

	 UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG	

Human Rights of Police in Bangladesh

By

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SOA- 3902

*A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree:
Master in Human Rights Practice*

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27th May 2011*

Declaration Form

The work I have submitted is my own effort. I certify that all the materials in the Dissertation which is not my own work, has been identified and acknowledged. No materials are included for which a degree has been previously conferred upon me.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explored the human rights situation of the police in Bangladesh through the investigation of their work-life experience with respect to working conditions, salaries and other organizational factors. In addition to addressing the problem mentioned above, this study also investigated the possible consequences of the poor working environment to and outside the organization. This study employed a qualitative research method in which fifteen police officers from different units were purposively selected and interviewed. Their descriptions were examined and analyzed to produce themes relating to their personal feelings. The themes revealed that the economic and social rights of the police members were subject to wide range of violations due to poor working conditions, low wage, and other internal and external organizational and social factors. Analysis of data also disclosed that all these factors can bring negative impacts on individual and social life from human rights perspective. Recommendations were made so that human rights of both the police and the public could be ensured through the improvement of working conditions, enhancement of salaries and providing human rights training and other logistics and social supports. The study also called for striking a balance between the rights and responsibility of the police officers. It was concluded that the human rights of the police is also important to ensure the human rights of millions of citizens. And the realization of citizen's rights is possible only when police ensure social order through effective policing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To begin with, I would like to extend my heartiest thanks to each respondent whose participation was integral to the completion of the study. Their desire and intention to share work experiences and thoughts contributed enormously to this study. Some of the respondents were so kind that they were giving interviews while on tough duties. Without their contribution and generosity, this thesis would not simply exist.

Second, I am thankful to my fellow police colleagues who assisted me to make initial contacts with the respondents and provided me respondent's contact numbers and addresses. I can not but appreciate their all out efforts to help me by providing secondary data material and moral support.

My enduring gratitude also goes to my supervisor, Dr. Gregory Kent, who granted enough time and space for me. His scholarly advice and guidance greatly helped me a lot to formulate my study design and report writing. Special thanks to my friend Rakib, whose continuous academic suggestions benefited me to a great extent.

Finally, I want to express gratitude to my lovely wife for her encouragement throughout the whole period of the study. Her longstanding patience gave me a room to stick with the thesis for the last couples of months without interruption.

List of abbreviation

AIG	Assistant Inspector General
APBN	Armed Police Battalion
ASP	Assistant Superintendents of Police
BDR	Bangladesh Rifles
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CATI	Computer-assisted telephone interviewing
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CL	Casual Leave
DFID	Department For International Development
DMP	Dhaka Metropolitan Police
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECPE	European Code of Police Ethics
ESC	European Social Charter
EUROCOP	European Confederation Of Police
ICG	International Crisis Group
IGP	Inspector General of Police
MoHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
NTPA	Northern Territory Police Association
POPCRU	Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union
PRB	Police Regulation, Bengal
PRP	Police Reform Program
RAB	Rapid Action Battalion
RRL	Recreation Leave
SB	Special Branch
SI	Sub-inspector
SP	Superintendents of police
TIB	Transparency International Bangladesh
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Explanation of Local Terms

Gazetted Officer: They are analogous or equivalent to commissioned officer in the armed forces. ASP to IGP are known as gazetted officers recruited by Bangladesh Public Service Commission and regulated by civil service rules.

Non-gazetted officer: They are analogous to non-commissioned officers in the armed force. Their recruitment, promotions, training, examination, uniform and clothing, punishment and appeals, housing facilities etc are regulated by Police Regulation, Bengal 1943.

Welfare parade: In every month, the unit head meets with the forces during which they get an opportunity to place their demands before the unit head. This formal gathering is known as ‘welfare parade’.

Range Police: The six administrative divisions of the country are divided into six police divisions known as Range Police. At present, there are eight Ranges that include seven division ranges and one railway range.

Metropolitan Police: The six metropolitan cities of the country are turned into six metropolitan police units regulated and controlled by separate metropolitan ordinances.

Casual Leave: Every police officer is entitled to 20 days of Casual Leave (CL) for a year with full salary.

Recreation Leave (RRL): Every police officer is entitled to 15 days of Recreation Leave for every three year.

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Chapter one: Introduction and overview

1.1 General Introduction: Police rights and police history have been a subject of limited interest to the scholars of criminal justice, labor history and industrial relations across the world (Baker, 1999). When human rights of police are prescribed, the issue creates much controversy and draws strong reaction from academician, human rights experts, police controlling authority and public (Marks & Fleming, 2006). It is usually perceived by them that police are state agents who usually serve the interest of government or ruling elite. Also, they think that police are bound to respect human rights of the population they serve when they perform duties and functions specifically while using force, arresting and detention. On the contrary, the members of police force often claim that they also have equal rights and privilege as other citizens do have along with their duties and responsibilities. Apparently, there is a clear split between two poles – on the one hand each citizen or criminal, whose rights must be respected and protected, and on the other hand police officers who have no rights, responsibility only. This partisan may prompt another debate on whether police officers have less or more rights and obligations than the rest of the citizens. But it is totally incorrect that police officers have obligations only but no rights. Police are also citizen entitled to the same rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship (Bruce & Neild, 2005). They are also protected by the same human rights standards (Feiner, 2009). If police are expected to defend democracy and human rights, they should not be denied basic democratic and basic rights (Marks & Fleming, 2006). However, the rights of police officers are constrained by regional, national, and international regulatory frameworks (Marks & Fleming, 2006). Sometimes their rights are reduced to such a level that they can not realize many basic rights as a citizen in many countries.

In Bangladesh, the rights of police officers also seem to be ill-understood and neglected on both academic and state level. The prolonged struggle of the police officers for the rights has not been well-documented either in the academic or popular literature. The existing literature, human rights publications and the media while using

about democratic policing often refer to the police accountability and responsibility, civilianization of policing, policing outcomes and performance measurement, and community participation and partnerships, but they hardly mention about the human rights of the police officers . As a result, the rights of the police officers are subject to a wide range of violations in and outside the organization. The widespread violation of their human rights varies from economic and social rights to civil and political rights; many of them are taking place on individual level whereas others are on collective level. This study attempted to examine only the economic and social rights violations of the police officers by narrowing down its focus on the working environment they operate. The studies approached to investigate the police work phenomena from human rights perspective in combined with physiological, psychological and organizational perspective aspects.

1.2 Objectives: The primary objective of this research is to depict a real picture of human rights situation of the crime fighters within the organization, and to investigate its possible causes on the police individual and society as a whole. The secondary aims include directives for future research into police rights discourse for academicians, and to recommend ways to improve human rights situation of the police officers. I firmly believe that the outcome of the research can contribute to the policy makers of the government and non-government organizations in resolving the human rights abuses of both the police and public. The outcome of this thesis may have some ingredients that might help strengthen ongoing Police Reform Program in Bangladesh.

1.3 Research Questions: The following questions have been formulated in order to meet the research objectives:

- i) which of the economic and social rights of the police members in Bangladesh come under violation?
- ii) What are the factors leading to the violation of the economic and social rights of police members?
- iii) What are the possible consequences of these violations on victim's life and society at large?

1.4 Background to the study:

1.4.1 Personal Motivation: Having knowledge on both human rights and policing, I thought I would be the right person that would be able to precisely elucidate the complexity and peculiarity of human rights situation of the police within the organization. Being an insider, I better understand where the tension between human rights and policing, and also between the ethics and the practice of policing exists. Police in Bangladesh are frequently accused of human rights abuses by the national and international human rights organizations (Amnesty International, 2000; Odhikar, 2009). A number of studies can be done to investigate the reason why police violate human rights. But nearly five years of field level police experience as a mid-level police supervisor has given me an impression that the overall police environment where they operate also plays a significant role to cause human rights abuses by the police. A big share or contribution to the adverse environment is made by the stressful job itself in combination with organizational factors. A number of factors outside the organizations also have a negative role to turn the police into human rights unfriendly. Some of the abuses are committed by the individual police officers for having personal gain whereas some are the result of imposition which they are unable to resist. For instance, resource constraints, staff shortage and poor working conditions put huge physical, psychological and organization pressure that often compel them to exhibit deviance behavior. When all these internal factors twist with other factors, it is very likely that the police officers show up unpredictable deviance behavior that might have serious impacts on human rights. Unfortunately, no shed of light fell on the working conditions of the police in Bangladesh that is directly related to their economic and social rights. It is also harder for them to talk to the media, or claim their rights in the same way as the workers in the private sector do through demonstration or strike. As a result, their long lasting sufferings remain beyond the reach of media, human rights activists and general public. In recent years, their problems seem to have managed attention from media and civil society members after Police Reform Program (PRP) was introduced in 2005 assisted by UNDP, DFID and other international donors (ICG 2009). However, I did not find any systematic

academic researches on the economic and social rights of the police officers. Not many secondary sources of data had also been found available on the police-related problems in Bangladesh.

1.4.2 Relevance in the world history: The police struggle for their rights has been long and old across the globe. While police officers in Bangladesh are barred from being qualified as worker in the labor law, the police officers in Australia, Europe, North America and New Zealand are now fully entitled to citizenship rights including economic and social rights (Finnane, 2001). In Europe, British Police stood up to establish their industrial and social rights through police strikes in London and Liverpool in 1918-9 and succeeded to ensure their rights many decades ago. Following the British example, the adventurous police unions' activities in New Zealand forced the government to mandate police unions during 1919 (Finnane, 2001).

1.4.3 Rationale of the study: Realization of all the human rights including civil, political, and economic, social and cultural rights is nearly impossible without social order (Crashaw, 2002). Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enables everyone to be entitled to the right to social and international order. It is the police force whose fundamental function is to maintain social order by keeping criminality and social tension and civil unrest at tolerable level through effective policing. The dream of effective, lawful and humane policing and stable social order will remain a dream until and unless the police agencies are well managed and well resourced by the respective governments. Only through the promulgation of police code of conduct and ethics, human rights training, strict monitoring and oversight mechanism will help a little to improve the overall human rights records and performance of the police unless their basic rights remain unheard, unmet and unfulfilled. Human rights of more than 150 million people of Bangladesh will also be at risk if police with its limited resources and poor working conditions fail to maintain social order and stability.

1.4.4 Overview of the study: The real working experiences of nearly one and a half dozen police officers are explored and analyzed using data obtained from their narratives conversational interviews. With direct reference to the existing available

literature, it was attempted to demonstrate that the police members in Bangladesh have also been subject to the violation of economic and social rights in the workplace. But the human rights advocates ignore the close connection between internal and external violation i.e. the relationship between human rights violation of the police and human rights of the citizens due to police abuse. As a result, it has been a common practice among the human rights organizations, media and academician to criticize the police-subculture, corruption and lack of human rights training responsible for human rights violation. The sufferings and miseries of the police hardly managed to draw attention of the human rights organizations or the academician. The human rights organizations usually end up their duties pleading human rights training and monitoring mechanism to stop human rights abuses and corruption of the police. Despite the necessity of the human rights training and oversight mechanism, all these efforts may be proved fruitless if they do not see the application of human rights in their practical lives.

1.4.5 Overview of the thesis: The thesis will be presented in seven chapters:

Chapter One: This chapter presents the background describing my personal view and motivations including primary and secondary objectives.

Chapter Two: This chapter briefly describes the study population and the subject area including statistical numbers, facts and figures.

Chapter Three: This chapter gives a theoretical and conceptual background of the topic based on existing literature and other secondary source of data.

Chapter four: This chapter of methodology and method gives a full description of participant selection, interview process, ethical issues and the challenges to recruitment.

Chapter Five: This chapter explains how data is examined and analyzed to develop the themes expressed by the participants.

Chapter Six: In this chapter, Findings are discussed and reviewed with the objectives.

Chapter Seven: This chapter discusses the implications and limitations of the thesis. It also describes a number of conclusions and recommendation.

1.4.6 Conclusion: This chapter gives an overall idea on the topic and describes the genesis of the research topic. Personal motivation for undertaking this

project and the relevance of the research has also been discussed. It also gives an overview of the research and the chapter outlines. The following chapter discusses about the population under study and the subject area highlighting various aspects of the organization.

Chapter Two: Demographical and other context of the research

2.1 The study population: Bangladesh Police is a national organization with headquarter based in Dhaka. It is answerable to the government which controls and oversees the organization through the administrative control by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA). The organization consists of a number of branches and units that mainly include Range and Metropolitan police, traffic, an armed police battalion(APBN), a criminal investigation department (CID), special branch (SB), Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), and training institutions (Shahjahan, 2000). The ‘Range’ and ‘Metropolitan’ police are again subdivided into districts, circles, police stations and outposts (Shahjahan, 2000; ICG 2009). Bangladesh has a total of 123197 police officers for its over 153 million population (ICG 2009). It means there is only one police officer for more than 1,200 people in Bangladesh. This ratio is probably the lowest among the South Asian nations, and nearly three times lower than the recommended ratio of 1:450 by the UN (ICG 2009 ; Appendix C). In some areas for example in Sylhet and Coxbazar district of the country the ratios are 1:3500 and 1: 2000 respectively (ICG 2009).

The total force with eighteen ranks can be categorized into gazetted (ASP to IGP) and non-gazetted ranks (Constable to Inspector) which are roughly equivalent or analogous to commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the armed forces (see list of abbreviation and explanation of local terms). Non-gazetted officers with numbers 121659 have overwhelming majority over 1538 gazetted officers (ICG 2009). The Inspector General of Police (IGP), Deputy Inspector General (DIG), Assistant Inspector Generals(AIG) or superintendents of police (SP) and Assistant Superintendent of Police constitute the four gazetted ranks while subordinate ranks

include the positions of inspector, sub-inspector, sergeant, and assistant sub-inspector, head constables both armed and unarmed, naiks and constables (ICG 2009:30). Out of 121659 subordinate officers, constables are bulk forces having a figure roughly 88,000. The total number of women police is also very low standing at 1,937 i.e. roughly 1.5 percent in compared to that of other low income countries having 8.5 per cent policewomen (ICG 2009: 9).

2.2 The subject area: In recent years, both the print and electronic media of the country also revealed many facts and figures about the working conditions of the police in Bangladesh. Karzon (2006) in a newspaper article stated that the police in Bangladesh are confronted with many kinds of problem that ranges from weak infrastructure to poor working conditions. Although Bangladesh got independence in 1947 from British rule and got separated from Pakistan in 1971, it has failed to rebuild its police force. The country still retains with little change a colonial system of policing that it inherited from its colonial master (Karzon, 2006;). The subsequent governments kept the century-old police laws such as the Police Act of 1861; the Evidence Act of 1872; the Criminal Procedure Code of Police of 1898; and Police Regulation of Bengal of 1943 that were primarily devised to deter anti-British movements (Shahjahan, 2000; Karzon, 2006). Many provisions of the outdated laws have flaws and gaps that are inconsistent with the human rights spirits, rule of law and modern democracy (Karzon, 2006; ICG 2009).

Police in Bangladesh particularly the subordinate ranks lead a very difficult and unrewarding life because of deplorable working conditions, abysmal salaries, excessive workload, corrupt and politicized transfer and promotion system (ICG 2009;). In terms of salary, the top-most police boss draws a monthly salary of Taka 23 000 (\$333) while the lowest salary of the organization amounts to Taka 3000 which is just \$1.30 a day which is approximately equal to the international poverty line of \$1.25 per day (see appendix B). The working hours of the police members are almost double than that of other government employees (Karzon, 2006). It was also reported that they do not have adequate logistic support such as vehicles, prison vans, radios, fuel for vehicles, bicycles, modern weapons and even stationery to write reports (Karzon, 2006; ICG, 2009). Vacation, public holidays, annual and other leaves

are rare and often unheard. All these problems remain a great source of frustration and low morale for the officers (ICG, 2009). The annual budget of \$420-million is simply unable to meet the organizational needs. In a report, a national daily revealed that 99 percent of the policemen blame the poor working conditions and lack of logistic support as major factors that prevent them from performing their duties (The Daily Star, August 12, 2007). It commented that the police members in Bangladesh would continue to lead inhuman life until and unless salaries are increased, daily work hours are reduced to an acceptable level and all operational costs are met by the government. Referring to Paolo del Mistro, a Police specialist of the UNDP, a newspaper stated, “the police in Bangladesh are leading unsatisfactory life and they do not enjoy their policing job as it often destroys their self-respect. Moreover, they are not well-equipped” (cited in Azad, 2007). He blamed the system not the police department for the grim working and living conditions. A civil society member in a seminar also stressed the need for increasing the salary and allowances for the police so that the police members change their mindset (The Independent, 2008). In a round table discussion, another civil society member of the country moved further, and suggested that police officers with low salaries should be allowed to do other jobs so that they can compensate for the poor pay. He asserted, “They can not do that as long as their time of duty is not definite” (The Daily Star, August 12, 2007).

The police in Bangladesh have a bad reputation for their alleged involvement with corruption and brutality (ICG, 2009). According to Transparency International Bangladesh report, 96.6 per cent of Bangladesh’s households experienced some form of corruption that came across with law enforcement agencies (TIB, 2007). Police organization in Bangladesh had been identified as the most corrupt agency among all the entire government agencies (karzon, 2006). A leading national daily of the country in its editorial wrote that the poor working conditions obstruct police to become servant of the people (The daily prothom alo, April 10, 2007).

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction: This chapter reviews the existing literature and other secondary sources of data that are related to the economic and social rights of police. The issue has been organized into various sections giving different aspects including the causes and consequences if remain unrealized.

3.2 Economic and social rights of police: The concept of human rights of police does not imply a new thought or idea. Rather these are the same rights and benefits to which every citizen is entitled. Referring to police rights, Bruce and Neild asserted: "the facts that police are citizens, means they are entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship" (2005:41). Therefore human rights of police include all the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights (Feiner, 2009; Aitchison, 2004). The rights of police officers are also protected by the same human rights standards enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as in the various regional and international human rights charters such as International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural rights, and European Convention on Human Rights (United Nations 1948; United Nations 1976; ECHR 1950). The economic and social rights of police are also clearly stated and standardized in the European Social Charter 1961 and the European Code of Police Ethics 2001 (ESC 1961; ECPE 2001). Both the charter provides a set of standards for police officers including reasonable working hours, rest periods and paid holidays, remuneration enabling them to have a decent standard of living, increased overtime payment, health and safety regulations in the workplace and a system of social security considering their special nature and character of work. Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights and article 6 of the European Social Charter 1961 recognize the right of the police members to form and join trade unions.

International Labour Organization as a specialized international agency of the United Nations set some international labor standards and fundamental rights at work in its various conventions (ILO 1998). It sets standards determining hours of work, shift work, holidays, vacations, wages, social security and policy, accommodation, trade union, collective bargaining, rest and leisure for the workers to promote strong social

policies, justice and democratic institutions. The benefits of the work standards set by ILO are equally applicable to the members of police in their work place. But it is important to make clear that the police officers can claim the rights against the state not other citizens. The failure of the state to protect the rights does not give legitimacy to police to resort to violations of human rights of general people or citizens.

Police like other employees of the state are the public servants that serve state interest. As an employee or worker, the human rights of a police officer mainly revolve around the economic and social rights that mainly fall into the following categories: labour rights and the right to adequate standard of living, right to food, right to health, right to housing and right to education (Nel & Bezuidenbout, 1997:97). The bulk labour rights include the right to trade union, right to organize and right to bargain collectively, right to rest and leisure, right to no forced labour, right to work and equal pay for equal work. Bruce and Neild also argued that central to recognizing police as citizens revolve around their right to decent conditions of service, the right to form employee representative organizations, and the right to engage in collective bargaining (2005:43).

3.2.1 Democratic policing versus economic and social rights of police: There is a close link “between organizational police democracy and societal democracy” where citizens are able to participate in decision-making processes and where basic human rights are protected (Marks & Fleming, 2006:179). It means police are likely to respond more democratically and humanly if they also experience the benefits of democratic labor and social rights in their organizational set up (Berkley 1969:46). Hence the right of police officers to engage in direct and indirect forms of democratic participation is crucial to rights based awareness. Police rights movement through democratic police union is also consistent with the advancement of democracy and good governance (Finnane, 2001; Prasad & Snell, 2004). Police rights movement is now viewed as a countervailing force and broadcasting agendas for social change directed to establish racial justice, gender equality, and urban change (Berkley, 1969; Johnston, 2000; Robinson, 2000; Sklansky, 2005b; O’Malley & Hutchinson, 2005). Police union can be seen as a bulk force for them because through the exercise of this right they might get the recognition of other economic and social rights in the workplace. In addition, police democracy brings not only the democratic benefit for

them, rather through democratic police rights movement police union can serve as a necessary internal check against bureaucratic usurpation within the organization (Gammage & Stanley, 1972; Fleming & Lewis, 2002:92). Despite all the benefits and importance of police trade union as core labor right of ILO, it creates more controversy and brings criticism than any other labour union. Police organization that allows police union is branded as 'obdurate organization' by the police scholars as the union engages only on their own vested interests such as workplace improvement and status enhancement rather than social justice features (Fogelson, 1977; O'Malley, 2005; Reiner, 1978). The critics argued that this narrowness or 'bureaucratic conservatism' of police union may thwart democratic aspirations within trade union structures (Burgmann & Burgmann, 1998:63; Hyman, 2000; Prasad & Snell, 2004).

3.2.2 Global development towards police rights: A significant change is occurring in the police organizations across the world through 'privatization, civilianization, and responsabilization of policing' (Marks & Fleming, 2006: 193). International Labour Organization recognizes all the employment rights of the police officers except few restrictions reserved for all the emergency services (ILO 2004). But in a recent move, the ILO developed codes of practice to promote social dialogue within the public service including emergency service too. In a joint meeting on public emergency service (such as police), the ILO adopted a document "Guidelines on Social Dialogue for Public Emergency Services in a Changing Environment" to promote fundamental labor rights such as the right to form and join trade union, and collective bargaining in 2003. These guidelines of ILO give an indication to its member state that they should allow the police to unionize and to bargain (ILO 2003b). The international network of police unions has also been attempting to persuade the ILO to review its conventions (Marks & Fleming, 2006). Shizue Tomoda, an ILO technical specialist, was saying, "As long as a large number of member states feel that it is proper for police labor rights to be regulated by national laws, the ILO Secretariat can do little to change the status quo."(Marks & Fleming, 2006:189). In parallel with ILO prescription, many nations have promulgated special legislations that enable police officers to be entitled to all the citizenship rights including police union for instance, Police Officers Bill of Rights of USA 2009; the European Social Charter 1961 and European Code of Police Ethics 2001 in Europe.

The modern policing are now centered on the principle of more democracy, more accountability, more equitability, and more professionalism. Police organization within public sector is now defined as growing labor-intensive industry that enables police to be qualified as worker having all the labour rights (Marks & Fleming, 2006). Hence, being a member of a labor-intensive industry, they are also equally concerned about the working conditions and wages (Wellington & Winter, 1969; Reiner, 1978). The current global socio-economic climate leads police unions and public sector unions to work more closely with the labour movement in terms of their rights to collective bargaining (Reiner, 1978). EUROCCOP, an association of twenty-seven member police organizations across Europe, is also promoting fairness and equal opportunities in the police service of its member organizations (Marks & Fleming, 2006). Berkley (1969) also mentioned about the highly developed police unions across Europe such as in Germany, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Griffin (2001), Chief executive officer of the Canadian Professional Police Association noted that the police representatives in Canada are now a part of broad labor union body (Fleming & Lewis, 2002). In the United States, Police unions go beyond the narrow interest of the police members promoting the public interests agenda in partnership with other police union partner (Magenau & Hunt, 1996). The police federation of Australia is also affiliated and aligned with national trade union federation (Marks & Fleming, 2006). Some unions of Australia (for example, the Northern Territory Police Association NTPA) are now playing a very significant and central role to solve the resource problem of the aboriginal territory. In South Africa, the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU) established in 1989 is also affiliated to the progressive trade union federation which is committed to democratic governance. They defend the socio-economic interests of the communities which is now well-recognized by the international human rights organizations (Marks & Fleming, 2004). Police in Lesotho, Zambia, and Botswana who were denied the police rights, called upon the South African police union, POPCRU, to assist them in convincing police authorities and managers about the benefits of police unionization (Hopkins, 2004).

3.3 Theoretical framework:

3.3.1 Occupational police stress: A number of books, reviews of literature and public seminars on the study of stressful nature of work indicate the growing interest in the field over the past 45 years across the world including America, Britain, Australia and New Zealand (Hurrell, Nelson, & Simmons, 1998; Huddleston, 2002). One of the main reasons behind the interest lies in the fact that work-related stress causes huge human and monetary cost (Van Sell; Brief & Schuler, 1981; Cooper & Marshall, 1976; Levi, 1981; Moss, 1981 cited in Parker & DeCotiis, 1983). The recent years have also witnessed ‘a sizeable body of literature’ that examines police stress from a variety of perspective (Webb & Smith, 1980:251). This study will look into the police stress from human rights approach taking its physiological, psychological and organizational consequences into account. Even though a certain levels of stress are found in almost all occupations, police work has long been termed as a high stress, high strain and ‘critical’ profession (Anshel, 2000, Brown & Campbell, 1994; Horn, 1991; Kroes, 1976; Kroes & Hurrell, 1975; Raiser, 1974; Reilly & DiAngelo, 1990; Violanti & Marshall, 1983, Paton 1996a). They are usually the first to reach and the last to leave the scenes of murder, suicides or accidents. One police psychologist stated: “It is an accepted fact that a police officer is under stress and pressure unequalled by any other profession” (cited in Webb & Smith 1980:255). They are frequently confronted with very sad and violent categories of incidents, (Carlier, 1999, Carlier & Gersons, 1992) and are ‘hidden victims’ of work-related psychological trauma (Paton, 1989, 1994b).

Apart from the aforementioned intrinsic job stress, police stressors may range from critical staff shortage to interaction outside the organization. Police stressors within organization may be characterized as excessive workload, staff shortage, work interfering with family, poor or inadequate equipment or resources, seeing criminals go free and inadequate pay, uncivil interaction with co-workers and administrative hassles (Collins & Gibbs, 2003; Davey, Obst, & Sheehan, 2001; Morash, Haarr, & Kwak, 2006; Pasillas, Follette, & Perumean-Chaney, 2006, Huddleston 2002). Rigid organizational structure, shift work, excessive overtime, lack of opportunities for the

advancement, workplace discrimination or harassment, administrative pressure to solve problem, and conflicts over role and responsibility, job transfer, daily hassles, work-related disasters can also cause serious police stress (Collins & Gibbs, 2003; Brown & Campbell 1994; Sewell 1993; Pratt & Barling, 1988). A police officer without support of his or her family or friend and personal skills is more vulnerable to police stressors (Dewe & Guest, 1990; Latach & Havlovic, 1992; Thompson, Kirk, & Brown, 2005; Violanti; Marshall & Howe 1985; Kirschman, 2006; Reese & Scrivner, 1994). Death or serious injury of a fellow officer in the line of a duty is also a great source of stress for police officers (Finn & Tomz, 1997; Gershon, Lin, & Li, 2002; Jermier, Gaines, & McIntosh, 1989; Violanti & Aron, 1994). Negative interaction with the society such as uncivil, discourteous, and disrespectful behaviors, dealing with hostile suspects and offenders, fighting terrorism, and public and official pressure to deal with crimes may also be defined as social stressors for police (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Sigler & Wilson, 1988; Garcia, Nesbary, & Gu, 2004; Dowling et al, 2006; Paton & Smith, 1996).

3.3.2 Stress theories: It is difficult to describe the content, causes, and consequences of police stress with a single generalized stress theory due to the lack of conceptual clarity (Parker & DeCotiis, 1983:161). Like the two other words “success” and “happiness”, ‘stress’ has different meanings for different people, and has led to confusion (Web and Smith, 1980: 251). Some researchers label stress a physiological dysfunction (Ivancevich & Matteson, 1980a) while others define it as a consequence of stress (Schuler, 1980). Some view it as one-dimensional phenomenon whereas others view it multidimensional and variable (Parker & DeCotiis 1983). As a result, Stress has been labeled as the ‘most imprecise term in the scientific dictionary’ (Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980a:5). It is often attempted to explain the work-related stress phenomenon with the help of modified concept (for instance Parker model of job stress, 1983 and Levi’s model, 1972). This study will look into the biological, perceptual and workplace theories to describe the occupational police stress phenomena in their workplace.

Hans Selye, the originator of biological theory, defined stress as “the nonspecific response of the body to any demand made upon it” (1973:692). He stated that the body prepares itself to fight through the production of hormones resulting in

heartbeat, perspiration as soon as the body recognizes any stressors such as heat, cold, mental shock, disease or any other stimuli. If the body can not resist the stressors, stress continues and can exhaust the body's energy, and slows down bodily functions. If the exhaustion prevails over a longer period of time, the body is exposed to many ailments such as cardiovascular disease (Theorell & Karasek, 1996), a weakened immune system (Anderson; Litzenger & Plecas, 2002), musculoskeletal diseases (Bongers, de Winter, Kompier, & Hildebrandt, 1993), and gastrointestinal illness. The internal and external police stress causes different kind of health problems to police population such as cardiovascular and depression (Brown & Campbell, 1994; Collins & Gibbs, 2003; Franke, Ramsey, & Shelly, 2002; Franke, Cox, Schultz, & Franke, 1997; Kirschman 2006) .On the contrary to Selye's belief, stress response is seen primarily psychological and emotional (Webb & Smith, 1980) such as depression (Schonfeld, 1992, Lazarus, 1977), job dissatisfaction (Matteson & Ivancevich, 1983), and burnout (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). If the environmental demand exceeds the capability of a person, then emotional stress is perceived by an individual (McGrath, 1976). This theory in some ways complement the P: E Fit model that also define how individual perceptions produce stress responses. The cognitive appraisal determines the quality and intensity of emotional reactions and its resultant behaviour (Smith & Saintfort (1989). Levi's Theory of job stress postulates that different job factors relating to working conditions impose demands on individual. This demand may be perceived as stressful by them resulting in biological, emotional and behavioural responses. The interactive model of Cooper and Marshall (1976) and Parker's model (1983) look similar to the Levi's Model. This interactive model defined about six categories of job stressors: stressors intrinsic to the job itself (characteristics and conditions of the job), role within the organization, relationship at work, organizational structure and climate, career development and extra-organizational stressors (external commitment and responsibilities).

3.3.3 Consequences of police stressors: Numerous empirical studies have revealed that high levels of work stress bring negative outcomes at both individual and organizational levels (Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003; Podsakoff; LePine & LePine , 2007).The level and dimension of the outcomes depend on the intensity of the stress, its duration, the number of operative stressors, and alternatives that the individual sees available to him or her (Parker & DeCotiis ,1983: 165). He stated that

if the stressor can be removed without delay, or an individual is capable to cope with it, the feeling of stress is likely to dissipate without resulting in any high level outcome. However, even a short term job stress leads to long lasting second-level outcomes if stress is intense or continues over a prolonged period (Parker & DeCotiis 1983: 165). On individual level, police stress is linked to such deleterious individual outcomes as depression, heart disease, etc (Quick et al, 1997). Police stress may also be associated with anti-social behaviour and maladaptive such as drinking, suicide ideation and violence on and off the job (Kohan & O'Connor, 2002; Paton, Violanti, & Schmuckler, 1999; Violanti, Marshall, & Howe, 1985; Violanti, 2004). The routine police stressors resulting from traumatic events and aversive working conditions may cause physiological, psychological, and behavioral problems to its members of the police organizations (Everly & Smith, 1987; Jaffe, 1995; Quick et al., 1997; Violanti, 2004; Violanti, Marshall, & Howe, 1983; Slate, Johnson & Colbert, 2007). Police stress carries huge importance because “the potential negative consequences of it affect society in general more than stress from most other occupational groups” (Grencik, 1975: 172 cited in web & smith, 1980). From the organizational perspective, negative outcomes resulting from police stress can seriously undermine the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies exhibiting poor productivity, decreased organizational commitment, increased absenteeism , decreased job performance, dissatisfaction, voluntary turnover, avoidance behaviour, workplace violence such as aggression and sabotage, increased workers’ compensation claims, and increased sick time (Jex & Crossley, 2005; Cotton & Hart, 2003, Parker, 1983; Ivancevich & Matteson , 1983; Jackson, 1983; Chen & Spector, 1992;Tang & Hammontree, 1992; Huddleston, 2002:4). Hyper-aggression and violence as negative outcomes of police stress can lead to public distrust and erosion of support for law enforcement agencies in general implicating public safety and public health. As a result, Police officers are required special management and close attention to neutralize the negative impacts of organizational stressors (Adams & Buck, 2010; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; van Gelderen , Heuven, van Veldhoven, Zeelenberg, & Croon, 2007).

Chapter Four: Research Methods

4.1 Introduction: In the previous chapter, the existing literature related to the economic and social rights of police was discussed from various perspectives. Most of the literature focused on the organizational stress that leads to the violation of economic and social rights of the members of police. The previous chapter also discussed the negative impact of the stressors from physiological, psychological and organizational perspective. In this chapter, I approached to discuss the qualitative descriptive methodology that adopts thematic analysis as the method of data analysis.

4.2 Study design: A qualitative descriptive method was adopted aiming at providing a critical investigation of police workplace where the violations of their various economic and social rights were taking place. The description of their experience in the workplace will lead to the discovery of truth because descriptive data that incorporates the ‘whys’ and ‘hows’ of experience, as well as the ‘whats’ (Sarbin, 1986). The qualitative technique is not concerned with discovering ‘how many people think on a particular issue’ rather the aim is to find how people think of the issue and how they react to the issue. Quantitative approach for this study may not be able to provide such insights as the respondents are reluctant to give a clear cut answer when they are asked about their organizational problems due to rigid organizational structure and sensitive nature of police work. Narrative data was produced through unstructured informal interviews that allowed the narrator to produce more detailed and authentic account of experiences from their lives (Riessman, 1993). This method can also produce emancipatory outcomes for a particular marginalized group (Parker, 2005).

4.3 Research approach: The study will be looking at the working experiences of public service employees. Research on public service organization is

important because effective research might reveal concealed organizational dilemmas that allow authority to contemplate the most appropriate actions for operational improvement. The findings promote and provide a vehicle for effective change and intervention through introspective analysis and internal diagnosis. Weisenbord also stated, “Behind every intervention lurks a diagnosis” (1978:6).

4.4 Respondents Selection: Eligible respondents were the police officers irrespective of different ranks serving in the various police units of Bangladesh. As an insider of the organization, I have prior knowledge about the structure and operational units of the organization. With a view to producing the real truth about their economic and social rights of the police members, I did consider to cover all the operational units to produce more effective data rather than focusing only on a specific police district or metropolitan unit. I interviewed a cross section of police officers of the organization to serve the stated purpose. Apparently, the respondents were geographically dispersed across the country as I covered all the branches of the organization. I took assistance from some pre-known police officers in order to have phone access to the respondents. They took the primary consent of the respondents, and then sent me the respondent’s telephone or mobile numbers.

4.5 Sampling and sampling technique: The number of the respondents was mainly guided by the principle of ‘theoretical data saturation (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:188, Kumar, 2005:165) and sample size varies between 5 -50 (Streubert, 2003). Sampling was continued until data saturation occurred. Fifteen persons were purposively sampled and interviewed aimed at giving maximum opportunity of eliciting data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Since true data saturation is a myth and depends on the number of texts as well as on researcher’s experience (Morse, 1989; Ryan & Bernard, 2003), I assumed myself to have reached data saturation point when new information stopped to come. Unlike probability sampling that concerns with proportion, this study put more emphasis on the opinions of the targeted population. The advantage of purposive sampling was that it gave me opportunity to use my judgment and prior knowledge to choose respondents (Bailey,

1978: 94). In addition, this type of sampling was aimed at providing best information to achieve the study objectives (Kumar, 2005).

4.6 Interviews: Although face-to-face interview is considered as the most productive mode for producing narrative data, Holt (2010) argued that telephone interviews can also produce more detailed and authentic accounts of people's experiences. Telephone interview is assumed to be a productive and valid methodological tool by many researchers for interviewing the respondents holding 'a position of power' in the society called 'elite participants' (Stephen, 2007:205). I also found narrative telephone interview technique convenient for conducting interviews of the police officers of a restricted organization like police. Besides, the use of telephone for narrative interviews seemed to me more practical option for geographically dispersed participants (Holt, 2010:114). Since almost the respondents had public and private mobiles, they were easily accessible over telephone even though they were scattered across the country. Low cost and high speed also remained as potential advantage over personal interviews. Face-to face interview for this study might not be suitable to serve the purpose of extracting optimum data because the respondents could have felt hesitation to answer the sensitive question just sitting in front of another police officer like me. Therefore telephone interview gave me an advantage of putting complex and sensitive questions over telephone. I also had more freedom and flexibility to probe, skip and change questions if irrelevant. For the particular type of respondents who live a busy professional and personal life, telephone interviewing provides more flexibility than face-to-face interview. While interviewing, many respondents had to intersperse the conversations with comments such as "oh, sorry, my Boss is just calling me, I'm to cut the line..." The use of telephone also gave kind of control over the privacy of the conversation. They were able to move freely during the interview when either a family member or any third person came in. Telephone interview provided more flexibility and caused no embarrassment in re-arranging the appointment if needed (Holt).

I was influenced by Holt (2010) to use computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) technique. Data was digitally recorded on personal computer by using two different Audio recording software named 'Sound Tap Streaming Audio Recorder'

and 'Polder bits Call Recorder'. CATI technique gave me a certain amount of flexibility ranging from the recording to transcribing. Since conversations were digitally recorded to the PC instantaneously, I was able to focus my full attention to the responses and the appropriate question to be asked next. Besides, the computer screen displayed the list of issues that provided extra advantage to keep sequence of the issues. The quality of digitally recorded conversation was much better than audio tape recorder. The interview was informal and unstructured in nature meaning that it was guided by a pre-defined list of issues rather than controlled by a specific set of detailed questions.

4.7 Field notes and transcription: I had to write down the main issues and findings in my field notes while conducting the interviews. Soon after each interview, field notes were upgraded and refined through repetitions to supplement the raw interview data (Halcomb & Davidson, 2005). In the field notes, I actually translated my feelings and impressions about each interview. The field notes also included a description of the setting and interactions which were not recorded but felt to be potentially relevant to the research topic. The final transcript was the result of many rough transcriptions that skipped many unclear words. Each transcription was made verbatim from the interview. I repeated the process both the listening and reading the transcript concurrently with a view to filling the gaps (Rapley, 2007 & Silverman, 1998).

4.8 Thematic analysis: The next process I preceded was to identify the themes from the transcripts. Since I was dealing a small amount of interview data, I did not consider qualitative data software (CAQDAS). I found manual analysis comfortable due to lack of experience with CAQDAS. Webb (1999) also asserted that manual analysis of data is preferred for the beginners as qualitative researchers. I started pawing through texts and marking them up with different colored highlighter pens. Then I read over the text several times which was also suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (1992:165). The text are then separated and sorted out under specific theme.

4.9 Challenges faced during data collection: During data collection, I faced a number of challenges that influence the validity and reliability of

the data and the research results. First of all, selection of the participants posed a big challenge for me as I intended to cover all the main branches and operational units of the organization irrespective of their ranks and file. Bangladesh police is a vast and mother organization comprising seven main branches and eighteen ranks. Second, winning consent of the many respondents for interviews was really difficult and more challenging as they fear about organizational consequences. I disclosed my full identity to win their faith and trust in me, and finally succeeded to have their consent for interview. However, some of them withdrew themselves from giving interview as soon as they were asked sensitive questions. Finally, I was having difficulties to find out a suitable time for the interviewees. Many of them managed time during the duty hours only. As a result, our conversations were interrupted several times. In many cases, we had to change our schedules for other days. Five hours time difference from the local Bangladesh time also gave me a lot of trouble. Lack of primary and secondary data related to the topic also gave a considerable amount of challenges to conduct the study. I had to excessively depend on a few available secondary materials for facts and figure. Government data archives were not digitally kept and well managed. Physical access to the government data sources also required prior permission that could bring other kinds of hassle.

4.10 Ethical issues: Respondent's right remains at central when ethical issues are concerned. Creswell also (2003:62) stated that, "In addition to conceptualizing the writing process for a proposal, researchers need to anticipate the ethical issues that may arise during their studies". In my study, the purpose was clearly communicated to all the respondents before the interview. Permission were clearly sought whether they would like to give interviews for the study. Because seeking informed consent is "probably the most common method in medical and social research (Bailey, 1978:384). As the issue under study was both sensitive and controversial in terms of political and social context (McCosker; Barnard & Gerber 2001), the respondents did not want to disclose their identity so that they could be easily traced. However, very few respondents did have reservation about the disclosure of sensitive information. After getting their final consent, we fixed a date and time for the interview. Proper steps were taken to guaranty the anonymity of the

respondents. But I kept a track record of the participants giving each participant an individual identification numbers. Ong & Weiss (2000) hypothesized that the condition of anonymity would reveal more sensitive and true information when respondents are promised anonymity. Apparently, this approach made the respondents feel comfortable and confident in providing sensitive information. It surely enhanced the validity of the responses (American Psychological Association, 1996).

4.11 Validity and Reliability: In quantitative research, the terms validity, reliability and triangulation are used to evaluate the worth of a study. But the terms do not have the same meaning in the qualitative research with respect to establishing truth. In quantitative study, validity is meant ‘the determination of whether a measurement instrument actually measures what it is purported to measure’ (LoBiondo-Wood & Haber, 1998: 561), or ‘the degree to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure’ (Polit & Hungler, 1995: 656). In quantitative paradigm, an account is considered as valid or true if it fairly and accurately represents those features of phenomena that it is purported to describe, explain or theorize (Hammersley 1992:69). The quality is judged by the terms validity and reliability (Healy & Perry , 2000). On the other hand, the terms credibility, neutrality, consistency or dependability and applicability or transferability are the essential criteria for quality in qualitative paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

I made an explicit attempt to ensure the validity and reliability of the study in several ways. From the respondent selection process to the data collection and analysis process, I was very much careful and honest. This research study was designed in such a way that the respondents were offered an opportunity to verify the transcript. Field notes made during and after each interview also helped verify whether the transcripts varied from the original meaning. As an insider, I was very much familiar with the organizational terms that the respondents used during conversations. Therefore there was little possibility of misinterpretation to happen. In addition, the conversation was made in the same language that we (the respondent and interviewer) belong to. As a result, both of us were clear about what was asked and what was delivered. The people familiar with this field would recognize the meaningfulness of

the study and the trustworthiness of the process perceiving this as a credible piece of work.

Chapter Five: Analysis of the Findings

5.1 Introduction: In this chapter, I am going to address the research findings and give interpretation with respect to the research questions. It seems to me it would be more convenient and effective to address the questions together as the analysis of data is overlapped and interlinked.

5.2 Economic and social rights of police in Bangladesh:

5.2.1 Working conditions: There are certain ‘givens’ in the police work such as shift work, long hours, petrol duty, family life under public scrutiny which are common among the police members across the world (Kirschman 2006). However, the working conditions of the police in Bangladesh are so poor and deplorable that it remains far away from the international standard. All the respondents of the study mainly pointed to the working conditions as the main cause of all troubles for them. The working conditions of the police in Bangladesh are associated with excessive long hours, shift work, unhygienic living conditions, lack of interaction among the officers, absence of holidays and other leaves and so on. The law enforcement officers in the country work extraordinarily long hours. When they were asked about working hours, all the participants responded spoke similarly putting that all the police officers from highest to the lowest ranks, are considered ‘always on duty’ by the law and may be employed at any time whenever needed. One respondent (unwilling to be identified) who has been in the police service for over 25 years commented “We do not have fixed working hours and are for 24 hours duty. When we joined the police, we gave this commitment. We can not say ‘no’ by law.” But it does not literally mean that police officers perform duties all the day and night. In average, the duty hours do not fall below 15-16 hours a day, and remain almost the same irrespective of the branches/units and ranks of the organization. One respondent posted to a metropolitan

police station was narrating about his daily routine duties on the condition of anonymity

“Everyday I usually come to the office before 9 in the morning but I can not go home before late night. Next day morning again, I have to be present in the office before 9 am. This is how I have been doing my job since I joined this police station almost 9 months ago.”

When asked “is it unique feature with the police station?” He confidently said “the situation in other police stations does not differ that much... I served in many other units of the police; the situation is more or less the same.” The condition of the high ranking police officers is no different than that of lower ranking officers.

Another respondent being a high ranked police officer (unwilling to be unidentified) was describing the situation:

“....Honestly speaking, the high ranked officers have more duty hours than the low ranked officers as the top rankers remain between the government and the force members.” He added more “...police officers are asked to work more after finishing his 16-18 hours of duty due to lack of manpower, huge commitment and essential service.”

When The Police Act of 1861 was analyzed, many provisions of the act were found contradictory to not only general people’s rights but also many fundamental rights of the police members. Article 22 of the police Act states that police officers are considered to be always on duty and can be deployed at any time and at any place. This provision clearly deprives police officer of having fixed workings hours, overtime payment and rest periods. According to the provision 23 of the Act, police officers are also bound to obey and execute the order of the competent authority. Apparently, if they fail to execute the order or refuse to do it, they are subject to different kinds of punishment.

But the convention C1(1919) of ‘international labor standards’ of ILO sets a minimum working hours for the workers that should not exceed more than eight hours a day and forty-eight hours a week. Article 9(e) of the convention also prescribes about a weekly rest period to all classes of workers (ILO C1, 1919). The ILO convention (C 29 1930) clearly prohibits all sorts of forced or compulsory labour in its member countries. Article 100, 101, 102, 106, 108 of the labour law of

Bangladesh also clearly mention about the fixed working hours, overtime payment, night shift and a rest period showing consistency with the ILO standards.

The organizational myth “twenty four hours duty” also makes the police officers unable to have overtime allowance. On the question of overtime allowance, one respondent precisely said, “The issue of overtime payment is meaningless as the police are on always duty”. Police members in Bangladesh provide services without overtime allowance or any of the same kind. They just receive risk allowance amounting TK 300-500 (equivalent to 2-3 dollars) per month. One of the respondents lamented:

“Even the garments workers get overtime allowance whatever the amount it is but police officers are refused overtime payment....it could be better if we had. Due to long working hours, we hardly get time to have rest as they have to work from morning to midnight. They even hardly manage time to have lunch or dinner timely.”

My experience with the organization gave me an impression that some of the police functions such as traffic control are so crucial that the police officers have to remain alert round the clock. More ironically, there are no rest rooms and toilet facilities for the traffic police that perform duties on the streets. He usually uses roadside tea stalls or any other shops as a rest room by making a request to the owner. A traffic police officer described his situation, “when a man being caught in traffic congestion for few minutes, can not tolerate the polluted environment, and becomes impatient but we have to control traffic standing on the polluted streets for hours long.”

‘International labor standards’ of ILO (C132, 1970; C52, 1936) advocates annual paid holidays for the employees apart from public and customary holidays. Article 103, 104 of the labour law of the country mentions about the weekly holidays while article 115, 116, 117 and 118 of the law describe about casual leave, sick leave, festival leave and annual paid leave for the workers. But excessive workload, staff shortage and emergency nature of the service make it difficult for the police officers in Bangladesh to enjoy weekly holidays and other kinds of leave. Even though the country has two weekly holidays (Friday and Saturday) but these holidays are nothing different than the other two days of the week for them. One respondent stated, “While the other

government employees enjoy their weekend with their family members in the park, we have to ensure their security and safety in the park. I do not remember my family had the opportunity in the last couples of years.” It is also revealed that government-declared special holidays bring special duties and more responsibilities for the police members. On those occasions, their duties are enhanced through the special deployment. As a result, getting holidays on any of the two Eid festivals is rare opportunity for a police officer. Related one respondent: “Holidays on two Eid festivals hardly come to our lives...Usually we get holidays for one festival only...not more than 20 percent of the total forces get the Eid holidays every year.”

Police officers have little scope to enjoy their stipulated 20 days of Casual Leaves (CL) a year and 15 days of Recreation Leave (RRL) for every 3 years. I interviewed nearly a dozen and a half of police officers some of whom have been serving in the police department for over 35 years but did not find anyone who was able to manage at least 10 days of CL and a full RRL in his life time. All the officers noted that they usually have to remain happy with the recreation allowance only. A very few officers avails the opportunity of recreation leave. This perspective was supported by another respondent bearing a high rank, “We usually try our best to give holidays or leaves to the junior officers despite having huge shortage of police manpower and resource constrains...as you know”. In addition he said, “I think, not more than 5 percent of the police forces get the opportunity to enjoy casual leave. About me, I enjoyed 5 days casual leaves last year out of stipulated 20 days. I am sure this kind of experience is common among all the police supervisors.”

The ILO Convention R115 advocates adequate and decent housing accommodation for the employees provided by the employer. The crisis of government-provided accommodation is so severe and acute that only a small percentage of the total officers can get the opportunity to live with their family together. One of the respondents stated:

“Only 2-3 percent police officers get government-provided family quarter in the posting place. Maximum police families have to reside either in rented houses nearby posting places or in the villages at their permanent homes. To rent a house in any of the main cities in the country is expensive compared to our monthly salary. The rest of the salary beyond rent is quite inadequate and insufficient to maintain family”.

He wondered how many officers keep their family in the rented house with the current salary which he viewed nearly impossible without corruption. Securing a seat in the barracks is not an easy task for a police officer himself. A police member considers him lucky if he or she has a single cot, and has not to share with anybody. But sharing with other fellow colleagues by lining the cots is a common phenomenon. A constable living in a barrack house said:

“I along with 20 other officers live in a small congested room in a barrack...we have very few cots in that room. So we align them to accommodate more persons ...There is no space to walk in between. ..We do not have any compartments to put the clothes. We just hang our clothes on a rope... During the summer, we suffer most... we have four ceiling fans only in our room...”

They also described the living condition of the barrack as unhygienic. When asked he stated:

“For sixty people in a floor, we have only four toilets and two bathrooms...everyday morning during the office hour we have to compete each other to occupy the toilets and bathrooms...we follow a routine so that we can cope with rush hours...we always try to keep the toilet clean but it is hard...”

But ILO convention C161 prescribes occupational health and safety measures in the working and living places. The Chapter VI and VII of the labour Law of the country thoroughly describe the safety measures and health standards for the workers in the industry. The police officers particularly the subordinate officers in Bangladesh are far away from living a standard life. It can be said that the unhygienic condition of the barrack houses, the low take-home salary, limited access to health, the low quality of the food ration appear to be not conducive for the officers to lead a standard life. A respondent when asked about the standard of living, he stated, “Neither we can give adequate time to our family members nor a standard of living...” After 15-16 hours of hard working when a police officer reaches home, it is very likely that he or she must be exhausted. The long work hours and hazardous environment may also pose a serious threat to his or her health and life. It is a common scene everywhere in Bangladesh that a traffic police performs his duties standing in the middle of a busy street under scorching heat or heavy downpour. One traffic inspector said, “The most handsome and good physique young people usually join police sergeants but their skin gets burnt and become thin within few days of joining.”

The Conventions C98, C154, and C135 of the ILO enable workers to have the right to organize and bargain collectively. The ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (2006) advocates to respect, promote and realize the principle of recognition of collective bargaining rights. Chapter XIII of the Labour law describes the nature and extent of the trade union rights of the worker. Unfortunately, the literal meaning of collective bargaining on the part of Bangladesh police is really absent because the police officers do not have a union to bargain collectively. The subordinate police officers (constable to sub-inspector) are not aware of any existing representative body for them while the gazetted police officer mentioned about an association of the high ranking police officers. The Forum of the top rankers sometimes presents their suggestions or recommendation to the government if asked. One respondent stated:

“...Our association is not similar to the labor association or of the same kinds... we can not bargain with the government to fulfill our demands. As a disciplined organization, we can not call for work abstention or demonstrate on the street...we are not allowed though. We place our demands during the meeting with Prime minister on the eve of police week held once a year...It is up to the government to fulfill the demands if it thinks fit.”

On the other hand, the lower ranking officers have a formal meeting with the unit head called ‘welfare parade’ held once in every month in order to discuss their work-related problems. One respondent of the Inspector rank said, “We generally discuss our problems in the welfare parade participated by almost all the subordinate officers of the respective unit ...It is like an open session for the officers.” When asked what kind of matters you discuss in the welfare parade he said, “The matter relates to the leave, food rations, accommodation and other problems of the similar kinds that can be solved by the unit head within his power and capability. He forwarded the unresolved issue to the higher authority to be solved.” he added further, “truly speaking; we are not comfortable while placing demand before a top ranked officer....sometimes the questions to be asked is pre-formulated by the Reserved Inspector in-charge of the welfare parade.”

Another respondent of the inspector rank was concerned about the discrimination between gazetted and non-gazetted police officers in terms of facilities and other matters. He noted: “One of the main reasons behind BDR mutiny in 2009 was discrimination within the force...we never know that would not happen in the police

if situation does not change.” Some of the respondents were found critical of the ill treatment and behavior of the superior officers. They pointed to the master-slave relationship between the senior and junior police officers. One responded phrased, “Some of our senior officers treat us like slaves...they sometimes forget that we are also human being.” He advocated for a friendly and effective relationship to remove distrust between junior and senior officers.

5.2.2 Wage: One of the major problems of the police officers in Bangladesh is their low wage. The Police officers especially the lower ranking officers have more difficulties to survive with the minimum wages. Their salary is far away from the national and international standard (see appendix B). The monthly salary of a constable is just around 78 dollars i.e. \$1.30 per day which is nearly equal to the international poverty line \$1.25 a day (World Bank 2011). They end up with very little monetary return at the end of a month. Their salary is also inconsistent with current market prices of daily necessities. Every year the prices of commodities go up but their salary remains fixed. As a result, they have to go through hardship to maintain the family with the salary. A respondent posted in a metropolitan city lamented, “The salary I get is so minimal that I do not dare to get married whereas it is even hard for a single person to survive. I earned less than a rickshaw puller or a garment worker.” One respondent serving as a Deputy Commissioner in a city described the current salary structure as “inadequate to survive, and insufficient to lead an honest life against price hike.” She further said “Government is also much aware of the fact. Government is not raising the salary or allowance perhaps due to socio-economic condition of the country ...but the salary structure of the police should be reviewed immediately”. ‘International labor standards’ of the ILO (C131, 1970) advocates to fix a minimum wage by taking into account the general level of wages, the cost of living, social security benefits, the relative living standards of other social groups and other economic factors of the country. Article 2(45), 138-142 of the Labour Law of Bangladesh also proposes a minimum and standard remuneration for the employees of the country.

5.2.3 Consequence: All the respondents spoke similarly over the physiological consequences on them. Due to irregular and outside eating habit, Gastric disease is epidemic among them. One of the respondents noted: “Gastric problem, heart disease,

hepatitis B, diabetics and various skin diseases are prevalent among the police members.” Of them, traffic police are most vulnerable in terms of health risk. One police sergeant revealed:

“I along with other 152 young men joined Chittagong traffic division in 1991. Within few months, 140 of us were infected by hepatitis B. Even though I was not among them but I was suffering from other kinds of disease such as fever and gastric problem”.

Many of them expressed their latent intension to quit the job expressing their job dissatisfaction. One of the respondents was nicely quoted: “It is as if I have committed a sin by joining police. I can not quit the job because my family depends on my income. I’m at ‘the point of no return’.” When asked, “Why have you joined the police when it is too bad?” One officer stated: “Before we joined the police we thought we would be financially and socially solvent but the situation is quite far from the expectation.” He expressed concern over the staff turnover saying that quality people will not join police service in Bangladesh if the situation does not improve in near future. When asked about corruption, another respondent stated:

“Even though there are some corrupt people within the organization but most of us hate corruption. Sometimes we are compelled to take bribes just to meet the investigation and other operational costs, and daily necessities. Government’s support and supply of vehicle, fuel and other commodities are totally insufficient. ”

On the other hand, the high ranking police officers found that police officers have a distinctive position in the society than many other similar job holders despite its hazardous and fatigue nature. According to them, police officers are honored and adored in the society. They viewed the ration system and serving in a UN peace keeping mission can be seen as a unique opportunity for police officers. No other government employees have this opportunity other than the security forces. But ICG reported that only 3.3% of the total forces only get the opportunity to serve in UN mission where salaries are almost fifteen times than their usual salary (2009:11).

When asked how then do police maintain social order under such resource constraints and staff shortage, one of the respondents threw a reverse question, “How can we maintain law and order when the number of criminals is more than the police? Even though we can maintain it somehow but many times we failed to keep order. ” Another respondent described how he manages the operational and other costs: “In

the third week of every month, the fuel allocated for the police station runs out. I depend on the alternative sources other than the police organization. In return, I sometimes have to give him favor. I know its impacts and consequence but what else I can do?”

The respondents have varieties of opinions when asked about their reaction to the resource constraints and deprivation of their rights. Most of the respondents spoke similarly that they try their best to give better service to the people but they can not fully satisfy the people’s demand and expectation due to lack of resources and workload. One respondent phrased his feelings “Is it possible to behave normally with hundreds of people after performing duties for such long hours?” A respondent predicted a foreseeable future if their calls are not heard and demands are not met. He worded: “the similar working conditions led to a bloody rebellion by the BDR members. Police in Bangladesh also revolted in 1993 demanding for better payment and working conditions. Another such possibility in near future can not be ruled out.”

Chapter Six: Interpretation and Discussion

6.1 Introduction: The previous chapter presented the analysis of data and this chapter provides discussion with respect to research questions and literature review.

6.2 Impediments leading to police rights violation:

6.2.1 Legal obstacles: Realization of many of the economic and social rights of the police is obstructed by the national and international legal barriers (Marks & Flemming, 2006). The national legislative framework of a sovereign state includes broad labor law legislation, party political standpoints, social movement environments, and the configuration of police organizations (Marks & Fleming, 2006:187). Even though all the respondents referred to the Police Act of 1861 as the main legal barrier to the realization of their economic and social rights, there remain

other legal barriers to police rights in the country. The members of police officers in Bangladesh suffer a big blow as they are not qualified as ‘worker’ or ‘labour’ of an industry or factory under the national labour law. According to the section 2(65) of the Labour Law 2006, a person who is employed in any establishment or industry is to be qualified as ‘labour’. It was clearly stated in the section I of the Law that the Law will not be applicable to the employees of the government officers including the disciplined forces. Apparently, the loss of employment status as per definition does not entitle the police officers in Bangladesh having many basic labor rights enshrined within the law. But the definition of ‘industry’ as per the Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969 implies any business, trade, manufacture, service, employment or occupation. Besides, the development of the community policing movement in the country transforms the idea of ‘police force’ into ‘police service’. Moreover, police within public sector in Bangladesh can be seen as a growing ‘industry’ (Marks & Fleming, 2006) with 123,197 member staffs and \$ 420 million annual turn over (ICG 2009:9).

The Constitution of Bangladesh (1972) also permits government to put reasonable restrictions to the fundamental rights stated in the chapter III for the sake of public safety and order. According to the Article 45 of the Constitution, any provisions of chapter III related to the basic fundamental rights shall not be applicable to the members of a disciplined force. Unlike the private workers, the police members are not allowed to put their demand publicly through demonstration or strikes.

In addition, the operation of civil service is regulated by the state civil service laws and a range of specific laws distinguishing between ‘general’ and ‘specialized’ civil servants. The activities and functions of the police forces as ‘specialized civil service’ are governed and controlled by the specific laws such as the Police Act 1861 and Police Regulation, Bengal 1943 (PRB). The police officers in Bangladesh hold dual status among the civil servants. It therefore can be argued whether the principles of general rights and obligation, and social benefits applicable to specialized civil servants or not. The distinctive status deprives the police officers from enjoying a number of basic rights. On the other hand, the section 29 of the Government Servants Rules (1979) permits all government employees to form and join trade union for

protecting their professional, social and economic rights except the subordinate police officers from constable to sub-inspectors.

The countries in which police are denied basic labor rights are usually emerging democracies characterized with autocratic rule, corruption, and low level of civic engagement (Marks & Flemming, 2006). In Bangladesh, democracy is not very old and is in an early stage of development like many other countries of South Asia. As an emergent democratic country, it has been struggling to follow and establish many of the democratic norms and idioms in its various state organs. The countries, in which the collective bargaining right of police is denied, usually make a reference to the ILO's core labor conventions in order to justify their actions of prohibiting police unions. The debate engenders a high level of conflict too as it is concerned with public security and safety, and public order. The ILO statutes do not approve strikes activity to the police, fire brigade and other public emergency services because of possible uncertain outcome. The governments of those countries as member states of the ILO argue that the Convention no. 87 and 98 dealing with the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining respectively are not immediately applicable to the security forces. They also indicated that the ILO thus allows its member states to impose restriction on these labor rights in the interest of national security and public interest. In reality, the labor relations and employments rights of the police end up with no labour rights for them as the limitations is exploited and extended to the strict prohibition by the state. In this regard, the case of Argentine police members who approached to the ILO for their labour rights against the state can be drawn as a reference. But the committee of the ILO came up with a decision that favoured the Argentine government (ILO, 2003b:6)

6.2.2 Socio-economic and socio-political factors: The complex socio-political condition of the country also hinders change in the overall working environment of the police. No government has been willing neither to overhaul the antiquated system of policing nor to repeal or amend the colonial-era legal instruments for police such as the police Act 1861, Criminal Procedure Code 1872 and The Evidence Act, 1872. These laws give broad powers to the government or its agents (the Ministry of Home affairs) to control and regulate the police force. They never want to lose the controlling power over the police but retain it. The poor working conditions and low

salaries has turned the police in Bangladesh into a weak, corrupt and politicized force (ICG 2009, Shahjahan, 2000). It was stated that the weakness of the police thus paved the way for the military to have greater control over internal security and civilian police matters. The short history of Bangladesh witnessed numerous incidents in the recent past in which police were used for narrow political and partisan ends. The internal police matters were also politicized through political appointments, transfer and posting instead of merit. The bureaucracy and the business community also provide strong opposition to reform the police working environment. Both of them have a history of exploiting the weakness of the police organization for their vested interests. If police were well resourced and well paid, it could have been difficult for them to misuse police for their narrow interests. The military is also careful about the change and reform within the police force. As a result, the new Police Ordinance 2007 drafted under the sponsorship of UNDP and other development Donor still failed to come into force due to opposition and lack of willingness from the above actors.

The socio-economic condition of the country can also be a negative factor that obstructs to reform poor working conditions and low salaries. A high level police officer also referred to the financial ability of the government so that the salary of the police officers can be increased many fold. In Bangladesh, nearly forty percent population lives below the international poverty line (Rahman, 2009). But in order to raise the police salary to a reasonable amount, government does not need a huge budget to spend. According to a senior home ministry official, government will have to spend only extra \$12 million dollars per year with a view to raising the monthly salary of 88000 constables to \$215 (ICG 2009). If the police officers are paid overtime allowance in addition to the operational budget, their grievances could be neutralized to some extent. Recently, government fixed a minimum salary and overtime allowance for the garments workers which police members could also be awarded. Whereas every year government allocates huge budget for the external security, the internal security issue gets assigned little importance by the government.

6.2.3 Conceptual barrier to police rights: It is a common practice in Bangladesh to group and lump police together with the military. The formation of the specialized unit Rapid Action Battalion RAB in 2004 makes it difficult to distinguish between police and military as it hires members from all the forces including police, military,

navy, air force, and BDR. Moreover, army personnel are sometimes posted on deportation to the top most positions of many civil forces such as Bangladesh Ansar. But a clear distinction should be made between the functions and identity of the police and the military (Waddington, 1999 & Reiner, 1978 cited in Marks & Fleming, 2006). One ex-highest ranked officer of Bangladesh police commented: ‘Militarisation of the police would create a “ghetto mentality”, which would divorce the police from the people and reduce accountability’ (ICG 2009:7). It is also believed that the duties of police have to be performed within the parameters of a disciplined force as they perceive themselves as a highly disciplined force. The officers feel that demonstration or protest of any kind undermine the tradition and spirit of a disciplined force like police. But the introduction of private and community policing underpins such traditional idea of policing as highly disciplined service.

6.2.4 Discrimination and ill-treatment within the police: There exists a sense of feelings among the lower level of police officers being discriminated. They feel that they are often discriminated in terms of food rations and other job facilities. Before the 2009, the low level police officers had less food rations than that of higher ups. But just after the BDR mutiny, it was made equivalent to that of high level officers. Still the lower ranking officers object to a ‘master-slave relationship’ and ill-treatment of the superior officers. It is alleged that some senior officers show rude behavior whereas others are reluctant to grant leave for the junior officers.

6.3 Impacts: It is difficult to predict the exact nature of outcomes of the organizational stressors on the police individual, organizational and social level. The impact may range from physical sufferings to serious behavioral outcomes. The behavioral responses of the police individual are likely to range from petty police misconduct to the police brutality that might lead to any form of human rights violations of the citizens in the country.

6.3.1 Realization of police rights other than economic and social rights: The different organizational stressors within the police department lead not only to the violation of their economic and social rights as discussed in the earlier paragraphs but also to the violation of many of their civil and political rights. For instance, excessive work hours, many shifting duties, absence of weekly holidays and less leave

opportunity seriously hamper their right to family life that fall under the category of civil or integrity right. All the respondents spoke similarly that they are unable to give either a standard life or minimum time to their family members. Kirschman (2006) also noted that similar organizational stress is likely to be a source of continuous strain for the policemen and their family members. The civil right to privacy is also under threat due to the lack of sufficient arrangement and unhygienic conditions in the barracks (the daily star August 10, 2007). The political rights of the police officers in Bangladesh to join and form association, and the right to join assembly are also violated as they do not have trade union right.

6.3.2 Corruption: Even though the respondents had a strong intention to quit the police job, nobody was found among them or they know who had quit the job in recent past. The reasons they mentioned was they had reached to a point of no return. There might be another reason other than what they mentioned. The police have organizational opportunities to make additions to their salaries through other means what they call “side income” through extortion, bribery and racketeering (ICG 2009). Due to the absence of legal means of income through salary and other benefits, side incomes may become a common and accepted practice among the police members either to meet the operational and investigation costs or financial needs. Many of them might be exploiting this ‘opportunity’ for accumulating money and wealth for their personal gain as indicated by Porter (2005). It is very likely that when take-home salary of a police officer is very low, he or she will surely be a sure candidate for corruption. As a proof, corruption in Bangladesh police is also rampant and deep-rooted (Odhikar, 2008). Well-remunerated police personnel are less likely to be involved in undesirable activities, such as corruption (Feiner, 2009).

6.3.3 Political misuse: The financial weakness and other kinds of resource constraints makes the police excessively dependent on state and other actors to meet up their operational costs and personal needs. Besides, the existing police legislations hold the police accountable to government rather than local population. It thus leaves a room for the ruling class to exploit police as an oppressing tool for their own vested interests. It is widely alleged that all governments in Bangladesh had used the police to suppress its political enemies while many politicians have exploited them to enhance their personal interests. Political leadership also needs police to halt

investigation against them if any when they are allegedly involved in corruption or crimes of any kind. This unholy nexus between police and political elite may facilitate gross human rights abuse in the long run. Even though these fundamental flaws have been acknowledged by all the governments since the independence, none of them has so far taken effective steps towards a competent and accountable police force.

6.3.4 Police behaviour with the public: Police in Bangladesh do not have good reputation in terms of giving service or human treatment since the British period. Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) also branded police as one of the most corrupt organizations of the country (2007). Resource constraints, shortage of manpower and other logistic supports are the major sources of police stressors responsible for the reduced performance of police organization in Bangladesh. Their minimum human demands and operational requirements often remain unmet. As a result, people they serve do not get proper service as it was expected. Most of the respondents admitted that they can not fully satisfy the people's demand and expectation due to organizational shortcomings. Kirschman (2006:67) also stated that it is hard for the police officers to serve the people properly if they are poorly supported by their agencies. Similar findings were also revealed in various newspaper reports of the country regarding police service. One national daily was reporting: "Police service in the country can be immensely improved by giving logistic support and human treatment" (the Daily Star August 10, 2007). Related another officer: "If these humanitarian issues are not taken seriously by both the government and the media, and a police person is not given his or her dues, he or she can not be expected to work efficiently or even honestly." (Karim, 2007).

6.3.5 Staff turnover: It is frequently told that good and honest people do not come to join the police in Bangladesh. Whether it is true or false, this hearsay reflects a general impression of the society about the police members and the organization. Many parents do not welcome their son or daughter to join the police. As a result, the organization is deprived of recruiting talented and honest officers. On top of this, people who join the police ignoring all the bad rumors and hearsay, suffer from depression and dissatisfaction. Feiner (2009), Huddleston (2002) and Senjo (2010) also warned that qualified people would be discouraged joining police service and look for secondary or tertiary employment unless working conditions are improved.

Regarding police atmosphere in Bangladesh, Paolo Del Mistro, a police reform specialist said “people in Europe and the United States of America would not take the job as it can not provide basic needs like decent salaries and housing facilities” (the New Age February 22, 2007).

6.3.6 Military intervention: Lack of resources, staff shortage, poor working conditions and low pay in the police department of Bangladesh usually undermine the spirit of effective policing and social order that are considered as pre-requisite to the realization of human rights. ICG (2009) reported that the weakness of the police organization in maintaining social order has already given the military an opportunity to intervene in civilian police matters. Many special drives are generally conducted by the deployment of army troops as it was done in the recent past. Now army has a permanent role in civilian force through the specialized unit of RAB. The inability of the police to control pre-election violence in 2006 led to the military intervention into national politics in 2007 (ICG, 2009). Every time the military interfered in civilian matters and declared state of emergency, they made an excuse of law and order situation of the country. The realization of many human rights is usually halted and limited during state of emergency.

6.3.7 Force rebellion: The dire state of poor working conditions and low pay in the civilian and armed forces may lead to a bloody rebellion. For instance, similar context sparked bloody BDR rebellion in 2009 leaving over 75 people dead (ICG 2009). There are also a number of similar instances of police revolt in the history of Bangladesh. In 1948, the East Pakistan (current Bangladesh) agitated in Dhaka for the fulfillment of their various demands. Later in 1955, there was police unrest for a similar context (Karzon, 2006). Subordinate police officers of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) at the Rajarbagh Police Lines in Dhaka rose demanding better working conditions and increased pay in 1993 (ICG, 2009). Fortunately, it ended up without any bloodshed and salaries not increased but many officers got sacked.

Chapter Seven: Limitation, Conclusion and Recommendation

7.1 Limitation: The big challenge of the study was to remain neutral being free from personal bias so that the integrity of the study was not hampered. The possible

bias arose due to my five year's involvement with the organization as a mid-level police officer. This personal weakness made it difficult to conduct interviews without personal biases. In addition, the biasing of the respondents police officers might also have hampered the reliability and integrity of this study. Before the interview was conducted, my organizational position and rank were clearly passed to the respondents. It was very likely that they might have given biased and inclined answers being influenced that this study was aimed at bringing some benefits for the organization. As the researcher was an insider of the organization, the respondents might have had a sense of distrust fearing about their personal safety and security. As a result, some of the respondents looked to be very careful and conscious while giving answer of the sensitive questions. It was also possible that they did not hide the real truth or diverted it technically. However, through out the whole process of the study, I was cautious in maintaining neutrality and balance between professional connection and academic requirements as a researcher. I tried to stick to the research protocols as strictly as possible so that the reliability and validity of the data are not influenced greatly. Lack of primary and secondary data related to the topic also gave a considerable amount of limitation to conduct the study. Excessive dependency on a few available secondary materials might have influenced the validity and reliability of the study.

7.2 Conclusion: This paper investigated the economic and social rights of the police officers in Bangladesh by examining the working conditions, salaries, and other determinants that lead to the violation of these rights. The study also attempted to predict the possible causes and consequences of unfriendly working environment on police individual, organization and society from human rights and organizational perspective. The study ended up with three general conclusions. First, the economic and social rights of the police in Bangladesh are subject to wide range of violations that traces from their workplace to the living place. These violations include the right to adequate standard of living, right to work and equal pay for equal work, the right to trade union, right to organize and bargain collectively, right to rest and leisure, right to no forced labour, right to food, right to health, and right to accommodation. The internal threat to their rights comes from the organization itself that includes

legislative barrier, poor working conditions, low wage and insufficient organizational resource flow. The Police Act compels them to be extraordinarily overworked whereas the Labor Law excludes them to have various labor rights including collective bargaining rights and trade union rights. The extremely poor working conditions relating to excessive workload, insufficient holidays and leaves, unhealthy and unhygienic working and living condition and minimal salaries are leading to a broad range of economic and social rights violation of the police member in Bangladesh. The external factors outside the organization such as political ill motive, bad socio-political and socio-economic condition of the country also act as negative catalysts to the realization of their economic and social rights. Political desire to have a weak and corrupt police organization keeps the perennial poor working conditions and resource constraints alive since the British period. A strong, well-resourced and well-managed police organization can make it harder for them to exploit the police for their own interest. Being one of the poorest countries in the world, all the government seems to be reluctant to allocate more resources and budget for the police organization. The lack of interests of the human rights activists and academicians on the police rights discourse also has its share for the continuation of economics and social rights violations of the police officers.

The poor working conditions takes a serious toll on the health of the individual police members causing different kinds of health –related problems including gastric, heart disease, hepatitis B, diabetics and skin diseases. The physical sufferings of the police members reduce bodily function of the individuals that in turns decrease overall organizational performance in terms of giving service to the people. The dysfunctional force sometimes fails to maintain law and order of the society essential for human rights realizations. As a consequence, police members exhibit non specific and variable behavioral response which is really hard to predict. In psychological response, many police officers do not perform duties spontaneously as they have hidden intention to quit the job. Some of the police officers resort to corruption to meet either the investigating and operational cost or personal needs. They even can show extreme level of aggressive behaviour such as bloody rebellion if their rights and demands are unheard and neglected for over the decades.

7.3 Recommendations: In the introductory remarks of this paper, I argued for equal human rights of the police members. In an effort to look into human rights of police, I proposed to emphasize on their economic and social rights of the police in the workplace.

7.3.1 Recommendations for the government and policy makers: The findings and results can be utilized by the government and policy makers to incorporate quantitative and qualitative changes to the organization. It is the responsibility of the government to provide all the necessary resources and logistics supports to create favorable working conditions that reduce organizational stress and neutralize negative outcomes. Taking the socio-economic condition of the country into account, government should increase the police budget and salaries keeping consistency with local and international standard of living. The government should come up with positive attitude towards the internal security of the country which is incumbent for human rights realization of the people. At present, the government expenditure on policing comes from the revenue budget while there is nearly no development budget for the police. Government should take measures to increase the police-public ratio by raising the total police population to a reasonable level. This will substantially reduce the working hours and shift works, and increase individual performance. The policy makers or the police controlling authority will ensure that the officers are well managed, well trained and well-behaved through more caring and supportive culture. The police controlling authority should give more attention and focus on the member's overall wellbeing. In terms of physical and mental health risk, Police managers should make all out efforts to improve ill-health of the members including appointment of health specialists and psychologists. Role clarity, stress management and other kinds of training and promotion opportunities can play significant role in creating a favorable working conditions for the officers.

With a view to improving institutional development, the government must bring reform on legal framework that poses significant obstacles to the realization of human rights of both the police and public. There are a number of laws and legislation in place that contradicts with the human rights norms and values, and are ill-suited for

democracy and modern policing. The government should either overhaul the whole legislation system or amend the contradictory provisions of the existing laws. More specifically, the government can replace the current colonial-era police laws by passing the proposed bill “the Police Ordinance 2007” drafted under the sponsorship of UNDP and DFID. The laws apparently lost its utility as Bangladesh is no more a colonial state; rather it has been approaching to a modern and institutionalized democracy. The government can also seek an alternative way by moving towards amendment of the contradictory and vague provisions of the existing legislative systems in line with international legal and human rights standards. The limitations or restrictions mentioned in the Constitutions and the Labour law of 2006 for the disciplinary forces must not be reduced to such a level that undermines the spirit of human and labour rights. The government should allow the police officers to bargain collectively, and to join police union so that they can express their work-related problems and demands for considerations.

A political good will and consensus is also required to bring an institutional and functional change in the police organization. The existing legal framework and poor working conditions make the police weak being dependent upon the political leaders. If they favour the current atmosphere to continue, the human rights situation of the police in the workplace will never improve. As a consequence, the violation of general people’s rights will also remain at stake and risk because exploiting police by the political leaders for their own purpose has been an old political culture in Bangladesh.

7.3.2 Recommendations for human rights organizations: A positive change in the mind set up of human rights advocates and experts is also important for the realization of economic and social rights of the police in Bangladesh. Instead of keeping the interest and attention away from police, they can work with police for more autonomy and community partnership. They can make a positive impression in the police mind set up about human rights concept through giving proper training and also pleading of the same citizenship rights for the police members. A positive change of attitude of the human rights organizations towards police rights will ultimately benefit the millions of people to have their human rights protected and secured in a stable social order.

7.3.3 Recommendations for future research: Although there are some limitations of the study, the results have some implications for future research. Research can be undertaken to examine the relationship between human rights violations of police and that of general people. The future research may also look into the organizational performance of a public service organization in terms of human rights perspective if working conditions and employee's rights are kept poor and unmet respectively. These kinds of research may facilitate to develop an effective strategy to address human rights abuses by the public service employees in the field of human rights discourse.

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Appendix A

Police Rank in Bangladesh

Serial No	Rank	Number of Officers
1	Inspector General (IG)	1
2	Additional Inspector General (Addl IG)	11
2	Additional Inspector General (Addl IG)	11
3	Deputy Inspector General (DIG)	26
4	Additional Deputy Inspector General (Addl DIG)	28
5	Superintendent of Police (SP)	186
6	Additional Superintendent of Police (Addl SP)	232
7	Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police (Sr ASP)	210
8	Assistant Superintendent of Police	844
9	Inspector	2,307
10	Sub-Inspector (SI)	10,850
11	Sub-Inspector (TR)	254
12	Town Sub-Inspector (TSI)	107
13	Sergeant	1,213
14	Assistant Sub-Inspector	6,623
15	Head Constable (Armed)	5,000
16	Head Constable (Unarmed)	1,587
17	Naik	5,784
18	Constable	87,934
		Total:123,197

Source: Crisis Group Asia Report, 2009

Appendix B

Monthly salary adjustment by police

Serial no	Rank	Numbers of officers	monthly salary
1	Inspector General of Police (IGP)	1	Tk 23,000
2	Additional Inspector General (Addl IG)	9	Tk 19,300
3	Deputy Inspector General (DIG)	28	Tk 16,800/20,700
4	Additional Deputy Inspector General (Addl DIG)	30	Tk 15,000/19,800
5	Superintendent of Police (SP)	191	Tk 13,750/19,250
6	Additional Superintendent of Police (Addl SP)	240	Tk 11,000/17,650
7	Senior Assistant Superintendent of Police (Sr ASP)	217	Tk 9,000/15,480
8	Assistant Superintendent of Police	874	Tk 6,800/13,090
9	Inspector	2,359	Tk 5,100/10,360
10	Sub-Inspector (SI)	10,939	Tk 4,100/8,820
11	Sub-Inspector (TR)	10,939	Tk 4,100/8,820
12	Town Sub-Inspector (TSI)	10,939	Tk 4,100/8,820
13	Sergeant	1,213	Tk 4,100/8,820
14	Assistant Sub-Inspector	4,723	Tk 3,300/6,940
15	Head Constable (Armed)	5,000	Tk 3,300/6,940
16	Head Constable (Unarmed)	1,587	Tk 3,300/6,940
17	Naik	5,809	Tk 3,000/5,920
18	Constable	88,424	Tk 2,840/5,410

Source: Crisis Group Asia Report, 2009

Appendix C

(Police per capita by country against UN standard police-public ratio 1:450)



Source: NationMaster.com (URL at http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/cr_i_pol_percap-crime-police-per-capita)