Introduction

Crime is world phenomena and with course of time it is going to be a complicated one. All over the world especially in technically developed countries, criminologists, detectives are adopting new methods to beat the crime through latest criminal investigation techniques. But in the country like Pakistan the sources of criminal investigation are mostly the same as were in the past.

In this research an effort has been made to understand the historical perspective of criminal investigation in this part of the world. What are the modern facilities to carry out the investigation? What pattern, what trends and reality is prevailing at our police to conduct the criminal investigation. A study has been made stations focus on it. Facts and figures have also been given to examine it.

The suggestions are also given to strengthen the proper investigation to trap the criminals. This research work is qualitative as well quantitative. Primary as well as secondary sources of research have been used to complete it.

Definition of Criminal Investigation:

Before understanding the criminal investigation in Pakistan, it is important to go through its definition. There are so many definitions of criminal investigation including the following:

"A lawful search for people and things to reconstruct the circumstances of an illegal act, apprehend or determine
the guilty party, and aid in the states prosecution of the offender"(1).
"The collection of information and evidence for identifying, apprehending, and convicting suspected offenders (2)".

In an other definition is said that
" Investigation" is a word confined to proceedings of Magistrates, and that "Inquiry" is the word appropriate to the proceedings of Magistrates prior to trial (3).

Now if criminal investigation is being concluded the result would come out to ask the questions as given below:

Who, What, Where, When, Why & How

The purpose of all these definitions and questions is to find out the guilt or make legal efforts to search out the truth through various sources adopted by law enforcement agency/police to produce and prove in the court of law.

As it is the main responsibility of police to insure law and order and implement law in the society so it is essential for police to bring criminals/ law breakers to the court of law for justice through investigation facts. Without proper criminal investigation it is impossible to prove the crime in Court. Thus criminal investigation has a great importance in any society of the world and so in our country.

It is said that in United States has almost 18000 public law enforcement agencies at the Federal, State and local levels of governments (4). Each of the 69 federal law enforcement agencies large and small has a specific jurisdiction, although one criminal event may involve crimes that give several federal agencies concurrent jurisdiction (5) and conduct the criminal investigation. But in Pakistan situation is totally different and concerned police is authorized to conduct criminal investigation (inquiry) at various levels in the same department.
Although the criminal investigation system is world wide phenomena but each society / country has its own sources, trends, approach to carryout the criminal investigation and Pakistan has its own system.

**Criminal Investigation in Pakistan / Background:**

As the Indo- Pakistan Sub-continent was the colony of British Government so all of the prevailing criminal investigation system has its roots in United Kingdom System of Police which they had introduced in India as their colony. The name Criminal Investigation Department was first used for the detective branch of the Metropolitan Police London in 1878, when it was reorganized for proper recording and dissemination of information (6). It was the time when United India was under the colonial occupation of English. But the suggestion for establishing criminal investigation department in the provinces of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent came from the Police commission of 1902-3(7). In Punjab the department was setup in 1905, with Sir Edward Lee French as its first Deputy Inspector General (8). The first case of difficult nature which brought the Punjab Criminal Investigation in to prominence was about the murder of a European girl for which Shouldam, an Anglo Indian, was found responsible (9). In Sindh criminal investigation department came in to being as a small branch under an Assistant Superintendent of Police in 1911(10). There were various sources applied by these branches to investigate the crimes including fingerprints, forensic laboratories, dog branches etc, details are given as under:

**Finger Prints:**

The credit for discovering the utility of finger impressions goes to China, where finger marks were first discovered on fragments of ancient pottery. The credit for finger prints for identification of persons, however, goes to the provincial government of Bengal. For the first time in the world, they utilized finger prints in 1858, for authenticating contract deeds and obviating chances of cheating. The step was taken under the order of Sir William Herschel, the chief administrator of Hoogly
district and Kanhaya of Bengal was the first man who fixed the thumb impression on a deed (11).

By 1897, the system was so perfected in Bengal that an independent committee appointed by the government to assess its merit, gave a verdict in its favor and the Governor General in council passed a resolution directing that the system of identification of criminals by finger impression should be adopted generally in British India (12) including in Sindh. In Punjab, finger prints system was introduced in 1896. By 1903, several finger print bureaus had sprung up in British India (13). This is a very important source of investigation used in East or West even now.

Forensic Science Laboratories:
The first forensic laboratory was established in Lahore in a photographic section of the criminal investigation department in 1930. By 1947 the laboratory was actively serving a training centre besides dealing with the examination of fire arms, cloth, fibers, dust, counterfeit, coins, forged currency, secret inks, hand written and typed material (14). Forensic science laboratories were also established in Peshawar and in Karachi.

Dog Branch:
The idea of rearing dogs for tracking criminals was mooted by the inspector generals of police, Bombay, Punjab and NWFP some time before 1940. But NWFP took lead and in 1943 sent W.R Saunders, Deputy Superintendent and Zahir-ud-Din, Sub Inspector to South Africa for training. On their return they trained others. But this system did not get much success because Hindus and Muslims both looked upon dogs as un clean things and had prejudices against handling them (15). But dogs are still used for foot tracking etc in Pakistan but it is not so common.

Foot Tracking:
In the field of foot tracking the people of Pakistan especially in Sindh, have a great expertise to reach the criminals through foot-tracking but this institution could not get any government support to strengthen it, but the people of rural areas have continued foot tracking as an important source to reach the
criminals but mostly it is private affair to do so by affected people.

Investigation Process:

In Pakistan the main source of criminal investigation is police. The investigation process starts when police stations are contacted by victim, or some police official, councillor or a community headman or watchman. Private Citizens can also lodge the report of the occurrence of a crime in a locality or phone call or complaint about any illegality. The court of jurisdiction directives on victim submission or contact of local informers or SUO-MOTO notice can also be issued for police action for any crime commission. Some cases are directly detected by police (16).

Service laws violations are reported by the heads of the concerned department for police action. This crime report is called "First Information Report" which commonly is known as (FIR). If crime committed is cognizable (Felony) the FIR would be lodged in the book concerned and investigation will be carried out. But if the crime is non-cognizable (Misdemeanors) the FIR will not be lodged in the same book but in another concerned book. According to law of Pakistan FIR is a most important document in a criminal case which furnishes the clue of the possible truth of the allegation against the accused and also cause a firm impression of the prosecution case. It is a statement which is made soon after the incident, when the memory of occurrence is fresh (17).

In connection with requirement for registration of FIR law of country says that police officer has to record FIR mandatory of a cognizable case under (Section) 154Cr. P.C. but where it is a non cognizable case then substance of such information is to be entered in the relevant register, but in each case refusal to register case is out of question (18). Police has no jurisdiction to cause delay (19). After registration of FIR, police is duty bound to conduct the investigation justly and fairly, without having influenced from the endorsement of higher officers. Further in law is any officer Incharge of a police station may without the order of a Magistrate, investigate any cognizable case which a court having jurisdiction over the local area within the limits of such station (20). When a FIR is lodged the police are required
to conduct the investigation that is consists of the steps as given under:

- **a)** Proceedings to spot
- **b)** Ascertainment of facts and circumstances of case
- **c)** Discovery and arrest of suspected offender
- **d)** Collection of evidence; and only an officer Incharge of police station has jurisdiction to investigate a cognizable offence (21).

It is said that in the United States are three major sources in which police suspicion is aroused:

- **a)** A victim or other witness complains
- **b)** An officer on patrol observes a crime or
- **c)** Police units actively search out a crime (22).

But it is as per law requirement in these societies. In Pakistan when a FIR is registered at Police Station, Generally Station House Officer (SHO), who is head of the police station would assign duty to a lower rank officer usually the rank of Assistant Sub Inspector (ASI) or to Sub Inspector to conduct the investigation, who mostly have no proper training or technical experience. What he has seen during the police job according to that experience he would conduct the inquiry and will prepare a report, regarding that crime, which is called "Challans" and it is submitted to the concerned court.

Being an important task to search out truth regarding so sensitive responsibility is just nothing to do with so seriousness. Generally it is the cause that police do not gets success in criminal investigation. Otherwise the myth about the detective investigation work includes that;
a) Criminal Investigation is exciting and often dangerous

b) Detective work is more important than patrol work

d) The detective possess difficult to come by qualifications and skill

e) A good detective" can solve any crime"; the police solve (or should be able to solve) most crimes (23).

The investigator must be mindful that the information developed may be tested in the court and should prepare for this ultimate possibility (24). But this is nothing to do with investigation in Pakistan; The trends and reality is totally different as given below:

**Trends and Reality:**

If we go through the trends and reality about the investigation in our society it will be as given below:

**First Information Report (FIR):**

The police investigation in Pakistan is conducted, when FIR is lodged by any source at any police station and police is legally bound to lodge it without delay in felony case. But the reality is that it is not so easy job to do so. Lodging of FIR is a very big problem even in felony cases, especially in country side where majority of the population belongs to

It is a common tendency in police to utmost avoid registering a case altogether, if unavoidable and there is some influence by a political figure or High ups of the department or some times court orders to register the FIR then is possible to register it but would be tried to minimize the nature of the crime as dacoity to robbery and robbery to theft. But it is also the trend that if there is influence by some powerful it can be turned as up side down and theft can be registered as dacoity. It is also a common trend to exaggerate the FIR by telling false story to
involve more and more persons as accused in criminal cases by complainants and when this case is sent to court it becomes difficult to prove it, naturally it takes lot of time to decide. This whole happens because of inefficiency and corruption in police investigation (25). In our society complainant tries to involve more and more persons to insure that no one is left out to persuade defense of the real accused. It is observed that if some one is seriously affected especially in violent crimes but there is no any influence or money as bribery to pay the police and real culprit party arrives first at police station to register their case, there are extreme chances to lodge the FIR on the victim of the incident. Generally in physical/armed conflict group or persons involved in try to prove opponent as guilty. For this purpose they also produce true or false witnesses but mostly that person or group will succeed who has influence or money because police will prove that accordingly in response to illegal gains, and thus innocent person is rewarded as guilty e.g. in the year 2003 at village Setharja (Balla) district Khairpur, Sindh, an incident had taken place in which a group of criminals belonging to an influential person attacked on a family in which a young man lost his eye sight and old person his arm fractured and other six were seriously injured. Attacking persons got no any injury but the FIR (No.97- dated Nov. 7.2003, P.S (Ranipur) was lodged on the affected persons because of influence and payment of bribery. In this incident up to district police officer was involved due to his affiliation with an influential person of the area. Later on this dispute was resolved by interference of a public jury in which FIR lodging persons were declared as guilty (26).

It is common trend that FIRs are registered not accordingly as crime is committed. Though chapter-x of the Pakistan Penal Code contains ample provisions to discourage laying of false information before a public servant, section 177,182 and 211 cover the subject amply. Chapter-xi of the same code shows the punishments for tendering of false evidence and offences against public justice and severe punishments are provided for these offences but mostly police do not care to take action against those lodging false FIR and give false evidence it is because of the lack of proper investigation and corruption in the department. Most of the SHOs show less incidents of crime in the jurisdiction of concerned Police Station as compare to his predecessor's
tenure. Like wise Sub- Divisional police officers and superintendents of police minimize incidents of crime to show better results. Thus unhealthy practice goes all the way up to the provincial governments (27).

According to a survey in a major city of Pakistan revealed that only 40% of the reported crime was registered and 60% complaints were turned away with one excuse or the other of the 40% registered crimes 'hardly half of the cases were worked out and presented in court of law for trial. It was because of faulty investigation and half of the accused were acquitted (28). This study proves that out of hundred only ten get the punishment, what about others, naturally would go to commit the crime. But this survey focuses on the city where people are more educated and aware of the law as compare to the rural areas, where majority population of the country resides and mostly illiterate and poor.

**Arrest:**

When FIR is registered at police station under Section (04) of the Criminal Procedure Code of Pakistan, police officer can arrest the person accused in the FIR. According to the same code under section 54, police can arrest anyone directly accused of an offence or against whom reasonable suspicion exists for his having been involved in any cognizable offence. Now what happens that due to these vast powers police can arrest any body whom they like to arrest. But it is generally observed that whether crime is cognizable or minor, even on simple complaint or just considering some one as criminal by his physical look person is arrested in country side.

*In one of the incident on August 18, 2007 a bonafide citizen namely Iqbal was sitting in a shop at Setharja town when a police party arrested him, without telling his crime. This police party on their way alongwith Iqbal shifted themselves to an other car already waiting on the road when they arrived at police station same police party declared that the car waiting on the road (stolen) has been recovered from Iqbal. When family of the arrested person contacted various police stations including this police station, they refused for any arrest and thus affected family remained under a great tension and continued his search,*
fearing may be he is kidnapped by some criminals in police uniform. It was third day that some one confirmed his arrest at the same police station. During this illegal custody by police, he was severely tortured up to three days only to compel him to confess the crime he had never ever though about. After a big struggle and interference by one ruling political person he was released. In this incident District Police officer him self was involved because he was approached by some influential person to do so. This is only one incident, out of many which would be taking place daily in this society in the name of investigation (29).

The arrests are made in bulk when a felony is committed especially in murder, kidnapping, dacoity or robbery cases. In this type of crimes when criminals are unknown, police go to arrest many people as suspects without any proof or warrant just only to get more and more amount for payment to release each of them one by one or as whole. On the name of arrest houses are raided, if wanted person is not arrested, his nearest relatives like his parents, wife ,brother, sister etc are arrested on behalf of wanted. In past it was common trend that arrested ladies by Police 90% of them were sexually assaulted while in custody (30).

In late 90s author had visited Khuhra town police station, where 15-20 male and female persons were kept in police custody, locked up in a small room. They were not themselves criminals but relatives of the accused, in kidnapping incident recently had taken place in that town. On the query about them a concerned person sitting there informed that all of them will be released one by one if police is being paid for each of them. They are poor people and can't afford the required amount and some persons have gone to arrange the amount for their release.

When an arrested person guilty or not guilty arrives at police station, he is welcomed there by humiliation, abusing and torture. Other wise if he is capable to pay bribe then no harm but is respected even being a criminal. If some one is arrested under any criminal accusation and he is released by any way because of his innocence, he is registered there in the police station and
in future if any incident of crime occurs in concerned area he is arrested repeatedly for that. Again he is tortured or is compelled to pay bribe for his release. This process continues until some influential person does not intervene. There are many examples that people absconded and became dangerous dacoits due to that routine arrest adopted by police (31), for instance dacoit Paroo Chandio is a very big example who killed 100 persons most of them police officers, because his main cause to become a dacoit was the atrocities by police.

Once author visited a police station, he saw that two young men between age of 14-16 years, arrested by police were brought at a police station as suspects in a homicide incident in concerned area. It was evening time and a number of police officers was waiting there to leave on their duty some where outside police station, just the boys arrived, and the standing police officers cordoned them, and started abusing on their mothers, sisters etc. dragged them down on the ground and were made naked before all of us. Boys were shouting, crying swearing for not committing any crime but just no body was there to listen them and now police started hitting on their naked thighs buttocks with sachputro (fan belt) (32). This was a very painful and humiliating torture but for police it was just like a pleasant game.

Both of boys belonged to a poor community and later on was learned that both of them were released because of their innocence. But what about that torture and humiliation which affected them mentally as well as physically for life long in the society living in.

**Investigation:**

The investigation generally is carried out under the information given by victim their witnesses, accused persons and their witnesses. Investigating officials also visit the crime scene, various inquiries mostly consists of statements interviews with concerned parties are also made. There are no modem or technical sources devices used in criminal investigation. There are no professional detectives or experts to investigate the crime but just a duty is assigned to lower level officers, some times
seniors to investigate the crime. The first step by the police is to arrest the people accused for. The quick response by police does not mean that it has so deep interest to beat the crime or to investigate it properly but just perform a duty mostly to consider it as an other chance to get bribery. It is not the police but the persons belonging to both parties victim as well as accused become active to contact the police to influence them to decide in their favor. In this connection all means of sources are used to over-come the other party or group. In case if some one is without any source or approach, he is poor not have amount to pay bribe, mostly he is the sufferer whether he is victim or accused.

It is a common trend that in criminal investigation police is bribed and influenced to decide the case accordingly. Fake documents and witnesses are also produced to decide the case in favour of concerned. Generally there are no scientific devices or honesty to get the justice so easy. But device commonly used by police in their investigation is the torture which is frequently used every where to compel accused to confess the crime committed or not committed. Torture at police stations is applied so severe that men of strong nerves are reported to have confessed to crimes never committed on account of or for the mere fear of torture. Since torture is accepted as standard practice and not always discouraged by the departmental superiors. When person is arrested he is mentally as well as physically tortured in police custody. In September 2007, in a survey conducted by Punjab and Sindh province Police with its 300 officers, 270 admitted that police use mental as well as physical torture during investigation only 30 officers were not clear in their response but they didn't deny from the use of torture, they said may or may not be (33).The difference is clarified in the figure as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Islamabad</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field research survey data September 2007
Use of torture during investigation

There are various physical tortures used by police during criminal investigation including slapping on the face, beating by stick on any place of body, torture by fan belt on the ground by laying upside down or hanged by ropes in the tree or roof of the building, keeping person long time to wakeup by using various tactics, pulling out the nails or crossing/pricking of needle below nails, apply of electric current on the genitals, pushing of the legs in opposite directions by force that joint between two legs is cracked, passing the iron ring through the nose to rope with roof or tree for long time, use of chilly and petrol in anus, pour of lime stone and tobacco water mixed in the nose, compel to take human urine and stool by mouth etc (34). Some times persons are so severally tortured that there are deaths under police custody. According to official figure there were 44 cases registered against police for killings in custody in the year 2006 as compare to 32 in 2005 and 32 in 2004 (35).

Cases registered against police for killings in police custody

There are no scientific sources introduced in the police to investigate criminal cases but still it depends on old conventional tactics and barbaric sources to investigate the crime. Karachi is the biggest city of the country but even there police is facing dearth of modem methods and scientific technology and rely heavily on Mukhbars (Informers) and forensic evidence is relegated to a secondary position (36).

After introduction of the police order 2002, investigation section of police is separated but the reality is that there is no any change or improvement in police working, because just police administrative set up is changed nothing else. Previously bribery was being paid as whole to combine police now people deal with two polices, Investigation Police as well as Operational Police. If we calculate scientific facilities available in the country including DNA facility, the details are given as under:
Investigation Facilities:

1. National Forensic Science Agency, Islamabad (DNA)
2. Kadir Khan Research Laboratory, Islamabad (DNA)
3. Forensic Science Laboratory, Islamabad
4. Center for Applied Molecular Biology (CAMB), Lahore (DNA)
5. Forensic Science Laboratory, Lahore
6. Chief Chemical Examiner, (Punjab), Lahore
7. Chemical Examiner, Multan
8. Chemical Examiner, Rawalpindi
9. Forensic Science Laboratory, Karachi
10. Chief Chemical Examiner, (Sindh), Karachi
11. Chief Chemical Examiner, (Sindh), Rohri
12. Forensic Science Laboratory, Quetta
13. Forensic Science Laboratory, Peshawar


According to official source the number of criminal cases sent to court after investigation by country police in the year 2007 up to October 2007 was 406435. The crime figure consists of two years in the country is as under:
### Number of crimes investigated by police

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Islamabad</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>197425</td>
<td>119433</td>
<td>112383</td>
<td>3315</td>
<td>3011</td>
<td>435567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>170609</td>
<td>124461</td>
<td>106144</td>
<td>2686</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>406435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: National Police Bureau Islamabad, November 28th, 2007.*

Thus criminal cases are sent to the courts but just without proper investigation. Due to this fact it becomes very difficult to prove them into courts and up to years these cases remain under the trials and justice is delayed. Mostly prisoners in jails suffer this problem and wait up to years to hear their decisions. Due to these conditions people decide their cases as their own and adopt centuries back illogical sources to decide the crime e.g. in various areas of country, accused person is asked to prove his innocence by walking necked feet on the burning ashes if he is burnt he is guilty if not, he is not guilty e.g. In February 2007, a tribal council in a remote area of Punjab, ordered a man to walk neck deep through freezing water for ten minutes to prove his son was innocent of stealing. ...but the man, Khuda Baksh only lasted two minutes and was finned Rs. 50000 (850 dollars) by elders at Tumman Khosa village, dozens of people watched on ... the man was sent in to a pond and told to walk 80 feet with his hands and feet tied and only his head above water (37).

It is happening in 21\textsuperscript{st} century just like the same as centuries back Romans had a source to prove some one accused to guilty or not guilty, by trial on fire to take a red-hot rod in hand (38). But in our society this all happens because of the absence of confidence of public in police investigation. It is the state of affairs that when ever any police man or officer is seen people, start to think about him as dishonest, injustice, threat, torture, and symbol of rigging (39). It is the fact that when former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in Rawalpindi it was commonly demanded that the investigation should be made not by Pakistani police. It was not merely for technical bases but it is generally believed that country police would not be fair in this investigation, because always police has been politically used and professionalism is lacking.
Causes:

Since the establishment of country in 1947, generally the governments have not focused so seriously on the development of criminal justice system, police and its working including its criminal investigation system which could provide fair, free and easy justice to the public. It is the main cause that still criminal investigation conducted by police depends on traditional sources mostly carried out by un-experienced police officers with least technical sources/facilities.

Always there is political involvement in police affairs. The officer or man who would refuse to accept ruling political influence will be the sufferer. From appointment to transfers all are concerned with political persons' wish. The former Inspector General of Police Hafiz S.D. Jamy says that in Pakistan police has been knee deep in politics and its potential in changing the verdict of election is recognized on all hands, although exaggeratedly, police has been misused by the politicians in all our elections (40).

It has been observed that police has been used by mostly successive governments to harass and intimidate their political opponents. When you politicize the police and use it as the main instrument of coercion, it naturally changes its outlook, behavior, attitude and its working which will defect the true investigation. Political involvement only does not affects the police working but lack of training and facilities' problem is also on its peak which makes police weaker, corrupt and inefficient which results in failure of proper criminal investigation. If police investigation is calculated the most of result will come out as in the following figure:
Conclusion & Recommendations:

From all this study about criminal investigation (trends and reality) it is proved that generally criminal investigation by police is not so developed or honest to provide original results in the society. There is a great need to improve it by strengthening whole the police department, on the scientific basis according to the requirements of the society, especially its investigation system under a research oriented planning and its implementation. Provision of facilities as per ground facts.

Arrangement of the proper training hard and revolutionary decisions are required to remove corruption and political involvement in the department. It is essential to make it strong and an important source to provide the people easy justice as common and implementation of the rule of law and feelings of sense of security as common. For criminal investigation it is also necessary to provide the following support and facilities:

1. During investigation of a criminal case co operation of the public is of a great importance. Until the people who have witnessed an offensive extend cooperation and share cooperation with the
investigator it would be difficult for him to early reach the culprit.

2. Appointment of the trained detectives and other investigating personnel! Officers and establishment of the modern institution to trained them in various fields of investigation.

3. Facilities of frequent transport to reach the crime scene without delay and to conduct further investigation.

4. Availability of investigation kit to immediate save the evidence available at the crime scene.

5. The use of modern devices i.e. computer, audio/video for the preservation of the evidence in criminal investigation.

6. Availability of forensic science laboratory.

7. The facility of finger prints.

8. Coordination between the investigating agencies and sharing information.

9. Use of bugging device in investigation is important to save the verbatim of the accused.

10. Use of camera and photography of crime scene etc is also very important, it may be made common to use.

11. DNA has its recognized role in tracing the crime, so it may be introduced at lower level in criminal investigation.
Notes and References


5. Ibid.


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid p.113.

9. Ibid.


11. Ibid.

13. Ibid.


15. Ibid p.142.


18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid P.296.


26. Field Research.


28. Ibid.

29. Field Research


31. Interview with Rahmatullah (Dacoit), *Central Prison Sukkur, June12, 1994.*

32. Field Research visit, Police Station Ranipur, August 7, 1999.


