	Police	12	28	1	4	5	0
Frequent VIP movement	Public	1	7	3	21	18	0
	Police	9	6	3	12	19	0
Senior govt. and police officers' movement	Public	5	6	5	18	13	3
	Police	9	12	2	10	17	0

It is always reported that the digitalized signal cannot be operated since the huge volume of vehicles cannot be synchronized with signal time. This view was supported by the majority (69%) of the respondents. The traffic in the megacity fluctuates from time to time specially during the beginning and ending of the office and the schooling hour. When the traffic volume is huge, digitalized traffic signal cannot maintain the traffic flow, rather it creates heavy congestion in the street. In the context of the volume of traffic, therefore, traffic police use hand signal to control the

traffic. This view was revealed by the traffic division of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police. DCCs (North and South) are responsible for the installation and maintenance of the traffic signal. But it is always alleged the traffic signal is not maintained by DCCs on regular basis forcing the traffic police to control traffic by using hand signal (Interview with DC Traffic, South, 2018). Respondents (public 48% and police 38%) supported this view. Respondents (public 33% and police 38%) hold the view that road users and drivers do not abide by the traffic signal which is a contributory factor to the non-operationability of traffic signal. On the other hand, 33% public respondents consider that the traffic police are reluctant to use traffic signal which was not agreed by 40% police respondents. Moreover, both the group of respondents hold that frequent VIP movement and senior government and police officers' movement get the highest priority for their movement among the competing road users which prevent the traffic police from operating the traffic signal.

Box.9. 1. Non-operationability of traffic signal

On 26th of May, 2015, traffic signal lights were put on in Dhaka and transport users were instructed to follow them. As 26th and 27th were public holidays, traffic was light and no major problems were encountered. But on 28th May in evening, the city was paralysed in gridlock and the traffic system entirely collapsed. As of media report, the situation got so bad that at 9.30 pm the DMP commissioner called for switching off the digital signal lights and reverting to manual control. The digital signals were installed by Dhaka Transport Cooperation Authority (DTCA) with cooperation of Dhaka City Corporation. Under the Clean Air and Sustainable Environment (CASE) project financed by World Bank in 2010-12, DTCA and DCC installed solar-powered automatic traffic signals at 70 intersections, spending about Tk.15 crore. The automatic signaling system was piloted as an objective of the project. On 28th May, however, the pilot ended with chaos and failure. The day after the event, the authorities blamed each other for this failure. In interviews with BIGD, no organisation, particularly DTCA, DCC or DMP, took responsibility for this. However, the lack of coordination was evident and the problem seems deep-rooted.

Firstly, the allocation of management responsibility for traffic signals is still a fragile one. From the beginning of the signaling system in 1977, RAJUK was in charge. Thereafter, in 1980 it shifted to DMP and two years later (1982) DCC was assigned. Since then, DCC has been in charge of maintaining traffic lights and countdown timers, but DMP retains authority for manual supervision and control of the junctions (Anonymous, 2016). However, the Tk.15 crore CASE project was implemented by DTCA not DCC or DMP.

Authority has been overlapping and human resources including quantity and quality have not been developed within a single institution (BIGD, 2016).

9.19. Respondents' opinion about the awareness building program in the promotion of users' compliance with traffic rules

Violations of traffic rules and etiquette by road users have come to be regarded as a social problem and there are concerns about the number of traffic accidents caused by users of such modes of transport. Therefore, traffic education plays a significant role in awareness building in the promotion of users' compliance with traffic rules and in the design and implementation of a successful road safety program of every country. Taking into consideration both the importance of traffic education and that the improvement and modification of road user's behavior takes time, some countries developed a portal and an e-learning traffic safety platform to promote safe transport and mobility. The platform provides online road safety and traffic education information to the road users, students, parents, teachers, driver instructors, professional drivers, thus, helping the formation of mature road safety culture and promoting safe travel (Nishiuchi, 2014). In the developed countries, police themselves go to the educational institutions for showing the audio-video of using the road so that they can learn and use the road properly (Interview with DC Traffic, South, 2018). The following table shows the distribution of respondents' opinion about the awareness building:

Table 9. 22. Distribution of respondents' opinion about the awareness building

Respondents	Yes	No	Do not know
Public	47	2	1
Police	50	0	0

In the table above, almost all (97%) respondents agree that the awareness building program will promote users' compliance with traffic rules. In the megacity Dhaka, there is no such organized traffic education program for road users except the campaign launched in the traffic week by the police once in a year. However, Nirapad Sarak Chai (movement for safe roads) is a private platform for sustained civic campaign on the road safety agenda launched by the film actor, Ilias Kanchon. The platform recently launched a web portal dedicated to the safe road agenda. The

platform organizes meetings, publicity events, marches and human chains to build greater awareness and pressure for the safe road agenda (Rahman, 2014).

9.20. Conclusion

Since Dhaka becomes one of the fastest-growing and the overpopulated megacities, it has been constrained by multiple issues and challenges. One of the persistent concerns for the people of the megacity has been the deteriorating day by day traffic congestion. Therefore, it is the prime concern for all to make Dhaka megacity free from the traffic juggernaut. The high traffic congestion with mixed-modes of transport using the same road space is the feature of the road transportation system of the megacity Dhaka. Although the motorization level in Dhaka is still very low compared to other cities of the world, there has been a significant increase of various types of vehicles every year. Motorized vehicles, private cars, jeep, micro-buses and motor cycles have increased significantly each year in the megacity Dhaka. At the same time, private vehicles' growth increased significantly rather than the public transportation growth.

In the megacity Dhaka, there is virtually no organized mass transit system. The transportation system of Dhaka city is predominantly road based. Therefore, bus is the only mass transit for commuters in the megacity. Buses in Dhaka city are operated both by private and public sectors. The current bus network provides low coverage, has several route overlaps and does not meet passenger trip patterns in the Dhaka Metropolitan Area (DMA).

All laws operating in the management and control of vehicle have become obsolete in the present day volume of transportation and the increase of vehicles in the megacity Dhaka. The Motor Vehicle Ordinance, 1983 originally regulated motorized vehicles only, but not non-motorized and gas driven vehicles, and even pedestrians. This has been further compounded by poor enforcement of traffic rules.

There is the multiplicity of service providers with unclear and often overlapping mandates. From time to time, various policies undertaken by the concerned agencies in response to immediate problems and needs for traffic management do not show any long-term vision and planning for the improvement of the robust traffic management in the megacity Dhaka. Policies and plans are okayed by agencies faced major challenges during the phase of implementation. Moreover, a lack

of integration is visible in all aspects of transport sector. Even different institutions or agencies established to manage different aspects of this sector were not integrated under an independent and unique authority though the Dhaka Transport Co-ordinating Board was formed for coordination in 2001. The policy making process in Dhaka is very complex and involves a number of stakeholders but every process is constrained by lack of coordination among key agencies, absence of appropriate manpower, want of logistical support, and lack of vision. This acute lack of coordination has also to a large extent made it difficult for the implementation of various policies and solve the problems of their clientele.

The most crucial challenge of the traffic management is the non-cooperation and non-compliance from the drivers and owner's associations who are directly affiliated with the political party. It is very difficult to enforce any traffic rules against the errant drivers of buses, minibuses and trucks in the city. On the other hand, people are not internalized and motivated to comply with the traffic rules. This has further been compounded by the flow of illegal money from transport sector. The enforcement apparatus and other regulatory organizations, officials and influential political supporters are involved in the corruption since cash money flows are very attractive to all in the transport sector. This has a serious negative impact on the enforcement of rules.

Finally, organizations involved in the management of Dhaka's transport system are internally challenged, as well as externally lacking in co-ordination. Therefore, Dhaka's traffic congestion is increasing though a number of policies and institutions are employed to ensure the orderly and timely flow of traffic. It is argued that congestion can be reduced to a large extent with an integrated visionary policy and effective implementation, together with good coordination among key agencies for the traffic management.

Chapter 10: Public Perceptions of Police in Metropolitan Dhaka

10.1 Introduction

Public perception whether negative or positive is an important factor in policing. How the public view the police is very crucial since public support is essential for the enhancement and promotion of the rule of law in any society. In fact, positive perception of police trust and fairness promote engagement, and compliance and community involvement in the process of policing (Bradford and Jackson, 2011). In other words, positive views of the police by citizen can lead to a positive relationship with the police, which can improve the effectiveness of the police in the maintenance of law and order in the society (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Moreover, if people do not believe that their police are fair, people's connections with the police are eroded and the police lose legitimacy and people's support and willingness to cooperate with them for policing (Bradford and Jackson, 2011). Negative view can create resentment and antipathy, impeding the ability of the police to be effective formal agents of law and order (Goldsmith, 2005). Victim satisfaction with the police is another important measure of police performance. Officers' demeanor such as sympathetic, sincere and credible approach to the problem solving and fulfillment of expectation such as the clearance of the case help to form positive public perception (Chandek, 1999). As a law enforcement agency, the enforcement of law derives its legitimacy from the sanction of the public at large. Police must carry the public along with them while seeking to enforce law. Public image of police is based on functional role as designed by law, expectations of public at large and specific groups as well as public's evaluation of the adequacy with which these expectations are met. Police cannot control crime; cannot enforce law without the community and social mandate behind it (Bayley, 1969). Now a days, policing cannot succeed without public support (Islam & Ali, 2008). Policing views are, therefore, important to explore and understand (Nalla & Madan, 2011).

This chapter focuses on the experience of victimization of crime, perception of security, experience of contact with the police, perception of satisfaction about the service given by the police, police conduct and integrity of the police, knowledge of lodging a complaint against the police, physical torture, the image and efficacy of Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

Perception is a way of regarding, understanding or interpreting something. This is an impression which may refer to the conscious understanding that people have of any issue. Thus, public perception is an impression in connection with an issue. There may be a basic disparity between the factual truth and their virtual truth influenced by the public opinion and the mass media. In fact, this phenomenon can be seen as the difference between an absolute truth based on facts and a virtual truth shaped by popular opinion, media coverage and/or reputation (Edward and Johnson, 2010, Ahmed, 2013). However, in this chapter, public perception is simply the type of information obtained from a public opinion survey. In this context, public opinion is merely the aggregate views of a group of people (a randomly selected sample) who are asked directly what they think about Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Answers to structured questions have been recorded and analyzed in simple, quantitative terms of opinion collected at a given moment.

10.2. Review of opinion

The public has many feelings about the police. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) have noted that policemen are objects both of fear and awe; people expect them to be at the same time servants and masters. The ambiguity at the heart of the police function suggests two points relevant to the study of the police. First, it is naive to think that people have a single attitude toward the police. Attitudes toward the police are dependent upon contacts. Therefore, there is no point in posing as a single question what the community thinks about the police.

In this context, any study of public perception with police is difficult. It is illusory since it varies from place to place, from time to time and from one person to another. Therefore, the image of police takes the fluctuating demonstration; it is sometime good or sometime bad depending on the nature of state and the social structural conditions. Two major levels of variable, individual and contextual, shape the public and users' perception towards the police or policing practice. However, public perception of police is influenced by certain variables such as race, age, socioeconomic and political status, gender, contact with police, neighborhood and residence, crime rate, victimization, fear of the police, media's negative portrayal and public distrust of the police (Ahmed, 2013).

Bangladesh Police is the legacy of British colonial administration. Both the rural and urban policing were introduced and consolidated by the British for the purpose of colonial exploitation.

The policing was focused only on crime for the prevention and detection of the crime. The first formal colonial policing systems were organized in 1861 by the Police Act, 1861 (Act no. V of 1861) and the Commissionerate system of policing in 1856 by the Act of 1856 in the Presidency towns of Kolkata, Madras and Mumbai (Chaturvedi, 1985). Likewise, the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance (DMP Ordinance No. III of 1976) was promulgated in 1976 to provide for the constitution of a separate police force for the Dhaka Metropolitan Area and for the regulation thereof. DMP Ordinance, 1976 section 15 embodies the general duties of police officers:

“It shall be the duty of every police officer-- (a) promptly to serve every summons and obey and execute every written or other order lawfully issued to him by competent authority, and to endeavor by all lawful means to give effect to the lawful commands of his superiors; (b) to the best of his ability to obtain intelligence concerning the commission of cognizable offences or designs to commit such offences, and to lay such information and to take such other steps, consistent with law and the orders of his superiors, as are best calculated to bring offenders to justice or to prevent the commission of cognizable offences, or the commission of non-cognizable offences within his view; (c) to the best of his ability, prevent the commission of public nuisances; (d) to apprehend without unreasonable delay all persons whom he is legally authorized to apprehend and for whose apprehension there is sufficient reason (e) to aid another police-officer, when called on by him or in case of need in the discharge of his duty, in such ways as would be lawful and reasonable on the part of the officer aided. (f) to discharge such duties as are imposed upon him by any law for the time being in force.”

Thus, the Act limits Bangladesh police from taking the role of modern police to include customary functions of police such as investigation, arrest and providing social services (CHRI, 2005) though the Police Act, 1861 (V of 1861) shall not apply to the Dhaka Metropolitan Area. The above section reveals the replication of the colonial practices in spite of the fact that the DMP Ordinance, 1976 was enacted in the independent Bangladesh. It has been recognized that the post-colonial and post-independent Bangladesh witness the enthusiastic reinforcement and replication of colonial practices for the petty interests of the government and not for the general interest of the state which was supported by the procedural law of the country. The police belong to the state and not to any particular government. This conception gives the scope of politicization of police for the interest of the government which makes the image crisis of the Bangladesh police. Unfortunately, police attitude had remained the same as a legacy of the British colonial past.

During the British rule, police was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, primarily in the interest and according to the policy of the government in power and only secondarily in the interest of citizens. This attitude created all evils of highhandedness, lack of respect for lawful rights of the citizens, indiscipline in the force and unjustified oppression of the citizens. Still today, the common public complaints against police are refusal to register cases, impolite behavior and highhandedness, corruption and delay in investigation (Huda, 2009; Ahmed 2013; Bayley, 1969). On the basis of these presumptions, police-public relations in Dhaka megacity could be explored.

Since the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance of 1976 can also be traced back to the colonial law and procedures, there has not been any fundamental departure from the practices of the colonial police. However, Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance of 1976 incorporated features that removed duality of control as in the Police Act, 1861 between the Magistracy and the police and gave adequate regulatory and licensing powers to the police chief, the Commissioner of Police. It is against the background the public perception of the effectiveness of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police shall be judged (Huda, 2009).

There are very few studies ever conducted in Bangladesh till now. Only media reports are the foundation for the public perception of the police. In most cases, they are tremendously negative and stereotyped which catalyzes the formation of public opinion. Moreover, DMP police force is drafted from the stock of the national police which suffers from the image crisis. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to conduct research on the public perception of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Previous surveys in relevant areas were particularly useful. They could provide an indication of progress made in terms of perceived security and police performance. Notably, recent surveys conducted by UNDP, Data Management Aid, Safer world and Mitra & Associates, Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB), PPRC and Daily Star-Nielsen opinion survey were drawn upon.

The political intervention is rampant in the day to day law enforcement and policing in the Dhaka Metropolitan area. The people are almost unanimous in their statements about the interference in the functioning of police mostly by political leaders and persons in power. The political interference has wreaked havoc in the process of promoting the rule of law in metropolitan area. It has been alleged that some police officers themselves, including some of those at the upper echelon of service, have demonstrated an straight inclination to please the political bosses for their

personal and professional aggrandizement. This has created an aura of apprehension of the police-politician nexus, much to the detriment of the norms of law and justice (Huda, 2009; Khan *et. al.* 1989). The same view was echoed in other public opinion surveys conducted from time to time by various agencies (Haider *et.al.* 2006; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; Huda 2009).

Khan, *et. al.* (1989) mentioned that many respondents (30.4%) including political leaders, public representatives, educationists, retired government officials held the view that the Dhaka Metropolitan Police had failed to achieve their objectives and to fulfill people's expectations. Some of the witnesses and respondents commented that in recent years, there have been marked deterioration in traffic management and increase of some crimes like hijacking, robbery and other social vices in the Dhaka Metropolitan area. The Dhaka Metropolitan Police has not been able to prove their expected effectiveness in matters of prevention and detection of crimes, maintenance of law and order, management of traffic, control of social vices etc. which are principal duties of police (Khan, *et. al.* 1989). As to the assessment of police performance based on the public attitude survey, Haider, *et al.* (2006) mentions that police do not perform their duties efficiently; they are either negligent or deliberately avoid performing duties; even police harass the innocent citizens.

Public trust and confidence are important factor for policing the society hemmed in between groups. The Dhaka Metropolitan Police could not earn the common man's trust and confidence by their performance and conduct and the age-old mistrust and fear of police in public mind exists today (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; Safer World, 2008). In fact, police in Dhaka megacity are not popular with the public who do have little confidence in the police. Rahman (2014) mentioned that an overwhelming majority of respondents (71.2 per cent) have indicated declining trust on the institution compared to only 12.6 per cent who have a higher sense of trust. 16.2 per cent have no change in their trust assessment of the institution. Considering all the assessments together, net magnitude of opinions assessing declining trustworthiness of police is 58.6 percent.

Haider *et.al.* (2006) revealed that public satisfaction goes a long way for the establishment and promotion of law and order in any society. Hundred percent of the participants in FGDs expressed dissatisfaction about the current services rendered by the police. The overwhelming majority of the victims (more than 90% of both males and females) were either highly dissatisfied or were unwilling to specify satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding the treatment of the police

with them (Haider *et.al.* 2006). In the follow up survey of UNDP (2009), overall level of satisfaction of the respondents went down. However, they were then more satisfied with both procedure and accuracy of reporting to the police. Overall, 29% respondents in case of procedure of reporting and 35% more in accuracy of reporting expressed satisfaction in the follow up survey. The satisfaction level in both procedure and accuracy of reporting is higher in Model Thanas than those in Comparison Thanas. The respondents' opinion on the level of satisfaction with police behavior and attitude towards people deteriorated in both Model and Comparison areas. This has been explained by the survey that when law enforcing agencies are allowed to work in a non-democratic environment, they tend to become less accountable to the people. Later public perception surveys (Safer world, 2008; UNDP, 2003; UNDP, 2011; UNDP, 2014; UNDP, 2015) mentioned that people are satisfied with the overall performance of the police. While it is hard to make any conclusive statements as the questions and their context were different, all survey reports conducted by UNDP mentioned the increasing public confidence in and satisfaction with the police service for the intervention of the PRP. Moreover, the Daily Star-Nielsen opinion survey (2011) found that 55 per cent perceived improved law and order situation for two years.

Corruption in the police has become a byword in the Bangladesh police and also in Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Corruption is the issue most prejudicial to the image of the police. In terms of perceived corruption within the police service, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (72-78%) at households admitted to have bribed the police, but the majority denied (67- 71%) having received required help from the police (Haider *et.al.* 2006). These findings are similar to those of the research conducted in 2010 by the Institute of Governance Studies of BRAC University in Dhaka. The significant proportion of people told that they, as victims of crime, did not report a crime simply because they felt they did not have enough money to pay the police. This perception prevails in the later surveys (UNDP, 2014). A large proportion of the respondents (67%) mentioned that police in general are engaged in various types of corruption which prevail almost similarly across Model Thanas (71%-rural and 64%- urban) and Control Thanas (56%-rural and 72%-urban) and among male (70%) and females (62%) respondents. 89% respondents in 2011 Baseline survey had the perception of the issue of corruption but later on, public perception about this corruption seems to have improved significantly. On the whole 23% respondents mentioned

that someone in their family had to pay bribes to the police. Almost 24% respondents in Model Thanas and 22% in Control Thana respondents had to pay bribes to the police.

This view about the public perception of police corruption was supported by the TIB (2010) and the TIB, (2013) reports. 79.7 per cent surveyed household reported corruption, whereas 68.1 per cent households paid bribe (TIB, 2010). TIB's data come from 6,000 nationally sampled households of which only 98 households were from Dhaka City Corporation, who were considered users. Though there is no sampling frame by Dhaka Metropolitan area in the TIB report, it is quite difficult to compare the study with TIB's as the methodology, sampling universe and samples are different. The number of metropolitan users is estimated from TIB's proportion of 42% of urban sample, which amount to 2,520 households. This is further fragmented by Dhaka City Corporation's 500 households and 19.5% proportion of user's household, reducing the number to 98 households for the DMP areas (TIB, 2010).

The problem with the surveys conducted by the UNDP for the police reform in Bangladesh is that these were done for the project in accordance with the terms of reference of the donor agencies. Surveys were conducted throughout Bangladesh which may not reflect the views of the performance of Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

Ahmed (2013) conducted a public satisfaction survey with the current policing practice in DMP. The study, funded by the DMP, was carried out to evaluate police performance and assess its image with people. The main findings of the study are that most users visited the police station for the purpose of registering a General Diary; half of the users reported the conduct of police as good; more than half of the users paid no speed money; even those who paid speed money were also satisfied with the service provided by police; the highest givers of speed money are those who visit police station for the purpose of meeting prisoners(75%) followed by follow-up investigation (63%), recovering dues (58%) and filing a police case (57%). It is interesting to note that the majority of the users did not pay any speed money to register GD (72%), to seek advice (70%), and to seek protection for family or for himself/herself (56%). Thus, contrary to popular expectation and previous reports, findings from the survey indicate that the level of users' satisfaction with the current police practices is highly satisfactory which draws a sharp contrast with another recent survey by Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB, 2010; TIB, 2013),

which had found the police, along with political parties, as the country's most corrupt public service institution. This is the survey conducted by Ahmed (2013) exclusively for Dhaka Metropolitan Police. However, media remained highly critical of the findings.¹⁸

The Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), dedicated to ensure safety and security of the capital, is the largest and due to its position, the most important police unit in Bangladesh. Despite the fact that the DMP is a part of Bangladesh Police, it is regulated by a separate statute (The Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976. Ordinance no. III of 1976). However, all the previous reports, as mentioned earlier, had a general focus on corruption or, image of the Bangladesh Police, which did not inform about the situation in the DMP with significant clarity. Alongside, the level of public satisfaction on the services of the police in DMP area is also left in obscurity. This provides the possibility of hasty generalization or, overstatement regarding the service standard or, level of public satisfaction on DMP performance.

10.3. Sample Size

To make sampling more representative, maximum efforts were made to select sample from all strata and types in the universe. Respondents were chosen at random. For in-depth and exploratory nature of the study, the sample size was fixed at the figure of 301, which would justify the reasonable representation to various strata of Dhaka megacity. The following sections discuss the result of the survey conducted to assess the public perception of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP).

¹⁸ www.thedailystar.net/news/cops-hardly-corrupt

The following figures show the distribution of respondents in the city corporations.

Figure 10.1 Distribution of respondents according to the area of Dhaka city

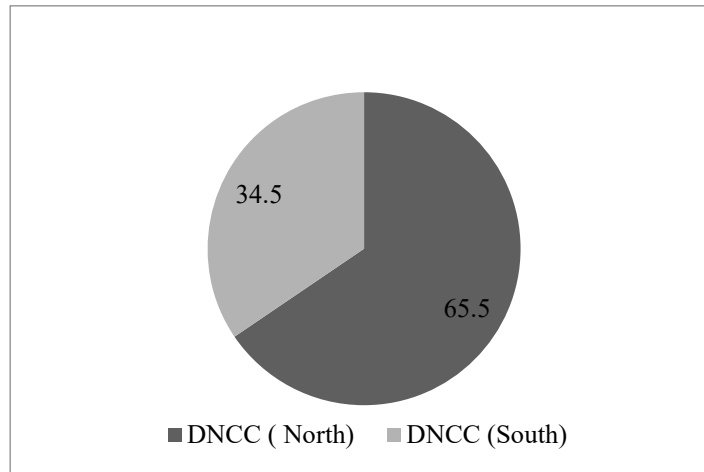
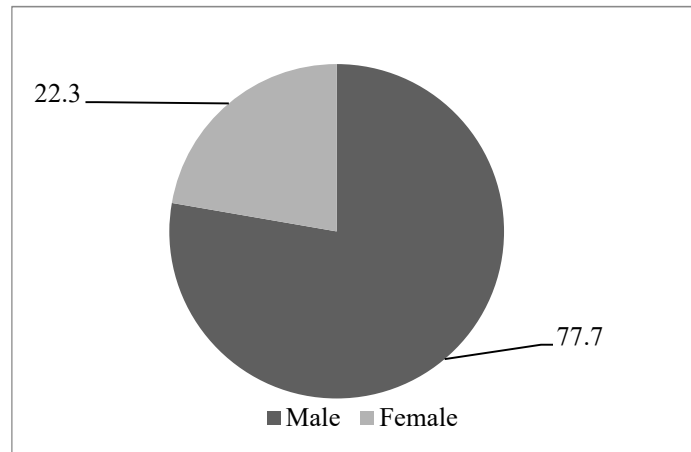


Figure 10.2 Distribution of respondents' gender



The above two figures show that 65.5% respondents are from Dhaka North City Corporation and 34.5% from Dhaka South City Corporation. 77.7% respondents are male whereas 22.3 % are female.

10.4. Respondents' demographics

The following table shows the distribution of respondents' demographics:

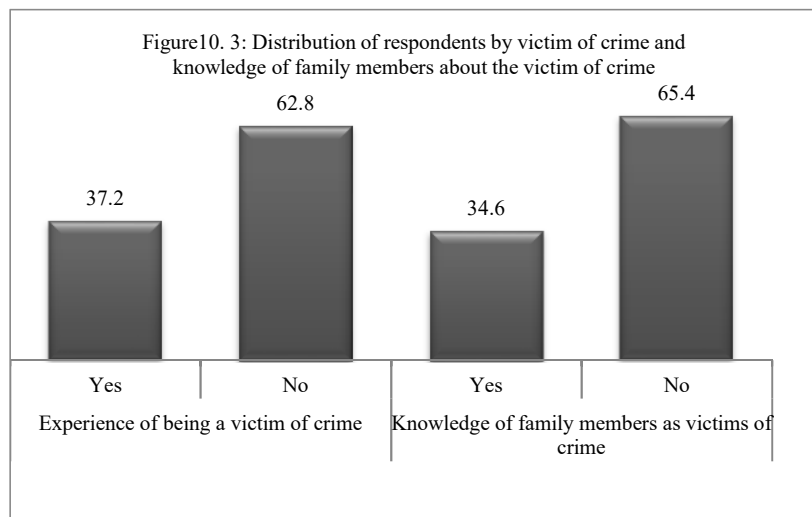
Table 10.1. Distribution of respondents' demographics

Item	Percentage
Gender	
Male	77.7
Female	22.3
Age of respondent	
18-25	27.2
26-35	41.9
36-45	15.3
46-55	12.0
56+	3.7
Religion of the respondents	
Islam	87.0
Hindu	11.3
Buddhist	1.0
Christian	0.3
Others	0.3
Professional status	
Student	24.6
Businessman	12.0
Professional	6.0
Private employee	44.2
Govt. Employee	7.3
Housewife	4.3
Educational qualification	
Primary	2.0
Secondary	6.0
Higher Secondary	17.9
Graduate	32.6
Post Graduate	34.2
PhD	7.0
Monthly income	
5000-10000	15.0
10001-20000	24.9
20001-50000	27.9
50001+	13.0
No Income	19.3

The sample size was fixed at the figure of 301 of which majority (77.7%) respondents are male and the rest respondents (22.3%) are female. Majority of the respondents' (41.9%) age group are in between 26-35 which may be considered as the most important active time in the lives of the people in the megacity Dhaka. The next age group of 18-25 is 27.2% which is the formation period of one's life. The other age groups such as 36-45, 46-55 and finally 56+ have 15.3%, 12.0% and 3.7% respondents respectively. As to the religion of the respondents, majority (87%) of them belong to Islam, the next is Hindus (11.3%) followed by Buddhist (1.0%), Christian (.3%) and others (.3%) which are in proportion with the national demography of the country. The professional status of the respondents is students (24.6%), businessman (12.0%), professional (6.0%), private employees (44.2%), government employees (7.3%), housewife (4.3) and others (1.7%). Majority of the respondents' (34.2%) educational qualifications are post-graduate followed by the graduate (32.6%). The educational qualifications of other respondents are primary (2.0%), secondary (6.0%), higher secondary (17.9%) and PhD (7.0%). The monthly income distribution of the respondents is in the group 5000-10000(15%), 10001-20000(24.9%), 20001-50000(27.9%), 50001+ (13.0%), and no income (19.3%).

10.5. Experience of victimization of crime in Dhaka city during the last one decade

Generally, a victim of crime comes into direct contact with the law enforcement agencies. This gives the occasion to form any opinion in respect of the service, conduct, efficacy, promptness and operational aspect of the police agencies. Participants in the survey were initially asked if they had ever



been a victim of a crime in Dhaka city during the last one decade. In response to the question, majority (62.8%) had no experience of victimization; only 37.2 % respondents told that they were victims of crime. On the other hand, respondents were asked whether anyone of their family members has been victims of crime in Dhaka city during this period. 34.6% respondents told that

their family members became victims of crime whereas majority (65.4%) of respondents did not know that anyone of their family members had been victims of crime in Dhaka city during this period.

10.6. Perception of security

The sense of insecurity produces fear which is as an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety. In other words, insecurity is the sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of physical harm. Furthermore, to constitute fear of crime, the fear must be elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime for the person. This perceived sense of insecurity is more important than the actual victimization of crime which does not happen very frequently but the sense of insecurity is a constant variable gnawing all the time at the heart and penetrates into the innermost core of the society. The sense of insecurity deprives the people of enjoying fully the life in the society (Wikipedia, 2016). Therefore, it is the fundamental work of policing to promote and maintain this sense of security in the society. The following figures show the respondents' perception of security.

Figure 10.4 Distribution of respondents about concern over security within the neighborhood and Dhaka Metropolitan Area

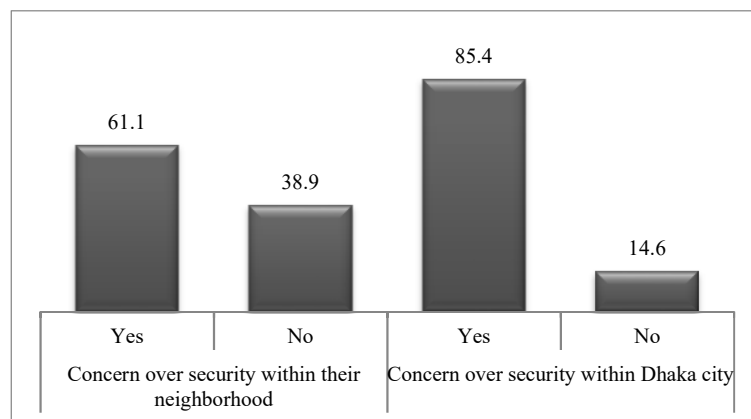
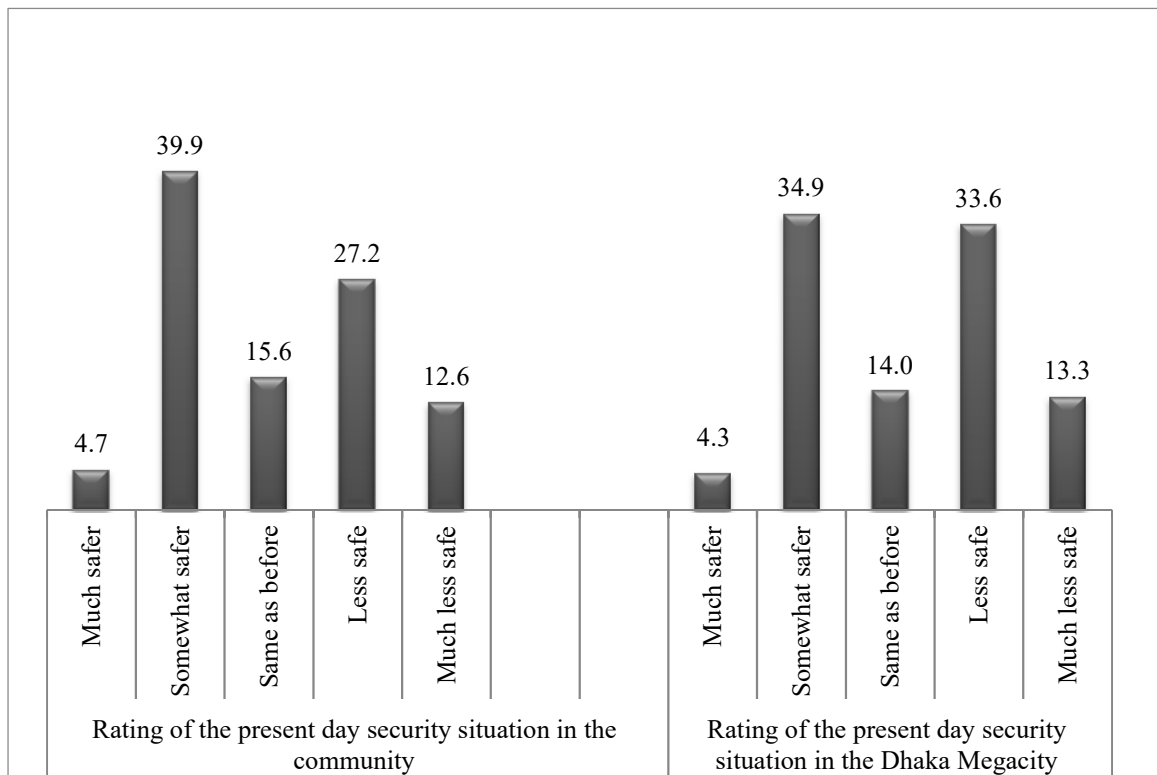


Figure 10.5. Distribution of respondents according to rating of the present day security situation in the neighborhood and the Dhaka megacity compared to five years ago



Respondents were asked whether they were concerned over safety and security within their own neighborhood as well as in the Dhaka megacity as a whole. Majority (61.1%) of respondents expressed their concern whereas the rest (38.9%) respondents told that they were not concerned about their security in the neighborhood. On the other hand, in response to the overall concern of security in the Dhaka megacity, majority (85.4%) expressed their concern of insecurity. However, only 14.6% respondents are not concerned about their security. The majority respondents' perception of insecurity indicates the ineffectiveness of policing in the Dhaka megacity. The scale of perception of present security situation in Dhaka city compared to five years ago has been weighed in two separate questions. In order to rate the present security situation in the neighborhood of Dhaka city compared to five years ago, 4.7% respondents have told that they are much safer, 39.9% somewhat safer, 15.6 % same as before, 27.2 % less safe and 12.6% much less safe. With regard to the rating of the present day overall security situation in the Dhaka megacity compared to five years ago, 4.3% respondents have told much safer, 34.9% somewhat safer, 14.0% same as before, 33.6% less safe and 13.3% much less safe. There is virtually no fundamental

change in the perception of the security situation in the Dhaka megacity during the last five years indicating a status quo in the security coverage in spite of the government claim of the improvement of policing by the intervention of the PRP (Discussion with ex- IGP, 2016).

10.7. Experience of contact with the police

The nature and extent of contact between police officers and residents varies in the context of the contact whether it is initiated by the police or by the resident. These contacts occur for many reasons: police provide services to community members; residents seek information or report crimes to police officers; residents are passengers or drivers during a traffic stop; police could stop residents in public places for suspicious behavior, make arrests, search residents, their vehicles or their homes, control public assembly and demonstration, and officers could use or threaten use of physical force (DMP Ordinance, 1976). The following figures show the experience of contact with police.

Figure 10.6: Distribution of respondents' experience of contact with police

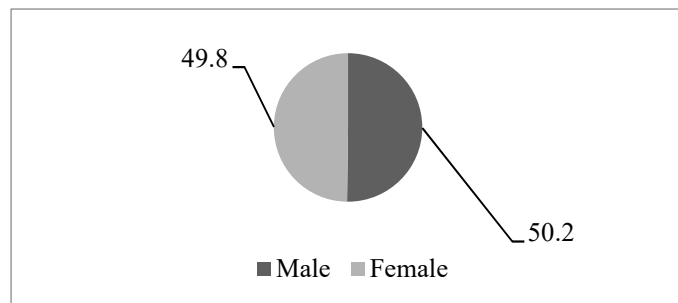


Figure 10.7: Distribution of frequency of respondents' contact with the police

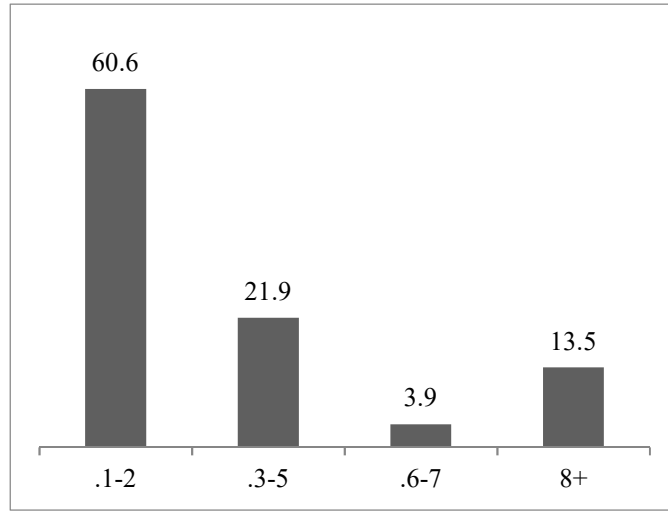
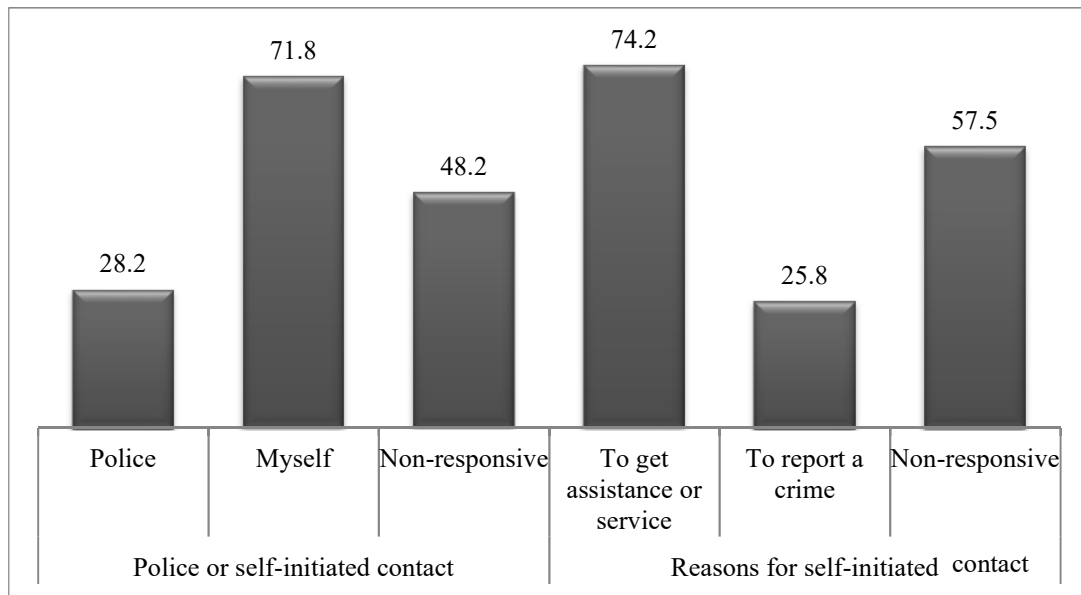


Figure 10.8. Distribution of police or self-initiated contact and reasons for self-initiated contact



Respondents were asked whether they have had any contact with a police officer in Dhaka city at any stage of their lives. 50.2% respondents made positive answer and the rest (49.8%) made their negative answers. As to the frequency of contact with the police, majority (60.6%) had contact

in-between 1-2 times, 21.9% in-between 3-5 times, 3.9% in-between 6-7 times and finally 13.5% had contact with police 8 times and more. Majority (71.8%) had self-initiated contact and 28.2% were police-initiated contact. Majority (74.2%) respondents established contact to get assistance or service from the police. 25.8% respondents had contact with police in order to report a crime. Majority of the respondents had self-initiated contact for seeking services from the police which demonstrates that it is not a people oriented policing style. This reverses the claim of the pro-people policing known as community policing system introduced and replicated by the police in Dhaka Metropolitan area (Discussion with ex- IGP, 2016).

10.8. Satisfaction Levels with Police Services

In order to assess the quality of police services, opinions on satisfaction levels of people who approached police for reporting crimes and seeking assistance were collected. Following tables provide an overview of perceptions on the overall satisfaction with the services of the subordinate police personnel working under the DMP.

Table 10.2. Perception of police help

Not at all helpful	Not much helpful	Somehow helpful	helpful	Very helpful
6.4	26.8	43.3	19.7	3.8

Table 10.3. Satisfactions with the police help during this contact

Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	satisfied	Very satisfied
8.3	23.7	35.3	28.2	4.5

Table 10.4. Reasons for satisfaction

Cordial and collaborative	87.9
Prompt actions	9.1
Professionalism	3.0
Non-responsive	89.0

Table 10.5. Reasons for dissatisfaction

Lack of physical and mental efficiency	22.0
Dirty money	39.0
Rude behavior	39.0
Non-responsive	86.4

Table 10.6. Scale of satisfaction with the police in preventing crime in the neighborhood

Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	satisfied	Very satisfied
8.6	32.2	37.2	20.9	1.0

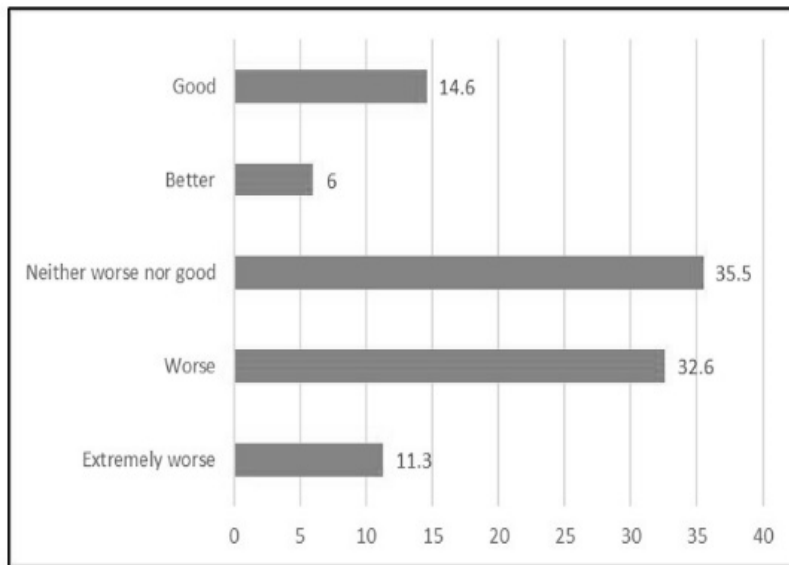
In response to the question whether police were helpful or not, 6.4% respondents stated that they were not at all helpful, 26.8% not much helpful, 43.3% somehow helpful, 19.7% helpful and 3.8% very helpful. While 8.3% of those who approached police were very dissatisfied, 23.7% were dissatisfied and 35.3% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. On the other hand, 28.2% were satisfied and 4.5% were very satisfied. Since some respondents were happy with the performance of the police, they were asked why they were satisfied. Majority (87.9%) of respondents who were satisfied told that they found police cordial and collaborative, 9.1% were satisfied with their prompt action and 3.0% with professionalism. As some people were unhappy with police services, they were asked about the reasons behind it. High proportion (39.0%) of such people brought allegation against police for taking bribes. 39.0% respondents mentioned about rude behaviour and 22.0% told about the lack of physical and mental efficiency. In response to the specific question about the satisfaction level with the police in preventing crime in their respective area, 32.2% expressed their dissatisfaction in this regard; 8.6% were very dissatisfied, and 37.2% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Only 20.9% were satisfied and a tiny size (1.0%) was very satisfied.

10.9. Perception of police conduct

The way in which police officer acts or conducts oneself, especially towards others is known as police conduct. Police generally act in compliance with the law, rules and regulation. Any deviation from the legal dimension amounts to police misconduct. In fact, police misconduct refers to inappropriate or illegal actions taken by police officers in connection with their official

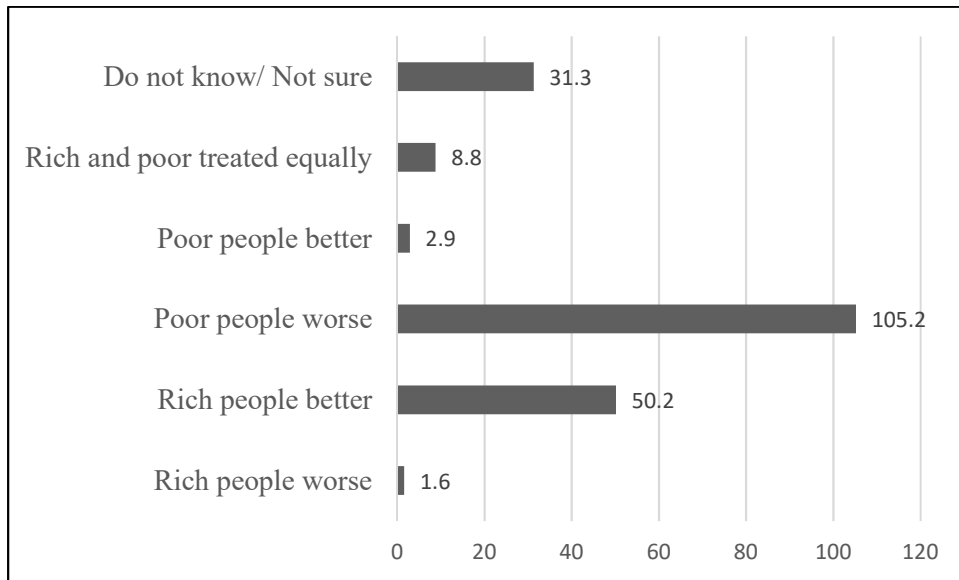
duties. This can lead to a miscarriage of justice and sometimes involves discrimination or obstruction of justice. Types of misconduct include false confession, false arrest, abuses of power, false evidence, false imprisonment, intimidation, police brutality, custodial violence, police corruption, discrimination, surveillance abuse, witness tampering, sexual misconduct, and off-duty misconduct (DMP Ordinance, 1976 and Government Servants Conduct Rules, 1979). The following figures show the distribution of police conduct towards the rich and poor people.

Figure-10.9 Distribution of respondents' perception of police conduct



When respondents were asked to rate the behavior of police officer in Dhaka city over the last one decade, 11.3% opined extremely worse, 32.6% worse, 35.5% neither worse nor good, 6.0% better and 14.6% good. In fact, majority of the respondents did not consider the police conduct good.

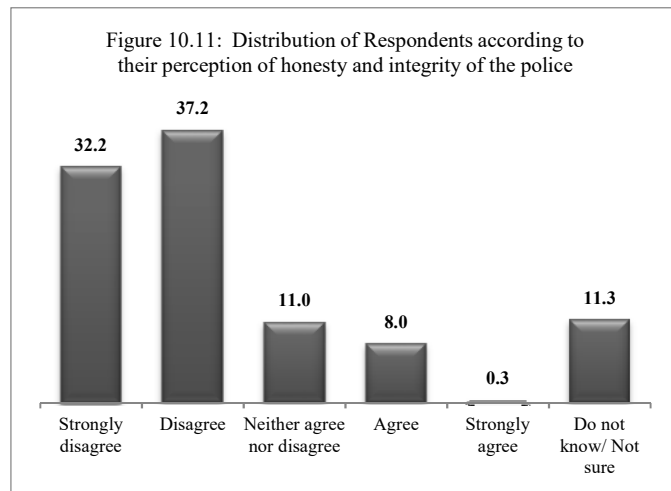
Figure.10.10. Police treatment to the rich and poor people



It is generally assumed that the police treatment relies on socio-economic status of the victim when victims report crimes. Therefore, questions were asked whether police treat rich and poor people differently. In the above figure, a high percentage (50.2%) of respondents told that police treat rich people better and majority of the respondents (105.2%) opined that police treat poor people worse and a tiny percentage, (8.8%) rich and poor treated equally. It is the spirit of the policing to treat equally without fear and favor. In the instant survey, it was found that the people do not think that all people get equal treatment from police which is antithetical to the law of the country (The Constitution of Bangladesh). Rather, police behavior tilted towards the rich people who, by their economic status, influence the police behavior.

10.10. Perception of honesty and integrity of the police

Honesty refers to a facet of moral character and connotes positive and virtuous attributes such as integrity, truthfulness, straightforwardness, including good conduct, along with the absence of lying, cheating, theft, etc. Furthermore, honesty means being trustworthy, loyal, fair, and sincere. If anyone does anything with the intention



of causing wrongful gain to one person or wrongful loss to another person, is said to do that thing by violating the concept of honesty. (Penal Code, Section 24). The Britannica Concise Encyclopedia offers this definition:

Improper and usually unlawful conduct intended to secure a benefit for oneself or another. Its forms include bribery, extortion, and the misuse of inside information. It exists where there is community indifference or a lack of enforcement policies. In societies with a culture of ritualized gift giving, the line between acceptable and unacceptable gifts is often hard to draw.¹⁹

In the narrow sense of the term, absence of honesty commonly involves doing something one should not, or not doing what one should, for profit, gain or other advantage for oneself, or for another, or to the detriment of another. In the police department, failing to enforce the law in return for favor or gain; demanding fines or bribes for a non-existent traffic violation or other offence; stealing or misusing property lawfully held in police custody; losing or tampering with evidence to sabotage a conviction; selling confidential information; or directly participating in criminal activity such as smuggling or trafficking are dishonesty. Respondents were asked to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement that most police are honest. Majority of respondents (32.2% respondents strongly disagreed and 37.2% disagreed) do not support the statement.

¹⁹ (www.concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9361666/corruption)

Transparency International made the police most corrupted organization in Bangladesh (TIB 2010, TIB 2013).

10.11. Knowledge about the issue of complaining against Police

Complaint against police is an important measure to determine the extent that police are performing their duties in a professional manner. Therefore, the quality of complaints handling processes is crucial to maintaining public confidence in police agencies and police oversight bodies, and encouraging integrity in policing organizations. When the public believes that the complaint system is not independent of the subject of the complaint, evidence suggests that the public will be reluctant to make a complaint (Edwards 2005; Prenzler *et al.* 2010; Sarre & Tomaino 2001; Smith, 2010). This is of particular concern because research shows public dissatisfaction with complaints procedures tends to be widespread, with many members of the public questioning the legitimacy of the complaints process (Edwards 2005; Smith 2010). The following table shows the distribution of respondents about the knowledge of levelling complaint against police misconduct.

Table 10.7. The distribution of the knowledge about complaint against police misconduct.

Item	Percentage
Knowledge of lodging complaint against the police for misconduct	
Yes	53.2
No	46.8
Perception of authority for filing a complaint against the police officer	
Police authority	40.0
Court	43.9
Ministry of Home Affairs	9.4
Local politician/Mohalla leader	4.4
Local MP	0.6
Local Minister	0.6
Others (Specify)	1.1
Perception of suffering for complaining against police	
Strongly disagree	2.3
Disagree	4.7
Neither agree nor disagree	17.3
Agree	55.1
Strongly agree	20.6

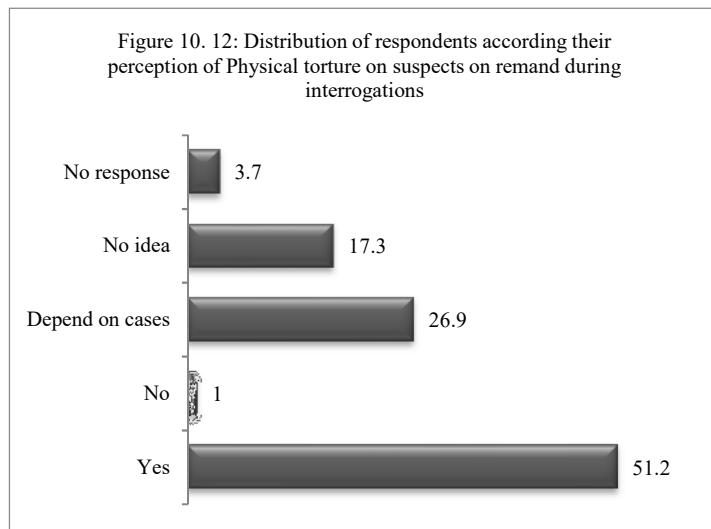
Perception of investigation of police misconduct by an independent oversight body	
Strongly disagree	2.7
Disagree	3.7
Neither agree nor disagree	6.3
Agree	40.5
Strongly agree	46.8
Perceived situation for making complaint against a police officer	
Extremely worse	24.9
Worse	53.2
Neither worse nor good	17.6
Better	4.3
Very good	0.0

One aspect of accountabilities is the awareness and means to lodge a complaint against misconduct of police. Thus, it has been attempted to identify, how many people are aware of ways of complaining against offences of police. The above table shows that only 53.2% of the respondents know that they can complain against police, 46.8% respondents do not know that they can lodge a complaint against the police if any police officer commits any illegal act or misconduct. Of them, in response to the question with whom they would report or file a complaint against the police officer, 40.0% preferred police authority, 43.9% court, 9.4% Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA), 4.4% Local politician/Mohalla leader, 0.6% local Member of Parliament (MP), 0.6% local Minister and 1.1 others. This shows the utter distrust in the local politician/Mohalla leader, local Member of Parliament (MP) and local Minister. Whereas respondents reposed their trust in the court as the complaint receiving authority which is a positive sign that people still trust the dispensation of justice by the court. Question was asked whether people who complain against police are likely to suffer for it. In response, majority (55.1% agreed and 20.6% strongly agreed) supported the statement whereas a small percentage of respondents (4.7% strongly disagreed and 2.3% disagreed) did not endorse the view. In respect of the question of investigation about complaint against police by an oversight (independent) body, not by the police themselves, majority of the respondents (40.5% agreed and 46.8% strongly agreed) supported the proposal that complaints against police misconducts shall be investigated by the independent oversight body, not by the police themselves. A small percentage of respondents (2.7 % respondents strongly disagreed, 3.7% disagreed) disagreed with the proposal. This shows the utter distrust in the process of investigation of police misconduct by the police themselves. In response to the question whether

filing a complaint would make the situation worse in case anyone has a complaint about a police officer; majority respondents (24.9% respondents told extremely worse and 53.2% worse) believed that the situation would make them worse. In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, there is a unit entrusted to conduct internal investigation into the alleged misconduct of police. Citizen’s approach to this authority may incur wrath and vengeance from the police against whom complaints of misconduct have been lodged.

10.12. Physical torture

Physical torture is the act of deliberately inflicting physical or psychological pain on an organism in order to compel some action from the person in police custody. In legal parlance, this is commonly used as the 'custodial violence'. It includes all types of physical and mental torture inflicted upon a person in police custody. It is a crime against

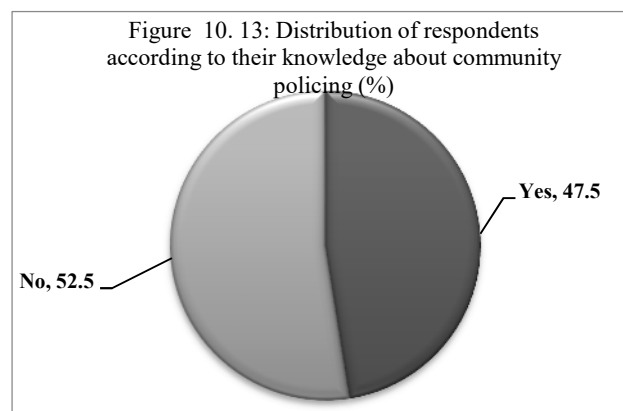


humanity and a naked violation of human rights. The Indian Supreme Court held it as “...nothing is more cowardly and unconscionable than a person in police custody being beaten up and nothing inflicts a deeper wound on our constitutional culture than a state official running berserk regardless of human rights “[*Kishor Singh Ravinder Dev etc v State of Rajasthan (1980)*].” Custodial torture and violence are clear violation of fundamental rights within the meaning of the constitution of Bangladesh. The Constitution of Bangladesh also prohibits torture and other forms of cruel and degrading treatment under Article 35(5). Some provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 call for judicial scrutiny by magistrates in the event of granting detentions and remand with a view to reducing if not eliminating custodial torture. The Penal Code, 1860 also provides that causing hurt to a person in order to extract confession, wrongful confinement voluntarily causing grievous hurt, rape and murder are punishable offences. Again, Article 35(4) of the constitution provides protection against self-incrimination that a person shall not be compelled to be witness

against himself and an arrested person should not be coerced and intimidated to answer self-incriminating questions under section 25 of the Evidence Act. The Torture and Custodial Death (Prevention) Act, 2013 has been enacted to comply with UN Convention against torture and inhumane, cruel or degrading treatment. The newly passed law defined custodial death as any death in custody of any public servant, death in custody in illegal detention, death during arrest by law enforcers, and death during interrogation. It defines torture as any act or omission that causes physical or mental pain to any individual for obtaining from that individual or some other individual, information or a confession, or for punishing that individual for any act or omission, for intimidating or coercing that person or some other person. It also said causing physical or mental pain to an individual through discrimination at instigation of someone or at the individual capacity or government capacity would also be considered as torture. The act also provides punishment for custodial deaths. Within the meaning of this law, if anyone dies from torture in custody, the convicted individual would be sentenced to maximum life-term jail or minimum taka 1, 00, 000 as fine or both. In addition, the convicted individual would have to pay compensation of Tk. 2, 00, 000 to the family of the victim (Mahmud, 2015). In response to the question regarding physical torture on suspects in police custody (remand) during interrogations, majority (51.2%) of respondents told about the physical torture on suspects and 26.9% told that physical torture on suspects depends on cases and 17.3% respondents expressed that they did have no idea about the physical torture.

10.13. Perception about the community policing

Knowledge about the community policing as a tool for the local level problem solving. Community policing relies heavily on citizen involvement to identify and solve community problems. Police engage in community and communicate them effectively in order to identify underlying causes of problems, and then, police can help community to overcome its own problems (Miller & Hess, 2002).

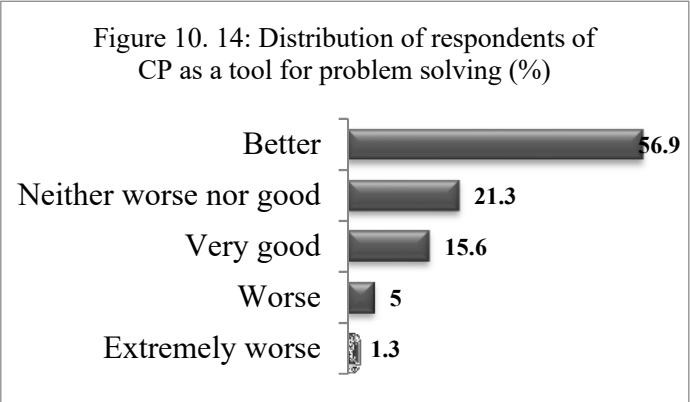


One of the key components of community policing philosophy is to increase the quantity and quality of police-citizen contacts (Sherman, 1997). Citizen satisfaction with police plays a key role in this process. Community policing activities such as citizen advisory boards, community meetings, foot patrol, neighborhood watch, and door-to-door visits aim to increase the satisfaction of citizens with police, to encourage people to share information about offenses, offenders, and public safety problems, as well as to increase a feeling that police care about the problems of the citizens and to build mutual trust. These activities also let people feel more comfortable contacting police to tell about problems and share information about crimes and criminals (Eck & Rosenbaum, 1994; Joseph *et. al.* 2003).

Community policing is at the crux of the modern day policing since strong community-police relations are indicative of improved access to justice, human rights and reduced fear of crime. Relatively high levels of public trust and confidence in the police and a perception that law and order is improving are strong signals that progress is being made in this area.

Combined with a lack of public awareness of community policing and the difficulties in getting help from the police, mentioned by over half the public perception survey respondents, suggests there is still much to be done to facilitate access to justice, protect human rights and improve law and order. It is important to address the reasons why people do not report crimes to the police. Therefore, it is imperative to improve access to police stations and disseminate more information about how to secure the services of the police (UNDP, 2011).

In this context, respondents were asked whether they have any idea about the community policing in their areas. 47.5% respondents have idea but the majority (52.5%) answered in the negative. In spite of the fact, community policing is very effective in resolving the problems in the society, PRP has introduced the community policing in its reform initiative especially in the so called Model Thana and claimed the success story of community policing for solving the problems. But this survey shows otherwise of the claim. Respondents were further asked about the



community policing as an effective instrument for the local level problem solving. 15.6% respondents opined as very good, 56.9% better, 21.3% neither worse nor good, 5.0 worse and 1.3 extremely worse.

10.14. The image of Police

In the Third World countries including Bangladesh, the policing practices are always viewed with suspicion. The TIB report projects Bangladesh Police as the most corrupt organization. The media often ignores the fact that Bangladesh policing practices are fundamentally different from the modernized western policing practices as it is plagued with politicization including high levels of external interferences and undue pressures from local politicians. These have shaped the public image of Bangladesh police and have consequently influenced public satisfaction with police (Ahmed 2013; UNDP, 2011; Huda 2009). The following table shows the distribution of respondents in connection with the image of police in the megacity Dhaka.

Table 10.8. The image of police

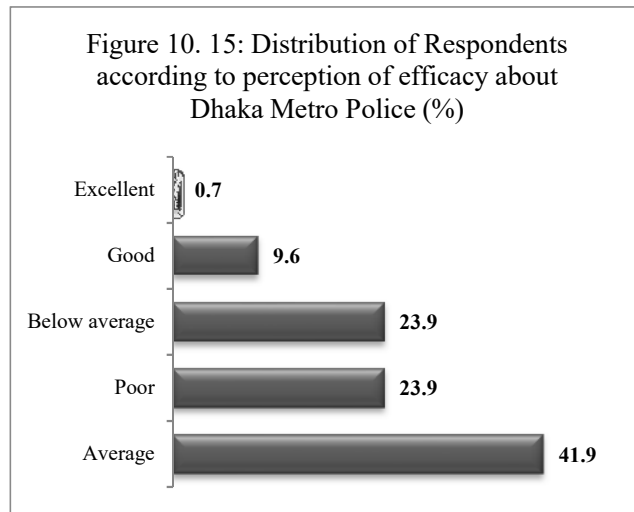
Item	Percentage
Perceived image of Dhaka Metropolitan Police	
Very positive	2.3
Positive	17.9
Neither positive nor negative	36.2
Negative	32.6
Very negative	11.0
Responsibility of Media for the image crisis of police	
Strongly disagree	16.6
Disagree	42.5
Neither agree nor disagree	24.9
Agree	13.0
Strongly agree	3.0
Responsibility of politicians for the bad image of police	
Strongly disagree	2.7
Disagree	8.0
Neither agree nor disagree	15.9
Agree	44.2
Strongly agree	29.2

Responsibility of police for the image crisis	
Strongly disagree	3.0
Disagree	10.0
Neither agree nor disagree	15.9
Agree	44.2
Strongly agree	29.2

Respondents were asked to rate the image of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. The above table shows that the majority of the respondents (32.6% negative and 11.0% very negative) rated the image of police in Dhaka Metropolitan area negative, where as a minority regarded (2.3% rated very positive, 17.9% rated positive) the police image positive but there is a substantial percentage of respondents (36.2%) who formed neither positive nor negative opinion. The opinion given by the majority respondents in this survey constitutes a negative image of police. Therefore, respondents were specifically asked to specify the element responsible for the poor image of police. The media makes news representations of what police do. The way the police profession represented in the media both reflects and creates a real public sentiment. As to the question whether media has made image crisis of police by misreporting, majority of the respondents (16.6% strongly disagree, 42.5% disagree) did not support the view where as a tiny percentage of (13.0% agreed and 3.0% strongly agreed) respondents agree with the statement, and finally 24.9% respondents have neither agreed nor disagreed. Similarly, it appears to be widely acknowledged by the public and the police that the service suffers from high levels of external interference and undue pressure, particularly from local politicians (UNDP, 2011). Further, respondents were asked whether politicians are responsible for the bad image of police. Majority (44.2% agreed and 29.2% strongly agreed) of respondents supported the statement, whereas a small percentage of respondents (2.7% strongly disagree, 8.0% disagree) did not support it and finally 15.9% respondents neither agreed nor disagreed. The most crucial question asked whether police are themselves responsible for the image crisis. Majority respondents (44.2% agreed and 29.2% strongly agreed) approved the statement and a small percentage (3.0 % strongly disagreed, 10.0% disagreed) disapproved. On the other hand, 15.9% respondents have neither agreed nor disagreed.

10.15. Rating the overall efficacy of Dhaka Metropolitan Police

In an era of community policing, it is imperative to consider how the public perceives the police and police services using measures reflecting this alternative paradigm of policing. In addition, recent research suggests that perceptions of the police are formed within the context of respondents' neighborhood cultures and contexts. The findings demonstrate the



need for multidimensional constructs of citizen perceptions of police services and highlight important dimensions of public perceptions of community policing (Haider *et.al.*2011). Respondents were asked to rate the overall performance of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Majority of them (23.9% poor, 23.9% below average, 41.9 averages) rated negatively whereas a tiny percentage (9.6) rated the police performance good.

Public opinion surveys are problematic, however, as they do not always accurately reflect the performance of police with any certainty. Perceptions of police behavior are affected by the media, public events such as elections, professionalism, conflict management, integrity and fairness etc. Other important aspects are professionalism, skill, compliance with applicable rules and procedures, and good practice. Most people do not have a great deal of interaction with police other than to see them doing traffic duty or learn about them in the press portraying usually in a negative way. A more accurate description of police performance would perhaps be a gained from those accused of crime or those victimized by crime who come into direct contact with law enforcement, but even then, treatment of victims and suspects is only the one aspect of police performance. Perceptions of the police have traditionally focused on very broad outcome measures (Moynihan, 2013; Paul, 1995).

The public perception of the police is that in a democratic polity should be a purposeful regulative mechanism of the government for the purpose of maintaining a peaceful society with the cooperation and goodwill of the public and for upholding the rule of law to ensure welfare and

security of the people. It is also expected that the police shall resolve all sorts of socio-economic and political conflicts through peaceful means and if necessary, use minimum force for quelling the unlawful assembly, political demonstration and agitation, student violence and labour unrest in its area strictly in compliance with laid down rules.²⁰ (Huda, 2009). Virtually it did not happen like that.

10.16. Conclusion

In final analysis, this study reveals that the victimization of crime has not been rampant though there is the significant increase of crime in the megacity Dhaka. However, there is a sense of insecurity in people's mind in the megacity. People have contact with the police for varieties of reasons. It is either police-initiated contact or people-initiated contact. During the contact with the police, majority of them believes that the police behaved improperly with them. Individuals who come into a police encounter having had a prior encounter are consistently more likely to believe that police behavior during the most recent contact was improper. Individuals such as poor, marginalized, deprived who occupy subordinate positions in the stratification hierarchy are more likely to experience improper behavior and hostile conduct from police. On other hand, there is the general perception that wealthy and influential persons or people of dignified status receive preferential treatment and decent behavior from police during their contact.

People do not consider the police honest and unbiased in the day to day performance of duties. As a whole, the people are not satisfied with the police. People perceive that politicians and persons in power intervene very frequently in the day to day law enforcement and policing in the Dhaka Metropolitan area. The political interference has prevented police from performing their function in accordance with the law. It has also been alleged that some police officers themselves establish an unholy alliance with political leaders for their illegal personal benefit jeopardizing the very concept of rightful and legitimate policing.

Frequent political intervention in the law enforcement, suppression of political opponents, excessive use of force, corruption, misconduct, police torture and custodial violence have accentuated the public perception in the megacity of Dhaka. A general atmosphere of lack of

²⁰ www.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/22659.)

mutual trust, respect and confidence between the law using public and law enforcing Dhaka Metropolitan Police prevails. This sometimes surfaces and erupts into open hostility between different sections of the public and police. At the best and worst of times, this estrangement between the police and the public hampers and hinders the functioning of the police in facing the growing challenges. The negative image of Dhaka Metropolitan Police has been persisting till today that police take the side with the guilty and oppress the weak and innocent or that the police are aligned with the affluent and ignore the poor. Therefore, Dhaka Metropolitan Police could not enlist public support and forge a coalition in fighting against crime and violence and therefore, it failed to create a conducive environment for policing.

Chapter 11: Conclusion, Recommendations and Way Forward

The phenomenal growth of ‘megacities’, has generated much interest among the academicians and practitioners for variety of reasons specially for its territorial size, population density, overstretched service and system of governance. A megacity is a big agglomeration characterized by high population density, severe infrastructural deficits, high concentration of industrial production, signs of ecological strain and overload, unregulated and disparate land and property markets and insufficient housing provision, in some cases extreme socio-economic disparities as well as high level of dynamism in all demographic, social, political, economic and ecological processes (Krass, 2003). In the process of rapid urbanization leading to the emergence of massive agglomeration, there have been some attendant problems such as unemployment, marginalization, floating population, poverty, huge squatter settlement, drug addiction and violence. These problems have been more visible in the megacities of the developing world since megacity is increasingly the phenomenon of the developing world (Chalom, *et al.* 2001).

The security challenge becomes one of the most crucial aspects of a megacity. In fact, megacities have witnessed a significant increase in crime and violence which create a sense of insecurity among the people as well as an increasing strain on the police. This feeling of insecurity is reinforced by the fact that wealthy people have been living in fortified enclave in the megacity. Moreover, the security concern is more expressed in the poorer neighbourhoods (Chalom, *et al.* 2001; Gomez, 1989). Faced with the increased insecurity and a crisis in the role of the police, the state, the police and local authorities have been exploring to find concrete solutions through innovative approaches and responses. Spatial fragmentation, structural changes, augmentation of manpower and innovative approaches in crime management can bring about an improvement in the overall security problems faced by city residents, such as minor delinquencies and the protection of neighbourhoods or groups at risk. Police have both decentralized security through spatial fragmentation and incorporated civil society organizations as a partner in the crime prevention. Local crime prevention coalitions, composed of institutional actors and civil society, led to a re-evaluation of the role of the police within a framework of local partnerships and good urban governance. This provides a closer relationship between the police and the people for the security of the neighbourhood and forges a

greater sense of police accountability to the citizenry. In spite of all efforts and innovative approach, still police grapple with law and order situation and violent crimes. Police in developing countries suffer from various problems such as corruption, abuse of power and political intervention etc. (Creutzberg, 2014).

Like other cities of developing countries, Dhaka has emerged as a megacity with a huge population approximately 14.65 million people (World Urbanization Prospects, 2014). In the last 400 years, Dhaka megacity witnessed its growth and evolution in the different phases of history. The Mughals established their capital in Dhaka in 1610 and developed the Dhaka city as the defense headquarters and business hub as well. The British made the provincial capital in 1905. After the partition of the Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan in 1947, Dhaka became the provincial capital of the then East Pakistan. As the capital of Bangladesh since 1971, Dhaka city's growth is phenomenal as Dhaka has been the major focus of administrative, social, educational and cultural activities (Chowdhury and Faruqui, 2009).

Dhaka city has grown haphazardly but without the support of necessary infrastructure, facilities and urban amenities. As a consequence, Dhaka megacity has been facing huge problems and challenges which are beyond the management capacity of the urban authorities. Poor governance, corruption, complex problems and lack of funds are some of the major obstacles for giving urban provisions and amenities. The continuous exodus from the hinterland to Dhaka megacity for better opportunities put further pressure on the existing financial, technical, administrative and governing capacity of the various city management authorities. Urban services are inadequate compared to the need of the megacity. The urban poor are the worst deprived community in the megacity Dhaka. The poor living in the squatter settlement are the worst sufferers. In fact, the authorities in Dhaka megacity could not play an effective role in its planning, implementation, administration and management to make it worthy of livable megacity. As a primate city, Dhaka is vulnerable to emerging problems integral to all these activities. The adverse surrounding, coupled with a highly dense population, gives rise to a myriad of social, health and environmental problems (Ahmed *et al.* 2007; Shafi, 2010). This unprecedented growth has impacted hugely in the security apparatus of the state since crime and violence have created a sense of insecurity among the people in the megacity Dhaka. In fact, various process involved in

the formation of megacity and the social changes associated with the rapid urbanization shape the nature and pattern of policing. Socio-political tension, economic deprivation, marginalization and political conflict have been the major challenges for the effective policing in the megacity Dhaka. This dynamism in the process of change at every section escalated the increasing challenge of law and order. Therefore, policing in a big urban like Metropolitan Dhaka is a challenging task (Rahman, 2013; Siddqui *et al.* 2010; IGS, 2012).

11.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

The study began with the specific research question whether the policing system of Dhaka has been organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in metropolitan Dhaka. In order to answer to the research question, it is imperative to sum up legal framework, spatial fragmentation, structural innovation, organization policy and practices and culture and norms of policing in the metropolitan area of Dhaka. The fundamental aspects of an organization are the personnel policy, institutional and logistics facilities supported by operational autonomy within the legal framework and a workable legal process for the enforcement of law and order.

Dhaka city has a long legacy of policing during the various phases of history. The Aine-Akbari gave an account of police system of the Mughal. Emperor Sher Shah initiated the process of policing which was later developed and consolidated by the great Mughal Emperor, Akbar. He organized the administrative set up with Faujdar (the emperor's chief representative), the Mir Adel and Kazi, the head of the judiciary and the Kotwal, the chief police officer at the larger towns. The Kotwal was a very powerful agent of the government (Obaidullah, 1960).

It was the British who introduced the organized policing in the whole of Bengal for rural and urban area. For the first time, the formal colonial policing systems were organized in 1861 by the Police Act, 1861 (Act no. V of 1861) for the rural area and the Commissionerate system of policing in 1856 by the Act of 1856 in the Presidency towns of Kolkata, Madras and Mumbai for the urban area (Chaturvedi, 1985). As an important city since the Mughal rule, Dhaka also witnessed the British colonial model policing under the Police Act, 1861. The rural policing model introduced and consolidated by the British continued to operate in the Pakistani period and even in the Bangladesh period. During the Pakistani regime, the police organization and its policing were based mainly on the Police Act, 1861 which was amended by the recommendations of the

Police Commission, 1902-1903. The police force of Pakistan continued the same system of British period. In fact, the provincial police force started policing in East Pakistan on the foundation of the colonial police.

The framework of policing introduced and organized by the Police Act, 1861 is the appropriate for policing a small township but it cannot be replicated in the big urban agglomeration. In fact, it could not keep pace with the increasing security challenges in urban setting as the Dhaka city grows rapidly by the migration of people from the rural area. Since the problems in metropolitan cities are different from those in rural areas, it demands a different approach with prompt action, functional autonomy under a single line of command for sustainable and credible public security system. Therefore, the commissionerate system of policing though not new in the subcontinent was introduced in the megacity Dhaka in 1976. Since then, the commissionerate system of policing has been working for the enforcement of law and order in the Metropolitan area by the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance (DMP Ordinance No. III of 1976) that provided for the constitution of a separate police-force for the Dhaka Metropolitan Area and for the regulation thereof.

The Ordinance reveals the replication of the colonial practices in spite of the fact that the DMP Ordinance, 1976 was passed in the independent Bangladesh. It has been found that the people in the megacity Dhaka witnessed the enthusiastic reinforcement and replication of colonial practices in the form of suppression, repression and systematic abuse of authority for the petty interests of the government disregarding the popular demand and socio-economic and political aspirations of the people. All police activities are not always carried out within the framework of the procedural law of the country. If necessary, police can go a long way beyond the jurisdiction of law with the tacit consent of the government. This unfettered discretion in the enforcement of law in the Metropolitan area invites political intervention, abuse of power and police corruption. The police under the unchecked control of any particular government gives the scope of politicization of police for the interest of the government. In the past few years, successive governments abused the police for their own interest. In fact, police attitude had remained the same as a legacy of the British colonial past. During the British rule, police were responsible for the maintenance of law and order, primarily in the interest and according to the policy of the

government in power and only secondarily in the interest of citizens. This attitude created all evils of highhandedness, lack of respect for lawful rights of the citizens, indiscipline in the force and unjustified oppression of the citizens. S5till today, the common public complaints against police are refusal to register cases, impolite behavior and highhandedness, corruption and delay in investigation. (Ahmed 2013; Bayley, 1967). Since the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance of 1976 can also be traced back to the colonial law and procedures, there has not been any fundamental departure from the practices of the colonial police. In the absence of credible, responsive, accountable and representative policing framework, there has not been any inclusive and democratic policing system in the metropolitan Dhaka. This has been reinforced by the law and legal process such as CrPC, 1898; Penal Code, 1861 and Evidence Act, 1878 of the colonial era (Huda, 2009).

DMP is dependent upon the national police for logistic, human resource and financial support. However, police officers of DMP have some form of operational autonomy in the day to day law enforcement since the decision to police intervention in any law and order situation lies in the hand of police officers in DMP. But the procedural law to guide the police action is the same as the district police under the Police Act operates. But in the hindsight, there have been frequent political intervention in policing. Moreover, DMP depends on the PHQs for the procurement of accoutrements and logistics and financial support (Interview with ex Police Commissioner, 2016).

Though Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised in 1976, it does not have the human resource policy in line with the modern day policing of a Metropolis (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2016). Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is an integral part of the national police of Bangladesh. Therefore, recruitment, training culture, posting, promotion, discipline and accountability are affected by the legacy of Police Act, 1861. DMP does not have any role at any stage in the three tiers of selection and recruitment system of Bangladesh police. Moreover, the recruitment and selection procedure of Bangladesh police at all level lack transparency, integrity and merit. Officers in the rank of Additional Deputy Police Commissioner (Equivalent to the rank Additional Superintendent of Police) and above are placed by the government for service in the DMP. However, the induction of subordinate ranks into Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is made by the selection board in the Police Headquarters (DMP Ordinance 8, 1976). In other words, the

Police Headquarters virtually drafts police officers of other ranks from other police units or directly from the training institutions after the completion of training for DMP [Interview with Addl. DIG (Training and Planning), 2017]. Since the Police Headquarters drafts all the subordinate ranks for Dhaka Metropolitan Police from the old stock recruited under the Police Act, 1861 and the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943, it has been found that the system inherits the tradition and weaknesses of the dilapidated age-old police recruitment system which affects the whole gamut of operational capability and efficiency in the context of policing the emerging challenges in the megacity of Dhaka. This has been further exacerbated by the persistence of the rigid value system and regimentation of the police without any relevance to the needs of the society though Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised and organized in the independent Bangladesh in 1976 (IBA/NIPA, 1979).

Like the recruitment and selection procedure, placement in important units or posting to a particular assignment has been tainted by the endemic corruption and the systematic political intervention. The assignment to a particular station as the officer-in-charge requires to pay an amount which varies depending on the prospects of regaining the money invested for buying the assignment. SIs, ASIs, and Constables also spend handsome amount of money to get desired postings (Interview with Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables; Shajahan, 2006; Huda, 2009 and Khan *et al.* 1989). Officers authorized to transfer other subordinate officers from one unit to other unit sometimes disregard rules and policies framed for transfer. In fact, the abuse of the transfer system encourages corruption and politicization of the force and creates apathy in police activities. On the other hand, in violation of the service rules and code of conduct, police officers themselves approach political leaders for transfer from one assignment to another always in exchange for huge amount of money if they failed to manage the officers empowered to transfer him. There are systematic allegation of widespread corruption and bribery in the process of motivated and whimsical transfer made by the police officers (Khan, *et al.* 1989; United Nations Development Programme 2004, the International Crisis Group, 2009).

The most unsatisfying is that Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) has no organized training institution though it is the largest unit of Bangladesh police. Even, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) itself does not provide any sort of basic training for any level of officers. Only induction

training and sometimes a few skill developments training for only lower ranks usually Constables are provided in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (Interview with DC, Force, 2018). In fact, the police officers who have been transferred into the unit are selected, recruited, trained and appointed through a process lacking transparency, fairness and merit. They are not qualified to serve in the challenging urban space of a megacity.

The promotion policy also lacks transparency and fairness at least in the subordinate ranks of DMP. Merit and competency based promotion is absent in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (FGD with subordinate officers, 2017). Sometimes, police officers in DMP are promoted on the basis of political identity. Since the promotional policy has long adherence to historical legacy, it does not encourage and fulfill the legitimate career ambition of the Constabulary (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; United Nations Development Programme 2004).

The police leadership in DMP has become self-centered, arrogant and reactive. Senior officers seek political patronage for personal gain for variety of reasons such as transfer, posting and promotion. Therefore, the leadership acts in compliance with dictates of the political leaders irrespective of legitimacy (Huda, 2009; Shahjahan, 2006; Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009). This has eroded the public confidence in the police and made a cumulative effect in the image crisis of police leadership (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; Shahjahan, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009). Subordinate police officers are demotivated by the partisan outlook of the senior officers, corruption of officer, unfair treatment and unjust punishment and lack of managerial competency and professionalism. This has been further complicated by the fact that police specially the subordinate ranks are demoralized by long hours of duties, low social status, low pay, lack of spatial facilities in the barrack and regimentation of life in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). There is a growing feeling among the rank and file that the senior officers are neither able to protect them from unwarranted intervention from political and other quarters, nor effective in getting their legitimate grievances redressed by the government or appropriate authority (FGD with subordinate officers, 2018).

There is a decline of discipline among members of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Officers irrespective of rank and status seek extra departmental patronage for posting, transfer, rewards and protection against punishment by disregarding the code of conduct (Shahjahan, 2006). In practice,

the authority of police leadership in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) has eroded over time by political interference, leading to a loss of discipline in the force. It has been found that police officers are punished for the violation of code of conduct but there is no visible outcome of the activities of accountability mechanism. Rather, it has been alleged that the incidents of police misconduct, encroachment of legal process and abuse of power are increasing (FGD with members of civil society, 2017).

In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, police officers are not individually and collectively sensitized towards the issue of the accountability towards citizens though in the democratic system police are answerable to multiple organizations and bodies such as line officers in command, Ministry of Home Affairs, judiciary, Parliament, National Human Rights Commission and media etc. It has been found that there is the decline in the effectiveness of departmental mechanisms to ensure police accountability (Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009, FGD with a group of field officers, 2017). The aggrieved people of Dhaka megacity do not believe in the transparency and sincerity in the complaint mechanism procedure and therefore, people are reluctant to file a complaint about the police with the police officers of DMP. The Dhaka Metropolitan Ordinance, 1976 and Dhaka Metropolitan Rules, 2006 do not have any clear-cut process to lodge complaint against any alleged police misconduct and to have the complaint investigated in a prompt and impartial way. The Ministry has no separate inspecting body to investigate into any event of allegation.²¹ (Discussion with members of civil society, 2017). Judiciary takes cognizance when it comes to its notice. There are a few cases where judiciary takes cognizance of criminal offences against police in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). On the other hand, there is no clear-cut and transparent procedures defining appropriate political control over police in order to reduce illegitimate interference in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Therefore, political intervention for personal or group interest is widespread in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) preventing the police from the rightful work in accordance with law. Such activities range from recruitment, selection, appointment, posting, transfer to day to day policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). In fact, political interference has been the major threat to professional and impartial policing with integrity (Huda, 2009). The National Human Rights Commission

²¹ (www.mha.gov.bd/)

(NHRC) is not empowered to directly investigate into allegations of human rights violations against the disciplined forces or any of its members for the allegations of human rights violations committed by them (Section 18, National Human Rights Commission Act 2009). Media is also biased and do not maintain objectivity in reporting. There is no independent ombudsman or nonpartisan independent body to oversee the functioning of the police service so as to limit and ideally eliminate political interference (Interview with ex-IGP, 2018). It was found that the effective human resource management policies are not fully practiced in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Even, there is no institution to establish the strong internal and external accountability mechanism in Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

During the formative phase of DMP, it began its operation with a force numbering 6322 under a Police Commissioner of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police (D.I.G). The Ordinance provided for the constitution of a separate police force for the Dhaka Metropolitan area comprising of 116 sq. miles with 12 Police Stations, which subsequently were increased to 49. Considering the growing responsibilities of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, the post was subsequently upgraded to the rank of Additional Inspector-General towards the end of 1981. At the top of the organization, the Police Commissioner stands as the chief manager and executive of DMP. DMP functions are divided into five operational Divisions with an Addl. Commissioner each in the command assisted by a band of Deputy Commissioners, Addl. Deputy Commissioners, and Assistant Commissioners [DMP Ordinance, 1976; the Annual Administrative Reports (1988-2016)]. In DMP, augmentation of human resource has almost quadrupled from 6300 to nearly 26,661 since its inception but it must be noted that at the same time the population of Dhaka city increased by more than 100% from 2.7 million in 1976 to an estimated 5.5 million in 1988, and 14.0 million in 2008 and at present it is the 11th most populous city of the world with 16.982 million people (World urbanization Prospects, 2009 & 2014). As a result, the police-population ratio which stood at 1:421 in 1976 increased to 1:500 in 1988 and 1: 608 in 2008 and 1:636 in 2016. The Metropolitan area itself has increased vertically in shape over the years (The Annual Administrative Reports,1988-2016).

Therefore, the Dhaka Metropolitan Police lacks functional autonomy supported by the robust human resource, innovative approach and legal process though there have been spatial

fragmentation and augmentation of manpower. In fact, it has been found that the policing system of Dhaka has not been well organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in the metropolitan Dhaka.

The study puts another research question whether the police are enforcing law and order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people living in the metropolitan Dhaka.

Police enforce law and order and provide security to the people by various means and ways. The fundamental works in DMP are the prevention and investigation of crime, regulation of traffic, maintenance of public order and management of major events affecting law and order, control of drug abuses and protocol and protection duties. Moreover, police are mandated to serve summons and obey and execute warrant or other order lawfully issued to him by the competent authority and to take every lawful steps calculated to bring offenders to justice or to prevent the commission of cognizable offences, or the commission of non-cognizable offences within his view; and any other duties assigned to maintain, promote and develop public security by any law for the time being in force (DMP Ordinance, 1976).

The fundamental challenge for police is the constantly evolving nature of crime. New crimes and threats continue to emerge such as interpersonal violence, terrorism, organized crime, cybercrime and property theft. The changing nature of crime puts heavy strain on police and undermines the effectiveness of established police interventions. In spite of innovative approach to contain crime, interpersonal crimes (violent and property crime) dominate statistics of crime in Metropolitan Dhaka (Siddiqui *et al*, 2010).

The most common crime and violence in Dhaka city reported by media and police record are toll collection, mastan-induced violence, drug addiction, land grabbing and violence, violence against women and children, illegal possession and use of fire arms, illicit trafficking in women and children, murder and kidnapping (World Bank, 2007). The city dwellers have been highly afflicted by hijacking frequently committed on the main thoroughfares of the city. Hijackers use fire arms and other sharp weapons like 'dao', daggers and razors and sometimes throw crude bombs to overpower victims and frighten anyone coming on their way (Khan *et al*. 1989). Crude bombs are usually exploded by the agitators during hartals to frighten people and to make them

successful. Crude bombs are also used by hired goons and hijackers for commission of crimes or for illegal and forcible possession or dispossession of houses, shops and lands. The country witnessed a series of bomb blasts, on 17th August, 2005 carried out by Jamaa'tul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB), (Star Report, 2005) when at least 459 time bombs were exploded almost simultaneously in 63 of the 64 districts of the country (Kumar, 2007). Violence of various forms and manifestation against women and children is fairly widespread. According to the UNFPA (2000), Bangladesh has the second highest incidence of violence against women in the world (The World Bank, 2007). Women in Bangladesh have been subject to domestic violence, attacks by acid and other corrosive substances, trafficking, dowry violence and murder by their husbands and others (Base line Report, 2010). Since the 1980s, drug addiction has become a serious social menace in Dhaka city. Among addictive drugs, the most common is Phensydyl (a cough syrup having some addictive component) smuggled regularly in large quantities into Bangladesh from neighboring country, India. Other drugs such as heroin, cocaine, morphine, pathedine and Yaba are also consumed in Dhaka city. Drug addiction is not confined to the poor; some youngsters from affluent section of the society are also addicted to these drugs (Akther, 2008). Nearly 22, 000 addicts have been estimated in Dhaka metropolitan area alone. 65% of the crimes in Dhaka city are committed by drug addicts (Hossain, 2006). Juvenile delinquency is a serious problem in the present day urban settings. Youngsters commit crimes like dacoity and murder etc. in Dhaka which are indicative of the dangerous trend. Besides, *Mastan* are thugs committing a wide range of crimes such as taking meals in restaurants without payment, and extracting tolls and subscriptions, particularly from house owners, tenants, shop owners, businessmen, contractors etc, bus stands, real estate companies, owners of industries and clinics etc. Mastans also give mercenary service such as kidnapping for ransom, grabbing of property, committing murder, dacoity etc. in exchange of cash or kind from anybody. Some of them have made fortunes by grabbing real estate property, shops, buses and trucks. Mastans are active in all Dhaka neighborhoods and maintain close liaison with the power holders (Siddiqui *et al*, 2010). Quite a number of cybercrimes have been reported to police in the last few years. Anonymous death threats to important persons, threats in general through emails, hacking of websites run by law enforcing agencies and defamation of private information of respected and popular individuals of the country, publishing cartoons and obscene photographs, malicious mail to foreign diplomatic mission and other VIPs, use of e-mail for

illegal activities, use of internet for transmitting false and malicious information, use of internet for prostitution and women and child trafficking are some of the examples of cybercrimes in Dhaka (Rahman, 2013).

Apart from the major adjective and procedural laws such as Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), 1898; Penal Code, 1861 and the Evidence Act, 1878, for the time being in force, there are some special and local laws to combat emerging crimes. The Suppression of terrorism Act 1992, the Public Safety (Special Provision) Act 2000, Law and Order Disruption Crimes (Speedy Trial) Act 2002, the Speedy Trial Tribunal Ordinance 2002 have been enacted to deal with crimes related to law and order problems (ASK, 2003). Cases of these types lodged with police stations in DMP are tried under the Speedy Trial Tribunal Ordinance, 2002. The Repression against Women and Children (Special Ordinance) 2000, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1980 established special Courts to try offences against women and children. The Information and Communications Technology Act, 2006, the Anti-Terrorism Act, 2009 (amended in 2013) and the Mobile Court Act, 2009, are used by the law enforcement agency to repress any political demonstration (AHRC, 2013). The Special Powers Act, 1974 allows preventive detention and extends the power of the police to detain and interrogate any suspects (Adhikar, 2013).

The management of crime remains at the heart of policing, the first step of which is the investigation of crime. Police investigates crime within the framework of procedural law. But the quality of police investigations has always been viewed critically by many. People complain of inefficiency, rudeness, intimidation, suppression of evidence, favouritism and influence, conniving at false accusations, concoction of evidence, and malicious padding of cases, and confession by third degree method (Huda, 2009). In the process of investigation, police officers are mandated legally to apprehend and detain any one for the cause of investigation since the effectiveness of investigative efforts and the clearance of a case depend upon the arrest of suspects in connection with the criminal cases lodged with the police. Moreover, there are various laws by which police can arrest anyone without warrant for the prevention and detection of crime in Dhaka metropolitan area. It is generally alleged that Dhaka Metropolitan Police incorporates torture as an integral part of the investigative mechanism to extract confession. Moreover, police use force at the time of arrest and torture in the detention centres or Police Stations. However, torture and

custodial death have been criminalized in Bangladesh on 24 October 2013 by the enactment of the Torture and Custodial Death (Prohibition) Act, 2013 (AHRC, 2013). There are systematic allegations of abuse of the authority of arrest by the police. In the aftermath of criminal cases of rioting, gang violence, political conflict, group violence, police indiscriminately arrest people without any regard to their involvement in the offence. It has been alleged that some people even buy bail from the police station which is the serious deprivation of the liberty of a person (Huda, 2009; Khan *et al.* 1989; Article 33 of the Constitution of Bangladesh & Universal Declaration on Human Rights under Article 9). Moreover, the arrest, without any regard to the due process of law, especially for minor offenses erodes the public faith in police legitimacy.²² In fact, arbitrary arrest, detention and custodial torture by law-enforcing agencies have remained a persistent feature of policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area irrespective of the forms of government since 1971 (Islam, 2013).

In some cases, torture results in custodial deaths. In the event of any custodial death, police manipulate and manage in such a way that there is nothing left out to bring any criminal liability against the perpetrator. This is for the first time that a private organization named Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust (BLAST) filed a writ with the High Court challenging torture during remand in connection with the custodial death of Rubel, a student of the Independent University in Dhaka city in 1998. Several officials of Detective Branch (DB) of Police were indicted and awarded punishment in 2003 (Alam, 2014). On July 16, 2011, Abdul Kadar, a student of Dhaka University, was arrested by police on suspicion and severely tortured by the police of Khilgaon Police Station and was later implicated in three false cases (Adhikar, 2011). On March 28, 2012, a lecturer of the Finance Department of Dhaka University, Mohammad Saif Uddin Khan, was beaten by the security forces on trivial matter. All these incidents demonstrate that the police torture has become an instrument of policing in Metropolitan Dhaka which goes against the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of Bangladesh (Adhikar, 2012). Another policing strategy in DMP area is the extrajudicial killing by law enforcement agencies (AHRC 2013). Besides, enforced disappearance in Bangladesh has been increasing for the past few years. It has

²² <http://www.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/49259>.

been alleged that law enforcement agencies secretly picked up some body in the guise of criminals and killed them (Adhikar, 2011; Islam, 2013)

One of the most important policing works in Dhaka Metropolitan Police is the maintenance of public order (Dasgupta, 2001; Roy & Barsha, 2013; Rashid 2012; Datta 2005). Moreover, there have been sporadic sudden public, student and labour agitation and demonstration, often accompanied by violence arising out of issues which required immediate police intervention. During the difficult times, police are obliged to use force for the restoration of law and order. It is the norm that the use of force should always be in conformity with national and international law. In Metropolitan Dhaka, it has been seen that sometimes the police use excessive forces against any political rallies and demonstration of the opposition which conforms neither local law nor international law. It is evident that the over-zealot police irrespective of rank and file aggressively suppressed all anti-government movements and activities with a heavy hand. In DMP, police enjoy the magisterial power to use of force and to open fire within the frame work of Metropolitan Ordinance without any judicial enquiry after the incident of firing. Moreover, in the name of sustaining public tranquility, police indiscriminately opened fire, violating the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and the UN Code of Conduct for the Law Enforcement Officials (FGD with residents of the megacity Dhaka, 2017).

Since 1971, successive governments determined the nature of policing and dictated the mode of policing. The police have been used time and again by various political regimes to quell the opposition and opposition activists. The law enforcers are routinely used by the political government to arrest and detain opposition activists on a large scale prior to any political programme announced by the opposition parties (Adhikar, 2012). Police implicate the innocent political leaders. Some of them are remanded and tortured inhumanly. During the successive regimes in the past, this tendency of falsely implicating the political leaders is visible. Limitations on freedom of speech, expression, and assembly are enforced by the ruling regime; journalists are jailed, threatened, and killed for the criticism of the regime. Human rights defenders face harassment, threats, ill-treatment, and arbitrary detentions for fabricated charges (AHRC, 2013).

Since the liberation, there were occasional interferences in the freedom of expressions. Government especially the martial law period and the autocratic regime of Hussain Muhammd

Ersad imposed various injunctions and thus, curtailed the freedom of expression. But this has been superseded by the Awami League government during the 2009-2013. Police arrested Newspaper Editor Mahmudur Rahman in series of cases. He was subsequently abused and tortured by the Detective Branch of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police. On April 20, 2013 in a press conference organized by the daily *Amar Desh*, journalists stated that Mahmudur Rahman received cruel and degrading treatment during remand. The police shut down the daily *Amar Desh* on April 1, 2013, without any justification. Adilur Rahman Khan, Secretary, Mr. ASM Nasiruddin Elan, Director of Bangladeshi human rights organization, Odhikar, were detained in prison by the Cyber Crimes Tribunal of Dhaka, under the Information and Communications Technology (Amendment) Act, 2013 for publishing a report about 61 deaths in an overnight crackdown against a pro-Islamist group of demonstrators in the early hours of May 6, 2013. TV channels known as the Diganta and Islamic TV were shut down for live broadcasting of the event (AHRC 2013; Adhikar 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

Police in Metropolitan Dhaka are reactive, though police are trying to replicate community policing in the neighbourhood. The community police forums organized by DMP have lost the collective voice of the community people about the neighborhood security concerns. Moreover, the community police forum has been used to develop a sort of nexus between the police and the public for personal gain and parochial interest (FGD with residents of the megacity Dhaka, 2017). Besides, the most important impediment seems to be the absence of government patronage and ownership in granting the financial allotment in the police budget. Administrative support such as changes in the organizational structure and legal frame work as envisaged by the Police Reform Project do not exist (Interview with ex-Police Commissioner, 2017). Police officers are not transparent, responsive and accountable to the forums of the community policing. Moreover, people do not believe in the legitimacy and integrity of police in Dhaka Metropolitan area which restrains the smooth operation of the community policing (FGD with police officers of DMP, 2017, Huda, 2009; Kashem, 2003).

It has been found that the political intervention is rampant in the day to day law enforcement and policing in the Metropolitan Dhaka. This has wreaked havoc in the process of promoting the rule of law in metropolitan area. It has also been alleged that some police officers

themselves, including some of those at the upper echelon of service, have demonstrated an undiluted proclivity to please the political bosses for their personal and professional gain. This has created an aura of apprehension of the police-politician nexus, much to the detriment of the norms of law and justice (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989). The same view was echoed in other public opinion surveys conducted from time to time by various agencies (Haider, *et.al.* 2006; Huda 2009).

Majority held the view that the Dhaka Metropolitan Police had failed to achieve their objectives in compliance with people's expectations. Some of the respondents commented that in recent years, there have been marked deterioration in traffic management and expected effectiveness in matters of prevention and detection of crimes, maintenance of law and order, control of social vices etc. which are principal duties of police in the Dhaka Metropolitan area. This view was supported by the FGD with citizens in the Metropolitan Dhaka.

Public trust and confidence are important factor for policing the society hemmed in between groups. The Dhaka Metropolitan Police could not earn the common man's trust and confidence by their performance and conduct and the age-old mistrust and fear of police in public mind exists today. In fact, police in Dhaka megacity are not popular with the public who do have little confidence in the police. In fact, there is a gradual decline of public trust in police (Safer World, 2008; Rahman, 2013).

The public are not satisfied with the current policing practice in DMP. Public satisfaction goes a long way for the establishment and promotion of law and order in any society. Hundred percent of the participants in FGDs expressed dissatisfaction about the services rendered by the police. The respondents' opinion on the level of satisfaction with police behavior and attitude towards people deteriorated in metropolitan area. This has been supported by other studies (Safer world and Mitra and Associates, 2008; UNDP 2011; UNDP 2014; UNDP 2015).

Corruption in the police has become a byword in Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Corruption is the issue most prejudicial to the image of the police. In terms of perceived corruption within the police service, the overwhelming majority of the respondents have told their experience of bribing the police or they have heard that police in DMP take bribe. These findings are similar to those of the research conducted in 2010 by the Institute of Governance Studies of BRAC University in Dhaka. The significant proportion of people told that they, as victims of crime, did not report a

crime simply because they felt they did not have enough money to pay the police. This perception persists in the later surveys by PRP (UNDP, 2014). This has been supported by Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB, 2010; TIB, 2013), which had found the police as the country's most corrupt public service institution.

Partisan outlook, inhuman and degrading treatment, arbitrary arrests, promoting of drug business and implicating innocent people in fabricated cases, corruption and lack of professionalism have created the image crisis of police in the society and thus, it has lost people's confidence and cooperation. People never trust police and police never rely on people. Therefore, it has been found that the police are not enforcing law and order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people living in the metropolitan Dhaka.

11.2. Contribution to the police governance

Since the metropolitan Dhaka emerged as large urban agglomerations with huge population, policing is becoming more and more complex, challenging and over stretched. In this context, this research has made an empirical analysis of Dhaka Metropolitan Police governance in a fast-growing megacity afflicted by multidimensional and complicated security issues and challenges. By exploring the status of security provided by the Dhaka Metropolitan Police in the spatial fragmentation of Dhaka megacity, the study widened the understanding of the whole gamut of the public security and the apparatus entrusted to enforce law, maintain peace and security in the megacity of Dhaka. The findings would add value to the theory of police governance in the bigger agglomeration which might be helpful in replicating policies and practices to other similar environments in Bangladesh or anywhere in a big agglomeration in the third world countries.

The results of this study will hopefully encourage legislators and police administrators to revise their current polices and standard operating procedures specially focusing on the issue of police professionalism, police accountability, police-politician interface and policies of governance and police practices such as use of force, police arrest, individual attitudes and behaviors during police contacts within the legal parameter. The findings of this research have provided practical recommendations for improving community relations and police-citizen engagement, which, in turn, can directly foster bilateral reforms in legitimate and rightful policing practices in the delivery of service. The study reveals that community engagement for reducing

crime in the Dhaka megacity might be tailored on the local context, culture and values. This will also generate public awareness of police actions which can catalyze the police public coalition in fighting against crime and delinquency. By narrowing the gap between the police and public in the area of community safety in the megacity of Dhaka, it may also promote more non-enforcement responses to community problems, and establish higher levels of mutual respect, police legitimacy, and feelings of justice and equality through interaction, dissemination and internalization among all segments of police and the community. It is also expected that the results of this study can be used to inform public security policy decisions by future law enforcement officers, police managers, academics and policy makers, police training institutes and political leaders.

Political influence on police is one of the main problems facing Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Selection, recruitment, promotions, transfer and day to day law enforcement are dictated by the politicians. Moreover, police officers' political affiliations have been affecting the police governance, professionalism and integrity in the service. Therefore, the study advocates clear-cut and transparent procedures defining appropriate political control over police in order to reduce illegitimate interference in the appointment, transfer, promotion so that police in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) can perform the rightful work in accordance with law. It also recommends that there shall be well defined relationship and specific roles of the political executive, Inspector General of Police (IGP) and the Police Commissioner. Legislation must entrench the police's operational autonomy, accountability and responsibility as well as the legitimate oversight duties of the political executive.

The study reveals that the people in the megacity Dhaka witnessed the enthusiastic reinforcement and replication of colonial practices in the form of suppression, repression and systematic abuse of authority for the petty interests of the government disregarding the popular demand and socio-economic and political aspirations of the people. The DMP Ordinance, 1976 was passed in the independent Bangladesh but all other procedural law such as CrPC, 1898, Penal Code, 1861 and Evidence Act, 1878 of the colonial period guide the police action in the enforcement of the law. Since there has not been any fundamental departure from the practices of the colonial police, the study strongly believes and advocates the reformation of law and process

in order to establish a credible, responsive, accountable and representative policing system in the metropolitan Dhaka.

11.3. Recommendations & Way Forward

The thesis shows that it is imperative to organize an efficient, responsive, accountable and credible police service in the metropolitan Dhaka. Moreover, it is also expected that police officers should perform their functions and duties in a manner that respects human rights and the rule of law and build confidence and cooperation with the community. In the process of doing so, police will be guided by the law and code of conduct. Imbued with the highest standard of integrity and professionalism, each individual police person must therefore act lawfully, professionally and ethically. In this context, the following recommendations are given below:

(i) It is recommended that police officers in the rank of ASP and above shall be selected for the service in DMP by an independent selection committee. An independent board with transparent policy and procedure shall be given the authority to recruit subordinate officers and the process involved in the recruitment shall be organized to suit the policing in a big urban agglomeration like metropolitan Dhaka. In order to enhance the operational capability and the efficiency in the context of policing the emerging challenges in the megacity of Dhaka, the induction of subordinate officers from other units and training institute shall be discontinued for its inherent weakness and colonial practice.

(ii) In terms of human resources, it is imperative to build a foundation for quality police services. The recruitment and selection procedures should be reviewed to allow only at two entry points such as either Assistant Superintendent of Police and Constable or Sub-Inspector and Constable and provide for the participation of an independent third party in making appointments to ensure transparency and integrity. A benchmark of qualifications needs to be formulated to meet the highest standard of policing.

(iii) Psychological testing should be incorporated in checking the emotional intelligence necessary to combat stress associated with policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Police officers who are mentally stable and capable of functioning in stressful and adverse conditions and still, able to take right decisions for police work are to be selected and recruited. Therefore,

psychometric test, at selection stage, is essential to select psychologically and emotionally suitable candidate (Khan *et al*, 1989).

(iv) The police of lower echelon constitute majority of police force. But they, particularly the Constables and other low-ranking police officers, do not possess substantial intellectual attainments since their entry point qualification is the SSC. Their treatment and exposure to the general people is very arrogant and frightening (Karzon, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to raise the academic qualifications of the Constables at least to graduation level.

(v) Appropriate gender-sensitivity must be a core criterion when recruiting. Priority shall be given to the recruitment of women and minorities. This will increase the diversity and inclusive representation in the police service. If necessary, modification shall be made to physical standards to accommodate women.

(vi) A full-fledged training institute shall be organized to impart basic training to the new entrants in DMP. Moreover, induction training and skill developments training for all officers shall be provided in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) (Interview with DC, Force, 2018).

(vii) DMP shall organize a pool of professional trainers with practical knowledge and professional competency and skill of imparting training to the police trainees (Interview with Addl. IG, HR and Planning, 2017 & Addl. IG Administration and Operations, 2017). Incentives such as special allowance and pay increases for officers posted at training facilities shall be given in order to make training institute more attractive.

(viii) The basic training courses for Constables and Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Superintendent of police (ASP) shall give due importance to the attitudinal change, indoctrination to service to the people and development of mental faculty. Basic police skills such as searching procedure for evidence, body search of an accused, self-defense, stop and search, arresting procedure and weapon handling drill, strategy and tactics for counter-terrorism, human rights and gender perspective, management theory and practice, unarmed combat, mock trial, simulated practical investigation procedure, forensic science, appreciation of the interplay of social forces and human behaviour and driving of vehicles etc. shall be included in the syllabus (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006). Training modules on urban

policing need to be developed and included as part of core curriculum in police training academy in order to handle carefully the urban specific law and order problems.

(ix) Police officers' training and moulding in the military regimentation, barrack discipline, and highly rigid environment in training institutions should be discontinued (Interview with the Principal, Academy, 2017 and FGD with trainees, 2017) since it is a civil service entrusted to maintain law and order as a catalyst in the democratic society (Kibria, 1976; Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004; Shahjahan, 2006 & Karzon, 2006). There must be a paradigm shift with a focus on training from drill and regiments for the development of attitude through the study of social and behavioural science and modern management concept. (Huda, 2009; Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004 & Shahjahan, 2006). Ultimately, a degree in police management and liberal education along with subjects connected with professional training would be more appropriate to broaden the outlook of the officers and ensure better understanding and appropriate handling of present day challenges in the urban setting. Constables who are the bulk of the police force in DMP should have more training on behavioural aspect so that Constables could take a broader policing role at least in the context of knowledge, skill and attitude development in the metropolitan Dhaka (FGD with Constables, 2017).

(x) The promotion system should be standardized based on merit and professional competency. The promotional policy of colonial era shall be discontinued in order to make the promotional structure within the police system conducive to the fulfillment of the legitimate career ambition of the subordinate ranks. Constabulary shall get preferential treatment at least three promotions since a large majority of Constables retire as Constable without even one rank promotion in entire career (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004). It is recommended to reorganize the hierarchy of the police, with an increase in the strength at middle levels of ASI/SI/Inspector. This would improve the promotion opportunities of lower ranks.

(xi) Transfers should be made in compliance with the service rules and code of conduct in order to thwart systematic allegations of widespread corruption and bribery in the process of transfer involving the senior police officers and political elements. A laid down framework under the monitoring of the oversight body with independent and constitutional status shall be made for the security of tenure to shield police officers from politically motivated transfers and removal

from service and lust for gaining illegal gratification in the transfer and posting (Shajahan, 2006; Khan *et al*, 1989). The accountability at all level shall be established so that motivated transfers cannot occur at all. (Khan, *et. al.* 1989; UNDP, 2004 & the International Crisis Group, 2009).

(xii) Since police in the Dhaka Metropolitan Police work in the most stressful situation, a formal unit for the stress management shall be organized for the welfare of the personnel working in the metropolitan Dhaka (Karzon, 2006; the International Crisis Group, 2009).

(xiii) In Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP), there should be clear-cut and transparent procedures defining appropriate political control over police in order to reduce illegitimate interference in the appointment, transfer, promotion so that police in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) can perform the rightful work in accordance with law. There shall be well defined relationship and specific roles of the political executive, IGP and the Police Commissioner. Legislation must establish the police's operational autonomy and responsibility as well as the legitimate oversight duties of the political executive. With respect to individual cases of law enforcement, the police must have the sole responsibility to make decisions on whom to investigate, search, question, detain, arrest and prosecute in compliance with law.

(xiv) There would be a non-partisan independent oversight body that would oversee the functioning of the police service so as to limit and ideally eliminate political interference. In fact, in the democratic system, all police officers should be individually as well as collectively sensitized towards the issue of the accountability towards citizens. Therefore, a strong internal and external accountability mechanism shall be institutionalized to oversee the policing in Dhaka Metropolis. A fully resourced police complaints authority that have binding recommendations with independent constitutional status shall be organized in order to be effective police oversight body. The oversight body also receives complaints (in matters of custodial torture, forced disappearance, counter killings, violation of human rights and negligence of duty etc.) from citizen and police officers any violation of laws and code of conduct and gets it investigated impartially and if found guilty, takes all initiatives to prosecute the accused in accordance with law.

(xv) Improvement in police performance is closely linked to the morale of policemen, particularly of cutting-edge functionaries, which in turn depends on their working environment and service conditions. Long working hours, tough working conditions, mechanical nature of job,

inadequate welfare measures and insufficient housing keep police officials constantly under pressure. Radical improvements in the working and living conditions along with compensation package, eight hours of duty will improve their morale, reduce their frustration and increase their professionalism. The police in DMP because of its job nature and risk involved in carrying out their duties shall be privileged to enjoy special pay and benefits different from other governmental and non-governmental organizations (FGD with police officer of FPU, 2018).

(xvi) It is recommended to abolish the use of police personnel as orderlies for any domestic or private personal purpose (cooks, orderlies, attendants, etc.) by police officers of all ranks. Any such use of police personnel by seniors shall be made an infraction of the code of conduct, punishable with disciplinary penalties.

(xvii) In every police station, a group of police officers specially organized as expert in crime investigation shall be employed for crime investigation only. These officers should also be equipped with all logistic, monetary budget and modern equipment including investigation kits especially in all the police stations in Dhaka Metropolitan area. They cannot be deployed for any law and order duties.

(xviii) Witness protection program shall be introduced to protect the witnesses and victim's family members from potential harm in order to motivate them to co-operate with police investigators in clearing cases successfully.

(xix) In the present day law and order situation, the crime prevention framework shall have to be designed on the analysis of underlying causes of specific crime problems, by engaging the community and a broad range of governmental and nongovernmental partners, and by using a diversity of tools and strategies having a dimension of proactive approach. Police in Dhaka megacity shall be made swift, smart and proactive in order to cope with the emerging challenges caused by the rapid urbanization. An inclusive community forum shall be organized at every neighbourhood for resolution of local problems. All these shall be included in the policy framework of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police. The 'Open House Day' shall be made a regular phenomenon both for police and public coalition in the collective effort to resolve the community problems.

(xx)The police performance appraisal shall be ensured at the thana level by a local statutory body regularly and openly after devising objective indicators, such as service delivery, response time, registration of complaints, and other similar indicators which should be both quantitative and qualitative. This will put an end to the present method of measuring police performance through the number of crimes registered and cases cleared.

11.4. A new level of perception

The study gives a new level of perception in connection with the policing in the megacity Dhaka. It has been found that policing in DMP is not fully successful since it does not incorporate the collaborative policing between police and public though there are cultural and political barriers. Unless these obstacles are removed, there should not be any policing dedicated to the security of life and property of the people living in the society. Police should be free from political intervention to guarantee its operational autonomy. Moreover, police must practice democratic values both in its internal policy and external law enforcement. There are people who remain beyond the regulatory jurisdiction, should be given an easy access to the benefit of rightful policing in its true perspective. Police shall adhere to the rule of law rather than to the whims of public authorities. It also means that police must protect civil rights, from the right of free speech and association to freedom from torture and other forms of abuse. Police should be accountable to independent oversight bodies for policing in DMP.

11.5. Future research

This study focused on the policing in the jurisdiction of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. But this does not include the whole area of Dhaka megacity. Dhaka, megacity, for example, comprises Dhaka city Corporations, whole of Narayanganj, Bandar, Keraniganj, Uttara, Savar and Gazipur Thanas. All have city corporations and municipalities with different jurisdictions and different administrations. Within the jurisdiction of Dhaka city Corporation, 108 km² is under the control of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. On the other hand, Narayanganj and Bandar are under Narayanganj District police, Keraniganj and Savar are under Dhaka District police and Gazipur Thanas are under Gazipur Metropolitan Police and Gazipur District police.

It has been found that there are two types of policing in the megacity of Dhaka. Dhaka Metropolitan Police jurisdiction which has been demarcated as of 116 Square miles has witnessed the commissionerate system of policing introduced by the DMP Ordinance 1976 where as other parts of Dhaka megacity such as Dhaka, Narayanganj and Gazipur districts have been policed by the Act 1861 with different administrative set up and different approaches of policing. The future research may make a synthesis of two system of policing in the megacity and recommend elements of policing to integrate and replicate an appropriate style in the whole of megacity. The community policing has been recognized by the western world as a tool to resolve problems of crimes in the city. But community policing system practiced by the police in the metropolitan area did not yield any positive result, rather it becomes a tool for police corruption, political intervention, partisan outlook in the policing and marginalization and exclusion of opposite view. The research may make an empirical study on policing by partnership with the community and deduct a recommendation of sustainable and pragmatic policing style to be replicated in the megacity. The study could not make any advocacy in respect of style of policing.

The qualitative paradigm and methods of inquiry shall be well balanced by measuring qualitative experiences. Some of these results will require further refinement and verification that only new studies can offer. Having established a baseline of results and methods, this study might be replicated in other areas, and future efforts should strongly consider involving the next stage of multiple participants and citizen variables (social and economic status, gender, income and profession etc.). This should include a larger, more diverse population size that should also contribute to a higher and more diverse police-public contact. This may include the direct observations of the interaction and corresponding interviews with both the citizens and officer for further cross-case comparison and identification of divergent interpretations and perceptual themes.

In policing the metropolitan Dhaka, reforms in human resource practices are urgently required to develop a group of officers who will be internalized to serve the people. Additionally, a dynamic human resource policy will create healthy work culture in Dhaka Metropolitan Police

(DMP) and job security that in turn ensures the sense of security of citizens. The areas like recruitment, posting, transfer, training and accountability are key areas for improvement. Rightly selected and recruited, professionally trained and highly motivated police officers and Constables will definitely be able to serve the people and ensure security of the people at all level in the metropolitan Dhaka.

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ABSTRACT

Title of the Thesis:

Policing the Mega City- A Study of Metropolitan Dhaka

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ABSTRACT

Unprecedented urban growth in recent decades has led to the formation of megacity specially in the developing countries. In fact, the rapid urbanization has tremendously transformed the dynamics of the society and brought about multidimensional changes and challenges in the socio-economic and political institution in the society. Like other cities of developing countries, Dhaka has emerged as a megacity with a huge population approximately 14.65 million people. In the last 400 years, Dhaka megacity witnessed its growth and evolution in the different phases of history. But in recent times, Dhaka city's growth is phenomenal as Dhaka, as the capital of Bangladesh, has been the major focus of administrative, social, educational and cultural activities. The megacity Dhaka has all the features of rapid urbanization and the concomitant challenges of urbanization. In fact, Dhaka city has grown haphazardly but without the support of necessary infrastructure, facilities and urban amenities. As a consequence, Dhaka megacity has been facing huge problems and challenges which are beyond the management capacity of the urban authorities. Moreover, socio-political tension, economic deprivation, marginalization and political conflict have been some of the major challenges of the megacity Dhaka. All these factors are contributing to the escalation of violence and crimes in the megacity Dhaka which have created major challenges for the effective policing in the megacity. Virtually, the phenomenal growth has put heavy strain on the security apparatus of the state.

It was against this background the study formulated research questions whether the policing system of Dhaka city has been organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in metropolitan Dhaka and whether the police have been enforcing law, maintaining public order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people of the megacity Dhaka. In this context, the study set the multiple objectives to explore the features and challenges of megacity Dhaka, made rambling survey of the historical perspective with a focus on the policing of metropolitan Dhaka, examined the incidence of crime and the police strategies adopted to prevent and detect crime and to apprehend criminals, surveyed the regulation, control and governance issues of vehicular traffic movement in metropolitan Dhaka and evaluated the public perception of police in the metropolitan area.

Dhaka city has a long legacy of policing during the various phases of history. The Mughals consolidated the security system introduced by the early Muslim rulers. In fact, the Mughal emperor, Akbar organized the administrative set up with Faujdar, the emperor's chief representative, the Mir Adel and Kazi, the head of the judiciary and the Kotwal, the chief police officer at the larger towns. Virtually, the Kotwal emerged as an institution in the Mughal regime was entrusted with the security of the people living in the Dhaka city. At the seat of the Provincial Government at Dhaka, the maintenance of peace and protection of life and property were secured by the Kotwal. On the debris of Mughal public security system, the British introduced and organized formal policing for rural area in the whole of Bengal by the Police Act, 1861 (Act no. V of 1861) and the Commissionerate system of policing in 1856 by the Act of 1856 in the Presidency towns of Kolkata, Madras and Mumbai. As an important city since the Mughal rule, Dhaka also witnessed the British colonial model policing under the Police Act, 1861. The rural policing model introduced and consolidated by the British continued to operate in the Pakistani period and even in the Bangladesh period.

The framework of policing introduced and organized by the Police Act, 1861 is appropriate for policing a small township but it cannot be replicated in the big urban agglomeration. In fact, it could not keep pace with the increasing security challenges in urban setting as the Dhaka city grows rapidly by the migration of people from the rural area. Since the problems in metropolitan cities are different from those in rural areas, it demands a different approach with prompt action, functional autonomy under a single line of command for sustainable and credible public security system. Therefore, the commissionerate system of policing though not new in the subcontinent was introduced in the megacity Dhaka in 1976. Since then, the commissionerate system of policing has been working for the enforcement of law and order in the metropolitan area by the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance (DMP Ordinance No. III of 1976) that provided for the constitution of a separate police-force for the Dhaka Metropolitan Area and for the regulation thereof.

The Ordinance replicates the colonial practices in spite of the fact that the DMP Ordinance, 1976 was passed in the independent Bangladesh. The people in the megacity Dhaka witnessed the enthusiastic reinforcement and replication of colonial practices in the form of suppression, repression and systematic abuse of authority for the petty interests of the government disregarding the popular demand and socio-economic and political aspirations of the people. In the past few years, successive governments abused the police for their own interest. In fact, police attitude had

remained the same as a legacy of the British colonial past. Still today, the common public complaints against police are refusal to register cases, impolite behavior and highhandedness, corruption and delay in investigation. Since the Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance of 1976 can also be traced back to the colonial law and procedures, there has not been any fundamental departure from the practices of the colonial police. This has been reinforced by the law and legal process such as CrPC, 1898; Penal Code, 1861 and Evidence Act, 1878 of the colonial era.

Though Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was raised in 1976, it does not have the human resource policy in line with the modern day policing of a Metropolis. Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) is an integral part of the national police of Bangladesh. Therefore, recruitment, training culture, posting, promotion, discipline and accountability are affected by the legacy of Police Act, 1861. DMP does not have any role at any stage in the three tiers of selection and recruitment system of Bangladesh police. Moreover, the recruitment and selection procedure of Bangladesh police at all level lack transparency, integrity and merit. Since the Police Headquarters drafts all the subordinate ranks for Dhaka Metropolitan Police from the old stock recruited under the Police Act, 1861 and the Police Regulations, Bengal, 1943, it has been found that the system inherits the tradition and weaknesses of the dilapidated age-old police recruitment system which affects the whole gamut of operational capability and efficiency in the context of policing the emerging challenges in the megacity of Dhaka.

There is a decline of discipline among members of Dhaka Metropolitan Police. Officers irrespective of rank and status seek extra departmental patronage for posting, transfer, rewards and protection against punishment by disregarding the code of conduct. In practice, the authority of police leadership in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) was eroded over time by political interference, leading to a loss of discipline in the force. In Dhaka Metropolitan Police, police officers are not individually and collectively sensitized towards the issue of the accountability towards citizens though in the democratic system police are answerable to multiple organizations and bodies such as line officers in command, Ministry of Home Affairs, judiciary, Parliament, National Human Rights Commission and media etc. It has been found that there is the decline in the effectiveness of departmental mechanisms to ensure police accountability. The Dhaka Metropolitan Ordinance, 1976 and Dhaka Metropolitan Rules, 2006 do not have any clear cut process to lodge complaint against any alleged police misconduct and to have the complaint investigated in a prompt and impartial way. All other institutions could not establish strong

oversight mechanism over the police activities. The Ministry has no separate inspecting body to investigate into any event of allegation. Judiciary takes cognizance when it comes to its notice. On the other hand, there is no clear-cut and transparent procedures defining appropriate political control over police in order to reduce illegitimate interference in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Therefore, political intervention for personal or group interest is widespread in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) preventing the police from the rightful work in accordance with law. Such activities range from recruitment, selection, appointment, posting, transfer to day to day policing in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). In fact, political interference has been the major threat to professional and impartial policing with integrity. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) is not empowered to directly investigate into allegations of human rights violations against the disciplined forces or any of its members for the allegations of human rights violations committed by them (Section 18, National Human Rights Commission Act 2009). Media is also biased and do not maintain objectivity in reporting. There is no independent ombudsman or nonpartisan independent body to oversee the functioning of the police service so as to limit and ideally eliminate political interference. It was found that the effective human resource management policies are not fully practiced in Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). Even, there is no strong institution to establish the strong internal and external accountability mechanism in Dhaka Metropolitan Police.

The management of crime has been the fundamental work of policing. But the quality of police investigations has been tainted by inefficiency, rudeness, intimidation, suppression of evidence, favouritism and influence, conniving at false accusations, concoction of evidence, and malicious padding of cases, and confession by third degree method. In the process of investigation, it is generally alleged that Dhaka Metropolitan Police incorporates torture as an integral part of the investigative mechanism to extract confession. Moreover, police use force at the time of arrest and torture in the detention centres or Police Stations. There are systematic allegations of abuse of the authority of arrest by the police. In the aftermath of criminal cases of rioting, gang violence, political conflict, group violence, police indiscriminately arrest people without any regard to their involvement in the offence. In fact, arbitrary arrest, detention and custodial torture by law-enforcing agencies have remained a persistent feature of policing in Dhaka Metropolitan area irrespective of the forms of government since 1971.

In its process involving the prevention of crime, police in Metropolitan Dhaka are reactive, though police are trying to replicate community policing in the neighbourhood. The community police forums organized by DMP have lost the collective voice of the community people about the neighborhood security concerns. Moreover, the community police forum has been used to develop a sort of nexus between the police and the members of public in the forum for personal gain and parochial interest. Besides, there is the absence of government patronage and ownership in granting the financial allotment in the police budget. On the other hand, police officers are not transparent, responsive and accountable to the forums of the community policing.

The people's perception of the Dhaka Metropolitan Police has been dominated by the negative image. People do not believe in the legitimacy, professionalism, impartiality and integrity of Dhaka Metropolitan Police which restrain the smooth operation of the policing and police governance in compliance with the legal process. Partisan outlook, inhuman and degrading treatment, arbitrary arrests, promoting of drug business and implicating innocent people in fabricated cases, corruption and lack of professionalism have created the image crisis of police in the society and thus, it has lost people's confidence and cooperation. Therefore, people perceive that the police are not enforcing law and order and providing security to the people in commensurate with the expectation of the people living in the metropolitan Dhaka.

In view of the research questions, the study made the final analysis and concluded that the Dhaka Metropolitan Police lacks functional autonomy supported by the robust human resource, innovative approach and legal process though there have been spatial fragmentation and augmentation of manpower. In fact, it has been found that the policing system has not been well organized to cope with the demand of changing physical settlement in metropolitan Dhaka. Therefore, DMP requires the robust human resource policy, an attitudinal change in the enforcement ethos, the highest standard of discipline, integrity and professionalism, a formalized police public-partnership to fight emerging crimes and strong accountability mechanism within a regulatory framework and functional autonomy incorporating the defined role of the political executive in order to establish democratic policing in metropolitan Dhaka.

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Appendix 1

Prevalence of crime in the Metropolitan Dhaka

The various crimes recorded under the Penal Code, Special and local laws in Bangladesh may be broadly grouped for the article.

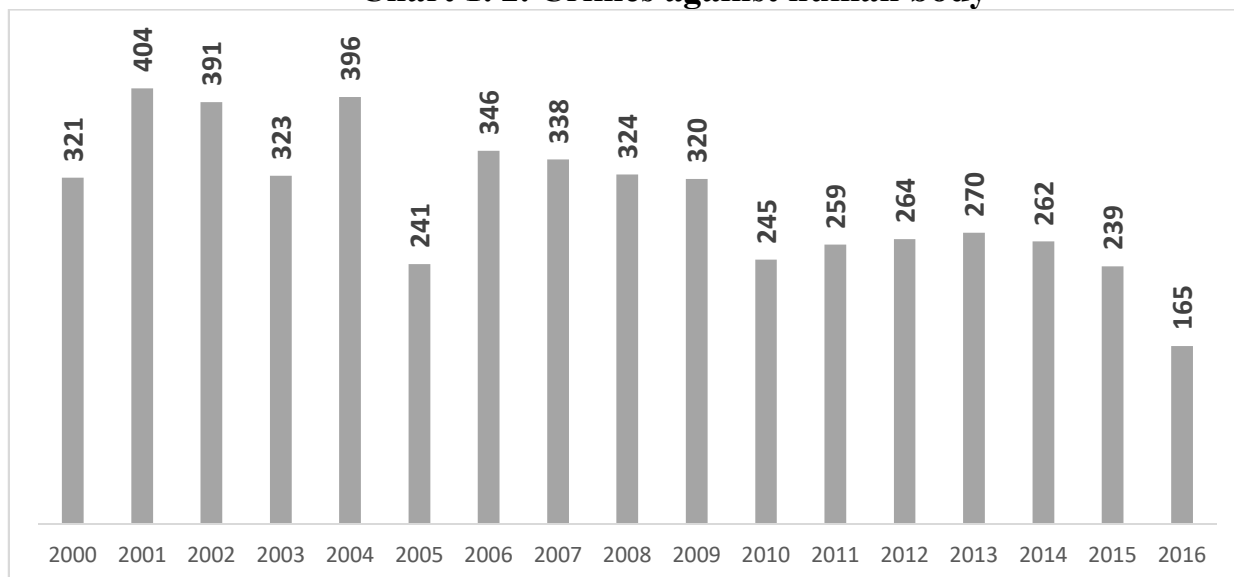
1. Crime against property.
2. Crime against human body.
3. Crime against public order/ terrorist acts.
4. Crime against women and children
5. Juvenile delinquency
6. Organized crime:
 - a. Drug trafficking
 - b. Human trafficking
 - c. Arms Act, Explosive Substance and Smuggling
 - d. Economic crimes
 - e. Cyber crime
7. Police Assault
8. Others

Chart 1.1: An overview of crime against property during the period from 2000-2016



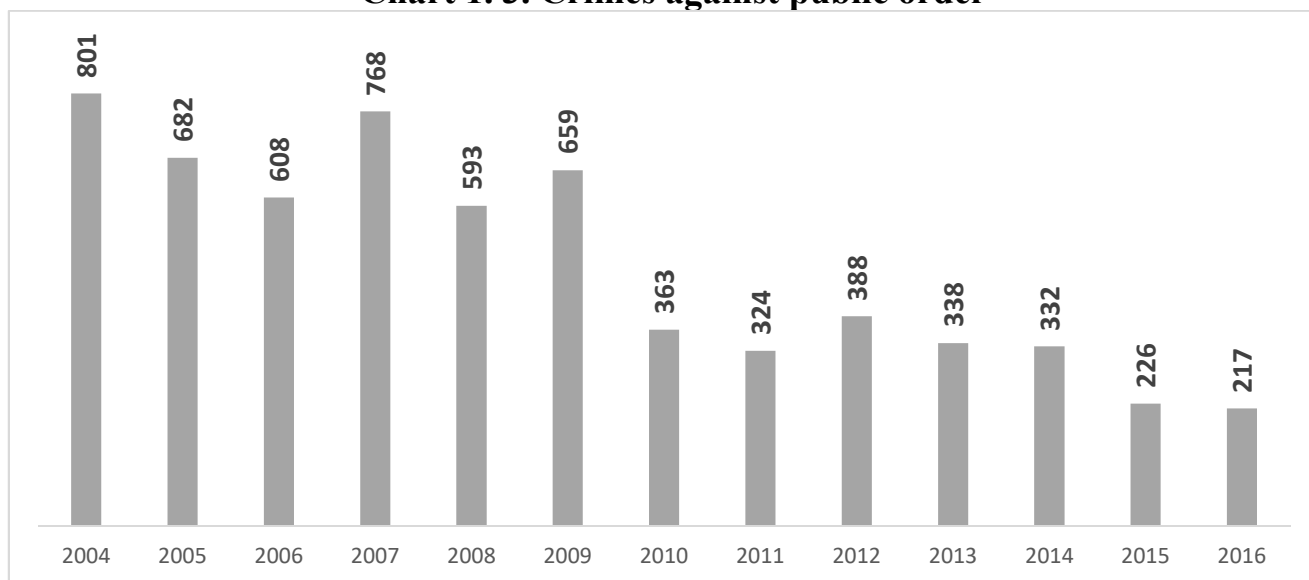
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 2. Crimes against human body



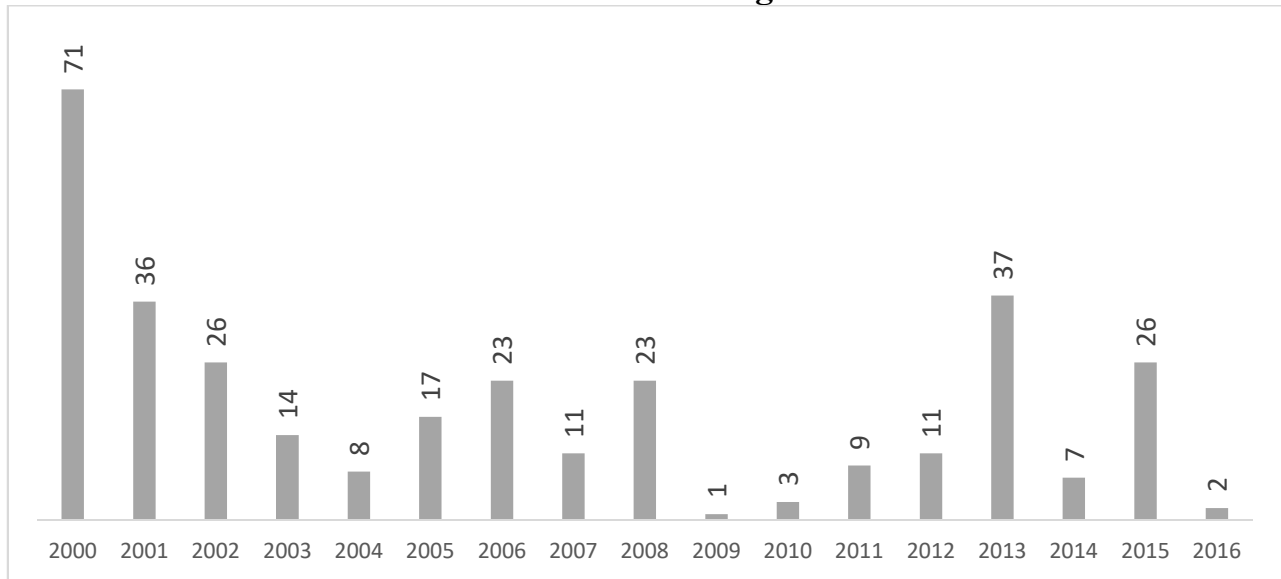
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 3. Crimes against public order



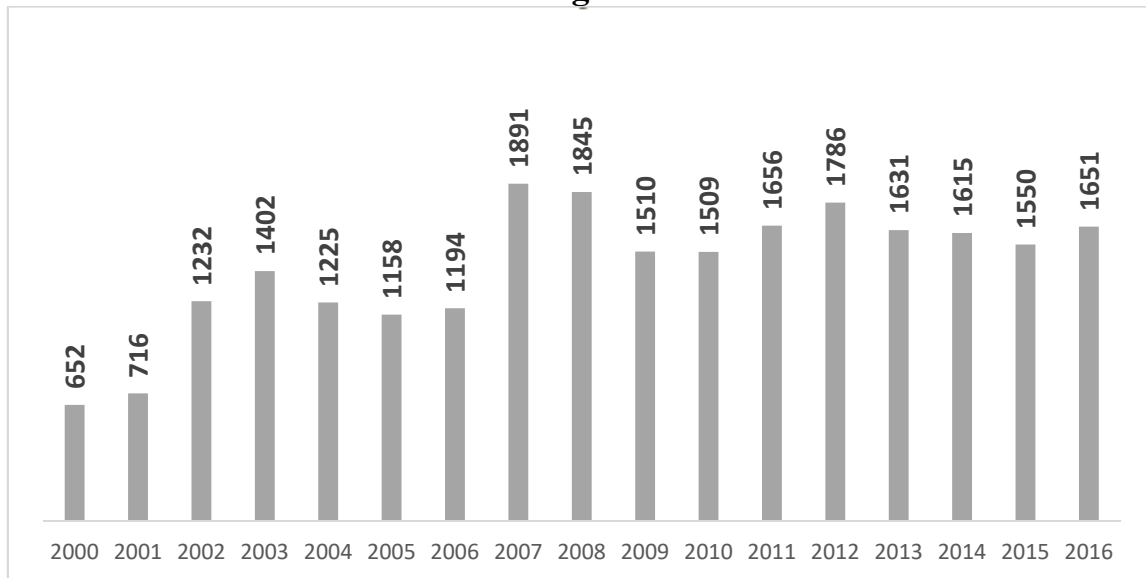
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1.4. Rioting



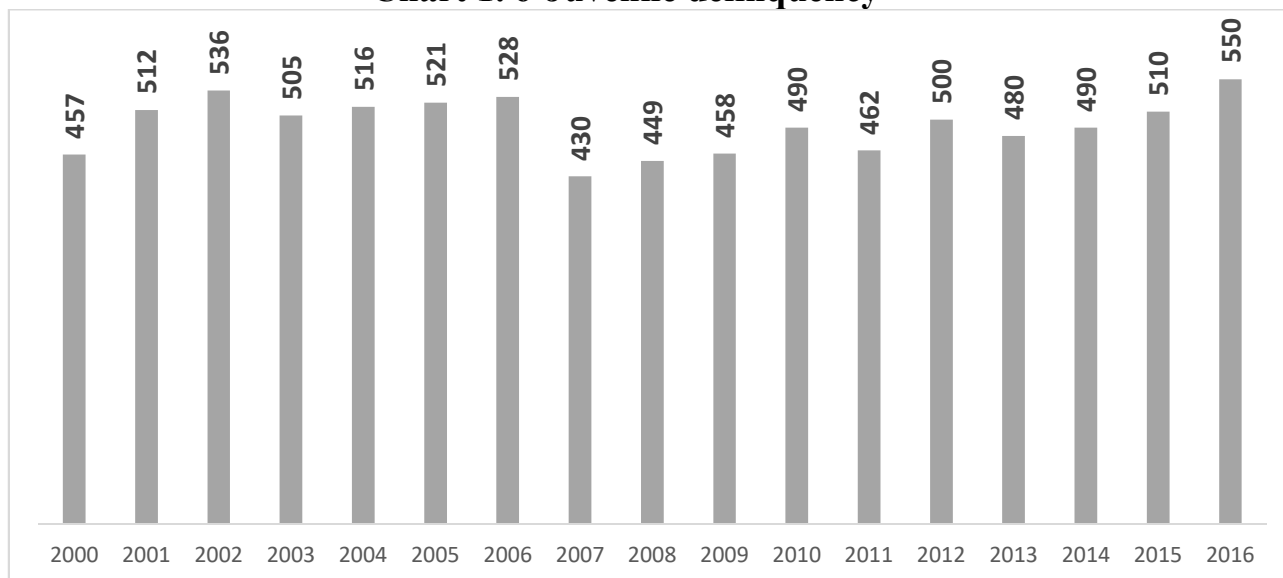
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1.5. Crimes against women and children



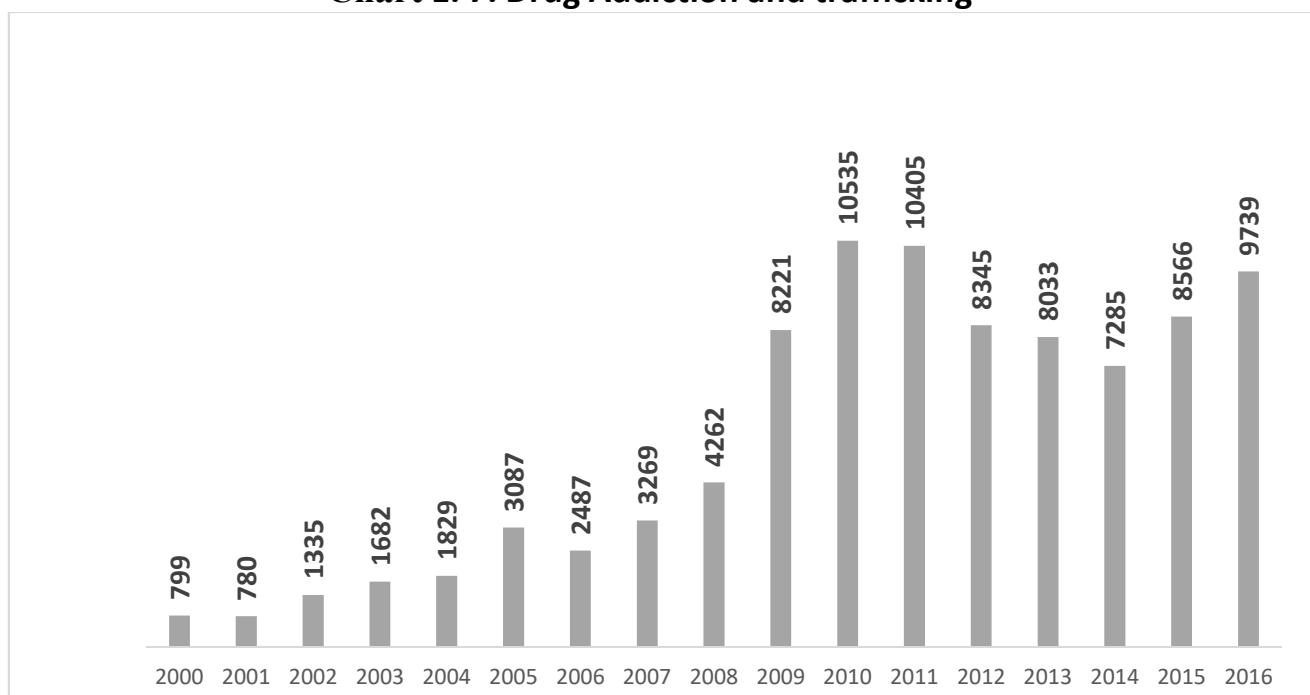
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 6-Juvenile delinquency



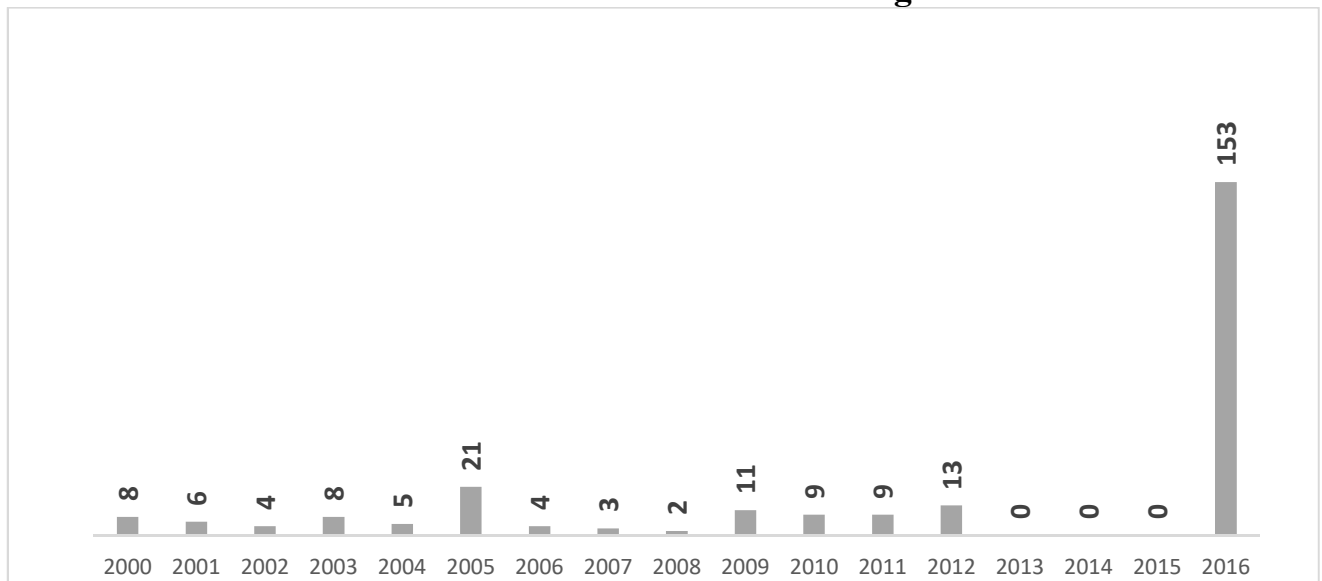
Sources: Assistance Plan for Juvenile Delinquents (APJD), Dhaka .

Chart 1. 7. Drug Addiction and trafficking



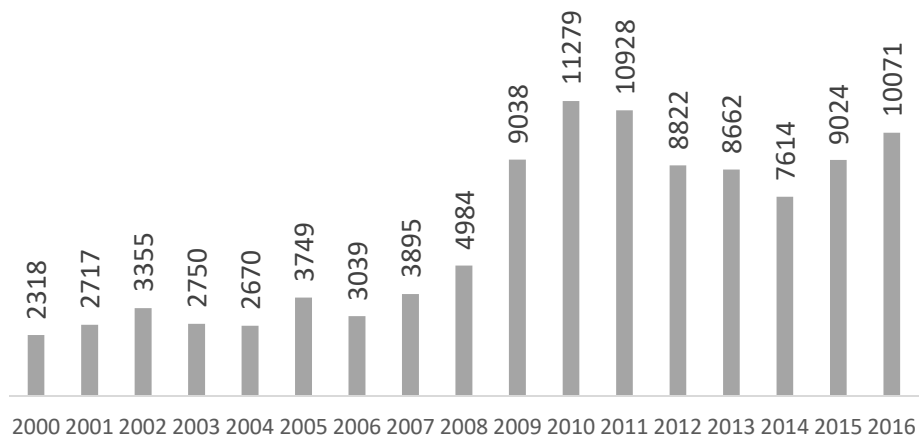
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 8. Human trafficking



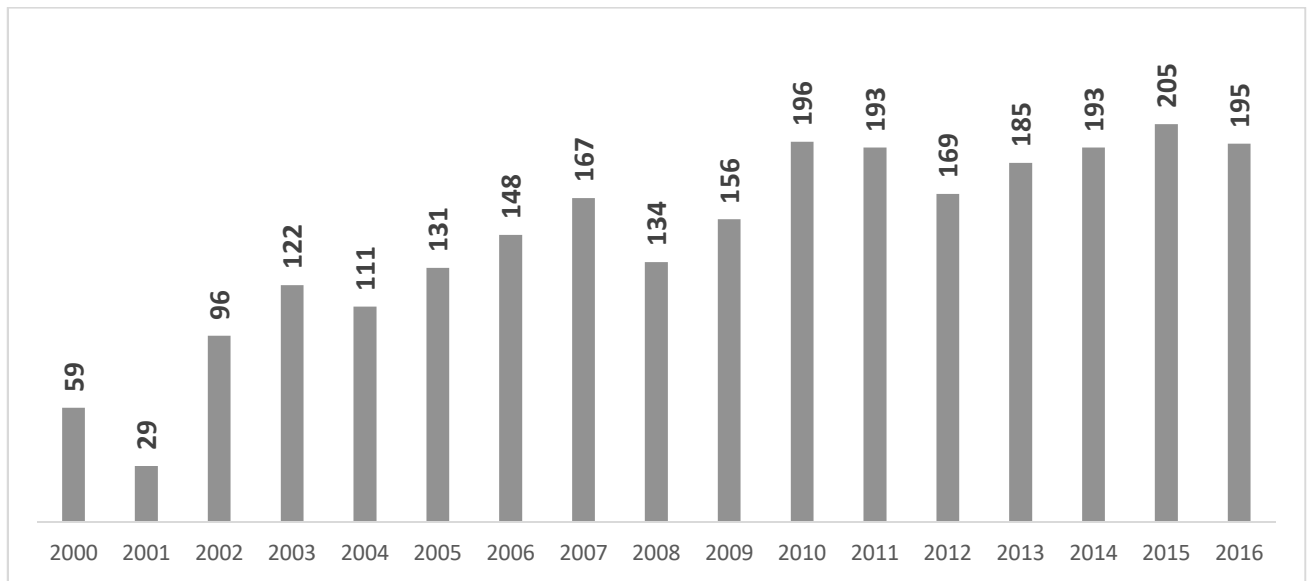
Source: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 9. Arms Act, Explosive substance, smuggling/trafficking



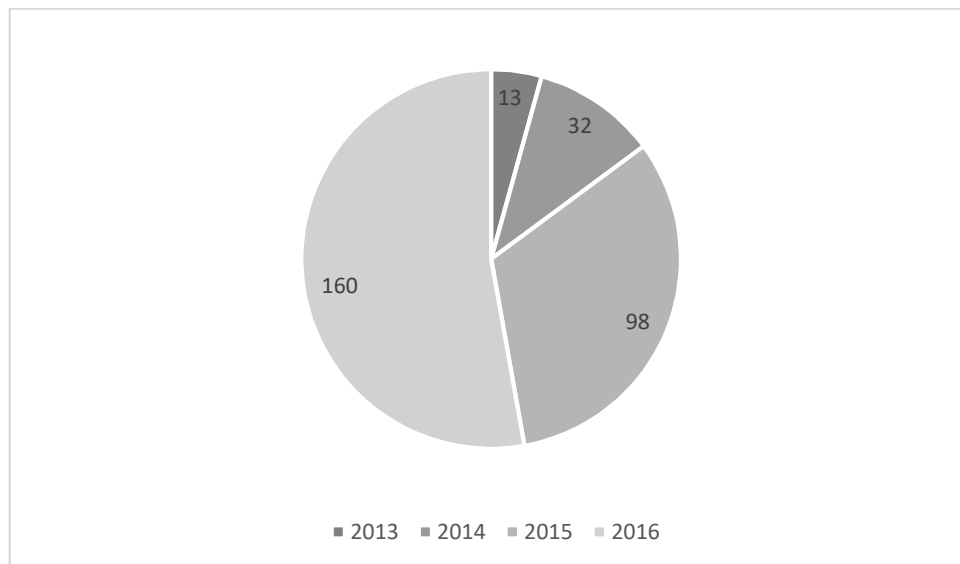
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 10. Economic crimes



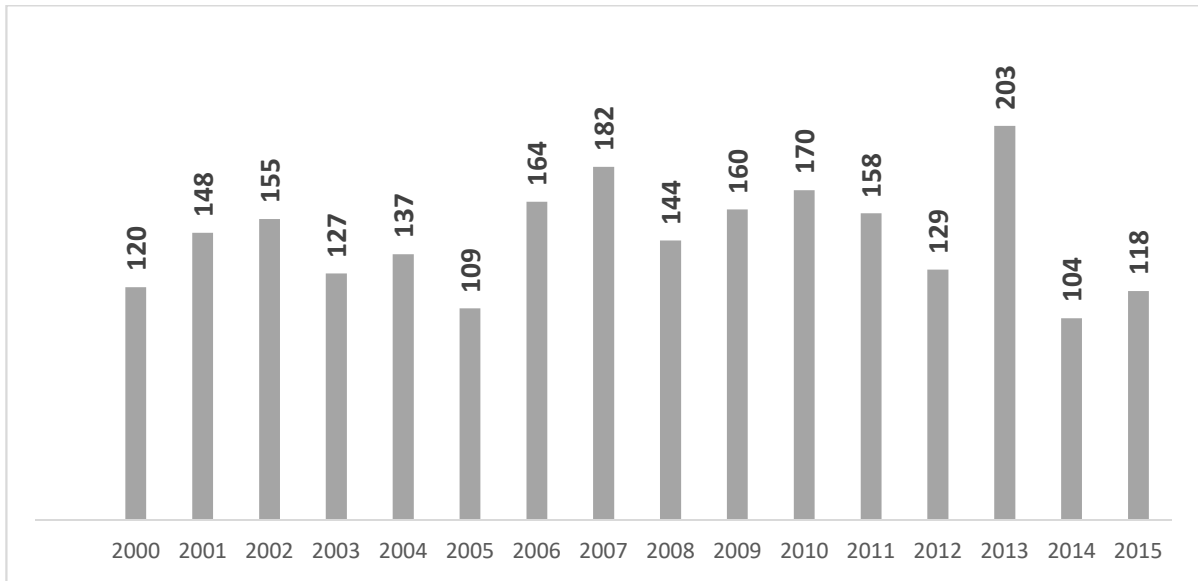
Sources: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 11. Cyber crime



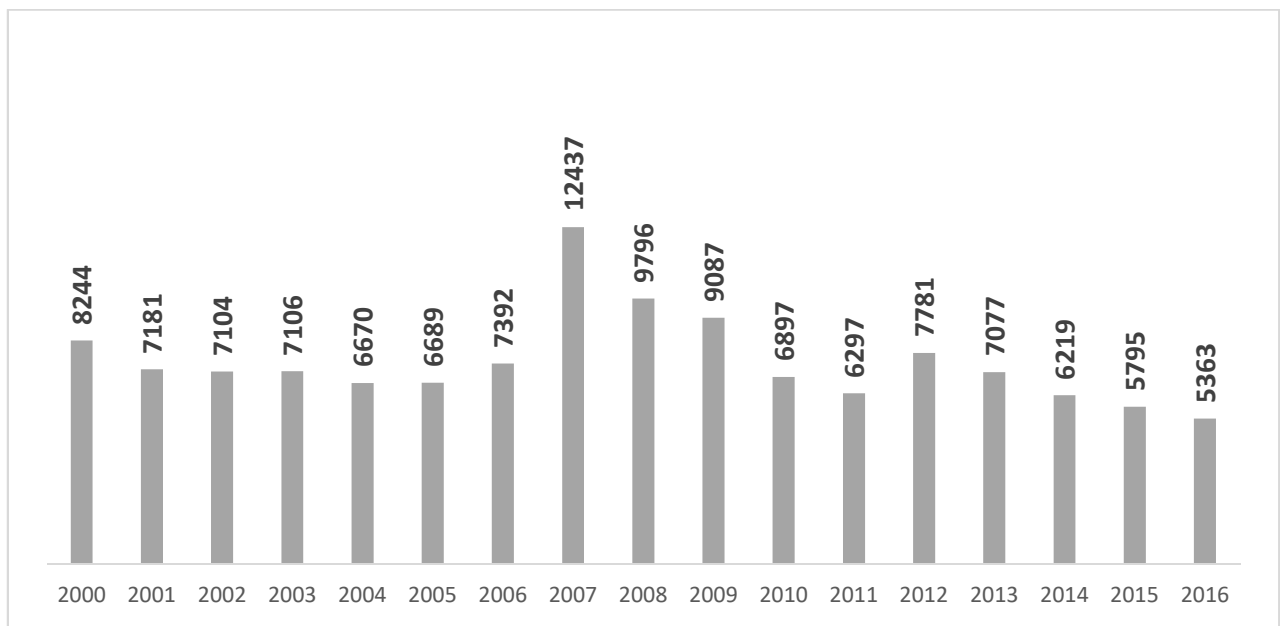
Source: Cyber crime Unit, CID, Malibagh, Dhaka.

Chart 1. 12. Police Assault



Source: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Chart 1. 13. Other Crimes



Source: Police Headquarters, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Appendix 2
Public perceptions on the security in Dhaka city

Respondent demographics:

- a. Sex: M F
- b. Age: 18-25, 26- 35, 36-45, 46- 55, 56 +,
- c. Religion: Islam Hindu Buddhist Christian Others
- d. Occupation: Student, Business, Professional, service holder (private job), Service holder(government job), House wife and Others
- e. Education: Primary, Secondary, Higher Secondary, Graduation, Post-graduation, PhD, None
- f. Area: Name of Police Station ----- City Corporations: North South
- g. Monthly income: (please encircle any of the following groups)
 Between 5,000 – 10,000 11,001 – 20,000 20,001 – 50,000, over
 50,000 Taka and no income

1. Have you been a victim of crime in Dhaka city during the last one decade?

1	2
Yes	No

2. Has anyone of your family members been victims of crime in Dhaka city during this period?

1	2
Yes	No

3. Are you concerned over safety and security within your own neighborhood/area?

1	2
Yes	No

4. Are you concerned over safety and security within Dhaka city?

1	2
Yes	No

5. Please rate how safe do you feel today in your community/neighborhood in Dhaka city compared to five years ago?

1	2	3	4	5
Much safer	Somewhat safer	Same as before	Less safe	Much less safe

6. Please rate how safe do you feel today in Dhaka City compared to five years ago?

1	2	3	4	5
Much safer	Somewhat safer	Same as before	Less safe	Much less safe

7. Have you had any contact with a Police officer in Dhaka city at any stage of your life?

1	2
Yes	No

8. If yes, how many times have you had contact with the police?

1 – 2 3 – 5 6 – 7 and 8+ times

9. (a) Whether this contact was initiated by:

1	police	Yes	No
2	Self-initiated	Yes	No

(b) If self-initiated, what were the reasons?

1	To get assistance or service	Yes	No
2	To report a crime	Yes	No

(c) Were the police helpful?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all helpful	Not much helpful	Somehow helpful	helpful	Very helpful

(d) Were you satisfied with the way police helped you during this contact?

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	satisfied	Very satisfied

(e) If satisfied (as in 'D' above), what were the reasons?

(f) If dissatisfied (as in 'D' above), what were the reasons?

10. How satisfied are you with the police in preventing crime in your neighbourhood/ area?

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	satisfied	Very satisfied

11. How would you rate the behavior of Police officer in Dhaka city over the last one decade?

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely worse	Worse	Neither worse nor good	Better	good

12. When victims report crimes, do you think the police treat: (Multiple choice is applicable)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Rich people worse	Rich people better	Poor people worse	Poor people better	Rich and poor treated equally	Do not know/ Not sure

13. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Most police are honest

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Do not know/ Not sure

14. Do you know that you can lodge a complaint against the police if he or she commits any illegal act or misconduct?

1	2
Yes	No

15. If yes, with whom would you report or file a complaint against the police officer?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Police authority	Court	Ministry of Home Affairs	Local politician/Mohalla leader	Local MP	Local Minister	Others (Specify)

16. It is said that people who complain against police are likely to suffer for it.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

17. Complaints against police should be investigated by an oversight (independent) body, not by the police themselves.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

18. Imagine that you have a complaint about a police officer. Do you think filing a complaint would make your situation?

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely worse	Worse	Neither worse nor good	Better	Very good

19. Do you think the police officer(s) use physical torture on suspects in police custody (remand) during interrogations?

1	2	3	4	5
Yes	No	Depend on cases	No idea	No response

20. Do you have any idea about the community policing in your area?

1	2
Yes	No

21. If yes, do you think that it is good for the local level problem solving?

1	2	3	4	5
Very good	Better	Neither worse nor good	Worse	Extremely worse

22. How do you rate the image of Police in Dhaka city?

1	2	3	4	5
Very positive	positive	Neither positive nor negative	Negative	Very negative

23. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

(a) Media has made image crisis of police by misreporting

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

(b) Politicians are responsible for the bad image of police

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

(c) Police are themselves responsible for the image crisis

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

24. How would you rate the overall performance of Dhaka Metro Police?

1	2	3	4	5
Poor	Below average	Average	Good	Excellent

Appendix 3
Opinion survey on traffic management in the Megacity of Dhaka
 (Encircle and put given code where applicable)
 (For the purpose of research)

Respondent demographics:

[encircle any one]

- a. Sex: 1= Male, 2= Female
- b. Age: (complete years):
- c. Occupation:
- d. Education: *[encircle any one]*

1=Primary, 2=Secondary, 3=Higher Secondary, 4=Graduation, 5=Post-graduation, 6=PhD, 7=None

- e. Area: 1=Dhaka North City Corporation, 2=Dhaka South City Corporation
 3=Others (specify

Main questions

1. In the past 3 months, how often did you use the following transport modes in the Megacity Dhaka? *[Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]*

Types of vehicle	1= Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Often, 5= All the time 8 = No comment
1) Rickshaw	
2) Auto Rickshaw	
3) Bus	
4) Cargo Van	
5) Covered Van	
6) Delivery Van	
7) Human Hauler	
8) Jeep(Hard/Soft)	
9) Microbus	
10) Minibus	
11) Motor Cycle	
12. Pick Up	
13. Private Passenger Car	
14. Taxicab	
15. Tractor	
16. Truck	
17. Ambulance	
18. Others	

2. How is, in your opinion, the overall road traffic situation in Dhaka Megacity now? *[encircle any one]*

1=No congestion, 2= very Slight congestion 3=Slight congestion, 4=Moderate congestion, 5=Heavy congestion, 8=Do not know

3. **How is now, in your opinion, the overall road traffic situation in Dhaka Megacity compared to five years ago [encircle any one]?**

1= Has improved than before, 2 = No change, 3 = More congested than before, 4 = Most congested than before, 8 = Do not know

4. **Do you agree that the following factors are responsible for the poor traffic management and road traffic congestion in Dhaka Megacity? [Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]**

Item	1 = Totally disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Totally agree, 8= No comment
1) Lack of planning for a comprehensive traffic	
2) lack of inter-agency coordination	
3) No land for building new roads or extension of roads	
4) Too many road works without coordination	
5) Too many vehicles on roads	
6) Enormous growth of private vehicles	
7) Absence of mass transit	
8) Unfit vehicle on the road	
9) Dominance of non-motorized transport such as rickshaw	
10) Inadequate trained manpower for traffic management	
11) Poor knowledge of traffic rules	
12) Flouting traffic rules indiscriminately	
13) Obsolete traffic rules with less fines	
14) Illegal parking on the road	
15) passengers picking-up/ dropping-off or goods loading/ unloading on roads Illegally	
16) pedestrians jaywalking	
17) Encroachment of roads and sidewalks	
18) lack of rigorous traffic law enforcement	
19) Easy availability of driving license	
20) Faulty traffic signaling systems	
21) Lack of Traffic education and awareness for road users	
22) Frequent VIP & senior officers' movement	

5. Which types of vehicle are more responsible for the chaotic traffic in the megacity Dhaka?
[Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]

Types of vehicle	1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Often, 5= All the time 8 = No comment
1) Rickshaw	
2) Auto Rickshaw	
3) Bus	
4) Cargo Van	
5) Covered Van	
6) Delivery Van	
7) Human Hauler	
8) Jeep(Hard/Soft)	
9) Microbus	
10) Minibus	
11) Motor Cycle	
1) Pick Up	
13) Private Passenger Car	
14) Taxicab	
15) Tractor	
16) Truck	
17) Ambulance	
18) Others	

6. Which of the following transport modes shall be given the highest priority to use roads?
[Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]

Types of vehicle	1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Often, 5= All the time 8 = No comment
2) Rickshaw	
3) Auto Rickshaw	
4) Bus	
5) Cargo Van	
6) Covered Van	
7) Delivery Van	
8) Human Hauler	
9) Jeep(Hard/Soft)	
10) Microbus	
11) Minibus	
12) Motor Cycle	
13) Pick Up	

Types of vehicle	1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Often, 5= All the time 8 = No comment
13. Private Passenger Car	
14. Taxicab	
15. Tractor	
16. Truck	
17. Ambulance	
18. Others	

7. Do you suggest that mass transit (Bus and Mini bus) will improve the traffic situation in Dhaka Megacity? [encircle any one]

1=Not suggest at all, 2=Not suggest, 3=Neutral, 4=Suggest, 5=Suggest very much, 8 =No comment

8. Do you make the following suggestions to improve the mass transit? [Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]

Item	1=Not suggest at all, 2=Not suggest, 3=Neutral, 4=Suggest, 5=Suggest very much, 8 =No comment
1) Approved fare collection	
2) Improved ticketing system	
3) Increased number of various modes of public transport vehicles.	
4) Obedience to law& discipline on the road	
5) Taking and dropping passengers at a designated spot	
6) Transport of good quality with fitness worthy of plying	
7) Well trained drivers	
8) Separate mass transit for women	
9) Air-conditioned facilities	

9. Do you think that the interagency coordination is necessary for the robust traffic management in the Megacity of Dhaka? [encircle any one]

1 Yes	2 No	3 Do not know
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10. How do you rate the interagency coordination for the traffic management in the Megacity of Dhaka? [Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]

Agency	1=Weak, 2= Very weak, 3= Somewhat Strong, 4= Fairly Strong, 5= Strongest, 8= Do not know
1) Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC)	
2) Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC)	
3) Bangladesh Road Transport Authority(BRTA)	
4) Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA)	
5) Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK)	

6) Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)	
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**11. Which agency do you think is to be held responsible for the poor traffic management?
[Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]**

Agency	1=Not at all 2= Partially 3= Fully 8=No comment
1) Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC)	
2) Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC)	
3) Bangladesh Road Transport Authority(BRTA)	
4) Dhaka Transport Co-ordination Authority (DTCA)	
5) Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha (RAJUK)	
6) Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP)	

12. Do you agree that the following are the most common and frequently violated traffic offences in the Megacity of Dhaka? [Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]

Item	1=Totally disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5=Totally agree, 8= No comment
1) Overtaking when prohibited	
2) Using the mobile phone when driving	
3) Violation of traffic red light signal	
4) Failing to wear the seat belt	
5) Getting off the road to bypass a traffic jam	
6) Not stopping at pedestrian crossing when given signal	
7) Stopping at undesignated areas to pick-up and dropping passengers	
8) Exceeding the speed limit	
9) Movement on the wrong side of the road	
10) Plying of unfit vehicle	
11) Driving without driving license	
12) Unregistered vehicle	
13) Blowing of hydraulic horn	
14) Motor cycle driver and pillion rider without helmet	
15) Driving dangerously and carelessly	
16) Disobey police order	
17) Black smoke emission	
18) Overloading	
19) Blocking road or public place	
20) Lane violation	

13. What are your suggestions to improve traffic law enforcement in the Megacity Dhaka?
[Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]

Item	1=Totally disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5=Totally agree, 8 No comment
1) Planning for a comprehensive traffic management system	
2) Inter-agency coordination for traffic management and road works	
3) Reduction of non-motorized transport such as rickshaw	
4) Reduction of growth of private vehicles	
5) Introduction of viable mass transit	
6) Removal of unfit and unlicensed vehicle from the road	
7) Increase of trained manpower for traffic management	
8) Strengthening of traffic law enforcement system	
9) Conduct of mobile court frequently	
10) Special incentive and facilities for traffic police	
11) Updating traffic rules with higher fines	
12) Eliminate illegal parking on the road	
13) Stop picking-up/dropping-off passengers or goods loading/unloading on roads Illegally	
14) Stop pedestrians jaywalking	
15) Reducing the encroachment of roads and sidewalks	
16) Maintain standard and integrity in offering driving license, improvement of licensing and vehicle inspection system	
17) Proper management of traffic signaling systems	
18) Establishment of automatic traffic violations central database for interactive traffic enforcement in the field and detection of vehicles and drivers with repeated violations	
19) Awareness building about road use and traffic rules	
20. Without giving priority, control VIP & senior officers' movement	

14. Why is traffic signal non-operational? *[Please use the code no on the right side from the column head]*

Item	1=Totally disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5=Totally agree, 8 No comment
1) Huge volume of vehicles cannot be synchronized with signal time	
2) Traffic signal is not maintained regularly by DCC	
3) Road users and drivers do not abide by the traffic signal	
4) Traffic police are reluctant to use traffic signal	
5) Frequent VIP movement	
6) Senior govt. and police officers' movement	

15. Do you think that the awareness building program will develop users' compliance with traffic rules? *[encircle any one]*

- 1 = Yes,
- 2 = No,
- 3= Do not know