

Sustainable Urban Development: The Case of Dhaka Mega City

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Following a path of rapid growth of Dhaka Metropolitan city, from the perspective of population, has emerged as a mega city. About 10 million people (10% of the total population) are now living in this city. How far it has been able to attain sustainable development has appeared as the most crucial question not only before the urban planners but also before urban dwellers for multidimensional problems handicapping urban life with the corresponding effect also on the rural societies in Bangladesh. This article examines the urban realities in the Dhaka city from the perspective of sustainable urban development. Sustainable urban development primarily designates to the capacity of the urban development process within its institutional framework and environmental supra system to fulfill the requirements of urban society. For attaining sustainable level, urban system must have accelerated organizational/institutional capacity and financial strength to achieve its goal and simultaneously must have acceptance of the people concerned as well as support from global forces having influences on the country's development efforts as a whole and on the urban centres of their interest.

However, the most important issues related to sustainable development are in brief as follows:

- 1) Organizational capability of urban development process includes the capability of organizations responsible for planning and implementation of urban services such as gas, electricity, water supply, transport facilities, housing facilities, maintenance of law and order situation, employment opportunities etc. For sustainable development these services need to be properly ensured in the cities.
- 2) Financial strength is closely linked up with the organizational capability of the urban development process and sustainable urban development. Without financial strength need of the people can not be addressed. Sustainable financial strength is necessary, which depends on the sources of income, specially on the own sources of income to meet capital and current expenditures related to development process.

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- 3) Thirdly, the acceptance of people is the product of the satisfaction of the people and congruence of urban realities with the cultural makeup of the people. In the total process of sustainable urban development '*people*' is determining factor, because of its influence on size, qualities, as well as the socio-economic realities surrounding the people determines the dimension of urbanization including its geographical coverage, ratio between man and facilities, and so on. Urban need and problems have their origin from people and financial strength is also measured by the satisfaction of people's need. Moreover people have active role in urban development process. To be more specific, the forces moulding the process of urbanization resulting in the expansion of urban areas and migration of people to particular city have important role in the process of sustainable urban development. Broadly speaking urban development affected by the push factors is not same as that affected by pull factors. Hence rural urban relationship in terms of participation in planning implementation benefit sharing and monitoring and evaluation has great influence on the urban realities. All these issues again influence the organizational capability and financial strength of the urban development process.
- 4) The outside forces also affect urbanization process in the developing countries. To Breese it is "dramatically illustrated by the impact of World War- I and particularly World War II" (Breese 466:33). Still the outside forces have important role in shaping the urban development process in these countries. However, the global perspective of sustainable urban development considers the issues related to global linkage of the country and the concerning urban centre. This is because, the urban centers have strongly been tied up with the market system of global capitalism and have become as the most effective points of influences, due to the concentration all political, administrative, economic and technological powers in the urban centres.

Growth of Dhaka as an Emerging Megacity

Dhaka is an old city. But during the rule of Mughal, it came into the light as the capital of Bengal and renamed as Jahangir Nagar by Islam Khan in 1608 A.D. It remained the capital of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa till 1717 and district headquarters was established in Dhaka in 1722. In 1830, a municipal committee was formed in Dhaka for discharging some urban responsibilities such as conservancy, sanitation, transport and cleanliness of the city. But, a Municipality was first formally established in Dhaka by the British colonial regime in 1864. In 1905 having an area of 9.84 sq. km. Dhaka became the capital of newly created province of the Eastern Bengal and Assam after the partition of Bengal.

In 1947, Pakistan emerged as an independent country, Dhaka became the capital of eastern wing of Pakistan, East Pakistan. At that time but a tiny

and sleepy district town having a population of slightly more than two hundred thousand. Its position was then mainly confined to being a river port, a district town and a seat of a university. However having the status of provincial capital the rise of Dhaka began on a noticeable scale.

But significant change taken place particularly after it became the capital of Bangladesh in 1971. It is now a typical third world city with high urbanization rate. Dhaka Municipal Corporation was created in 1982, which was renamed as Dhaka City Corporation under an amendment of the ordinance in 1988. Thirty percent of Bangladesh's 22.45 million urban populations live in Dhaka, the capital and the country's largest city (BBS, 1997) : 49). It is being termed by almost everybody as a megacity having a population of more than 11.5 million. The population of Dhaka City was 34,16,805 in an area of 141.54-sq. km. in 1981 census. According to 1991 census, the population of Dhaka was 61,05,160 in an area of 482.8 sq. km. The demographic characteristics of the metropolitan area are 51 percent male and 49 percent female. In Dhaka, metropolitan population growth rate between 1981 and 1991 was higher than the national average of 6.6 percent, showing an increase of 9.8 percent per annual (BBS, 1993). The rise of Dhaka since then was remarkably sharper, more massive and perhaps beyond control. This kind of massive scale in the rise of any particular city in such as short period of less than 50 years is perhaps unprecedented and incomparable.

Table- 1 Growth of Population in Dhaka City and Urban Bangladesh, 1901-91

Years	Dhaka City		Urban Bangladesh	
	Population ('000)	Average Expnt. Growth/annum (%)	Population ('000)	Avg. Exp. Growth / annum (%)
1901	129	-	702	-
1911	154	1.8	807	1.4
1921	169	0.9	878	0.8
1931	196	1.5	1073	2.0
1941	296	4.2	1537	3.6
1951	336	1.3	1820	1.6
1961	557	5.2	2641	3.7
1971	2004	10.4	6274	6.7
1981	3454	8.1	13536	10.9
1991	6844	9.8	22455	6.6

Elahi and Alam: Urbanization and Physical Environment in Recent Urban Studies, Bangladesh

The area covered by the metropolitan city is 1353 square kilometers. This gives an average population density of 27,401 per sq. km. As a metropolitan city, Dhaka is inhabited by various groups with different social backgrounds. It grows and develops continually, in the sense of population growth as well as economic growth and development. At the present rate of urban population increase and household formation, the city would require about 65,000 new dwelling units each year. Even at a very high density, it will need a minimum of 4 sq. km. additional build-up area per year for residential purpose only. In the context of the

overwhelmingly rural character of the country, the above features alone are extra-ordinary and thus deserve serous considerations. (Ahmed: 1999)

Factors Influencing Urbanization Process in the City

Practically urbanization takes place as a result of planned process when the urban facilities are extended to the new areas covering new group of people, which is applicable in the case of economically developed countries. But it is opposite in the case of developing countries, where the growth of urban areas is dependent on the massive migration of people. Over 60% of the population of Dhaka city are migrated from the rural areas (Islam: 1986). In an imbalance situation of social development, both push and pull factors act as driving forces in the process of urbanization. It is to note here that people of all different categories comprising educated and uneducated, rich and poor are found to migrate to the city from rural areas. Concentration of administrative and political authority along with employment opportunities in formal and informal sectors and other facilities, which are absent in the rural areas attract people toward Dhaka.

During the last two decades garments industries dominates the industrial sector of the countries. More than 80% of the garments industries of the country are located in the Dhaka city. These industries are fully dependent on the outside patronage in terms of installation and market. As per the liking of the foreign counterparts these industries are city based. In the Dhaka City there are about 850 export oriented garments industries which have been able to employ huge number of poor female working migrated from the rural areas.

Table-2 Ariel Distribution of Garment Factors in Dhaka

No.	Location	Number	No.	Location	Number
1.	Mirpur	185	19.	Maghbazar	14
2.	Old Dhaka	64	20.	Purana Paltan	12
3.	Mohammedpur	64	21.	Kamlapur	11
4.	Mahakali	49	22.	Kalabagan	10
5.	Malibagh	44	23.	Dhanmondi	10
6.	Rampura	39	24.	Jurain	10
7.	Gulshan	37	25.	Karwan Bazar	8
8.	Banani	37	26.	Bashaboo	8
9.	Elephant Road	36	27.	Kakrail	5
10.	Tejgaon	32	28.	Shajahanpur	5
11.	Motijheel	27	29.	Airport Road	4
12.	Shamoli	22	30.	Dhaka Cantt.	3
13.	Far gate	21	31.	Razarbagh	3
14.	Uttara	18	32.	Postogala	3
15.	Green Road	17	33.	Shampur	3
16.	Shantinagar	15	34.	Jatrabari	3
17.	Khilgaon	15	35.	Dhania	2
18.	Eskaton Road	14		Total	850

Source : Huq-Hussain: *Health Condition of Factory Workers* in Recent Urban Studies, Bangladesh,

On the other hand, increasing rate of landlessness acts as the root of push forces causing massive migration of rural poor to the cities who amidst of voluminous unemployment and disguise unemployment could not earn their subsistence have migrated from rural areas to urban centres. Introduction of mechanized system of agriculture reduced the scope of employment for agricultural labour force as well as alarmingly reduced their wage rate in the village. This become clear from the trend in structure change in Bangladesh as shown in the following table :

Table-3 Trend in Structural Change in Bangladesh

	1960	1965	1979-80	1984-85	1989-90
1) Contribution of Different Sectors to GDP (%)					
- Agriculture	61	53	54.9	50.4	46.9
- Industry	8	11	8.2	9.5	11.9
- Services	31	36	36.9	40.1	41.2
2) Contribution of Different Sectors to employment (%)					
- Agriculture	87	84	79.0	60.3	58.2
- Industry	3	5	4.7	9.8	11.2
- Services	10	11	16.3	29.9	30.6
3) Percentage of Urban Population	5	6	15.0	18.0	-
4) Percentage of Urban Population in the largest city	20	20	28.0	30.0	-

Source : Dhaka Past Present Future.

From the table it is evident that contribution of agriculture to the GDP is in declining trend. Same thing is happening in the case of employment opportunity in the agricultural sector. In 1960 contribution of the sector was 61% whereas it reduced to 46.9 in the period 89-90. 87% of the total population had their employment in 1960, which stood 58.2% in 1989-90 period. But during this period percentage of urban population have increased remarkably. All these have close linkage with the process of migration. During this period rural population have also increased, but without getting job in the rural sector the people were compelled to migrate from rural areas to Dhaka City. The table depicts the reality.

Table- 4 Percentage Distribution of Household by Reasons for Coming to the Slums in the Dhaka Megacity

No.	Reasons	Percentage
1.	River erosion	18.96
2.	Uprooted	13.33
3.	Driven out	1.56
4.	Abandoned	1.14
5.	Small Income	18.62
6.	Insecurity	1.73
7.	Job services	41.75
8.	Others	2.91

Source : Census of Slum Areas and Floating Population 1997,

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The table reveals that 41.75% of the total migrant people living in the slum have left the villages for job directly, while 18.62% migrated for they had only small income. The people, those who were professionally farmers lost their land by river erosion, they (18.96%) were also bound to leave villages and come to Dhaka for employment. That is 79% of the slum dwellers in the megacity migrated to Dhaka for income and employment which were not possible in the rural areas. During the period of last one decade almost two third of the slum population have migrated to the city.

Table-5: Duration of Residence of the Slum Household in the Dhaka Megacity 1997

No.	Duration (Years)	Percentage
1.	Less than 1	6.38
2.	1 – 4	32.93
3.	5 – 9	28.19
4.	10 – 14	12.50
5.	15 +	20.01

Source : Census of Slum Areas and Floating Population 1997.

According to the statistics of 1997 as provided in the table- 5; 39.31% of the total slum dwellers have settled in the slum after 1993. This increasing rate of slum dwellers migrated from the rural areas is correspondingly related to a deteriorating rural situation.

These huge numbers of people involve themselves in different formal and non-formal sector. The sector-wise employment of population is shown in the table-

Table-6: Percentage Distribution of Population of Age 10 years and over by Main activity and sex (A comparison of Dhaka's and National Figures)

Main Activity	Male				Male				Both Sexes			
	Dhaka (Metropolis)	National			Dhaka (Metropolis)	National			Dhaka (Metropolis)	National		
		Urban	Rural	Total		Urban	Rural	Total		Urban	Rural	Total
1. Household work	1.66	2.65	4.20	3.92	56.12	62.76	76.71	74.70	22.95	28.08	39.75	37.85
2. Cultivation	1.88	10.67	52.95	45.29	0.08	0.33	1.17	1.05	1.18	6.30	27.56	24.09
3. Agriculture (non-crop)	0.18	0.69	1.54	1.39	0.01	0.08	0.16	0.15	0.12	0.43	0.86	0.79
4. Manufacturing	6.81	8.51	1.93	3.12	0.25	0.25	0.22	0.22	4.25	5.01	1.09	1.73
5. Business	17.79	17.23	6.93	8.47	0.31	0.37	0.18	0.21	10.95	10.10	3.42	4.51
6. Others	45.36	33.01	11.98	15.79	7.56	4.40	2.35	2.64	30.58	20.91	7.26	9.49
7. Not working												
i) Total	26.32	27.24	20.87	22.03	35.67	31.79	19.23	21.04	29.97	29.17	20.07	21.55
ii) Attending educational institute	15.28	15.17	10.96	11.73	15.84	12.55	5.22	6.24	15.51	14.07	8.14	9.11
Total [1 to 7 (i)]	100 (11061186)	100 (5480219)	100 (24807408)	100 (30287627)	100 (701361)	100 (4018802)	100 (23862440)	100 (27881242)	100 (1816532)	100 (9499021)	100 (48669481)	100 (58168869)
Out of work labour force [7 (i) to 7 (ii)]	11.04	12.07	9.91	10.30	19.83	19.24	14.01	14.77	14.46	15.10	11.93	12.44

Source : Based on 1981 Census Reports: BBS (1983 : 1022-1071) and BBS (1984 : 226, 227)

65% of the poor people are employed in the informal sector. The census of Slum Areas and floating population shows that the slum dwellers are engaged in different activities, 4.86% do not have any work. The table-7 illustrates the nature of work of these poor people in the Dhaka City.

Dwellers 1997

No.	Main Activities	Percentage of Dhaka Megacity
1.	Not working	4.86
2.	Hawker	1.94
3.	Agriculture Labour	0.78
4.	Industries Labour	10.46
5.	Construction Labour	6.12
6.	Rickshaw Puller	10.27
7.	Jhee/Maid Servant	5.13
8.	Service	6.54
9.	Business	6.50
10.	Cottage Industry	1.76
11.	Porter	1.62
12.	Hotel & Restaurant	0.92
13.	Begging	0.61
14.	Student	7.37
15.	Others	35.13

Source : Census of Slum Areas and Floating Population 1997.

After industrial labour (10.46%), the number of rickshaw Puller is higher (10.27%). In fact rickshaw pulling is the most easily available sector of employment in the city. Consequently the number of registered and unregistered rickshaws is increasing rapidly.

Table-8: Trend in Growth of Rickshaws in Dhaka

Year	No. of Rickshaw	Remarks
1938	6	Rickshaw industry begins
1944	100	British first licensed rickshaws
1960	4,000	Denotes early sixties' figure
1967	18,000	Liberal licensing policy of the then Dhaka Municipality chairman contributed to this big increase
1978	40,000	Lower bound
1988	100,000	Upper bound
1989	300,000	Upper bound

Source : Dhaka Past Present Future.

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It is interesting that number of construction workers and rickshaw pullers have increased recent times. Due to over flow of population construction sector has increased and huge numbers of migrant work force are being absorbed in this sector. Next to it rickshaw pulling is the most fertile sector of informal employment. Consequently rickshaw is dominating the transport system of Dhaka City. In the table we have the statistics of 1989. The numbers of rickshaws and rickshaw pullers have tremendously increased by this time.

There is also huge number of floating people in the city. It is difficult to have the exact number of the floating people in the city. They are also migrants from rural areas and engage in different types of activities. The following table-9 highlights their nature of employment.

Table- 9 Percentage Distribution of Floating Population by Main Activities in the Dhaka Megacity 1997

No.	Main Activities	Percentage
1.	Not Working	5.47
2.	Hawker	3.96
3.	Lab. Agriculture	0.67
4.	Lab. Industry	26.66
5.	Lab. Construction	1.56
6.	Jhi/M. Servant	6.43
7.	Business	0.23
8.	Service	11.75
9.	Kuli / Porter	0.10
10.	Hotel	32.90
11.	Begging	1.56
12.	Rickshaw Puller	0.67
13.	Van Puller	1.00
14.	Tokai	3.09
15.	Others	3.94

Source : Census of Slum Areas and Floating Population 1997.

Besides settled and floating migrated people there is quite a large number of people, who following a process of circular migration, regularly come to Dhaka and after a period of stay return to rural areas. Mahbub observes that Dhaka attracts hundreds and thousands of daily commuters and circular migrants from the neighbouring areas. (Mahbub 1986). As per Islam's assessment nearly one fifth of the total population of the country are within the daily zone of influence of Dhaka city due to its central location in the territory and well connection with other areas of the country (Islam : 1996).

Institutional Capabilities of Urban Bodies

With the process of urbanization several urban bodies have been created to render services in the different sectors of urban life. The Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) composed of one elected mayor and 90 ward commissioners (from 90 wards) and 18 other female members, is the most important one. The other bodies are, Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha (RAJUK) (capital development Authority) Dhaka Electric Supply Authority (DESA), Titas Gas Ltd. gas supply authority, Bangladesh Road Transport Authority (BRTA), House Building Finance Corporation and other different agencies of the relevant ministries of the government of Bangladesh, such as Housing Settlement Directorate (HSD), Road and Highways Department, Dhaka Metropolitan Police etc. All these bodies are responsible for rendering services to the people of the Dhaka city which constitute almost 26% of the total urban population in the country. The process of urban development and sustainable urban development as such primarily depend on the organizational capability and financial strength of these bodies to render services to fulfill urban needs.

Several studies have been conducted on these issues by different scholars and organizations from which a picture of vulnerability becomes clear. In this connection Islam observes. “Dhaka faces serious problems in almost all areas of infrastructure, such as water supply, sewerage and excreta management, solid waste management, drainage and flood control, pollution control, electricity, fuel, telephones, lack of resources, inefficient management widespread corruption, low affordability of the people and environmental factors all contribute to the situation.” (Islam 1996:201). According to World Bank report, with the expansion of urbanization, level of urban services and quality of urban management have not been developed. In this regard Ahmed points out that urban services face a number of administrative problems. The acute shortage of fund and trained up manpower, weakness in metropolitan laws, overlapping role of different urban bodies and co-ordination problem among them and absence of proper planning strategy for urban areas at national level make the problems worse. As for example, the Dhaka City corporation, though holds the central position among the urban development bodies, it does not have any functional control over other development bodies and department of the governments. This results in haphazard, unplanned and uncoordinated delivery of urban services. DCC and RAJUK have most functional role to play but coordination problems in between these two is acute. Same thing happens in the case of other

urban bodies also. These management and organizational weakness couple with extreme financial constraints have negative impact on the delivery of urban services.

Urban Services : Underdevelopment Syndrome

Dhaka WASA is responsible for water supply in the city. Currently not more than 60% of the residents in the Dhaka Metropolitan Area (DMA) are commented to the pipe water supply system of WASA (Islam 1996:202). The normal daily requirement of water in the city as estimated in 1996 was 160 million gallons when WASA was able to supply 93.55 million gallons of water only. There is huge wastage of water also costing take six lakh in each month (Ahmed : 1999). The system of garbage and sewerage is also in vulnerable state. An evaluation study of the government on the sewerage collection network in the Dhaka City in 1991 suggests that “Unless the system is expanded, infiltration rates are reduced or further connections are limited, the system will become overloaded within next few years, resulting flooding of sewerage throughout the city” (GOB : 1991). In the recent time it is visible in the different parts of the city making city environment polluted. There is no different reality in regard to the solid waste management. Everyday 200 – 3000 tons of solid wastes are generated but the respective department of DCC can collect and dispose up only 50% of the same for its limitation in respect of fund, equipment, vehicles and management. Same realities also prevail in the field of electricity and gas supply. The supply of electricity is inadequate and frequent load shading has become the common features in many parts of the city which is also characterized by system loss upto 30% caused by managerial weakness and corruption. Slum dwellers do not have access to electricity and gas supply. Only a fraction of the total population is served with gas supply.

Urban transport system now existing in the Dhaka City is not only inadequate in respect of the requirement, but also pollutes urban environment extremely by producing smoke with carbon dioxide and noise. Traffic jam is an omnipresent scene in the roads, which exists hours together. Frequent accidents killing life is regular phenomenon on the road of the city. Furthermore, the large-scale in-discipline and corruption have made the transportation system most vulnerable causing endless sufferings for people. The predominance of manual transport such as rickshaws (tricycle) as the popular means of transportation makes the road over-crowded. More than 3,00,000 rickshaws are now playing on the roads of the city.

Table-10: Distribution of Transport Vehicles in Dhaka City

<u>Vehicles</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Vehicles</u>	
a) <i>Powered Vehicles</i>		
Motor Car	-	18.74
Bus	-	2.13
Truck	-	1.26
Motor Cycle	-	5.92
Auto-Rickshaw	-	7.00
b) <i>Non-Powered Vehicle</i>		
<i>Rickshaw</i>	-	59.38
<i>Bicycle</i>	-	3.81
<i>Others</i>	-	1.76
		Total 100.00

Source : *Dhaka Past Preset Future*

Housing is another issue of urban development. From the study of Islam it is revealed that, “Only about 30 percent of the population who belong to the middle and upper income group have control over 80% of the residential space of the city, while other 70 percent of the population comprising low income groups and the poor have access to 20 percent of the residential space”, (Islam : 1985-86). According to official sources, more than 46 percent of the total population of Dhaka city numbering 3-4 million dwell in the slums and squatter, which is higher than the of population some independent countries in the world (Ahmed 1999). Another most important thing that except a very few, all the residential areas have been developed in a very unplanned way. In respect of income, earning of the 30% of the population is less than tk. 2300 per month. According to United Nations Human Development Report in 1997 about the four fifth of the total population live below poverty line.

Table-11: Percentage Distribution of Households by Type Structure

No.	Sectors of Intervention	Percentage of Households
1.	Tong	13.18
2.	Chhai	23.92
3.	Jhupri	29.90
4.	Tin-shed	29.94
5.	Semi-pucca	2.56
6.	Pucca	0.50
Total	100.00	

Census of Slum Areas and Floating population 1997.

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From the environmental point of view Dhaka has become one of the most polluted city in the world due to the smoke and other waste product generated from faulty mechanized vehicle and unplanned industries and factories.

Table– 12 Thanawise Distribution of Different types of Polluting Industries in Dhaka City : 1993

Thana	Tann	Iron	Metal Steel	Text	Chem	Rubb	Tob	Leath	Plastic	Board/Paper	Dye	Phar/me	Welding/metalled	Saw mill
Sutrapur	1	12	8	7	15	4	2	3	11	2	52	1	56	9
Lalbagh	137	1	2	18	21	15	2	13	79	-	19	-	13	12
Kotwali	-	6	2	14	-	4	2	10	10	-	14	-	11	4
Ramna	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	3	-
Dhanmondi	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	15	12	-
Mohammadpur	-	2	3	9	7	-	-	2	-	-	4	9	12	-
Mirpur	-	19	23	108	10	4	1	3	3	-	30	3	43	30
Motijheel	-	4	2	14	4	-	-	-	-	-	13	1	20	-
Gulshan	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	11
Uttara	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	-
Demra	-	1	3	-	8	1	-	-	10	-	4	-	11	2
Total	138	48	46	181	67	28	7	32	119	2	146	33	187	57

Source: Iqbal, The Impact of polluting Industries Recent Urban Studies, Bangladesh.

There is no special industrial zone in the city. Industries are scattered throughout all the parts of the city (see table- 12 also) that course serious damage to the public health.

The law and order situation of the city has also become beyond control. Murder and hijacking and other often some member urban crimes are taking place daily. Police are often found to maintain linkage with the criminal group of the city. No development work can be simply initiated without giving money to the terrorist group. In such as deteriorating law and order situation government has recently framed a law entitled “people security law, which has produced much controversies.

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that in terms of population Dhaka has become a megacity but from the respective of development it an underdeveloped city, the question of sustainable urban development, in the present situation context, can not sample arise.

The development of Dhaka city is being handicapped by handicapped by diverse type of problems. The existing institution could not develop in co-ordinated manner with the growth of the city. Population of Dhaka has been increased along with the demand for various services, but the financial strength does not suffice to fulfill that demand. Consequently Dhaka can not satisfy the majority of its dwellers not only in respect of security in urban life. The multinational agencies are also counteracted in the Dhaka City. Establishment of industries surrendering Dhaka also attracts rural people in huge number. Dhaka could not develop as per any plan so far taken by the metropolitan authority. Regarding the qualities of these plans Ahmed observe that the old master plan as well as the new structure plan (1995-2015) bear many drawbacks and limitations. Weakness in structural proposals and budgetary deficiencies are worth mentioning. As characterize of many third world cities, Dhaka's growth has taken mostly without planning, although a plan it had. (Ahmed : 1999). Development accompanies a planned change process to attain a planned objective. What happens in the Dhaka city can not be said development from this perspective and when the reality is this, it is meaningless to involve in measuring its sustainability. The main reason behind this devastating situation is the concentration of maximum peoples in the city through the process of migration, organizational weakness and financial constraints to address the need of voluminous people.

Rural Situation and Efforts for Development

Due to the failure of governments rural development program is the rural area majority of the populations live in rural areas are engulfed with poverty, hunger, diseases, illiteracy, landlessness unemployment etc.. *Rural-urban* and *poor-rich* gaps are ever increasing in terms of benefit distribution that threaten system equilibrium. This situation is caused by a number of interrelated factors such as, "(i) *history*, (ii) the problems concerned with *productivity and employment*, (iii) excessive dependence on *land and agriculture* and *limited access to inputs of production* and (iv) the *anti-poor politics and disabling* social structure". Rural development, for obvious reasons, has been one of the prime national objectives; and governments are rather compelled to undertake rural development programs in country.

Government institution for rural development, the bureaucracy, the main actors of development administration having network at the grassroots level could not overcome the limitations to bring about developmental

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change in the society. Local bodies and co-operatives remain as elite biased institutions with the administrative and financial excessive control of the bureaucracy. Vast majority of the rural population has no access to and control over these institutions.

Besides the conventional development administrative framework of government another body named Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) based on the experiment of Akhter Hameed Khan popularly known as Comilla model, (Quddus: 1993); through a two tier cooperative system is entrusted with the task of rural development in the areas of agricultural irrigation, flood control, livestock, fishery, health, education, cooperative etc.. Large amounts of money have also been channel for implementing various programs. This is more pronounced in the field of infrastructure building such as construction of roads and buildings, rural electrification, telecommunication etc. Obviously these have far-reaching effects on rural economy and productivity. But unfortunately benefits could not bring developmental change in the life the poor, vast majority of the rural population, by breaking the vicious cycle of poverty. Side by side with government initiatives NGOs are also working in the rural area and running micro-credit program for income and employment generation by the poor themselves, which could not have been able to ensure self employment for the poor families.

Except in Food for Works Program (FWP) they get no opportunity for employment. Needless to say FWP is temporary and seasonal solution to rural unemployment (mainly for male day labourers) and through this program the rich are more benefited. Irrigation facilities also benefited the land owning class but not the landless poor. Moreover, introduction of power tiller and power pump have reduced the employment opportunities of the poor landless population who would get employment by cultivating others land through traditional plough, manning traditional boat and husking paddy with traditional means. Reductions of employment opportunities have increased gap between rich and poor in rural areas resulting in rural-urban migration. In this respect World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) most aptly holds that the programs adopted for the purpose of improving the life of the poor people of Bangladesh could not produce any positive result, rather the results have been the opposite. It is gradually becoming clearer that community development programs supported directly or indirectly by foreign aid in Bangladesh are not assisting the poor. Evaluation showed that programs designed for the whole community delivered most of their benefits to the rich and tended to by-pass the very poor almost.

Concluding Remarks

For obvious reason government has set rural development as one of the prime national objectives. But still it could not develop any framework considering rural and urban development within an integrated process following holistic perspective. All the efforts by the government and NGOs are being in discrete manner. Sufficient emphasis on rural industries and commercial agriculture is yet to emerge in the rural development efforts, which can generate employment scope in the rural areas. Consequently the momentum in the process of rural urban migration of the jobless people is in increasing trend which ultimately threatens urban development efforts. So for sustainable urban development, the issue of rural development should be considered first and urban development plan should also be formulated taking rural development as its integrated component in a developing like Bangladesh.

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