

CGS-UNDP Paper 2

# Communication to Combat Crime and Violence in Bangladesh



Kaberi Gayen



CENTRE FOR  
**GENOCIDE  
STUDIES**  
UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA



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in Bangladesh

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Contents		Page
	<i>Foreword</i>	viii
	<i>About the Author</i>	xvi
	<i>Executive Summary</i>	xvii
	Introduction	1
1.	Trends of Crime in Bangladesh	7
2.	International Context	13
3.	Review of Literature	19
	Homicide	19
	Violence against woman and girls	20
	Political violence	25
	Campus Violence	27
	Youth Crime	27
	Organised Crime	28
	Suicide	28
	Other Crimes	29
4.	Drivers of Crime	31
	Urbanisation	31
	Poverty	32
	Youth	33
	Inequality	33
	Work Related Crime	34
	Attitudes and Ideation	34
	Climate Change	35
	Refugees and Immigrants	36
	Transparency and Law Enforcement	37
	Cross-Sectional Issues	38

5. Data Analysis	39
Incidents of Crime in Bangladesh	40
Actors Involved	47
Weapons Used	53
Perpetrators and Targets	58
Self-Violence	75
Types of Violence	78
Motivation of Incident	84
Cross-cutting Issues	90
Intervention	93
Summary from the BPO Data	94
6. Assessment of Reliability of the BPO Data	98
7. Communication Strategy to Combat Violence against Sexual and Gender Based Violence	100
Achieving Ideation Change	100
A Communication Strategy to Change Ideation to Combat Crimes against Women and Gender based Violence.	101
8. Conclusions and Recommendations	112
Conclusions	112
General Recommendations	117
Specific Recommendations to the Bangladesh Peace Observatory for Data Collection and Presentation	118
References	119

<b>List of Figures</b>		<b>Page</b>
1.1:	Distribution of Average Crime Rates per 100,000 in Bangladesh over the period 2016 to 2019	8
1.2:	All Cases – excluding recovery cases i.e. arms, explosives, narcotics, and smuggling	9
1.3a:	Trends in Dacoity and Robbery	9
1.3b:	Trends in Homicide and Women and Child Repression	10
1.3c:	Trends in Burglary and Theft	10
1.3d:	Trends in Assaults on the Police	11
2.1:	Trends in Homicides per 100,000	16
5.1:	Seasonal Percentage Distribution of all Incidents	41
5.2:	Seasonal Percentage Distribution of Violent Incidents	42
5.3:	Distribution of Rates per 100,000 of All Incidents by Division January 2018 to June 2020	43
5.4:	Trends in the Percentages of Actors by Year	49
5.5:	Trends in the Percentage Share of Weapons Used	56
5.6:	Percentage of Perpetrators Cited in Incidents by Type	59
5.7:	Percentage of Targets Cited in Incidents by Type	59
5.8:	Percentage Share of those Killed by Perpetrator Category	67
5.9:	Numbers of all Killed and Females Killed by Perpetrator Category	67
5.10:	Numbers of All Injured and Females Injured by Perpetrator Category	68
5.11:	Numbers of Sexual Assaults by Perpetrator Category	68
5.12:	Monthly Distribution of Deaths from Self-Violence over the Period February 2018 to June 2020	77
5.13:	Violence by Type	79
5.14:	Motivating Factor for the Incident (January 2018 to June 2020)	84
5.15:	Rate per 100,000 Cross-Cutting Issues by Division	92
8.1:	Abstraction of the Participatory Communications Model to Achieve Change based on the Formulation by Kincaid and Figueroa (2009) and Figueroa <i>et al.</i> (2009)	109

<b>List of Tables</b>		<b>Page</b>
1.1: Rates of Decline in Crime Levels and their Significance (shown by the P value column)		12
2.1: Comparisons of Crime Rates		15
2.2: World Economic Forum: The Global Competitiveness Index data 2018		17
5.1: Incidents per Annum		39
5.2: Number and Percentage of Incidents		40
5.3: Number and percentage of Incidents by Type and Division		42
5.4: Incidents by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)		44
5.5: Outcomes of Incidents by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)		45
5.6: Outcomes of Incidents by Division (January 2016 to June 2020)		46
5.7: Actors Involved in Incidents by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)		47
5.8: Actors by Division		50
5.9: Actors and Outcomes		52
5.10: Trends in Weapons (January 2016 to June 2020)		54
5.11: Weapons identified in incidents by division		55
5.12: Weapons Used and Outcomes		57
5.13: Perpetrators by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)		60
5.14: Perpetrators by Division		62
5.15: Weapons used by Perpetrators		65
5.16: Outcomes from Attacks by Perpetrators		66
5.17: Targets by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)		69
5.18: Targets by Division		70
5.19: Outcomes of Attacks on Targets by Perpetrator		71
5.20: Perpetrator and Targets		73
5.21: Perpetrator and Demographics of Target Percentages by Perpetrator Totals for the period January 2018 to June 2020 (Where the demographics of the target was identified)		74

5.22:	Trends in Self-Violence January 2016 to June 2020 (2017 excluded)	76
5.23:	Distribution of Self-Violence by Division from January 2018 to June 2020	78
5.24:	Type of Violence by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)	80
5.25:	Type of Violence by Division	81
5.26:	Type of Violence by Perpetrator	82
5.27a:	Numbers of Motivations for Incident by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)	86
5.27b:	Percentage of Motivations by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)	87
5.28a:	Motivation by Division Numbers (Data from January 2018 to June 2020)	88
5.28b:	Motivation by Division Percentages (Data from January to 201 to June to 2020)	89
5.29:	Cross-cutting Issues by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)	90
5.30:	Cross-Cutting Incidents by Division	91
5.31:	Cross-Cutting Incidents and Outcomes	93
5.32:	Interventions in 2018 and 2019	94

## Foreword

The monograph titled *Communication to Combat Crime and Violence in Bangladesh* is an evidence-based study. Perhaps, those of you who will be picking up a copy of this monograph, will require little introduction on the author, Kaberi Gayen. Nevertheless, for the ‘uninitiated’ ones, a bit on her life history is in order. Professor at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Gayen graduated from the University of Dhaka in 1989, obtained her MA from the same university a year later, and a PhD from Edinburgh Napier University in 2004. A visiting lecturer at Edinburgh Napier University, she is a recipient of the European Union grant (2004) and the prestigious Royal Society of Edinburgh grant (2011). She is a columnist for major national dailies in Bangladesh, and more importantly, is an activist who has lent her unwavering voice for the cause of the numeral minorities in Bangladesh. Kaberi Gayen has remained an outspoken critic of sexual inequality, religious extremism and government oppression. It is this brand of activism that attracted the attention of Islamist terrorists, who issued her with death threats. Hence, when she engages with an evidence-based study of crime and violence in Bangladesh, nothing short of a cutting-edge critique is to be expected.

*Communication to Combat Crime and Violence in Bangladesh* is undertaken to realize two objectives: to analyse crime incidents in Bangladesh from 1st January 2016 to 30th June 2020 by examining datasets developed by Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO), and propose a conceptual framework of communication to combat violence. The study fulfills its objective by organizing its findings in nine chapters. It contextualizes its findings in two consecutive chapters (Two and Three), by situating ‘crime’ in national setting (by examining Bangladesh Police online publications, 2010-2018), as well as international setting (by drawing on data from international agencies). Thereafter, a chapter is devoted to reviewing relevant literature on violence against women and girls, political violence, campus violence, youth crime, organised crime, suicide and other crimes, and the subsequent chapter to identifying the drivers of crime (classified as urbanization,

poverty, rising number of young male population associated with higher crime rates, inequality, work environment, attitudes and ideation, climate change, migration and corruption in law enforcement). Chapter Six is the core of the study devoted to analysing datasets on crime-related incidents in Bangladesh, covering a period of four and a half years from January 2016 to June 2020. The analysis illuminates the following areas: number, types, and distribution of crime-related incidents, outcome of the incidents, the actors involved in the incidents, the perpetrators and targets of crime, weapons used by the perpetrators, and the distribution of cross-cutting issues. The next chapter is devoted to acknowledging a key shortcoming of the study: that availability of official records of crime (such as the police records) is insufficient. As the study further observes, available official records of crime are not sufficiently atomised, recording categories of the official data and the BPO data are different, and BPO data depend on newspaper reports, which are prone to sensationalism and handicapped by underreporting.

The last two chapters of the study are devoted to recommendations. Chapter Eight makes nine recommendations directed at improving reporting and recording of crime, and training and resources of the police, enhancing resources and professionalism of the judiciary, separation of politics from the judiciary and the law enforcement agencies, adopting zero tolerance to corruption, creating independent authority to review crime in Bangladesh, drive towards ideational change regarding women in particular and crime in general, and continuation of economic development. In the last chapter, the study advocates a strategy to combat crime and violence against women and girls. The core of the strategy is a bottom-up participatory development campaign to enable women as well as men to work towards ideational change regarding gender norms. The campaign is envisaged to move from developing a collective understanding of violence and repression of women and girls, to a community dialogue in which men are to be perceived to be part of the solution. By means of community dialogue, action plans are to be formulated, and activists and leaders are to be identified. In the next stage, motivated individuals are to engage in social change. At work in this campaign for participatory development is the notion of unceasing progress driven by the cycle of planning, doing, checking and acting.

Having illuminated the reader on both the work and its author, two key functions of a Foreword, perhaps the interest of the monograph will be best served if I pursue, in the remaining few pages, a simple goal of situating the key notion of crime examined in the text, in the greater context of conceptual and theoretical discourse of philosophy and criminology. With this intent, I choose to begin by explicating Syed Waliullah's *Tarangabhanga* [Broken Waves] (1964). The fictional locale of the first act of the play is a court of justice, where stands Amena, aged about 25, accused of a heinous crime: murdering her own child. Waliullah has Amena remain silent and veiled with downcast gaze, the judge often dozing off to sleep, and bizarre characters filling the courtroom with a polyphony of voices that mock the system of justice. Two characters are deployed to reveal the untold 'truths' regarding the crime: a mysterious beggar (who exposes the thoughts of Amena and the judge), and a contractor (the sole witness who speaks for Amena). Through them it is learnt that Amena killed her child because of hunger derived from extreme poverty, but she was instigated by another person, whose name is only hinted as Abdus Sattar Neolapuri. As the matters stand Neolapuri is also the plaintiff who has brought the litigation against Amena. Proficient in citing Islamic jurisprudence, annals, and ethics, he insists that these are more important than the statutes instituted by the secular State, and demands through his lawyer that Amena be sentenced to death. Proceeding through a second act that draws on surrealism, *Tarangabhanga* defamiliarizes everyday life, and in the process, plunges the reader/spectator in a series of undecidabilities, where 'meaning' is continuously unfixed. Curiously, the undecidabilities unmask the transparent 'reality' to reveal how justice in our society is always manipulated behind the scene, and how it always fails to apprehend the actual criminals. The final reading out of the verdict is not shown for it is immaterial. The mechanics of power relations ensure that the Amenas will always be the escapegoats, while the Neolapuris, with the network of religious institutions and state mechanics behind them, will continue to exploit, but will never be apprehended.

Whereas Syed Waliullah unpeels the notion of crime from a philosophical perspective, criminology circumvents, in most cases, the philosophical implications and explications of the notion. This is because

the discipline – having emerged after 1885 when Raffaele Garofalo coined the term ‘criminology’ as a branch of knowledge to study law, crime and justice – situates itself firmly in Auguste Comte’s positivism and its concomitant focus on causation and determinism. Since then, the concept of crime has been situated within the positivist context of “a causal effect or consequence of scientifically identifiable determining forces.”<sup>1</sup> The claim to science, it is necessary to add, is only because criminology in particular and social sciences in general, borrow methods of the natural sciences. Indeed, scientific orientation is most distinctly apparent in the objective of criminology as proposed by Edwin Sutherland: “the development of a body of general and verified principles and other types of knowledge regarding law, crime, and treatment or prevention.”<sup>2</sup> Criminology’s claim to scientific method consists of “using verifiable principles and procedures for the systematic acquisition of knowledge [which] typically involves formulating a problem, creating a hypothesis, and collecting data through observation and experiment to verify the hypothesis.”<sup>3</sup>

Whereas criminology examines crime as a social phenomenon,<sup>4</sup> Plato explicates crime by means of moral psychology to postulate three different analyses of criminality: “(1) crime as ignorance; (2) crime as psychological disorder; (3) and crime as disease.”<sup>5</sup> In all three of these cases, crime is a characterological deficit, placed under the broader category of vice. From European Antiquity to the Middle Ages, a tectonic shift is noticeable in conceptualizing crime, because theology was, borrowing from Start Hall, articulated with the notion as a line of tendential force, i.e., exceptionally

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher R. Williams & Bruce A. Arrigo, Introduction, in *Philosophy, Crime, and Criminology* edited by Bruce A. Arrigo and Christopher R. Williams (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin Sutherland (1924) cited in Calvin J. Larson & Gerald R. Garrett, *Crime, Justice, and Society* (Walnut Creek CA: AltaMira Press, 2003), p. 172

<sup>3</sup> Larry J. Siegel, *Criminology: Theories, Patterns, and Typologies* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2016), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Siegel, *Criminology*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Williams & Arrigo, *Philosophy, Crime, and Criminology*, p. 5.

potent, unrelenting, and efficient linkage.<sup>6</sup> With the demise of ‘crime as vice’ philosophy, theological speculation gave rise to the ‘crime as sin’ framework. Consequently, in contradistinction of locating vice in human ignorance and lack of virtue, sin was cast as transgressions against God, which issued from human weakness and lack of faith. In this conceptualization, the human world is a battleground between good and evil, where humans could be drawn into evil by demonic forces. Although humans possess free will, it is weakness and temptation that lead them to succumb to crime, here understood as sin.<sup>7</sup> In the 17th and 18th centuries, when the general contextual climate of Europe was the Enlightenment, “human nature was characterized as hedonistic and self-interested, motivating people to pursue pleasure and personal gain at the expense of social concerns.”<sup>8</sup> Framed with the Enlightenment paradigm “that emphasized the role of reason, freedom, and self-determination in human knowledge and behavior”, crime was theorized as the consequence of a “failure to use innate reason to make informed and calculated choices to bring about the best results.”<sup>9</sup> Conceptualized in such a framework, a criminal was the same as a non-criminal, except the route to pleasure that the former selected. Criminology, as practiced in Europe and North America in the late 19th and early 20th century, underwent a significant departure from modernist-positivist claims to wisdom regarding truth, reason, knowledge and progress, when poststructuralist theorizing made inroads into the field in the 1990s. Consequently, increasing acknowledgement surfaced in the discipline, regarding the inevitable social condition that “the construction of knowledge and reality is framed, shaped, and given content through communication, whether written or spoken.”<sup>10</sup> Because discourse is inevitably impinged on by individual subject-positions, any explication regarding crime is always-already mediated by the linguistic structures employed in/as performance to communicate any content. Hence, objectivity is a bogus claim, invoked to maintain networks of power-knowledge in operation in a given society. What

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<sup>6</sup> Jennifer Daryl Slack, “The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies”, in David Morley and KuanHsing Chen (Eds.) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> Williams & Arrigo, *Philosophy, Crime, and Criminology*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

poststructuralist criminology foregrounds is the importance, not of crime rates but “how crime rates presuppose certain definition about crime and how measurements of crime contain certain theoretical and methodological presuppositions.”<sup>11</sup>

Distanced from poststructuralism, Islamic legal system is situated in a conceptual terrain that is proximate to the theological speculations postulated in the European Middle Ages. Consequently, a crime is also a sin in Islamic theological discourse, and “consists of any disobedience to God’s commandments which is punishable in this world through the legislator.”<sup>12</sup> Against the tone of intolerant severity in the foregoing pronouncement, it is possible to read a gentle note of ethical and human concern in the following Hadith as it defines sin: “virtue is a kind disposition and vice is what rankles in your heart and that you disapprove that people should come to know of it.”<sup>13</sup> The Qur’an uses several terms to refer to sin as evil: *dhanb* or heinous sins committed against God (4.31), *ithm* or an unlawful deed committed intentionally (7.33), *khati’ah* or moral lapse (4.112), *jurm* (4.112), or pronouncing lies of God, and *junah/haraj* (2:235) which is similar to *ithm*. In Islamic criminal law, these sins are organized under three categories: (i) *hudud* (a «boundary» or “limit” set by God), infringement of which, as in the cases of theft, fornication, consumption of alcohol, and apostasy, require punishments mandated and fixed by God, (ii) *ta’zir* (chastisement), punishment of which, as acts of correction, is left to the judge, and (iii) *qisas* (retribution), concerned with crimes against a person such as homicide or infliction of wounds.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>12</sup> M Jubeir III, “Definition of Crime According to Islamic Law and Islamic Legislative Sources,” US Department of Justice: Office of Justice Programs. Retrieved from <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/definition-crime-according-islamic-law-and-islamic-legislative>

<sup>13</sup> Sahih Muslim, 32:6195

<sup>14</sup> Farhat J. Ziadeh, “Criminal Law,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. Oxford Islamic Studies Online. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0170>

The Islamic legal system, prevalent in Bengal till 1862, was replaced by the English common law system, over a hundred years after the process of colonization had begun. It is necessary to add, though, that the English common law was modified to make it possible for both the Hindus and the Muslims to follow personal laws made obligatory unto them by their respective religion. For the Muslims “personal law deals with marriage, divorce, paternity, guardianship, maintenance, succession, inheritance, gift, will, wakf, preemption etc.”<sup>15</sup> The legal system of Bangladesh continues to follow the common law system, as “almost all the substantive laws creating rights and obligations are those enacted during the British period, and are still in operation with modifications from time to time.”<sup>16</sup> One such modification, perhaps most important, has been in the Code of Criminal Procedure, which abolished the provisions of enquiry made by the magistrate. As for the prevalence of rule of law in the country, it is telling that Bangladesh ranked 115th out of 128 countries on this count, dropping two positions in 2020.<sup>17</sup> The imprisonment of Rozina Islam, senior reporter of *Protom Alo* (the most widely-circulated newspaper in Bangladesh), is but the latest incident so far as the prevalence of rule of law in Bangladesh is concerned. Her ‘crime’ was carrying out professional duty as an investigative journalist in the ministry of health, in matters related to public healthcare system in Bangladesh. As it has already been reported in international media, public healthcare system in the country is massively ridden with corruption, and is virtually non-existent so far as the non-affluent Bangladeshis are concerned.<sup>18</sup> Given this perspective, given also the promulgation and prevalence of Right to Information Act in Bangladesh since 2009, Muhammad Abdul Kader Miah’s unpeeling of the notion of crime in a prestigious encyclopedia devoted to Bangladesh studies, operates as a double bind when he posits it as “an anti-

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<sup>15</sup> Kazi Ebadul Hoque, “Legal System,” *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, 2014. Retrieved from [http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Legal\\_System](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Legal_System)

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> World Justice Project, “Bangladesh Ranked 115 out of 128 Countries on Rule of Law, Dropping Two Positions.” Retrieved from <https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/Bangladesh%20-%202020%20WJP%20Rule%20of%20Law%20Index%20Country%20Press%20Release.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> The New Humanitarian, “Bangladeshi health sector corruption hits poor hardest,” 2013. Retrieved from <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/fr/node/253187>

social act” arising from “a behaviour or activity, which breaks the legal code or the social code of a particular community”, and is committed for reasons such as “bad governance and state-sponsored oppressions, failure of the judiciary to ensure fair justice and increasing domination of a powerful but impatient leader over a helpless society.”<sup>19</sup>

This brief review of evolution of European and Northern American conceptual apparatus of criminality over the past two and a half millennia, read along with Islamic criminal law and criminology in Bangladesh, demonstrates that crime continues to remain a variable and unfixed notion. Hence, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that “while crime may be a ‘social fact’, the particular realities of crime are relative to time and place.”<sup>20</sup> It is perhaps this theoretical perspective that better informs Kaberi Gayen’s study titled *Communication to Combat Crime and Violence in Bangladesh*. I state this with full belief that the best books are those that raise questions rather than purporting to answer questions, and thereby imbibe a daring to dream of a world where Bob Dylan’s answers will no longer need to blow in the wind.

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<sup>19</sup> Abdul Kader Miah, “Crime,” *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, 2014. Retrieved from <http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Crime>

<sup>20</sup> Williams & Arrigo, *Philosophy, Crime, and Criminology*, p. 5.

## About the Author

Professor Kaberi Gayen is a media scholar, writer and academic activist of Bangladesh. Dr. Gayen is a Professor of the Department of Mass Communication and Journalism in the University of Dhaka and served as the Chairperson of that department from 2018 to 2021. Dr. Gayen obtained Honours and Master's degrees from the University of Dhaka, and PhD from Edinburgh Napier University, UK. After completion of the Master's degree, she joined Rajshahi University of Bangladesh and served as a Lecturer and then promoted as an Assistant Professor. On completion of her PhD in 2004, she pursued a European Union funded post-doctoral fellowship in the Employment Research Institute of Edinburgh Napier University.

Her research interest includes Critical Theories of Communication, Mass Media Research and Cultural Analysis, Theories of Social Networks and Social Capital, Health Communication, Gender and Media, and Media and Genocide. She has published many national and international peer reviewed articles and published three books: *Vulnerable Empowerment: Capabilities and Vulnerabilities of Female Garment Workers in Bangladesh* (2016), *Construction of Women in the War Films of Bangladesh* (2013), and *Modelling Influences of Communication: A Study of the Fertility Behaviour of Women in Rural Bangladesh* (2009). Dr. Gayen served as visiting fellow in Dartmouth College, USA (2016-2018), Edinburgh Napier University, UK (2015-2016; 2009), DIAS, Switzerland (2009; 2011) and British University of Egypt, Cairo (2012). She gave keynote talks at several international seminars and was awarded Royal Society of Edinburgh Fellowship in 2011 and International Institute of Education (IIE) Fellowship in 2016. She obtained CGS-UNDP Senior Peace Fellowship (2019-2020) and Senior Research Fellowship of Social Science Research Council (2019-2021) of the Planning Ministry of Bangladesh. Recently she has been the UGC nominated syndicate member of the University of Scholars for 2022-2024. Her current research project is Construction of the Liberation War of Bangladesh 1971 in the US Television. Dr. Gayen is a frequent columnist of major mainstream newspapers of Bangladesh.

# **Executive Summary**

## **Aim**

The aims of this study are twofold: firstly, to analyse a longitudinal data set of crime incidents in Bangladesh in recent years, which has been developed by Bangladesh Peace Observatory (BPO). The period of investigation is from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2016 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2020. Secondly, to forward a conceptual framework of communication to facilitate the reduction of violent crime. The motivation of the BPO is to complement the limited publicly available data pertaining to crime in Bangladesh. This, by providing an evidence base, might allow criminologists, social scientists, and policy makers to develop further measures to combat crime.

## **Method**

To undertake this study, crime is first placed in context by examination of annual crime trends, taken from Bangladesh Police publications and by conducting international comparisons using data from international agencies. Then, literature is reviewed in two parts, reporting on levels and impact of crime, and the other part focuses on the drivers of crime. Next, data drawn from the BPO database is statistically analysed to reveal patterns of crime and the geographical distribution of crime. The focus of this analysis is on rates and number and outcomes of incidents, who is involved in terms of perpetrators and victims, motivation for crime, weapons used in crime and cross-cutting issues. The findings from the analysis are summarised and from this a communication strategy is outlined to improve the situation for the most affected groups.

## **Contextual Findings**

From Bangladesh Police publications (2010 to 2018), crime rates per 100,000 people are highest for crime classed as women and child repression (8.20), then theft (2.79) and homicides (1.75). For the period of 2010 to 2018, overall crime has decreased significantly at 2.6% per annum, but murder, and women and child repression, although declining, have not statistically significantly declined.

A meaningful comparison of international crime rates is considered to be almost impossible. Comparing Bangladesh with India, Nepal and Pakistan show that the crime index for Bangladesh is much higher than in India and Pakistan and is the eleventh highest in the world rankings. However, for serious violent crime, such as murder and assault, Bangladesh is positioned well with comparatively low rates.

Bangladesh does not fare well on the prevalence of violence by a woman's intimate partners, having the thirteenth highest percentage of women who have experienced this out of 129 countries across the world, of neighbouring countries only Pakistan has higher prevalence. The percentage of Bangladeshi women who accept being beaten by their husband or partner, although lower than Nepal and Pakistan, still has a rank at the disappointing side of the world median.

Global Competitiveness Index compiled by the World Economic Forum show that perceived costs of crime to business and indicators of ethical compliance and governance, including the perception of the reliability of the police, all are damaging the competitiveness of Bangladesh. The ranking of these competitiveness indicators for Bangladesh is similar to its neighbours except India which performs considerably better on most measures.

The literature on crime and violence in Bangladesh is dominated by discussion of violence against women and girls, much of which is from their intimate partners and family members. Violence against women and girls is reported to be higher in rural areas compared to urban areas, sometimes up to four times as much. Women who are young, have a low socio-economic background and have been married with a dowry are most at risk. General levels of harassment are common for women in Bangladesh, especially from 'eve-teasers' (street stalkers), work colleagues and superiors.

Violence connected to politics, which involves campus violence and extrajudicial killing, is a major category of crime in Bangladesh. The literature reports that suicide rates are of concern and much of this is related to repression and harassment of women. Other crime categories, such as mob violence and organised crime are at a relatively low rate. However, cybercrime and human trafficking incidents are growing.

Reasons for crime in Bangladesh in the existing literature are levelled at the youthful population of the country, increasing rates of urbanisation, poverty and widening inequality. Several authors drew attention to the violent attitudes and discriminatory ideation of Bangladesh society, especially towards women, and the poor perception regarding the effectiveness of law enforcement.

There are concerns of under-reporting of crime in Bangladesh due to corruption, fear of reprisals and perceptions of inaction and inefficiency of law enforcement agencies and embarrassment. Underreporting is of greatest concern regarding crimes against women and cybercrime.

### **Findings from BPO Analysis**

Reviewing the number of incidents from the BPO data show very low levels of crime incidents. For instance, the BPO dataset records 17,864 incidents in 2018, while police records report 221,419 cases of non-repossession crime. This underreporting in the BPO is likely to be a consequence of recording crime from newspaper reports, in which the sensational and the extreme attract reporters' attention. Underreporting seems to especially severe in 2017. Thus, the analysis of all data was used to expose trends but to analyse distribution by divisions and combinations of variables only data from January 2018 to June 2020 is used.

The distribution of violent to nonviolent incidents show that on average there are 54.2 violent incidents to 44.8 nonviolent incidents, an indication of underreporting. In percentage terms, violent incidents have trended upwards till 2020, when estimates indicate that 2019 might be a peak.

Incident rates per 100,000 are highest in Rajshahi (32.4), then Chittagong (27.7), then Khulna (26.6) and then Barisal (25.0). Mymensingh has the lowest incident rate (11.8).

For outcomes of incidents, there is no discernible trends in those killed or those injured, but the recorded incidents in 2019 and 2020 have

more than doubled compared to earlier years, the numbers abducted have trended downwards. Of note is that the average proportion of women killed was 0.30 of all killed, and the proportion of women injured was only 0.07 of all those injured. This gives clear evidence of underreporting of female injuries. Rates per 100,000 of those killed are highest in Chittagong and Rajshahi at 8.42 and 8.38 respectively. Rates of those killed are lowest in Mymensingh and Sylhet at 4.70 and 5.35, respectively. For injuries, the rate per 100,000 is much higher in Barisal than other divisions at 4.43 compared to the average rate across all divisions of 2.25 per 100,000. The proportion of females killed to all killed are highest in Barisal and Rangpur at 0.36, 0.36 and followed by Rajshahi at 0.34. The proportion of females injured to all injured is highest in Rangpur at 0.15 and lowest in Sylhet at 0.03. The comparison between proportions of females killed and injured is greatest in Sylhet (0.24 to 0.03). Rates per 100,000 of sexual assault are highest in Barisal at 2.19 compared to the average of 1.57 per 100,000. Khulna has the highest rate of abduction and arrests at 1.10 and 87.53 compared to the average rate of 0.65 and 57.68 per 100,000, respectively.

The most frequent cited actors involved in incidents are law enforcement, criminals, and the public at 43.7%, 25.3% and 11.0% respectively. There are no important trends in actors cited by year or by division.

In terms of weapons used, the most frequently used weapons were blunt weapons, sharp weapons, and small arms (31.4%, 19.2% and 9.1% of cases). No weapons were used in 9.1% of cases. The divisional distribution shows that over the period 2018 to June 2020 that blunt weapons and sharp weapons are the most frequent in every division. However, the use of blunt weapons has increased over the years while the use of small arms has significantly reduced, and there is evidence of improved recording of the weapons used as the category 'unclear' has fallen from 21.6% of incidents in 2018 to 14.1% of cases in 2020.

Most of the perpetrators were: criminals (25.7%), family members (10.6%), public (9.3%), girls and women (23.5%) and men (9.1%). The most frequent classes of targets were men (13.7%), family members

(9.3%) and self (9.1%). There is little evidence of consistent trend by year or by division. Criminals, family members and self are the most frequent categories of those killed. For females, killed by family members is the largest category of perpetrators.

Instances of recorded self-violence have more than doubled after 2018. Rates of self-violence per 100,000 are highest in Rajshahi (2.31) and then Barisal (2.09), and lowest in Mymensingh (0.69).

For types of violence, 61.6% are classed as assault, 10.2% as clash and 9.4% as sexual assault.

The main motivations for incidents are arrest (33.5%), raids (20.3%) and sexual assault (4.8%).

Sexual and gender-based violence is the largest cross-cutting issue accounting for 64.7% of cross-cutting issues.

### **Reliability of the BPO data**

There is a great deal of underreporting, which is clear when the BPO data is compared to police reports. However, the number of murders were similar in both police and BPO records, at least for 2018. The low reporting of incidents is unsurprising given the data source is newspapers which focus on extreme and sensational events.

The categorisation of actors, perpetrators and targets are rather broad, and work is needed to better identify the type of perpetrator and target. Groups classed as “Public”, “Criminal”, “Self”, “Man”, “Worker” and “Youth” are too general and will contain members which should be attributed to other categories. These broad generalisations of category membership greatly inhibit nuanced analysis and reduces the value of the work of the BPO. Better and finer categorisation of actors, perpetrators and targets is needed.

In the BPO data set, there is lack of clarity between sex (male/female) and gender. Although the gender someone assigns to their self is needed in

the analysis of crime data. This is to a large extent impossible in the BPO data due to the nature of reporting in newspapers, from which the BPO data is derived.

## **General Recommendations**

There is a need to improve reporting and recording of crimes – not only in the Bangladesh Peace Observatory, but, more importantly, in official records collected by the Police and Judiciary. These records need to be kept by the Bangladesh government and its agencies and should be transparent and publicly accessible, at very least via publicly accessible web pages.

Categories with a broad definition, such as public or family member, should be avoided, instead more atomised classifications should be used (these can always be aggregated into larger category groups, if required). Special attention is required to differentiate between sex and gender and to the recoding of racially motivated crime and victims of those of particular racial identities.

Training and resources of the police and other law enforcement agencies should be improved. There is a need to instil an ethos of public service in which all members of the public are respected, and corruption is perceived as unacceptable.

Enhancing the resources and professionalism of the judiciary is required. Also politics should be separated from the judiciary and law enforcement agents.

There should be an adoption of a zero-tolerance approach to corruption at all levels in Bangladesh society and its institutions.

It would be beneficial to create an independent authority to review crime in Bangladesh and assess effectiveness in combating crime, which reports to the government and whose workings and findings are transparent and made available to the public.

Violence and repression of women and girls should be perceived as much a public health problem as it is a crime. This would also apply to suicide and self-harming.

There is a need to achieve ideational change in Bangladesh to respect all members of society and create an ideology of the unacceptability of crime and disrespect.

### **Specific Recommendations to the Bangladesh Peace Observatory**

Work is required to produce less overlapping categorisation of actors, perpetrators, and targets. Categories such as “Public”, “Family Members”, “Youth”, “Worker” and so forth are too general and overlapping to facilitate effective analysis and use of the data. A more atomised recording is needed, specific groups can always be combined to form more general groups.

Ensure data protection norms are complied with to prevent individual identification. At very least do not show frequencies of less than five in tables (preferably less than ten).

Given the lack of precision in categorising actors there is little value in reporting at below the district level.

To protect anonymity low level geography such as Upazila or Union should not be publicly available in the data for downloading (perhaps even district should be excluded). Also the exact date of incident should only be reported as month and year.

As a useful record is being formed consideration should be given to the inclusion of more sources such as local papers, and television and media broadcasts. However, due to the resource intensive nature of the data collection this is probably not feasible. As technology improves and becomes more available the possibilities of automatically searching and compiling data from social media should be investigated.

### **Future Requirements: Communication Strategy to Combat Crime**

Overall, crime against women and girls continually appear at high levels and there is evidence that these crimes suffer from underreporting. To address this there needs to be a change in the societal (including family members and intimate partners) attitudes and ideation towards women and

girls. Women and girls require to be more valued and given greater respect and as individuals should be made to feel more valued and safer. This can be achieved by a national communication campaign throughout the country, but with special focus on rural areas and those in lower socio-economic groups. Attaining this might well also reduce the number and rates of incidence of self-violence.

To combat crime and violence against women and girls, a campaign to empower women and men to move to a norm of gender equality and respect for women is advocated in this research. A model to undertake this transition is forwarded which is based on the Participatory Communications Model. This model should be adopted and applied.

## Introduction

Violence and crime are a blight on human development (Neanidis and Papadopoulou 2013; and Yusuf *et al.* 2001). These have obvious negative impacts on those immediately affected, and the negative effect may stain their future lives not only through economic distress or physical impairment but also through lingering damage to mental health. It is not only the individual, their family and kin, and friends who are affected, but also the neighbourhood in which they live can be blighted. High levels of violence and crime in an area reduces the life chances of people who live in that area. Job opportunities are less, education and care services are underfunded, and thus the area and residents are shunned. From this, a malaise of depression results, where despair of the populous becomes endemic and this leads to a spiralling downward cycle in which crime and violence become common and people become excluded from the wider society, its values, and its benefits. If this downward spiral is unchecked, measurable falls in education, employment levels, life expectancy, increasing health problems and crime rates will result. It is not only small areas that are at risk, but this can also spread to towns, cities, regions and even countries. Neanidis and Papadopoulou (2013) pointed out the economic impact of crime as negatively affecting business, transport, internal investment and foreign direct investment, international trade, and a nation's competitiveness. Pleskovic and Stiglitz (2000) and Rai and Rai (2019) further discussed the effects of violent crime on the wellbeing of populations and national development. Importantly, all parts of a society can be persecuted and excluded because of crime and violence as a feature of their race, ethnic origin, sexuality, or political belief or even because they are young or old or a woman. Because of unchecked violence and crime, regional and national development may be impaired, which can give barriers to trade and investment rise and perhaps more importantly the society of that regional or nation will be perceived as repulsive.

It is not appropriate for a civilised society to have high and unbalanced rates of crime and violence for particular subgroups, notably women, those

of minority gender-based groups, ethnic and religious minority groups, and refugees. An issue of serious concern is the abundance of victims are from vulnerable backgrounds, in the crime reports, which causes feelings of injustice and diminishes social cohesion. This, as Fajnzylber *et al.* (2002a, 2002b) pointed out, together with economic and social participation inequalities, is a fundamental contributor barrier to development in emerging nations. Often crime and violence targeting the vulnerable is an expression of inequality in society and the blame of “others” in limiting opportunities. Inequality is promoted by differential economic growth which widens the gaps between those who are rich and those who are poor and limits access to education, health provision, housing, and employment for many. Addressing these is a challenge for Bangladesh. Difficulties of combating inequality in Bangladesh arises from the background of poverty, the transition from a rural population to an urban society, and the demographic boom of young males facing an uncertain economic future. To combat this, there is a need for improved governance and reduce corruption, and to enhance human rights for all (Tauchen and Witte 1994; Fajnzylber *et al.* 2002b; Bowles *et al.* 2005; Andvig and Fjeldstad 2008 and Sanchez de Ribera *et al.* 2019). Added to these are new challenges arising from need to adapt to climate change and to combat increased threats of international crime such as sex trafficking and drugs and terrorism. There are no easy solutions to these challenges, and it will take many years to implement and deliver positive outcomes. However, if these are not addressed, incidences of crime will increase, especially amongst the poor and excluded, and a vicious circle develops where crime and violence become endemic in the excluded which in turn exacerbates the severity and prevalence of crime.

Empowering the police and judiciary is required to combat crime and violence but is not a solution rather it tends to have only a short run impact. There needs a change of attitudes and in how people think about crime in societies, especially in areas affected, and the perpetrators of crime and violence. In facilitating attitude and how people think about and perceive crime, its impacts and causes a change in people’s ideology is required. To engender ideational change, targeted communication campaigns have been found to be effective in many situations. A communication and persuasion strategy is needed.

To formulate an effective communication strategy one needs a good information base on which to build the strategy. The information base should allow the frequency and severity of crime to be identified as well as its geographical incidence. Also needed is data on who commits the crime and who the victims are. Crime statistics are carefully recorded in many countries and become part of their national statistical record. These recorded data can be analysed by civil servants who provide the findings to researchers and policy makers to allow evidence-based strategy formation. Del Frate (2010: 167) states that establishing “an efficient system for the collection, analysis and dissemination of information on crime and criminal justice is a prerequisite for effective crime prevention”. Unfortunately, in many low to middle income countries “official” records of crime is absent. Many crimes are not reported through fear of reprisals, unsympathetic attitude of police and law enforcement services, corruption, and social stigma. This under reporting is termed ‘dark crime’ by Biderman and Albert (1967) and has been explored in Bangladesh in a case study conducted by Islam, Khatun and Paul (2013). Khatun (2015) drew attention to the blaming of survivors in rape cases, which is a consequence of the patriarchal culture of Bangladesh, especially in the rural areas. Tang and Khan (2018) in giving an overview of crime trends in Bangladesh point out the limited sources of crime data and the lack of good methodological research in Bangladesh.

When a survivor is blamed in a society rather than the perpetrator, it is hardly surprising that crimes against women go unreported. Not reporting crime is also prevalent for crimes involving fraud, confidence tricking and cybercrime. Suicide is a growing trend worldwide and is the leading cause of youth mortality. McLoughlin, Gould and Malone (2015) reported understanding suicide suffers from underreporting and unreliable data bases. Bangladesh is no exception to this.

To fill this data gap, the Bangladesh Peace Observatory has attempted to construct a data base that is sufficiently robust to provide information to policy makers and to allow the impact on interventions to reduce crime to be measured and their effectiveness assessed. This task is achieved by collecting newspaper reports of violent crime in Bangladesh to determine

the base data of type of crime, who was involved, motivation of the crime, outcome of the crime, location and weapons used, if any. This immense task led to create data sets by month and location for violent crimes in 2016, partially for 2017, 2018, 2019 and it is ongoing. The reliability of this data set is potentially questionable, especially given the media propensity for exaggeration and that less sensational incidents might not acquire media attention. Nevertheless, it is a start and may give a reasonable guide to how policy should be formed. In the absence of other data sources this fits with the proverb credited to Erasmus (1500) that “in the land of the blind the one-eyed man is king”. Details of the data collection, verification and validation procedures are given in BPO (2020).

The purpose of this report is primarily to conduct an analysis of BPO data which has been downloaded from the Bangladesh Peace Observatory’s web page, <http://peaceobservatory-cgs.org>. Data over the period January 2016 to June 2020 have been downloaded. This data is composed of recordings of violent and non-violent crime, actors involved (which includes perpetrators and victims, law enforcement officers attending the incident and any others involved), type of violence, weapons used, motivation for the incident, interventions, and cross cutting issues. Cross-cutting issues, where different variables interact in a common theme, in some cases, referred to as intersectionality.

The aim of the analysis is to:

1. Understand the magnitude of violent crime in Bangladesh;
2. Portray the geographical distribution of violent crime in Bangladesh;
3. Identify emerging trends;
4. Assess the validity of the BPO data;
5. Allow suggestions to be made to facilitate improvement of the data;
6. Give recommendations to reduce crime rates in Bangladesh.

A further aim of this report is to forward a strategy to combat violence against women and girls which is one of the major issues facing Bangladeshi society.

Before continuing it is important to give some definitions.

**Crime** is “the intentional commission of an act usually deemed socially harmful or dangerous and specifically defined, prohibited, and punishable under criminal law”. (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2021). In the research the definition of crime echoes this definition. Here, all the data collected and categorised as different crimes by BPO have been considered as crime.

**Violent Crime** covers a variety of offences – ranging from common assault to murder. It also encompasses the use of weapons such as firearms, knives and corrosive substances like acid.

UK Crown Prosecution Service (<https://www.cps.gov.uk/crime-info/violent-crime>).

**Non-Violent Crime** is defined here as a crime which does not use force or injure another person physically.

**Homicides** are fatal injuries inflicted by another person with intent to injure or kill, by any means. (Reza, Mercy and Krug (2001).

**Sexual Assault** “is an act in which a person intentionally sexually touches another person without that person’s consent, or coerces or physically forces a person to engage in a sexual act against their will”. (Cameron et al. 2017: 658).

**Gender-Based Violence** “refers to harmful acts directed at an individual based on their gender. It is rooted in gender inequality, the abuse of power and harmful norms”. UNCHR (2021)

**Organised Crime** is “criminal activities that are planned and controlled by powerful groups and carried out on a large scale”. (Google Dictionary, 2021).

**Youth Crime** is a crime committed by a juvenile offender (Collins English Dictionary 2021). In this report a juvenile is considered as someone aged between ten and fifteen years.

The above list of definitions will be the definitions used in this report and are aligned to those used in the work of the Bangladesh Peace Observatory.

Other concepts will be defined when they arise in this report, if required, and for some specific definitions relating to variable names in the BPO data the reader is referred to the BPO data guide category definitions available at <http://peaceobservatory-cgs.org/#/all-division-heat-map>.

In this report, a review of crime trends in Bangladesh is given in the chapter 1 and then in chapter 2 the level of crime in Bangladesh has been discussed in comparison with other nations. In chapter 3, a review of literature relating to crime and its causes in Bangladesh is given followed by a chapter listing the drivers of crime in Bangladesh, chapter 4. In chapter 5, an analysis of data from the Peace Observatory on reported crime in Bangladesh is presented. From this analysis, attempts have been taken to:

- i. Explore the level and trend of violent crime in Bangladesh;
- ii. Understand the geographical distribution of violent crime in Bangladesh;
- iii. Expose the perpetrators of violent crime in Bangladesh;
- iv. Identify the survivors of violent crime in Bangladesh;
- v. Determine the main cross-cutting issues.

In chapter 6, a short discussion on the reliability of the BPO data is given, which has been followed by the conclusion and recommendation formed from the BPO data in chapter 7. From the analysis and recommendation from the BPO data, a communication strategy to combat violence against women and girls and the ideation surrounding this, is formulated, and presented in chapter 8.

# 1

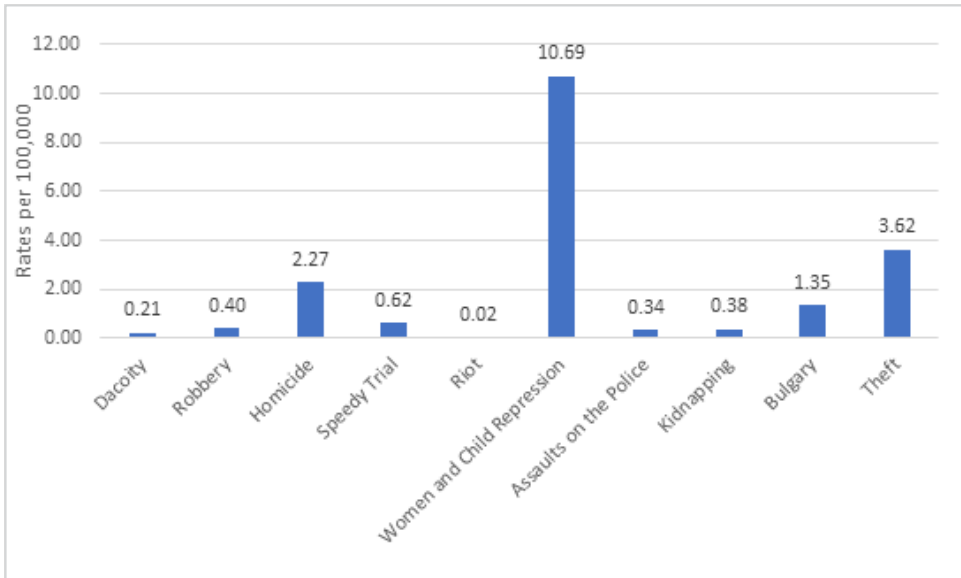
## Trends of Crime in Bangladesh

Khatun and Islam (2018) report that crime was high at the end of the 1971 War of Liberation, but the crime rate per 100,000 declined since 1979 when the rate was 123.81 to a low of 51.15 in 1989/90. In 2002, crime rate rose to 84.56. The police records of violent crime incidents were 18,000 in 1972, and this trended down to 4,333 by 2009. In 1979/80, around 40,000 property crimes were recorded which fell to around 1,600 by 2009. Khatun and Islam drew attention to the rising level of rape as official figures show that in 1991 there were 427 cases, but this rose to 3446 cases in 2008. However, Khatun and Islam warned that this may not be a real rise as rape tends to be under reported as documented cases are avoided because of stigmatisation and corruption by perpetrators. Khatun and Islam found that 6,572 rape cases were reported in newspapers in 2008.

Khatun and Islam pointed out that child abuse was not considered a crime in Bangladesh till 1991, but since then child abuse crimes have risen from 18 cases in 1994 to 976 cases in 2007. This worrying trend is very likely to be under-reported.

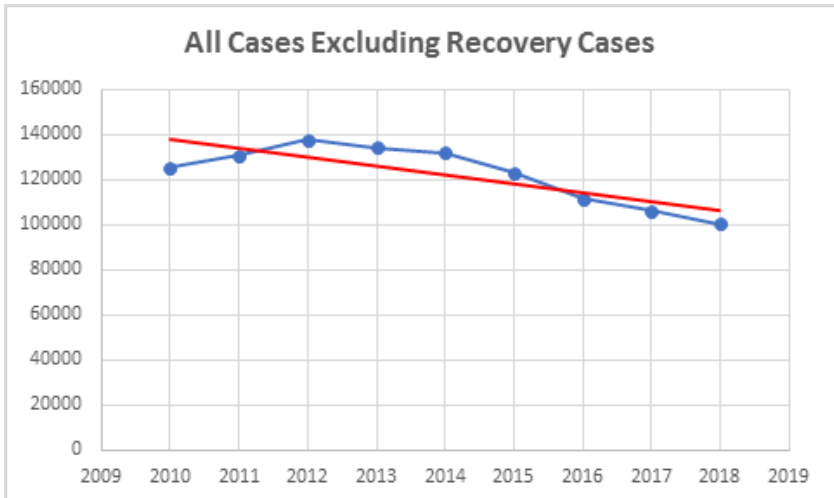
Since 2010, Bangladesh Police crime figures are published online ([https://www.police.gov.bd/en/crime\\_statistic/year/](https://www.police.gov.bd/en/crime_statistic/year/)). The distribution of average crime rates per 100,000 over the period of 2016 to 2018 given in the published police records are presented in Figure 1.1, and some of the crime incidents over the period of 2010 to 2018 are given in Figures 1.2 and 1.3.

**Figure 1.1: Distribution of Average Crime Rates per 100,000 in Bangladesh over the period of 2016 to 2018**



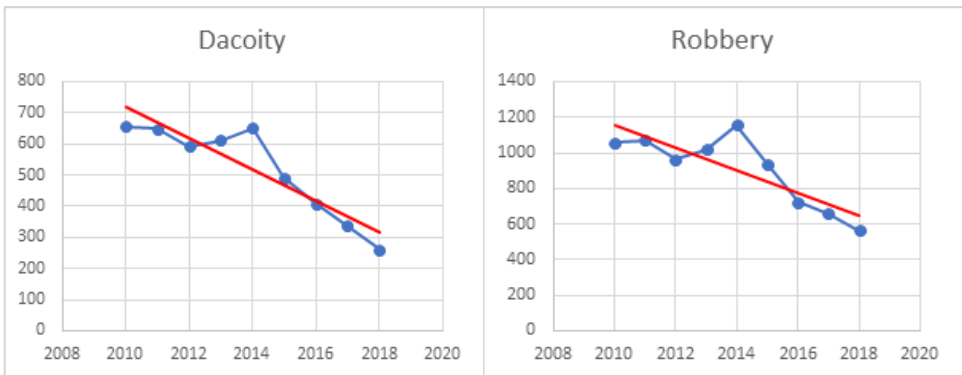
In Figure 1.1, “Speedy Trial” refers to as any case escalated for quick disposal under the Speedy Trial Tribunal and will include extra judicial killing often referred to as crossfire”. From Figure 1.1, it is evident that crimes associated with repression of women and children are the most frequent, these are defined as any act of violence against a woman or a child. How recorded crime cases have changed over the period 2010 to 2018 are now examined, starting with all cases except recovery crimes, which are crimes were stolen goods or property, or illicit drugs and firearms are recovered by the police. Those convicted in riot are very low.

**Figure 1.2: All Cases – excluding recovery cases i.e. arms, explosives, narcotics, and smuggling.**



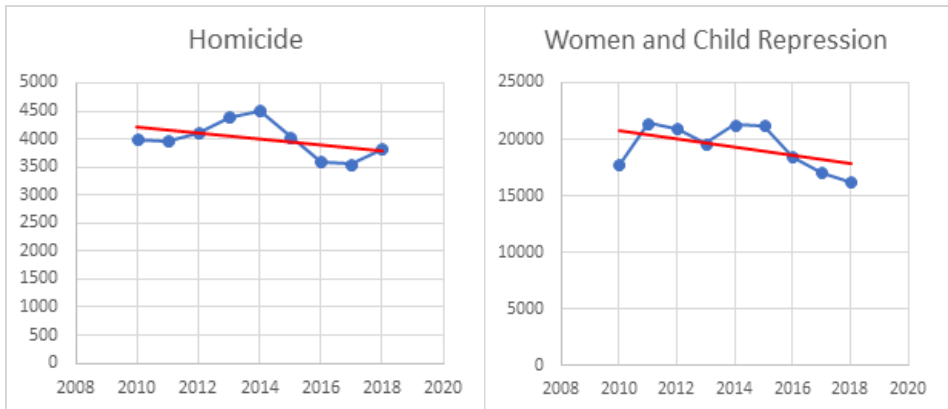
From Figure 1.2, crime cases from 2010 to 2018 have been trending downwards, shown by the red line. The trend line is computed by simple linear regression, the observed data shown in blue on the year of the observation. This procedure is applied to the cases presented in Figure 1.3a. This trend is supported when categories of all cases – excluding recovery cases are considered as illustrated in Figure 1.3a. in which the blue line links the observations and the red line is the fitted trend line.

**Figure 1.3a: Trends in Dacoity and Robbery**



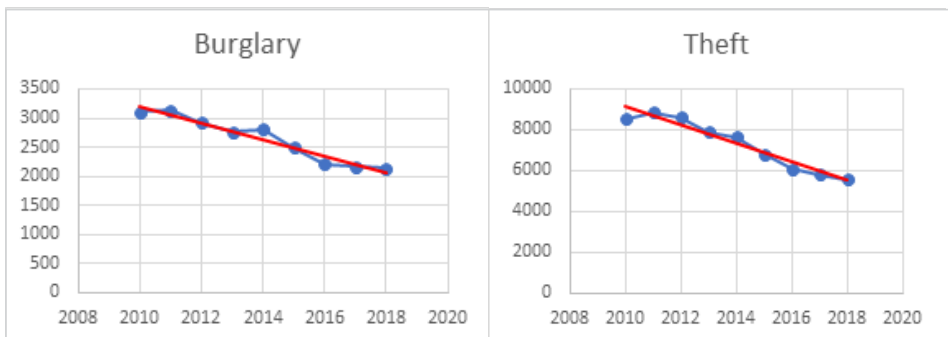
Both dacoity (robbery initiated by an armed gang) and robbery have trended downwards over the period of 2010 to 2018.

**Figure 1.3b: Trends in Homicide and Women and Child Repression**



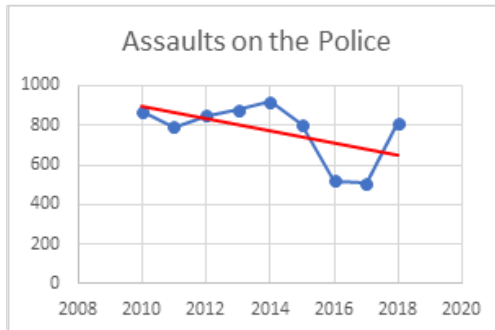
Both the crimes shown in Figure 1.3b have declined over the period of 2010 to 2018.

**Figure 1.3c: Trends in Burglary and Theft**



Again as can be observed from Figure 1.3c, both burglary and theft are exhibiting declining trends as shown by the red line.

**Figure 1.3d: Assaults on the Police**



From Figure 1.3d the trend of assaults on the police are also trending downwards, but this might be a false impression as recorded assaults are much lower than the trend prior to 2016, and the 2018 data point might be signalling a return to trend.

The significance of the trends shown in Figure 1.2 and 1.3abcd are presented in Table 1.1. From this table, all crime has declined at an average rate of 0.36% per year and that this rate is statistically significant at the 5% level. It is shown that the rate of decline of Dacoity, Theft, Burglary and Robbery have also shown significant declines (especially dacoity). Although homicide, and women and child repression have declined a little, the rate of decline is not statistically significant at the 5% level. Assaults on the police have shown a slight increase, which is not statistically significant, but does confirm the concerns of a false impression from Figure 1.3d discussed above.

**Table 1.1: Rates of Decline in Crime Levels and their Significance (shown by the P value column)**

<b>Crime</b>	<b>% Slope Change</b>	<b>P value</b>
All Crime	-0.36%	0.008
Dacoity	-1.10%	<0.001
Robbery	-0.78%	0.005
Murder	-0.15%	0.208
Women and Child Repression	-0.21%	0.162
Burglary	-0.59%	<0.001
Theft	-0.68%	<0.001
Assaults on the Police	0.04%	0.437

# 2

## International Context

Crime should be taken in context. Bangladesh has a population of over 163 million with a low crime incidence rate. The homicide rate over the period from 2012 to 2017 for Bangladesh was 2.2 per 100,000 while for the US the rate was more than double at 5.3 and the prison population of Bangladesh stood at 54 per 100,000 people while the US was at 671 per 100,000 over the same period (UNDP 2020). However, as Harrendorf (2018a: 159) pointed out “international comparison of crime and criminal justice data is complex, almost impossible”. Crime is culturally defined, what is a serious crime in one country might be a misdemeanour in another country and legal definitions of a crime vary between countries (see Harrendorf 2011 and 2012). Different nations record crime differently, one nation might record crimes when first reported to the police other countries might wait until the crime is verified (Aebi 2010) whereas another nation might. A further difficulty is that crime records are a function of the quality of the work done by the police (Harrendorf, 2017b). Graham *et al.* (2021) drew to attention the difficulties with the validity and reliability of measures of intimate partner violence. Further, as del Frate (2000:167) stated “what is measurable is only what comes to light” and that there is no unique reliable source of international crime statistics. “Crime statistics are generally compiled not with the purpose of international comparisons but to allow the management of the nation in which they apply” del Frate (2000:167).

Many authors, such as von Hofer (2000), Nelken (2009), Buonanno *et al.* (2014) and Harrendorf (2018a) are very critical of making international comparisons of reported crime. To compare crime rates between countries, it is safer to use surveys designed for the purpose, for example, the United Nations Crime Trends Survey, in which efforts have been made to allow comparability of data such as by standardizing offense definitions. But even with such precautions difficulties persist (de Bondt 2014).

Noting the caveats made above, to give an idea of where Bangladesh lies internationally regarding crime, some comparisons are given in Table 2.1 using comparable measures and position in international rankings, and trends in homicide rates are presented in Figure 2.1.

In this table, the *crime index* is the sum of homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, arson, burglary, larceny and motor vehicle theft in a year in a particular country divided by the population of that country and put on a scale ranging from zero to one hundred. This is a very unreliable measure. *Attitude to violence* is the percentage of women who agree that a husband/partner is justified in beating his wife/partner under certain circumstances, and the *prevalence of violence* is a measure of the percentage of women who have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner at some time in their life. Both these measures are obtained from surveys commissioned by the OECD.

For homicide and prison population rates, Bangladesh is similar to neighbouring countries; however, the crime index places Bangladesh as unusually high and is the eleventh highest of 118 countries recorded in this measure, but given the low homicide and suicide rates one might question the appropriateness of this measure, especially in light of the discussion above. Bangladesh does not fair well on the prevalence of violence by a woman's intimate partners having the thirteenth highest percentage of women who have experienced this out of 129 countries across the world. Of neighbouring countries, only Pakistan has a poorer rank with the unenviable positions of 85% of women having experienced physical or sexual violence from their intimate partner. The percentage of Bangladeshi women who accept that being beaten by their husband or partner, although lower than Nepal and Pakistan, still has a rank of the disappointing side of the median.

But, these measures are not a reliable reflection of Bangladesh's position in work rankings as positions change yearly. For example, according to the UNDP (2016), the female suicide rates were more than double than those of Pakistan in 2016 at 6.7 per 100,000 compared to those in Pakistan at 3.1 per 100,000. Further, according to the UNDP (2016), female suicide rates were more than male suicide rates which were 5.5 per 100,000. This

raises a question, what has happened in three years to reduce female suicide rates in Bangladesh? Could the answer be that female deaths have not been reported as suicide? A case illustrating the concerns of del Frate (2000) that if it is not reported it is not measured.

**Table 2.1: Comparisons of Crime Rates per 100,000, Crime Index**

Crime Measure	Year	Bangdesh	India	Nepal	Pakist.	USA	UK
Homicides rate <sup>1</sup>	2013 to 2018	2.4	3.1	2.3	3.9	5.0	1.2
Crime Index <sup>2</sup>	2019	65.8	42.7	36.4	46.7	47.1	42.7
Suicides per 100,000 <sup>3</sup>	2019	3.7	12.7	9.0	8.9	16.1	7.9
Female Suicides rate <sup>3</sup>	2019	1.7	11.1	2.7	4.3	7.5	4.0
Male Suicides per 100,000 <sup>3</sup>	2019	5.7	14.1	16.4	13.3	25.0	11.6
Attitude to violence (%) <sup>4</sup>	2019	28.3	22.1	42.9	42.2	11.0	10.2
Prevalence of violence (%) <sup>4</sup>	2019	53.3	28.7	25.0	85.0	35.6	29.0
Prison Population rate <sup>5</sup>	2012-2017	52	33	68	39	663	137
<b>Rank of Measure - Rank 1 is associated with highest incidence</b>							
Homicides out of 147	2013 to 2018	71	60	73	58	51	100
Crime Index out of 118	2019	11	63	81	48	45	62
Suicides out of 184	2019	153	7	69	73	29	88
Female Suicides out of 182	2019	149	4	120	69	29	73
Male Suicides pout of 183	2019	147	72	55	78	1	88
Attitude to violence out of 129	2019	62	76	37	40	101	106
Prevalence of violence out of 129	2019	13	50	64	1	31	49
Prison Population out of 184	2012-2017	163	176	143	174	1	90

Sources:

<sup>1</sup> World Bank [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?most\\_recent\\_value\\_desc=true](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?most_recent_value_desc=true)

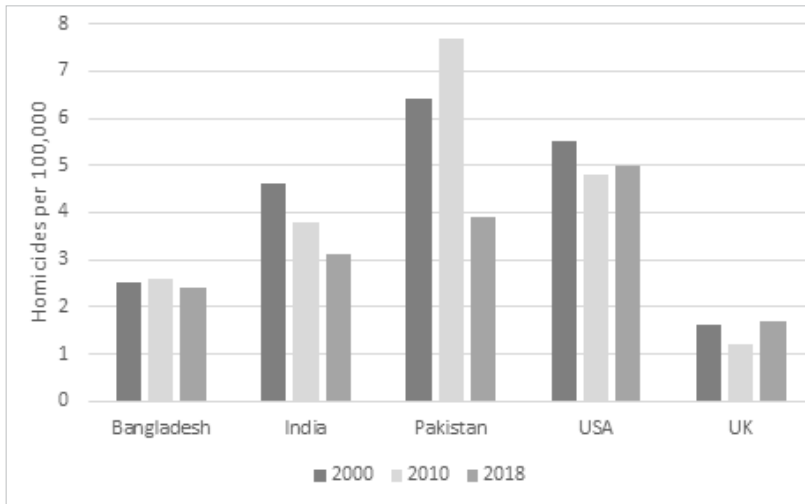
<sup>2</sup> World Population Review <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/crime-rate-by-country/>

<sup>3</sup> World Health Organisation, Suicide crude rates: data tables, World Health Statistics <https://apps.who.int/gho/data/node.sdg.3-4-data?lang=en>

<sup>4</sup> United Nations Development Programme <http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/data>

<sup>5</sup> OECD Data <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/violence-against-women.htm>

**Figure 2.1: Trends in homicides per 100,000**



Referring to Table 2.1, Soares (1999) warns that low rates in Bangladesh may well be a consequence of under reporting, which is common in emerging countries especially concerning low-level property crime and crimes which carry social stigma such as rape. To reinforce earlier comments, comparing international crime statistics is very difficult as released data is often not up to date, definitions of crime vary between nations. Also, in many low to middle income countries their national statistics records are inadequate, especially, when it comes to reporting levels of crime, and often for countries in transition, reporting to official international data collection initiatives is not a priority (See Aebi 2004, Aromaa 2010, del Frate 2010 and Harrendorf 2018). Further, “crime is a complex and by nature hidden social phenomenon” (Buonanno, Drago and Galbiati 2014, p 3). The hidden nature of crime is important for nations with persecuted groups including women, those with minority sexual identities, minority religious affiliation and those of particular racial or ethnic groups where fear leads to under reporting of crime (see Pezzella, Fetzer and Keller 2019, Allen 2007 and Rennison, Dragiewicz and DeKeseredy 2013).

An alternative to comparing crime rates and surveys of the attitudes of those exposed to crime is to take external experts view of crime. One source that allows, at least to some extent, is some of the measures available in the Global Competitiveness Index compiled by the World Economic Form. In this

index, experts external to a country give their views on factors which relate to the ease of doing business on a scale from one to seven, where seven is the best for business and the mean of the views of the experts are presented. Some of the most relevant factors which relate to crime and corruption are given for Bangladesh and benchmark countries are given in Table 2.2. Also presented in Table 2.2 are the rank position of the countries out of 137 countries in the survey, (a rank of one is the best), the global competitiveness index and OECD estimates of GDP per capita for the year 2019.

**Table 2.2: World Economic Forum: The Global Competitiveness Index data 2018**

Measure	Bangladesh	India	Nepal	Pakistan	USA	UK
Organised Crime	4.20	4.38	4.20	3.29	5.04	5.53
Business costs of crime and violence	3.84	4.38	4.16	3.14	4.80	5.01
Business costs of terrorism	4.23	4.18	4.56	3.11	4.85	4.69
Reliability of police services	3.26	4.56	4.17	3.14	5.95	6.01
Ethics and corruption	2.74	4.38	2.77	3.32	5.08	5.57
Irregular payments and bribes	2.54	4.39	2.93	3.23	5.21	6.05
Global Competitiveness Index	3.91	4.59	4.02	3.67	5.85	5.51
GDP per capita (2019 US \$)*	1,856	2,100	1,071	1,285	65,298	42,329
<b>Rank of Measure out of 137 counties: Rank 1 is best</b>						
Organised Crime	98	89	99	127	57	28
Business costs of crime and violence	104	80	91	121	61	50
Business costs of terrorism	115	117	109	130	86	93
Reliability of police services	117	62	85	116	22	19
Ethics and corruption	104	36	101	75	23	13
Irregular payments and bribes	126	51	117	102	34	17
Global Competitiveness Index	99	40	88	115	2	8
GDP per capita out of 190*	146	142	167	161	7	21

Sources

The Global Competitiveness Index Historical Dataset © 2007-2017 World Economic Forum (Version 20180712) <http://reports.weforum.org/global-competitiveness-index-2017-2018/downloads/>

\*OECD Data <https://data.oecd.org/gdp/gross-domestic-product-gdp.htm>

For most of the measures presented in Table 2.2, Bangladesh is considerably poorer than India and certainly the USA and the UK. Bangladesh's profile is similar to Nepal and a little better than Pakistan. When crime costs and related morality are considered, one can infer that Bangladesh and the GDP per capita is not achieving its potential. There is scope for Bangladesh to become a more ethical and less corrupt country and this might encourage the police force to improve their reliability which might consequently reduce the costs of crime.

# 3

## Review of Literature

Before moving to the analysis of the Data relating to crime in the BPO, a review of the literature related to crime and violence pertinent to Bangladesh will help in the understanding of patterns and trends in the data. The review will cover the major issues related to the main variables in the BPO data base. These issues are homicide, violence against woman and girls, political violence, campus violence, youth crime, organised crime, suicide and other crime.

### a. Homicide

Bangladesh does not suffer from a high homicide rate, ranking around the median position in the world, as can be observed from Table 2.1. From a study of 3005 medical-legal autopsies Al-Azad *et al.* (2015) found that just over 50% were accidents, 26.15% were suicide and only 16.84% were homicide. They wrote that homicide is a relatively rare event in Bangladesh, but that attracts much media attention. They found that of the 506 homicides identified the weapons used were firearms, sharp weapons and blunt weapons, accounting for approximately 37.6% 25.9%, 19.2% of cases respectively. They also found that the victims were mainly males (accounting for 88% of cases) and young (just over 37% were aged 21 to 30 years and almost 27% were aged 31 to 40 years). They also noted that almost all were Muslim at nearly 95%, hardly surprising in a predominately Muslim country.

The findings of Al-Azad *et al.* (2015) are supported by Abdullah-Al-Fuad (2016), who found from the content analysis of daily newspaper reports that out of every ten homicides, eight were male, and half of the victims were aged under thirty years. Abdullah-Al-Fuad also found that for intimate partner violence or family members accounted for almost two thirds of reported homicides of women.

Hadi (2005a) found significant sociodemographic differentials in violent death in rural Bangladesh and that those who were young, male, poor and illiterate were most at risk of homicide.

### **b. Violence against woman and girls**

The UN Women (2019) reports that worldwide 35% of women have suffered either physical or sexual violence in their lifetime, and globally it is estimated that 87,000 were murdered in 2017, half of which by their intimate partners. Nur and Mahmud (2020) report that this violence takes different forms over a women's life covering pre-birth with sex selective abortion, infancy with female infanticide and neglect, childhood neglect and genital mutilation, adolescence forced prostitution, trafficking and rape, forced marriage, honour killing, sexual assault, beating by husband and homicide, elderly abuse by family members and society, and economic impoverishment. Crimes against females are ingrained in societies and is often a reflection of unequal gender relationship. According to the WHO (2003), the perpetrator is often known to the survivor. However, the UNDP (2020) ranked Bangladesh as best in the South Asian region ranking 48<sup>th</sup> worldwide, better than Pakistan and India who are respectively ranked 148 and 108. Das Gupta (1996) stated that generally women in Bangladesh take on a more honoured position in society as they age and consequently violence against women tends to fall as women age. In a study of intentional and unintentional injury (Yusuf *et al.* 2000), deaths of women aged between 10 and fifty years in Bangladesh over the period 1990 to 1999 found that just over 50% were attributable to suicide and only 5% to homicide, and for 28% the intent was unknown. Anwary (2015) linked the homicide of women with the persistence of the hegemony of male masculinity in Bangladesh.

Khan (2015) gives an excellent review of the literature reporting the context of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh and appeals for the need for more qualitative studies to understand the reasons for domestic violence and the consequences of this violence and how might it be combated. Some of the key literature outlined by Khan are outlined in this section.

The World Health Organisation (WHO 2005a) survey of ten low to mid income countries found that women in Bangladesh suffered the highest amount of physical and sexual violence by their intimate partners. This was found to be higher in rural areas (62%) compared to urban areas (53%), and high levels of emotional abuse was also reported. Naved (2013), reporting from a 2001 survey in Bangladesh, aligned with the WHO findings. Naved and Akhter (2008) found that the suicidal trend among reproductive aged married or once married women was higher amongst the women in Bangladesh than in countries in comparison, and the suffering of women in rural Bangladesh from physical or mental violence from their husbands was four times higher than that of urban women and they were twice as likely to consider suicide as an exit than women who had not experienced violence by their husbands. Afiaz et al. (2020), using Bangladesh Demographic Health Survey 2007, found that intimate partner violence (IPV) contributed to a higher likelihood of miscarriages, stillbirths and induced abortions. They further found that intimate partner violence to be significantly associated with the age of the women, residence, age of the women at their first birth, sex of household head and the financial situation of the household. From cross sectional survey of 426 new mothers aged 15 to 49 years in Bangladesh, Islam et al. (2021) found that 66.4% of women surveyed experienced some form IPV during pregnancy. They reported that prevalence of physical, sexual, and psychological IPV was 35.2%, 18.5%, and 65%, and experience of IPV was more likely if the women had limited social support and a controlling husband. The risk of IPV was also promoted if the woman had low self-esteem, low decision making autonomy, had childhood exposure to violence and a dowry was demanded at marriage.

Khan *et al.* (2017) investigated 1,143 survivors who were treated in Dhaka Medical College's One Stop Crises Centre and found they tended to be young, from low socio-economic background, married often with dowry involved.

Naved and Person (2008) highlighted the high incidence of violent crime against pregnant women in Bangladesh reporting that 10% of urban and 12% of rural women had experienced physical spousal violence while pregnant. For those whose mother or mother-in-law had experienced physical

abuse increased their odds of abuse while pregnant between 2.1 and 3.4 times. However, these odds decreased with increased spousal communication, age, education, and income of husbands. But, odds increased if the woman had been married with dowry arrangements and were Muslim. Similar findings were reported earlier by Koenig, *et al.* (2003) and Bates *et al.* (2004). Sambisa *et al.* (2011) found that the incidence of violence towards women by their husbands was higher amongst slum dwellers when compared to non-slum dwellers. Khan *et al.* (2000), Bhuyia *et al.* (2003) and Hadi (2005b) exposed and discussed the level of domestic violence against women in rural areas. However, VanderEnde *et al.* (2015) found from interviewing 2,668 women as part of a World Health Organisation multi-country study that household income was negatively associated with women's risk of experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) and that when living in a low-income household or community was not strongly associated with risk of IPV.

Empirical research reveals a strong connection between dowry and domestic violence in South Asia (Jeyaseelan *et al.*, 2015 and Khan and Hussain, 2008). Qualitative research demonstrates trends such as exorbitant dowry demands, dowry demands continue well after the marriage takes place, and unemployed or uneducated grooms tend to demand large dowries (Lindberg, 2014). Naved and Person (2010) found that dowry demands in marriage increased the likelihood, frequency, and severity of physical abuse among married women in Bangladesh regardless of the status of dowry payment. The study also noted that Bangladeshi men have an incentive to mistreat or divorce their wives to pursue additional dowry opportunities. Panchanadeswaran and Koverola (2005) reported that non-payment of a dowry is often cited as a cause of domestic violence in Southeast Asia, and Mogford (2011) commented that physical violence is also used as a tool to extract additional dowry from the bride's family.

Reporting on intimate partner violence (IPV), Schuler *et al.* (1998) found that beyond using violence as an instrument of extortion many Bangladeshi men abused their wives for mistakes made in housekeeping and even for reasons over which women do not have control. Rahman *et al.* (2012) reported that IPV has indirect negative effects on the likelihood

of married women seeking help such as professional medical assistance during pregnancy or medical attention for young children due to the fear of revealing abuse within the household. The high incidence of domestic violence on women in Bangladesh also has a negative impact on their children, especially young children as demonstrated by Åsling-Monemi *et al.* (2017), Silverman *et al.* (2007) and Silverman *et al.* (2009). Islam *et al.* (2018) stated that the high prevalence of IPV in Bangladesh should be acknowledged as a significant public health concern. Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2005) estimated that 75% of women in Bangladesh have experienced some form of IPV, with 37% and 50% of Bangladeshi women experiencing sexual violence in urban and provincial areas, and 40% and 42% had experienced physical violence in urban and provincial areas respectively. Many women are reported to endure IPV because of fear of retaliation, economic need, concerns for their children, lack of support from family and friends, and for hope that the situation will improve.

Khan (2015) reports the problem with measuring violence in the home, referred to as domestic violence, is the availability of data, and police records do not disaggregate records of violence by type, thus concrete statistical information on domestic violence is lacking. Farouk (2005) draws attention to the difficulty in using field work to investigate domestic violence in societies where women are portrayed as having a submissive role, husbands often do not allow their wives to talk to strangers, especially on sensitive topics, and consequently truthful answers to questions are rare. Banerjee (2020) lists patriarchal societal structure, forced marriage and barriers in accessing justice agencies as reasons for non-reporting of crime by women. Further, the severity of domestic violence is difficult to gauge; at one extreme is homicide, but where is the other extreme? Repeated scolding or ridicule can undermine confidence and can lead to severe mental illness and suicide.

Many consider violence and repression of women and girls to be a public health issue as much as it is criminal, see for example Garcia-Moreno *et al.* (2014), and emphasise the importance of prevention by governments addressing economic, social and political structures which place females in subordinate positions. This is a long-term process, but work should begin

immediately with community and group interventions aimed at attacking discriminatory social norms and to build norms which empower women. This needs to be supported with education, training, and deployment of health workers to identify and support the vulnerable. To combat violence against women Khan *et al.* (2017: 25) argue, “Mass awareness about violence against women through mass media is needed to be diffused”. This will help to reform of the justice system by training and attitude reorientation of the police to take more consideration of violence against women and to be more respectful to the victims.

General levels of harassment towards women are also common and distressing, one form prevalent in Bangladesh is ‘eve teasing’ – the pursuit and sexual harassment of women and young girls, which Faruq (2011: 40) reports causes much distress and many suicides and referred to this as a “social disaster for women in Bangladesh”. Eve teasing is, according to Nishat *et al* (2018), mainly directed towards young unmarried women and is much more common in rural areas compared to urban areas.

Women in Bangladesh are slowly gaining more autonomy and empowerment through increased education and employment opportunities and the number of children they bear has fallen. In 1990, female participation rate in the Bangladesh workforce was only 24.7%, which has risen to 36.3% (World Bank Employment Database 2020), female expected years of schooling has risen from 4.70 years in 1990 to 11.6 years in 2018 (UNDP 2020) and women’s total fertility rate has fallen from 6.821 in 1975 to 2.036 in 2018 (World Bank Demographic Database 2020). Head *et al.* (2015) and Heath and Mobarak (2015) consider these changes as positive for women’s wellbeing, increase their empowerment and involvement in decision making and consequently less accepting of violence and abuse against them. From a qualitative study on Bangladesh, Schuler *et al.* (2013) credited female employment opportunities with improved marital relations.

The World Health Organisation and the United Nations Development Programme explicitly recognise the vulnerabilities of women and children, especially those in less developed economies. The establishment of the Millennium Goals exemplifies this concern. Implicit in the goals are

initiatives to promote equality, end intimate partner violence, empower women and address legislation which discriminates against women (Grown, Gupta and Kes 2005; Ellsberg 2006). Key to reducing violence and repression of women and girls is “address underlying harmful gender norms and biases and the prohibition of practices that economically burden the birth of females” (WHO 2005b). This, WHO advocated, should be achieved through legislation, education, and development strategies. According to WHO (2005), “Development strategies should promote women’s ability to participate as full social, economic and political partners, unrestricted by harmful gender norms and violence” and “women must have increased and guaranteed access to decision-making structures and to political participation”. To change norms and attitudes, WHO (2009) stress the importance of three interventions: at school, in the community and in the media.

### **c. Political violence**

Political violence is a great problem for Bangladesh since its inception as an independent country in 1971. Since the 1971 war of liberation, as reported by Sreeradha (2005), there has been intense rivalry between the Awami League and other parties of Bangladesh, and it reached its peak when the Bangladesh National Party was formed in 1978 which has resulted in severe outbreaks of violence including riots and politically motivated killing. For example, according to the Bangladesh Human Rights Report (2015), 197 people were murdered and 8,312 were injured because of political reasons.

The incidence of political violence is most marked in the situation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In this region, there has been continued aggressive racial attacks on the indigenous people, which has been manifested by the indigenous people being 98% of the population in 1971 falling to around 35% in 2012 (Braithwaite and D’Costa, 2018). This ongoing situation, Braithwaite and D’Costa argue, is a consequence of ongoing Government inaction and the legacy of conflict in this region, which Moshin (2003) and Fortna (2008) point out to the “cascading” of this violence since the time of rule by Mughals and then the British Empire and has been encouraged by the Bangladesh military and intelligence operatives. Braithwaite and D’Costa

(2018) comment that much of the problems in CHT are associated with a large influx of Bengali settlers' illegal land acquisition. Braithwaite and D'Costa link some of these settlers organised crime gangs, which, they report, have engaged in extorting taxes, kidnapping, illegal logging, drug, and arms dealing and contract killings and contract violence sponsored by the military and for political parties. This ongoing regional violence has led to lack of investment in the region, especially from foreign investors and foreign businesspeople, and tourists are advised by their governments not to enter the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Victims caught in “crossfire” between Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), an elite anti-crime and anti-terrorism unit of Bangladesh Police, and criminals has by some been referred to extra judicial killing, and Mollah (2019) draws attention to the high levels of deaths due to police action (especially of the Rapid Action Battalion) and deaths in custody. He points out that in 2017, 33 and 117 deaths were attributable to crossfire by the RAB and police, respectively. Further, drawing from the International Crises Group (ICG 2009), Mollah (2019) suggests that successive governments and politicians have used the Bangladesh Police to destroy political enemies. He argues for the need to remove the “culture of impunity”, making the security services more accountable and to raise peoples' consciousness in an efficient democracy.

From a survey in the Meherpur district of Bangladesh, Wang, Modvig and Montgomery (2009) found that extrajudicial killings were linked to political violence stating, “The odds ratio for reporting extrajudicial execution of a family member was 9.22 for Awami League supporters, 9.15 for Bangladesh Nationalist Party supporters, and 3.97 for Jamaat-e-Islami Party supporters compared with families with no political involvement.”

Kamruzzaman, Khan and Das (2016) argue that extrajudicial killings are a violation of human rights and along with other violations such as arbitrary arrest and torture must be addressed to improve the health of the nation and its institutions.

#### **d. Campus Violence**

The high incidence of campus violence in Bangladesh has been studied by Kabir and Greenwood (2015) who reported that this violence was associated with nationalistic movements and mass protests in society and argued that this has now moved to a resistance against neoliberal and monetary ideas employed in economic reform and the resultant rise in student fees. Amongst the student body there has been general opposition of the increasing commercialisation and commodification of education and university leaders aim to depoliticise universities.

#### **e. Youth Crime**

Chowdhury, Khan and Uddin (2012) wrote on the causes and consequences of juvenile delinquency in Bangladesh. They argue that juvenile delinquency is a path to further crime and the development of a criminal lifestyle, but this is not only due to the characteristics of the individuals but also the social structure, culture and economic mismanagement of Bangladesh. They point out that juvenile delinquency is not confined to children of the poor as children of the rich can also be delinquent. Early involvement in delinquency and the labelling of being a delinquent is considered to start many on the path to more serious crime and can attract the attention of hardened criminals as potential recruits. Hossain (2002) listed factors he considered influenced the juveniles to become involved in crime as imitation (where some juveniles imitate the behaviour of some of their peers engage in), mass media, child labour, poverty, lack of alternatives, peer group association and family crisis.

The growth of child victimisation in Bangladesh is highlighted by Basari, Islam and Uddin (2018) and Saiful (2015). Both male and female children can face death, sexual abuse, and involvement in pornography, often perpetrated by relatives and neighbours. Other hazards faced by children is the risk of kidnapping for ransom and torture for theft or some misdemeanour. The abuse is both physical and emotional. Saiful (2015) showed that this abuse is mainly suffered by children of the poor.

## **f. Organised Crime**

Organised crime, according to Shafi (2010), thrives in Bangladesh via a triumvirate of corrupt politicians, police and judiciary, and poverty, especially by street children. These Mafia-like groups called Mastans inhibit the tackling of crime and the development of poor areas and promote extortion, protection rings, drug dealings, land grabbing, contract killings, political violence, and other types of crime (Atkinson-Sheppard 2015, Lewis 2012). Jackman (2019) considers that the overt presence of gangsterism has declined in urban Bangladesh since 2000, largely because of law enforcement efforts, especially by the Rapid Action Battalion. But Jackman (2019) raises concerns that these criminals may have moved to a more insidious political role leading to increased political violence.

Organised crime also promotes victimisation of the young as demonstrated by Atkinson-Sheppard (2016) in which children are lured into street gangs which are often run by Mastans and encouraged to thieve, engage in extortion and illicit child labour. Mastans and gang operation has also been linked to child abductions and kidnapping.

## **g. Suicide**

Using data from Our World in Data (2020), Ritchie, Roser and Ortiz-Ospina (2015) show, as a share of all deaths in Bangladesh, suicides are low and have shown little trend since 1990, when the share was 0.88% to 1.1% in 2017, peaking at 1.19% in 2010. However, suicide rates have fallen dramatically from 10.51 per 100,000 in 1990 to 6.03 per 100,000 in 2017. In international comparisons, Bangladesh suicide rates are below average (6.03 per 100,000 compared to the world average of 10 per 100,000), unusually the ratio of male to female suicide is almost unity (1.09 in 2017) compared to worldwide ratios of two to four men for every woman. However, recent evidence (see Table 2.1) suggests that the overrepresentation of Bangladeshi women in suicide compared to other nations may have been a passing phenomenon, as in 2019 suicide rates suggest a ratio of 3.35 men to one woman. Salam *et al.* (2017) undertook a census of seven sub districts in Bangladesh involving 1.16 million people to quantify the burden of suicide. They estimated that the rate of suicide was around 3.29 per 100,000 and the rate of attempted

suicide was around 9.86 per 100,000 and found that younger people aged 15 to 24 were significantly more likely to commit suicide than older adults. Married adolescents and unskilled labourers were found to be much more at risk of suicide than non-married and students. They also reported significant geographical variation in suicide rates. Salam *et al.* link the prevalence of suicide among married adolescent women to early and forced marriage, dowry related marital abuse, the lack of development opportunities and the tendency for impulsive behaviour.

Begum *et al.* (2017) studied, using a cross-sectional survey collected data on suicide ideation (the consideration of the acceptability of suicide and preoccupation with death) in 14 to 19 years olds in rural region in Bangladesh and found 5% had an attraction towards suicide. Unmarried and students had the greatest tendency to contemplate suicide.

The rise of the internet and social media has been raised as a concern as a promoter of suicide ideation by Shah (2020), Hinduja and Patchin (2010) and Dunlop, More and Romer (2011), and in Asia by Hawton, Saunders and O'Connor (2012) and Yip *et al.* (2012). However, others, notably Hawton and Williams (2001), and Luxton, June and Fairall (2012) show that social media can be effective in combating suicide ideation and to provide access to help and support. To combat suicide ideation, communication and targeted national and community interventions are advocated by Matsubayashi and Ueda (2011), and Fountoulakis, Honda and Rihmer (2011).

## **h. Other Crimes**

Bangladesh is vulnerable to human trafficking offering the promise of the opportunity of a better life in another country to young people, but often end up being sexually exploited or in bonded or forced labour. The young of poor families are sold to traffickers as part of modern slavery and are often destined for the Middle East, Pakistan, Thailand, and the West. The UNODAC in 2017 reported 733 detected victims of human trafficking but there are likely to be many more. Rahim (2019) discusses human trafficking in Bangladesh and points out that levels of trafficking are unknown, and more research is needed.

Crimes of “bioviolence”, the harvesting of organs, mainly kidneys, liver and corneas were reported by Moniruzzaman (2012). He points out the poor are the main victims of this crime. Hossain *et al.* (2018) and South (2009) drew attention to the growth of environmental and animal crime.

With the expansion of the internet and e-business, a worldwide growth of cybercrime, mainly fraud related issues, identity theft, sexual crimes and bullying and intimidation has been observed. Bangladesh is no exception, however, Kamal *et al.* (2012) from an exploratory study of students and cybercrime in the Sylhet division did not find cybercrime to be a major issue. Women in Bangladesh are vulnerable to cyberstalking, the electronic version of eve-teasing, and Hayat (2017) reported that more than 30% of women between 18 and 25 years are being victimised by cyberstalking. (See also De Kimpe *et al.*, 2020).

Historically, Bangladesh has a high incidence of acid attacks, where women especially are targets of this crime which is often perpetrated by their own families or as a consequence of refusing the attention of males. Haque (2014) gives more detailed discussion.

Muzib and Banarjee (2015) write of the exposure of tourists to crime in Bangladesh. This exposure was mainly robbery, theft, and effect of rioting. However, more serious crimes including homicide and kidnapping have been recorded. The impact of crime, they argued, has slowed the rate of tourism growth but do not consider tourism to have been badly affected by police reported crime.

# 4

## Drivers of Crime

In this section a review of the literature on causes or drivers of crime in Bangladesh is presented.

### a. Urbanisation

Since 1972, the rural population of Bangladesh has declined from 91.8% to 62.6% in 2019 (World Bank 2020). This has mainly been through internal migration from rural areas to cities, often motivated by the pursuit of a better life. But, the manifestation of this urban growth is to spoil the urban environment with problems arising including housing shortages, congestion, traffic jams, sound and chemical pollution, water supply and waste and sewage removal. In such environments, crime flourishes. The environmental problems of urbanisation are well illustrated in a study of Sylhet City by Ahmed and Islam (2014), and The Economist Intelligence Unit (2021) reported that Dhaka is the fourth least liveable city in the world.

The drift from villages to city leads to a rapid rise of urban populations, especially of young people, which results in social disorganisation (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Social disorganisation is defined by Burisk (1988: 521) as “the inability of local communities to realize the common values of their residents or solve commonly experienced problems.” When social disorganisation is driven by residential insecurity and mobility, religious and cultural heterogeneity and poverty, the outcome is often increasing crimes of violence. Younger people are particularly vulnerable to this as parental supervision lapses with both parents working resulting in greater density of young people with new role models. Thus, delinquency develops.

Sampson and Groves (1989) and Sampson, Raudenbush and Felton (1997) argue that much urban crime can be attributed to congregations of teenagers and gang activity, as Shaw and McKay (1942) suggest this

is fostered by social disorganisation where young are released from supervision by elders, and this is fuelled by poverty when groups are excluded for participation in the community and schools. Taking the idea of social disorganisation it is unsurprising that crime rates are higher in densely populated areas of Bangladesh, but this theory has its critics (e.g. Bursik 1988) and is considered rather simplistic.

To explain urban crime, Lewis (1959) forwarded the culture of poverty theory. According to this theory, crime rates rise because poverty results in the exclusion of the poor from mainstream society. In contemporary societies this concept is reinforced by poverty of human capital in which poor schooling, lack of organised work with limited prospects beyond casual manual labouring acts as a barrier preventing assimilation into the mainstream. The combination of these push young migrants towards crime. The result is further social exclusion and the persistence of inequality with and the shunning and stigmatisation migrants who are poor by the settled society. Khanam (2016) expanded on these points and illustrated how urban crime develops not through the intention of the migrants but because of their experiences of alienation and exclusion. However, Harvey and Reed (1996) critiqued this theory pointing out that this theory should be perceived as a celebration of resilience and resourcefulness of the poor and the cultural defences they employ against poverty and insecurity. Nevertheless, a means of alleviating urban crime rests in better integration of the new migrants into society and improved education and employment opportunities.

### **b. Poverty**

Although Bangladesh has undergone economic growth and is now recognised as a middle-income country in UN rankings, and the World Bank (2019) reports that around eight million people have exited poverty during 2010 to 2016, still many in Bangladesh remain poor and the UNDP (2020) reports that 16.7% of the population were in severe multidimensional poverty in 2014 and the poorest 40% of the population has a share of national income of only 21% compared to 10% richest who have a national income share of 26.8%. There is strong evidence that the persistence of poverty is a barrier to the reduction of crime rates (Šileika and Bekerytė 2013; Farrington 1989;

Para and Felson 2014; and McAra and McVie 2016), and Blunt (2015) refers to global poverty as a crime against humanity. Amnesty International (2019) draws attention to the growth of the economy of Bangladesh which is accompanied with the growth of inequality between the rich and the poor. A case in point is the global exploitation of workers who are mainly women in the global garments industry (Choudhury, Luthfa and Gayen 2016).

Tareque *et al.* (2015) found that abuse of elders was more prevalent amongst poor people in Bangladesh. On an international scale Loureiro and Silva (2011) report that homicide rates tend to fall with development when poverty reduces but the rise with increased income inequality. Parker (1989) also relates poverty to homicide via a sub-culture of violence in deprived areas.

### **c. Youth**

High and growing numbers of young, particularly young males, in a population is associated with high crime rates (Blumstein, 2005 and Rosevar, 2012), and Rennó *et al.* (2019) showed that the aging structure of populations is a major explanation of declines in homicide rates. In Bangladesh, the proportion of youth is high compared to many countries with 37% being aged between 10 and 29 years.

### **d. Inequality**

When there are gross income inequalities between rich and poor in a society, whether measured in absolute or in relative terms (Ehrlich 1973, Messner and RoseFajnzlbr, Lederman and Loayza 2002a and Neumayer 2005), is often used as an explanation for violent crime. However, others, such as Neopolitan (1995) found evidence relating inequality to crime to be inconclusive. In a cross-sectional study of 59 countries, one of which being Bangladesh, Goda and Garcia (2019) found that absolute inequality is a robust and significant determinant of robbery and violent theft. In developing the social strain theory, Merton (1968) argued that as the gap between the rich and poor increases societies become more dysfunctional and crime flourishes. This is especially so when the rich elite spend on bribery and political lobbying, (See also Messner, 2014). Large income

differentials in society weakens social bonds and values (called anomie), increases pressure on the individual to become economically successful, lessen legal means to bridge the economic gap and enhance feelings of being unjustly disadvantaged.

#### **e. Work Related Crime**

As the economy of Bangladesh grows so does work related crimes. Work based crime mainly involves crimes of exploitation and breaches of health and safety legislation. Female employees are particularly vulnerable suffering from sexual exploitation and beatings by both colleagues and employers. Choudhury, Luthfa and Gayen (2016) discuss the situation of women employees in the Bangladesh garments industry and show that they are in a very vulnerable situation.

#### **f. Attitudes and Ideation**

Bangladesh is predominantly an Islamic country with strong adherence to religion. This has been associated with violence and abuse against women and as an explanation for the high suicide rate in Bangladesh, especially amongst women (Hadi 2009, Muallem and Israelashvilli 2015, Irish and Murshid 2020). The UNDP (2020) gives estimates of the suicide rate for Bangladesh as 6.7 for females and 5.5 for males per 100,000 in 2016. Hadi (2009) links male dominance to violence against women, especially for those who are poor and with low education. Kalam (2014) argued that this male dominance and the endorsement of violence towards women has been reinforced by strong religious adherence. Bangladesh Government passed the domestic violence (Prevention and Protection) Act in 2010 for the protection of women and discrimination which is intended to give women equality with men in law and public life. However, despite legislative changes, Kalam states that there remains a long-ingrained norm of female subordination in Bangladesh society and equality progress has been slow. Kalam also pointed out that, nevertheless, the position of women has improved mainly because of lower fertility, improved education and greater visibility in the economy and society.

Hofstede (1984 and 2011) constructed measures of national culture for which he gives six dimensions. These are:

- Power distance - a high score on this dimension implies belief and adherence with authority from religious bodies, government, and elders;
- Individualism - high scores are associated with the belief in the individual and individual freedoms;
- Masculinity – high scores in this dimension are associated with traditional male values and a masculine approach to leadership and decision making;
- Uncertainty avoidance- high scores of this dimension implies little tolerance of those who deviate, need for structure and the dislike of change;
- Long term orientation - high scores relate to adaptability for change, sharing of tasks and ongoing learning,
- Indulgence – high scores are associated with the pursuit of pleasure and decadence.

In Hofstede's measurement, Bangladesh scores high on power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity, and low on individualism, long term orientation (high scores of this dimension implies little tolerance of those who deviate, need for structure and the dislike of change and overindulgence).

Thus, ideational change remains a requirement in Bangladesh society to reduce the masculine and power dimension and encourage more tolerance and questioning and, as Hadi (2009) comments, to make violence against women perceived as unacceptable.

### **g. Climate Change**

According to the authors of the Global Climate Risk Index (Eckstein, Hutfis and Wings, 2019) Bangladesh is the ninth most affected country. Simister

and Cooper (2005), Ranson (2014), and Harp and Karnauskas (2020) found links between crime and climate change in the USA and predicts rising homicide, rape and assaults with increasing volatility caused by climate change. This stress related influence, according to EIF (2012), will likely impact on Bangladesh, but more likely will be community disruption and displacement of people because of increasing frequency of cyclones, sea water ingress and rising sea levels, and this will result, according to Chaity (2020), in exposure to and engagement with crime. However, adaptation and community strategies might help mitigate these effects as suggested by Sovacool (2018) and Gayen and Raeside (2014).

Using household level and district level data in Bangladesh, Masahiro (2017) reported that religious fractionalisation significantly aggravated crime and victimisation post disasters. This was found to particularly effect non-Muslim and landless households.

#### **h. Refugees and Immigrants**

Generally, refugees and immigrants in a society often have feelings of insecurity and feel victims of crime. Two groups require highlighting the Rohingya and the Bihari community.

In August 2017, Myanmar military accelerated their campaign against the Rohingya indigenous people, forcing many to flee from Myanmar to Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, refugee camps were established in Cox's Bazar where tensions built up amongst the camp dwellers and local residents. Sultana (2020) reports that in 2019 there were 80 recorded violent and 144 nonviolent incidents involving Rohingya people both as assailants and victims, double the number of incidents that there were in 2018.

The Bihari community is another migrant community, who moved from India to settle in Bangladesh (then East Pakistan), and those who supported West Pakistan during the 1971 War of Independence of Bangladesh. Since then, according to Khan and Samadder (2007), they have suffered isolation, sexual harassment, denial of citizenship and oppression by law enforcement agencies. The victimisation of Biharis and their insecurity is reinforced as they often live in camps rather than part of the general community.

## **i. Transparency and Law Enforcement**

Faith and confidence in public institutions is relatively low in Bangladesh, and corruption and inefficiency are associated with Bangladesh public bodies including police and judiciary. For example, Narsin (2011) and Naved *et al.* (2006) report that female violent crime survivors in Bangladesh are deeply sceptical of the ability and willingness of law enforcement agencies to help. Tang and Khan (2018) write of the challenges facing law enforcement in Bangladesh. They list lack of confidence in law enforcement agencies, a feeling that police have immunity from the law and little civic sense amongst the population, especially young people. They argued that there is a need to improve governance and the professionalism of law enforcement bodies and to place value on human rights including the treatment of offenders and the prevention of extra judicial killing. Haque (2019) and Bari (2019) state that the judiciary in Bangladesh requires reformation and modernisation to ensure equality in Bangladesh.

In giving an appraisal of victim protection in Bangladesh, Bari (2016) concluded that systems were inadequate and further legislation was required combined with an improved evidence base and effective communications strategy. Bari argued that there is a need for a robust evidence base regarding crime as a vehicle to inform relevant government and quasi-governmental institutions such as One Stop Crises Centre, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs and NGOs.

Corruption in public services in Bangladesh is a serious problem as shown by Transparency International ranking Bangladesh as 146<sup>th</sup> out of 198 countries in 2019 (India and Pakistan were ranked 80 and 120 respectively). In the World Justice Project, rule of law index (WJP 2019), Bangladesh only achieved a ranking of 115 compared to India which was ranked in 69<sup>th</sup> (Pakistan was ranked 120<sup>th</sup>). The World Bank (2020) ranked trust in politicians for Bangladesh at 100 which compared poorly to India at 31<sup>st</sup> place and Pakistan at 62<sup>nd</sup> place. To improve life in Bangladesh, Ahmed (2019) argued that this institutional and individual corruption must be cured or at least reduced.

Amnesty International (2019) raised concerns about violation of human rights in Bangladesh citing the hundreds of victims of extrajudicial execution and disappearances arising from the “war on drugs” campaign, and the Digital Security Act 2018 restricting the work of journalists and freedom of expression. Attention has also been drawn to restrictions in freedom to peaceful assembly, increasing incidents of mob violence, violence against women and girls, and indigenous people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Amnesty International highlighted the poor situation of refugees and asylum seekers, particularly the Rohingya refugees which the mainstream media label as a “security threat, burden and an abscess that needs to be removed”. Incidences of torture while in lawful custody were reported by Hasan, Arifuzzaman and Rahaman (2017) who stated that this is a crime against humanity and that the government must take effective steps to eradicate the practice of torture by law enforcement agencies.

#### **j. Cross-Sectional Issues**

The combination of the above drivers makes addressing the drivers of crime very difficult. This is most clearly observable with intimate partner violence (IPV). WHO/LSHTM (2010) showed that IPV is perpetuated by factors existing at three levels: individual, relationship, and community and societal. Individual factors include young age, low education, witnessing or experience of IPV as a child, history of abusing, personality disorders and acceptance of violence. Relationship factors are composed of male dominance, relationship dissatisfaction, poor economic situation, men having multiple partners, disparity in education levels victimisation. Community factors are formed by poverty, gender-inequitable social norms, low socio-economic status, weak legal and community sanctions, poor law enforcement and lack of women’s civil rights. The interplay of drivers within and between levels make the addressing of issues difficult and can only be addressed by long-term consistent action.

# 5

## Data Analysis

In this chapter an analysis of dataset on crime incidents in Bangladesh downloaded from the BPO website covering the period January 2016 to June 2020 is presented. This download contained information on 56,207 incidents whose distribution over the years is presented in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Incidents per Annum**

Year	Frequency of Incidents	Percentage
2016	11,839	21.1%
2017	5,343	9.5%
2018	13,368	23.8%
2019	17,864	31.8%
2020	7,739 (Annual Estimate* 15,478)	13.8% (Annual Estimate* 27.6%)
Total Incidents	56,207	

\*Annual estimate is twice the total for six-month observations.

Source: BPO

The records of incidents appear to be far too low, pointing to data recording problems in the formation of the data set. For example, the BPO dataset records 17,864 incidents for 2018, while police records report 221,419 cases of non-repossession crime. Underreporting is especially severe in 2017. The underreporting in the BPO is likely to be a consequence of recording crime from newspaper reports, in which the sensational and the extreme attract reporters' attention. Hence, the analysis of all data will be used to expose trends, and to analyse the distribution by divisions and combinations of variables only the data from January 2018 to June 2020 is used.

The analysis will apply simple tabular presentations of frequency tables and crosstabs. Bar charts will be used to allow quick visualisations of

patterns. When tables are presented, only cells where frequency counts are more than five cases will contain numerical values preserve the anonymity of those involved in the cases.

The analysis presented will allow the following to be answered:

- How many incidents are there by type and how are they distributed?
- What are the incidents?
- What are the outcomes of incidents?
- Who are the actors (those involved in the incident)?
- Who are the perpetrators and targets?
- What weapons are used?
- What are the motivations of the incident?
- What are the interventions applied?
- What is the distribution of cross-cutting issues?

### a. Incidents of Crime in Bangladesh

All incidents recorded in the BPO by type appear over the period of 2016 to June 2020 in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: Number and Percentage of Incidents**

Year	Number of Incidents			Percentage of Incident Type		Percentage of Incidents by Year		
	Non-violent	Violent	Year Total	Non-violent	Violent	Non-violent	Violent	Year Total
2016	4,938	6,955	11,893	41.5%	58.5%	19.2%	22.8%	21.2%
2017	2,327	3,016	5,343	43.6%	56.4%	9.0%	9.9%	9.5%
2018	6,399	6,969	13,368	47.9%	52.1%	24.9%	22.9%	23.8%
2019	8,492	9,372	17,864	47.5%	52.5%	33.0%	30.7%	31.8%
2020 (up to June)	3,559	4,180	7,739	46.0%	54.0%	27.7%*	27.4%*	27.5%*
Total	25,715	3,0492	56,207	45.8%	54.2%			

\*Based on estimates of totals for 2020 (twice the observed numbers)

Source: BPO

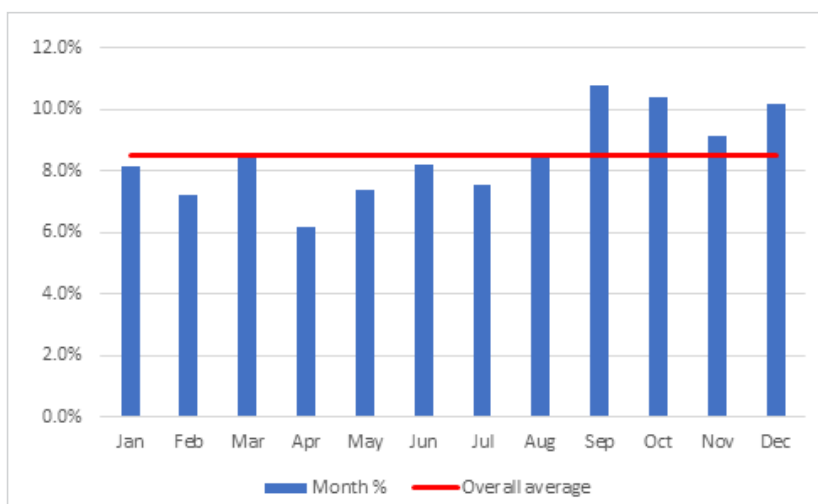
There seems a problem with attributing incidents in the year 2017 as the total number is less than half that of other years. Overall violent incidents

appeared more frequent than non-violent incidents. This is likely to be a consequence of the recording methodology of drawing data from media reports where violence is perceived as sensational as and more newsworthy than non-violent incidents. In percentage terms, violent incidents have trended upwards till 2020, when estimates indicate that 2019 might be a peak.

### Seasonal Trend

The seasonal percentage distribution of the average number of incidents over the period 2018 to 2020 is displayed in Figure 5.1.

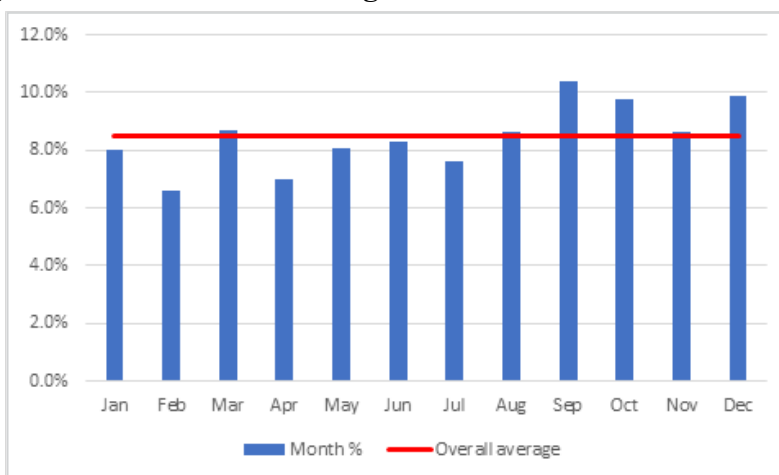
**Figure 5.1: Seasonal Percentage Distribution of all Incidents**



Source: BPO

From Figure 5.1, it appears that the percentage of incidents between Septembers to December is above the annual average, and below the annual average over the summer months. In Figure 5.2, the seasonal percentage distribution of violent incidents is presented. The pattern of seasonal fluctuation has been relatively constant and is similar to the profile of all incidents. The pattern of the percentages of non-violent incidents is similar to violent incidents, are above annual average over the period from September to December.

**Figure 5.2: Seasonal Percentage Distribution of Violent Incidents**



Source: BPO

### Incidents by Division

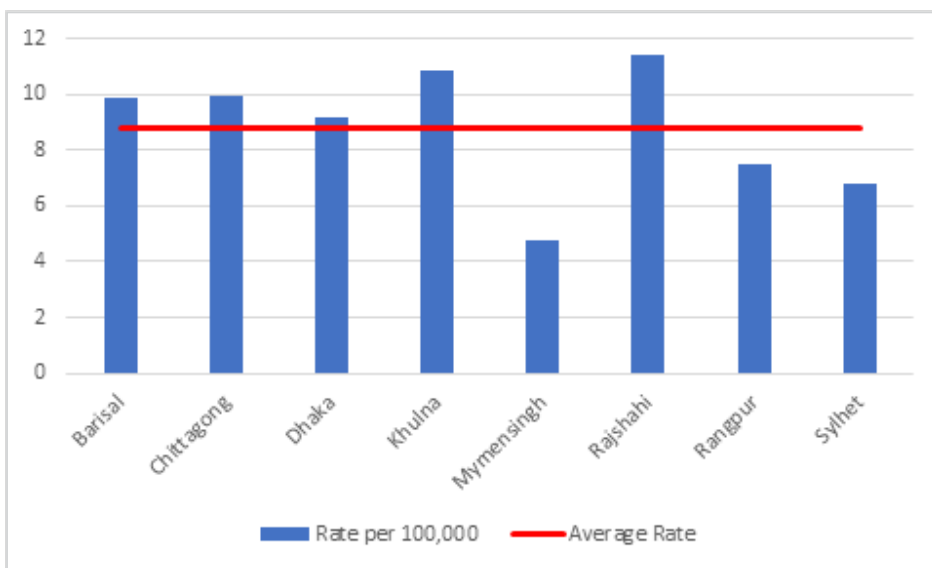
Incidents by division recorded by the BPO taken over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are presented in Table 5.3 and rates per 100,000 are presented in Figure 5.3.

**Table 5.3: Number and Percentage of Incidents by Type and Division.**

Division	Number of Incidents			Annual Rate Per	Percentage Deviation from	Percentage of Incident Type	
	Nonviolent	Violent	Division Total	100,000	Overall Rate	Nonviolent	Violent
Barisal	890	1437	2,327	9.86	8.2%	38.2%	61.8%
Chittagong	4,226	4,583	8,809	9.96	20.0%	48.0%	52.0%
Dhaka	4,164	5,282	9,446	9.17	0.4%	44.1%	55.9%
Khulna	2,445	2,234	4,679	10.88	15.4%	52.3%	47.7%
Mymensingh	489	965	1,454	4.75	-48.8%	33.6%	66.4%
Rajshahi	3,536	3,181	6,717	11.42	40.7%	52.6%	47.4%
Rangpur	1,913	1,674	3,587	7.51	-12.1%	53.3%	46.7%
Sylhet	787	1,165	1,952	6.77	-23.8%	40.3%	59.7%
Overall Rate	18,450	20,521	38,971	8.79		47.3%	52.7%

The highest number of incidents, and the highest number of violent incidents and nonviolent incidents occurred in Dhaka followed by Chittagong, then Rajshahi and Khulna. However, in terms of the proportion of violent incidents within division were highest in Mymensingh, and then Barisal. In Figure 5.3, the distribution of the rate of incident rate per 100,000 by division are presented.

**Figure 5.3: Distribution of incident rates per 100,000 of all incidents by division January 2016 to June 2020 (Omitting the year 2017)**



Source: BPO

Mymensingh had a much lower incidence of crime than other divisions, while Rajshahi had the highest incidence of crime.

Trends of incidents over the years by division is presented in Table 5.4. Rates of incidents were not computed for 2017. For most divisions there were no clear trends in the distribution of incidents by division over time.

**Table 5.4: Incidents by Year and Division (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Division	Number of Incidents						Rates of Incidents per 100,000					
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total	2016	2018	2019	2020*	Total	
Barisal	770	293	586	1,230	511	3,390	8.42	6.41	13.45	11.18	9.86	
Chittagong	2,208	1,029	3,232	3,854	1,723	12,046	6.90	10.11	12.05	10.78	9.96	
Dhaka	3,562	1,691	3,114	4,610	1,722	14,699	8.87	7.75	11.48	8.57	9.17	
Khulna	1,780	902	1,495	2,137	1,047	7,361	10.32	8.67	12.39	12.14	10.88	
Mymensingh	668	230	509	717	228	2,352	5.40	4.12	5.80	3.69	4.75	
Rajshahi	1,296	586	2,447	2,960	1,310	8,599	6.35	11.99	14.50	12.84	11.42	
Rangpur	944	356	1,436	1,393	758	4,887	5.36	8.16	7.91	8.61	7.51	
Sylhet	665	256	549	963	440	2,873	5.89	4.86	8.53	7.79	6.77	
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,893</b>	<b>5,343</b>	<b>13,368</b>	<b>17,864</b>	<b>7,739</b>	<b>56,207</b>	<b>7.19</b>	<b>7.76</b>	<b>10.76</b>	<b>9.45</b>	<b>8.79</b>	

\*Rate computed from estimate of number of incidents in the whole year 2020

Source: BPO

## Consequences of Incidents by Year

In Table 5.5 the outcome of incidents over the years are presented.

**Table 5.5: Outcomes of Incidents by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Year	Total Killed	Total Killed who are Female	Proportion of Females to Total Killed	Total Injured	Total Injured who are Female	Proportion of Females to Total Injured	All Sexual Assaults	Sexual Assaults of Females	Number Abducted	Arrest Total
2016	4,154	1,111	0.27	20,862	1,032	0.05	432	400	619	26,350
2017	1,580	363	0.23	9,085	583	0.06	311	308	529	12,680
2018	3,903	1,022	0.26	17,701	1,003	0.06	576	559	412	37,439
2019	5,213	1,611	0.31	16,703	1,730	0.10	1,454	1,417	472	39,256
2020 (up to June)	2,380	768	0.32	8,234	873	0.11	480	462	159	15,728
Total All	17,230	4,875	0.28	72,585	5,221	0.07	3,253	3,146	2,191	131,453
Total (January 2018 to June 2020)	11,496	3,401	0.30	42,638	3,606	0.08	2,510	2,438	1,043	92,423

Source: BPO

From January 2016 to June 2020, there has been a total of 92,259 crimes of homicide, injury, sexual assault, and abduction while the number of arrests was 131,453 (an arrest to crime ratio of 1.38). Taking the period January 2018 to June 2020, this ratio increased to 1.57. Because of uncertainty of data for 2017, there are no apparent trends, except the number of arrests appeared to be trending upwards. However, if the number of arrests in 2020 are multiplied by 2, the estimated number of arrests for 2020 might be 31,456. There may have been an increase over the period in the proportion of females killed from around 25% to more than 30%. The proportion of females injured of all those injured was low, this might be attributed to more males taking part in large scale disturbances and to the underreporting of non-fatal crimes against women. From 2019, the proportion of females injured of all those injured had risen. A notable feature was the more than doubling of sexual assaults in 2019 (which are mainly assaults on females).

## Consequences of Incidents by Division

The outcomes of incidents by division for the period January 2018 to June 2020 are displayed in Table 5.6.

**Table 5.6: Outcomes of Incidents by Division**

Year	Killed	Killed who are Female	Proportion of Females to Total Killed	Injured	Injured who are Female	Proportion of Females to Total Injured	Sexual Assaults	Sexual Assaults of Females	Abducted	Arrest	Arrest Ratio
Barisal	618	221	0.36	3,335	405	0.12	200	203	55	4,052	0.96
Chittagong	2,692	665	0.25	8,647	749	0.09	469	441	316	16,038	1.32
Dhaka	3,027	958	0.32	12,529	846	0.07	696	680	225	27,578	1.67
Khulna	1,292	318	0.25	3,602	360	0.10	250	247	190	15,101	2.83
Mymensingh	581	156	0.27	1,573	166	0.11	136	130	27	2,007	0.87
Rajshahi	1,711	584	0.34	4,195	535	0.13	384	375	129	15,848	2.47
Rangpur	971	352	0.36	2,025	312	0.15	242	232	67	8,295	2.51
Sylhet	604	147	0.24	6,732	233	0.03	133	130	34	3,504	0.47
<b>Total</b>	11,496	3,401	0.3	42,638	3,606	0.08	2,510	2,438	1,043	92,423	1.6
<b>Rates per 100,000</b>											
Barisal	6.76	2.42		36.47	4.43		2.19	2.22	0.60	44.31	
Chittagong	8.42	2.08		27.04	2.34		1.47	1.38	0.99	50.15	
Dhaka	7.54	2.38		31.19	2.11		1.73	1.69	0.56	68.65	
Khulna	7.49	1.84		20.88	2.09		1.45	1.43	1.10	87.53	
Mymensingh	4.70	1.26		12.72	1.34		1.10	1.05	0.22	16.23	
Rajshahi	8.38	2.86		20.55	2.62		1.88	1.84	0.63	77.64	
Rangpur	5.52	2.00		11.50	1.77		1.37	1.32	0.38	47.13	
Sylhet	5.35	1.30		59.62	2.06		1.18	1.15	0.30	31.03	
<b>Average</b>	7.18	2.12		26.61	2.25		1.57	1.52	0.65	57.68	

Source: BPO

Rates of those killed were highest in Rajshahi, Dhaka and Khulna, while rates of injuries were highest in Sylhet, Barisal and Dhaka. However, the proportion of females who had been killed of all those killed was highest in Rangpur and Barisal. The rates of sexual assaults were also highest in Barisal, Rajshahi and Dhaka. Breaking the pattern, the number of abductions was highest in Khulna and Chittagong. Numbers arrested are highest in Khulna, Rajshahi and Dhaka. The crime to arrest ratio varied considerably between divisions, being highest in Dhaka (2.83), Rangpur (2.15) and Rajshahi (2.47), and very low in Sylhet (0.47) and Mymensingh (0.87).

## b. Actors Involved

By “actors” it is assumed all those who are involved in the incident, the victim, the perpetrator and others such as attending police. Trends in the numbers and percentages of actors involved in incidents over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are given in Table 5.7. In the BPO report, many actors were identified, these have been consolidated into seventeen groups.

**Table 5.7: Actors Involved in Incidents by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Actor	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Law Enforcement*	5,158	2,519	6,896	8,833	3,590	26,996
Criminal	2,464	1,291	3,899	5,515	2,420	15,589
Public	1,627	673	1,667	1,829	985	6,781
Man	595	298	579	916	281	2,669
AL*	612	319	528	666	244	2,369
Terrorist	578	293	453	189	78	1,591
BNP*	168	85	822	108	39	1,222
Youth	255	28	132	443	177	1,035
Occupation/Organisation GP	228	34	100	314	165	841
Worker	146	65	117	250	157	735
Student/Student Group	76	58	92	120	31	377
Local Political Leader	151	90	50	61	6	358
Family Members	76	24	97	131	23	351
Foreigner	33	-	53	156	31	274
Businessman	53	24	39	66	88	270
Woman	54	20	61	106	29	270
Other/Unknown	279	108	229	367	115	1,098
Total	12,274	5,822	15,585	19,703	8,344	61,728
% by Year	19.9%	9.4%	25.2%	31.9%	27.0%	

	Percentage					
Law Enforcement	42.0%	43.3%	44.2%	44.8%	43.0%	43.7%
Criminal	20.1%	22.2%	25.0%	28.0%	29.0%	25.3%
Public	13.3%	11.6%	10.7%	9.3%	11.8%	11.0%
Man	4.8%	5.1%	3.7%	4.6%	3.4%	4.3%
AL*	5.0%	5.5%	3.4%	3.4%	2.9%	3.8%
Terrorist	4.7%	5.0%	2.9%	1.0%	0.9%	2.6%
BNP*	1.4%	1.5%	5.3%	0.5%	0.5%	2.0%
Youth	2.1%	0.5%	0.8%	2.2%	2.1%	1.7%
Occupation/Organisation GP	1.9%	0.6%	0.6%	1.6%	2.0%	1.4%
Worker	1.2%	1.1%	0.8%	1.3%	1.9%	1.2%
Student/Student Group	0.6%	1.0%	0.6%	0.6%	0.4%	0.6%
Local Political Leader	1.2%	1.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%	0.6%
Family Members	0.6%	0.4%	0.6%	0.7%	0.3%	0.6%
Foreigner	0.3%	-	0.3%	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%
Businessman	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	1.1%	0.4%
Woman	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%
Other/Unknown	2.3%	1.9%	1.5%	1.9%	1.4%	1.8%

Law Enforcement\*= Law Enforcement and State Agencies, BNP\* = Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates (including Student Wing), AL = Awami League and affiliates (including Student Wing).

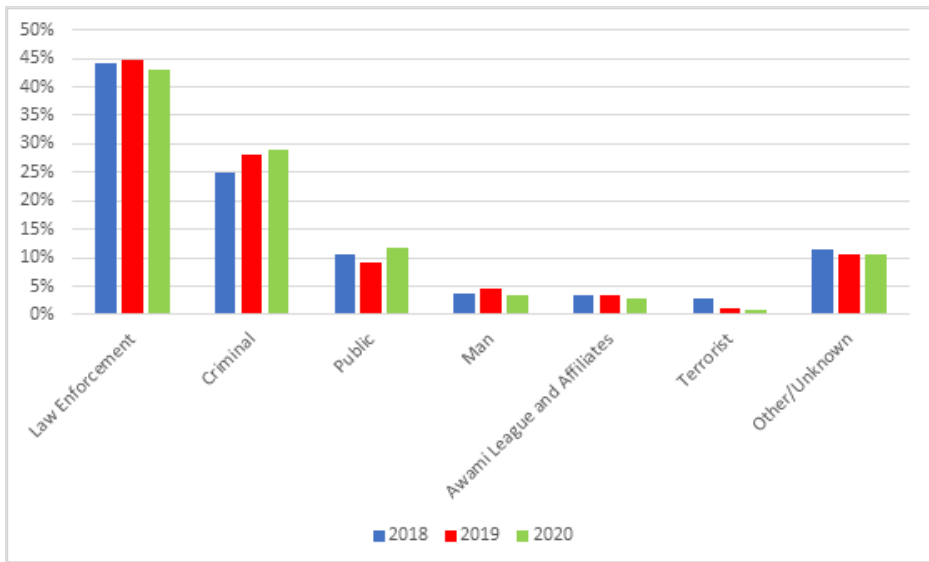
Source: BPO

From observing Table 5.7, it is apparent that there are many categories those constituent members are not clear; categories public, criminal, youth, and family members are too general. If more accurate classification had been applied, actors in groups public, criminal, youth, and family members would be allocated to more appropriate categories. This issue of classification will inhibit the reliability of inferences made from the BPO data and devalues the work of the BPO.

The numbers of actors peaked in 2019 and compared to 2016 actors and incidents have increased since 2018.

The trend of the main actors involved in incidents in 2018 to 2020 is illustrated in Figure 5.4.

**Figure 5.4: Trends in the Percentages of Actors by Year**



Source: BPO

As a share of all actors, “Law Enforcement” actors have decreased a little while those in labelled “Criminal” has increased. “Terrorist” as actors has decreased and the category “Other/Unknown” has also decreased, perhaps indicating improved identification in the BPO data.

### **Actors by Division**

Actors involved by division over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are exhibited in Table 5.8.

**Table 5.8: Actors by Division**

Actor	Barisal	Chit-tagong	Dhaka	Khulna	Mymen	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Sylhet	Total
Law Enfor	893	4,563	4,414	2,539	558	3,593	1,950	809	19,319
Criminal	478	3,150	2,722	1,435	311	2,172	1,121	445	11,834
Public	238	760	771	866	151	788	479	428	4,481
Man	97	407	339	178	66	377	192	120	1,776
BNP*	63	222	229	82	62	171	63	77	969
AL*	107	356	333	196	40	224	70	112	1,438
Youth	48	188	166	92	29	122	59	48	752
Terrorist	24	115	184	110	13	151	101	22	720
Occ/Org	62	97	201	59	17	73	45	25	579
Worker	42	99	164	54	26	57	60	22	524
Family	17	53	66	19	13	31	28	24	251
Foreigner	6	145	32	34	-	10	6	6	240
Woman	16	55	41	14	11	43	9	7	196
B.man	12	53	44	16	10	30	18	10	193
Student/SG	24	45	85	11	12	34	15	17	243
Other	39	255	186	78	27	119	82	42	828
Total	2,166	10,563	9,977	5,783	1,347	7,995	4,298	2,214	44,343
Rate per 100,000	23.69	33.03	33.52	13.0%	10.89	39.17	24.42	19.61	27.68
<b>Percentages</b>									
Law Enfor	41.2%	43.2%	44.2%	43.9%	41.4%	44.9%	45.4%	36.5%	43.6%
Criminal	22.1%	29.8%	27.3%	24.8%	23.1%	27.2%	26.1%	20.1%	26.7%
Public	11.0%	7.2%	7.7%	15.0%	11.2%	9.9%	11.1%	19.3%	10.1%
Man	4.5%	3.9%	3.4%	3.1%	4.9%	4.7%	4.5%	5.4%	4.0%
BNP*	2.9%	2.1%	2.3%	1.4%	4.6%	2.1%	1.5%	3.5%	2.2%
AL*	4.9%	3.4%	3.3%	3.4%	3.0%	2.8%	1.6%	5.1%	3.2%
Actor	Barisal	Chit-tagong	Dhaka	Khulna	Mymen	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Sylhet	Total
Youth	2.2%	1.8%	1.7%	1.6%	2.2%	1.5%	1.4%	2.2%	1.7%
Terrorist	1.1%	1.1%	1.8%	1.9%	1.0%	1.9%	2.3%	1.0%	1.6%
Occ/Org	2.9%	0.9%	2.0%	1.0%	1.3%	0.9%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%

Worker	1.9%	0.9%	1.6%	0.9%	1.9%	0.7%	1.4%	1.0%	1.2%
Family	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%	0.3%	1.0%	0.4%	0.7%	1.1%	0.6%
Foreigner	0.3%	1.4%	0.3%	0.6%	-	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.5%
Woman	0.7%	0.5%	0.4%	0.2%	0.8%	0.5%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%
B.man	0.6%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%
Student/ SG	1.1%	0.4%	0.9%	0.2%	0.9%	0.4%	0.3%	0.8%	0.5%
Other	1.8%	2.4%	1.9%	1.3%	2.0%	1.5%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%

Law Enfor = Law Enforcement and State Actors, BNP\* = Bangladesh Nationalist Party and affiliates (including Student Wing), AL = Awami League and affiliates (including Student Wing), Occ/Org = Occupational/ Organisation Group, B.man = Businessman, Student/SG = Student and Student Groups.

Source: BPO

The overall rate of actors involved in incidents was highest in Rajshahi, which is followed by Dhaka and Chittagong, and rates were lowest in Mymensingh and Khulna. In Sylhet, percentage of actors from “Law Enforcement” and state agencies were less than the other divisions and involvement of the “Public” in Sylhet and Khulna are noticeably more than other divisions.

## Actors and Outcomes

**Table 5.9: Actors and Outcomes**

Actor	Killed	Killed Female	Injured	Injured Female	Sex Assault	SA Female	Abducted	Arrest	Total
Law Enforcement	1,151	9	3,422	20	35	32	90	81,163	85,922
Public	729	33	28,995	847	11	11	18	25,903	56,547
Criminal	1,466	10	1,712	19	11	10	102	38,988	42,318
AL and Affiliates	136	-	11,491	78	-	-	-	1,566	13,278
BNP and Affiliates	26	-	2,690	20	-	-	-	5,931	8,668
Terrorist	25	-	27	-	-	-	-	3,292	3,346
Occ/Org Group	26	-	1,325	11	-	-	7	1,967	3,341
Man	242	19	295	29	24	24	10	2,180	2,823
Foreigner	32	-	60	-	-	-	-	2,566	2,661
Worker	16	-	1,045	13	9	7	-	1,264	2,354
Family Members	111	23	977	159	-	-	11	221	1,508
Youth	58	-	128	-	-	-	-	1,231	1,431
Student/ SG	10	-	1,491	-	-	-	-	318	1,834
Other/Unknown	194	55	2,291	43	34	34	22	1,911	4,584
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,222</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>55,949</b>	<b>1,249</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>168,501</b>	<b>230,615</b>
	<b>Percent</b>								
Law Enforcement	27.3%	5.7%	6.1%	1.6%	25.2%	24.1%	34.1%	48.2%	37.3%
Public	17.3%	20.9%	51.8%	67.8%	7.9%	8.3%	6.8%	15.4%	24.5%
Criminal	34.7%	6.3%	3.1%	1.5%	7.9%	7.5%	38.6%	23.1%	18.4%
AL and Affiliates	3.2%	-	20.5%	6.2%	-	-	-	0.9%	5.8%
BNP and Affiliates	0.6%	-	4.8%	1.6%	-	-	-	3.5%	3.8%
Terrorist	0.6%	-	-	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	1.5%
Occ/Org Group	0.6%	-	2.4%	0.9%	1.4%	1.5%	2.7%	1.2%	1.4%
Man	5.7%	12.0%	0.5%	2.3%	17.3%	18.0%	3.8%	1.3%	1.2%
Foreigner	0.8%	-	0.1%	-	-	-	-	1.5%	1.2%
Worker	0.4%	-	1.9%	1.0%	6.5%	5.3%	-	0.8%	1.0%
Family Members	2.6%	14.6%	1.7%	12.7%	2.2%	2.3%	4.2%	0.1%	0.7%
Youth	1.4%	-	0.2%	-	-	-	-	0.7%	0.6%
Student/ SG	0.2%	-	2.7%	-	-	-	-	0.2%	0.8%
Other/Unknown	4.6%	34.8%	4.1%	3.4%	24.5%	25.6%	8.3%	1.1%	2.0%

Source: BPO

“Criminal”, “Law Enforcement” and “Public” were associated with the outcome of death at 34.7%, 27.3% and 17.3% respectively. For females, killing as an outcome was associated with “Public” and “Family Members”. For those injured, the principal actors were the “Public” at 51.8% (67.8% for females), and “Awami League and affiliates” (at 20.5% including student wing). “Law Enforcement” and “Man” were the main actors involved in sexual assault. For abductions, criminals, “Law Enforcement” and “Man” are the key actors involved, and for arrests, it is not surprising that the main actors were “Law Enforcement” (48.2%) and “Criminal” (23.1%).

### **c. Weapons Used**

Trends in weapons used mentioned in the data over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are displayed in Table 5.10. In this table, the counts of weapons used in the variables “weaponone” and “weapontwo” in the BPO data set are added together. (Nine categories of weapons were listed in the BPO report). In the categorisation of weapons “Artisanal firearms” refers to homemade firearms, “Blunt weapons” are exemplified by sticks, clubs, metal bars, stones, and the like, “Sharp weapons” are knives, swords and spears, small arms include handguns, rifles, shotguns and submachine guns and “Light weapons” would be machine guns, mortars, grenades and propelled grenades.

**Table 5.10: Trends in Weapons (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Weapon	Number						Percentages per Year			
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total	2018	2019	2020	Total
Artisanal firearms	66	24	108	9	-	210	1.4%	0.1%	-	0.5%
Blunt weapons	2,154	675	1,990	3,124	1,745	9,688	26.1%	32.1%	39.0%	31.4%
Fire	193	71	177	170	74	685	2.3%	1.7%	1.7%	1.9%
Improvised explosive device (IED)	73	15	46	22	8	164	0.6%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%
Light weapons	12	32	26	-	-	74	0.3%	-	-	0.1%
Sharp weapons	1,734	826	1,545	1,792	857	6,754	20.3%	18.4%	19.2%	19.2%
Small arms	759	430	871	864	246	3,170	11.4%	8.9%	5.5%	9.1%
Other	480	324	707	643	655	2,809	9.3%	6.6%	14.6%	9.2%
Unclear	1,185	695	1,648	1,877	630	6,035	21.6%	19.3%	14.1%	19.0%
None	660	263	499	1,226	255	2,903	6.6%	12.6%	5.7%	9.1%
Total	7,316	3,355	7,617	9,731	4,473	32,492				

Source: BPO

“Blunt” weapon”, “Sharp weapon” and “Small arms” were on average involved in 29.8%, 20.9% and 9.8% of incidents, where a weapon was used over the period January 2016 to June 2020 (31.4%, 19.2% and 9.1% of incidents when a weapon was used between January 2018 and June 2020). No weapons were used in 8.9% of incidents over the whole period and 9.1% of the shorter period. There was little evidence of trends in the data.

Weapons identified by division over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are the subject of Table 5.11 and the trend is illustrated in Figure 5.5.

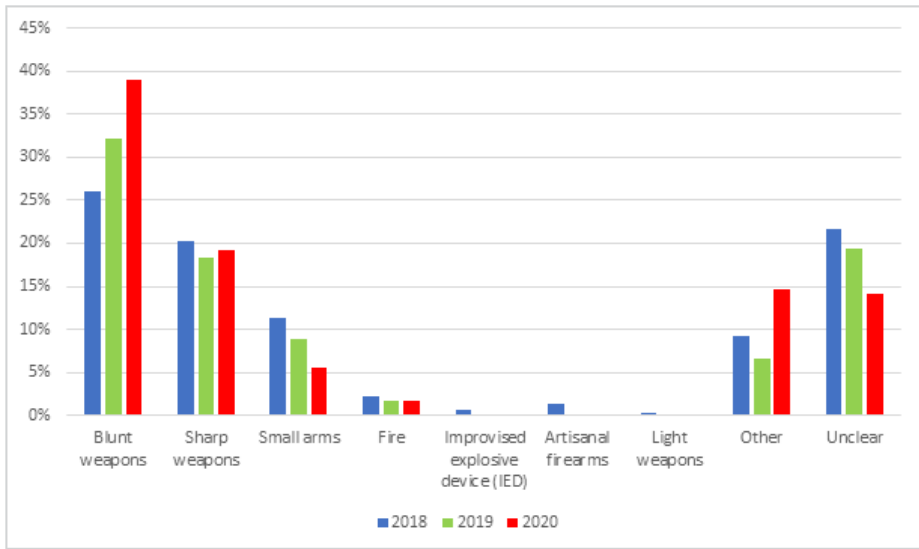
**Table 5.11: Weapons identified in incidents by division.**

Division	Numbers								
	Barisal	Chit-tagong	Dhaka	Khulna	Mymens-ingh	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Sylhet	Total
Artisanal firearms	-	24	25	25	9	13	16	-	120
Blunt weapons	581	1269	1863	714	295	1106	576	455	6859
Fire	23	103	111	38	22	80	35	9	421
Improvised explosive device (IED)	-	18	22	16	-	12	-	-	76
Light weapons	-	13	-	7	-	-	-	-	30
Sharp weapons	275	894	1171	478	193	625	249	309	4194
Small arms	39	802	402	280	77	195	115	71	1981
Other	136	382	496	224	74	407	195	91	2005
Unclear	281	1017	1041	391	218	607	362	238	4155
None	176	344	546	197	110	300	189	118	1980
Total where weapons were identified as being used	1519	4866	5681	2370	1004	3347	1739	1295	21821
Percentages									
Artisanal firearms	-	0.5%	0.4%	1.1%	0.9%	0.4%	0.9%	-	0.5%
Blunt weapons	38.2%	26.1%	32.8%	30.1%	29.4%	33.0%	33.1%	35.1%	31.4%
Fire	1.5%	2.1%	2.0%	1.6%	2.2%	2.4%	2.0%	0.7%	1.9%
Improvised explosive device (IED)	-	0.4%	0.4%	0.7%	-	0.4%	-	-	0.3%
Light weapons	-	0.3%	-	0.3%	-	-	-	-	0.1%
Sharp weapons	18.1%	18.4%	20.6%	20.2%	19.2%	18.7%	14.3%	23.9%	19.2%
Small arms	2.6%	16.5%	7.1%	11.8%	7.7%	5.8%	6.6%	5.5%	9.1%
Other	9.0%	-	8.7%	9.5%	7.4%	12.2%	11.2%	7.0%	9.2%
Unclear	18.5%	20.9%	18.3%	16.5%	21.7%	18.1%	20.8%	18.4%	19.0%

Source: BPO

There appears little variation in types of weapons by division, other than the percentage of “Small arms” recorded in Chittagong and Khulna are much higher than the other divisions.

**Figure 5.5: Trends in the percentage share of weapons used.**



Source: BPO

The propensity to use “Blunt” weapons has increased and the “Small arms” and “Unclear” categories as a percentage share has decreased. The reduction of the “Unclear” category might suggest improved identification, and recording.

### **Weapons Used and Outcomes**

Weapons used and consequent outcomes over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are listed in Table 5.12.

For those killed, “Blunt” weapons and “Sharp” weapons are most frequently used at 33.2% and 21.1% respectively. For females, “Blunt weapons” were involved in 46.8% of killings. Regarding injuries, “Blunt” and “Sharp” weapons were the most prevalent weapons used (43.5%, 23.0% of all cases respectively), and for females only injuries, the most prevalent weapon was “Blunt weapon” (29.3%), and no weapon was used in 20.9% of cases.

When a weapon was involved in sexual assault, it was most frequently (6.8% of cases) a “Blunt weapon”. However, no weapon was used in 52.0% of cases. Of weapons identified, “Blunt weapons” were most frequently recorded at 9.1% and in 67.3% of cases the weapon used was “Unclear”. For arrests, the weapons most associated were “Blunt” and “Sharp” weapons at 31.3% and 19.9% of cases.

**Table 5.12: Weapons Used and Outcomes**

Weapon	Numbers							
	Killed	Killed Female	Injured	Injured Female	Sex Assault	Sex Assault Female	Abduct-ed	Arrest
Blunt weapons*	3,969	1,653	24,191	1,187	172	172	86	3,805
Sharp weapons	2,529	534	12,784	720	42	41	54	2,421
Small arms	1,715	19	4,512	66	11	10	69	838
Fire	114	72	825	93	8	8	-	194
Artisanal firearms	105	-	351	17	-	-	-	30
IED	35	7	227	12	-	-	-	80
Light weapons	21	-	53	-	-	-	-	7
None	349	148	1,915	849	1,303	1,273	95	1,402
Other/Unclear	3,125	1,100	10,721	1,113	971	938	633	3,381
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,962</b>	<b>3,533</b>	<b>55,579</b>	<b>4,057</b>	<b>2,507</b>	<b>2,442</b>	<b>940</b>	<b>12,158</b>
	Percentages							
Blunt weapons	33.2%	46.8%	43.5%	29.3%	6.8%	7.0%	9.1%	31.3%
Sharp weapons	21.1%	15.1%	23.0%	17.7%	1.7%	1.7%	5.7%	19.9%
Small arms	14.3%	0.5%	8.1%	1.6%	0.4%	0.4%	7.3%	6.9%
Fire	1.0%	2.0%	1.5%	2.3%	0.3%	0.3%	-	1.6%
Artisanal firearms	0.9%	-	0.6%	0.4%	-	-	-	0.2%
IED	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	-	-	-	0.7%
Light weapons	0.2%	-	0.1%	-	-	-	-	0.1%
None	2.9%	4.2%	3.4%	20.9%	52.0%	52.1%	10.1%	11.5%
Other/Unclear	26.1%	31.1%	19.3%	27.4%	38.7%	38.4%	67.3%	27.8%

Source: BPO

For those were killed, “Blunt” weapons and “Sharp” weapons were most frequently used at 33.2% and 21.1% respectively. For females, blunt weapons were involved in 46.8% of killings. Regarding injuries, “Blunt”

and “Sharp” weapons were the most prevalent weapons used (43.5%, 23% of all cases respectively), and for female only injuries, the most prevalent weapon was “Blunt” weapon (29.3%) and in 20.9% of cases no weapon was used.

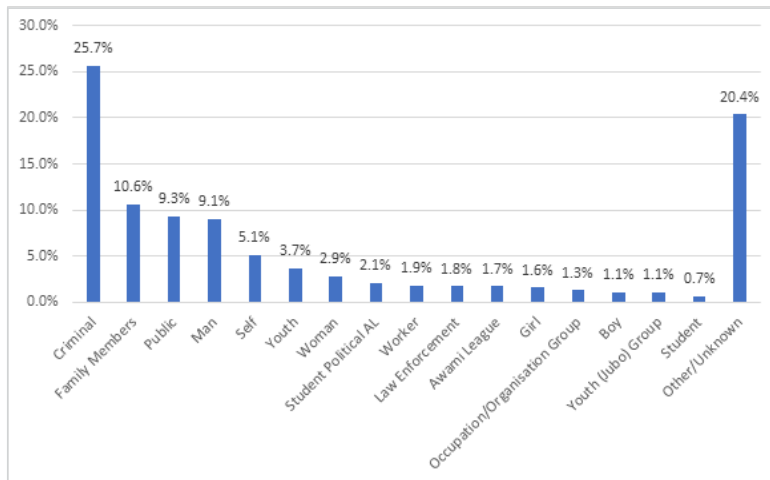
#### **d. Perpetrators and Targets**

##### **Perpetrators**

Perpetrators are those actors who caused the incident at the time of the incident. There were 16,764 reported perpetrators in the data set from January 2018 to June 2020, and the distribution of these, grouped into seventeen categories from those given in the BPO report, are shown in Figure 5.6. Unsurprisingly, “Criminal” was the most frequent category at 25.7% of cases (of these, 60.0% were identified as goons or miscreants, 21.3% remained broadly as criminals, 7.3% as hijackers and 4.5% as eve teasers/stalkers). The other frequent categories were “Family Members” at 10.6%, (of these 80.0% were recorded as family members of which 7.2% husbands, 3.6% relatives and 2.9% were in-laws), “Public” (9.3%) and “Man” (9.1%). Of the “Other/Unknown” group, which accounted for 20.4%, was composed of unknown perpetrators (90%) and the others were a cumulation of percentages less than 1% of all perpetrators.

As with the variable actors, overlapping categories such as public, criminal and family members as poorly defined limiting the value of this variable.

**Figure 5.6: Percentage of Perpetrators Cited in Incidents by Type**



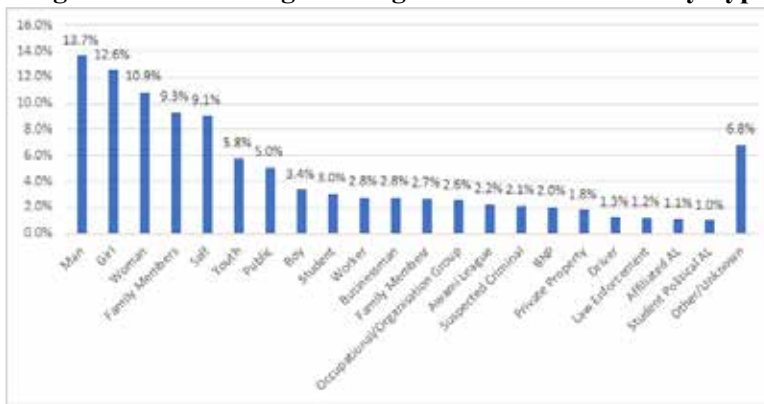
Source: BPO

## Targets

Targets were those actors who were confronted by the perpetrator at the time of the incident. There were 16,755 reported targets over the period January 2018 to June 2020 in the data set and these are displayed in Figure 5.7.

“Man”, “Girl”, “Women”, “Family Members” and “Self” were the most frequent targets at 13.7%, 12.6%, 10.9%, 9.3% and 9.1% respectively. Again poor categorisation arises as a limiting factor.

**Figure 5.7: Percentage of Targets cited in Incidents by Type**



Source: BPO

## Perpetrators by Year

Perpetrators over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are displayed in Table 5.13. There is little evidence of trend in the perpetrators over the period 2016 to June 2020 when the percentage distribution per year was considered. The category “Criminal” has increased in the first half of 2020, perhaps these were identified because of improved vigilance by Bangladesh law enforcement services. In 2020, the percentage of “self” as perpetrator has more than halved compared to previous years, but perpetrator as a “Woman” has doubled. This might be pointing to a change in recording to categories from before 2020 and after 2020.

**Table 5.13: Perpetrators by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Perpetrator	Numbers by Year					Total
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020 (Jan-June)	
Criminal	1,548	517	1308	1,846	1,148	6,367
Family Members	688	334	593	814	374	2,803
Public	454	289	506	718	338	2,305
Man	402	233	504	787	230	2,156
Self	273	-	245	537	75	1130
Youth	199	-	53	382	186	820
Woman	82	7	124	201	153	567
Student Political AL	125	78	169	139	45	556
Law Enforcement	131	50	133	110	51	475
Awami League	117	33	191	58	44	443
Worker	69	32	76	170	65	412
Girl	68	-	61	115	93	338
Occupation/Organisation Group	51	13	38	101	77	280
Boy	35	50	60	91	37	273
Youth (Jubo) Group	24	22	60	104	20	230
Student/Student Group	44	29	33	63	48	217
Other/Unknown	1,282	636	1,298	1,578	514	5,308
Total	5,592	2,324	5,452	7,814	3,498	24,680

Perpetrator	Percentage for each Year					
	2017	2017	2018	2019	2020 (Jan-June)	% of Total
Criminal	27.7%	22.2%	24.0%	23.6%	32.8%	25.8%
Family Members	12.3%	14.4%	10.9%	10.4%	10.7%	11.4%
Public	8.1%	12.4%	9.3%	9.2%	9.7%	9.3%
Man	7.2%	10.0%	9.2%	10.1%	6.6%	8.7%
Self	4.9%	-	4.5%	6.9%	2.1%	4.6%
Youth	3.6%	-	1.0%	4.9%	5.3%	3.3%
Woman	1.5%	0.3%	2.3%	2.6%	4.4%	2.3%
Student Political AL	2.2%	3.4%	3.1%	1.8%	1.3%	2.3%
Law Enforcement	2.3%	2.2%	2.4%	1.4%	1.5%	1.9%
Awami League	2.1%	1.4%	3.5%	0.7%	1.3%	1.8%
Worker	1.2%	1.4%	1.4%	2.2%	1.9%	1.7%
Girl	1.2%	-	1.1%	1.5%	2.7%	1.4%
Occupation/Organisation Group	0.9%	0.6%	0.7%	1.3%	2.2%	1.1%
Boy	0.6%	2.2%	1.1%	1.2%	1.1%	1.1%
Youth (Jubo) Group	0.4%	0.9%	1.1%	1.3%	0.6%	0.9%
Student/Student Group	0.8%	1.2%	0.6%	0.8%	1.4%	0.9%
Other/Unknown	22.9%	27.4%	23.8%	20.2%	14.7%	21.5%

Source: BPO

### Perpetrators by Division

The distribution of perpetrators by division is the subject of Table 5.14, using data from January 2018 to June 2020. Numbers are naturally greater in the most populous divisions; however, the percentage share of “Criminal” was highest in Chittagong and Khulna and lowest in Rangpur.

**Table 5.14: Perpetrators by Division**

Perpetrator	Target								Total
	Barisal	Chittag	Dhaka	Khulna	Mym	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Sylhet	
Criminal	297	1,014	1,101	516	169	720	272	213	4,302
Family	127	334	460	170	106	302	195	87	1,781
Public	129	314	453	200	75	174	126	91	1,562
Man	133	306	367	155	97	256	128	79	1,521
Self	75	127	242	67	39	183	94	30	857
Youth	51	129	161	72	26	94	52	36	621
Woman	32	114	91	49	12	107	57	16	478
Stu Pol AL	28	82	118	23	15	54	8	25	353
Worker	21	51	101	25	14	55	28	16	311
Law Enforce.	12	52	106	31	12	37	29	15	294
Awami League	21	72	88	34	10	52	8	8	293
Girl	38	47	42	34	14	52	33	9	269
Ocu/Org	22	35	61	17	6	44	16	15	216
Boy	23	34	48	21	8	35	14	-	188
Youth Group	8	43	61	16	10	21	9	16	184
Student	9	27	39	11	7	23	23	-	144
Other/Un-known	215	739	915	343	160	505	334	179	3,390
Total	1,241	3,520	4,454	1,784	780	2,714	1,426	845	13,374
Total %	9.3%	26.3%	33.3%	13.3%	5.8%	20.3%	10.7%	6.3%	
	<b>% Within Divisions</b>								<b>Total %</b>
Criminal	23.9%	28.8%	24.7%	28.9%	21.7%	26.5%	19.1%	25.2%	32.2%
Family	10.2%	9.5%	10.3%	9.5%	13.6%	11.1%	13.7%	10.3%	13.3%
Public	10.4%	8.9%	10.2%	11.2%	9.6%	6.4%	8.8%	10.8%	11.7%
Man	10.7%	8.7%	8.2%	8.7%	12.4%	9.4%	9.0%	9.3%	11.4%
Self	6.0%	3.6%	5.4%	3.8%	5.0%	6.7%	6.6%	3.6%	6.4%
Youth	4.1%	3.7%	3.6%	4.0%	3.3%	3.5%	3.6%	4.3%	4.6%
Woman	2.6%	3.2%	2.0%	2.7%	1.5%	3.9%	4.0%	1.9%	3.6%
Stu Pol. AL	2.3%	2.3%	2.6%	1.3%	1.9%	2.0%	0.6%	3.0%	2.6%
Worker	1.7%	1.4%	2.3%	1.4%	1.8%	2.0%	2.0%	1.9%	2.3%
Law Enfor	1.0%	1.5%	2.4%	1.7%	1.5%	1.4%	2.0%	1.8%	2.2%
AL	1.7%	2.0%	2.0%	1.9%	1.3%	1.9%	0.6%	0.9%	2.2%
Girl	3.1%	1.3%	0.9%	1.9%	1.8%	1.9%	2.3%	1.1%	2.0%
Ocu/Org	1.8%	1.0%	1.4%	1.0%	0.8%	1.6%	1.1%	1.8%	1.6%
Boy	1.9%	1.0%	1.1%	1.2%	1.0%	1.3%	1.0%	-	1.4%
Youth Group	0.6%	1.2%	1.4%	0.9%	1.3%	0.8%	0.6%	1.9%	1.4%
Student	0.7%	0.8%	0.9%	0.6%	0.9%	0.8%	1.6%	-	1.0%
Other/Un-known	17.3%	21.0%	20.5%	19.2%	20.5%	18.6%	23.4%	21.2%	24.7%

Family = Family Members, St Pol AL = Student Political Groups affiliated to the Awami League, Law Enf = Law Enforcement, Ocu/Org = Occupational/Organisational Group.

Source: BPO

## **Perpetrators and Weapons used**

The numbers and percentages of weapons used by type and by perpetrators for cases, where weapons used, were identified over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are displayed in Table 5.15. The most frequent weapon used was “Blunt” weapon with a share of almost 32% (as a percentage share of weapons used, “Girl” and “Woman” used “Blunt” weapons most frequently if they used a weapon, 65% and 64% respectively of cases by “Girl” and “Woman”). The most frequent use of weapons was by “Criminal” who chose “Sharp” weapons in 33% of cases, “Blunt” weapons were used in 24% of cases. “Youths” and the “Public” were registered as the highest percentage of no weapons used at 36% and 32% respectively.

## **Outcome of Attacks by Perpetrators**

Outcomes of attacks by perpetrators over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are presented in Table 5.16. From this, it is apparent that “Criminal”, “Family Members” and “Self” made the largest contribution to killings (16.4%, 14.3% and 9.4% respectively), and “Family Members” accounted for most females killed (26.4%), followed by “Self” at 14.0% and “Woman” at 12.8% (perhaps woman might also be self). The patterns, where killed was the outcome, are presented in Figures 5.8 and 5.9.

For injured, criminals and “Public” caused most of the injuries at 30.4% and 16.9% respectively. For injured “Females”, “Criminal” accounted for the most (24.3%), then “Man” (18.3%), “Public” (16.4%), “Family Members” (13.8%) and “Youth” (9.6%). The numbers of injuries by perpetrator category are given in Figure 5.10.

Regarding sexual assault, the main perpetrator groups were “Man” (31.1%), “Youth” (17.5%) and “Public” (17.1%). For abductions, 71.1% are perpetrated by “Criminal”, and for arrests, the main perpetrators are “Criminal”, “Public”, “Family Members” and “Man” at 29.4%, 16.1%, 12.7% and 10.3% respectively. The numbers by perpetrator category are shown in Figure 5.11.

## **Targets by Year**

Trends in targets over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are the subject of Table 5.17.

There is very little evidence of any consistent trends in targets over the years. However, the target “Self” is perhaps trending upwards and in the first half of 2020 is 14.2% of all targets, up six percentage points from 2019.

## **Targets by Division**

The targets by division are presented in Table 5.18. Mymensingh and Khulna have proportionately more targets in the most frequent target groups, i.e. “Man”, “Girl” and “Family Members”, but for other classes and if absolute numbers are used there is little difference in the incidence of targets between divisions.

## **Outcomes of Attacks on Targets by Perpetrator**

The outcomes of attacks on targets by perpetrators over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are given in Table 5.19. Of targets, who are killed, “Criminal”, “Family Members” and “Self” were the most frequent identified perpetrators (16.4%, 14.3%, and 9.4% respectively). However, 30.5% of perpetrators were in the “Other” category which was mainly composed of unidentified perpetrators. Regarding females killed, “Family Members”, “Self” and “Woman” and “Girl” categories were the most frequent identified perpetrators whose respective percentages were 26.3%, 14% and 12.8%. For those injured “Criminal”, “Public” and “Awami League and Affiliated Bodies” were the most frequent identified perpetrators with respective percentages 30.4%, 15.9% and 13.5%. For females injured, the most frequent identified groups of perpetrators were “Criminal” (24.3%), “Man” (18.3%), “Public” (16.4%) and “Family Members” (13.8%). Regarding sexual assaults “Man”, “Youth”, “Criminal” and “Public” whose respective percentages were 31.1%, 17.5%, 17.1% and 11.7%. Similar observations were made for female only sexual assaults. The perpetrator group “Criminal” dominated as perpetrators in cases of abduction and were responsible for 71.1% of cases.

For those arrested, the main perpetrator groups were “Criminal” (29.4%), “Public” (16.1%), “Family Members” (12.7%) and “Man” (10.3%).

**Table 5.15: Weapons used by Perpetrators**

Preparator	Blunt weap	Sharp weap	Small arms	Fire	IED	Arti Arm	Light weap	Other	None	Total	% by Perp	Blunt weap	Sharp weap	Small arms	Fire	IED	Arti Arm	Light weap	Other	None
Criminal	1,114	1,504	302	139	19	11	-	1,228	280	4,601	26.4%	24.2%	32.7%	6.6%	3.0%	0.4%	0.2%	-	26.7%	6.1%
Family	730	467	6	70	7	-	-	445	136	1,862	10.7%	39.2%	25.1%	0.3%	3.8%	0.4%	-	-	23.9%	7.3%
Public	667	347	13	35	-	-	-	438	197	1,701	9.8%	39.2%	20.4%	0.8%	2.1%	-	-	-	25.7%	11.6%
Man	378	194	13	14	-	-	-	430	491	1,522	8.7%	24.8%	12.7%	0.9%	0.9%	-	-	-	28.3%	32.3%
Self	646	12	-	8	-	-	-	181	9	862	5.0%	74.9%	1.4%	-	0.9%	-	-	-	21.0%	1.0%
Youth	181	125	-	-	-	-	-	207	292	813	4.7%	22.3%	15.4%	-	0.5%	-	-	-	25.5%	35.9%
Woman	306	18	-	18	-	-	-	122	15	480	2.8%	63.8%	3.8%	-	3.8%	-	-	-	25.4%	3.1%
Stud Pol AL	128	85	7	-	-	-	-	117	30	373	2.1%	34.3%	22.8%	1.9%	-	-	-	-	31.4%	8.0%
AL	90	39	20	6	-	-	-	149	14	318	1.8%	28.3%	12.3%	6.3%	1.9%	-	-	-	46.9%	4.4%
Worker	128	10	-	8	-	-	-	89	78	314	1.8%	40.8%	3.2%	-	2.5%	-	-	-	28.3%	24.8%
Law Enfor	88	8	58	-	-	-	-	96	30	289	1.7%	30.4%	2.8%	20.1%	1.0%	-	-	-	33.2%	10.4%
Girl	173	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	9	266	1.5%	65.0%	-	-	1.1%	-	-	-	29.3%	3.4%
Occ/Org	85	20	-	-	-	-	-	69	42	218	1.3%	39.0%	9.2%	-	0.0%	-	-	-	31.7%	19.3%
Boy	58	26	-	-	-	-	-	44	53	183	1.1%	31.7%	14.2%	-	0.5%	-	-	-	24.0%	29.0%
Stud/SG	75	28	-	-	-	-	-	43	12	164	0.9%	45.7%	17.1%	-	1.8%	-	-	-	26.2%	7.3%
BNP	26	15	8	14	-	-	-	30	-	97	0.6%	26.8%	15.5%	8.2%	14.4%	-	-	-	30.9%	-
Other	91	36	30	9	-	-	-	64	47	282	1.6%	32.3%	12.8%	10.6%	3.2%	-	-	-	22.7%	16.7%
Unknown	583	492	212	44	18	7	-	1,590	112	3,061	17.6%	19.0%	16.1%	6.9%	1.4%	0.6%	0.2%	-	51.9%	3.7%
Total	5,547	3,429	682	382	4	24	12	1,815	1,849	17,406										
% by Type	31.9%	19.7%	3.9%	2.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	10.4%	10.6%											

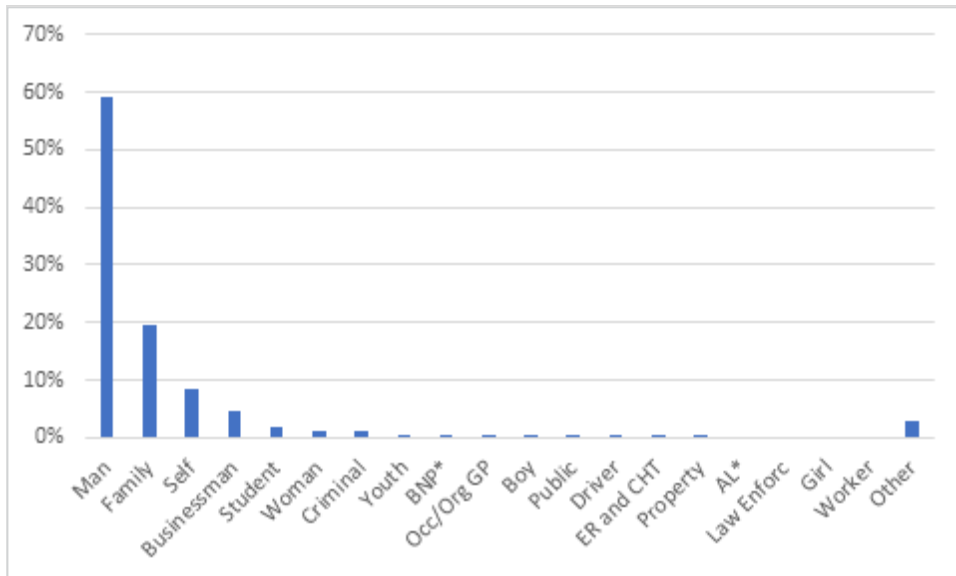
Arti Arm = Artisan Arms, weap = weapons, Stud/SG = Student and Student Group, Other = Other/ Unclear, Others.  
Source: BPO

**Table 5.16: Outcomes from Attacks by Perpetrators**

Perpetrator	Totals										Percentages						
	Killed Female	Injured Female	Injured Female	Sex Assault Female	Abduct-ed	Ar-rest	Killed Female	Injured Female	Injured Female	Sex Assault Female	Abduct-ed	Ar-rest	Killed Female	Injured Female	Injured Female	Sex Assault Female	Abduct-ed
Criminal	1,537	220	4,455	724	417	406	646	2,386	16.4%	6.6%	30.4%	24.3%	17.1%	17.1%	71.1%	29.4%	
Public	629	73	2,336	488	285	281	15	1,304	6.7%	2.2%	15.9%	16.4%	11.7%	11.9%	1.7%	16.1%	
Family	1,346	873	655	411	110	109	9	1,029	14.3%	26.3%	4.5%	13.8%	4.5%	4.6%	1.0%	12.7%	
Man	640	139	807	546	759	745	16	838	6.8%	4.2%	5.5%	18.3%	31.1%	31.4%	1.8%	10.3%	
Youth	287	39	443	285	428	417	21	653	3.1%	1.2%	3.0%	9.6%	17.5%	17.6%	2.3%	8.0%	
AL	24	-	1,982	34	8	6	-	125	0.3%	-	13.5%	1.1%	0.3%	0.3%	-	1.5%	
Self	878	466	23	15	-	-	-	65	9.4%	14.0%	0.2%	0.5%	-	-	-	0.8%	
Stud Pol AL	34	-	1,124	37	21	21	7	154	0.4%	-	7.7%	1.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.8%	1.9%	
Law Enforc	114	17	614	38	20	19	11	306	1.2%	0.5%	4.2%	1.3%	0.8%	0.8%	1.2%	3.8%	
Woman	447	426	52	30	-	-	-	65	4.8%	12.8%	0.4%	1.0%	-	-	-	0.8%	
Worker	65	14	383	130	151	132	-	134	0.7%	0.4%	2.6%	4.4%	6.2%	5.6%	-	1.7%	
Occ/Org Gp	69	17	238	57	47	47	-	146	0.7%	0.5%	1.6%	1.9%	1.9%	2.0%	-	1.8%	
Girl	262	255	14	11	-	-	-	24	2.8%	7.7%	0.1%	0.4%	-	-	-	0.3%	
Boy	93	10	81	63	78	75	-	97	1.0%	0.3%	0.6%	2.1%	3.2%	3.2%	-	1.2%	
BNP	12	-	227	6	-	-	-	114	0.1%	-	1.5%	0.2%	-	-	-	1.4%	
Student/SG	82	30	148	-	8	8	-	51	0.9%	0.9%	1.0%	-	0.3%	0.3%	-	0.6%	
Driver	19	-	53	28	53	53	-	54	0.2%	-	0.4%	0.9%	2.2%	2.2%	-	0.7%	
Other	2,847	738	1,014	75	47	44	167	573	30.3%	22.2%	6.9%	2.5%	1.9%	1.9%	18.4%	7.1%	
Total	9,385	3,322	14,649	2,981	2,440	2,371	909	8,118									

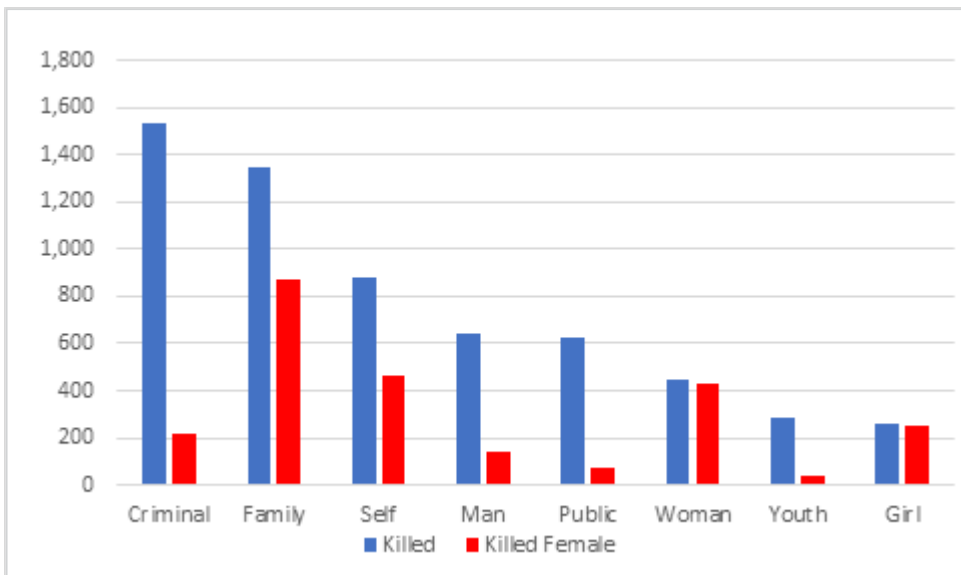
Source: BPO

**Figure 5.8: Percentage Share of those Killed by Perpetrator Category**



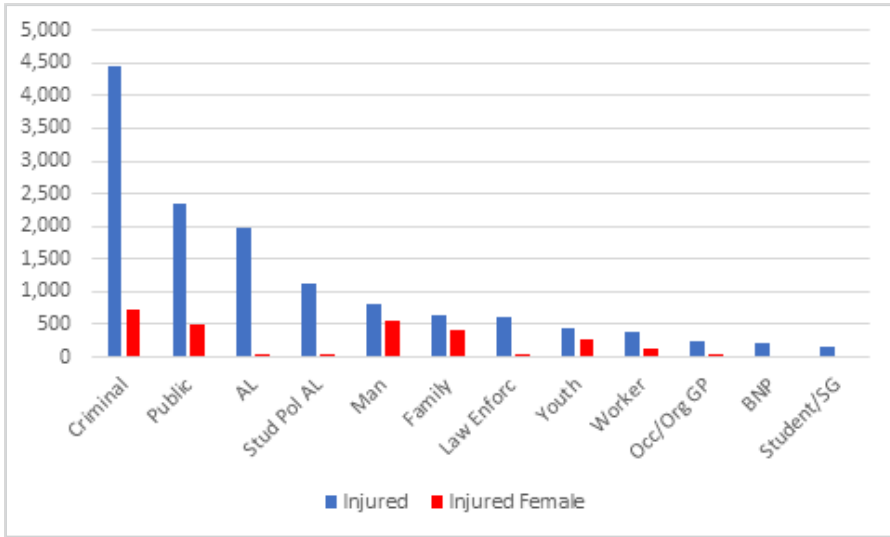
Source: BPO

**Figure 5.9: Numbers of all Killed and Females Killed by Perpetrator Category**



Source: BPO

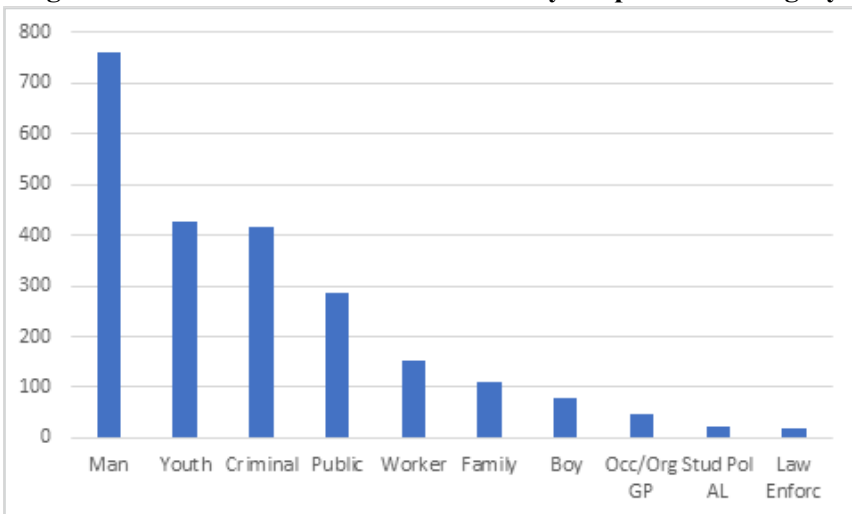
**Figure 5.10: Numbers of Total Injured and Females Injured by Perpetrator Category**



Source: BPO

**Note:** the relatively small numbers of females injured and when compared to the previous figure, this may suggest major under reporting of female injuries.

**Figure 5.11: Numbers of Sexual Assaults by Perpetrator Category**



Source: BPO

**Table 5.17: Targets by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Target	Numbers by Year						Percentage by Year					
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	% by Year
Man	759	471	879	1,007	403	3,519	13.7%	20.4%	16.2%	12.9%	11.6%	14.3%
Family Members	890	280	649	979	377	3,175	16.0%	12.1%	11.9%	12.6%	10.8%	12.9%
Girl	504	288	543	1209	351	2,895	9.1%	12.5%	10.0%	15.5%	10.1%	11.8%
Woman	535	233	540	934	345	2,587	9.6%	10.1%	9.9%	12.0%	9.9%	10.5%
Self	318	-	399	622	496	1,836	5.7%	-	7.3%	8.0%	14.2%	7.5%
Public	287	195	247	325	273	1,327	5.2%	8.5%	4.5%	4.2%	7.8%	5.4%
Youth/Youth Group	359	26	158	557	275	1,375	6.5%	1.1%	2.9%	7.2%	7.9%	5.6%
Boy	184	151	212	269	83	899	3.3%	6.6%	3.9%	3.5%	2.4%	3.7%
Businessman	213	69	121	224	122	749	3.8%	3.0%	2.2%	2.9%	3.5%	3.1%
Student/Student Group	168	72	173	277	97	787	3.0%	3.1%	3.2%	3.6%	2.8%	3.2%
Worker	177	71	116	212	141	717	3.2%	3.1%	2.1%	2.7%	4.0%	2.9%
Occupational/Organisation Group	174	30	81	216	131	632	3.1%	1.3%	1.5%	2.8%	3.8%	2.6%
Awami League	134	37	213	115	46	545	2.4%	1.6%	3.9%	1.5%	1.3%	2.2%
Suspected Criminal	103	54	139	152	67	515	1.9%	2.3%	2.6%	2.0%	1.9%	2.1%
BNP	75	22	302	22	19	440	1.3%	1.0%	5.6%	0.3%	0.5%	1.8%
Private Property	88	30	126	117	61	422	1.6%	1.3%	2.3%	1.5%	1.8%	1.7%
Law Enforcement	73	58	84	78	40	333	1.3%	2.5%	1.5%	1.0%	1.1%	1.4%
Driver	95	-	35	121	56	307	1.7%	-	0.6%	1.6%	1.6%	1.3%
Affiliated AL	80	29	76	80	31	296	1.4%	1.3%	1.4%	1.0%	0.9%	1.2%
Ethnic and Religion	105	62	71	40	10	288	1.9%	2.7%	1.3%	0.5%	0.3%	1.2%
Student Political AL	47	25	66	77	23	238	0.8%	1.1%	1.2%	1.0%	0.7%	1.0%
Local Political Leader	86	51	32	31	-	204	1.5%	2.2%	0.6%	0.4%	-	0.8%
Other/Unknown	102	50	171	114	34	471	1.8%	2.2%	3.1%	1.5%	1.0%	1.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,556</b>	<b>2,305</b>	<b>5,433</b>	<b>7,778</b>	<b>3,485</b>	<b>24,557</b>						

Source: BPO

**Table 5.18: Targets by Division**

Target	Number of Targets										Percentage within Division									
	Bari-sal	Chit-tag.	Dhaka	Khul-na	My-men.	Ra-jshahi	Rang-pur	Syl-het	Total	%	Bari-sal	Chit-tag.	Dhaka	Khul-na	My-men.	Ra-jshahi	Rang-pur	Syl-het		
Man	137	477	593	267	131	368	187	129	2,289	13.7%	11.0%	13.6%	13.3%	15.0%	16.8%	13.6%	13.1%	15.3%		
Girl	185	390	560	209	121	314	211	113	2,103	12.6%	14.9%	11.1%	12.6%	11.7%	15.5%	11.6%	14.8%	13.4%		
Family	147	330	579	198	99	339	215	98	2,005	12.0%	11.8%	9.4%	13.0%	11.1%	12.7%	12.5%	15.1%	11.6%		
Woman	161	344	508	157	98	303	167	81	1,819	10.9%	13.0%	9.8%	11.4%	8.8%	12.6%	11.2%	11.7%	9.6%		
Self	128	328	289	178	49	315	172	58	1,517	9.1%	10.3%	9.3%	6.5%	10.0%	6.3%	11.6%	12.1%	6.9%		
Youth	58	230	282	110	38	139	80	53	990	5.9%	4.7%	6.5%	6.3%	6.2%	4.9%	5.1%	5.6%	6.3%		
Public	47	236	205	102	31	128	56	40	845	5.0%	3.8%	6.7%	4.6%	5.7%	4.0%	4.7%	3.9%	4.7%		
Boy	48	102	165	57	31	69	56	36	564	3.4%	3.9%	2.9%	3.7%	3.2%	4.0%	2.5%	3.9%	4.3%		
AL	50	158	96	77	33	110	12	16	561	4.4%	5.2%	5.9%	2.8%	5.6%	5.6%	5.5%	1.0%	3.0%		
Student	35	78	159	44	21	100	43	27	507	3.0%	2.8%	2.2%	3.6%	2.5%	2.7%	3.7%	3.0%	3.2%		
Worker	30	68	180	38	18	72	25	38	469	2.8%	2.4%	1.9%	4.0%	2.1%	2.3%	2.7%	1.8%	4.5%		
B. man	30	78	166	59	9	71	35	19	467	2.8%	2.4%	2.2%	3.7%	3.3%	1.2%	2.6%	2.5%	2.3%		
Occ/Org	41	99	96	68	10	69	24	21	428	2.6%	3.3%	2.8%	2.2%	3.8%	1.3%	2.5%	1.7%	2.5%		
Criminal	24	92	102	42	13	34	34	17	358	2.1%	1.9%	2.6%	2.3%	2.4%	1.7%	1.3%	2.4%	2.0%		
BNP	23	87	106	36	21	54	8	8	343	2.0%	1.9%	2.5%	2.4%	2.0%	2.7%	2.0%	0.6%	0.9%		
Property	23	102	76	35	15	80	43	25	390	2.3%	1.9%	1.7%	1.7%	2.0%	1.9%	2.9%	3.0%	3.0%		
Driver	12	44	65	23	10	35	12	11	212	1.3%	1.0%	1.3%	1.5%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%	0.8%	1.3%		
Law Enforc.	10	49	60	24	10	25	10	14	202	1.2%	0.8%	1.4%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%	0.9%	0.7%	1.7%		
Stud Pol AL	11	46	30	26	-	26	-	20	166	1.0%	0.9%	1.3%	0.7%	1.5%	-	1.0%	-	2.4%		
ER and CHT	14	29	20	12	-	20	17	-	121	0.7%	1.1%	0.8%	0.4%	0.7%	-	0.7%	1.2%	-		
Other	27	149	116	22	13	41	16	15	399	2.4%	2.2%	4.2%	2.6%	1.2%	1.7%	1.5%	1.1%	1.8%		
Total	1,241	3,516	4,453	1,784	780	2,712	1,426	843	16,755											

Family = Family members, AL = Awami League and Affiliated Bodies, B. man = Businessman, Occ/Org = Occupational/Organisational Group, Law Enforce. = Law Enforcement, Stud Pol AL = Student Political Wing of Awami League, ER and CHT = Ethnic, Religion and Chittagong Hill Tracts, Other = Other/Unknown  
Source: BPO

**Table 5.19: Outcomes of Attacks on Targets by Perpetrator**

Perpetrator	Totals										Percentages					
	Killed	Killed Female	Injured	Injured Female	Sex Assault	SA Female	Abducted	Arrest	Killed	Killed Female	Injured	Injured Female	Sex Assault	Sex Assault Female	Abducted	Arrest
Criminal	1,537	220	4,455	724	417	406	646	2,386	16.4%	6.6%	30.4%	24.3%	17.1%	17.1%	71.1%	29.4%
Public	629	73	2,336	488	285	281	15	1,304	6.7%	2.2%	15.9%	16.4%	11.7%	11.9%	1.7%	16.1%
Family	1,346	873	655	411	110	109	9	1,029	14.3%	26.3%	4.5%	13.8%	4.5%	4.6%	1.0%	12.7%
Man	640	139	807	546	759	745	16	838	6.8%	4.2%	5.5%	18.3%	31.1%	31.4%	1.8%	10.3%
Youth	287	39	443	285	428	417	21	653	3.1%	1.2%	3.0%	9.6%	17.5%	17.6%	2.3%	8.0%
AL	24	-	1,982	34	8	6	-	125	0.3%	-	13.5%	1.1%	0.3%	0.3%	-	1.5%
Self	878	466	23	15	-	-	-	65	9.4%	14.0%	0.2%	0.5%	-	-	-	0.8%
Stud Pol	34	-	1,124	37	21	21	7	154	0.4%	-	7.7%	1.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.8%	1.9%
AL	114	17	614	38	20	19	11	306	1.2%	0.5%	4.2%	1.3%	0.8%	0.8%	1.2%	3.8%
Law Enforc	447	426	52	30	-	-	-	65	4.8%	12.8%	0.4%	1.0%	-	-	-	0.8%
Woman	65	14	383	130	151	132	-	134	0.7%	0.4%	2.6%	4.4%	6.2%	5.6%	-	1.7%
Worker	69	17	238	57	47	47	-	146	0.7%	0.5%	1.6%	1.9%	1.9%	2.0%	-	1.8%
Occ/Org GP	262	255	14	11	-	-	-	24	2.8%	7.7%	0.1%	0.4%	-	-	-	0.3%
Girl	93	10	81	63	78	75	-	97	1.0%	0.3%	0.6%	2.1%	3.2%	3.2%	-	1.2%
Boy	12	-	227	6	-	-	-	114	0.1%	-	1.5%	0.2%	-	-	-	1.4%
BNP	82	30	148	-	8	-	-	51	0.9%	0.9%	1.0%	-	0.3%	-	-	0.6%
Student/SG	2,866	742	1,067	103	100	97	170	627	30.5%	22.3%	7.3%	3.5%	4.1%	4.1%	18.7%	7.7%
Other	9,385	3,322	14,649	2,981	2,440	2,371	909	8,118								

Family = Family members, AL = Awami League and Affiliated Bodies (including student wing), BNP = Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Affiliated Bodies (including student wing), Occ/Org = Occupational/Organisational Group, Law Enforc = Law Enforcement, ER and CHT = Ethnic, Religion and Chittagong Hill Tracts, Other = Other/Unknown

Source: BPO

## Who do Perpetrators Target?

A table of perpetrators and those they target is presented in Table 5.20. The shaded cells in Table 5.20 highlight the main group the perpetrator attacked. For criminals, the main target was man, but the “Criminal” perpetrator category targeted many individuals and groups. Clearly, the category “Criminal” is composed of many subcategories and points to a need for better recording of crime.

“Family members” mainly attacked other family members, and “Man” mainly preyed on “Women”, while “Youths”, “Youth Groups” and “Boys” targeted “Girls”. The main target of the perpetrator category “Public” was other “Public” and “Man”. The “Self” perpetrator category targeted “Women”, “Girl”, “Self” and “Man”. For “Women” and “Student” as perpetrators, their target was “Self”. This again highlights problems with the categorisation of perpetrators and targets. Student political groups of the Awami League mainly targeted student groups and other students; however, “Students” appeared as the main target for “Workers”. The Awami League, as a political party, mainly targeted the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. This was reciprocal; the Bangladesh Nationalist Party targeted Awami League.

Law enforcement agencies as perpetrators of crime were mainly associated with targeting “Criminal” and “Man”.

**Table 5.20: Perpetrator and Targets**

Perpetrator	Man	Girl	Family	Woman	Self	Youth	Public	Boy	AL	Student	Worker	B. man	Occ/Org	Prop	Cr	BNP	SG	OUK	Total	%
Criminal	615	417	243	274	9	303	381	152	279	129	151	271	221	280	56	71	75	369	4,296	25.6%
Family	151	83	1,143	271	50	15	13	25	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,781	10.6%
Public	295	155	95	177	12	101	244	60	16	15	40	21	36	42	155	-	10	87	1,561	9.3%
Man	116	523	144	219	277	35	26	50	7	15	33	18	12	7	6	-	-	25	1,520	9.1%
Self	116	192	15	216	122	72	14	35	-	27	11	14	-	-	-	-	-	12	857	5.1%
Youth	18	275	54	40	143	27	6	17	-	11	-	6	8	-	-	-	-	6	621	3.7%
Woman	8	6	21	-	427	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	478	2.9%
Student	14	9	-	-	-	-	10	-	42	49	31	10	15	9	-	30	78	36	353	2.1%
Political AL	-	67	10	-	31	-	6	14	-	114	26	-	15	11	-	-	-	-	311	1.9%
Worker	41	12	16	26	12	20	17	-	-	6	14	-	8	-	48	34	10	19	294	1.8%
Law Enforcement	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	46	-	16	-	9	-	-	155	-	29	293	1.7%
Awami League	-	-	-	-	261	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	269	1.6%
Girl	26	27	15	27	15	7	12	-	-	17	22	-	22	-	-	-	-	12	216	1.3%
Occ/Org	2	78	15	-	55	-	-	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	188	1.1%
Boy	7	65	-	29	-	31	7	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	183	1.1%
Youth Group	-	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	114	0.7%
Student	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	83	0.5%
BNP	-	22	7	12	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	68	0.4%
Driver	850	158	201	501	-	361	75	149	64	67	80	105	67	26	77	61	25	192	3018	18.0%
Other/Unknown	2,289	2,102	2,005	1,819	1,517	990	845	564	561	507	469	466	431	409	358	362	236	227	16,753	
Total	<b>13.7%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>10.9%</b>	<b>9.1%</b>	<b>5.9%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>		
Contribution to target %																				

Family = Family Members, AL = Awami League, B. Man = Businessman, Occ/Org = Occupational/Organisation Group, Cr = Criminal, BNP = Bangladesh Nationalist Party, SG = Student Group, OUK = Other and Unknown

Source: BPO

## Perpetrator and Demographics of Target Percentages by Perpetrator

**Table 5.21: Perpetrator and Demographics of Targeted for the period January 2018 to June 2020 (Where the demographics of the target was identified)**

Perpetrator	Man	Boy	Male	Woman	Girl	Female	Newborn/ Child	Youth	All
Public	394	103	497	361	629	990	68	121	1,676
Family Members	348	59	407	1,016	128	1,144	40	15	1,606
Goon/ Miscreant	363	46	409	192	205	397	36	229	1,071
Self	116	35	151	220	192	412	-	72	637
Criminal	154	98	252	59	107	166	39	44	501
Youth/Youth Group	49	7	56	41	72	113	15	40	224
Eve Teaser	12	-	15	20	104	124	-	6	145
Law Enfor	47	-	50	35	14	49	9	20	128
Occ/Org GP	24	-	26	33	51	84	13	-	128
Man	15	6	21	38	46	84	11	10	126
UFTS	9	19	28	-	68	72	12	-	116
Hijacker	70	-	75	12	-	13	-	20	108
IMBSF	40	-	40	-	-	-	-	17	57
Neighbour	18	7	25	6	10	16	7	-	53
Political Party	14	-	18	9	8	17	-	10	45
Local Gov	16	-	19	12	6	18	-	-	40
Other	88	16	104	71	31	102	13	32	251
Unknown	755	136	891	454	144	598	159	322	1,970
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,532</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>3,084</b>	<b>2,583</b>	<b>1,816</b>	<b>4,399</b>	<b>424</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>8,882</b>
% of Grand Total	28.5%	6.2%	34.7%	29.1%	20.4%	49.5%	4.8%	11.0%	
	<b>Percentage</b>								Total %
Public	15.6%	18.7%	16.1%	14.0%	34.6%	22.5%	16.0%	12.4%	18.9%
Family Members	13.7%	10.7%	13.2%	39.3%	7.0%	26.0%	9.4%	1.5%	18.1%
Goon/ Miscreant	14.3%	8.3%	13.3%	7.4%	11.3%	9.0%	8.5%	23.5%	12.1%
Self	4.6%	6.3%	4.9%	8.5%	10.6%	9.4%	-	7.4%	7.2%
Criminal	6.1%	17.8%	8.2%	2.3%	5.9%	3.8%	9.2%	4.5%	5.6%
Youth/YG	1.9%	1.3%	1.8%	1.6%	4.0%	2.6%	3.5%	4.1%	2.5%
Eve Teaser	0.5%	-	0.5%	0.8%	5.7%	2.8%	-	0.6%	1.6%
Law Enforc	1.9%	-	1.6%	1.4%	0.8%	1.1%	2.1%	2.1%	1.4%
Occ/Org GP	0.9%	-	0.8%	1.3%	2.8%	1.9%	3.1%	-	1.4%
Man	0.6%	1.1%	0.7%	1.5%	2.5%	1.9%	2.6%	1.0%	1.4%
UFTS	0.4%	3.4%	0.9%	-	3.7%	1.6%	2.8%	0.4%	1.3%
Hijacker	2.8%	-	2.4%	0.5%	-	-	-	2.1%	1.2%
IMBSF	1.6%	-	1.3%	-	-	-	-	1.7%	0.6%
Neighbour	0.7%	1.3%	0.8%	0.2%	0.6%	0.4%	1.7%	-	0.6%
Political Party	0.6%	-	0.6%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	-	1.0%	0.5%
Local Gov	0.6%	-	0.6%	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%	-	-	0.5%
Other	3.5%	2.9%	3.4%	2.7%	1.7%	2.3%	3.1%	3.3%	2.8%
Unknown	29.8%	24.6%	28.9%	17.6%	7.9%	13.6%	37.5%	33.0%	22.2%

IMBSF = Indian/Myanmar Border Security Force, Neighbour = Neighbour/Friend, Occ/Org GP = Occupational/Organisational Group, Eve Teaser = Eve Teaser/Stalker, Law Enfor = Law Enforcement

Source: BPO

“Man” was mostly targeted by “Criminal”, “Public”, “Goon/Miscreants” and “Family Members” (16.1%, 13.3% and 13.2% of cases respectively). Those in the category “Female” were most targeted by “Family Members” (26.0% of cases) and “Public” (22.5% of cases) and compared to men they were most at risk from “Eve teasers/stalkers”, “Youths”, “Occupational groups”, “Faculty/Teachers” and “Family members”. The most frequent perpetrator of attacks on new-born/child were the public which amounted to 16.0% of cases and “Youths” were most targeted by “Goon/Miscreants” at 23.5% of cases.

#### **e. Self-Violence**

Like most estimates of the numbers of those self-harming or attempted to deaths from suicide were not reported well. For all those, where the perpetrator was self or the target was self and for cases where death was the outcome, the data are presented in Table 5.22.

**Table 5.22: Trends in Self-Violence January 2016 to June 2020 (2017 excluded)**

Month	Numbers by Year									
	All Self-Violence					Self-Violence where Death results				
	2016	2018	2019	2020	Total	2016	2018	2019	2020	Total
Jan	27	-	53	104	186	27	-	53	98	180
Feb	23	37	55	98	213	22	36	54	96	208
Mar	31	41	96	89	257	29	41	94	88	252
Apr	59	33	70	94	256	58	33	67	92	250
May	25	42	91	81	239	25	42	87	81	235
Jun	28	55	87	105	275	28	55	85	104	272
Jul	33	48	69		150	32	48	64		144
Aug	50	63	116		229	47	61	113		221
Sep	59	67	156		282	58	65	145		268
Oct	69	72	103		244	66	72	102		240
Nov	60	67	128		255	60	66	125		251
Dec	78	37	93		208	75	37	89		201
<b>Total</b>	542	564	1,117	571	2,794	527	558	1,078	559	2,722
Month	Percentages within Years									
	2016	2018	2019	2020	Total	2016	2018	2019	2020	Total
Jan	5.0%	-	4.7%	9.1%	6.7%	5.1%	-	4.9%	8.8%	6.6%
Feb	4.2%	6.6%	4.9%	8.6%	7.6%	4.2%	6.5%	5.0%	8.6%	7.6%
Mar	5.7%	7.3%	8.6%	7.8%	9.2%	5.5%	7.3%	8.7%	7.9%	9.3%
Apr	10.9%	5.9%	6.3%	8.2%	9.2%	11.0%	5.9%	6.2%	8.2%	9.2%
May	4.6%	7.4%	8.1%	7.1%	8.6%	4.7%	7.5%	8.1%	7.2%	8.6%
Jun	5.2%	9.8%	7.8%	9.2%	9.8%	5.3%	9.9%	7.9%	9.3%	10.0%
Jul	6.1%	8.5%	6.2%		5.4%	6.1%	8.6%	5.9%		5.3%
Aug	9.2%	11.2%	10.4%		8.2%	8.9%	10.9%	10.5%		8.1%
Sep	10.9%	11.9%	14.0%		10.1%	11.0%	11.6%	13.5%		9.8%
Oct	12.7%	12.8%	9.2%		8.7%	12.5%	12.9%	9.5%		8.8%
Nov	11.1%	11.9%	11.5%		9.1%	11.4%	11.8%	11.6%		9.2%
Dec	14.4%	6.6%	8.3%		7.4%	14.2%	6.6%	8.3%		7.4%

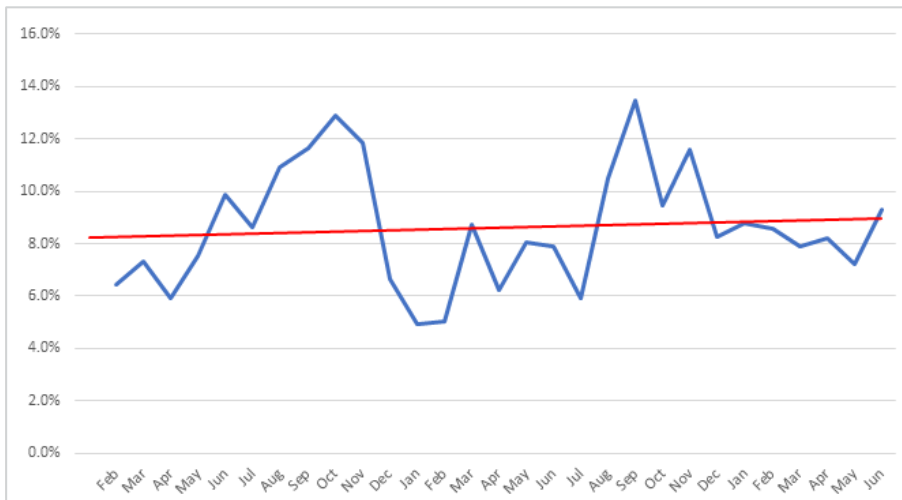
Source: BPO

It is notable that recorded incidents of self-violence doubled from 2018 to 2019 and the first six months of 2020 showed an even greater rise at 571, an increase of 26.3% on the first six months of 2019 when 452 incidents of self-violence were recorded. This suggests that the years prior to 2019,

self-violence was underreported and it is of concern that underreporting of self-violence is likely to still be prevalent. It is also noted that where the outcome was death, the figures were only slightly less than total self-violence. If the injuries resulted in death, it was harder to avoid recording these compared to self-injuries, again suggesting problems of identification and recording.

The trend (shown by the red line) in deaths from self-violence over months for the February 2018 to June 2020 is presented in Figure 5.12. (January 2018 was not included as the percentage level of 0.4% seems to be unduly low and could perhaps be a recording error).

**Figure 5.12: Monthly Distribution of Deaths from Self-Violence over the Period February 2018 to June 2020**



Source: BPO

It seems that deaths from self-violence dropped below trend from December to July and rose above trend during August to November. There was a slight upwards trend over the period as illustrated by the red line shown in Figure 5.12.

The distribution of self-violence across divisions over the period January 2018 to June 2020 is presented in Table 5.23.

From this table, it is evident that rates of self-violence were highest in Rajshahi and Barisal Divisions, and Mymensingh and Sylhet have the lowest rates of self-violence.

**Table 5.23: Distribution of Self-Violence by Division from January 2018 to June 2020.**

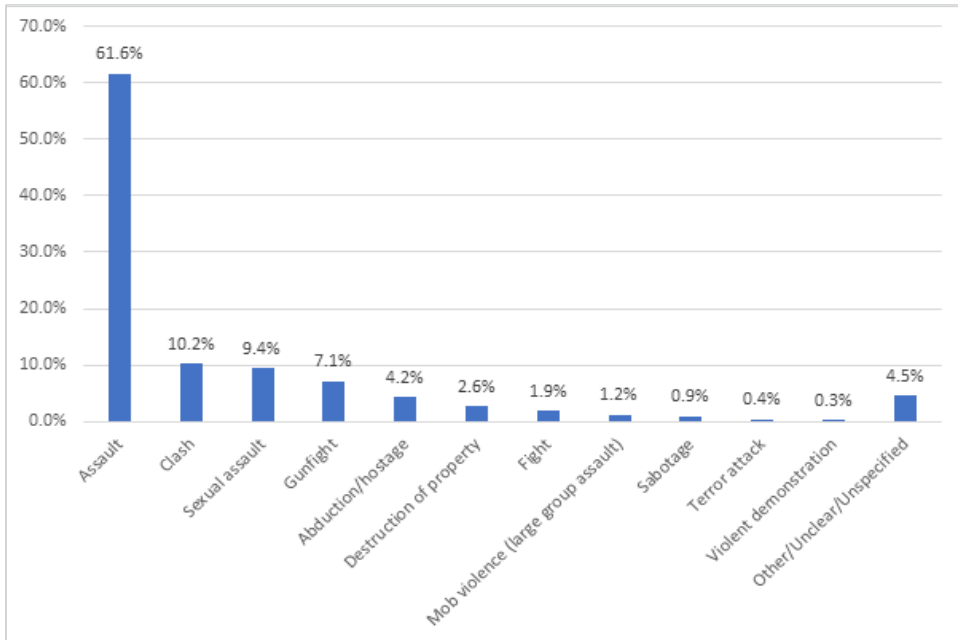
<b>Division</b>	<b>All Self-Violence</b>	<b>Self-Violence where Death Resulted</b>	<b>Rate Per 100,000</b>
<b>Barisal</b>	195	187	2.09
<b>Chittagong</b>	425	408	1.33
<b>Dhaka</b>	492	480	1.21
<b>Khulna</b>	236	230	1.34
<b>Mymensingh</b>	85	85	0.69
<b>Rajshahi</b>	478	473	2.31
<b>Rangpur</b>	256	252	1.45
<b>Sylhet</b>	85	80	0.77
<b>Total</b>	2252	2,195	1.40

Source: BPO

## **f. Types of Violence**

In the BPO dataset, 33,274 incidences of violence categorised by type were identified. The frequency of these violence types over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are presented in Figure 5.13. In forming this chart, the variables “viotypeone” and “viotypetwo” in the BPO data set are combined. This gave twelve groups of violence types.

**Figure 5.13: Violence by Type**



Source: BPO

“Assault” was by far the most common form of incident, “Clashes” and “Sexual assaults” were also frequent. “Assault”, “Clash” and “Sexual assault” accounted for 80.2% of all types of violence.

### **Violence Type by Year**

Trends in types of violence over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are illustrated in Table 5.24. There is no apparent evidence of a change in the distribution of violence over the period considered, other than cases in the “Other/Unknown and Unspecified” category decreased slightly, suggesting that identification of the violence type is improving

**Table 5.24: Type of Violence by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Violence Type	Number by Year						Percentages within Year					
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
<b>Assault</b>	4,707	1,745	4,294	5,985	2,932	19,663	63.2%	51.7%	55.5%	58.9%	64.2%	59.1%
<b>Clash</b>	953	383	716	773	433	3,258	12.8%	11.4%	9.3%	7.6%	9.5%	9.8%
<b>Sexual assault</b>	433	275	509	1,338	440	2,995	5.8%	8.2%	6.6%	13.2%	9.6%	9.0%
<b>Gunfight</b>	412	259	775	609	201	2,256	5.5%	7.7%	10.0%	6.0%	4.4%	6.8%
<b>Abduction/hostage</b>	309	171	329	395	145	1,349	4.1%	5.1%	4.3%	3.9%	3.2%	4.1%
<b>Destruction of property</b>	175	106	326	171	58	836	2.3%	3.1%	4.2%	1.7%	1.3%	2.5%
<b>Fight</b>	46	70	158	218	109	601	0.6%	2.1%	2.0%	2.1%	2.4%	1.8%
<b>Mob violence</b>	34	92	106	106	37	375	0.5%	2.7%	1.4%	1.0%	0.8%	1.1%
<b>Sabotage</b>	52	31	104	93	9	289	0.7%	0.9%	1.3%	0.9%	0.2%	0.9%
<b>Terror attack</b>	22	17	24	55	16	134	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%
<b>Violent demonstration</b>	7	22	26	20	11	86	0.1%	0.7%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%
<b>Violence against civilians</b>	-	9	8	8	-	34	-	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	-	0.1%
<b>Remote violence</b>	-	6	9	6	-	26	-	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	-	0.1%
<b>Other /Unclear/ Unspecified</b>	296	187	346	378	165	1371	4.0%	5.5%	4.5%	3.7%	3.6%	4.1%
<b>Total</b>	7,451	3,373	7,730	10,155	4,565	33,273						

Source: BPO

### Type of Violence by Division

Type of violence by division for the period January 2018 to June 2020 is the subject of Table 5.25.

**Table 5.25: Type of Violence by Division**

Division	Number of Violence Types by Division													Total		
	Abduction	Assault	Clash	Coup	Cross fire	Destruction of property	Fight	Gun-fight	Mob violence	Sabotage	Sexual assault	Terror attack	Violence against civilians		Violent demo.	Other/ Unclear/ Unspecified
Barisal	44	961	-	143	30	57	19	12	38	-	195	-	-	-	12	1,516
Chittagong	238	2,791	-	406	154	240	463	57	154	-	421	-	-	8	41	4,985
Dhaka	240	3,494	-	432	125	205	241	95	138	-	649	-	-	11	70	5,714
Khulna	86	1,445	-	199	51	84	195	22	62	-	243	-	-	-	20	2,410
Mymensingh	34	595	-	83	36	45	71	8	29	-	138	-	-	-	-	1,045
Rajshahi	120	2,171	-	275	105	121	115	26	139	-	370	-	-	-	22	3,473
Rangpur	64	1,085	-	125	53	51	77	13	78	-	228	-	-	-	25	1,809
Sylhet	43	669	-	248	23	48	22	10	40	-	126	-	-	-	9	1,241
Total	869	13,211	13	1,911	577	851	1,203	243	678	17	2,370	11	9	27	203	22,193
Percentage by Type	3.9%	59.5%	0.1%	8.6%	2.6%	3.8%	5.4%	1.1%	3.1%	0.1%	10.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.9%	
Rate of Violence Type per 100,000 by Division																
Barisal	0.48	10.51	-	1.56	0.33	0.62	0.21	0.13	0.42	-	2.13	-	-	-	0.13	16.58
Chittagong	0.74	8.73	-	1.27	0.48	0.75	1.45	0.18	0.48	-	1.32	-	-	0.03	0.13	15.59
Dhaka	0.60	8.70	-	1.08	0.31	0.51	0.60	0.24	0.34	-	1.62	-	-	0.03	0.17	14.22
Khulna	0.50	8.38	-	1.15	0.30	0.49	1.13	0.13	0.36	-	1.41	-	-	-	0.12	13.97
Mymensingh	0.27	4.81	-	0.67	0.29	0.36	0.57	0.06	0.23	-	1.12	-	-	-	-	8.45
Rajshahi	0.59	10.64	-	1.35	0.51	0.59	0.56	0.13	0.68	-	1.81	-	-	-	0.11	17.01
Rangpur	0.36	6.16	-	0.71	0.30	0.29	0.44	0.07	0.44	-	1.30	-	-	-	0.14	10.28
Sylhet	0.38	5.93	-	2.20	0.20	0.43	0.19	0.09	0.35	-	1.12	-	-	-	0.08	10.99

Source: BPO

**Table 5.26: Type of Violence by Perpetrator**

Preparator	Violence Type											Overall %			
	Assault	Sexual assault	Abduction/ hostage	Destruction of property	Mob violence (large group assault)	Fight	Violent demon	Gun-fight	Sabotage	Terror attack	Violence against civilians		Other	Unclear/ unspecified	Total
Armed Forces	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	0.2%
Awami League	1.4%	0.5%	-	8.0%	2.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.4%	-	428	2.0%
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	0.4%	-	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	128	0.6%
Bangladesh Police	1.2%	0.8%	1.2%	-	-	-	28.1%	57.9%	-	-	53.8%	3.8%	-	380	1.7%
Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) based groups	0.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	0.3%
Convicted criminals	0.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	0.2%
Criminal	3.0%	1.2%	62.5%	5.4%	4.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.0%	-	1,578	7.3%
Defendant	0.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	0.2%
Ethnic and religious Minority Groups	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	0.1%
Eve Teaser/ Stalker	0.6%	3.2%	2.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	252	1.2%
Faculty/ Teacher	0.6%	4.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	257	1.2%
Family Members	10.2%	4.6%	1.9%	1.2%	-	15.0%	-	-	-	-	-	2.1%	-	2476	11.4%
Foreigner	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	0.1%
Goon/ Miscreant	10.5%	7.5%	3.6%	40.3%	5.8%	12.5%	-	-	35.3%	23.1%	7.7%	5.2%	-	3,014	13.9%

Source: BPO

**Table 5.26: Type of violence by perpetrators continued.**

Preparator	Assault	Sexual assault	Abduction/ hostage	Destruction of property	Mob violence (large group assault)	Fight	Violent demo	Gun-fight	Sabotage	Terror attack	Violence against civilians	Other	Unclear/ unspecified	Total	Overall %
Hijacker	1.6%	-	1.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.4%	-	444	2.0%
Indian/ Myanmar Border Security Force	0.7%	-	1.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0%	-	177	0.8%
Islamic Group	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	0.1%
Local Government	0.7%	0.7%	-	2.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	206	0.9%
Militant Group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4%	-	18	0.1%
Occupational group/ organisation	0.5%	1.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2%	-	157	0.7%
Other	1.4%	0.4%	1.6%	4.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.2%	8.6%	417	1.9%
Political Party	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	0.1%
Public	11.6%	48.3%	4.9%	14.3%	76.6%	13.8%	-	-	-	-	-	10.6%	-	4,405	20.3%
Self	4.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.7%	-	1,109	5.1%
Student/ Group/ University	2.0%	0.8%	1.1%	3.4%	2.6%	-	18.8%	-	-	-	-	2.1%	-	554	2.5%
Terrorist	0.3%	-	-	0.1%	-	-	-	0.0%	0.0%	23.1%	-	1.1%	-	74	0.3%
Unknown	14.1%	1.8%	13.1%	9.7%	-	15.0%	-	5.3%	11.8%	0.0%	-	9.1%	82.8%	3,713	17.1%
Worker	0.5%	1.9%	-	1.8%	-	-	-	-	5.9%	0.0%	-	1.1%	-	203	0.9%
Youth/Child	3.4%	22.0%	1.8%	2.5%	2.2%	11.3%	-	-	11.8%	23.1%	-	8.8%	-	1,485	6.8%
Total	1,5865	2,626	934	764	312	80	32	19	17	13	13	822	233	21,730	

Source: BPO

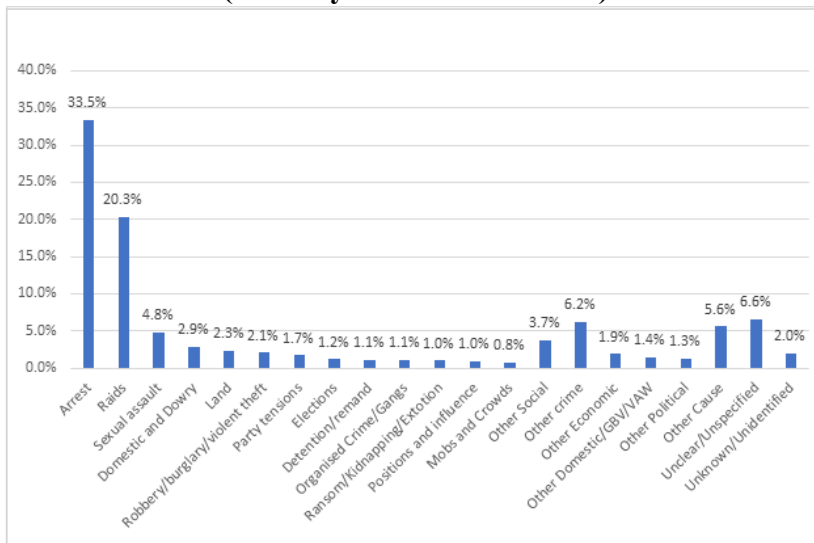
Note: The frequent violence type “Clash” is not associated with a particular perpetrator.

For all perpetrators, assault was the most frequently cited violence type. For the perpetrators “Eve Teaser/Stalker”, “Faculty/Teacher”, “Family Member”, “Public” and “Youth/Child”, “Sexual assaults” was the second most frequently cited violence type. For “Goon/miscreant”, “Sexual assault” was the third most frequent violent type. For “Criminal”, the second most cited violence type was “Abduction”, and for perpetrator “Goon/Miscreant”, the second most frequent violence type was “Destruction of property”. “Mob violence” was the third most cited violence type for the “Public” as perpetrator.

### g. Motivation of Incident

The motivating factor for the recorded incident is given in the variables “mtvincidentone” and “mtcincidenttwo” in the BPO data set. These two variables are combined to give twenty-one groups, which allowed the chart in Figure 5.14 to be generated for the period January 2018 to June 2020.

**Figure 5.14: Motivating Factor for the incident  
(January 2018 to June 2020)**



Source: BPO

Evidently “Arrests” and “Raids” were the main factors leading to incidents, however, sexual assault, domestic violence, issues related to dowry arrangements and other domestic, gender-based violence and violence against women were the next most frequent motivator for an incident at 9.1% of all incidents. Combining election, party tensions and other political motivators were associated with 4.2% of incidents. There were 855 cases of party tensions; 56% of these were intraparty tensions and the rest were interparty tensions.

### **Motivation by Year**

Changes in recorded motivations over the period January 2016 to June 2020 are presented in Tables 5.27a and 5.27b.

From Table 5.27a, excluding 2017, there was an increase in the number of motivations recorded in 2019. Taking a whole year, the estimate for 2020 is 20,640 motivations. This increase is especially prominent for sexual assault as a motivation in 2019, which is confirmed in Table 5.27b. This might be attributed to improved reporting and recording.

**Table 5.27a: Numbers of Motivations for Incident by Year  
(January 2016 to June 2020)**

Motivation	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Arrest	4,092	2,147	5,842	7,410	3,592	23,083
Raids	2,286	613	3,131	4,894	2,202	13,126
Sexual assault	422	279	550	1,384	476	3,111
Domestic & Dowry	523	230	540	678	249	2,220
Land	378	181	344	498	325	1,726
Rob, burglary & violent theft	478	242	404	456	199	1,779
Elections	535	25	460	111	38	1,169
Other Domes, GBV & VAW	290	114	214	351	154	1,123
Detention/remand	67	102	108	272	196	745
Organised Crime/Gangs	100	73	179	326	55	733
Ransom, Kidnap & Extortion	187	101	187	226	105	806
Positions and influence	154	121	191	187	107	760
Intra-party tensions	135	155	210	185	82	767
Inter-party tensions	93	35	288	65	25	506
Mobs and Crowds	93	77	160	159	78	567
Governance & Corruption	63	57	55	70	52	297
Natural Resources & Environment	20	27	43	62	33	185
Other Social	796	320	872	780	227	2,995
Other crime	290	172	542	545	381	1,930
Other Economic	116	75	116	111	75	493
Other Political	244	105	390	225	49	1,013
Other Cause	697	296	702	1,315	777	3,787
Unspecified	1,400	425	1,293	1,585	459	5,162
Unidentified	214	81	139	548	333	1,315
Total	13,673	6,053	16,960	22,443	10,269	69,398
% by Year	19.7%	8.7%	24.4%	32.3%	14.8%	

Percentages of recorded motivations by year are presented in Table 5.27b.

Source: BPO

**Table 5.27b: Percentage of Motivations by Year  
(January 2016 to June 2020)**

<b>Motivation</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>2019</b>	<b>2020</b>
Arrest	29.9%	35.5%	34.4%	33.0%	35.0%
Raids	16.7%	10.1%	18.5%	21.8%	21.4%
Sexual assault	3.1%	4.6%	3.2%	6.2%	4.6%
Domestic & Dowry	3.8%	3.8%	3.2%	3.0%	2.4%
Land	2.8%	3.0%	2.0%	2.2%	3.2%
Rob, burglary & violent theft	3.5%	4.0%	2.4%	2.0%	1.9%
Elections	3.9%	0.4%	2.7%	0.5%	0.4%
Other Domes, GBV & VAW	2.1%	1.9%	1.3%	1.6%	1.5%
Detention/remand	0.5%	1.7%	0.6%	1.2%	1.9%
Organised Crime/Gangs	0.7%	1.2%	1.1%	1.5%	0.5%
Ransom, Kidnap & Extortion	1.4%	1.7%	1.1%	1.0%	1.0%
Positions and influence	1.1%	2.0%	1.1%	0.8%	1.0%
Intra-party tensions	1.0%	2.6%	1.2%	0.8%	0.8%
Inter-party tensions	0.7%	0.6%	1.7%	0.3%	0.2%
Mobs and Crowds	0.7%	1.3%	0.9%	0.7%	0.8%
Governance & Corruption	0.5%	0.9%	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%
Natural Resources & Environment	0.1%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Other Social	5.8%	5.3%	5.1%	3.5%	2.2%
Other crime	2.1%	2.8%	3.2%	2.4%	3.7%
Other Economic	0.8%	1.2%	0.7%	0.5%	0.7%
Other Political	1.8%	1.7%	2.3%	1.0%	0.5%
Other Cause	5.1%	4.9%	4.1%	5.9%	7.6%
Unspecified	10.2%	7.0%	7.6%	7.1%	4.5%
Unidentified	1.6%	1.3%	0.8%	2.4%	3.2%

Source: BPO

### **Motivation by Division**

The motivating factor connected with the incident is shown in Tables 5.28a and b. “Arrests” and “Raids” accounted for most incidents (almost 54% of all recorded incidents and nearly 9% of identified incidents) across all divisions.

**Table 5.28a: Motivation by Division Numbers  
(Data from January 2018 to June 2020)**

Motivation	Barisal	Chittag	Dhaka	Khulna	Myme	Rajshahi	Rangp	Sylhet	Total	%
Arrest	820	3,893	3,576	2,232	450	3,353	1,777	743	16,844	33.5%
Raids	485	2,118	2,350	1,662	284	1,877	1,015	436	10,227	20.3%
Sexual assault	200	434	667	243	142	367	229	128	2,410	4.8%
Domestic & Dowry	113	287	381	137	86	245	161	57	1,467	2.9%
Land	118	251	222	129	68	179	116	84	1,167	2.3%
Rob, burglar & violent theft	51	239	311	108	36	178	74	62	1,059	2.1%
Elections	51	172	151	59	29	92	24	31	609	1.2%
Other Domes., GBV & VAW	60	124	147	66	26	176	88	32	719	1.4%
Detention and Remand	35	151	171	66	16	71	42	24	576	1.1%
Organised Crime & Gangs	19	153	134	115	26	71	24	18	560	1.1%
Ransom, Kidnap and Extortion	31	156	142	55	14	69	29	22	518	1.0%
Positions and influence	22	123	142	85	10	61	8	34	485	1.0%
Intra-party tensions	46	134	107	57	14	58	20	41	477	0.9%
Inter-party tensions	30	113	74	32	25	75	15	14	378	0.8%
Mobs and Crowds	14	81	141	32	14	53	47	15	397	0.8%
Governance & Corruption	23	44	48	10	8	27	11	6	177	0.4%
Natural Resource & Environment	12	26	21	14	-	33	10	19	138	0.3%
Other Social	125	397	474	157	84	332	172	138	1,879	3.7%
Other crime	70	341	369	184	62	233	149	60	1,468	2.9%
Other Economic	55	176	287	92	41	162	80	53	946	1.9%
Other Political	50	186	157	71	27	106	33	34	664	1.3%
Other Cause	236	584	689	381	129	417	206	188	2,830	5.6%
Unspecified	185	711	873	353	164	581	330	140	3,337	6.6%
Unidentified	92	179	318	101	50	130	61	89	1,020	2.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,943</b>	<b>11,073</b>	<b>11,952</b>	<b>6,441</b>	<b>1,808</b>	<b>8,946</b>	<b>4,721</b>	<b>2,468</b>	<b>50,352</b>	

Source: BPO

**Table 5.28b: Motivation by Division Percentages  
(Data from January 2018 to June 2020)**

Motivation	Barisal	Chittagong	Dhaka	Khulna	Mymensingh	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Sylhet
Arrest	27.9%	35.2%	29.9%	34.7%	24.9%	37.5%	37.6%	30.1%
Raids	16.5%	19.1%	19.7%	25.8%	15.7%	21.0%	21.5%	17.7%
Sexual assault	6.8%	3.9%	5.6%	3.8%	7.9%	4.1%	4.9%	5.2%
Domestic & Dowry	3.8%	2.6%	3.2%	2.1%	4.8%	2.7%	3.4%	2.3%
Land	4.0%	2.3%	1.9%	2.0%	3.8%	2.0%	2.5%	3.4%
Rob, burglary & violent theft	1.7%	2.2%	2.6%	1.7%	2.0%	2.0%	1.6%	2.5%
Elections	1.7%	1.6%	1.3%	0.9%	1.6%	1.0%	0.5%	1.3%
Other Domestic, GBV & VAW	2.0%	1.1%	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%	2.0%	1.9%	1.3%
Detention and Remand	1.2%	1.4%	1.4%	1.0%	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%	1.0%
Organised Crime/ Gangs	0.6%	1.4%	1.1%	1.8%	1.4%	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%
Ransom, Kidnap & Extortion	1.1%	1.4%	1.2%	0.9%	0.8%	0.8%	0.6%	0.9%
Positions and influence	0.7%	1.1%	1.2%	1.3%	0.6%	0.7%	0.2%	1.4%
Intra-party tensions	1.6%	1.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.8%	0.6%	0.4%	1.7%
Inter-party tensions	1.0%	1.0%	0.6%	0.5%	1.4%	0.8%	0.3%	0.6%
Mobs and Crowds	0.5%	0.7%	1.2%	0.5%	0.8%	0.6%	1.0%	0.6%
Governance & Corruption	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
Natural Resources & Environment	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	-	0.4%	0.2%	0.8%
Other Social	4.2%	3.6%	4.0%	2.4%	4.6%	3.7%	3.6%	5.6%
Other crime	2.4%	3.1%	3.1%	2.9%	3.4%	2.6%	3.2%	2.4%
Other Economic	1.9%	1.6%	2.4%	1.4%	2.3%	1.8%	1.7%	2.1%
Other Political	1.7%	1.7%	1.3%	1.1%	1.5%	1.2%	0.7%	1.4%
Other Cause	8.0%	5.3%	5.8%	5.9%	7.1%	4.7%	4.4%	7.6%
Unspecified	6.3%	6.4%	7.3%	5.5%	9.1%	6.5%	7.0%	5.7%
Unidentified	3.1%	1.6%	2.7%	1.6%	2.8%	1.5%	1.3%	3.6%

Source: BPO

“Arrests” percentage wise for Rangpur, Rajshahi, Chittagong and Khulna were higher than in other divisions. “Raids” are highest for Khulna and Rangpur, otherwise the motivation for incidents is fairly constant across divisions.

### **h. Cross-cutting Issues**

Cross-cutting issue are the intersection of different measures of variables associated with issues which have a combined interplay or “cut across” to form a thematic concept. In the BPO data set, eight cross-cutting issues are identified which are listed in Table 5.29. In this table, the variation of cross-cutting issues over the period 2016 to June 2020 is identified.

In Table 5.29, the year 2017 is not shown as the numbers were not considered to be reliable and the percentage in the 2020 column is based on a total January estimate for 2020 of 4,466, (i.e. twice the 2020 half year recording of 2,233). “Sexual and gender-based violence” was the most frequent cross-cutting issue. Over time the total of cross-cutting issues showed a tendency to increase. Unsurprisingly in 2020, COVID-19 appears as a major issue, this will no doubt register at high levels for at least 2021.

**Table 5.29: Cross-cutting Issues by Year (January 2016 to June 2020)**

Issue	Number of Violent Incidents					Percentage within Year				
	2016	2018	2019	2020	Total	2016	2018	2019	2020	Total
Sexual & GBV <sup>1</sup>	1,585	1,633	3,149	1,370	7,737	56.4%	55.3%	79.3%	61.4%	64.7%
Election	631	790	193	64	1,678	22.5%	26.8%	4.9%	2.9%	14.0%
Violent extremism	295	131	124	54	604	10.5%	4.4%	3.1%	2.4%	5.0%
COVID-19	-	-	-	486	486	-	-	-	21.8%	4.1%
Rohingya Issue	11	109	224	133	477	0.4%	3.7%	5.6%	6.0%	4.0%
Cross-border	108	90	138	63	399	3.8%	3.0%	3.5%	2.8%	3.3%
Violence against minorities	148	82	47	22	299	5.3%	2.8%	1.2%	1.0%	2.5%
CHT <sup>2</sup>	31	117	96	41	285	1.1%	4.0%	2.4%	1.8%	2.4%
Total Identified	2,809	2,952	3,971	2,233	11,965					
Percentage by Year	23.5%	24.7%	33.2%	37.3%						

<sup>1</sup>GBV = Gender Based Violence

<sup>2</sup>CHT = Chittagong Hill Tracts

Source: BPO

The variation in cross-cutting incidents by division over the period January 2018 to June 2020 is exhibited in Table 5.30.

Overall cross-cutting issues were most frequent in the more populated divisions, except of course Chittagong Hill Tracts and Rohingya issues, which naturally occur most in Chittagong. “Sexual and gender-based violence” was high across all divisions. However, in Chittagong the percentage of “Sexual and gender-based violence” appeared considerably lower than other divisions. However, if issues relating to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Rohingya issues are removed, the percentage of cross-cutting issues attributable to “Sexual and gender-based violence” in Chittagong rose from nearly 51% to 73%.

**Table 5.30: Cross-Cutting Incidents by Division**

Cross-Cutting	Numbers by Division								Total
	Barisal	Chittag	Dhaka	Khulna	Mymen	Rajshahi	Rangp	Sylhet	
Sexual & GBV <sup>1</sup>	508	1,099	1,585	621	354	1,026	641	318	6,152
Election	85	266	243	112	55	184	53	49	1,047
COVID-19	35	74	162	46	17	84	45	23	486
Rohingya Issue	-	407	23	18	-	6	-	-	466
Violent extremes	16	19	134	23	-	53	52	8	309
Cross-border	-	27	-	94	7	57	79	22	291
CHT <sup>2</sup>	-	252	-	-	-	-	-	-	254
Violence against minorities	20	21	24	13	-	30	34	-	151
Total	669	2,165	2,177	927	442	1,440	907	429	9,156
% by Division	7.3%	23.6%	23.8%	10.1%	4.8%	15.7%	9.9%	4.7%	
Percentage within Division									
Sexual & GBV <sup>1</sup>	75.0%	50.8%	72.8%	67.0%	80.1%	71.3%	70.7%	74.1%	67.2%
Election	12.7%	12.3%	11.2%	12.1%	12.4%	12.8%	5.8%	11.4%	11.4%
COVID-19	5.2%	3.0%	7.4%	5.0%	3.8%	5.8%	5.0%	5.4%	5.3%
Rohingya Issue	-	18.8%	1.1%	1.9%	-	0.4%	-	-	5.1%
Violent extremes	2.4%	0.9%	6.2%	2.5%	-	3.7%	5.7%	1.0%	3.4%
Cross-border	-	1.2%	0.2%	10.1%	1.6%	4.0%	8.7%	5.1%	3.2%
CHT <sup>2</sup>	-	11.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.8%
Violence against minorities	3.0%	1.0%	1.1%	1.4%	-	2.1%	3.7%	-	1.6%

<sup>1</sup>GBV = Gender Based Violence

<sup>2</sup>CHT = Chittagong Hill Tracts

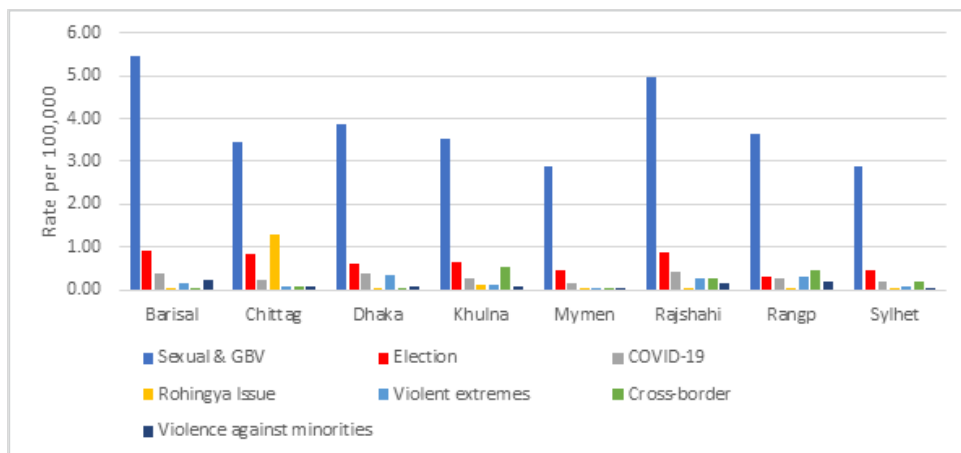
Source: BPO

In Figure 5.15, chart of the rates per 100,000 of the cross-cutting issues in each division is presented.

### Cross-Cutting Issues and Outcomes

Cross-cutting issues and outcomes over the period January 2018 to June 2020 are presented in Table 5.31. From this table, it is evident that across all outcomes except injuries that the cross-cutting issue “Sexual and gender-based violence” is the most frequent. For the cross-cutting issues “Election” which is the most frequent cross-cutting issue associated with the outcome “Injured”.

**Figure 5.15: Rate per 100,000 cross cutting issues by division**



Source: BPO

**Table 5.31: Cross-Cutting Incidents and Outcomes**

Crosscutting	Numbers								Total
	Killed	Killed Female	Injured	Injured Female	Sex Assault	Sex Assault Female	Abducted	Arrest	
Sexual & GBV <sup>1</sup>	2,101	1,858	2,596	1,980	2,418	2,352	197	4,915	18417
Election	85	-	5,739	41	-	-	-	1,834	7703
Rohingya Issue	162	15	225	15	9	9	23	1,971	2429
COVID-19	23	-	554	39	-	-	-	1,015	1634
Cross-border	95	-	110	-	-	-	25	1,014	1247
Violent extremism	20	-	12	-	-	-	-	762	796
CHT <sup>2</sup>	142	6	111	-	6	-	86	155	516
Violence against minorities	26	14	201	25	8	8	-	98	383
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,654</b>	<b>1,896</b>	<b>95,48</b>	<b>2,108</b>	<b>2,443</b>	<b>2,376</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>11,764</b>	<b>33,125</b>
Percentages									
Sexual & GBV <sup>1</sup>	79.2%	98.0%	27.2%	93.9%	99.0%	99.0%	58.6%	41.8%	55.6%
Election	3.2%	-	60.1%	1.9%	-	-	-	15.6%	23.3%
Rohingya Issue	6.1%	0.8%	2.4%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	6.8%	16.8%	7.3%
COVID-19	0.9%	-	5.8%	1.9%	-	-	-	8.6%	4.9%
Cross-border	3.6%	-	1.2%	-	-	-	7.4%	8.6%	3.8%
Violent extremism	0.8%	-	0.1%	-	-	-	-	6.5%	2.4%
CHT <sup>2</sup>	5.4%	0.3%	1.2%	-	0.2%	-	25.6%	1.3%	1.6%
Violence against minorities	1.0%	0.7%	2.1%	1.2%	0.3%	0.3%	-	0.8%	1.2%

<sup>1</sup>GBV = Gender Based Violence

<sup>2</sup>CHT = Chittagong Hill Tracts

Source: BPO

## **i. Intervention**

For the years 2016, 2017 and 2020 (January to June) there were 184, 121 and 101 cases respectively which interventions were recorded compared to 737 and 626 cases in 2018 and 2019, respectively. This suggests uncertainty about who intervened in 2016, 2017 and 2020, accordingly only the years 2018 and 2019 will be used in the analysis, these cases are tabulated in Table 5.32.

**Table 5.32: Interventions in 2018 and 2019**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>2019</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Locals and General Public	310	280	763	43.1%
Police	300	243	718	40.6%
Family Members	72	54	139	7.9%
Rapid Action Battalion	9	16	41	2.3%
Justice Institutions	14	16	38	2.1%
Law Enforcement Agencies (incl. Army and Border Guard)	10	7	23	1.3%
Other Institutions	22	10	47	2.7%
Total	737	626	1769	

Source: BPO

“Locals and General Public” were the most frequent entity involved in the interventions followed by the “Police”; “Family Members” are also significantly involved, but at much lower frequency than the previously mentioned two intervention groups. However, to be noted that in many interventions it is not one entity that intervened and for “Locals and General Public”, “Family Members” and the “Police” were commonly jointly involved in the intervention.

#### **j. Summary from the BPO Data**

- i. Of all serious crimes, on average, violent crime makes up 54% and nonviolent crime accounts for 46%. In 2019, 9,372 violent, 8,492 nonviolent crimes and 5,213 homicides were reported. These rates per 100,000 at 5.75, 5.21 and 3.20 seem low and suggests underreporting, especially of nonviolent crime.
- ii. Most serious crime occurred in Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna divisions accounting for 24.2%, 22.6%, 17.2% and 12% respectively.
- iii. Since 2016, violent crime has trended down, decreasing by six percentage points in 2019 while nonviolent crime has trended up, increasing by six percentage points in 2019. However, the first half of 2020 points to an increase of violent crime.

- iv. In 2019, 5,213 people were killed by acts of violence of which 1,611 were female, a rise of 25% and 45% since 2016.
- v. In 2019, 16,703 were injured - a fall of nearly 20% since 2016 when 20,862 people were injured of whose 1,730 were female in 2019 and increase of 67% since 2016.
- vi. On average, the proportion of females killed to total cases was 0.28 compared to only 0.07 injured of all injured cases, suggesting underreporting of assaults on women.
- vii. There were 1,454 sexual assaults (mainly on females) in 2019, a rise of 241% of those recorded in 2016 (432 cases).
- viii. Arrests increased by 49% from 26,350 in 2016 to 39,256 in 2019.
- ix. Abductions in 2019 were 472, a decrease of 23.7% since 2016 when the number of recorded abductions were 619.
- x. Weapons used were mainly blunt weapons accounting for 31.4% of all incidents, followed by small arms at 19.2% and sharp weapons at 9.1% of all incidents where use of a weapon was recorded. No weapon was used in 9.1% of incidents.
- xi. Of known perpetrators, criminals at 25.7% of cases were the main perpetrator followed by family members at 10.6%, public at 9.3% and men at 9.1% of cases. Law enforcement agencies were recorded as perpetrators of crime in 1.8% of cases over the period January 2018 to June 2020 (302 cases). The trends from 2016 show little evidence of a consistent trend, but the estimated number for the year 2020 is around 7,000 which is an increase of more than 25% from 2016. Most perpetrators are recorded in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshai divisions.
- xii. Of the targets recorded from January 2018 to June 2020 men, girls and women, family members and self are the most frequent targets at 13.7%, 12.6%, 10.9%, 9.3% and 9.1% respectively. It seems that people are the most frequent targets of crime rather than political parties, institutions, or property.

- xiii. Over the period 2016 to 2019 of the 3,534 males identified as targets, most were targeted by unknown perpetrators, the public, goons and miscreants and family members at 28.8%, 17.5%, 14.0% and 13.3% respectively. Of the 5,008 females identified were targeted by family members, the public, unknown perpetrators, and youth or children at 27.5%, 24.7%, 14.8% and 11.1% respectively. Again, the repression of women and girls is revealed with females been more vulnerable to attack by family members. There is little evidence of trends in targets over the years, except for the category “self” does seem to be trending upwards and the first half of 2020 suggest that there is an annual increase of six percentage points since 2019. Dhaka and Chittagong divisions contain by far the highest number of targets. Females are mostly targeted by youths and the public. Compared to men, females are most at risk from eve teasers/stalkers, youths, occupational groups, faculty/teachers, and family members. Males are more at risk from extremist groups of Chittagong Hill Tracts, political parties (Awami League or BNP), criminal, unknown, goons/miscreants, law enforcement agencies and local government with relative risks of males to females of 5.0, 3.45, 2.17, 2.08, 1.96, 1.67 and 1.49, respectively. Males are far more likely to be victims of hijackers, border security forces and terrorists but the numbers are very low which inhibits the computation of risk with acceptable reliability.
- xiv. Recorded incidents of self-violence have more than doubled from 542 cases in 2016 to an estimated 1,142 cases in 2020 and where death resulted in a more than double increase (112.1%) from 527 cases in 2016 to an estimated 1,118 cases in 2020.
- xv. Over the period January 2016 to June 2020 the main type of violence was assault recorded at 61.6% of cases, followed by clash (10.2% of cases and by sexual assault at 9.4%). It is likely that the assault group also includes sexual assault cases categorised as assault. Since 2016, sexual assaults has increased to 9.6% of cases from 5.8% of cases, while assault has remained fairly constant and clash has decreased from 12.8% in 2016 to 9.5% in 2020. Type of violence did not

significantly vary by division. Assaults and Fights were most likely committed by the public, goons/miscreants and family members. Sexual assault was most likely perpetrated by the public and youths. Mob violence was most likely used by the general public and violent demonstrations were most likely associated with law enforcement agencies, student groups, the public and workers.

- xvi. Motivation for the incident was mainly associated with arrests and raids (accounting for 53.8% of cases). Crimes against women as a motivator i.e. sexual assault, domestic violence, issues related to dowry arrangements and other domestic, gender-based violence and violence against women were the next most frequent motivator for an incident at 9.1% of cases. Election, party tensions and other political motivators combined were associated with 4.2% of incidents.
- xvii. Sexual and gender-based violence was the most frequent cross-cutting issue. Over time the total of cross-cutting issues has shown a tendency to increase. However, the upward trend estimated for 2020 is a consequence of the emergence of COVID-19 as a cross-cutting issue. Overall cross cutting issues were most frequent in the more populated divisions, except of course Chittagong Hill Tracts and Rohingya issues, which naturally occur most in Chittagong. Sexual and gender-based violence was high across all divisions. However, in Chittagong the percentage of sexual and gender-based violence appears considerably lower than other divisions and if issues relating to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Rohingya issues are removed the percentage of cross-cutting issues attributable to sexual and gender-based violence in Chittagong rose from nearly 51% to 73%.
- xviii. Locals and general public were the most frequent entity involved in the interventions followed by the police; family members were also significantly involved. Many interventions, it is not one entity and for locals and general public, family members and the police are commonly jointly involved in the intervention.

# 6

## Assessment of Reliability of the BPO Data

If more detailed official records of crime were available, assessing the reliability of the BPO data would be easy. But, sufficiently atomised data is not available in official records. It is noted that there are differences in definitions used in recording categories between the official data, such as police record, and the BPO data. This is most apparent in the categories used to define a crime. There are also differences in timings of the incidents. There is a need for the utmost caution when inferring trends or patterns from the BPO data, especially as the source of the data is the press which tends to focus reports more on crimes that are sensational in nature. The incidences of “other, unclear, unknown and unspecified” categories contain high percentages of the total cases. However, this is also the case of released Bangladesh Police data in which 70.0% of a total of 99,622 cases are listed as “other crimes”.

Only two categories of crime recorded in BPO can be reasonably matched with Bangladesh Police data: homicide and kidnapping. This is mainly because the BPO focuses on violent crime whereas the published police records record on all notified crimes no matter how trivial. Many of these are absent from the BPO record.

In 2018, police records report 3,830 homicides and 444 kidnappings while in the BPO data 3,903 killings and 412 abductions are reported. These are differences of only 1.9% and 7.2% respectively. So, the data of the BPO maybe reasonable to show patterns of crime in Bangladesh. However, one area stands out as problematic. Bangladesh Police data for 2018 report 16,253 cases of “Woman and Child Repression” which is 16.2% of all crimes. In the BPO data females injured and sexual assaults amount to only 1,562 cases of female injuries and sexual assaults are recorded, which is only 8.5% of all female cases of injury and sexual assault (this rises to 2,584 if females killed are included, 11.7% of all killed and sexually assaulted).

Again, this might be a consequence of not including more minor crimes in the BPO data and in support of the BPO of targets identified 19.9% were female in 2018.

The classification category “unclear” has reduced over time indicating improvements in recording. The categorisation of actors, perpetrators and targets are rather broad, and work is needed to better identify the type of perpetrator and target. Groups classed as “Public”, “Criminal”, “Self”, “Man”, “Worker” and “Youth” are too general and will contain members which should be attributed to other categories. These broad generalisations of category membership greatly inhibit nuanced analysis and reduces the value of the work of the BPO. Better and finer categorisation of actors, perpetrators and targets is needed.

In the BPO data set, there is lack of clarity between sex (male/female) and gender. Although the gender someone assigns to their self is needed in the analysis of crime data. This is to a large extent impossible in the BPO data due to the nature of reporting in newspapers, from which the BPO data is derived. At best only sex of an individual can be identified in a news report unless gender is specifically referred to due to gender being an aggravating for a perpetrator or a group who suffers from a particular form of victimisation. (Where categories are combined such as “Sexual and Gender Based Violence” confusion can result especially when interpreting the meaning and consequences of the data). This will also apply to crimes associated with the racial identity of the assailant or victim. It is noted that racial crime has little presence in the BPO data set.

# 7

## **Communication Strategy to Combat Violence against Sexual and Gender Based Violence**

A targeted communication strategy would be useful to facilitate change in the beliefs, thoughts, and views, i.e. the ideation regarding crime and violence among people, law enforcement agencies, politicians, policy makers, and most importantly in the society. However, as sexual and gender-based violence was found as the topmost cross-cutting issue among crime and violence, a schema of a communication strategy is forwarded to address this issue. There will be scope for rework to further develop the strategy for specific situations.

### **a. Achieving Ideation Change**

Social learning and social influence are two important aspects of ideation change through communication. Mass communication spread the awareness about any new idea, and interpersonal communication help the activation of that idea or thought in daily practice.

The importance of interpersonal communication and influence is stressed by Diulio (1996) and Martinez *et al.* (2019) who show the importance of social capital in reducing crime, while Case and Katz (1991) demonstrate that crime rises if an individual has peers who engage in criminal activities; a communication strategy can mitigate these. VanderEnde *et al.* (2015) used evidence to argue that the causes of intimate partner violence (IPV) against women is a household effect rather than a community level or income cause, and so attitude change at the household level needed. Similarly, Clark *et al.* (2018) also found that ideation change has potential in Nepal regarding attitudes to IPV. Murshid and Murshid (2019) advocated for attitude change to reduce youth violence in Bangladesh. Jewkes, Flood and Lang (2015) and Lockett and Bishop (2012) show that on changing social norms both sexes must be engaged, and communication campaign can be effective in facilitating this engagement. Flood (2011) emphasised that men must be

included, criticising the tendency only to direct programmes towards women. However, Haylock *et al.* (2016) and Marcus and Harper (2015) point out that provision of new knowledge and attitudes on their own is insufficient to secure sustainable change, sufficient people need to adopt the new norm to achieve a tipping point to the acceptability of a better ideology and to help those who do not choose to adjust their behaviour to overcome the fear of disapproval from others. To achieve this, a mass campaign is required with a communication programme and activists to direct and energise the social movement to reframe norms into those desired.

The ideation against change is strong in Bangladesh making it difficult to displace the ideology of men have the right to assert power over women and to physically discipline them for “incorrect” behaviour, having a right to sexual intercourse within marriage, a women’s role is to keep the family together, even if this means violence is to be tolerated, and sexual activity is a sign of masculinity, even if it means rape, and it is a responsibility of females to control female urges (WHO/LSHTM 2010). To achieve ideation change is not a quick process, it requires resources and an enduring consensus.

In summary, there is a need to enlighten and reform civil and legal institutions, build an evidence base, raise awareness by organising media and advocacy campaigns, construct coalitions between government, civil institutions and activists and use behavioural change communication to facilitate social change and give social and economic empowerment of women and girls. This campaign should also engage men and boys to promote nonviolence and respect for gender equality.

### **b. A Communication Strategy to Change Ideation to Combat Crimes against Women and Gender based Violence.**

An effective intermediate intervention is to develop and apply a communication strategy to achieve ideational change in peoples’ mind-set towards the vulnerable, particularly, females. It has been demonstrated that both mass media and interpersonal communication combined with access to social capital is effective in facilitating and achieving ideation change in Bangladesh (Gayen 2004; Gayen and Raeside 2007, 2010). Babalola *et al.* (2006) demonstrated the effectiveness of communication programme aimed

at community mobilisation in Eastern Nigeria to change attitudes which endorsed female genital mutilation.

Other interventions to reduce intimate partner violence, such as stiffer penalties for the abuser or screening, often at health centres to identify abused women or refuges or counselling services for the abused, or social worker home visits evidence of effectiveness is slight. Although there have been some reports of decreased re-abuse and improvements in individual's quality of life, there has been little enduring impact across society (McFarlane, Soeken and Wirst 2000; Wathen and MacMillan 2003; Fanslow, Norton and Robinson 1999). Some of the interventions might even put women at more risk such as shelters for the abused which might lead to social stigmatisation of the women (Berk *et al.* 1986). Compared to these a strategy of ideation change is likely to have more enduring success.

An approach to mobilise the media to educate and build desirable attitudes, shift social norms, and enable behavioural change is termed Education Entertainment and is advocated by Singhal and Rogers (1999, 2002). This is often designed with two purposes, one to empower women and to challenge norms of masculinity which are detrimental to women and girls. Typically, entertainment education has been implemented through documentaries, films, and television soap operas as a vehicle for spreading the new ideas and norms. Examples of successful programmes are the soap opera Hum Log and the radio programme in India (Singhal and Rogers 1999; Lapsanky and Chatterjee 2011, 2013). Cheston 2004, Singhal *et al.* 2000, Singhal *et al.* 2007 show that such interventions have been successful in advancing women's status in society. However, others, such as Singhal and Rogers 1999 and Dutta and Basnyart 2008 have found that in some cases the masculine norms, which contribute to the subordination of females, can be reinforced, or even strengthened.

Hence, a media campaign using education entertainment should not focus only on women, and social constructionist theory argues that the hegemonic masculinity should be challenged as researchers show promoting male virility, dominance, honour, and toughness are often associated with norms which encourage violence in intimate relations (Barker, Ricardo and

Nascimento 2007; Barker 2000; and Kimmel 2000). Sengupta, Harter and Singhal (2008) illustrated the success of education entertainment caused reflection on gender identities when analysing the impact of the Indian radio drama *Taru*. Frank *et al.* (2012), Papa and Singhal (2010). Singhal and Rogers (2002) and Valente *et al.* (1994) also found evidence of the positive impact of education entertainment on raising dialogue over wider gender issues.

However, a media-based communication programme to change ideation needs to be cautious so as not to inadvertently confuse the message, or, worse, support historical and to an extent current media portrayal of women and girls. Clearly images of abuse should be condoned, especially pornography which Lim, Carrote and Hellard (2016) and Hald, Malamuth and Yuen (2009) show that if men are exposed to pornography there is an association with increased aggression towards women. In a more subtle way the current mass media, especially television, is suggested, may simplify and “dumb-down” society and cause apathy to violence. Scheuer (2001:8) commented that television has caused society to be “anaesthetized to violence” and uninterested in “the more complex human tasks of cooperation, conceptualization and serious discourse”. This can reduce the effectiveness of social movements especially when nuance is removed, such as by only reporting what is newsworthy which are often extreme events and individuals. The public view of social movements can be tarnished by focusing on events considered to be rare in society and individuals who are considered extreme. Rhode (1997) expands on this discussion and points out that social progress can be obstructed by the deliberate or careless reporting. Simplistic reporting or making actions against women, the extreme might maintain patriarchy. Meade (1997: 6) argues that simple, misleading, and clichéd reporting portraying actors as “archetypal characters’ such as “the seductress, the victimised man, and the man-hating woman” is inflammatory and maintains or even reinforces the dominant hegemony. Geer (2007) forwarded that media narratives of sexual assault and harassment do much to maintain traditional patriarchal stereotypes of women and men and do little to address violence and repression of women and girls. This, Judd and Eastal (2013) found, is perpetuated by over reliance on simplification and broad-brush reporting sacrificing context when women are presented

in the media. By understanding that gender portrayals matter, Lapsansky and Chatterjee (2013) argue that there is a need to craft messages which recognise that men are agents of social change, in a manner that challenges masculinity but not alienating them.

Custers and Van den Bulck (2013) continue this argument by pointing out that victims are frequently shown as female, vulnerable, and powerless while the protagonist is referred to as male, poor, psychotic, uneducated and/or foreign reinforce stereotypes and this belies the omnipresence of violence and repression of women and girls. Devries *et al.* (2013) comment that with poor media portrayal victims appear to lack credibility and perpetrators appear as social outsiders, again suggesting crime and repression of women and girls is rare rather than being endemic in society. Clark (1992) and Alat (2006) point out that by referring to perpetrators in a dehumanising way as “monsters” creates the notion of an excuse. This can also, according to Carline and Easteal (2014), lead to victim blaming for not avoiding the situation. The media tends to report on the sensational and the extreme, which are rare and gives society the impression that in general violence and repression of women and girls is far from common (McDonald and Charlesworth, 2013).

To establish a new social norm, Haylock et al. (2016) discussed the importance of information technology, especially social media to spread stories and put the spotlight on violence against women and girls, to stimulate political action, and so help establish the new social norm. However, they also drew attention to the negative in that social media can silence the message and harm women activists. Majury *et al.* (2015) forward the need for programmes to focus on positive behaviour and help participants develop skills and build confidence. Programmes should consider role models to promote equality in sexual and gender power relations and take care not to reinforce traditional masculine roles in their portrayal of men remembering that depicting males as villains and repressing women might well strengthen traditional expectations.

To transform gender-power inequalities, Michau *et al.* (2015) emphasised the need to systematically programme messages across, what they referred to as the social ecology, which is the balance of interacting social

institutions and the political backcloth of peoples' lives. This necessitates adhering to five principles:

1. Data collection and analysis
2. Base interventions on intersectional gender-power analysis
3. The use of theory informed evidence-based models
4. Investment in multisector interventions
5. Aspirational promotion of collective thought, which makes activism to make the right to violence free lives and equality a reality.

In Bangladesh, complying with these principles has been and still is difficult, especially data collection and endorsing a culture of promoting activism, where the legal, cultural, and religious environments are at best unsupportive.

In attempts to change ideation, interventions tend to start with awareness raising, but many, as Michau *et al.* (2015: 1674) put it, “get stuck in a repetitive cycle of general awareness-raising activities”, but these need to be sustainable to show that violence against women and girls and their repression is wrong, rather than risking build a norm that violence and repression exists, so accept it and move on. Doing this will not only respond to violence against women and girls but will build a protective environment for the future (Bott, Morrison and Ellsberg 2005; Ellsberg 2006). There is a need to build a collective awareness and acceptance of the need for collective action to build the skills and support mechanisms to support women and girls. Building this foundation is to make meaningful and practical changes. In this change, no single group should be focused, rather the whole of society needs to be addressed, or silos will develop, and the momentum of change will become fractured. This means interventions should be throughout the society, or at least transcend from the household to the community level.

Michau *et al.* (2015) build on Heise's (2006) ecological framework to understand and describe violence against women by arguing that a more holistic approach is required as institutions or groups in isolation cannot achieve changes, and therefore, cross-sectional approaches are needed. This implies the four levels of engagement: society, community, interpersonal and the individual.

At the level of society the aim is to change the practice of social institutions by addressing the legislative, public, and service infrastructure to value women and girls and endorse an anti-violence attitude in the community and its leaders. In such a framework, activists can become empowered to pressure and work with government to obtain change, while remembering the importance of a policy of inclusion. At this level, the role of activists is important and should be encouraged as shown in Weldon and Htunt (2013) survey of policies on violence against women across seventy countries showed that feminist civil society activism for more equitable social norms and policy change has had the greatest effect to catalyse government action.

At the community level, the aim is to build a consensus to challenge the masculine hegemony. At this level, there needs to be open discourse, reflecting the cultural norms of the society, to enable acceptability of the changes (Durlak and DuPre 2008). As exposure to and learning of gender norms and social values usually initially occurs in the family and with close friends, the interpersonal level is important to changing the norm that females are of low value, violence is expected and often deserved. To change this norm and associated behaviours, small group discussions are used, backed by media campaigns to promote healthy relationships and assertiveness, and create consensus between the individual and those close to them that change is needed. Finally, at the individual level, education at schools needs to include aspirational programming to challenge the traditional norms of girls, boys, women and men, and move from norms that divide and subjugate women and girls to those where equality, self-efficacy, feeling of entitlement and activism is promoted.

To address crime and repression against women and girls, Donovan and Vlasis (2005) stated that there was evidence that social marketing campaigns can produce positive change in the attitudes and behaviours associated with men's perpetration of violence against women. Adopting a community social marketing campaign fits well with intervening as part of the social ecological framework forwarded by Michau *et al.* (2015). A social marketing campaign can be effective if considered to operate at six levels, Donovan and Vlasis (2005). These levels are:

Strengthen individual knowledge and skills;  
Promotion of community education;  
Education of service providers and leaders;  
Mobilise communities through events networks and campaigns;  
Change operational and organisational practices of institutions; and  
ultimately, Influence national policies and legislations.

Recipients of an effective social marketing campaign must include women, men and children, community leaders and those providing services, including law enforcement and justice.

Kincaid and Figueroa (2009) linked the above motivations and approaches in a scheme to facilitate human development. They advocated a *Participatory Development Model*, in which human involvement and the active participation of actors is essential. The core of successful implementation of this approach is participatory communication. In this model, there is a need for people to go beyond passive receivers of messages, people at all levels are to participate in policy design, goal setting and implementation. Individuals need to take responsibility for action and assessment of progress. However, they need to be organised into networks in which ideas diffuse and are mutually supportive to prevent disillusionment and the inefficiencies of a fragmented approach. By forming participatory networks, messages given in a consistent manner can be picked up and by interaction the network members can develop and increase the efficacy of change. This can result in an improvement to the community and society and achieve ideational change in a way that does not imply the intensive use of resources. Such an integrated and holistic approach is required as cross-sectoral coordination along with mutual reinforcement of the programming is essential for effective deployment and change, as pointed out by Bott, Morrison and Ellsberg (2005).

The first step is to develop a collective understanding of violence and repression of women and girls to act as a catalyst for change. In this stage mass communication has a role to diffuse knowledge of the inappropriateness of the situation. By the use of technology and innovative programming to depict that the current norms need to be changed and the desired norm of equality free from violence that needs to be developed and implemented.

Use should be made of traditional media primarily of television, radio and newspapers, whose dissemination is facilitated with internet connectivity, but this can now be supplemented with social media and the encouragement to form self-help networks.

Based on this, the second step involves intensive community dialogue on how to improve the lives of women and girls, in which men are encouraged and perceived to be part of the solution. At this community level, action plans relevant to that community can be formulated, developed, and implemented. At this stage, activists, and leaders with a future vision of improvement are to be identified and encouraged. Attaining this state makes for community action, which is mobilised by networks of individuals, can assign duties, set their own targets and evaluate progress.

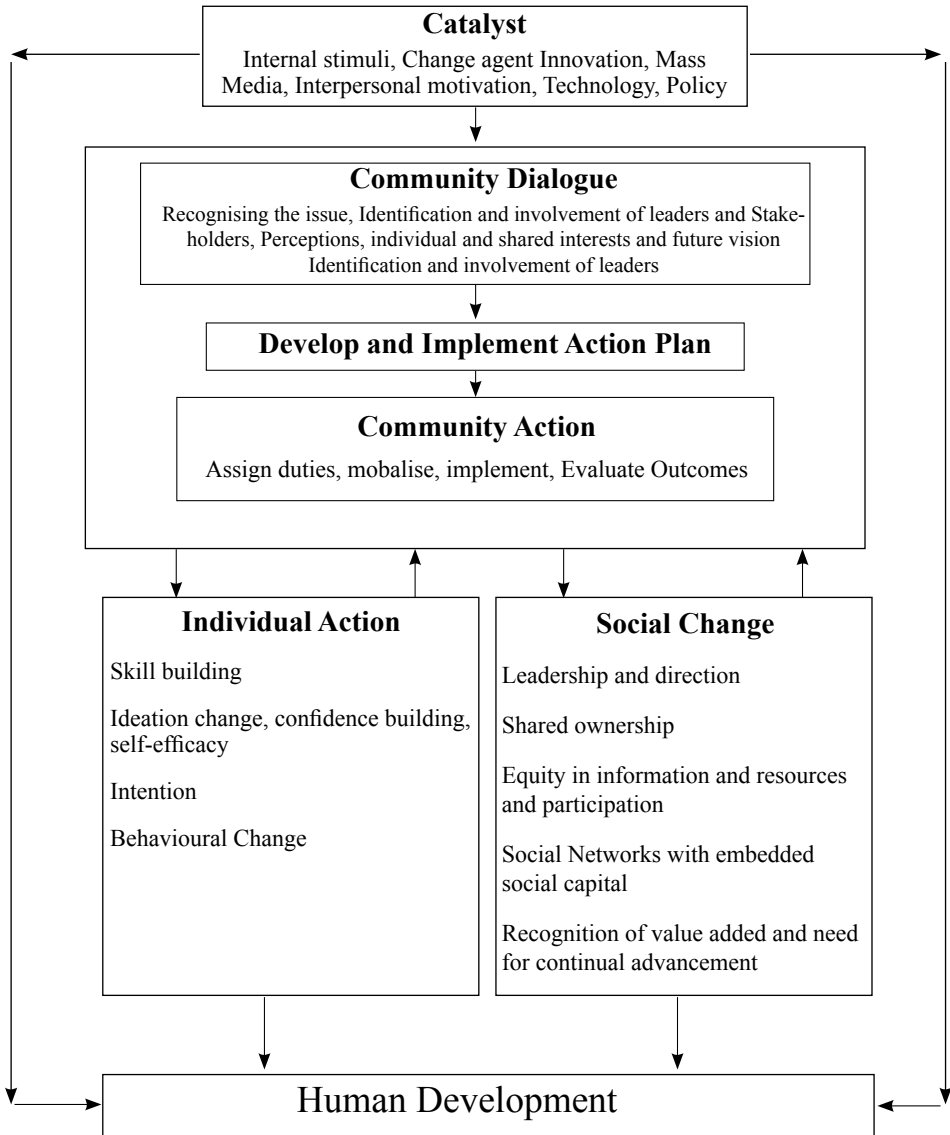
From this stage, individuals become empowered and engaged and social change occurs which in turn leads to human development. Crucial in this approach is that development is not top down from the state but is powered by individuals working in the community and supported by the state. Hence, multi-partnership becomes implicit in this approach.

Implicit in the participatory development model is the notion of continuous improvement embracing the cycle of plan, do, check and act as forwarded by Deming (1986). Naturally, progress is constrained by the economy and political and economic impacts from the external world. But, with individual and community empowerment and self-efficacy in terms of skills these can be mitigated.

The development of this model, which has its roots in Rogers (1973) strategies for achieving ideational change in fertility is detailed in Figueroa *et al.* (2009) and an abstraction which is appropriate for implementation in contemporary Bangladesh is presented in Figure 8.1.

Successful ideational change has occurred with strategies based on this model, notably the adoption of contraception in the Philippines (Kincaid 2000a) and in Bangladesh (Kincaid 2000b).

To implement this community participation model in the context of Bangladesh to target crime and repression against women, the author of this report proposes the following three stage process:



**Figure 8.1: Abstraction of the Participatory Communications Model to Achieve Change based on the Formulation by Kincaid and Figueroa (2009) and Figueroa *et al.* (2009).**

1. **Stage I - Addressing the catalyst for action.** In this stage, the level of crime and repression is recorded. This will involve the improvement in the recording of incidents and the encouragement for actors to report incidents. This requires a change of attitude amongst law enforcement agencies, training of health providers, and facilitation of service delivery institutions to record incidents. Information on the incidents need to be made transparent and disseminated through reliable channels of which the Bangladesh Peace Observatory is one. Education to recognise and value the equality and protection of women and girls as a basic right, should be given to all, but especially to children at primary and secondary schools and to directors and employees of civic institutions and workplaces. This will be backed up with edutainment to diffuse the norms of equity, value and protection of women and girls throughout the society. This can be thought of as awareness raising, which one might consider has occurred in Bangladesh, but more is needed and the poor situation of women and girls, should be seen as a motivator for change in society and for policy formation. Actors, as agents of changes from individuals, community representatives, government, activists, NGOs and society's institutions are to be identified and empowered as agents of change. The outcome of this stage should be a collective understanding of the importance and scale of the problem.
2. **Stage II – Empower the community.** Here the purpose is to address community level empowerment with a view to foster community dialogue on how to enhance the equality and rights of women and girls to live lives free from crime and violence. This will involve the creation and encouragement of networks, the facilitation of linkages between community groups. Community groups should seek to improve their skills and take responsibility to develop plans for action. In this stage the functioning of cohesive networks is vital to communicate plans and to diffuse the new norm of equal status of men and women. These should be done in conjunction with mass media and special events in the community to foster communication on the issue. In this stage dissemination of information becomes

essential and the use of information communication technology is encouraged. The government needs to continue to enhance the ability of people to access the internet. Given that cross community interaction and the involvement of activists in open dialogue the government of Bangladesh should consider repealing or modifying the 2018 Bangladesh Securities Act which is perceived by many as an “attack on freedom of expression” (Amnesty International 2018). Out of this stage action plans should emerge, which have been, produced and owned by the community and these plans should not focus on particular issues or groups as this would only lead to demonization and the creation of excuses. The idea is to combine community level initiatives and foster these to achieve a population level change (an idea implicit in Bandura’s 1977 and 1986 Theory of Change).

3. **Stage III – Collective Action.** This focuses on the implementation and integration of plans and achieve individual and social change. In this stage individuals participate in the implementation and evaluation of the action plan. It is important that targets and goals are established at the community level and shared performance measures are agreed upon. Progress should be reviewed, and changes made in the strive towards ideational change.

With progression through the stages a self-sustaining momentum will hopefully develop, and involvement and support of the project will grow.

In implementing this strategy for change it is critical to understand that this is not a linear process but there is iteration back and forth through the stages. Human Development Organisations like UNDP in collaboration with Bangladesh Government can take further initiative to pilot and implement the strategy.

# 8

## Conclusions and Recommendations

### a. Conclusions

In this research, BPO data on crime incidences, which is collected from the reports published in Bangladesh newspapers over the years of 2016 through to 2020, have been analysed. The purpose was to map the crime scenario of Bangladesh from the published news reports which may allow the policy makers to draw informed interventions to reduce crime in the country. For this reason, BPO collected newspaper reports on violent crimes in Bangladesh to determine the base data of type of crime, who was involved, motivation of the crime, outcome of the crime, location and weapons used, and the intervention types. All together 56,207 incidences were recorded (N=56,207).

The findings from the statistical analysis align with those summarised in the literature review. The review covered the major issues related to the main variables in the BPO data base. These issues are homicide, violence against woman and girls, political violence, campus violence, youth crime, organised crime, suicide and other crime.

From the analysis, overall crime rate is low in Bangladesh compared to many countries including neighbouring countries, which has been detailed in Chapter 2. There was little variation between divisions and districts when crime incidents were standardised for population size. Also, there is a clear decreasing trend evident. Serious crime rates, such as homicide, have decreased except for violence against women. Crimes involving rape, sexual assault and intimate partner violence are hidden in Bangladesh society and were often only revealed when the outcome was death. This explains the underreporting of female injuries compared to homicide. Many of the crimes against women were committed by their family members, but the public and street stalkers (commonly used term is eve teaser) were

also significant perpetrators. Even then, in the BPO data the biggest cross-cutting crime incidence recorded was violence against women and girls.

Although cases of self-harming were low (1,117 in 2019) compared to other countries, the recorded cases have risen considerably since 2016.

Crime associated with party politics and student politics were also significant in the distribution of crime in Bangladesh and behavioural nudges by the media to make physical violence, intimidation, and corruption unacceptable is needed and to open channels for more civilised debate and representation.

Incidents of organised crime, crimes associated with illegal drugs and terrorism, appeared at low levels and perhaps do not need much highlighting other than to reward and recognise law enforcement agencies for their interventions and to encourage their vigilance. However, extrajudicial killing and crossfire incidents were observed in the data base and law enforcement agencies were identified as perpetrators of 1.9% of cases over the period 2016 to 2019. Further investigation is needed regarding this matter.

Overall serious crime levels in Bangladesh are low when international comparisons are made, and in general crime rates are decreasing and conviction rates are increasing. Therefore, as a civic society, Bangladesh appears to be a reasonably safe country. However, the tolerance level of accepting violence against women is quite high as illustrated by the high prevalence of women and girls who have experienced violence. Even in 2019, 28.3% of women thought that violence towards them was acceptable.

There are further concerns regarding what the populous of Bangladesh considers to be acceptable when external views of the prevalence of poor ethics and acceptance of corruption and bribery. This philosophy gives credence to an ecosystem in which minor crime thrives and this is costly to business and ultimately inhibits the competitiveness and development of the Bangladesh economy.

At an individual level, especially for women and those in minority groups, many lives are damaged by a culture of the acceptability of violence

and exclusion. Crimes against women and repression of women exist at far too high a level, both within society, especially within families, and among the rural poor. The value placed on women and those from ethnic, religious, and gender minority is far too low, and worse is society has indoctrinated the individual affected to feel violence and repression against them is justified (the UNDP 2020, reporting that 28% of females think wife beating is justified). Sexual and gender-based violence is reported as the most frequent cross cutting incident and there is evidence of high tendency of suicide and self-harm amongst females in Bangladesh. Further, there is strong evidence that crimes against women and minorities are underreported because of embarrassment, fear of further victimisation, intimidation from perpetrators and concerns that law enforcement will not be interested or will be ineffective in pursuing investigations. This points to the need for women to have greater visibility in society and a change of overall ideation about women.

The data collected, curated, and analysed by the Bangladesh Peace Observatory seems reliable at an indicative level and are useful. The BPO is a commendable and successful effort to inform on the level of violence in Bangladesh which adds context to statistics published by the police as well as additional data. Combining police data and the BPO data will give a useful and important evidence bases to inform policy makers and allow improvement strategies to be developed. But work is required to continue to ensure more comprehensive collecting of crime data and coding of incidents. This is especially so with the BPO data, specifically, attempts should be made to reduce the numbers of incidents and actors, perpetrators and targets attributed in the “other, unclear, unknown and unspecified” categories and to reconsider the use of broad categories such as the “public”, “workers or family members” and to make the constituents of these categories more unique and minimise overlap of categorisation. In doing this care, is needed to preserve the anonymity of the actors as the need is for a reliable scientific database and not one in which individual can be identified as this would allow retribution and would be a stain on their future lives.

From the literature, it is evident that many have researched and reported on crime in Bangladesh and made recommendations which has often been heard and implemented. Many of these have been around policing,

the judiciary and other law enforcement, separating politics from the law and eliminating or reducing corruption. Corresponding literature suggest that life in Bangladesh will improve if law enforcement is separated from political parties, the police and judiciary given more resources and better training and corruption outlawed, with greater transparency becoming the norm. This is understood and Bangladesh continues to strive to improve. Rather than reiterating the recommendations of the extant literature in this report, a strategy to reduce crime, which has been suggested but has received insufficient attention, is forwarded in this report. This strategy is to grow the idea that it is the society, including its various institutions, families, individuals, perpetrators, and victims, who is responsible for crime rather than only individual institution(s) or criminals.

Establishing the ideation of responsibility would establish the belief that all crime is unacceptable and if it occurs, people would be confident to report the incident to law enforcement agencies that will be free from embarrassment or intimidation and will have confidence that the report will be acted upon in an efficient and transparent manner and they will be treated with dignity. An ideational change towards crime and handling crime is therefore necessary. This might seem a fantasy and unachievable, but Bangladesh has successfully achieved an ideational change of similar magnitude. Prior to the year 2000, a massive state promoted communication effort, involving radio and television programmes, newspapers, billboards and family welfare assistants (FWAs) helped to change attitudes to reproductive behaviour, resulting in a fall in a women's total fertility rate from almost seven children per mother to under replacement level of 2.1. This has been sustained and fertility hovered around replacement level (Gayen, 2004). Bott, Morrison and Ellsberg (2005) reported on the benefit of using the mass media 'edutainment' strategies that use multimedia such as television, radio, and print, to change social norms and mobilize community-wide changes to influence sex and gender norms, community responses and individual attitudes to combat crime and repression of women and girls and those of minority gender identities. This type of strategy to change attitudes is needed and should address all parts of society- victims, instigators, and bystanders. The need for this is exemplified that over the

period of 2010 to 2016, not only 36% of men expressing that wife beating is justified, but also 28% of women thought wife beating was justified (UNDP 2020). Further evidence of the value of engaging the media and community-based programmes is given by Daniel, Masilamani and Rahman (2008) to increase the prevalence of family planning in India and Krenn et al. (2014) in Nigeria. An example of successful edutainment is from India is the NGO Breakthrough's (2011) Bell Bajao campaign which consisted of soap operas and television adverts to challenge male violence towards women and empowered men to become agents of change to end violence against women.

Addressing crime in Bangladesh, as suggested in literature, will mostly rely on the continuous development of the economy and the institutions related to law enforcement agencies, which is not attainable instantly, however, improvement is possible. Even improving the much discussed institutions and agencies to improve the situation may fail to achieve the desired change if the societal outlook towards various crimes are not changed. Therefore, working to achieve an ideation change towards crimes will lead to a major reduction in violence and repression, particularly of women and girls and other vulnerable groups and to an extent combat the ideation of suicide. However, addressing the category of crimes involving political parties and their student wings' politics, organised crimes, extrajudicial killing and crossfire will depend hugely on country's law and law enforcement agencies and political motivations.

A means to achieving the ideational change may be a targeted communication strategy. In forming this strategy, the need is to develop means of using the mass media as a message delivery vehicle, and, as rural women are vulnerable, a strategy to use interpersonal communication to overcome the ideation around women and girls to raise their status should be included to reinforce the mass communication strategy. Likewise, there is a need to combat the ideation of self-harming and suicide, and a targeted communication campaign can be very useful to combat this.

While forwarding the concept of communication strategy to combat crime, some recommendations are now listed, followed by some specific recommendations for the Bangladesh Peace Observatory. Implementing a

strategy to change ideation, the author considers, will achieve a measurable improvement in the interim period (five years) and is feasible in terms of resource usage.

## **b. General Recommendations**

- i. Improve reporting and recording of crimes – not only in the Bangladesh Peace Observatory, but, more importantly, in official records collected by the Police and Judiciary. These records need to be kept by the Bangladesh government and its agencies and should be transparent and publicly accessible, at very least via publicly accessible web pages. Categories which have a broad definition, such as ‘public’ or ‘youth’ should be avoided, instead more atomised classifications should be used (these can always be aggregated into larger category groups if required). Special attention is required to differentiate between sex and gender and to the recoding of racially motivated crime and victims of those of particular racial identities.
- ii. Improve training and resources of the police and other law enforcement agencies. Instil an ethos of public service in which all members of the public are respected, and corruption is perceived as unacceptable.
- iii. Enhance the resources and professionalism of the judiciary.
- iv. Separate politics from the judiciary and law enforcement.
- v. Adopt a zero-tolerance approach to corruption at all levels in Bangladesh society and its institutions.
- vi. Create an independent authority to review crimes in Bangladesh and assess effectiveness in combating crime, which reports to the government and whose workings and findings are transparent and made available to the public.
- vii. Consider violence and repression of women and girls to be as much a public health problem as it is a crime. This would also apply to suicide and self-harming.
- ix. Achieve ideational change in Bangladesh to respect all members of society and create an ideology of the unacceptability of crime and disrespect.
- x. Continue to develop the economy and alleviate poverty.

### **c. Specific Recommendations to the Bangladesh Peace Observatory for Data Collection and Presentation.**

**i.** Work to produce less overlapping categorisation of actors, perpetrators, and targets. Categories such as “Public”, “Family Members”, “Youth”, “Worker” and so forth are too general and overlapping to facilitate effective analysis and use of the data. A more atomised recording is needed, specific groups can always be combined to form more general groups, but general groups cannot be disaggregated.

**ii.** Ensure data protection norms are complied with to prevent individual identification. At very least do not show frequencies of less than five in tables (preferably less than ten).

**iii.** Given the lack of precision in categorising actors there is little value in reporting at below the district level (probably there is little to be gained from reporting at the district level).

**iv.** To protect anonymity, low level geography, such as Upazila or Union, should not be publicly available in the data for downloading (perhaps even district should be excluded). Also the exact date of incident should only be reported as month and year.

**v.** As a useful record is being formed, consideration should be given to the inclusion of more sources such as local papers, and television and media broadcasts. However, due to the resource intensive nature of the data collection this is probably not feasible. As technology improves and becomes more available, the possibilities of automatically searching and compiling data from social media should be investigated.

Besides these recommendations, the proposed communication strategy to implement ideation change is laid out in chapter 8. Though this strategy is designed particularly to combat violence against women and girls, it may be used to combat any kind of crime which requires to change the societal outlook on the issue and addressing the issue from the root rather than at surface level only.

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