In Brief

- **Development Challenge:** Prisons in Bangladesh are severely overcrowded, holding twice their actual capacity. The criminal justice system, governed by laws that date from the 19th century, is inefficient, irregular, and anachronistic. Many people, particularly the poor, face severe violations of their human rights.

- **Program Solution:** The government of Bangladesh, with the support of development partners, instituted a program entitled "Justice and Prison Reform for Promoting Human Rights and Preventing Corruption in Bangladesh" to reduce the number of pretrial prisoners, who are often detained unnecessarily. Paralegals were trained to provide information on prison conditions that was otherwise unavailable due to a lack of resources, time, or organizational capacity and to provide legal assistance to prisoners and their families.

- **Program Results:** The number of pretrial detainees dropped from 79 percent in 2010 to 62 percent in 2013. The average share of pretrial detainees has not decreased, however, since 2014. There is emerging evidence that the percentage of pretrial inmates in prison has been influenced by factors beyond the program’s control, such as political unrest and relocation of convicted prisoners.
Executive Summary

Bangladesh’s justice system is overwhelmed and its prisons are grossly overcrowded. There was a combined backlog of over 2.7 million civil and criminal cases as of May 2013 (GED 2015a, 22). Bangladesh’s prisons currently hold more than twice the number of prisoners for which they were originally built. A total of 52,876 people (74 percent of the prison population) are awaiting trial (International Centre for Prison Studies 2015). Prisoners have limited access to legal assistance, and many spend months or years waiting for a court date. A staggering 70 percent of the prison population is yet to be convicted, and it is estimated that 90 percent of these will never be convicted of an offense. Many people are detained for minor offenses associated with poverty. Release on parole or on probation is uncommon.

The government of Bangladesh, supported by NGO partners, instituted a program entitled Justice and Prison Reform for Promoting Human Rights and Preventing Corruption in Bangladesh (Rule of Law Program), a structured approach that combines the provision of direct legal support to those seeking justice; improvement of the coordination among the police, the courts, and the prisons to promote policy reform; coordinated interventions at the community level; and improved awareness of the operation of the criminal justice system.

The Prison Directorate identified two aspects of Bangladesh’s legal system that have created the current crisis in the prisons: the lack of access to legal assistance for prisoners and the slow pace of the judicial system. Additional factors that lead to prison overcrowding are the poor quality of police investigations, widespread disregard of legislation protecting vulnerable groups by the courts and police, and rigid restrictions on access to Bangladesh’s prisons.

The justice sector of Bangladesh consists of a highly complex set of stakeholders with different interests. All relevant justice sector institutions (courts, police, prisons, state legal aid, the bar, and public prosecutors) at the local and national levels had to participate in the Rule of Law Program to ensure its effectiveness.

Rule of Law Program trained paralegals to provide legal assistance to detainees in prisons. Paralegals were trained to research and provide information not otherwise available because of a lack of resources, time, or organizational capacity. A paralegal advisory service pilot program was first established as a pilot in three prisons. As of September 2014, they are working in 15 districts, and by 2017, they will be in 40 of 68 prisons in various districts of Bangladesh (GIZ 2014). Their work uncovered underlying needs and requirements that were not immediately apparent. Negotiations were undertaken with prison officials to allow trained paralegals to carry out their work with and for the prisoners inside the prison.

Paralegal aid clinics educated prisoners about basic legal procedures and prisoners’ rights. The paralegal aid clinics provided information that enables detainees to use the law to get out of prison, whether on bail or through acquittal or appeal, even if they do not have a lawyer.

Case Coordination Committees (CCCs) were created to improve the management of cases and to serve as multistakeholder forums to discuss and find local solutions to local problems related to the prison population and the case backlog. The CCCs reduced the backlog of cases through timely submission of police and medical reports, more frequent appearance of witnesses in courts, and active identification of cases for legal assistance.

A network of stakeholders was established at the local and national levels to improve collaboration within the justice sector and between the justice sector, other public services, the private sector, and organizations of civil society. In parallel to the activities in the prisons, the GIZ project Advisory Committee has held ongoing policy discussions with government institutions, such as the Ministry of Home Affairs; the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs; the Law Commission; the National Legal Aid Services Organization; the Bar Council; the Prison Directorate; etc. A number of important policy initiatives have resulted to find solutions to the main challenges of prison reform—case backlog and prison overcrowding.

The Justice Audit produced a comprehensive snapshot of Bangladesh’s justice system, through the analysis of data collected in 2012 in five pilot districts. The data are publicly available online. The findings provide a solid basis for policy recommendations and help identify bottlenecks in the system and areas of greatest concern.

Introduction

The prisons in Bangladesh are greatly overcrowded. Many prisoners are awaiting trial, but are unaware of their rights or too poor to afford even the assistance of the
legal aid system. The government has undertaken a program entitled Justice and Prison Reform for Promoting Human Rights and Preventing Corruption in Bangladesh (Rule of Law Program). This is a structured approach that combines the provision of direct legal support to prisoners and their families; improvement of coordination among the police, the courts, and the prisons to promote policy reform; coordinated interventions at the community level; and improved awareness of the operation of the criminal justice system.

**Development Challenge: Reducing Overcrowding in Bangladeshi Prisons**

Bangladesh’s justice system is overwhelmed. As of March 2015, there was a combined backlog of more than 2.7 million civil and criminal cases (GED 2015a). A total of 52,876 people (74 percent of the prison population) are awaiting trial (International Centre for Prison Studies 2015). Bangladesh’s prisons currently hold more than twice the number of prisoners for which they were originally built. This massive overcrowding makes it impossible for prisons in Bangladesh to provide the United Nations–defined minimum standards of adequate light, air, decency, and privacy. This failure particularly affects women, girls, and juveniles, who are left unprotected from abuse. The prison system provides limited scope for prisoner training and rehabilitation. In addition, overcrowding creates an ideal breeding ground for diseases such as pulmonary tuberculosis (Biadglegne, Rodloff, and Sack 2015) and HIV/AIDS, which are transmitted to the general population when prisoners are released.

The prisoners of Bangladesh are deprived of health care and medical facilities. Only 12 prisons out of 68 have prison hospitals, and most suffer shortages of doctors and manpower to provide services to ill prisoners. A lack of clean water and proper sanitation further impairs the health of ill prisoners. Medicines distributed in prison health centers are of lower quality compared to commercially available drugs, even though the drugs are purported to be manufactured by reputable pharmaceutical companies. Moreover, many sick prisoners are not admitted to hospitals, which face similar problems of overcrowding.

The criminal justice system fails the poor more than the rich. Delays in police investigations and court processes result in opportunities for corruption and unnecessary remand of prisoners awaiting trial, often for years. The availability of legal aid is limited in Bangladesh, and a lack of information and cumbersome procedures make it hard for poor people to access it.

**Delivery Challenge: Addressing Both Institutional Capacity and Prisoner Empowerment**

A recent study on the core problems of access to justice indicates that the most pressing problems of prisons relate to overcrowding and that the biggest cause of overcrowding is the number of prisoners awaiting trial (Moran 2015, 103). The key delivery challenge is how to tackle the problem of overcrowding of prisons caused mainly by the high number of pretrial detainees. This high number of pretrial detainees reflects the “disjuncture between the law in theory and the practice of pretrial detention” (Bhandari 2014, 7). Bangladesh suffers from this disjuncture for many reasons:

- Lack of trust in the fairness and efficiency of the criminal justice system
- Imprecise laws are applied arbitrarily
- Time limits for pretrial detention are unclear or not respected
- A lack of coordination among, and even within, criminal justice agencies typically lengthens the duration of police investigations
- The process of deciding between pretrial detention and release is biased in favor of detention
- Corruption and excessive pretrial detention are mutually reinforcing (Open Society Foundation 2014, pp. 42, Asia Report Bangladesh 2015, 13)
- Low level of awareness by prisoners of their legal rights
- Inadequate legal assistance and representation.

The Prison Directorate has made no secret of the dire situation in its prisons (GIZ 2013), pointing out that massive overcrowding makes it impossible for Bangladeshi prisons to deliver basic human rights. In some cases, prisoners have to take turns sleeping because there are not enough beds or adequate night-quarters.

Furthermore, the number of prison staff is low and overburdened with the management of the massive inflow of prisoners and the need to control the potential violence and crime that such overcrowding inevitably produces. The ability of prison staff to provide retraining and rehabilitation programs is thus extremely limited.
The Prison Directorate identified two main issues at the operational level in Bangladesh’s legal system that have created the current crisis in the prisons: (1) the lack of legal advice and legal assistance to prisoners; and (2) the slow pace of the judicial system that keeps prisoners in prison for protracted periods before their trials. Additional factors that lead to prison overcrowding are the poor quality of police investigations and widespread disregard by the courts and police of legislation protecting vulnerable groups.

The complexity of the justice system and the low level of legal awareness and knowledge on the part of prisoners make clear that enhancing the capacity at the institutional level (the supply side) alone would not change the overuse of pretrial detention. Rather, trusted collaboration among stakeholders throughout the system is required. A modern democracy with a sound belief and understanding of basic human rights requires a sophisticated criminal justice system that is accessible, affordable, and responsive to the specific needs and demands of the poor.

A legal empowerment approach would respond to these issues in Bangladesh’s legal system. The program of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) in Bangladesh: Rule of Law Program focuses on the everyday experiences of detainees, assesses their need for just and fair treatment, and improves their legal awareness (the demand side). The program is designed to enhance the capacity particularly of pretrial detainees to use formal and informal justice institutions to improve their situations. Although support from paralegals and early legal aid can help, the attitudes and behavior of other actors at the local and national levels, including adjudicators and decision makers such as judges and community elders and, ultimately, implementing agencies such as local authorities, service providers, and the executive branch, are also important.

Improving access to justice, supporting legal and paralegal aid programs, improving information management and cooperation among stakeholders to speed up the processing of cases, as well as assisting with monitoring and inspection mechanisms, constitute important elements of prison reform in Bangladesh.

The case study addresses four questions relating to justice and prison reform in Bangladesh

- Who is actually held in prison?
- Why are detainees held?
- Is their detention justified?
- How can detainees be freed from prison?

**Methodology**

The subject of this case study is a program of the government of Bangladesh entitled Justice and Prison Reform for Promoting Human Rights and Preventing Corruption in Bangladesh (Rule of Law Program). The Rule of Law Program is supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Spanish Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID) and implemented by GIZ.

This case study follows the GDI Delivery Case Study Guidelines and addresses the specific problem of overcrowding of prisons due to overuse of pretrial detention in Bangladesh. It documents the use of successes and failures to find pragmatic answers and possible solutions to the problem of overcrowding. The case study questions provide the entry points for the analysis and are intended to lead to solution-driven answers tested and provided by the program under scrutiny.

Interviews with senior-level advisors of the Rule of Law Program provided an analysis of the initial situation. In addition, several professionals working in management and operations of the two components of the program were interviewed, including the managers responsible for paralegal aid services, restorative justice and diversion, strategies to reduce recidivism, outreach and empowerment; justice reform, and corruption prevention. A number of stakeholders were interviewed, mostly in groups. These include employees of government ministries, functionaries of the prison administration on the federal, district, and local levels, and NGOs, among others. A Prison Week conference (held in December 2014) was analyzed to understand the strategic and operational approaches of the program for the relevant stakeholders.

Primary data from GIZ, DFID, and others have been collected and analyzed to provide the basis for this case study. Most helpful was the Bangladesh Justice Audit, a comprehensive data collection available online.¹ Secondary data and information have been analyzed to provide a wider view for this case study, including Vision 2021 of the Government of Bangladesh, the National

¹ The Bangladesh Justice Audit is a comprehensive snapshot of the current state of Bangladesh's criminal justice system. It assembles data collected in 2012 from five pilot districts and their corresponding national level entities and from all relevant justice sector institutions (courts, police, prisons, state legal aid, the bar, and public prosecutors). It is available at www.bangladesh.justiceaudit.org.
Sixth Five-Year Plan (2011–15) and Seventh Five-Year Plan (2015–20) of Bangladesh, and related analytical sociopolitical studies and reports.

Contextual Conditions

International development indicators classify Bangladesh as a poor country. Levels of poverty and inequality are high. Out of a total population of approximately 160 million, more than 40 percent live on less than $1.25 per day, and more than 75 percent live on less than $2 per day. Population growth is a continuing challenge, coupled with extremely high population density.

The Millennium Development Goals Progress Report for Bangladesh (GED 2015c) indicates that the country has already achieved five of the eight Millennium Development Goals (United Nations 2015, 119), including an increase in gross domestic product for 2015 of 6.5 percent (IMF World Economic Outlook 2015). However, many national and international human rights observers note that Bangladesh faces challenges in its compliance with goals for human rights (National Human Rights Commission 2014; Islam 2013).

In Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer 2010, citizens rated the judiciary at 3.5 on a 5-point scale (1 being “not at all corrupt” and 5 “extremely corrupt”). These findings were corroborated by the findings of a household survey conducted by Transparency International Bangladesh in 2010, which found that 88 percent of households that sought judicial services reported that they were subjected to corruption and harassment (Transparency International Bangladesh 2010).

Why Do the Poor Have Only Limited Access to Justice in Bangladesh?

Many factors contribute to the poor’s lack of access to criminal justice.

Criminal investigations overwhelm the capacity of the formal justice system. The courts faced a case backlog of more than 2.7 million civil and criminal cases (GED 2015a, 22). High Court judges, when asked what they see as the major problems faced by the district courts, highlighted (1) the practice of frequent adjournments; (2) incentives for lawyers to delay cases as long as possible; and (3) incentives for parties to delay the proceedings themselves. One judge responded, “People use the fact that criminal justice is slow and that few people accused of crimes are released on bail to punish people they are in conflict with by falsely accusing them of crime knowing that this will probably result in them spending time in prison while waiting for the trial to be finalized” (Moran 2015, 89).

Village courts, community-based mediation, and restorative justice programs are rarely used to divert appropriate cases away from the formal criminal justice system for more timely resolution. The government has taken a more active role, however, in facilitating one of these options by passing the Village Courts (Amendment) Act in 2013, increasing the size of the civil cases that village courts may handle to a maximum of Tk75,000 (UNDP 2013).

Perception surveys of citizens suggest that both the judiciary and the police have high rates of corruption. Citizens identify corruption as their most important problem when dealing with the police (UNDP 2015, 5). The 2010 Transparency International Bangladesh survey found law enforcement agencies to be the second most corrupt sector in Bangladesh (Hossian Khan and Raheduzzman 2010). According to the results of the National Household Survey 2012, the level of corruption in the judiciary sector decreased from 88 percent in 2010 to 57 percent in 2012, although the rate of victimization by corruption in the sector remained at 57.1 percent (Transparency International Bangladesh 2012, 16).

Bangladeshis also indicate different levels of trust in the services provided by different parts of the justice sector (Moran 2015). More than half of the respondents in a household survey carried out in 2014 for a study on access to justice in Bangladesh do not trust the police (Moran 2015, 55); but respondents who had heard of the Village Court (only 11 percent of respondents) have a high level of trust in village courts (Moran 2015, 67). Although quasi-judicial in nature, village courts fall under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives. One commentator notes that “As such, they act as a bridge between the informal and formal Justice Systems and are intended to provide a level of affordable, quick and accessible justice for all residents, particularly the poor, women and other vulnerable groups” (Moran 2015, 65). Access to justice through the district courts is expensive, complicated, and takes too long. Discrimination and corruption are also mentioned as significant problems in using the district courts (Moran 2015, 82).
Another serious problem is the low level of awareness of the legal rights of criminal suspects. Some of the services offered by the judiciary system are not used because of a widespread lack of awareness and knowledge about them among target beneficiaries, service providers, and other stakeholders. When asked to list their rights as criminal suspects, 43 percent of respondents in the 2014 household survey for the study on access to justice were unable to list any (Moran 2015, 47); only 11 percent had heard of the village courts (Moran 2015, 66); and 97 percent were unaware of the existence of legal aid offices (Moran 2015, 131). In contrast, about 57 percent of the respondents were aware of the district courts’ responsibilities (Moran 2015, 78).

Prisons are staggering under overcrowding that exceeds 100 percent, largely due to a disproportionate number of prisoners awaiting trial, many of them poor and without access to legal assistance. Delays in the justice system generally lead to high numbers of pretrial detainees. Better coordination and cooperation among important stakeholders are necessary to address inadequate case management and cumbersome and time-consuming procedures. Bail, release on warning, and restorative justice approaches could be used to reduce prison overcrowding (Moran 2015, 103).

The poor face specific problems in the formal justice system. In relation to the police, the three main problems are corruption, expense, and unfair treatment (Moran 2015, 46).

Access to justice is particularly difficult for women in Bangladesh, who suffer from many types of discrimination and are frequently victims of violence. Problems of access for women may be worsened by language barriers, limited education or illiteracy, the urban-rural divide, distance from the courts, and lack of childcare facilities. The practice of safe custody is a specific problem in prisons: female victims, both women and girls, of violent crimes, such as rape or trafficking, are placed in prison for their own “safety.” Although they have not been accused of any offense, these women and girls are kept in prison because they have no safe place to stay. However, the safety of woman often seems not to be guaranteed in safe custody (Manjoo 2014, 17).

Poor women may be unable to pay the costs of investigating cases and subsequent litigation, the rules of evidence may discriminate directly or indirectly against them, and there may be bias against female plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, lawyers, and judges. In many trials, victims and witnesses are subjected to aggressive treatment and afforded inadequate protection. Even when convictions for perpetrators are secured, sentencing may be disproportionately lenient, court-ordered damages and fines may remain unpaid, or a perpetrator may be released early, taking advantage of existing loopholes in the legal system (Odhikhar 2012).

Although the use of litigation predominates in formal justice systems, the formal justice system has also established mediation as an alternative mode of dispute resolution to provide the poor with access to justice. Mediation has been defined under section 89A of the Code of Civil Procedure as flexible, informal, non-binding, confidential, nonadversarial, and consensual dispute resolution in which the mediator shall facilitate compromise of the dispute without direction or dictating the terms of such compromise. The informal dispute resolution process using also mediation is relatively more accessible to the poorest members of the community and can be relatively less expensive (Gulfam 2014).

Why are so Many Pretrial Detainees in Prison?

Asked another way, what delays the trials of so many poor prisoners for so many years? Previous efforts in Bangladesh to minimize the time detainees spent in prison were not successful for a number of reasons. Pretrial detainees suffer from a widespread lack of awareness and knowledge of their rights and the options for improving their situation. Although legal aid is guaranteed in principle by the Legal Aid Services Act (2000), the legal aid system is highly bureaucratic and organized in a way that makes it difficult for poor people to apply. Although legal aid policies were amended in 2014, increasing the accessibility and use of legal aid (Jahan 2015), some problems typical of legal aid systems remain.

The urgent needs of the poor and impoverished are not met because of delays in the delivery of legal aid services. Law enforcement agencies, the police, courts, and prisons do not cooperate to share information or deliver services, let alone solve problems. Coordination and communication among the legal aid committees, legal aid offices, panel lawyers (lawyers to serve in a particular court or for the trial of a designated action), and clients are weak. Moreover, prison officials often fail to coordinate with the legal services authorities to identify pretrial detainees most in need of legal aid. A shortage of full-time district legal aid officers hampers their ability to
carry out important legal aid functions, such as advising, counseling, mediation, monitoring, and education.

Some lawyers do not diligently file and contest the legal aid cases to which they are assigned. Many lawyers do not provide quality legal services to their clients and fail to take necessary steps in pending cases. As a result, the legal aid office often does not know the status of cases filed, pending, or disposed of.

The ad valorem court fee, which is required for filing some cases before the court, is not covered by legal aid. Consequently, many people are unable to file cases because they are too poor to pay the fee. Moreover, other incidental costs of litigation, such as expenses for client and witness travel, are also the responsibility of the litigant.

Alternative dispute resolution has recently been accepted for use as a form of legal aid. District legal aid officers, for example, with the consent of the parties, can settle a dispute using alternative dispute resolution. But courts and tribunals do not refer cases to district legal aid officers for amicable settlement, and alternative dispute resolution has not been instituted on a large scale.

After their release, prisoners have limited access to educational or vocational training, work programs, and drug counseling. Some released prisoners enter into a cycle of offending once released.

The level of corruption remains high and the delivery of justice is seen as a commodity rather than a right.

Why is it so Difficult to Implement Prison Reforms?

Promoting prison reform is challenging in Bangladesh. The function of imprisonment in Bangladesh is exclusion from society, and detainees are almost totally isolated from outside contact. Prisons are the “forgotten” institutions of the criminal justice system—secretive, and with little public attention paid to the way they are organized. Internal supervision is not systematic, and external monitoring is restricted. As a consequence, little is known about the internal organization, management style, working conditions for staff, and living conditions of detainees in Bangladeshi prisons. The prison system is usually not an important element of judicial reform programs.

Prisons are hierarchical institutions, on the one hand, but also large and complex organizations, on the other hand. Managing prisons is very challenging. Problems mentioned by key prison officials include: (1) overcrowding, which contributes to problems such as limited access to health care and medical staff; (2) prisoners under 18 years old being kept with older prisoners; (3) pretrial detainees whose case files are lost spending excessive amounts of time in custody, especially when they do not have a lawyer to follow up on their behalf; (4) delays in the system generally that lead to high numbers of pretrial detainees; and (5) the difficult and bureaucratic process of obtaining a vokalatnama, the document that must be signed by a client, even a custodial client, to prove that a lawyer has been appointed, which leads to a lack of access to lawyers for the poor (Moran 2015, 103).

Overcrowding, staff shortages, resource limitations, and obsolete procedures force the prison system to focus on security instead of on the necessary steps toward rehabilitation of prisoners, such as risk assessment and sentence planning. Prisons become “universities of crime” rather than crime prevention institutions.

Most human rights organizations focus on due process and the rights of the accused and of the victims. However, they do not generally focus on the rights of prisoners.

A combination of insufficient capacity, policies that favor the wealthy, the lack of awareness of legal rights, corruption, and the high costs of a legal defense (such as travel and fees) weakens the justice system. As a result, the poor are unable to protect themselves, their assets, or their interests. This has a direct impact on poverty reduction and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. It creates an overwhelming sense of powerlessness.

How to Address the Delivery Challenges?

Justice and Prison Reform for Promoting Human Rights and Preventing Corruption in Bangladesh (Rule of Law Program) uses a structured approach that combines a number of different components to address the challenges of prison reform in Bangladesh. These components include the provision of direct legal support to those seeking justice; improvement of the coordination among the police, the courts, and the prisons to promote policy reform; coordinated interventions at the community level; and improved awareness of the operation of the criminal justice system.

Effective implementation of the Rule of Law Program will require more information about the legal status of detainees, particularly pretrial detainees, living conditions in prisons, and access to health and education. In addition, pretrial detainees and their relatives should
be supported in identifying and exercising their rights to improve their situations.

Support only to the demand side, however, such as access to paralegals, means little without considering how paralegals interact with other state institutions, public authorities, and stakeholders. Developments on the supply side of legal action are equally important to achieving meaningful change. Interconnected engagement across justice institutions and other relevant stakeholders is necessary.

To address the prevailing challenges in the justice sector, the National Sixth Five-Year Plan (2011–15) of Bangladesh included access to justice for all (GED 2010). However, out of the activities planned, only two have been completed so far (strengthening alternative dispute settlement mechanisms and securing permission for NGOs to accomplish legal aid activities (GED 2015a, 32, 34). Therefore, in the Seventh Five Year-Plan the following activities are proposed to improve access to justice for the poor (GED 2015b, 171–173):

- A case recording and tracking system will be established as well as a case management and coordination committees at the district level.
- An Ombudsman will be appointed.
- The village court program will be scaled up and local government will promote the use of the village courts for resolving disputes among citizens.
- NLASO (National Legal Aid Services Organization) will develop a strategy to work with NGOs and with other government agencies to “promote access to justice”, and will set targets for joint provision of “quality legal aid, especially for the poor, women and marginalized.” NLASO will also “appoint District Legal Aid Officers in 64 districts.”
- The legal basis for ADR is to be established, “building on the current legislation, to establish an extra tier of mediation under ADR.” The government will work to improve local-level mediation capacity and increase public awareness of ADR.

**Tracing the Implementation Process**

**Initial Considerations**

Effective prison reform is dependent on the improvement and rationalization of criminal justice policies, including crime prevention and sentencing policies, and on the care and treatment made available to detainees and to vulnerable groups in the community. Reform of the prison system should therefore always employ an integrated, multidisciplinary strategy. Thus, reform initiatives must encompass criminal justice institutions other than the prison system, such as the prosecution and police services.

The justice sector of Bangladesh features a highly complex set of stakeholders with different interests. Prison reform would have been impossible without groundbreaking trust-building measures within and between major groups of stakeholders of the justice system in Bangladesh. More precisely, trust was slowly but increasingly generated through, for example, repeated personal encounters with representatives of stakeholders from administrative bodies and through transparent communication and documentation of individual activities. Although a systematic approach serves as a guideline and instrument for implementation, the human factor is paramount for a stable foundation of trust among stakeholders in the highly sensitive area of justice and human rights. It is fair to say that a good number of decision makers in the justice system were detached from the reality of the justice system they were supposed to serve.

Prison resources are limited, however, and the blockages that cause overcrowding originate outside the prisons and must ultimately be addressed there. The Bangladesh Ministry of Home Affairs and the Prison Directorate have initiated the Rule of Law Program, which brings together all involved parties—the police, the courts, the prisons, social services, and the ministries—to effect a significant and permanent reduction of overcrowding in prisons in Bangladesh. The project is being supported by the German government and implemented through GIZ.

The necessity of a trust-building approach to address sensitive issues such as corruption is clear. Building and establishing trust with and among the stakeholders was necessary to enable the commissioning of system diagnostics and perception surveys and the acceptance of paralegals working within prisons.

A hierarchical understanding of systems and processes is characteristic of Bangladesh. The Rule of Law Program accommodated this fact by inviting and involving the relevant ministries from the outset. An important goal of the Rule of Law Program is the building of long-lasting networks of trust for all stakeholders throughout their ranks to ensure their active involvement and
participation in the improvement of individual elements of the justice system and the interdependencies of the system as a whole.

To ensure that the elements of the justice system were understood from different points of view, the needs and problems of the detainees and their families were analyzed. The Rule of Law Program has been considered by almost all stakeholders as an “honest broker” between converging—and in some instances diverging—interests.

Strategic Approach

The objectives of the Rule of Law Program are (1) the reduction in the number of pretrial detainees, and (2) an improvement in conditions for prisoners.

Figure 1 illustrates the three intervention strategies for improving the situation of (pretrial) detainees in Bangladesh and for reducing the number of pretrial detainees.

“Germany is the first partner addressing an area which our own government and the international community have neglected until now, i.e. Prison Reform. With the smallest donor project budget in the Ministry of Home Affairs, we believe we will achieve the biggest impact”

Mr. Abdus Sobhan Sikder
Former Home Secretary

Figure 1 Intervention Strategies for Pretrial Detainees in Bangladesh

Source: GIZ
The first, and most commonly used, intervention strategy is detention in prison compounds. However, there are two other strategies for reducing the number of detainees: (1) diversion and (2) bail. The diversion approach aims to reduce the number of detainees by avoiding a single-track system (to detention or prison) in favor of a multitrack system with multiple nondetention options. Diversion focuses clearly and transparently on low-level offenses, such as minor theft, petty assault, and minor injuries; demand for dowry (not including violence resulting from a dowry demand); gambling; financial disputes; damage to crops; and minor cases of fraud. Diversion covers different options of treating low-level offenses: (1) restorative justice at the community level; (2) mediation; (3) arbitration; and (4) village courts. Promoting these options improves access to justice especially for the poor.

The third intervention strategy is to release pretrial detainees on bail pending trial. Under section 167(2) of CrPC, Sub-section 5 states that the Magistrate or the Court of Sessions “may” release the accused on bail, subject to their satisfaction, if the police investigation remains unfinished within 120 days from the “date of receipt of the information relating to the commission of the offence or the order of the Magistrate for such investigation.” Section 498 of the CrPC states that the amount of bail bond will be fixed with “due regard to the circumstances of the case” and shall “not be excessive.” However, the high proportion of pretrial detainees is a partial consequence of the nonimplementation of the law and judicial directives (for more details, see the analysis of Bhandari 2014, 72).

An improvement in conditions for prisoners requires accurate information about prison conditions and the needs of different stakeholders of the justice system. This information was not initially known or communicated quickly or clearly among stakeholders. A three-year pilot phase was instrumental in building trust and improving cooperation among stakeholders. Paralegals were trained to research and provide information otherwise not available because of a lack of resources, time, or organizational capacity. Their work uncovered underlying needs and requirements that were not immediately apparent. Additionally, Case Coordination Committees (CCC) were established to improve the management of cases, including diversion options, at first in each pilot district, and later in the additional districts.

Operational Approach

As one of two components of the Rule of Law program, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), Bangladesh, and the Prison Directorate initiated the project for the Improvement of the Real Situation of Overcrowding in Prisons in Bangladesh (IRSOP) in 2008. The networks of stakeholders discussed and devised a three-pronged, strategic approach to tackling the identified challenges in prisons:

- Address the inflow of detainees into prisons by expediting legal proceedings and increasing case flow
- Address diversion of detainees using, for example, restorative justice measures
- Address recidivism with appropriate measures for facilitating detainees’ reentry into society after release, such as skills development and referrals for drug treatment.

In 2008, to support the strategic approach, IRSOP began programs in six prisons in three pilot districts, incorporating trust-building measures with decision makers and stakeholders. Negotiations were undertaken with the Prison Directorate to allow trained paralegals to carry out their work with and for the prisoners inside the prison. The data gathered by the paralegals are also given to the monthly Case Coordination Committees (CCC), which were created to serve as multistakeholder forums to discuss and release prisoners under appropriate circumstances. The paralegals also hold Paralegal Aid Clinics inside the prisons to educate prisoners so they can use knowledge of the legal system in their own cases. An ethnographic survey was carried out as part of the Justice Audit, an analytical exercise that gathered extensive data to support a comprehensive presentation of Bangladesh’s justice system. The survey included approximately 6,000 interviewees, 1,200 people in each of the five districts covered by the Justice Audit, and measured the perception of the general population of the functioning of the justice system in Bangladesh. The survey results are part of the Justice Audit, and the data were made public. The findings, of the survey and of the Justice Audit as a whole, provide a solid basis for policy recommendations and help identify the bottlenecks in the system and areas of greatest concern.

Figure 2 presents an overview of the chronological sequence of the program interventions described above.

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2 IRSOP (Improvement of the Real Situation of Overcrowding in Prisons in Bangladesh) was the title of the program in the first phase.
Paralegal Advisory Services Inside Prison: Gathering Evidence of Actual Conditions

Overcrowding in prisoners was first identified in 2007, by a GIZ program focused on the legal empowerment of women. These findings provided the impetus for examining the situation of prisoners in more detail. In 2008, a pilot initiative was started in three prisons. Supported by the Rule of Law Program, a partnership was initiated between the Ministry of Home Affairs (through the Directorate of Prisons, which exercises overall responsibility for proper management of the prison system) and two legal aid NGOs (Bangladesh Legal Aid & Services Trust and Madaripur Legal Aid Association) to organize a paralegal advisory service within the prison.4

Paralegals are not lawyers; they provide free legal aid to prisoners and their families, while assisting lawyers, the police, and the courts. Paralegals working in prisons are bound by a strict code of conduct negotiated with prison authorities. For instance, because lawyer-client privilege does not attach to them, paralegals conduct all their activities and interactions with prisoners within the full sight and hearing of prison officers. They may not contact the media without the approval of the prison authorities and must quit the premises immediately on the order of a prison officer. Any breach of the code of conduct results in dismissal.

IRSOP initially trained 18 paralegals to work in the six pilot prisons—Dhaka Central Jail; Kashimpur Central Jails I, II and III; Bogra District Prison; and Madaripur District Prison. The training was carried out by judges, magistrates, police and prison officials, and lawyers. Two NGOs, Bangladesh Legal Aid & Services Trust, and Madaripur Legal Aid Association, employed and supported the paralegals in Dhaka, Bogra, and Madaripur.

The paralegals, who are generally young and have relatively little prior experience, receive several months of training on topics, such as basic criminal law and judicial procedures, the information management system, and how to carry out the Paralegal Aid Clinics that educate prisoners on basic legal procedures. This includes singing and acting, as these skills may be deployed as teaching tools for prisoners. The arrangements for paralegals to access a number of Bangladeshi prisons represent an important step, as previously this was not permitted. The program was seen, however, as quite successful and is being expanded (GIZ 2014). In September 2014, the paralegals were working

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4 Paralegal Advisory Services first began working in prisons in 2000 in Malawi. For more information on Paralegal Advisory Services, see Penal Reform International (2005).

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Figure 2 Chronological sequence of program intervention in IRSOP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>• Problem identification by Government of Bangladesh • Commitment to real change</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>• Pilot initiative in 3 districts • Partnership with legal aid NGOs • Introduction of paralegal advisory services • Formation of case coordination committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>• Extension to Rangpur and Mymensingh, supported by German and Spanish government (5 districts in total)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>• Upscaling to 10 districts (total), supported by UK • UK support to include work on rehabilitation, diversion, and advocacy • Pilot for justice audit in five districts</td>
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<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>• Upscaling to 15 districts (total), supported by UK • Justice audit results published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>• Upscaling to 20 districts (total), supported by UK • Interministerial discussions on improvements of justice system</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GIZ
in 15 districts, with expansion to 40 out of 68 prisons by 2017. Every day, they enter a lock up holding from 400 to 600 prisoners, and interview 20 to 30 people over the course of 2 to 3 hours. After conducting these interviews, they “present the information they have gathered to the District Legal Aid Committee or a panel lawyer from one of the three NGOs supporting the project: BRAC, Bangladesh Legal Aid & Services Trust (BLAST), and Madaripur Legal Aid Association (MLAA)” (GIZ 2014). This then enables legal aid workers and lawyers to follow up on this information and request action from authorities.

In 2009, as part of the pilot project, the paralegals, under the auspices of GIZ and the Prisons Directorate, administered a census of the prisoners at the six prisons to determine their legal status and, more specifically, to collect the following information:

- Proportion of the prison population that was poor
- Proportion of the prison population with legal representation
- Average time spent in custody as a pretrial detainee
- Total number of women and children in prison, including the number in safe custody
- Proportion of prison population who could not afford their bail bond and therefore could not be released despite having been granted bail
- Proportion of prisoners still in prison past the term of their sentence.

Figure 3 shows the results of the prison census.

The paralegals distributed their findings to the members of the local CCC—lawyers, prosecutors, the courts, and police and prison officials. The CCC, headed jointly by the District Judge and the District Commissioner in each of the three pilot districts, met monthly to consider ways of reducing the local prison population, and attempt to resolve long pending cases expeditiously and find local solutions to local problems related to the prison population and the case backlog.

Paralegals and the CCCs implement the elements of the program. One hundred twenty-eight paralegals (30 percent of whom are female) were trained and deployed in 15 of the 64 districts in Bangladesh by the end of 2014. The CCCs are active in the same 15 districts. A highly effective element in the design of the CCC is the joint chairmanship, which brings together the judiciary and the local administration. The CCCs reduce the backlog of cases through timely submission of police and medical reports, active identification of cases for legal assistance and so encouraging more frequent appearance of witnesses in courts.

The CCCs use diversion to reduce the number of detainees by substituting a multitrack system for a single-track system. Diversion incorporates the concept of restorative justice (Alam 2014), which focuses on the needs of the victim, the offender, and the community. One driver of the high prison population is the prevalence of detention for petty cases (e.g., theft, vandalism, and drugs). Restorative justice is an effective way to divert
such people accused of such offenses out of the criminal justice system (GIZ 2014). This mechanism “brings offender and victim together in a dialogue, helping them to understand each other” (GIZ 2014). This dialogue is guided by a trained mediator, with the goal of reaching an agreement on “compensation or restitution, thus closing the circle with healing instead of antagonism and punishment” (GIZ, 2014). Restorative justice treats crime as an offense against an individual and enables the victim and the offender to agree on an outcome that is acceptable to both and may prevent minor offenders from reoffending.

Mediation has long been present in Bangladesh, creating a foundation on which to build and introduce restorative justice. For example, the Madaripur Mediation Model, developed by the Madaripur Legal Aid Association (MLAA), is used both across Bangladesh and outside the country. The IRSOP project works with local partners (MLAA, Rangpur Dinaipur Rural Service (RDRS), and Light House) to provide training on restorative justice. As of late 2014, 60 people with extensive mediation experience had received training as restorative justice master trainers, and these master trainers had trained 360 restorative justice facilitators to conduct mediation working with community organizations. By 2016, the project was slated to train 20 more restorative justice master trainers in each of 10 districts (GIZ 2014). A total of 1,971 matters were mediated within the community by 432 trained restorative justice facilitators. Of these, restorative justice was used to resolve 108 cases, and 815 matters were diverted from the criminal justice system as of the end of 2014.

To expand the reach of the paralegal advisory services, rehabilitation supervisors and counselors were recruited through the Rule of Law Program partner NGOs. They coordinate with prison officers and relevant government departments, the private sector, and NGOs for the provision of skills training, counseling services, and life skills.

Rehabilitation of prisoners with drug problems has been another priority for Inspector General Iftekhar Uddin. Data from different sources show that between 21 percent and 25 percent of prisoners are drug dependent. Until 2015, 2,817 prisoners were referred to various agencies for treatment. At the Inspector General’s request, the Department of Narcotics Control and Family Health International have provided training for prison doctors on “Assessment and Care for Drug Dependent Prisoners.” In addition, Dhaka Ahsania Mission will be working inside the prisons, training prison officers and paralegals and counselling drug dependent prisoners. Dhaka Ahsania Mission, MLAA, RDRS, and Light House will also be providing drug treatment and skill training inside and outside the prisons, before and after release. These initiatives of IRSOP were implemented initially in 10 prisons.

The work carried out by paralegals and the CCCs has led to the timely release of some 5,600 detainees in 15 districts as of the end of 2014, many of whom would previously have remained in custody. Many of these prisoners are once again able to support their families, which enables younger family members to attend school. As of 2015, the program is active in 20 districts, and is expected to cover 40 districts by the end of 2018. Approximately 1,300 cases have been diverted to mediators and village courts. Detailed information has been given to almost 700 prisoners to prepare them for rehabilitation. Initial partnerships have been entered into with training and therapy institutions on the training of prison staff to promote sustainable rehabilitation and the reintegration into society of released prisoners.

The program found, however, that even when prisoners were eventually released, many faced social stigma, could not find employment, and struggled to rebuild their lives, with many drifting into homelessness or drug addiction, or facing other problems (GIZ 2014). A GIZ document from 2014 notes that at that time, “rehabilitation of prisoners and ex-prisoners is a relatively new topic in Bangladesh, but one that is very close to the heart of Brigadier General Syed Iftekhar Uddin, the Inspector General of Prisons. As he explains, ‘A significant number of ex-prisoners re-engage in criminal activities after they are released due to a lack of proper rehabilitation facilities and failure to reintegrate into the society’” (GIZ 2014).

To tackle this problem, the Inspector General sought partnerships with the private sector, which “often faces a critical shortage of skilled labour,” to help train prisoners in skills that could increase their ability to earn a living. These skills ranged “from construction, welding, plumbing, electric mechanics and repairs to hair styling and sewing machine operation” (GIZ 2014).

Several problems not anticipated in the design of the measures arose, however, with respect to skills training. Although several training opportunities have been identified, only a very small number of prisoners have attended training. It was difficult for the prison authorities to allocate prisoners for training. Prisons are understaffed
and prison staff are allocated to fixed posts by regulation. Nonsecurity activities are assigned to prisoners, and their removal would inhibit the smooth running of the prison. The process of approval for each type of training was slow, and permission for program staff to enter prisons was not always granted. Uncertainty surrounds the availability of pretrial prisoners, who make up the majority of potential trainees. Discussions have moved toward focus on exploring ways to expand the scope of the skills and services to be more relevant to pretrial prisoners. First measures to this end were piloted in 2015.

**Improving Knowledge of Prisoners’ Rights by Organizing Paralegal Aid Clinics Inside Prisons**

The Rule of Law Program also trained paralegals to educate prisoners and their families. The code of conduct for paralegals prohibits individual counselling sessions in prisons. Instead, paralegal aid clinics educate prisoners about basic legal procedures and prisoners’ rights, covering topics such as bail, how to behave in court, legal aid, and the judicial process. Theater and song play key roles in presenting this information, with prisoners playing the parts of lawyers and magistrates, and with the paralegals often writing songs to help convey the topic at hand (GIZ 2014). The paralegal aid clinics provide information that enables detainees to use the law to get out of prison, whether on bail or through acquittal or appeal, even if they do not have a lawyer. In police stations, paralegals also meet with arrestees and explain judicial procedures and help them to understand their options, as well as identify potential cases for diversion and restorative justice (GIZ 2014). Paralegals maintain contact with a prisoner’s family, help to arrange surety for bail, ensure that witnesses appear in court, and provide legal or social support on release.

By the end of 2014, more than 10,000 pretrial prisoners (35 percent of those in the system) attended paralegal aid clinics. Post-clinic surveys indicated that 45 percent of the attendees understood the relevant elements of the law and knew how to improve their situation.

**Establishing Networks of Stakeholders**

In addition to the establishment of the CCCs in the pilot districts, and in order to address the prevailing challenges across the board on the ministerial level, the Rule of Law Program initiated meetings between representatives of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives (MoLGRDC). It took repeated efforts to overcome entrenched “defense lines” on both sides. GIZ mediated without political interests of its own. As a result, the ministries such as the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs and other relevant institutions such as the Law Commission, the National Legal Aid Services Organization, the Bar Council, and the Prison Directorate, meet regularly to find solutions to the main challenges of prison reform—case backlog and prison overcrowding. These meetings are headed by the Law Minister with the participation of the Ministry of Home Affairs and high-level representatives of the police, prison system, and border guards. Options currently under discussion include diversion of cases, particularly those against drug users, by police and courts; ensuring early legal representation, for example, at police stations; improved case management and deadlines for trials and prosecution; introduction of sentencing guidelines; and eliminating the practice of safe custody.

**Justice Audit to Provide Transparency on the Performance of the Justice Sector**

Starting in 2012, the Rule of Law Program supported a comprehensive Justice Audit of Bangladesh to provide scientifically verifiable data to supplement the data collected from the pilot districts and prisons. The Audit was declared “open” by the Law Minister and made publicly available online in 2014. It provides, for the first time in Bangladesh, a transparent, analytical look at the justice system. This is unprecedented in Bangladesh, since criminal justice data are typically considered to be very sensitive.

The Justice Audit is a comprehensive presentation of Bangladesh’s criminal justice system. It assembles data from the five pilot districts and all relevant justice sector institutions (courts, police, prisons, state legal aid, the bar, and public prosecutors) at the local and national levels. Its findings confirmed the strategic decisions made in the planning of the program and reassured decision makers of the necessity and urgency of a structured operational approach to addressing the identified challenges. The Justice Audit can serve as a model for similar analytical exercises in other former British colonies in South Asia.

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5 The Justice Audit is available at bangladesh.justiceaudit.org.
Although the personnel, financial, and organizational shortcomings of the justice system were well known, the Justice Audit confirmed, with more detail and precision, the need for more judges, prisons, and trained staff. The Audit also identified factors that caused delays in the functioning of the justice system.

Since the implementation of the Rule of Law Program, the number of pretrial detainees dropped from 79 percent in 2010 to 62 percent in 2013. The average share of pretrial detainees, including those in the 15 newly added districts, has not decreased, however, since 2014. There is emerging evidence that the percentage of pretrial inmates in prison has been influenced by factors beyond the program’s control, such as political unrest and relocation of convicted prisoners. Early evidence from the field also shows that the average period of pretrial was reduced only in certain program districts.

Lessons Learned

Benefits of a Multilevel and Multisector Approach

A multilevel and multisector approach successfully combined the provision of direct legal support to those seeking justice; improved coordination among the police, courts, and prisons in instituting policy reform; coordinated interventions at the community level; and improved awareness about the criminal justice system. The case study shows the advantages of both addressing the needs of detainees and increasing institutional capacity to solve identified problems. Regular coordination at the local level through CCCs and at the central level through interministerial meetings creates opportunities for stakeholders to agree on common approaches to solving problems. Successful problem solving encourages stakeholders to be more responsive to future policy solutions. The development of networks and partnerships (some of which were unlikely at the beginning) enabled stakeholders to see the necessity of collaboration, not the least between formal and informal elements of the justice system.

Work at the informal level within communities has identified a preference for informal means of dispute resolution in minor cases. A detailed review of the information management system, which finally resulted in the establishment of the Justice Audit, provides evidence for this conclusion. The use of community-based organizations by the partner NGOs enables community members to develop informal means of dispute resolution most suited to their specific context.

An important part of the program was the focus on low-level offenses, such as minor theft, petty assault, and minor injuries; demand for dowry (not including violence resulting from a dowry demand); gambling; financial disputes; damage to crops; and minor cases of fraud.

The long-term sustainability of the program requires policy reform, the strengthening of institutional arrangements within the criminal justice system, and strong links among those providing a range of services. NGOs can provide a range of services to the prison population and affected communities that become an integral part of the system.

The Need for the Right Personnel

Successful execution of the program required a team of national personnel who were subject-matter specialists and understood the need for collaboration with other stakeholders. It was important to retain senior personnel who could build and maintain trust with senior government counterparts. The case study clearly identified the need for a solid interpersonal working relationship between implementing agencies and government representatives in a highly sensitive sector.

Trained paralegals were critical to the success of the program. The preparation of cases by the paralegals for the monthly meetings of the CCC proved instrumental in the release of approximately 5,600 people since the start of the program in 2010 through the end of 2014. The paralegals also advised courts, families, witnesses, and detainees to minimize the effects of the dysfunctional justice system. The needs of court users vary, but often start outside the court, as they must navigate through the “touts” and other unofficial people who wish to earn money from a system that should be free.

The case study found that the coordinated action promoted by the CCC was a major driver in securing the release of detainees. This is seen as a success factor in the delivery of the program’s objectives of reducing prison overcrowding and increasing access to justice.

The Need for Strong Information Systems

The development of a robust information management system is critical to track the performance of the project
and ensure the credibility of its reports. This requires the development of information collection, storing, and analysis systems, including continuous verification of compiled data. It can also be used to track target beneficiaries over time to provide sound evidence on the most effective strategies for assistance, rehabilitation, and reducing recidivism. The case study found that an information management system can be used to communicate the benefits of various interventions to stakeholders at all levels.

The Justice Audit, case studies, and gender assessments provide insights into the criminal justice system and people’s perceptions and use of the system. They can also become important tools for advocacy for policy reform.

**Focus on Women**

The incarceration of men, the level of conflict and violence in society, and the high degree of tolerance for violence has a negative impact on women. The program works to maximize the outreach and relevance for women by providing information, awareness, and services that can help reduce the impact on women’s health, education, property rights, autonomy, and social and economic status.

**How the Case Study Informs Science of Delivery**

When asking the question of what works and what does not work in addressing the delivery challenge, this case study can provide interesting and promising answers for the region (South Asia) and possibly beyond. To that end, the findings can inform and support further discussions on the science of delivery in the overlapping areas of human rights and good governance, in particular justice reform.

More systematically, the sequence of delivery in this case had been built on a clear and precise approach, both on the strategic and on the operational level. To that end, 9 steps were designed to ensure full understanding of all stakeholders and implementers alike (see figure 4). While a chronological sequence was at the heart of the approach, several learning cycles—repetitive, but not redundant—of individual steps were intersected at certain stages as demand dictated as well:

1. **Learning**: The case study shows how understanding context, stakeholders, systems, perceptions, and bottlenecks was instrumental for verifying the strategic approach and designing a suitable operational approach.
(2) Forming: Through the pilot phase, stakeholders and their interrelations and interdependencies were identified.

(3) Storming: Still in the pilot phase, initial ideas were tested and discussed with identified stakeholders.

(4) Norming: At the end of the pilot phase, networks of and platforms for stakeholders (bottom-up and top-down) were formally established, based on extensive trust-building measures, to define operational approach and to implement suitable activities.

(5) Reflecting: Throughout the pilot phase as well as implementing processes all stakeholders were encouraged to reflect on the more or less successful delivery mechanisms.

(6) Scaling: Only after a solid data base and network of trust among the relevant stakeholders was established were plans for the scaling up of the approach (from 5 to 15 to 40 districts) developed.

(7) Deepening: With scaling up, vertical and horizontal deepening became an issue, accompanied by the dimensions of economies of scale (efficiency) and empowerment and reach (effectiveness).

(8) Telling: From day one of the program delivery, the approach had a clear understanding that an integral element is about informing stakeholders on qualitative and quantitative data and results of all operations.

(9) Transferring: The program made it clear from the very beginning of identifying relevant stakeholders, that only those activities would be jointly planned and executed that could (political will) and would (economic resources) be sustained in the long run by the stakeholders themselves.

Bibliography


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