SOME SOCIOECONOMIC ASPECTS OF LAWSUITS IN BANGLADESH

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ABSTRACT

The kind of lawsuits that dominate in a country, the place where they are settled, the procedure of settlement etc. may indicate the level of socioeconomic development of that country and the problems for development. This Study provides information on characteristics of lawsuits originating in 52 sample villages in Bangladesh. It appeared that 29 percent of the suits were filed with informal institutions while 78 percent were filed with various formal institutions. About 60 percent of the suits were of criminal nature and about 55 percent of the suits were in relation to land. Variables such as proportion of minority population, size and educational attainment of a village had significant influence on the incidence of suits in a village and proportion of suits taken to formal institutions. Extrapolation from available information suggest that every year the rural people in Bangladesh spend about 1050 million Taka on lawsuits of which about 850 million Taka go to urban dwellers. This has very grave implications for development in general and rural development in particular.

I- INTRODUCTION

Law is defined as the rule of external human conduct enforceable by a sovereign political authority and also it is the body of legal principles recognized and applied by the state in the administration of justice (Rahim 1970). Law is thus a command, the flouting or disobedience of which is punished or otherwise dealt with; the executive of the state executes the punishment or other measure given for disobedience of the commandment. Elaborating a little further it can be stated that law means a direction or body of directions directing the people subject to its jurisdiction to certain specified acts, deeds and things and/or performing certain other sets of acts, deeds and things. It must be understood still further that the word 'law' is not confined to the rules made by legislature and/or other top rulers of state alone; there are various other rules acquiring a quasi judicial authority which also are called laws or acquire the force of law, or are actively helped by authority of law. From these explanations it results that law is the instrument and justice is the end of any cause of action, meaning the cause or set of circumstances that lead to a suit. It

follows therefore that plaint must disclose a cause of action; if it does not, it is the duty of the court to reject the plaint and it is the cause of action that determines the places or the court in which to sue or a suit must be instituted. Suits of all kinds may be instituted either with formal courts or with local informal courts. There are four essentials of a suit viz.: (i) parties, (ii) cause of action, (iii) subject-matter and (iv) reliefs claimed by the plaintiff.

There are three types of suits namely (i) suits for immovable property, (ii) those for other than land and (iii) suits for compensation to wrongs to person or to movable property (Anonymous). On the other hand, law is divided into three categories, classes or divisions with reference to parties involved, namely Public Law, Private Law and International Law; while with regard to rights and obligations and modes of their application and enforcement, it is divided into two, such as (i) Substantive Law, providing for rights and liabilities of the parties and/or between parties on one hand and the state on the other; and (ii) Adjective Law consisting of laws or regulations that prescribe or detail the procedure according to which the rights and obligations subsisting between the parties or between the subjects and the state to be enforced. Of course there are a number of enactments by the legislature that partake both the aspects (Rahim 1970).

The conception of administration of justice sprang from two things in the past, i.e. (i) private vengeance and (ii) violent selp-help, (eye for eye and tooth for tooth). This has now been replaced by Criminal justice and Civil justice respectively (Anonymous). The administration of justice presupposes maintenance of rights within a political community with the help of physical force at the disposal of the state. As a matter of fact, the administration of justice in Bangladesh, pertaining to the British legacies, is administered through civil procedure code for civil justice and criminal procedure code for criminal justice on the institution of suits to any court of law by the plaintiff or party aggrieved (seeking for redress and justice) against the defendants (committing crime or wrong and thereby causing some harm or damages to the plaintiff) or guilty or delinquent party. The civil procedure code comprises 158 sections of general principles of substantive character and 51 orders of methods by the High Court; while the criminal procedure code comprises 565 sections of all crimes and wrongs including the sanctions behind them (Mitra and Rahim 1971).

The kind of law-suits that dominate in a country, the place where they are settled, the procedure of settlement etc. depend on the level of development and the socioeconomic system in operation in that country. Information on these aspects are essential both for improving the legal system within the prevailing social system and also for changing the social system in a desirable manner. In Bangladesh, very little is know about these aspects outside the legal profession.

The present study was, therefore, undertaken to test the following hypotheses in relation to Bangladesh: (1) most of the lawsuits instituted are of criminal nature, (2) most of the lawsuits, both civil and criminal, originate in land, (3) most of the lawsuits are now-a-days taken to formal rather than informal courts, (4) a large rural to urban income

transfer takes place through lawsuits and this has important implications for economic development in the country.

In section II, the source and nature of data are described, and in section III results are discussed. A summary is given in section IV.

II. SOURCE AND NATURE OF DATA

Second and fourth year undergraduates in the Faculty of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology of Bangladesh Agricultural University, Mymensingh, respectively take courses in Rural Sociology and Research Methodology. The author thought that these students might be interested in a survey for collecting information on selected aspects of lawsuits originating in their own respective villages. In 1977 there were 110 students in these two classes. A 100% participation in the survey would bring information from 110 villages. This is very small in relation to 68000 villages in Bangladesh, yet it was expected that even if unrepresentative, information from 100 or so villages could provide sufficient indication about the situation prevailing in the country. Spatial distribution of the sample villages would be predetermined by the distribution of the students across the country. Accordingly, a schedule was prepared and the students were asked to volunteer to fill it up when they went home in September to enjoy the Ramadhan vacation. While all the students volunteered to take the schedule, only 52 students covering 16 districts collected information and returned them to the author who processed the data himself[1]. Distribution of the 52 villages across districts was like this: Noakhali 2, Comilla 4, Dacca 4, Mymensingh 11, Tangail 4, Rangpur 3, Dinajpur 2, Bogra 3, Pabna 3, Rajshahi 1, Kustia 4, Jessore 3, Khulna 1, Faridpur 2, Patuakhali 1 and Barisal 4.

The schedule was designed to collect information only about lawsuits originating in the village and still under trial with various institutions at the time of interview. Information about suits already settled were not collected. Two types of information were collected: (1) some general information about the village, (2) information related to each lawsuit under trial. These will be discussed in the following section.

III- RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of the Lawsuits

At the time of interview, in all 337 lawsuits from 52 villages were under trial in various formal and informal courts, i.e. there were 6.5 suits from each village[2]. Fifty four per cent of the suits were directly in relation to some aspect of land, 4 percent were in

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[1] Neither the author nor the participating students were paid anything for this job. Only a tabulator was hired for two months with a small grant out of a Ford Foundation Research Fund. Although the sample is small to represent Bangladesh as a whole, the results should be weighed against this cost. In this country input/output ratio in research is very high.

[2] Actual number of disputes occurring in a village might be higher than the lawsuits filed because many disputes are settled by the contending parties themselves or are not reported to any institution so that they are not treated as suits.

relation to murder and injury most of which originated in land, 7 percent were in relation to marriage, divorce etc., 18 percent were in relation to theft and robbery, and 17 percent were involving various other issues (Table 1). Sixteen percent of the total suits were under trial in information courts (Salish or Arbitration) at the village level, 13 percent were with Union Parisads, 10 percent were with the Police Station, 33 percent were with Sub-divisional Courts, 26 percent were with District level courts and 2 percent were with the High Court (Table 1). The distribution suggest a decline in the importance of village *Salish*. In the past *Salish* performed a very important judicial function. It also appears that the Union Parisad has not been able to replace the role of *Salish*.

Most of the suits under trial at Union, Sub-division, District and High Court levels were in relation to land and most of the suits with the Police were related to theft and robbery. It should, however, be mentioned that some of the suits currently at higher level courts might have been at lower stage (s) in the past. Although detailed information on such linkage were not collected, some aspect of it will be evident later when cost of lawsuits will be discussed.

In case of suits under trial at the village level, the nature (civil and criminal) of the suit could not be clearly identified for some suits. Excluding suits under trial with *Salish*, 59 percent of the remaining suits at various levels were of criminal nature (Table 2). One hundred percent of the suits with the Police, 55 percent of those at Sub-divisional Courts, 47 percent at District courts and 50 percent at the High Court were of criminal nature. Fifty three percent of the land based suits were of criminal nature.

Taken all types of suits and all locations of trial, each suit was under trial for 1.83 years upto the time the information were collected (Table 3). The interviewees (parties involved in a suit) when asked could not indicate the additional time each suit would require for final settlement. In general, land based suits at all levels were under trial for a longer duration than other types of suits.

Taken all suits in all locations, there were 2.4 plaintiffs and 4.6 defendants per suit (Table 4). In general, number of defendants per suit was larger for suits under trial at higher level courts. Suits involving murder, injury had highest number of defendants per suit followed by suits originating in land which also had the highest number of plaintiffs per suit. This pattern seems logical because most murders, injuries are results of tense disputes between groups of people. Most land based suits are results of disputes concerning rights in land, particularly involving inheritance. These figures may be taken as indicators of the extent disputes, conflicts, murders etc. in villages could be reduced only by reforming the system of land ownership, land recording and inheritance. Suits related to marriage and divorce had a larger number of plaintiffs compared to defendants mainly because most divorce suits are filed by wife and children against the husband.

The government appeared as plaintiff in case of 15 (4.4 percent) suits (1 in relation to land, 8 in relation to theft and robbery and 6 in others) and as defendant in case of 4 suits (1 each in relation to land and theft and 2 others).

Factors Associated with Incidence of Suits and Location of Trial

The number of suits filed from the 52 sample villages varied substantially. Actual number of disputes occurring in a village and number of suits resulting from it and the location where the suit is instituted for trial may be associated with various factors. In the present study, the association of the following factors were examined: size of the village measured by its population, proportion of non-muslims in the village, educational attainment of the village, institutional attainment of the village, and distance of the village from the district town. It was hypothesized that these variables might be individually or collectively associated with (i) the number of suits filed from a village and (ii) the proportion of suits taken to formal courts, i.e. away from village *Salish* and Union Parisad[3]. The following linear relationships were defined for village i in a sample of n villages:

$$Y_{1i} = a + b_1 X_{1i} + b_2 X_{2i} + b_3 X_{3i} + b_4 X_{4i} + b_5 X_{5i} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots (1)$$

$$Y_{2i} = a + b_1 X_{1i} + b_2 X_{2i} + b_3 X_{3i} X b_4 X_{4i} + b_5 X_{5i} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots (2)$$

where Y_1 = number of suits under trial (filed),
   Y_2 = proportion of suits taken to formal courts,
   X_1 = total population,
   X_2 = proportion of non-muslims in total population,
   X_3 = educational attainment per 100 population,
   X_4 = institutional attainment,
   X_5 = distance from District in miles.

The method of quantifying X3 and X4 need a little elaboration. Educational attainment of a village or any other geographical unit is usually measured by the percentage of literacy but this was not found fully appropriate in this particular case. Although literacy rate as such may be associated with the occurrence of disputes and resulting suits, the nature of association may very depending on the level of education of the literates. Generally, higher the level of education of the literates, greater is the connection of the village with the world outside it which may influence the occurrence or non-occurence of specific types of disputes and filing of suits in specific location or institutions. To take this effect into consideration, educational attainment of village i was calculated thus:
$$X_3 = (\Sigma P_j T_j / X).100, J = 1, \ldots, 4;$$

where X_3 is educational attainment per 100 population,
   P is the number of persons with education category j,
   T is the value (score point) given to education category j,
   X is the total population in the village.

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[3] Although Union Parisal has been vested formal powers to deal with specific types of suits, most of the suits filed with the Parisad are settled by the Parisad members informally outside the Parisad (Qadir 1968, p. 18). Therefore, it is not treated as a formal court for purposes of this study.

In all, 4 educational categories were identified: secondary, higher secondary, graduation and above, and doing a salaried job or business in a town[4]. No distinction was made between a person passing, say, secondary examination and a person appearing but not passing the examination. Primary or lower level education was assumed to have no influence on the dependent variables and such persons were not included in measuring educational attainment. For each person in the four education categories, respectively 1, 2, 4 and 1 point was assigned. Educational attainment per 100 population thus calculated actually reflects the rate of literary with appropriate weight given for different levels of education, particularly higher level education.

In calculating institutional attainment, presence of a primary school (or madrasha), a high school, a market, a cooperative society, an irrigation project, and a college was respectively assigned 1, 3, 1, 2, 3, 5 points. In each case, absence was assigned zero. While taking these institutions into consideration, it was assumed that their presence or absence might influence occurrence of specific types of disputes and filing of suits in specific location of trial. Of the 52 sample villages, 73 percent had a primary school or madrasha, 42 percent had a high school, 52 percent had a market, 71 percent had a cooperative society, 62 percent had an irrigation project and none had a college.

Mean values of the variables in equations 1 and 2 are given below[5]:

Y_1	Y_2	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5
6.1	64.9	2352.1	12.5	10.0	5.7	35.2

Estimated values of the coefficients and related statistics for equations (1) and (2) are shown below:

(1) Y_1 = 2.7547 + 0.0006X_1* - 0.0516X_2*** + 0.1006X_3** + 0.1500X_4
          (0.00)   (0.051)   (0.069)   (0.183)
     + 0.0246X_5***; R^2 = 0.42; F = 1.782***
        (0.025)

(2) Y_2 = 48.1936 + 0.0041X_1* - 0.1465X_2 + 0.9917X_3* - 0.5057X_4
              (0.002)   (0.414)   (0.563)   (1.481)
     + 0.1928 X_5; R^2 = 0.35; F = 1.508***
        (0.202)

*, **, *** respectively indicate significant at at 5%, 10% and 20% level of error>
Figures in the parentheses are standard error of the coefficients.

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[4] A rural person of whatever educational level doing a job or business in the urban area may carry special values to and from the village and this may influence occurrence of disputes & filing of suits in specific institutions. As such, this may be treated as a special education category.
[5] These are based on 48 samples on which regression was run. The other four samples were excluded because of incomplete information.

The values of R^2 and F indicate that the identified independent variables do not sufficiently explain the variation in the dependent variables[6]. The low explanatory power of the identified variables might be due to specification error in those variables[7]. Within these limitations, implication of the estimated values of the coefficients may be explained.

In equation (1) only X_2 has a statistically significant negative association with the number of suits filed from a village, i.e. greater the proportion of non-muslims in the total population of a village, smaller is the number of suits filed from that village. All the other variables have positive influence but the influence of institutional attainment (X_4) is not significant.

In equation (2), both X_2 and X_3 have negative association with the proportion of suits taken to formal courts, i.e. higher the proportion of non-muslims and higher the institutional attainment of a village, smaller is the number of suits taken to formal courts. Such a relationship seems logical but neither of the two coefficients is statistically significant. Both size and education attainment of a village have statistically significant positive association with the proportion of suits taken to formal courts. Distance does not appear to have any significant influence on the location of trial of a suit.

Taken equations (1) and (2) together, size of a village and its educational attainment appear to be the important variables in explaining variation in the number of suits filed and proportion of suits taken to formal courts. The significant positive influence of size of a village may be explained by the fact that the larger the number of people in a village, greater is the chance of occurrence of disputes and resulting suits. The relationship with education, particularly in equation 2, is very interesting. Higher level education is not only associated with increased occurrence of disputes and suits in a village, but also with higher proportion of suits taken to formal courts in the cities rather than settling them at the local informal level. Information on the educational level of the plaintiffs and defendants are not available. However, the finding may not imply that persons with higher education were involved in suits but that the presence of educated persons in a village did not reduce the occurrence of suits. The decline in the importance of traditional village *Salish* might be because of the decline in their economic and political power. Local level political and economic activities are now organized to a great extent around the Union which cut across villages. Since Union Parisad is an elected body and many of its members are sufficiently educated, it should have been able to replace the judicial role of *Salish*. But it has not been successful in that although it has some statutory legal functions. The reason may be that the money based Union level politics and resulting rivalry for Union Parisad leadership does not provide an environment required for performing proper judicial functions. As such, Union Parisad

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[6] The equations were rerun excluding X_2 as a variable. The value of R^2 in equation (2) remained unchanged and that in equation (1) dropped to 0.39. Intercorrelations between pairs of independent variables were not found significant at 10% level.

[7] Theoretical statisticians may also suggest that the variables identified are not continuous variables. While this it true, application of statistical techniques on discontinous variables derived from qualitative information is now an accepted practice in social science research.

and its members (even if they are educated) do not command enough confidence of those seeking justice, particularly with respect to complicated disputes.

Cost of Lawsuits

Information on the duration each suit was under trial upto the time of interview has been mentioned earlier. The plaintiff (s) and defendant(s) of each suit were separately asked to provide actual and/or estimated cost incurred during the aforementioned period. From these information, cost per suit per year for different types of suits under trial in different institutions have been estimated. Four major items of cost were identified: entertainment etc. of *salish*, payments made to police, legal and other fees, and other items (mainly communication, food, lodging expenses for the relevant parties and witnesses etc.). While cash expenditure on 'other items' may be nil or minimal in case of suits settled by *salish*, a substantial expenditure is involved in the customary practice of entertaining or serving dinner to the *salish*. Normally no legal fees are payable for suits filed with the police but practically heavy payments in the form of bribes were to be paid to police by both plaintiffs and defendants of criminal cases. Since such payments are illegal, the respondants were very reluctant to provide information on this. In each case information was available on assurance that secrecy will be maintained. Yet there seems to be underreporting of cost on this head. Legal fees include both fees paid to government on various counts and those paid to lawyers. In most cases these two items could not be separated by the respondents because the government fees and fees of lawyers were paid together to the lawyers.

Details of the estimated costs are given in Table 5. The following features emerge: (1) the distribution of cost suggest that some of the suits currently under trial at higher levels were at one time with lower institutions. Sometimes suits directly field with formal institutions are also taken back to *salish* for settlement or mediation toward settlement. (2) At all levels, the cost to the defendant was higher than the cost to the plaintiff. At all levels, the defendant spent more than the plaintiff on account of *salish*. (3) Suits related to theft, robbery and murder involved more cost compared to other suits and in these cases both plaintiff and defendant had to spend heavily. A substantial part of this cost was due to bribes reportedly paid to police. The thief robber and the murderer, if identified, reported bribing the police to protect themselves from torture, conviction, or to remain at large; the parties affected by theft, robbery and murder reported bribing the police to obtain justice.

Rural-Urban Income Transfer Through Lawsuits

Almost the entire cost incurred by parties on suits filed with formal institutions amount to income transfer from rural to urban areas. For each suit taken beyond Union Parisad, the plaintiff and the defendant together spent on average Taka 3144 per year. Of this, Taka 1202 (33%) as legal fees and Taka 1121 (35%) on communication, food lodging etc. The amount spent for entertaining *salish* and a part (say 33%) of the

expenditure on communication may be assumed to remain within the village or in the rural areas. The remaining cost on other counts amounting to Taka 2552 or say Taka 2500 per suit per year accrue to the police, the lawyers, the transport owners, the hotel owners and the government (as recipient of legal fees), all of whom are urban dwellers or have urban connections.

How much money is spent every year on lawsuits and how much is transferred from rural to urban areas through lawsuits? There are 68018 villages in Bangladesh (Bangladesh 1978, P. 8). Based on the findings of this study, suppose every year 4.5 or approximately 5 suits from each village remain under trial in institutions above Union Parisad[8]. And suppose Taka 3100 is spent and Taka 2500 (as mentioned above) is transferred for each suit per year. Thus 68000 x 5 x 3100 = 1054 million Taka is spent of which 850 million Taka is transferred every year from rural to urban areas through lawsuits. By all means this is an underestimate and the estimate will vary with the change of assumptions. Even if this is true, what is the implication of this figure? The amount is (a) equivalent to about 37 percent of the total value of HYV rice produced in 1977, (b) equivalent to about 30 percent of total value of jute produced in the country, (c) 25 percent higher than the sale value of total amount of agricultural credit disbursed in 1977 under the 1000 million Taka programme, (e) equivalent to about 66 percent of the total value of land sold by farmers in 1976[9].

Some of the contentions held by development economists, policy makers and politicians seem ridiculous in view of the above figures. It is true that landlessness has increased over the years (from 17% in 1961 to 33% in 1977) and many of them had to sell land under genuine distress but it seems highly plausible that many sold land to meet expenses of lawsuits. It is no wonder that agricultural credit had made very little contribution to agricultural development because much of it has gone to relatively larger farmers (who already had enough) enabling them to buy land from smaller owners. In 1976, 435,000 persons reported purchasing land. When so much money is spent on lawsuits, one may find it difficult to agree with suggestions that farmers have very little saving and investment capacity necessary for modernizing agriculture or that farmers have very little incentive to save and invest because marginal productivity of capital is very low (as suggested by Schultz (1964) in relation to traditional agriculture). A thorough investigation of the socioeconomic background of the defendants and plaintiffs of various types of suits would probably reveal that the basic problem is, more than anything else, the rotten system of property relations which give rise to conflicts, disputes and litigations and ultimately suits. No amount of education, borrowed investment or any other measure will lift this society unless this basic problem is solved.

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[8] At this rate, there would be 340,000 suits under trial with the formal courts at any one time. In a press statement on 23 April 1978, the secretary of the Bangladesh Law Society mentioned that about 500,000 suits were pending with various institutions. Our estimate does not include suits originating in the urban areas inclusion of which might lead to a figure of 500,000.

[9] In 1976, 128,000 acres of land was sold by 379,000 persons. Assuming 10,000 Taka per acre comes to 1280 million Taka (Bangladesh 1978). Recall that total spending on lawsuit was 1054 million Taka.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Data collected in September 1977 from 52 villages in 16 districts of Bangladesh revealed that from each village on average 6.5 suits were under trial at different formal and informal institutions. Of this, 16 percent were with village *salish*, 13 percent with Union Parisad, 10 percent with police, 33 percent with Sub-divisional courts, 26 percent with district level courts and 2 percent with the High Court. Fifty nine percent of the suits filed with formal institutions were of criminal nature. Fifty four percent of all suits were in relation to land, 18 percent in relation to theft, robbery, 7 percent in relation to marriage, divorce and 4 percent in relation to murder, injury.

By using regression analysis a number of factors were found to be associated with the incidence of suits in a village and the proportion of suits taken to formal institutions outside the village. Presence of non-muslim population in a village had a negative association with the number of suits filed and the proportion of filed suits taken to formal courts. The size of a village and educational attainment of the population were significantly positively associated with both incidence of suits and proportion of suits taken to formal courts. The association of education appeared relatively more important implying that the type of education imparted p*er se* is not helping social progress.

Estimated cost per suit per year revealed that the defendant spent more than the plaintiff at all locations of trial and that suits with police were most costly for both parties although legally police cases should require no cost at all or very little cost.

Based on certain assumptions derived from the findings of this study, it was estimated that about 1054 million Taka is spent every year on suits originating in rural Bangladesh of which about 850 million Taka is transferred from rural to urban areas. This has very important implication for investment and development policy in the country.

It is concluded that the system of property relations prevailing in the country is the basic reason for occurrence of so many disputes, conflicts and litigations and filing of suits. So the system of property relation is to be changed if substantial socioeconomic progress is to be achieved.

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Table 1: Proportion of suits by location of trial and source of suit in the selected villages

Location of trial	Source of Suit					
	Disputes involving land	Murder, injury	Marriage, divorce	Theft, robbery	Others	All sources
% Suits (Location wise)						
Village Salish	37	2	8	33	20	100
Union Parisad	46	-	20	18	16	100
Police Station	22	-	9	44	25	100
Sub-division Courts	58	5	5	12	20	100
District Courts	71	7	1	10	11	100
High Court	100	-	-	-	-	100
All locations	54	4	7	18	17	100
% Suits (Source wise)						
Village Salish	11	8	18	29	19	16
Union Parisad	11	-	39	13	12	13
Police Station	4	-	13	23	14	10
Sub-division Courts	36	46	26	21	39	33
District Court	34	46	4	14	16	26
High Court	4	-	-	-	-	2
All locations	100	100	100	100	100	100

- None
Source: Field Survey

Table 2: Proportion of criminal suits by location of trial and source of suit in the selected villages

Location of trial[a]	Disputes involving land	Murder, injury	Marriage, divorce	Theft, robbery	Others	All sources
Police Station	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sub-division Courts	42	100	-	85	83	55
District Courts	36	100	100	89	44	47
High Court	50	-	-	-	-	50
All locations	53	100	40	92	78	59

- No suit

[a]. Suits under trial with village *salish* and Union Parisad were excluded because the exact nature of the suits could not be identified.

Table 3: Average duration a suit was under trial by location of trial and source of suit

Location of trial	Source of Suit					
	Land	Murder, injury	Marriage, divorce	Theft, robbery	Others	All Sources
Average duration per suit in years						
Village Salish	1.26	0.57	0.30	0.09	0.42	0.62
Union parisad	0.45	-	0.33	0.46	0.26	0.39
Police Station	0.76	-	0.42	0.27	0.64	0.48
Sub-division Courts	2.14	2.14	1.71	1.34	0.95	1.78
District Courts	3.94	3.91	0.33	1.57	1.39	3.38
High Courts	7.25	-	-	-	-	7.25
All locations	2.63	2.84	0.69	0.65	0.79	1.83

- No suit

Table 4: Number of plaintiff and defendant per suit by source of suit and location of trial

Location of trial/parties	Source of Suit					
	Land	Murder, injury	Marriage, divorce	Theft, robbery	Others	All sources
Village						
Plaintiff	3.3	7.0	4.0	1.7	1.2	2.5
Defendant	2.4	10.0	1.0	1.9	2.0	2.2
Union Parisad						
Plaintiff	1.6	-	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.3
Defendant	2.1	-	1.2	1.9	2.1	1.9
Police Station						
Plaintiff	1.4	-	1.7	1.5	3.6	2.0
Defendant	2.6	-	1.3	6.2	1.4	3.8
Sub-division Courts						
Plaintiff	3.0	2.8	1.0	1.5	2.7	2.7
Defendant	5.0	8.0	1.0	5.5	4.8	5.0
District Courts						
Plaintiff	3.3	1.8	1.0	2.4	1.4	2.9
Defendant	8.2	6.3	1.0	3.1	3.9	7.0
High Court						
Plaintiff	1.9	-	-	-	-	1.9
Defendant	6.3	-	-	-	-	6.3
All Locations						
Plaintiff	2.9	2.7	1.6	1.3	2.2	2.4
Defendant	5.4	7.4	1.1	3.4	3.3	4.6

- No suit

Table 5: Estimated cost per suit per year by location of trial and source of suit

Party/Source of suit	Taka by Cost Items				
	Salish	Police	Legal fees etc.	Communication etc.	Total
Suits with Salish					
Plaintiff					
Land	22	-	-	45	67
Murder, injury	114	-	-	-	114
Marriage divorce	196	-	-	-	196
Theft, robbery	372	-	-	3	375
Others	129	-	-	22	141
All sources	60	-	-	37	97
Defendant					402
Land	365	-	-	37	219
Murder, injury	219	-	-	-	37
Marriage, divorce	37	-	-	-	1960
Theft, robbery	1935	-	-	25	168
Others	167	-	-	1	426
All sources	397	-	-	29	
Suits with Union Parisad					
Plaintiff					
Land	454	-	-	16	470
Murder, injury	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage, divorce	113	-	-	14	127
Theft, robbery	79	-	-	67	146
Others	180	-	-	25	205
All sources	294	-	-	28	322
Defendant					
Land	451	-	-	21	472
Murder, injury	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage, divorce	108	-	-	18	126
Theft, robbery	520	-	-	83	603
Others	258	-	-	198	456
All sources	394	-	-	53	447

(Continued)

Table 5 (Continued)

Party/Source of suit	Taka by Cost Items				
	Salish	Police	Legal fees etc.	Communica tion etc.	Total
Suits with Police					
Plaintiff					
Land	5	1899	-	263	2167
Murder, injury	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage, divorce	20	523	-	91	644
Theft, robbery	52	2392	-	2514	4958
Others	55	426	-	98	579
All sources	32	1500	-	747	2279
Defendant					
Land	20	1109	-	273	1402
Murder, injury	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage, divorce	12	1607	-	210	1829
Theft, robbery	29	5780	-	477	6286
Others	337	2646	-	200	3183
All sources	127	2821	-	296	3244
Suits with Sub-divisional court					
Plaintiff					
Land	45	240	707	263	1255
Murder, injury	152	646	288	226	3112
Marriage, divorce	10	-	541	361	912
Theft, robbery	21	649	520	2393	3583
Others	51	528	692	257	1528
All sources	49	313	653	423	1438
Defendant					
Land	51	199	628	351	1229
Murder, injury	139	1480	1137	600	3356
Marriage, divorce	19	-	526	448	993
Theft, robbery	20	2239	687	1274	4220
Others	129	1034	1486	961	3610
All sources	61	538	754	519	1872

(Continued)

Table 5 (Continued)

Party/Source of suit	Taka by Cost Items				
	Salish	Police	Legal fees etc.	Communica tion etc.	Total
Suits in District Courts					
Plaintiff					
Land	137	171	250	556	1114
Murder, injury	43	345	307	409	1104
Marriage, divorce	-	606	909	212	1727
Theft, robbery	1	102	89	206	398
Others	-	257	1583	385	2225
All sources	125	194	309	549	1177
Defendant					
Land	206	177	6	719	1108
Murder, injury	117	1679	1159	1004	3959
Marriage, divorce	-	-	-	-	-
Theft, robbery	130	1778	529	560	2997
Others	-	400	2629	392	3421
All sources	187	382	240	724	1533
Suits in High Court					
Plaintiff					
Land	31	192	1017	486	1726
Defendant					
Land	121	440	1170	529	5260

+ Not applicable
- None