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NATIONAL POLICIES AND RESULTS IN MASS MIGRATION IN  
DEVELOPING ASIAN CITIES, CASE STUDY: BANGLADESH

by

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"A suffering mass of humanity displaced from the rural areas to the filthy peripheries of the great cities...neither housed, nor trained, nor employed, nor serviced. They languish on the urban periphery without entering into any productive relationship with its industrial operations." ----- Danial Lerner.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD

Third World countries are defined as the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, that are non aligned with either the Communist or the non-Communist block.<sup>1</sup> In spite of their differences in social, cultural, and economic structure, in the field of town and country planning, Third World countries face similar problems. They all have high population growth rates, high urbanization trends, concentration of population in few urban centers, unfavorable rural-urban ratios, low level of industrial growth, and heavy dependency on agriculture.<sup>2</sup> A further feature of the urban centers in these countries is that not all of them were evolved by the internal need of the land; that is, many important centers came into being as points of external contact for trade, transport, and defense. As such, many cities do not bear an organized relationship to the surrounding country and its economy. Their rapid development has been caused more by external factors than by internal prosperity.<sup>3</sup>

The twentieth century may be called the age of urbanization. Urban settlements were first established more than five thousand years ago, but as recently as 1900, only one in eight people lived in urban areas.<sup>4</sup> Before this century is out, half of mankind, approximately three billion people, will live in urban settlements, and two thirds of that number will live in the Third World.<sup>5</sup>

Through time, the world has contained a wide range of urban societies with fundamental differences between them. The ancient cities

contained administrative and religious elites, who were supported by agricultural surplus extracted through a combination of military force and moral pressure. By contrast, modern industrial societies rely less upon force, although European colonialism and contemporary military dictatorships suggest that force is scarcely alien to the rulers of today.<sup>6</sup> Poverty, and its manifestations are no longer perceived as things attributable to an individual person, city, or country, or remediable by national governments using technical planning processes. Rather, poverty, or more accurately, the state of relative poverty is seen to be a consequence of an historical process of incorporation into the world capitalist system. Capitalism legitimizes urbanization in terms of its contribution to the growth of the gross national product (G.N.P.). Throughout the world, cities extract surplus, whether it be from local agricultural areas or from half-way across the globe.<sup>7</sup>

Karl Marx once described modern history as the 'urbanization of the countryside'; which is a peculiarly accurate aphorism for most parts of the Third World.<sup>8</sup> The present form of urban development dominant in the Third World can be understood only as an outcome of the historical process of expansion by colonial powers.<sup>9</sup> It is possible to argue that without the intrusion of industrial capitalism and imperialism, some Third World societies would still lack major cities. The impact of European expansion from the sixteenth century onwards transformed urban structures in the Third World as well as their functions and forms.<sup>10</sup> In Asia, Europeans built new urban forms which complemented the existing interior cities of the indigenous civilization. Europe built coastal cities to act as foci for trade, cities which were to become future

metropolitan centers. In the Indian subcontinent, interior administrative, commercial and sacred centers survived in modified forms, while the British founded the port cities of Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay, and Madras.<sup>11</sup>

The newly founded cities reflected the new power structures and exercised functions relevant to the interest of Europe. They were beginning to become parts of the world economic and social system.<sup>12</sup> In many cases the only change independence brought in Asian and African cities was to substitute local citizens for European administrators and elites.

Urban functions and settlement systems reflected the general orientation of the economy: cities were concerned with international trade. By the time of independence, national life in most of the Asian countries were centered on Western developed ports to an irreversible degree. As each Asian country had responded to Western stimuli and altered its own outlook; its world had been refocussed on its seaward gates, originally the funnels for export and the vestibules for Western manipulators, but ultimately also the breeding ground and the apexes of a new Asia. These apexes were to develop into primate cities which would dominate national settlement patterns. Into these cities would eventually move large numbers of rural migrants; their land alienated by the intrusion of capitalist enterprise, and their number swollen by lower mortality rates.

In order to understand the development of Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, pages of history must be turned. In the great Yanges-Braamha Putra delta region known as Bengal, with its rich alluvial soil and huge agrarian population, the city which fits the above model is Calcutta.

Dhaka, Being the administrative headquarter during pre and post colonial time, developed more on indigenous line rather than the superimposed British pattern. During the British period, East Bengal served as the rural hinterland and supplier of raw material to the factories and industries centered on the metropolitan port of Calcutta in West Bengal. Calcutta was the British capital of all India until 1920 and remained the economic, cultural and political capital of Bengal until the province was partitioned in 1897. Dhaka flourished first as a center of trade and commerce and then as an administrative center during the Mughal and Pakistani Period and attracted a large number of people before and after the colonial rule in India. Today, Dhaka is a rapidly developing city, like any other large Third World cities with most of the typical problems of large cities of the developing world.<sup>13</sup>

The cities that are recognized today as being of the Third World's, are characterized by<sup>14</sup>

- A. An urban population unrelated to the productive level of the system.
- B. An absence of a direct relationship between industrial production and urban growth.
- C. A strong imbalance in the urban network in favor of one predominating area.
- D. Increasing acceleration of the process of urbanization.
- E. A lack of jobs and services for the new urban masses, and consequently, a reinforcement of ecological segregation of the social classes and a polarization of the system of stratification is concerned.<sup>15</sup>

The population load on the existing urban centers of the developing countries is enormous. Typically, 40-50% of urban population growth each



year is from an in-migrant population, which is even poorer than the existing urban population, and suffering from the same problems to an even greater extent.<sup>15</sup>

Cities have been acting, historically, as a 'melting pot' of immigrants with a wide variety of cultural, social, and economic backgrounds. Urbanized societies crowding together in towns and cities, represent a new and fundamental step in man's social evolution. Urbanized societies of today not only have urban agglomeration of a size never before attained, but also have a high proportion of their population concentrated in such agglomeration. The impact of this increasing trend of cityward migration on the healthy development of large cities has long been, for the planners, a point to ponder.

#### PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

This report will be aimed at analyzing the situation in Bangladesh, particularly in the capital city Dhaka, in order to develop an effective approach for rehabilitating the urban poor and migrants to reduce the problems of slums and squatter settlements within the city center. A review of the experience of other developing Asian Countries in developing policies and the problems they faced in implementing them and the resulting form of urban development will be used as a guideline for proposing solutions to similar sets of problems prevailing in this relatively new nation.

Bangladesh, as already noted, was the rural eastern region of Bengal separated in 1947 from the urban center of Calcutta, which stayed in India, and in 1971 from Pakistan. On a per capita basis, it is one of the poorest countries of the world.<sup>16</sup> With an average population density

of about 1600 per sq. mile, and still being predominantly rural, it is one of the most densely populated nations of the world.<sup>17</sup> The total urban fraction of the population is only a little over 11% of the population at present. Since 1947, and especially since 1971, this proportion has grown rapidly from much lower figures. With a present rate of 6.7% increase per year, the urban settlements of the country are already experiencing problems such as inadequate housing, and insufficient physical and socio-cultural facilities.

Dhaka, an historic administrative center, has been particularly sensitive to political changes. Regional capital under the Mughals (1608-1704), it lapsed to an upcountry District town under the British. With the independence of Pakistan and then of Bangladesh it became first a Provincial and then a National capital. It has thus been the most profoundly affected urban area, for it is the focus of interest of prospective migrants.<sup>18</sup> Needless to say the failure to guide and ensure planned and organized development of the city led to the creation of further squatter and slum settlements and the overall deterioration of the environmental condition.<sup>19</sup>

Planning is essentially a process of feedback and the success or failure of the policies adapted by others may help Bangladesh in its effort to find out an effective path, or at least help not to repeat the same mistakes that resulted in a disastrous failure for the development of healthy cities in most of the other developing nations.

#### SCOPE AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Since urban growth in poor countries is linked integrally to rural change, and since the development or underdevelopment of the Third World

is linked to the process of development in the Developed World, it is essential to discuss, at least in general terms, big issues such as current world economic situations, past history of the world systems, the meaning and nature of development and the recent changes in the theories of social sciences.

A literature review of some of the important theoretical issues of underdevelopment and urban problems in the Third World will thus be included in the report. Even with the signs of counter-urbanization in the United States and other highly developed nations, the world population is becoming increasingly urban. This is mostly because of the truly dramatic pace of urbanization in the Third World over the past thirty years. Fuelled by high rates of natural increase, rapid in-migration, and changes in rural societies, urban areas have grown immensely in most parts of the Third World.<sup>20</sup> This report will emphasize on one of the reasons of population increase -- mass migration -- in the context of the developing countries, and will also outline the policies and programs they adopted to cope with the problems of urban development. A theoretical reassessment of these policies and their resulting urban forms will help explain the divergence between industrial urbanism and the contemporary urban development in the Third World, which may form a basis for future development strategies.<sup>21</sup>

John Friedmann's model of spatial evolution was one of the most popular theories of the '60s.<sup>22</sup> One of the most recent theories, the Neo-Marxist theory, is not yet fully developed but the works of many theoreticians give strong hints as to the eventual form of such a theory.<sup>23</sup> It views the internal spatial structure of the Third World countries as part of the world system of production and consumption.

Marxist literature presents a new idea, where generalization has attempted to show that conditions of poverty and inequality are not confined in the Third World but entrenched even in the most affluent of capitalist cities; what planners designate as 'problems' are in fact the inevitable urban outcome of capitalist development.<sup>24</sup>

A detailed analysis of the historical and current political, economic, demographic, socio-cultural and environmental facts about Bangladesh with related figures and tables will be used with particular focus on Dhaka, the capital. This will help to form the premise for advocating a particular strategy. In doing so, the method of comparison will be used. Related statistical data, indicating the population, per capita income, rate of urbanization and related factors in different Asian countries will be used to trace the relative position of Bangladesh in the overall situation in Asia.

#### LIMITATIONS

Unfavorable economic condition is one of the phenomena that brings Asian, African and Latin American nations with diverse geographic, socio-cultural and political origins, under the common rubric, the Third World. But the problem in each country is unique in character, so are the policies and programs. Policies may be viewed as stemming from two classes of determinants:

- A. Those that are common to the region in general, like urban congestion and rural poverty in the Asian region.<sup>25</sup>
- B. Those that are particular to the history and political structure of the country, like partition in 1947, the Liberation struggle in 1971, and successive military coups after 1975 in Bangladesh.

Considering the above two factors, the case studies will be limited to developing Asian nations only, although the literature review on migration and its consequences on the development of Third World cities will cover Third World urbanization problems in general.

Published sources of data on Asian urbanization is far from being proportional to its importance on the world scale. The total Asian population or urban population is not known precisely. This makes it difficult to project its likely future shape. Studies are hampered both by inadequate data reflecting an imperfect census system and by a relative paucity of published studies. The breadth and variety of demographic information provided for at least the past several years by many Western censuses is simply not available for most of Asia. This is particularly true about Bangladesh, the test case.

Apart from the shortage of reliable data, the varying definitions of terms like 'Third World', 'city', or 'urban', even within a single national unit may give rise to perplexing ambiguity. To avoid this problem, definitions of the terms as used in this report will be given.

One final difficulty that hampers the search for accurate and complete data for Urban Asia is the very large and continuing role of rural-urban migration. Almost every large Asian city has apparently owed half or more of its recent rapid growth to migration. Incomplete data on the role of migration in the growth of Asian cities, makes urban census confusing.

Implementation or feasibility of a study depends mostly on the assumptions on which the study is based. For Bangladesh it is difficult to make precise assumptions as national politics are always at a state of

flux. Successive military coups followed by changes in the power structure have created a high degree of uncertainty in every sphere.

#### DEFINITIONS OF THE TERMS

A 'City' has been defined by Louis Wirth as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals - a relatively large proportion of whom are engaged in non-agricultural occupation.<sup>26</sup>

The phrase 'Third World' is the most frequently employed general term to describe poor countries. Included in the 'Third World' in this report are those countries whose population had a per capita income below 3,000 U.S. dollars in 1978, or a life expectancy of less than seventy years.<sup>27</sup> Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean are included in the Third World with the exception of Israel, Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Several poor countries, often described as part of Second World the socialist countries, i.e. the centrally planned economics such as People's Republic of China, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Cuba, and the Democratic Republic of Korea, have been included because of their recent colonial experiences. Nations of under-developed Europe have been excluded, as life there is quite different, although in terms of per capita income and life expectancy they are little different from the poor countries.<sup>28</sup>

The urbanization process is a concept which has many interpretations. Generally, urbanization is viewed as an index of progress which may be defined in a number of ways. Lampard broadly defined urbanization as 'a way of ordering a population to attain a certain level of subsistence and security in a given environment'.<sup>29</sup>

Mellor defined it 'either as the transformation of places to alter the status in the matrix of communities or alternatively, as the incorporation of groups in a society into the way of life of the controlling metropolis.<sup>30</sup> However defined, the measure of the process's end product - the 'urbanization level' is generally considered as the proportion of the country's total population resident in urban places.<sup>31</sup>

'Over-urbanization' stands for a perverse stream of migration, sapping the economic strength of the rural areas without corresponding large benefits to urban production. Instead of being a sign of development, over-urbanization is considered as a sign of economic illness.<sup>32</sup>

The definition of the term 'urban place' is also controversial. Modest size limits are implied in the official definitions of 'urban' population in the censuses of most countries. Traditionally, in international research, 'Urban' population may be defined as that of localities with 20,000 or more inhabitants with a distinction for localities with at least 100,000 inhabitants. These larger centers are known as cities.<sup>33</sup> The distribution of different sizes of urban centers is shown in Table (4) in the appendix. In the census of the country, a population over 5,000 is defined as urban.

Many of the colonial, ex-colonial, or quasi colonial underdeveloped countries, especially those of Asia and Latin America, show a peculiar urban structure, namely, the presence of one very large city that greatly overshadows the next largest city. The growth of these great cities has not been due primarily to industrial expansion but extra-industrial factors. Cities like Rangoon, Bangkok, Manila, Djakarta and Dhaka are

many times the size of the next largest cities in their countries. They can be designated as 'Primate Cities', each dominating their nation's economy and political life.<sup>34</sup>

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Now that the general outline of the purpose, scope and scale of the study is defined, the next step will be to explore the general pattern of migration in the Third World, the reasons underlying such moves and the scale and magnitude of the problems it causes in the city life. The next chapters will deal with Third World urbanization trends in order to determine the extent of the problem and establish a ground for the policies adopted by different developing Asian nations which will be discussed in Chapter III.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, rev. ed. (1981), S.V. "Third World," by Merriam.

<sup>2</sup>Encyclopedia of Urban Planning, 1974 ed., S.V. "Third World," by A. Whittle.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>A. Gilbert and J. Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanization in the Third World, 1982.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>R. F. Myrop, et. al. Area Handbook for Bangladesh, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 11-16.

<sup>14</sup>Gilbert and Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development, p. 6-7.

<sup>15</sup>D. J. Herbert, Urban Development in the Third World: Policy Guidelines, 1979.

<sup>16</sup>Encyclopedia of the Third World, rev. ed., 1982, S. V. "Bangladesh," by Kurian.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, National Report on Human Settlements: Bangladesh, (Habitat, United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, 1976), pp. 56-57.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Gilbert and Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Kingsley Davis, "Urbanization of the Human Population," Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, W. E. Moore and N. J. Smelser, eds., 1969, pp. 19-20.

<sup>25</sup>Alan B. Simmon, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia: Policies, Programs, and Results," Population Development Review, 5(1), p. 92.

<sup>26</sup>Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of Life', Cities and Societies, P. K. Hatt, and A. J. Reiss, eds., 1959, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup>Gilbert and Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup>T. G. McGee, The Urbanization Process in the Third World, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup>J. R. Mellor, Urban Sociology in an Urbanized Society, 1977, p. 47.

<sup>31</sup>McGee, The Urbanization Process in the Third World, 1975, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup>S. H. Weliz, "Economic Development and Urbanization," Urbanization and National Development, Jackson and Prakash, eds., Vol. 1, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup>Population Division, U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, World Urbanization Trends: 1920-1960, Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, W. E. Moore and N. J. Smelser, 1969, p. 23.

<sup>34</sup>Swindler K. Mehta, "Some Demographic and Economic Correlates to Primate Cities: A Case Revaluation," pp. 295-308, Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, W. E. Moore and N. J. Smelser, 1969.

## CHAPTER II

THIRD WORLD URBANIZATION PROCESSES

## URBANIZATION IN ASIA

No matter how 'urban' area is defined, at least one third of the present world total of urban population is now in Asia.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the degree of urbanization in Asia is considerably lower than that in the developed countries, since well over half of the world's total population is Asian. The proportion of the population residing in the cities is approximately 22% for Asia, 16% for Africa, and 61% for Latin America. Yet, of the fifty largest cities of the world, on 21 are in the developing countries, among which as many as 16 are in Asia.<sup>2</sup> There is no reasonable correlation between the total number of urban dwellers and the degree of urbanization in Asia. This suggests two apparently contradictory conclusions: that most of Asia is overurbanized and that urbanization in Asia is still in its early stage.<sup>3</sup>

The most striking feature of Asian cities in the decades following World War II is their uniquely rapid growth. To quote Bert F. Hoselitz, one of the principal proponents of 'over-urbanization theory', "Urbanization in Asia has probably run ahead of industrialization, and other development of administrative and other service occupations which are characteristically concentrated in cities."<sup>4</sup>

At local levels as well as in national schemes, priority or the relative weight of rural-urban development projects, in most cases, is determined by political dominance of one interest group over the others. Though the majority of the people in the developing Asian nations live in rural areas, their needs and aspirations are rarely reflected in the development programs of the past. The result of these biased policies

are evident today. With government policies favoring urban development, overall investment in the agricultural sector is restricted. Moreover, a combination of government policies and private investment patterns in many countries tend to direct agricultural investment into mechanization and modernization of large farms, many of which are processing agricultural products for export.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of these patterns and continued rapid population growth, per capita production of staple food for national consumption declined in many countries, in others it did not make expected contributions to national economic growth. The consequences were particularly serious for rural areas. Mechanization tended to increase unemployment. Low levels of productivity and low wages on the small and medium-sized farms on which most rural people were dependent served to accelerate out-migration.

Nation-building activities are concentrated in metropolitan areas. The largest city in many countries of Asia is also the national capital. Expanding civil service bureaucracies and new airports, new universities, and other key institutions are concentrated in the large cities, creating more direct jobs, more trickle down income, and a greater magnet attracting the rural poor. Import substitution policies implemented by governments to speed up industrialization in the region attracted national and international investment capital increasingly towards industrial pursuits, many of which are located in the capital or in the largest cities, which add to the attraction.<sup>6</sup>

Public health programs greatly increased infant survival. Under existing patterns of land distribution and technology, the economics of the urban region as a whole had difficulty in absorbing the expanding

labor force. Rural underemployment and unemployment became serious problems. Labor force migration within rural areas increased. Only a small proportion of rural people moved to metropolitan cities, but this was sufficient to speed up their growth.<sup>7</sup>

#### WHY PEOPLE MOVE

A substantial body of research on rural-urban migration has accumulated over the last two decades, and the evidence is overwhelming: the great majority of the people move for economic reasons. When people are asked their reasons for moving, the better prospect in the urban economy stands out.<sup>8</sup> Though the vast bulk of migrants in the urban centers of Asia are terribly poor, studies throughout the Third World report frequently that the great majority of the migrants consider that they have improved their condition and that they are satisfied with their move.<sup>9</sup>

Migration streams between regions can also be shown to correspond to income differentials between those regions.<sup>10</sup> That the material considerations are of prime importance in decision making appears to be a universal fact. Certainly, for poor people to behave otherwise may rapidly lead to a threat to their very survival.

Migration entails cost, economic and frequently psychological. It also entails substantial risk much of the time. It is rarely a solitary affair. Potential migrants do not weight their decision in isolation. Rather, it is the outcome of the interplay of a number of social, psychological and economic forces. Incorporation in the world system has resulted in a considerable difference for Third World communities. Rural populations were now producing for an urban market. They are raising cash to settle taxes, and to purchase manufactured goods by selling some

of the products they grow. As the incorporation proceeded, the rural people saw their poverty. They saw a few in their midst rise to a level of affluence undreamt of in the past. They also came face to face with the lifestyle of outsiders -- missionaries, traders, government officials, foreign experts and tourists. With the perception of a better life enjoyed by some locals and by visitors from the outside, came an awareness of the current development of the world, and for many of the people living in the rural area, rural prospects appeared dim and the urban scene became more promising. Hoselitz (1953:195-208) claimed that, whereas in the advanced countries cities develop because of the 'pull' of the urban facilities, in Asia and other developing countries it results from a 'push' of the poverty-stricken rural population.<sup>10</sup> Migrants are considered to be pushed out of rural areas because of transformations in the agricultural sector, population growth or other such reasons and pulled into the urban areas to expand non-agricultural sectors. In a state of over-urbanization, it is normally assumed that the 'push' factor becomes larger while the economic 'pull' factor of the cities is reduced because of the lack of productive employment opportunities. The 'push' from the rural areas and the 'pull' of urban areas serve to emphasize the importance of a particular motive in the decision to migrate. Refugees may be said to be pushed out of their rural homes. During the civil strife that accompanied the partition of India in 1947, about 16 million people fled across the newly established boundaries.<sup>12</sup> Most of those uprooted from rural areas sought a new beginning in the cities. This was repeated again in 1971, during the Liberation War. War, the man-made calamity, has frequently made rural areas so insecure that peasants packed up and left for the relative security of cities.

The cause of migration is often viewed as the result of the difference between rural and urban livelihood opportunities. The difference being more pronounced in developing countries, there the rural-urban migration is higher.

Another reason for urban concentration is the rise in technological enhancement of human productivity, together with certain constant factors that contributed to the creation of present urban form. One of the constant factors is that agriculture uses land as its prime instrument of production and hence spreads out people who are engaged in it, whereas manufacturing, commerce and services use land only as a site. Moreover, the demand for agricultural products is less elastic than the demand for services and manufactures. As productivity grows, services and manufactures can absorb more manpower by paying higher wages. Since non-agricultural activities can use land simply as a site, they can locate near one another, as in towns and cities, and thus minimize the friction of space inevitably involved in the division of labor. Most of the developing countries have limited capital and other resources and share a common belief that rapid industrialization would be the shortest way to achieve economic independence. Lack of administrative and financial support also discourages dispersed industrial investments. Most of the national and international pursuits develop in and around the major urban centers due to the availability of services, proximity to large markets in the urban centers, and larger labor pool, lower transportation cost, and other related factors. This, in turn, contributes to the urban 'pull' factor, creating higher employment and income opportunities for the skilled workers and the marginal laborers as

well by providing a 'trickle down' income to the 'un' and 'under' employed urban population.<sup>13</sup>

Extended family can be seen as an agent of urbanization in many of the preindustrialized nations.<sup>14</sup> In most cases relatives assist migrants by offering food and shelter for a while, especially during their first arrival. An individual migrant often leaves behind his wife and children to be looked after by relatives or friends in the village.

Today migration is an accepted behavior virtually everywhere. Gone are the days when elders disapproved of the young men 'running away' from home. Now, frequently the remittances from migrants provide villagers with what for them are luxuries of life. In some places, drought, earthquake, cyclone, volcanoes, or floods pose immediate physical danger resulting in threats of hunger and disease in their wake. Although such disasters are 'natural' they are man-made to the extent that political action, or more typically, inaction, increases their severity and impact on the affected population.

Great masses of rural population are potentially mobile. A great many are prepared to move to town if they can be sure of a livelihood there. Invariably, the decision to migrate involves an assessment of alternative locations; people move to a more promising environment.<sup>15</sup>

In most of the developing Asian nations the reasons for the increasing trend of migration may be attributed to the following factors:

#### 1. HISTORICAL:

- A. Concentration of political and economic power in cities, especially after World War II.
- B. Popular myth that living in urban areas promises an optimistic future.



## 2. ECONOMIC:

- A. Hopelessly bleak future in rural areas.
- B. Low level of productivity and wages in agricultural sectors.
- C. Seasonal nature of agricultural labor.
- D. Higher employment opportunities and higher income/earnings in the urban areas.

## 3. OTHERS:

- A. Natural calamities, such as flood, drought, cyclone and earthquake followed by famine and epidemic.
- B. Higher environmental standard and amenities in the urban areas.
- C. Biased governmental policies favoring urban development.
- D. Higher degree of exposure to social, cultural, educational, and recreational opportunities in the urban areas.
- E. Smaller owner-cultivators being squeezed by population increase and subsequent division of the cultivating land.
- F. Cities acting as centers for commercial and intellectual contacts with foreign countries (especially oil-producing countries).

## PATTERNS OF MIGRATION:

The movement of individuals is the focus of migration analysis. Migration frequently involves young single persons. In most cases there are a number of moves over a lifetime - a migratory career, which is best understood with reference to family and community as the initial decision to migrate is rarely taken in isolation.<sup>16</sup>

Three principal patterns of migration from rural to urban areas in the Third World are observed:<sup>17</sup>

- A. Temporary migration of men separated from their families.
- B. Family migration to urban areas followed by return migration to the community of origin; and
- C. Permanent establishment of urban family household.

Migrants are forced out of the rural area due to natural calamity.

In parts of Africa, in much of Asia, and especially in Latin America, most migrants have little prospect of maintaining access to agricultural land because of population pressure. Most of the time there is nothing left behind for which they may plan to return. They, therefore, press for the provision of social security of urban workers and search for sources of earnings outside employment.<sup>18</sup>

With the high rural-urban gap, wholesale emigration from the disadvantaged rural areas might be expected. But cities are less than hospitable to new immigrants and only the highly trained, well connected, and hardy venture there.<sup>19</sup> The stream appears formidable and at the urban end constitutes only a small proportion of the rural population. Excepting a few highly urbanized countries in Latin America where out-migration exceeds natural population increase in rural areas, in nearly every Third World country, the rural population continues to grow.<sup>20</sup>

There are major differences among migrants in terms of socio-economic background, and their urban prospects vary accordingly. At one end of the spectrum are many who are poor and ill equipped for any but the most minimal tasks: some come from regions where poverty is common fate of the peasantry, others originate from the lower strata of quite differentiated communities like in some Indian villages. With few exceptions they have little schooling and are barred from most of the

more rewarding opportunities.<sup>21</sup> At the other end of the spectrum are the migrants from an unusually developed region, or more typically a member of a privileged rural minority, who attend the better schools and climb the educational ladder high enough to gain access to a promising career in public administration, with a major company, or as a professional.<sup>22</sup>

Young adults always predominate where migration in search of employment is concerned.<sup>23</sup> They are usually unmarried, but even when married, have less at stake in the rural areas than their elders. They frequently lack control over resources, land in particular, and wield little power in local affairs. To put it into universal terms, they are at a transitional stage between adolescence and adulthood and not yet firmly committed to an adult role in the local setting.<sup>24</sup> For that very reason, they enjoy an advantage in the urban economy. They are not just physically strong, they are more adaptable to the different demands of the urban environment. If migration entails accepting marginal earnings in the hope of eventually securing a protected job or satisfactory self-employment, then the potential rewards are highest for the young starting on a lifetime urban career.

Clear patterns of sex selectivity can be discerned within major regions of the Third World.<sup>25</sup> In most of them, men outnumber women in the cities. In Asia and Africa, the unweighted average for 13 and 22 countries respectively, showed 109 men for every 100 women. In contrast, in Latin America, the average for 23 countries indicated 92 men for every 100 women.<sup>26</sup>

#### CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION IN URBAN LIFE:

Due to the unequal world distribution of income and rational poverty, Third World countries today are characterized by shanty towns,

unemployment, petty services and pavement dwellers.<sup>27</sup> Very rapid population growth in these countries resulted in high levels of poverty, a growth that even the most developed urban areas would have difficulty absorbing into productive employment.

Studies on different Asian nations show that a large number of urban people in the metropolitan city areas are living at a level far below subsistence. A high proportion of these people lack electricity, potable water, sanitary facilities and health services, which are some of the essentials of a healthy city life.<sup>28</sup>

For the politicians, national leaders, and governmental officials, the result of the increasing trend of cityward migration is alarming. It was an apparent transfer of poverty from rural areas, where it was diffused and less visible, to the urban settings, where it is concentrated and obvious. The scale of the urban management problems facing local governments in the developing countries is horrendous. The responsibility of those who must manage major urban centers requires a variety of types of knowledge in economics, business management, engineering, architecture, planning, sociology, and politics, to name just a few. The functions to be dealt with range from everyday chores, such as refuse collection, to major long-range programming to support hundreds of thousands of new low-income residents every year. Local urban administrators have almost no funds with which to work. Most of the time there are severe shortages of capital as well as shortages of skilled staff, and to top the list, often there is a tradition of corruption at all levels. Problems associated with the absorption of labor into the urban economics with attendant effect upon the spatial diffusion of growth, class structure, class conflict, and upon the

integration of developing sub-cultural mosaic make it difficult for the authorities to control or direct the pace, scale and direction of urbanization. Some of them initially started with 'western' concepts and, failing to attain those objectives, have switched over to more radical means.<sup>29</sup>

Only a few governments can afford to face the political consequences either of a genuine policy of decentralization or of effective urban planning. As cities grow, governments attempt to maintain political stability by controlling the prices of basic foods and transportation and by permitting land invasions or illegal urban subdivisions.<sup>30</sup> Middle income groups receive subsidies, such as public housing and health services. Industrialists wooed by governments are turning a blind eye to environmental pollution or aesthetical considerations; private-sector real-estate interests are allowed to dictate the terms of urban development and land use. Once under way, urban growth is rarely channelled into directions that will maximize the public good. Rather, such growth is allowed to continue under its own implacable logic, whatever the eventual outcome may be. Most groups who command political support are linked to the larger cities and to the economic activities generated by their growth. Most of the urban problems of the Third World countries, today, are the consequence of this unmanaged and uncontrolled expansion.<sup>31</sup>

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

After reviewing the general reasons for mass migration in the Third World in general and Asia in particular, the next chapter will outline the policies, programs and results adopted by the developing Asian

nations in order to deal with the problem, with the objective of tracing a path for the test case, Bangladesh.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Kingsley Davis, "World Urbanization, 1950-1970, "Basic Data for Cities, Countries, and Regions," Population Monogram Series, (Berkeley: University of California, 1972), 1(4).

<sup>2</sup>John D. Herbert, Urbanization in the Third World: Policy Guideline, [Praeger Publisher, New York, 1979], p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Murphey, "Urbanization in Asia," Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, eds. Wilbert E. Moore and Neil J. Smelser [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969], p. 59.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>B. F. Hoselitz, Sociological Aspect of Ecological Growth, [The Free Press, 1960].

<sup>7</sup>A. B. Simmons, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia: Policies, Programs, and Results," Population Development Review, 5(1), 88-101.

<sup>8</sup>A. Gilbert and J. Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanization in the Third World, Oxford University Press, 1982], p. 52.

<sup>9</sup>A. B. Simmons, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia: Policies, Programs, and Results", Population Development Review, 5(1), p. 89.

<sup>10</sup>Gilbert and Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development, pp. 49-54.

<sup>11</sup>B. F. Hoselitz, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth, [The Free Press, 1960].

<sup>12</sup>Gilbert and Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup>Kingsley Davis, "The Urbanization of the Human Population", Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, eds. W. E. Moore and N. J. Smelser, [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969], p. 11.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>John D. Herbert, Urban Development in the Third World: Policy Guideline, [Praeger Publisher, New York, 1979], p. 10.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Gilbert and Gugler, Cities, Poverty, and Development, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>K. C. Zacharian, "Bombay Migration Study: A Pilot Analysis of Migration to an Asian Metropolis," p. 360, Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, eds. W. E. Moore and N. J. Smelser, [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969].

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Gilbert and Guglar, "Cities, Poverty and Development," pp. 55-58.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>B. Simmons, "Slow Metropolitan City Growth in Asia", p. 88.

<sup>30</sup>Richard F. Nyrop, Area Handbook for Bangladesh, [Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975], p.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.



## CHAPTER III

ASIAN POLICIES REVIEW

## THE POLICY CONTEXT

The very rapid population growth in Asian cities has become one of the most obvious reasons for the high level of poverty in the developing Asian nations.<sup>1</sup> For most of the Asian countries, population load on existing urban centers is enormous, for example, Calcutta, 5.1 million; Seoul, 4.6 million; Djakarta, 4.5 million; Karachi, 4.2 million; Manila, 4.1 million; and Dhaka, well over 2 million.<sup>2</sup> Approximately 200,000 people are being added each year to the population of Karachi, which is equivalent to an entire new city annually in most parts of the developed world.<sup>3</sup>

A 1974 United Nations survey shows that 16 of the 30 countries in ESCAP (Asia and the Pacific) region were dissatisfied with their current population distribution pattern and 22 of these 30 countries had introduced policies to slow or reverse the rural-urban migration.<sup>4</sup>

A detailed 1978 analysis of national development plans in Indonesia, Malayasia, the Philippines, and Thailand confirms the above statement.<sup>5</sup> Similar policies exist in South Korea, China, India, and other nations of the region. It would appear that virtually all the larger developing nations of Asia are concerned and have policies to modify existing patterns and almost all of them have regional, sectoral, and other development plans designed in part to slow the rate of metropolitan city growth.<sup>6</sup>

Considering Asia as a whole, the population distribution objectives evident in different national strategies fall into four categories, all

with the ultimate objective of a slower and controlled metropolitan city growth.<sup>7</sup> They are:

A. Policy of Inversion

Reverse population flow by encouraging and sometimes forcing urban immigrants and/or poor residents to relocate in rural areas (example, Kampuchia, China).<sup>8</sup>

B. Closed City Policy

Prevent migrants from leaving their communities and entering larger cities by exerting legal and administrative power (example, Djakarta, Indonesia, Manila, and the Philippines).<sup>9</sup>

C. Transmigration Policy

Nations with open frontier land have frequently sought to resettle potential migrants in new rural settlements (example, Indonesia and Malayasia).<sup>10</sup>

D. Policy of Growth Pole

Direct rural migrants away from metropolitan centers to new industrial 'Growth Poles' located in non-metropolitan areas (example, South Korea and India).<sup>11</sup>

## CASE STUDIES

### A. Policy of Inversion

Only a very few countries in the world have programs designed to resettle urban families in rural areas. Yet, within these countries, the programs are of startling magnitude and have led to the largest planned population shift in the world. In Kampuchia, thousands of urban residents were forced at gun point to rural areas where they were made to work on the land allocated for them.<sup>12</sup> This program was, of course,

primarily motivated by political and ideological considerations, and not by any carefully thought out planning of the economy.<sup>13</sup>

China, on the other hand, had for many years a variety of gradual, orderly, organized programs that address economic as well as political objectives. During 1969-73, between 10 to 15 million urban secondary school graduates were forced to leave the cities and resettle in rural areas.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, administrative controls, including restriction on travel permits and access to ration cards, were used to prevent or limit the migration of rural people to the cities. These programs were supported by large-scale media propaganda and political action. In addition to the minor programs that were largely political in their goals, the really major programs appear to have been primarily motivated by national economic considerations. The major goal was to stimulate agricultural production, namely, the 'hisa fang' program.<sup>15</sup> The Chinese programs were remarkably successful in transferring population to rural areas. At the beginning it was faced with violent opposition from the students who were reluctant to go to the rural areas. Many of them returned to the cities whenever administrative control broke down. They were not welcome in the communities where they were placed. Their cultural backgrounds were different, and they lacked agricultural skill. Land and capital were short in supply and extra labor could not always be effectively utilized. To placate the youth, economic incentives in the form of improved ration, wages, and living conditions were offered which, in the long run, proved useful. The cultural difference between the rural peasants and the students were minimized by the creation of separate 'youth points' where the students formed their

own community rather than being integrated with the peasant group. After the initial adjustment difficulties, they apparently began to make some economic contributions.<sup>16</sup>

The Chinese example does indicate that through the use of law, massive propaganda, and widespread social support backed by effective administrative controls, it is possible to resettle urban residents in rural areas. Such resettlements may even be possible without these strong restrictions, if the flow of resources in rural areas were strong enough to attract the urban workers into agricultural work. Policy makers in the Asian nations have not seriously pursued reverse migration as an economic development strategy.

#### B. Closed City Policy

Some Asian countries have taken direct measures to stop or discourage rural migration to metropolitan areas. One of the best known is the attempt to limit the entry of migrants into Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia. In 1970, the governor of Djakarta passed a decree limiting the entry of migrants. The law enforced made it necessary to obtain a permission for living in the city. The process of getting the required permit was complex, costly, lengthy and painstaking. After getting a 'short visit' card and depositing money, if he could not prove he had a job and home, the migrant was given a one-way ticket to his place of origin.

Other policies were introduced to limit the opportunities of unskilled laborers in Djakarta. Over the past years, the government also attempted to move unlicensed sidewalk vendors, marginal workers, and beggars from the city streets. These regulations proved to be extremely difficult to administer. There were too many violators. An undesirable

byproduct of these regulations was petty corruption. Another negative side effect was that some of the workers who used to go back to rural areas for seasonal jobs avoided doing so fearing problems in re-entering the city. The city was still growing quickly, in large part, through migration.<sup>17</sup>

A less direct but not more successful attempt to discourage the entry of migrants to the city has been tried in Manila, the capital of the Philippines. In 1963, the Mayor of Manila implemented an election promise to provide free education to city residents. However, it was only for the bona fide Manila residents. The migrants and commuters had to pay a steep fee to get into the school system. Claims of residency were supposed to be proven by certificates of tax payments, sworn statements (affidavits) and residence certificates. Administering this system also proved to be extremely difficult. It was almost impossible to check all applications. Although most migrants were too poor to pay taxes, they were often able to pay a lawyer the fee for drawing up an affidavit. The result was predictable: petty corruption on the one hand and the rapid increase in the city school enrollment on the other. By 1968, the city of Manila was spending more than one third of its budget for education alone.<sup>18</sup> As part of 'nation building,' this budget for education may have been more efficient than trying to organize new equivalent schools in the countryside. However, if the school budget money came from local sources only, then the city is "unfairly" carrying out national education policy.

The examples of Djakarta and Manila show the conflict inherent in a democratic system that guarantees freedom of movement and at the same time tries to correct the imbalance in population distribution through

direct and indirect means. Short of a strictly enforced passport or identification system and efficient policing and enforcement of rationing systems for city services, it is extremely difficult to restrict the movement of people to large cities.

### C. Policy of Transmigration

Many Asian nations have resettlement schemes, transmigration colonization, homesteading, or land development, which were designed in almost all cases to exploit frontier lands and to correct a perceived imbalance in the population distribution pattern of the country. Some imbalances are extreme. For example, it has been estimated that Java, which is only 7% of Indonesia's land area, supports 65% of the population. In contrast, Kalimantan, with 28 percent of the country's land area, has only 4% of the people.<sup>19</sup> A similar situation exists in Malayasia.

In Indonesia, the government's transmigration program included preparation of settlement sites in the sparsely populated region of the country and transporting the willing migrants there. They were provided with various services and gainful employment, usually in the field of agriculture. Most of the migrants were from Java and Bali, the two most densely populated areas in Indonesia. Various problems were encountered in site preparation, selection of appropriate migrants, transportation, and support of migrants in their destination areas. With the assistance of teams in planning and financing the project, they were able to resettle about 141,844 migrants in the first phase with an increase in the number in the years following.<sup>20</sup> The need for a large amount of capital for these kinds of programs becomes the largest drawback for their success in the developing world.

A recent evaluation of the transmigration project in Indonesia has pointed out a number of problems with the approach. Initial planning of the resettlement villages did not give sufficient attention to irrigation, drainage and water supply. Some migrants were settled in salt marshes in swampy areas unsuitable for agriculture. The communities were established separately from villages of indigenous residents, and ethnic conflict and lack of political-economic cooperation have been evident in many regions. The transmigrants have been slow to learn the farming techniques appropriate to soil and climatic conditions different from those in their former locations. Insufficient guidance on fertilizer use had led to irrigation and well-water being poisoned in some cases. Early crops were destroyed by pests. Some land proved so difficult to clear that the settlers began to desert their farms when their rations ran out. In a number of settlements, more than half of the migrants sought nonfarm employment within the first year in order to survive.

Although lack of planning in the transmigration program undoubtedly has contributed to the problems, better planning -- involving more careful selection of sites, additional training of migrants, and supports to marketing -- would raise costs. An alternative perhaps would be less direct planning rather than poor planning, for example, perhaps with smaller groups of spontaneous transmigrants receiving less governmental help and taking more initiative on their own. Official assistance was offered only after the initial move was made and land was allocated only if the migrant would clear it. A major factor in their relative success in Indoneasia was that of necessity; they integrated more smoothly into pre-existing settlements and thus adapted more quickly economically.<sup>21</sup>

Many of the early successful resettlement programs in Asia were initially undertaken for nation building purposes. In Malayasia, the Briggs plan helped to remove 360,000 former squatters into newly created compact towns and villages mostly within a few miles of their original residence.<sup>22</sup> Between 1951-60 about one million people were resettled under this program. Most of these settlements survived, adding 216 new urban towns to the country.<sup>23</sup> The purpose of the endeavor was to provide improved services, to give rural people a reason for identifying with the nation, and most importantly to prevent them from being attracted into or aiding insurgents in the jungle. Development of land was not the main objective. Similar strategies have been applied in the Philippines during the late 1950s to pacify the Huks and Mindanaos.<sup>24</sup>

The results of these programs suggest that establishing a viable economic base for transmigrants is the key to success. In the absence of major new rural investment programs and the capacity to plan settlement areas better, the government may try to continue general support to rural development, such as gradual expansion of roads and services, and support spontaneous transmigrants with modest grants and benefits. Such programs would not lead to the immediate out-migration of large numbers from the cities and thus slow the city growth, one of the objectives of the transmigration program in the first place.

#### D. Policy of Growth Pole Development

Policy makers have concluded that congestion in metropolitan cities can be relieved if infrastructural investments in highways, hydroelectric facilities and ports, away from the metropolitan areas are made, and tax benefits and other incentives are provided to encourage industries to move to specified small urban locations. The conceptual basis for most



of these efforts has been 'growth pole' theory, in which it is assumed that initial governmental expenditures in sparsely settled or previously economically disadvantaged regions lead to self-sustained economic growth. Nearly all countries in Asia have identified potential growth pole centers and mechanisms to encourage their developments. Malayasia has sought to encourage the dispersal of industry away from the Klang Valley through the use of locational tax incentive scheme.<sup>25</sup> Thailand has similarly sought to decentralize industry toward the poverty-stricken north-east and to develop satellite towns near Bangkok.<sup>26</sup> The Philippines have focused on the use of tax incentives, transportation facilities, water and power subsidies, and low-cost housing programs to disperse medium and small scale industry, particularly, integrated textile mills to eleven regional centers.<sup>27</sup> India has established industrial estates and has a history of such efforts dating from the early 1950s. In fact, India was one of the first Asian countries to experiment with industrial estates.<sup>28</sup> Indonesia has established a number of such estates.<sup>29</sup> South Korea, worried about the size of Seoul and its proximity to the North Korean boarder, has with considerable assistance from the World Bank, pushed an extremely energetic policy of industrial and urban decentralization.<sup>30</sup>

Growth pole schemes have been fraught with unexpected problems. The high cost of direct outlays and subsidies for growth pole ventures have had a sobering effect on governments. In India, the industry attracted to industrial estates has been less labor intensive than industry elsewhere in the country and thus able to absorb a fewer workers than originally anticipated. Skilled workers have been reluctant to leave their homes in the large urban areas, even when attracted by high wages.

In many countries, growth pole and regional decentralization plans proposed by the federal government have been either poorly implemented or not implemented at all, because they led to conflict with other levels of government, like state or local as to how resources should be distributed.

The experience in India proved that large and publicly supported industries along with major governmental investments are needed for a location to act as a growth pole because medium and small industries cannot generate on their own enough force to hold such a scheme together, meaning in turn to account for education and the long-term infrastructure development.

The most successful story of industrial decentralization is South Korea, which had more than half of its labor force engaged in agriculture and a high urban rural income disparity. The tremendous growth of industry relative to agriculture and the wide disparities in the quality of economic infrastructure and cultural amenities were the principal detriments of the pace and pattern of urban growth. In 1960 about 37% of the population lived in urban areas of which 28% lived in cities; by 1975 the proportion had respectively increased to 59% and 48%. The absolute number of rural dwellers began to decline in 1966.<sup>31</sup> To a remarkable degree, urbanization was associated with an increase in the concentration of population. In 1960, the two largest cities, Seoul and Pusan, contained 14% of the national population which became 27% by 1975.<sup>32</sup>

Because of the social importance of reducing rural urban disparities, government used a variety of instruments like regulation of grain prices, subsidized inputs in rural sector, and new community movement. Preventing income disparities from widening was a major task because labor productivity in manufacturing was growing at nearly 7% a

year while agriculture suffered from severe land and climatic constraints. Government policies attempted to change this by establishing industrial estates outside existing industrial concentration and encouraging new community factories in rural areas.

The population concentration in Seoul was seen by government to increase Korea's vulnerability to external aggression. Since 1970, attempts have been made to resolve the problem of Seoul's size in a broader context of population distribution. Creation of growth poles and the rigid enforcement of zoning regulations that restrict the growth of manufacturing activities in major cities proved to be most effective.<sup>33</sup>

The government used tax and credit incentives to relocate industrial investments in locations other than Seoul. Seoul's growth dropped to around 4.5% per year, while smaller cities around Seoul grew at an impressive rate of 12.7% per year, as much of the industrial growth and migration was directed to areas close to Seoul and Pusan to take the advantage of support services, supplies and markets in these large cities.<sup>34</sup>

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of the four policies mentioned above were stories of failure and success. Among them the Chinese and Korean example may be considered as relatively successful cases. But the Chinese example may not be easy to implement in Bangladesh because of its difference in socio-cultural and political ideology. The Korean example, which is analyzed in detail, may be more applicable in the case of Dhaka and Bangladesh. In the next chapter, the situation in Bangladesh will be discussed to develop a definite strategy for Bangladesh in the concluding chapter.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> John D. Herbert, Urbanization in the Third World: Policy Guideline, [Praeger Publisher, New York, 1979], p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Murphey, "Urbanization in Asia," Modernization of Traditional Societies Series, eds. Wilbert E. Moore and Neil J. Smelser [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969], p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Simmons, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia: Policies, Programs, and Results," Population Development Review, 5(1), p. 88-101.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Neville Maxwell, ed. China's Road to Development, 2nd enlarged ed., Pergamon Press, 1979.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Alden Jr., "Rural and Urban Migration: A National Overview," Agricultural and Rural Development in Indonesia, ed. Gary E. Hansen, Westview Press, Colorado, Boulder, pp. 199-218.

<sup>18</sup> Alan B. Simmon, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia," p.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Alden Jr. Speare, "Rural and Urban Migration: A National Overview," p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Alan B. Simmon, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia," p.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>D. F. Darwant, "Growth Poles and Growth Centers in Regional Planning: A Review," Regional Policy: Reading in Theory and Application, eds. John Friedmann and William Alonso, pp.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Richard Critchfield, "The Plight of the Cities: Djakarta - the First to Choose," *World Business*, 6(4), July-August, 1971, pp. 89-94.

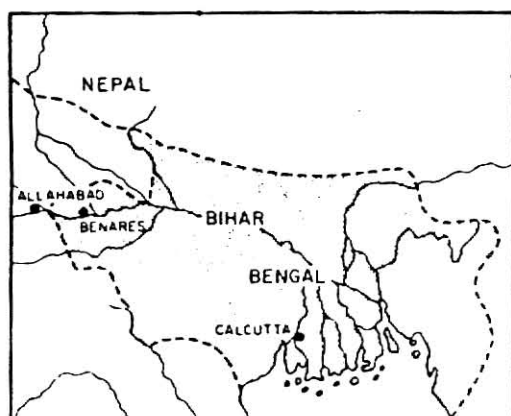
<sup>30</sup>Koichi Mera, "Population Distribution Policies in the Republic of Korea," *World Bank Staff Working Paper*, [Washington, D.C., July 1976].

<sup>31</sup>Parvez Hanau and D. C. Rao, Korea, [The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1979], pp. 25-43.

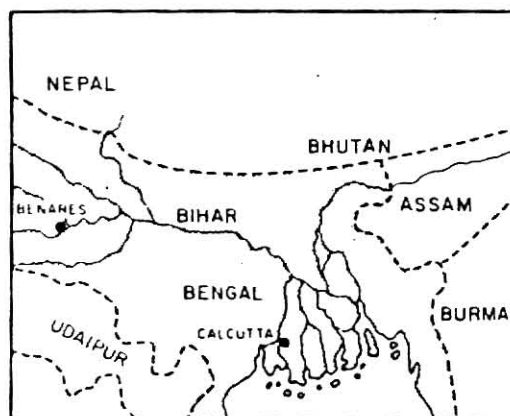
<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

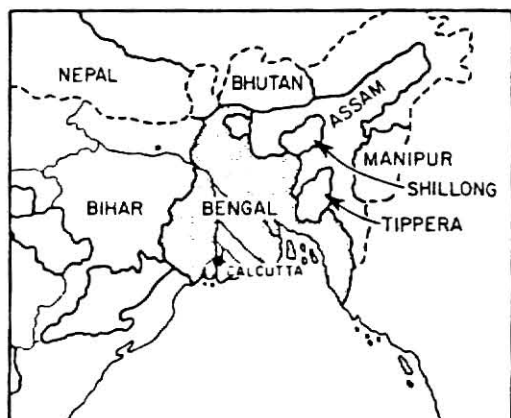
<sup>34</sup>Ibid.



1772



1856



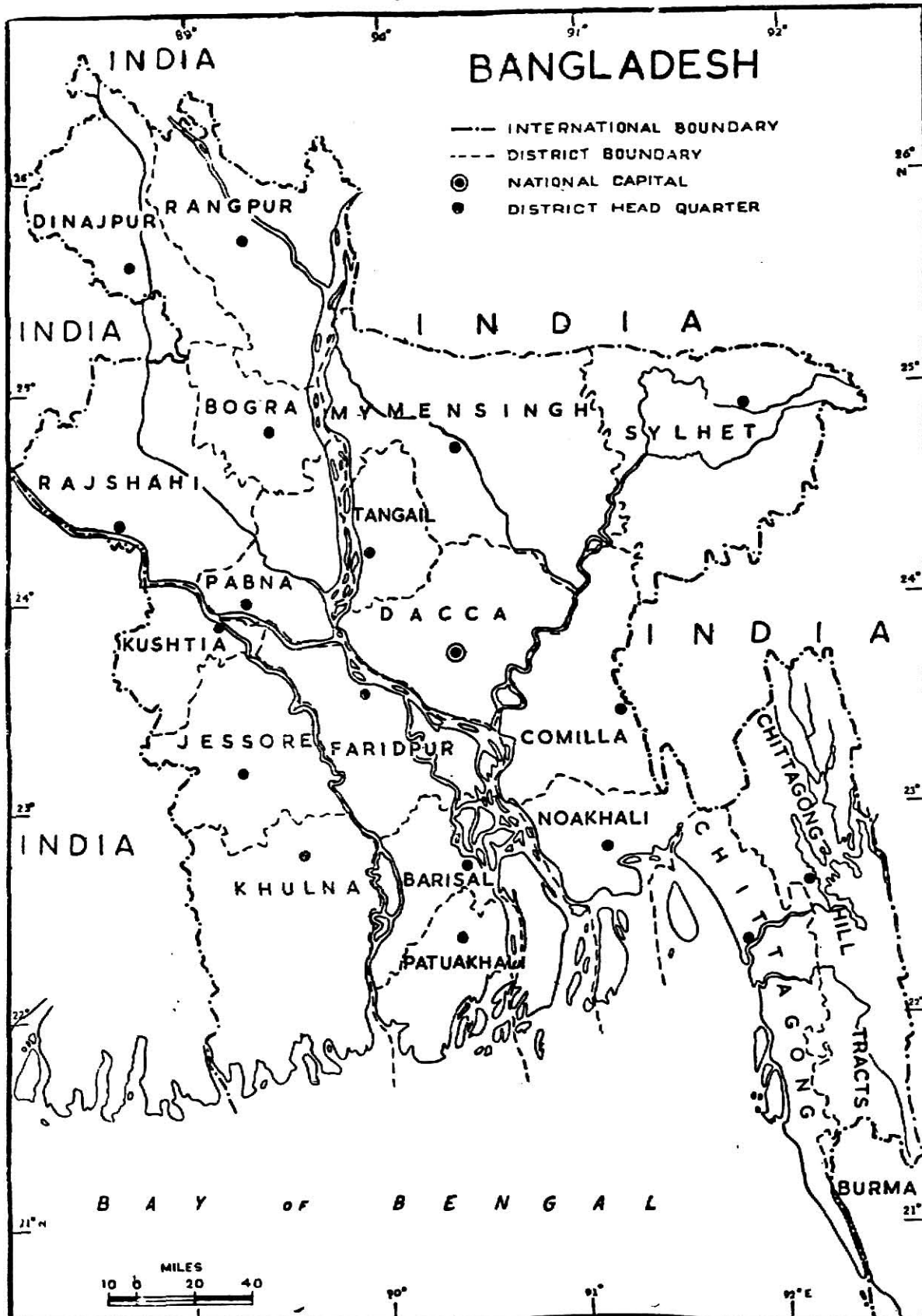
1945

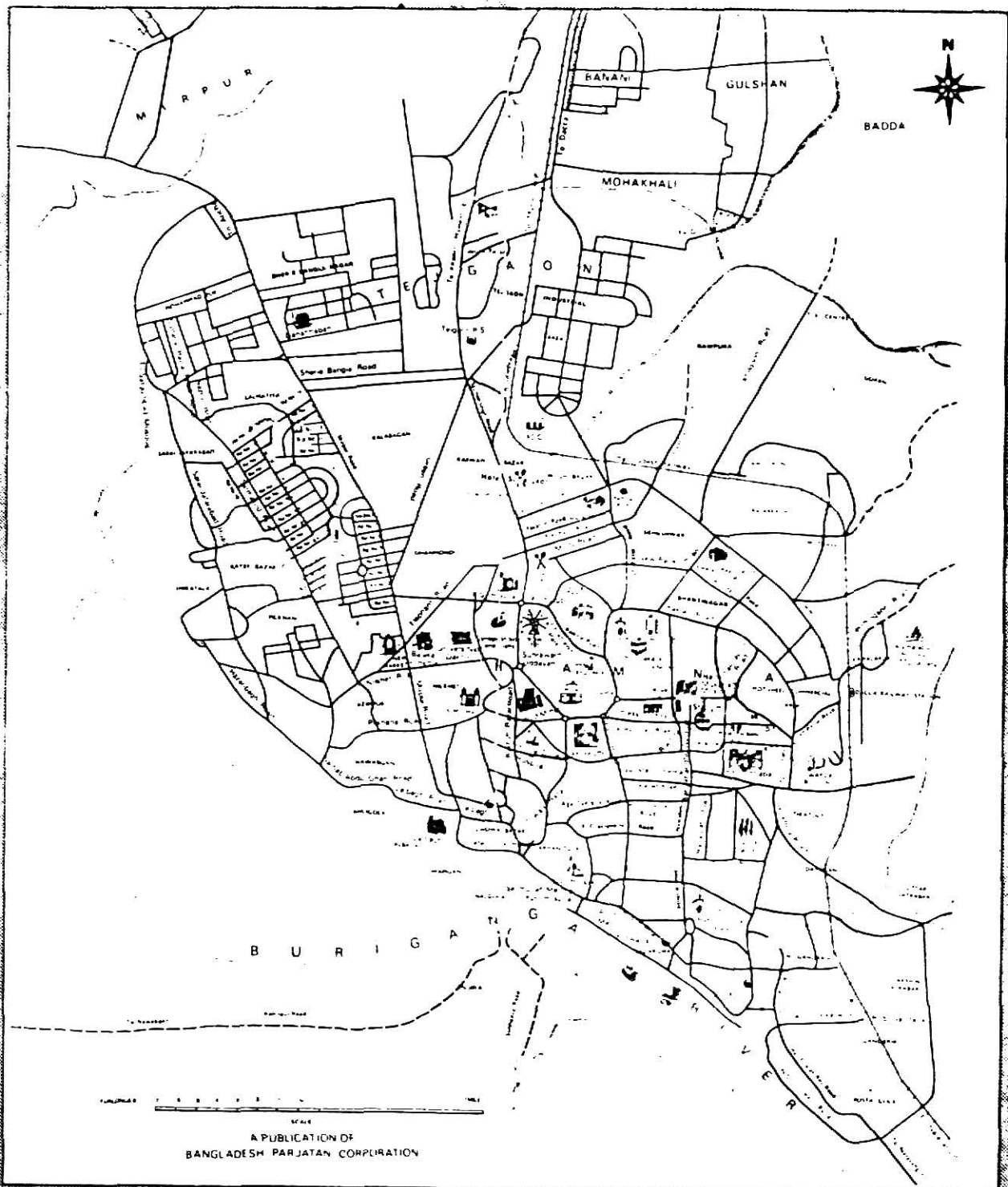


1947

Source: Based on information from Michael Edwards, *A History of India*, Bombay, 1961, pp. 219, 287, 331, and 343.

*Figure . Bengal, 1772, 1856, 1945, and 1947*







## CHAPTER IV

## BANGLADESH: THE TEST CASE

## HISTORICAL SETTING

The area now encompassed by Bangladesh has been known by many names. Between 1947 and December 1972, as the eastern province of Pakistan, it was known as East Pakistan. Before 1947, East Bengal was part of the British Indian state of Bengal (Figure 2). During much of British rule and Mughal periods, the area referred to as Bengal included the present day Indian states of Bihar, and West Bengal and various Indian states and territories to the east of the present day Bangladesh.<sup>1</sup>

European trading companies from the early sixteenth century onward attempted to take advantage of the openings offered by the Mughals but with little lasting effects. The local cloth industries, the muslin, thrived, and agricultural production increased, to the prosperity of Bengal, the Mughals, and the traders. The steady decline in Mughal power and the effects of political activities in Europe worked in favor of the British East India Company. Having outlasted its European competitors, it was free to move from the status of merchant at Calcutta to administrator of Bengal, introducing British law, institutions, and customs. However, the British failed to provide the area with a viable modern economy. By encouraging the production of raw materials to supply British factories, they stimulated agriculture and reduced the incentive for native industry by introducing British manufactured goods.<sup>2</sup>

The state of Pakistan was created on the British model of administrative pattern. The partition of India in 1947 was along religious lines; this did not improve East Pakistan's economic position.

It continued to be the agricultural hinterland and the supplier of raw materials for the factories in West Pakistan. Gradually, the people of East Pakistan developed the feeling that the central government located in the West was oppressing them. Finally, after a nine month long war of liberation, on December 16, 1971, a new nation, Bangladesh, was born.<sup>3</sup>

After being a British colony for about 200 years followed by 25 years of exploitation by the Pakistani rulers, and the nine month long war, the country started with an almost ruined infrastructure. The constitutional goal of planning in Bangladesh is to establish a democratic socialist state with deliberate changes in the distribution of real income.

During the past decade, the country went through as many as four military coups followed by major changes in the political power structures. Military governments taking over from civilian leadership have shown little initial concern about urban problems other than maintaining order. Today, planning in Bangladesh is characterized by fuzziness and lack of commitment to a certain clear course of action. Since liberation, aggregate prices have risen three times, and the price of rice, the staple food of the Bangladeshis, rose in some places by almost ten times above the pre-liberation level.<sup>4</sup> Unemployment has been on the increase, and the percentage of the population, who neither contribute nor benefit from the national productivity, has tended to grow. The condition of the poorest class has become cumulatively worse.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITION

Bangladesh, by all accepted criteria, is one of the poorest countries of the world. It is one of the 49 low-income countries of the

world; one of the 29 least developed countries of the world; and one of the 45 countries considered by the United Nations as most seriously affected by recent adverse economic conditions.<sup>5</sup>

With a population one-third the size of the United States packed into a country the size of Wisconsin, Bangladesh's prospect for economic growth does not appear to be very promising. Since independence the country has been kept solvent mainly through foreign aid. The high degree of dependency on foreign aid sometimes makes it difficult to determine development project priorities as the donor countries often exert considerable influence well beyond the scope of the projects themselves.<sup>6</sup>

In many respects, Bangladesh is getting the worst of all forms of economic organizations. It is neither a full-fledged socialist and centrally-planned country of regimented totalitarianism, nor is it a country fully dedicated to the unfettered pursuit of private enterprise and capitalism. It combines some of the features of these two opposite worlds.<sup>7</sup>

In Bangladesh, where the rate of private capital accumulation for productive purposes is negligible, the public sector plays a role of paramount importance for the development of the economy. Through its control of foreign economic assistance, which accounts for the major part of the country's investable funds, the state can, subject to the restrictions imposed by foreign donors, by and large determine the structure and direction of economic growth. Within the present agrarian structure, no rapid growth is conceivable without public investment in agriculture and therefore agriculture should be the privileged sector in Bangladesh.<sup>8</sup>

Superficially, it would appear that it is so. The direct tax burden on agriculture is exceedingly light. The land tax is also insignificant. Virtually all modern agricultural inputs sold to farmers are heavily subsidized, and all the successive governments have declared its intention to give the highest possible priority to agriculture. Foreign donors and loan-giving agencies like World Bank have also tended to emphasize more and more the importance of rural development.

Thus far, this is the official picture. In reality, however, the treatment of agriculture, and rural activities in general, is not as favorable as it might appear. With about 90% of the population living in the countryside, and almost 80% of the work force directly engaged in agriculture, the character of Bangladesh economy is overwhelmingly rural. The high share of agriculture in output and employment is not reflected in an equally high share of public and private development expenditures (Table 7, Appendix). With 17.2% and 17.8% of the funds being allocated to industry and transportation respectively, the prospect of 'rural' development does not seem very promising.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand you could argue that much of flood control (10%), some of transportation; even health, education and welfare, can be part of rural development.

Town and country planning may seem a luxury for a country in Bangladesh's position, but the reverse is really the case. The poorer the nation, the more essential it is to use its resource to the best advantage. The need to prevent the growth of large towns with large numbers of people living in squalor, often in shacks or under the open sky, has been perceived by the experts. They maintain that the rural character of the country should be maintained. Life would become much more complex if all the miseries of slum dwelling were to be imposed on those who are already living at a level far below subsistency.<sup>10</sup>

## THE URBAN BIAS

After the independence in 1947, to the old British urban-based political control in the colonies was added a new element further accentuating discrimination against rural areas -- the Pakistani government's obsession with rapid industrialization. During the 1950s and 1960s, Bangladesh, which was then East Pakistan, was forced to follow the Pakistani government's extremely discriminatory 'Import Substitution Policy' whose aim was to favor industry at almost any cost: subsidies to manufacturing; an over-valued exchange rate squeezing the agricultural export sector and favoring the import-intensive urban sectors; fiscal policies that mainly benefitted industry and urban activities at the expense of agriculture.<sup>11</sup> The government consistently discriminated against agriculture, and against East Pakistan. The result was disastrous in terms of exploitation of the East by the West, of agriculture by industry and of labor by capital.

Suffice it to add that Bangladesh, when the new nation was born, had an appalling urban-rural income inequality.<sup>12</sup> These huge differences in average incomes were accentuated by the unequal access to subsidized food and social services such as education, health facilities, recreation -- which were and are -- heavily concentrated in urban areas. Political leadership, both at the national and local levels, tends to be not only economically much better off but also far more urban-oriented than the population as a whole. There is also, within the elite, a clear tendency for urban and rural interest to merge - with former dominating the latter more and more. Institutional changes in the countryside and, in particular, the introduction of Green Revolution technology, have made

the farmers increasingly market-oriented. Urban, and to a growing extent, foreign production techniques and consumption patterns are penetrating the remotest villages. Big farmers are now also traders, fertilizer dealers, owners of electric rice mills, in addition to their traditional roles of landowners and money lenders. This is in part the consequence of political and institutional transformations which have made urban professions more important in the economic and political life of rural Bangladesh.

#### SOCIO-CULTURAL CONDITION

Bangladesh, although a new-born nation and a member of the Third World, can be proud of a very old culture and civilization. Formerly, the villages were centers of administration based on a feudal system. With the passage of time, an industry and trade oriented outlook was developed together with a more elaborately defined social and political structure. During and after World War II, a gradual change began to take place in the whole concept of village and rural society. With improved means of communication and easy availability of the basic requirements of living, the life pattern went through a revolutionary change, and the modern urban system came into being.<sup>13</sup> The great challenges and problems brought with the surge towards this urbanization required a fresh approach to the problems.

Life in Bangladesh is, of course, very different from that of the industrialized countries. There are a few large cities and towns. Most of the people live in the 65,000 scattered villages in small houses made of mud and bamboo.<sup>14</sup> The country is faced with an alarming population explosion, which casts its shadow on every other sphere. The law of

inheritance permits division of land and property among all the children of the deceased person. Therefore, fragmentation of agricultural holdings and farms has been a continuous process.<sup>15</sup>

In the aftermath of the war of independence and the unrelenting series of natural disasters that preceded and followed it, knowledge of the social organization of Bangladesh remains insufficient to form a clear or cohesive picture of society at any level, national, urban, or rural. A leading authority stated in 1974 that "the truth of the matter is that no one really knows the extent or underlying reasons for the dangerous state of affairs that exists in this country. The planners are groping in the dark for basic knowledge needed for planning, and the social sciences are not fulfilling their potential ability to supply this knowledge."<sup>16</sup>

#### ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITION

Bangladesh, a green, flat agricultural country, containing 55,598 square miles of land and many large rivers within its perimeter of 2,928 miles, is inhabited by about 90 million people.<sup>17</sup> The terrain, in relation to the number of people that inhabits it, is inhospitable and hostile. It is dominated by mighty rivers which deposit silt as well as flood bring into the territory over which they flow. In the monsoon, the rainfall is intense and unpredictable. The one certainty is that much of the land will be flooded causing threat to agricultural production. Even more dangerous are the cyclones which inundate vast areas of land rendering many people homeless.<sup>18</sup>

With the large number of incoming migrants in the urban area, the demand for more houses and other urban services increased. The resources

available to the government were quite inadequate to cope with the escalating demand. A modest attempt was made to develop the basic infrastructure of Dhaka city by providing land for houses, commercial buildings, industries, schools, hospitals, together with new roads and communication facilities and also improved means of sanitation.<sup>19</sup> The natural increase of the population and the flux from the rural areas far exceeded the planned growth and development of the city. As a result, surrounding agricultural fields were annexed to the city without provision for the physical and social infrastructure, such as roads, drains, schools, shopping centers, recreation, or other public services and amenities. These master plans proved to be ineffective due to constraint in resources, with chaotic consequences.<sup>20</sup> These areas, therefore automatically turned into slums. Serious shortage of houses, traffic congestion, overcrowded public transport services, inadequate drainage and water supply, shortage of schools for children, and virtually no playgrounds for them, are characteristic of major cities of Bangladesh, particularly Dhaka, the capital city.

#### FACTS ABOUT DHAKA

A capital city, by definition, is an administrative center.<sup>21</sup> It reflects the structure of the institutional form of political power residing there, although its geographical location (which, like Dhaka and Delhi, was settled many centuries earlier), may only slightly be adapted to meet present day requirements. The role of such centers are expanding, resulting in a rapid urban growth in the capital cities.

Dhaka has a recorded history of more than three and a half centuries during which the city witnessed remarkable ups and downs in its fortune.



Founded by 1608 by Subedar Islam Khan during the reign of Emperor Jahanigir, it remained the capital of the Mughal province of Bengal up to 1704 and flourished as a center of trade and commerce, attracting merchants from many parts of Asia and Europe. In 1704 a quarrel between the ruling leaders resulted in the revenue administration of the province being transferred to Murshidabad and Dhaka lost its administrative importance, although retaining its importance as a commercial center. Dhaka declined rapidly under the British and the city which teemed with no less than half a million people during its hay day under the Mughals, recorded a meager population of a little over 66,000 around 1832. A temporary revival in its fortune came between 1905-1912 when Dhaka was again made the capital of a newly organized province of East Bengal and Assam. But the new province was annulled in 1912 and the city again fell back on bad days. Dhaka regained its importance in 1947 as the capital of the erstwhile province of East Pakistan. As the seat of administration, it at once attracted a large number of people and sprawled out in all directions with amazing rapidity. The Dhaka Improvement Trust was set up since 1958 for looking after the city's planned growth. With the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971, Dhaka, as its capital, assumed a position of highest significance in its history, establishing diplomatic relations with many capitals of the world.<sup>22</sup>

Dhaka, the historic city and the capital of Bangladesh, lies on the river Buriganga. It is centrally located and connected by roads, railways, waterways, and air routes with the rest of the country. It is the principal center of education and culture, providing some of the urban services not available at any other urban centers of the country.

The growth of the city stands as a remarkable exception, as contrary to the general pattern of city growth in the Third World, it owes its development to both the pre and post colonial periods. Today, Dhaka is a rapidly growing metropolis, its tremendous power of attraction over the rest of the country cannot be overestimated.<sup>23</sup> With its well over three million population, followed by the second city Chittagong with about a million people, Dhaka is very much a primate city.<sup>24</sup>

#### PROBLEMS AND MANAGEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS

In the past the rural population could support the existing population. But with the rapid increase of population and slow development process, an imbalance was created. The rural areas could not support the steadily growing population any more. As a result, the unemployed and the under-employed as well as the educated villagers started migrating to the cities, towns and trading centers in search of employment or other economic opportunities.<sup>25</sup> Traditional sources of prestige such as landholding, distinguished lineage, and religious piety have begun to lose their hold in the countryside and to be replaced by modern education, high income and steady work in the urban area, especially the city centers.<sup>26</sup>

In rural Bangladesh, employment of agricultural labor is seasonal. In many places, landless agricultural labor cannot find any alternative other than migrating to the neighboring urban areas. The process of gradual industrialization, however slow, created jobs for many of them, generating a 'trickle down' income for many small income groups or for people with no income at all.<sup>27</sup>

### POLICY RESPONSE AND RESULT:

Like many other developing countries, the regional, sectorial and other development plans indicate that they were designed in part to slow the rate of metropolitan growth in Bangladesh. In the first week of January, 1975, the government started a slum clearing operation in Dhaka, and the squatters were the first victims. About 200,000 squatter dwellers were forced either to return to their native villages or to settle in one of the three camps: Mirpur, Demra and Tongi (Duttapara), which were 5, 8, and 12 miles from Dhaka, respectively. The frightened and anxious squatters were put on trucks and were moved to the camps in the new sites. Sufferings at the camps were met with indifference. According to a foreign newspaper, they had been slipped into hell with the government's good intentions.<sup>31</sup>

A survey carried by the students and the faculty of Architecture and Planning, BUET, Dhaka, indicated the almost immediate re-squatting, for the journey from the camps to work in the city was either prohibitively expensive or physically impossible.<sup>32</sup> Location was found to be much more important than the quality of shelter. None of the re-squatters was found to be willing to return to their original village home. They grew in number and started living in a more pitiable condition than that from which they had been forced out.

The failure of the scheme was due to the reason that government resettlement schemes were prepared without taking into consideration the squatters' economic and social bonds. They were relocated far away from their jobs without giving alternative employment or easy and cheap transport facilities. Because the entire squatter community was not

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The failure of the scheme was due to the reason that government resettlement schemes were prepared without taking into consideration the squatters' economic and social bonds. They were relocated far away from their jobs without giving alternative employment or easy and cheap transport facilities. Because the entire squatter community was not

removed as a unit, the ties between people were broken, leaving no sense of community. About 40,000 families were evicted from the city, and yet, provisions were made for and plots distributed to only 12,063 families.<sup>38</sup>

While being removed, the squatters were hostile towards the government, because they were uncertain about the move and their future. The result was a sense of misery, and many of them slowly trekked back to the city. The rational procedure of any resettlement scheme calls for a well conceived pre-transfer, actual settlement and post transfer planning, which were callously ignored.

The plots, 14' x 24', were laid out on a grid. A modular unit was used in the camp planning, with twin and single shelter repeated throughout the layout. Bamboo and straw were used for walls and bamboo and polyethylene for covering roofs. The floors were of clay -- raised about a foot from the ground. Construction work was done by hired laborers, not on a self-help basis. Community latrines were provided which did not serve the purpose well. Water supply was brought from tube-wells which serve the purpose fairly well. There was one primary school and dispensary in each camp. The camps were run by the government with the contributions from the direct participation of international philanthropic organizations such as 'Concern', 'World Vision', and 'Red Cross'. Low-priced rations and doles were supplied to the people intermittently. The settlers were better off in terms of shelters but worse off in terms of real income due to the limited employment opportunities outside the city. Commuting to and from the place of work took away a lion's share of the income and working hours. For children and women, it was even more difficult.

From 1975 until today, the country has gone through successive coups, and the unstable nature of governments has resulted in disorders. As yet, the government has not decided whether destitutes will be rehabilitated in these camps, or other suitable sites will be provided for them. This uncertainty has resulted in a disincentive among the residents to take proper care of their shelters. They do not feel those huts are their own, but they hold onto possessions of land with a hope that some day they might be granted ownership or gratis.<sup>34</sup>

The present government is taking steps toward the development of the rural sector with the hope that it will reduce the rural 'push' factor, resulting in a better balance in the rural urban life style. Establishment of rural health care centers with qualified doctors appointed by the government, and creating smaller administrative units in the rural areas, are some of the steps taken by the present administration to decentralize the central seat of power into the peripheries.

It is yet too early to predict the effectiveness of such policy in the context of Bangladesh, for it is still at an experimental stage. The economic and social cost involved in executing the policy of decentralization may make it apparently impossible for the government to manage such a program efficiently.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Now that a premise has been set by drawing a portrait of Bangladesh, suggestions and recommendations for policy development regarding mass migration in Bangladesh will be made in the next chapter.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>R. F. Nyrop, et al. Area Handbook for Bangladesh, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 11-16.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>A. M. A. Rahim, 'An Analysis of Planning Strategy in Bangladesh', Asian Survey, May 1975, 15(5), pp. 383-393.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Encyclopedia of the Third World, 1982, s.v. "Bangladesh," by George Thomas Kurian.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>J. Faaland and J. R. Parkinson, Bangladesh The Test Case of Development, (C. Hurst and Co. Ltd., London, 1976), pp. 27-28.

<sup>8</sup>Stefan D. Vylder, Agriculture in Chains, (Zed Press, London, 1982), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, National Report on Human Settlements: Bangladesh, (Habitat, United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, 1976), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup>Vylder, Agriculture in Chain, pp. 11-16.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Government of Bangladesh, National Report, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Nyrop, Area Handbook for Bangladesh, pp. 12-20.

<sup>17</sup>Government of Bangladesh, National Report, p. 38.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Role of Capital City', Ekistics, March-April (Athens Center of Ekistics, Greece, 1983), p. 93.

<sup>22</sup>Department of Film Publication. "Dhaka, the Capital of Bangladesh," A tourist handout.

<sup>23</sup>A. S. Hasnet, "Consequences of Squatter Removal," Ekistics, (Athens Center of Ekistics, Greece, 1977), 263, pp. 198-201.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Government of Bangladesh, National Report, pp.

<sup>26</sup>Nyrop, Area Handbook for Bangladesh, pp. 131-1.

<sup>27</sup>Government of Bangladesh, National Report, pp.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Hasnet, Consequences of Squatter Removal, pp. 198-201.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.



## CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## SUMMARY

In the science of man there has been continuing emphasis upon the search for invariant relationships between any individual and his or her environment. Extreme conditions which put a stress upon humans and reduce their ability to interact effectively in society and participate in the culture have been identified. The problem yet to be well identified for a merging society in a specific geographic place is to find the proper structure of that society, including its distribution in space and time, that is most likely to be suited to a long period of economic development.

The urbanization experience in the West has not established procedures suited to the scale of urbanization needed today in the East.<sup>1</sup> In Asia, the problems that must be faced in coping with the massive new urbanization of the present and the future are extraordinary in dimension and unusual in type. Simple calculations based upon capital requirements, traffic congestions, or water supply, to name just a few, in which these problems arise, demonstrate that the experience gained in building the contemporary Western metropolis fails utterly to meet the minimum needs of the urban aggregate in Asia.<sup>2</sup> Much more powerful tools must be employed if urbanization is to contribute to the economic development process, incorporating technological advances to an important extent with simultaneous innovations in social organization and planning.<sup>3</sup>

For planners as well as engineers and architects, the whole development is dependent upon not only identifying, but also solving the

crucial limitations. A series of heuristics are involved which change from one set of situations to another.

Bangladesh's limited and poorly diversified natural endowment places severe strains on her capacity to expand the range of economic activities. Apart from natural gas, there are few economically important non-agricultural resources within the country's borders.<sup>4</sup> The key to economic development in Bangladesh is, therefore, to raise agricultural production and employment by a better utilization of her main assets: human labor. In order to do so, the increasing trend of rural-urban migration has to be controlled and if possible, diverted.

In Bangladesh, an adequate scale of living is difficult to ensure due to economic constraint and high level of population growth rate. The restrictions, accentuated by poverty, upon Urban Design always comes as a shock to Western-trained experts. National government policies have always, at least in principle, recognized the need to emphasize rural development programs. Rural development has been seen as a solution to the problems associated with urban growth, overcrowding and overloading of urban structures. Much attention has been paid to the desirability of decreasing the high rates of rural-urban migration through increased rural development. It has often been argued that in order to reduce the rural-urban flow, governments need only raise rural productivity and income, and increase the level of rural amenities.

There are many grounds for concern with the problems associated with rapid urban growth that have prompted searches for solutions in rapid rural development.<sup>5</sup> In Bangladesh, there is a deeply rooted sense of identification with rural areas and small villages coupled with a very understandable desire to improve the distribution of income, employment,

and services for population, which constitutes a majority of the national population. In addition, part of the motivation for attempting to limit urban growth through rural development, undoubtedly, has been political.<sup>6</sup> Government officials fear massive and potentially volatile agglomeration of poor citizens. Also, due to the scarce resources, ensuring a decent life for a handful of urban minority appears to be synonymous to cutting off hopes for development or improvement of the majority of rural population, and such decisions could lead only to political suicide in the long-run. Those who are not included in the privileged class could easily be provoked to overturn the community that monopolizes amenities. The birth of Bangladesh in 1971 serves as the best example of this phenomenon.

In principle, a more equitable distribution of income, capital, and services is espoused by most governments of developing nations as an inherently desirable goal which forms the premise of advocating rural development to reduce urban problems. Rural development programs are undoubtedly vital factors in virtually every developing nation's economic growth.<sup>7</sup>

However, in most of the developing countries, it is extremely unlikely that only rural development programs will reduce the magnitude of urban poverty to a significant proportion by discouraging rural-urban migration. The most recent analyses of rural-urban migration have stressed that it tends to be primarily a function of expected differences in urban and rural wage rates. In addition to higher income, a host of other tangible and psychological benefits are enjoyed in urban areas.<sup>8</sup> The sum of wage and other differentials explains the almost universal willingness of migrants to brave the harsh conditions of the cities.

Progress in rural areas may tend to increase rather than decrease migration. Higher rural incomes, better education, and improved transportation and communication may increase rural householder's aspirations and ability to move to urban centers.<sup>9</sup> These are not arguments against rural development but grounds for caution in estimating the potential for reducing urban population.

Considering Asia as a whole, the decision makers, the planners, the politicians and governmental officials have a belief that through a slower growth of larger cities, many of the problems resulting from the unplanned early growth may be resolved or at least reduced to a considerable extent. To be successful, the nation must be able to provide necessary investments including administrative support, efficient policing, and physical and social services. It should also be able to generate a good deal of public support, which is one of the most important criteria for success.<sup>10</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The obvious limitations of the four strategies discussed in Chapter III suggest two conclusions. The first is that the best strategy involves a combination of policies. The second is that the application of these policies may slow down the present rate of urbanization in Asia, but they will not be able to solve the problems of urban areas completely. In that case, the planners are expected to seek alternative solutions like accommodating the migrant families within the metropolitan city structure with limited further in-migration adopting measures. It may prove less expensive to solve the problem of shifting poverty by improved housing, social services, employment and income conditions in

the cities.<sup>11</sup> In Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, the situation is so bleak that in addition to the traditional policies, other alternatives should be explored that would utilize the rural labor surplus and exploit the unutilized land and water resources.

J. Christopher Jones defined designing as the imaginative jump from present facts to further possibilities.<sup>12</sup> With the facts, figures and case studies, recommendations can be suggested for the cities in Bangladesh.

Recapitulation of the cases, the Chinese and South Korean examples appear to be stories of relative success. The Chinese model is interesting in a number of respects, but it may be of limited applicability under the political and social conditions prevailing in Bangladesh. The willingness to work in rural occupations, and the reverence for rural life in China is a result not only of intensive political education but also a long history of an intense symbiotic relationship between the cities and the countryside.<sup>13</sup> Use of direct control and coercion, in Bangladesh, may seem to be associated with anti-democratic policies and the colonialism that they have only recently discarded. Leaders show reluctance and hesitation to implement such policy in order to maintain at least a semblance of political stability.

South Korean models of complementary rural and urban projects are more likely to benefit Bangladesh. In addition to the urban poor in the capital and other larger metropolis, the South Korean models are likely to benefit a number of groups. An increase in agricultural output in areas close to urban centers may decrease rural unemployment and underemployment levels without a corresponding increase in the urban

congestion. Seasonal fluctuations in employment could be reduced. Public revenues could be increased as a result of increases in urban and rural land values.<sup>14</sup>

From the experiences of other countries, it becomes clear that to serve as an alternate area of development, a location should be economically viable in terms of access to labor, other resources, and markets.<sup>15</sup> Its development should be part of an integrated plan sufficiently large to provide urban services, health facilities, and educational opportunities to attract skilled workers from larger centers. The economic base should be sufficiently large, and labor intensive to attract unskilled and semiskilled workers from rural areas should be adequate. It is difficult to find locations that bring together these favorable conditions. Even where such conditions exist, it may be difficult to generate the capital necessary to undertake such ventures. There are very few successful major industrial growth poles and urban decentralization experiments in the world as a whole, and of those few, many have involved industrial development near existing cities.<sup>16</sup>

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

In the process of formulating a strategy for mass migration in Bangladesh, the preliminary unsuccessful explorations did serve to illuminate certain principles underlying urban design. A suitable design might be found that conforms to a number of suggestions simultaneously. In an outline, these may be stated as follows:

- A. Devices must be installed for the maintenance of social order and the prevention of the massive riots and coups that disturb the peace, even overthrow governments, and delay structural improvements.

- B. The principal investment must be in education. Introduction of family limitation, work habits leading to high productivity, and the organization of community level welfare services are programs essential for rapid economic development. Each of these requires social contacts that are designed to be educational.
- C. Urban and rural development programs are to be considered as complementary rather than competitive. They should be planned to reinforce each other. A biased policy favoring investment in particular sectors will definitely disturb the overall balance in the long run. In reality, the biased investment policy for urban areas is reinforced both by a price policy bias, working in disfavor of agriculture, and by an incentive bias reflected in higher wages to civil services working in non-agricultural tasks, as well as by an educational structure bias, indicated by the superiority of educational opportunities available to urban as compared with rural inhabitants. A similar imbalance is found in job planning. The spectacular results achieved by the new wheat and rice technology in India and Pakistan gave a forceful demonstration of the danger of agricultural neglect and of the potential of the agricultural sector. With similar investment policy and care, Bangladesh may benefit to a considerable extent.
- D. I. M. Pei says, "the city has to echo life. If our life is rough and tumble, so is the city."<sup>17</sup> Failure of the rehabilitation programs for the urban poor of Dhaka recalls this

quotation. Despite their poverty, illiteracy, and absence of skill, the squatters are a self-selected enterprising group with high aspirations. They play a critical role in the dynamics of urban growth and development, finding roles for themselves in the urban economic milieu, and not posing social liabilities. The first important condition in prescribing any pragmatic solution is a positive attitude of the government and local bodies towards the problem. Urban development policies must recognize the problem first and then determine an appropriate solution. Society must assist them to adjust and contribute their talents towards progress rather than forcing them out of the city. A social tolerance and understanding is called for in establishing a good relationship between the urban residents and the so-called floating population, that is, squatters. This will help ensure the squatters psychological rehabilitation and economic motivation. A change in the social institution backed by the legal sanction from the authority in support of their right to stay in the city, and their representation in the local government is needed while decisions relating to them are made.

- E. A new settlement policy is essential to address the particular needs of the migrants in Bangladesh. The first step is the location and availability of land. Land prices rule out the possibility of decent alternatives for the squatters, while costs of transportation rule out the possibility of taking them far away. Finding a new 'miracle' cheap building material and cheaper construction technology constitutes a theoretical



possibility without much practical content. The proposition of burgeoning technological revolution in low-cost housing has already been discarded by many experts.<sup>18</sup> Traditional architectural and engineering panaceas are of no use to the poor squatters whose ability to pay is not even sufficient to provide for small corrugated roof on four pillars. The only untapped resource is the physical labor of the squatters themselves.

- F. To stop further migration trends towards Dhaka, industrial growth poles may be developed around the capital city. Instead of forcing urban migrants to Tungi, Demra and Mirpur, and Narayangang without providing adequate job opportunity on a corresponding development in the transportation network, a phase wise development scheme of creating growth poles in these centers is likely to prove more effective. Strict zoning regulation on development of industries in the city center have to be enforced. Theoretically, it is the task of creating an intermediate zone and shifting part of the urban 'pull' factors there -- factors strong enough to attract potential migrants. The financial cost involved in the concept of decentralization will be reduced as Dhaka can serve as the market. The seasonal agricultural labor can find alternative jobs in these centers without adding additional load to the capital, which, being the administrative center has its own attraction.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

A look around the countryside shows people building beautiful houses without the benefit of architects and engineers. The same people, in the urban scene, can definitely build excellent dwellings in the city with

their own initiative and ingenuity if they are provided with minimum assistance. They would find a much more closer bond with their own small creation and this would add a little color and flavor to their hopelessly monotonous struggle for existence. With government finance and the help of international welfare organizations, the principles of self-help and mobilization of internal resources should be the cornerstone on which the whole settlement program including the shelter and infrastructure of the future should be built. The local planning authority should concentrate on problems which the squatters cannot solve themselves, such as planning in relation to the city as a whole, and for the provision and layout of services such as water, sewage disposal, roads, electricity, education and health.<sup>19</sup>

Today, the cities of Bangladesh are cities of 'hope,' for her population still believe that their country will achieve the economic breakthrough and give them economic equality with the industrialized nations of the world. But much of the evidences suggest that unless rational economic development fostering urban as well as rural development, i.e. industrialization concurrent with improvements in the agricultural sector is adopted the cities of 'hope' will soon become cities of 'dispair.' A constructive policy addressing the needs of the country should be developed immediately.

Today's world has adjusted itself to the apparently perfectly normal situation of peaceful co-existence between affluence and surplus in one part and poverty and hunger in another.

The tendency in some international aid circles, and in the Western mass media, to relegate Bangladesh to the status of a 'hopeless case,' a permanent victim of disasters and misery, has to be reversed; all such

attempts are not only cynical, but based on a profound ignorance of the country as well. The reasons why Bangladesh fails to provide the population with food and productive employment are not a physical shortage of resources but various interdependent distortions and constraints which originate from the economic, political and social structure and the concomitant choice of policies. Planning and economic strategies adopted by successive governments, and implemented by and for privileged groups have tended to reinforce the last two decades' trends of increasing landlessness, inequality, unemployment and poverty.

It is, however, doubtful whether a different set of policies would have succeeded much better. The class structure that permeates both the state machinery and the social structure is such that all policies become subverted by a number of biases that begin to operate, thwarting all attempts at long-term improvement for the rural and urban poor. However, well conceived particular schemes may be, they are doomed to failure unless and until the exploited majority manages to change the social structure within which they are living and within which these schemes get implemented.

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- <sup>2</sup>Ibid.
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- <sup>4</sup>Richard F. Nyrop, Area Handbook for Bangladesh, [Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975].
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- <sup>7</sup>R. L. Meier, "Relations of Technology to the Design of Very Large Cities", 1969, pp. 541-542.
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- <sup>11</sup>A. B. Simmons, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia: Policies, Programs and Results", Population Development Review, 5(1), p. 100 -101.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup>J. C. Jones, Design Methods: Seeds of Human Future, 1970, pp. 3-4.
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- <sup>15</sup>Ibid, p. 193.
- <sup>16</sup>A. B. Simmons, "Slowing Metropolitan City Growth in Asia: Policies, Programs, and Results", Population Development Review, 5(1), p. 100.
- <sup>17</sup>\_\_\_\_\_, "Practice of Local Government Planning," p. 1.
- <sup>18</sup>S. A. Hasnat, "Consequences of Squatter Removal", Ekistics, No. 263, [Athens Society of Ekistics, Greece], p. 201.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid.

## APPENDIX

Table 1

URBAN POPULATION GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS FOR SELECTED THIRD WORLD NATIONS OF ASIA.

Country	Urban Pop. as % of Total Pop.		Annual Rate of Urban Gr.		Per Cap Income	Annual Growth in P.C. Income
	1980	1960	1970	1980		
Nepal	5	3	4.7	4.3	120	0.8
Bangladesh	11	5	6.6	6.7	90	-0.4
Thailand	14	12	3.5	3.6	490	4.6
Afganistan	15	8	5.6	5.4	240	0.4
Indonesia	20	15	3.6	3.7	360	4.1
India	22	18	3.3	3.3	180	1.4
Vietnam	23	15	5.1	5.3	170	---
China, (P.R.)	25	19	3.1	3.4	230	3.7
Sri Lanka	27	18	3.7	4.3	190	2.0
Burma	27	19	4.0	3.9	150	1.0
Pakistan	28	22	4.3	4.0	230	2.8
Malayasia	29	25	3.5	3.5	1,890	3.9
Philippines	36	30	3.6	3.8	510	2.6
Korea, Rep.	55	28	4.8	6.4	1,160	6.9
China, Rep.	77	36	4.1	3.3	1,400	6.6
Korea, Dem. Rep.	60	40	4.3	5.0	730	4.5

Source: Gilbert, A. and Dyrler, J., Cities, Poverty, and Development, Urbanization in the Third World, 1981, pp. 6-7.

Table 2

## DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS (1980)

	1970	1980
Population, total (in 1,000).....	67,692.....	89,384.0
Population, urban (in 1,000).....	4,923.....	7,905
Population, males (in 1,000).....		45,799.6
Population, female (in 1,000).....		42,905.2
Population ages (% of total)		
0- 4 .....		18.35
5-14 .....		27.60
15-64 .....		51.48
65+ .....		2.58
Population under age of 20 (% of total).....		56.88
Sex ratio (per 100 female).....		106.7
Median age (years).....		16.87
Proportion urban (%).....		11.24
Population density (per sq. mile).....		1,566
Rate of Growth (%).....		2.94
Natural increase rate (per 1,000).....		29.34
Life expectancy, total.....		49.76
Life expectancy, male (years).....		50.00
Life expectancy, female (years).....		49.50

Source: Kurian, 'Encyclopedia of the Third World', 1982, vol. 1, pp. 127.

Table 3

## G.D.P. BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (1977)

	%	Annual Growth (1972-77)
Agriculture .....	54 .....	4.7
Manufacturing .....	8 .....	18.2
Construction .....	5 .....	6.8
Trade .....	9 .....	17.0
Transportation .....	6 .....	11.4
Others .....	17 .....	3.3

Table: (3)

Source: Encyclopedia of the Third World.

Table 4

## HIERARCHY AND NUMBER OF URBAN CENTERS IN BANGLADESH (1974)

ORDER (High-Low)	SETTLEMENT FORM	POPULATION	NO. OF CENTERS	PERCENT OF URBAN POP.
7th	National Capital	1.6 million	1	26.3
6th	Division Headquarters & Commercial Center	100,000 to 1 million	5	27.5
5th	District Headquarters	50,000 to 100,000	14	16.1
4th	Subdivisional Headquarters	20,000 to 50,000	40	29.6
3rd	Subdivisional/ Thana Headquarters	10,000 to 20,000	34	7.8
2nd	Thana Headquarter/ Trading	Below 10,000	25	2.7

Source: Nat. Report on Human Settlement in Bangladesh, 1976.

Table 5

Number, % of the Urban Population to the Total Population, and % Change in Urban Population of Bangladesh.

Period	Total Urban Population	% Urban to Total Population	% Change in Urban Population
1951 <sup>A</sup>	1,844,345	4.4	.....
1961 <sup>B</sup>	2,640,726	5.2	43.17
1974 <sup>C</sup>	6,273,603	8.78	137.61
1980 <sup>D</sup>	7,705,000	11.24	22.81

Sources:

- A. Census of East Pakistan, 1951.
- B. Census of East Pakistan, 1961.
- C. Census of Bangladesh, 1974.
- D. Kurian, "Encyclopedia of the Third World", Vol. 1, 1982, p. 126.

Table 6

Estimated Rural to Urban Migration and % of Rural Immigrants to Total Urban Population of Bangladesh.

	1951-61	1961-74
Estimated number of rural urban migrants	4,10,911	2,560,874
% of rural in-migrants to total urban population	15.56	40.82

Source: Government of Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, "National Report on Human Settlements, 1976, p. 104.

$$\text{Formula used: } M = U_1 - U_2 \frac{(P_2)}{(P_1)} \quad \text{where } M = \text{no. of migrants} \\ U_1 \text{ \& } U_2 = \text{Urban pop.}$$



Table 7

## Sectoral Allocation of the 1978-79 Development Plan.

	Total (Tk in corores)	%
Agriculture	192.6	13.1
Rural Development & Institutions	67.4	4.6
Flood Control & Water Resources	146.9	10.0
Industry	253.3	17.2
Power and Natural Resources	209.5	14.3
Transport and Communications	261.8	17.8
Physical Planning and Housing	113.8	7.7
Education	77.5	5.3
Health	54.2	3.7
Family Planning	44.1	3.0
Social Welfare	49.3	3.4
Total	1,470.5	100.0

Source: Ministry of Finance, Govt. of People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Table 8

Estimated Immigrants as a % of the Total Population, % of the Squatters to the Estimated Immigrants, and % of the Squatters to the Total Population of Dhaka City, 1974.

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Observed Population	16,79,572
Estimated Population	7,32,548
% of Immigrants to Total Population	56.38
Squatter Population	1,73,339
Squatter as % of the Estimated Immigrants	18.30
Squatters as % of the Total Population	10.32

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# Estimated population of 1974 was derived under the assumption that the growth rate of the population of the city was the same as the national population growth rate during the period of 1961-74.

# Source: Center of Urban Studies, Dhaka University, 1974.

TABLE 9

## PROVISIONS OF FACILITIES AND SERVICE UTILITIES FOR REHABILITATION OF SQUATTERS.

Provisions of Items.	Number and Location of Resettlement Projects.		
	Tongi (Dattapara)	Demra	Mirpur
1. Plots	4063	4000	4000
2. Size of individual plots	13'x25'	14'x26'	
3. Educational facilities:			
(a) Primary School	5	5	Provisions likely to be similar in this area as well.
(b) High school run on 2 shifts, for boys and girls.	1	1	
(c) Vocational school	1	1	
4. Health facilities:			
Maternity-cum-health centre	1	1	
5. Water supply:			
Present number of tube-wells	80	80	
Future arrangement	Piped water from over-head tanks.		
6. Sanitation arrangements:			
Future provision	Septic tank with partial sewerage system.		
7. Open space and recreational facilities:			
(a) Central park and playground	1	1	
(b) Playground with school	6	6	
(c) Cinema	1	1	
(d) water front	lake (1)	river	
(e) Graveyard	1	1	
(f) Religious place of worship	Mosque (1)	Mosque (1)	
8. Shopping and Central Commerical Zone	1	1	
Corner shopping	4	4	
9. Employment opportunities:			
Small scale industrial plots	137	66	

Source: Ministry of Works and Urban Development, Government of Bangladesh, 1975.

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NATIONAL POLICIES AND RESULTS IN MASS MIGRATION IN DEVELOPING ASIAN CITIES,  
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by

Alokananda Sen

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE MASTER'S REPORT

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MASTER OF REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

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## ABSTRACT

This study is based on the assumption that the contemporary urbanization process in the Third World is definitely neither a repetition of its own prior history, nor of the urbanization experience of the developed Western World. Particularly in Asia, the problems that must be faced in coping with the massive new urbanization of the present and the future are extraordinary in dimension and unusual in nature.

Bangladesh, by all accepted criteria, is one of the poorest countries of the world. The country is now undergoing the process of massive urbanization, the same trend as in the rest of the Third World. With a population one-third of the United States packed in a country the size of Wisconsin, Bangladesh's prospect for economic development does not appear to be very promising. Powerful tools must be employed if urbanization is to contribute to the national economy.

For a planner, identification of the problem in relation to its surrounding is considered to be the first step towards effective solution. In this five chapter report, the first chapter introduces the problem in relation to the overall context, its scale, scope, and methods of study. The second chapter is a literature review, exploring the general reasons of the present trend of massive rural-urban migration in the Third World. The third chapter is a recapitulation of the policies and programs adapted by different developing Asian countries to reduce mass scale migration and to have a slower and controlled city growth. The fourth chapter is a portrait of Bangladesh, the test case forming the premise for advocating particular recommendations. The fifth chapter, the conclusion, recommends a strategy that involves a combination of policies, with the hope that it will help Bangladesh in its effort to find a healthier city life, or at least to make the life of the urban poor a little more livable.