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# A Constructive Analysis of Bank Customers and Professional Bankers' Perspectives on Islamic and Conventional Banking in Bangladesh.

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**Abstract**
This study examines the similarities and differences between Islamic and conventional banking through theoretical analysis and surveys of bankers and customers. It aims to clarify common misconceptions about Islamic banking, which often arise from misinformation in civil society. By raising awareness of the unique advantages of Islamic banking, its adoption could increase in many Muslim countries, as there is a strong desire to shift from the interest-based financial system to a robust interest-free framework. Surveys reveal that confusion among bankers and customers regarding Islamic practices is largely due to insufficient knowledge and a focus on short-term trade financing. With 80 to 90 percent of investments geared towards short-term trade, the risk of instability rises. Many borrowers prefer short-term loans over profit-loss sharing, weakening bank portfolios and leading to lower returns compared to conventional banks. Although Islamic banks have mobilized deposits, they have struggled to fund socially beneficial projects or job creation, particularly in rural areas. Addressing misconceptions through increased awareness, research, and training on compliant Islamic banking products is essential.

**Keywords:** Islamic and Conventional Banking, Comparative Performance, Customers and Professional Bankers' Perception.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

An Islamic bank is a financial institution that operates according to the economic and financial principles of Islam. It is defined as a "financial and social institution whose objectives and practices must conform to Islamic Shariah and must avoid interest in any operations." Islamic banking is distinct from traditional Western banking by prohibiting interest (riba) in transactions, ensuring justice and welfare. Islamic banks direct investments into Shariah-approved (Halal) sectors through various methods such as mudarabah, musharakah, and ijarah, focusing on profit and loss sharing rather than fixed interest rates. The concept of Islamic banking dates back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad, but the first modern Islamic interest-free bank was established in 1963 in Mit Ghamar. Since then, Islamic banking has grown significantly, attracting traditional banks to explore partnerships for Shariah-compliant financial transactions. Despite its growth, debates persist among scholars about whether Islamic banking is genuinely different from conventional banking. Many question the rapid expansion of Islamic banking if it resembles traditional practices. The paper is thoughtfully structured into six sections to enhance understanding. Following this introduction, section two offers a comprehensive overview of the key features of Islamic banking and finance. Section three details the survey methodology employed in this study, providing clarity on how data was collected. In section four, a thorough analysis of the deposit and financing techniques used by both Islamic and conventional banks is presented. Section five delves into the perspectives of bankers and customers, highlighting their opinions on both banking systems. Finally, section six summarizes the findings and draws meaningful conclusions from the study.

**Principles of Islamic Banking and Finance:**

The most defining characteristic of Islamic banking is its strict prohibition of interest, a principle deeply rooted in Islamic teachings. The Qur'an clearly categorizes the charging of ribā—commonly interpreted as interest on borrowed funds—as forbidden. To truly understand the intricacies of Islamic finance, it is crucial to appreciate various foundational principles inherent in Islam. The Shari'ah, which comprises the guidelines dispensed in the Holy Qur'an alongside the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w.), firmly prohibits ribā. Islamic economists generally agree that the term ribā extends beyond mere usury to encapsulate any form of interest. This is underscored by several Qur'anic verses that highlight the importance of avoiding interest altogether. For instance, one notable verse admonishes believers, stating, "O you who believe! Fear Allah and give up that which remains of your demand for usury, if you are indeed believers." This reinforces the idea that any guaranteed interest payments on cash advances or deposits fall under the umbrella of ribā. In understanding Islamic finance, it is also essential to consider the conceptualization and role of money, crucial elements of any financial ecosystem. Within the Islamic framework, money transcends its function as a commodity; it is fundamentally perceived as a measure of value, a medium for exchange, and a standard for future payments. Unlike Western economic principles that often treat money as something that can be bought, sold, or used to generate profit, Islamic philosophy regards money merely as a facilitator for genuine economic activities and services. In this context, money functions as an intermediary, rather than an independent entity capable of creating wealth on its own. As such, capital is viewed in a productive light; it serves as a tool to stimulate growth through creative entrepreneurial ventures. Real economic progress is characterized not just by financial gain, but by the enhancement of both physical assets and human resources. This comprehensive approach to wealth creation emphasizes the importance of generating tangible assets, innovative products, and valuable services, thereby nurturing overall well-being and fostering a harmonious balance between the monetary sector and the wider physical economy. The principles governing Islamic finance are straightforward and can be succinctly summarized as follows:

- Any payment that is predetermined and exceeds the original principal amount of a loan is strictly prohibited.
- It is obligatory for the lender to share in the profits or losses resulting from the enterprise that received the financing.
- The practice of earning profit solely through the act of lending money, without any involvement in the actual business operations or activities, is considered unacceptable according to Islamic principles.
- Gharar, which represents uncertainty, risk, or speculation in financial dealings, is also prohibited within Islamic finance.
- All investment activities must be strictly limited to practices or products that align with Islamic teachings, avoiding those that are forbidden or discouraged.

**Methodology of the Study:**

A purposive random sampling methodology was used to collect data on Islamic banking practices through a structured questionnaire. The data for this study were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The survey included two sets of approved questionnaires that were administered through interviews targeting both customers and bankers from selected Islamic and conventional banks located in Dhaka City. The study focused on five Islamic banks: Islami Bank Bangladesh PLC, Al-Arafa Islami Bank PLC, Shahjalal Islami Bank PLC, First Security Islami Bank PLC and EXIM Bank PLC. It also examined five conventional banks: Brac Bank PLC, International Finance and Investment Corporation PLC, Jamuna Bank PLC, City Bank PLC, Bank Asia PLC and Dhaka Bank PLC. Since these banks have been established since 1983, it was assumed that both the officers and customers would have a comprehensive understanding of the similarities and differences in banking practices between Islamic and conventional banks. Before the main data collection, ten questionnaires were pre-tested with five bank officers and five customers to ensure clarity and relevance. The final sample included 20 bank officers and 20 customers from each bank, resulting in a total of 200 bankers and 200 customers interviewed to gather their insights on the notable similarities between Islamic and conventional banking practices. The findings of this study were cross-validated with existing literature and discussed with bank executives to ensure their reliability and acceptability.

**Islamic vs. Conventional Bank Deposit Services:**

Table-1 compares various deposit services offered by Islamic and conventional banks. While they may seem similar at first glance, significant differences are noteworthy. Conventional banks primarily accept deposits to finance income-generating activities, paying a fixed interest rate. This creates a debtor-creditor relationship where depositors lend money to the bank, which is obligated to return both the principal and interest regardless of its financial performance. In contrast, Islamic banks engage depositors as partners, managing their funds in a way that shares risks and rewards. Depositors receive their principal plus a share of profits after the investment period, fostering a collaborative relationship. This partnership model ensures that depositors are directly affected by the bank's financial health. Fluctuations in the bank’s assets are transparently reflected in the value of deposits. Unlike conventional banks, which guarantee fixed returns, Islamic banks provide variable payments, aligning the interests of depositors with the bank’s performance. Overall, the Islamic banking model promotes a fairer, more collaborative approach to finance, benefiting both individuals and communities.

**Table-1: A Comparison of Deposit Mechanism between Islamic and Conventional Banks**

| **Deposit Mechanism of Islamic Banks** | **Deposit Mechanism of Conventional Banks** |
|---|---|
| Islamic banks offer various types of accounts, including Al-Wadīʻah (Trust) Current Accounts, Muḍārabah Savings Accounts, and Muḍārabah Term Deposits. Here are the common practices observed regarding these accounts: | Conventional banks accept three main types of deposits: Current, Savings, and Fixed Deposits. The characteristics of these deposits are outlined below: |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Al-Wadīʻah Current Deposit:** In this financing mode, one or more entrepreneurs seek funding from an Islamic bank, which provides full financing and can participate in the project. Profits and losses are shared according to an agreed ratio or in proportion to capital contributions. | **Current Deposit:** The characteristics of current deposits are similar to those of Al-Wadīah current deposits offered by Islamic banks. |
| **Muḍārabah Savings Deposit:** All Islamic banks offer Al-Wadīʻah current accounts, also known as call or demand deposits. These accounts guarantee the full return of deposits, but depositors do not earn any profit. Al-Wadīʻah deposits can be classified as *Amānah* (entrusted deposits that the bank cannot use without depositor permission) or as *qarḍ Ḥasan* (interest-free loans allowing the bank to use the funds at its own risk without returning anything). | **Savings Deposit:** The bank accepts deposits from customers as a safe custody of their money. The bank pays a declared rate of interest on the deposited amount. The bank uses these deposits at a higher rate of interest. Depositors can withdraw their balance at any time. |
| **Muḍārabah Term Deposit:** Muḍārabah Term Deposits, also known as Profit Loss Sharing (PLS) Accounts, allow individuals or companies to open accounts in domestic or foreign currencies where permitted. Instead of earning interest, deposit holders share in the bank's profits or losses, with returns based on actual profits from investments. Profit distribution is determined by a mutually agreed proportion relative to the deposit amount and duration. Unlike conventional accounts, withdrawals are restricted and may forfeit profit shares. A minimum deposit amount is often required, and banks typically issue an investment certificate detailing the terms. | **Fixed or Term Deposit:** These accounts are typically opened for a specific period, such as three months, six months, one year, or more. Deposit holders receive interest at varying rates depending on the term of the fixed deposit. Generally, depositors cannot withdraw funds from these accounts without special arrangements, which may involve forfeiting the interest earned on the amount withdrawn. |

Islamic banks earn profits from trading and leasing, directly engaging in trade and industry. However, due to a lack of expertise in assessing various industries and the complexities of recovering bad loans, they prefer short-term financing methods over long-term muḍārabah or mushārakah. Consequently, bayʻ and lease modes dominate Islamic banks' financing.

**Islamic and Conventional Banks Lending Services:**

Table-2 presents comparative financing techniques used by Islamic and conventional banks. Islamic short-term trade financing methods such as bayʻ-murābaḥah, bayʻ-muajjal, bayʻ-salam, and ijārah are considered similar to interest-bearing loans from conventional banks for several reasons:

- Fixed charges increase over time for breaches of repayment agreements.
- Payment schedules may misalign with a firm's cash flow.
- Borrowers must make payments regardless of business success.

- Security or a mortgage is required for investment.
- Returns are often based on interest benchmarks.

**Table-2: A Comparison of Investment Mechanism between Islamic and Conventional Banks**

| **Investment Mechanism of Islamic Banks** | **Investment Mechanism of Conventional Banks** |
|---|---|
| There are seven Islamic financing modes commonly practiced by Islamic banks around the world: | Conventional banks provide financing using the following techniques: |
| **Bay' Murābaḥah:**<br>The client approaches the Islamic bank for financing to purchase items like machinery or raw materials, providing specifications and pricing. After assessing the proposal, the bank shares its profit margin on the original price. The final price, which includes the bank's purchase cost and profit, is paid in installments. The bank holds the item before selling it to the client. | **Loans:**<br>A loan is an advance sanctioned in a lump sum. The borrower can draw the amount in full or in pre-agreed installments. The bank debits the money to a loan account opened in the name of the borrower. Interest is usually calculated and charged quarterly. |
| **Bay' Mu'ajjal:**<br>This sale contract allows for immediate delivery of goods with deferred payment. The client requests financing from the bank, which buys the items and resells them at an agreed price that includes the bank's costs and profit margin. The customer must pay the total by the due date. | **Cash Credits:**<br>Cash credit is made through a separate cash credit account. The bank allows the borrower to withdraw cash up to the limit of the credit by issuing checks. Interest is charged on the daily balance of the account. This is a revolving credit facility. |
| **Ijārah:**<br>The bank maintains a variety of assets with a high degree of marketability to cater to the needs of different customers. The bank leases these assets to any party for an agreed-upon term. After the lease period ends, the assets are returned to the bank, which then seeks a new lessee. | **Overdrafts:**<br>An overdraft arrangement allows a borrower to withdraw more than their available balance in a current account, up to a set limit, using a checkbook. These facilities are often secured against items like share certificates and government promissory notes. |
| **Bay' Salam:**<br>Bay's Salam is a sale where a commodity is paid for in cash upfront, with delivery set for a future date. This method is often used to finance agricultural products in advance, ensuring production continues smoothly without funding issues. | **Purchase or Discount of Bills:**<br>When a customer opens a letter of credit, they agree with the bank to pay bills on a specified date at an agreed interest rate. If the bill arrives early, the bank may purchase it at a discount, earning revenue from both interest charges and the discount on the bill. |

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| **Qarḍ Ḥasanah:** This is an interest-free loan that serves a socially beneficial purpose by supporting income-generating activities. It plays a significant role in alleviating financial distress that arises from a lack of sufficient funds in times of urgent need. | **Advances for Hire-Purchase:** Advances are provided to the client with the condition that repayment of the principal amount will be made in installments along with interest charged. Immovable properties may be kept as security. |
| **Muḍārabah:** This is a contract between two parties, where one party provides capital to the other party, who conducts a trade. The profits are distributed according to a mutually agreed ratio, while all losses are borne by the capital provider. | |
| **Mushārakah:** In this financing mode, entrepreneurs seek funding from an Islamic bank for a project. The bank provides full financing and can participate in the project, with profits and losses shared according to an agreed ratio or in proportion to capital contributions. | |

**Questionnaire Survey Analysis:**

(Banker and Customer Perception of Islamic and Conventional Banks)

The survey reveals that a significant majority of customers are businessmen, accounting for 61.5 percent of the sample. The other groups include self-employed individuals at 11 percent, service holders at 15 percent, housewives at 7.5 percent, and others at 5 percent (see Table 4). All respondents are from the age group of 30 to 60 years (refer to Table 6), with 82 percent of them being male (see Table 7). In terms of education, most respondents hold a graduate degree (65.5%), followed by those with a postgraduate degree (20.5%) and undergraduates (14%) (reference Table 8). The characteristics of these respondent customers appear to be distinct within the context of the social fabric of Dhaka City.

The majority of bankers in the sample are officers, accounting for 75%. Only 5% of the participants are senior executives, likely due to their busier schedules compared to the officers. Additionally, it has been noted that the age, gender, and education levels of the bankers are similar to those of the customers being studied.

The essence of the profit and loss sharing system in Islamic finance reveals some interesting insights. According to Table 9, bankers are generally more aware of these concepts than customers. Specifically, 49% of bankers believe that Islamic finance encompasses both profit and loss sharing, while only 38% of customers share this understanding. Most customers, about 34%, believe that Islam permits profit but forbids ribā (usury). This discrepancy in opinions can be attributed to the formal training that Islamic bankers receive in Islamic Economics and Banking, whereas conventional bankers have a general awareness due to their professional experience. Nevertheless, both bankers and customers understand the relationship between profit, as an alternative to interest, and Islamic finance. This understanding has emerged since the launch of Islamic banking in the country in 1983. Additionally, only 11.5% of both bankers and customers believe that Islamic finance always refers to investment in real assets, while 12%

think that Islamic finance cannot involve ribā in any form.

A majority of bankers and customers (68.5%) believe that zakat has been effectively mobilized through the Islamic banking system (see Table 10). Eleven percent of respondents reported that welfare activities are organized through this system, while 10.5% feel that the Islamic banking system has introduced new products. Additionally, 7% of respondents believe that the concepts of Halal and Haram are applied in investment, buying, and selling practices. Conversely, only 3% mentioned that the mobilization of financial resources to the real sector of the economy is well developed. Overall, these findings suggest that the lives and society of Bangladesh have benefited from Islamic banking, further affirming the unique role of the Islamic banking system in the country's economy.

The development of the Islamic banking system in Bangladesh is primarily driven by the faith in Islam, with 57% of bankers and 65% of customers believing this to be the main reason, reflecting the country's predominantly Muslim population. In contrast, only 15% of bankers and 26% of customers view profit motivation as a key factor. Other reasons include avoiding interest (16% of bankers, 3% of customers), supporting economic welfare (8% of bankers, 3% of customers), and ensuring justice in financial transactions (5% for both bankers and customers).

All respondents believe that there are several reasons for the existence of a potential backdoor in Islamic banking (see Table 12). The primary reason, identified by 67% of customers and 63% of bankers, is that the trading and rental investment modes of Islamic banks do not significantly differ from the transactions of interest-based banks. The requirement to make timely installment payments and the added cost for extending the repayment period under the trading and rental modes create similar financial burdens for customers of investment. Additionally, the processes involved in securing an investment loan from Islamic banks—such as mortgage, security, and registration—are similar to those of conventional banks. Conversely, 14% of respondents feel that the current risk level in Islamic banking is insufficient to justify this type of banking. The smallest percentage, 8.5%, think that the products offered by current Islamic banks serve the same purpose as those of interest-based banks.Meanwhile, 12.5% of respondents believe that Islamic banks operate alongside interest-based banks.

In response to the question regarding the causes of interest creeping into the Islamic banking system, 47.5% of respondents indicated that exploitation is occurring through Islamic banking (see Table 13). Alternatively, 18.5% mentioned that the products offered by Islamic banks have failed to eliminate the issue of interest-based banking. Additionally, 17.5% of respondents expressed that bankers have led the Islamic banking system into the realm of interest. Furthermore, 16.5% believe that Islamic banking has been introduced in a society that is not fully aligned with Islamic principles. It appears that both bankers and customers are concerned about the interest factor, which tends to make Islamic banks resemble conventional banks.

In response to the question about why Islamic banks do not operate in accordance with the true spirit of Islamic Shariah, the majority of respondents (33%) indicated that profit alone should not be the sole criterion for the success of an Islamic bank. This comes despite Islamic banks being registered as scheduled commercial banks with the goal of earning profit (see Table 14). Furthermore, 34.5% of participants believe that the Shariah Council or Department has an advisory role rather than a supervisory one within the Islamic banking system. Additionally, 20% of respondents feel that Islamic banks do not promote justice and welfare in financial transactions. A minority, 12.5%, believe that exploitation still exists within the Islamic banking framework. Consequently, many Muslim businessmen and industrialists are hesitant to fully engage with Islamic banks.

About 73% of respondents believe that there are no significant differences between Islamic and conventional banks, indicating a lack of understanding among potential patrons (see Table 15). The two main reasons for this perspective, each cited by 20% of respondents, are: (i) a lack of awareness about Islamic banking and (ii) confusion regarding its principles. Additionally, 7% of respondents feel that insufficient motivation exists for choosing Islamic banking over conventional options. The issue of risk management in business also emerged as a key factor in profitability, highlighting challenges that Islamic banks face in attracting customers and the need for better education on their offerings.

The data presented in Table 16 shows that many respondents believe that the Islamic modes of investment used by Islamic banks do not effectively share risks for several reasons. A majority, specifically 66%, think that the risks are covered by insurance companies. Additionally, 17% indicated that Islamic banks do not engage in practical buying and selling. Twelve percent observed that the buying and selling arrangements of Islamic banks tend to be nearly risk-free. Only 5% of respondents believe that Islamic banks conduct business using depositors' money, suggesting that if any risk does exist, it is primarily borne by the depositors. This indicates that respondents are aware of the relationship between risk factors and Islamic banking.

The respondents indicate that many customers are hesitant to engage with Islamic banks because they believe that only the name has changed, while the practice of charging interest remains. Table 17 outlines some reasons for these sentiments. For instance, a significant majority of respondents (75.5%) feel that the profit markup has created a financial burden similar to the interest burden found in conventional banks. Other reasons include: (i) the obligation to repay the bank's funds in installments (10%), and (ii) the additional liability incurred from failing to make installment payments (8%). A smaller group of respondents (6.5%) believe that Islamic banks often do not take into account the business losses of entrepreneurs when adjusting repayment terms.

The possibility of losing deposit value due to bank losses is a characteristic of the Islamic banking system; however, it may negatively impact deposit mobilization. To understand this better, respondents were asked whether they believed that the risk of deposit loss is harmful to mobilizing deposits. The feedback indicated that many do not see the possibility of loss as detrimental. Specifically, 42% of respondents (See Table 18) believe that the profit and loss sharing system in banking ultimately protects deposits from losses. Additionally, 21% of respondents contend that the condition of deposit loss does not equate to a total loss of funds. Meanwhile, 23% view this risk as an essential element of investment, making the profits from Islamic bank deposits lawful (halal) and therefore acceptable. Lastly, 14% of respondents believe that the issue of deposit loss is insignificant to a true Muslim, who looks forward to a reward in the afterlife. This highlights a strong positive sentiment among respondents in favor of Islamic banking.

In relation to the current investment methods used by Islamic banks, both bankers and customers feel that these practices are compromised by the interest factors present in conventional banks. For instance, respondents indicated that the bayʿ-murābaḥah and bayʿ-mu'ajjal investment modes are influenced by the pledge and hypothecation techniques typically found in interest-bearing banking. It was observed that 68% of respondents believe that financing from both banking systems yields similar effects on business outcomes. Meanwhile, the remaining 32% argue that both types of banks are (i) free from justice ('adl) and welfare (iḥsān), (ii) operating alongside each other, and (iii) functioning within the same value-laden society (see Table 19).

Finally, a question was raised about how to address the current situation. Participants discussed the need for government reform measures aimed at fostering moral values and eliminating false values in society, which would create a conducive environment for Islamic banking. They presented several arguments to support their views (see Table 20). A majority of respondents (59%) believe that Islamic banks cannot thrive in an immoral society. Meanwhile, 17% indicated that governmental power could change social values, and 14% are of the opinion that government reform measures are effective in creating a moral society. About 10% expressed that false values contribute to a harmful environment for Islamic banking. This suggests that both bankers and customers strongly support the idea of governmental measures for reform.

The analysis of the misleading similarities between Islamic and conventional banks, along with the understandings, values, and attitudes of the bankers and customers towards the Islamic banking system, indicates the level of commitment to Islamic banks in Bangladesh.

## Summary and Conclusion

The prohibition of ribā (interest) is a key difference between Islamic and conventional banking. Investments in Islamic banks must comply with Shari'ah guidelines, contributing to their rapid growth, which has garnered attention from various stakeholders. Despite the similarities between the two systems, such as deposit mechanisms, the nature of returns is fundamentally different—Islamic banks offer profit, which carries risk, while conventional banks provide interest without it. The study involved interviews with 200 bankers and 200 customers from both Islamic and conventional banks in Dhaka City. Findings reveal misconceptions about Islamic banking practices due to incomplete knowledge and an over-reliance on short-term trade financing. Islamic banks primarily engage in trade-related activities, resulting in vulnerabilities and lower real rates of return compared to conventional banks. While Islamic banks have been somewhat successful in deposit mobilization, they have not sufficiently directed resources toward socially beneficial projects, particularly in rural areas. To address misconceptions among bankers and customers, more publicity, research, and training on Islamic banking practices are essential.

In terms of financing techniques, the prevalence of short-term financing in Islamic banks raises questions about the efficiency, equity, and fairness of these institutions. Additionally, it prompts inquiries such as: Do Islamic banks pay profit, or do they charge interest under the guise of profit? We have demonstrated that the financing mechanisms employed by Islamic banks are distinct from those of conventional banks. The misleading similarities between Islamic and conventional banking products can be attributed to several factors: First, there are fixed charges expressed as a percentage that increases over time as compensation for violating the repayment schedule of investments taken by entrepreneurs from the bank. Second, the timing of payment obligations may not align with the firm's cash flow. Third, payment obligations are mandatory, regardless of whether the business is profitable. Fourth, a security or mortgage is essential for investment. Finally, returns are often based on benchmarks from interest-based banks. Survey analysis indicates that both bankers and customers have confused notions about Islamic banking practices. We argue that this misconception is partly due to incomplete knowledge of the fundamentals of Islamic finance and an overreliance on short-term trade financing. The investment portfolio of Islamic banks has generally favored trade-related activities over production-related ones, emphasizing short-term profitability over long-term gains and private profitability over social benefit. Approximately 80 to 90 percent of investments have been directed toward short-term trade-related activities. This heavy reliance on short-term assets makes Islamic banks vulnerable, increases their risk, and threatens their stability. Moreover, borrowers tend to favor short-term trade loans over profit-loss sharing instruments, which weakens the banks' portfolios. As a result, the real rates of return on Islamic banks' asset portfolios are lower than those of conventional banks. While Islamic banks have successfully mobilized deposits, they have not effectively utilized these funds for socially beneficial and development-oriented purposes. Consequently, employment generation and the flow of resources to lower and middle classes—particularly in rural areas—have not materialized. Nevertheless, Islamic banks continue their important role in eliminating ribā (usury) from financial dealings in Muslim countries, despite challenges such as regulatory issues, legal frameworks, and a weak moral fabric within society. To dispel misconceptions among bankers and customers, it is essential to promote awareness, conduct research, and provide training on Islamic banking practices. Research should focus on developing financial products that align with Islamic Shari'ah, and training must be offered to bankers, potential researchers, and bank customers.

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