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Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh: The Need for Diverting Rural Migrants to Secondary Cities

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ABSTRACT

Bangladesh has been experiencing a rapid urbanization since independence in 1971, but the distribution of urban population is highly skewed and the capital city receives a disproportionate urban population. The other metropolitan cities are also growing faster than the secondary and tertiary level urban centers. The overarching aim of this paper is to examine how secondary cities can work to attract the rural migrants to make a more balanced distribution of urban population. The paper is based on information obtained from secondary sources. It tries to identify the reasons behind the rapid rural-urban migration in the capital city in general and secondary cities in particular. The paper reveals that as rural people migrate owing to economic reasons, the creation of economic opportunities in secondary cities is essential to divert these migrants to secondary cities for a more balanced distribution of urban population. The paper makes some tentative recommendations to strengthen the economic base of the secondary cities, including capacity building of the local government in the secondary cities, which will promote these cities to be able to attract migrants.

Keywords: Rural, Urban, Migration, Urbanisation, Secondary Cities, Mega City, Statistical Metropolitan Area

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Bangladesh is a densely populated deltaic country with a low level of urbanization. In recent years Bangladesh has experienced an unprecedented upsurge of urbanization, but the levef of urbanisation in

the country, is still low, it is only 23 percent, and total urban population is only 29 million (BBS, 2001). The growth rate of urban population has been very rapid during the last three decades, at 7 percent annually, which is the largest among the Asian Countries. It is expected that by 2035 more than half of the total population will live in the urban areas. These urban centers have become the hubs of economic, social, political, commercial and cultural activities and will be the focal points of healthcare, education, finance and governance. But the distribution of urban population in Bangladesh is highly uneven. Because of the absence of viable spatial policy, most of the major investments have been biased in favour of the capital city, the two port cities, and a few other cities of administrative or industrial importance. The overwhelming concentration of infrastructure has been in Dhaka followed by Chittagong and has resulted in the development of high level of primacy in the urban hierarchy. A large portion of the urban population is concentrated in these few large urban agglomerations. Dhaka, the primate city of Bangladesh, is the capital of the country and is the main focus in urbanization. It is the thriving industrial and commercial centre besides being the administrative capital city of the country.

The city grew rapidly as a result of increased socioeconomic and political activities, the expansion of the built area and the migration from rural areas. Dhaka is growing disparately, and currently it has 38 percent of the total urban population of the country. According to the report of BBS (2005), Dhaka will be the fifth largest city in the world by 2015 though its position in terms of population was eighth in 2001. The two other port cities, Chittagong and Khulna, are also growing fast but at a lower rate than the primate city. Thus the mega city Dhaka and five other divisional cities share approximately 58 percent of the total urban population. It is noticed that these large cities have reached the point where further population growth jeopardises the delivery capacity of basic urban services to people. People move to cities for better opportunities and to improve their economic condition and quality of life but it has become clear that many urban cities are not coping with the large growth of urban population.

The rapid growth of urban population has occurred due to natural growth and in-migration. Demographic fertility in the rural areas is higher than that of the urban areas. Urban population growth in Bangladesh, particularly in Dhaka, is predominantly the result of the migration of people from rural areas. Many people in the country make Dhaka as their ultimate destination. Most of the migrants are poor and

hence urban areas remain numerically dominated by the poor. The migrants come largely from the economically depressed areas of the country. Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, is the final destination of rural migrants from all over the country. Migrants prefer Dhaka to the secondary cities for two main reasons. First, Dhaka, as the focal point for the whole country in administration, commerce, finance, politics and culture is the centre for international trade and communication. Secondly, it attracts large number of migrants because of its central location. At present, the share of population growth at Dhaka city due to rural-urban migration is 65 percent.

The growth of massive metropolitan areas and primate cities has created economic and social problems which the government of Bangladesh does not have resources to cope with. Heavy influx of migrants has created new problems like unemployment, underemployment, a high incidence of crime, a proliferation of shanties, substandard housing, transportation, pollution and service supply problems. Expanding and maintaining the quality of infrastructural and utility services like sanitation, sewerage, drainage, supply of drinking water and other social services like health care etc, are difficult. The problems have become more severe with population growth.

The majority of the immigrant city populations are poor. They have access to 20 percent of land, and 56 percent of them are living in the slums. Less than 30 percent have access to piped water and less than 20 percent have access to proper sanitation. In the slums, 90 percent of the women and children suffer from diseases. They live as tenants and in self constructed houses made of bamboo and polythene or other materials like jute bags, plastic bags, etc. on public land (CUS, 1976; Paul-Majumder, 1996; Islam et al., 1998, all cited in Ullah, 2004; Ahmed, 2003).

Many feel that it is time to restrict the movement of more people to Dhaka and other large urban agglomerations in Bangladesh. But according to the constitution of the country, all people have the right to free movement with in the nation state and also to settle anywhere in the county. Rural-urban migration neither can be controlled nor stopped through formal rules. On the other hand, the secondary cities and small and intermediate urban centers are economically very weak and usually absorb a much smaller number of rural-urban migrants though the number of urban areas is growing rapidly and thus creating an unbalanced distribution of urban population. There are 522 urban centers in Bangladesh. All urban centers other than the large six cities account for only 40 percent of the country's urban population.

By building up capacity and increasing the number of secondary cities, it will be possible to relieve the population pressure in the largest metropolises and also contain the growth of secondary cities to manageable sizes. A decline in the existing migration rate in the large cities is only possible by developing the secondary urban centers and making them attractive for the rural-urban migrants.

Aims and Objectives

Rondinelli (1983) states that in many developed countries, the middle levels of the urban hierarchy, including the secondary cities, could absorb more rural-urban migrants and create a more balanced distribution of urban population. However, they remain extremely weak. The distribution of the urban settlement system finds its typical expression in the presence of large metropolitan areas with a high functional primacy and a less developed and sometimes even middle level of secondary and intermediate size urban centers. The large urban agglomerations gradually become too large to manage and it is difficult for the respective authority to provide the basic urban facilities and amenities to all urban dwellers. As a result, the quality of life starts to deteriorate and also creates the environmental degradation of the city. In Bangladesh, the capital city alone holds 38 percent of the country's urban population and has become a mega city with a population of more than 1.5 million.

Secondary cities on the other hand hold a lesser number of people due to the weak economic capacity. The issue is whether these cities can draw the rural migrants so that they become permanent migrants or they can use the secondary cities at least as stopping points, instead of going directly to the large metropolises.

The general objectives of the study are to examine:

1) how secondary cities can play a vital role to attract the rural-urban migrants; and
2) how a more balanced distribution of urban population can be achieved.

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

i. to discuss the basic issues and definition of migration, urbanization and secondary cities;
ii. to examine the contribution of rural-urban migration to the urbanisation process in Bangladesh;
iii. to identify the dynamics of secondary cities to make a more balanced distribution of urban settlements;
iv. to understand how the rapid growth of large cities, especially the mega city, Dhaka can be slowed down;
v. to identify the dynamics of secondary cities to make a more balanced distribution of urban settlements

The questions that are addressed through this study are:

a) Is the growth rate of the primate city very high because of a high rate of rural-urban migration?
b) Is the population growth in the capital city positive or for that city?
c) Are the secondary cities incapable of attracting the rural-urban migrants?
d) What are the strategies that can be adopted by the secondary cities to attract the rural- urban migrants?

Rationale and Scope of the Study

Though the present level of urbanisation is still not very high, the urban population in Bangladesh is growing very fast compared to the neighboring countries. This fast urban growth is predominantly an outcome of rapid rural-urban migration, which is estimated to contribute between three-fifths to one-third of urban population (UN, 1993 and Afsar, 2000). The distribution of urban population is seriously UN even, creating primate cities. But the rates of growth in number and population of secondary level of urban centers have been slower than the large and metropolitan cities. These cities do not attract the rural-urban migrants and hence the largest city has grown to an unmanageable size. It becomes very difficult for the concerned authority of the largest city to provide the basic urban facilities to the urban people resulting in an

increasing number of slum dwellers, the increase of social crimes, and tremendous traffic congestion.

The distribution of urban population in a more balanced way as well as the distribution of related economic and social activities over the national territory is an integral part of the spatial and social development policy. This can be possible by developing the secondary cities through promoting more equitable economic growth in rural areas. These benefits can include commercialization of agriculture and provision of better services to residents of secondary urban areas.

Little or no attempt has been made to halt the growth of the large metropolitan cities and to disperse economic activities in Bangladesh. This can be possible through promoting economic and social activities in the secondary cities. These are large enough to perform social and economic functions for their own population and those who are in the surrounding areas. Thus the spatial distribution of economic and social opportunities makes it possible for the secondary and intermediate cities to attract the rural migrants.

Review of Literature

Definition of Migration

In the Population Census Report of Bangladesh (BBS, 1991) migration is defined as the movement of person who changes his/her place of residence or intends to settle in the place of enumeration area, which is different from the previous place of residence for at least six months. It excludes the bulk of non-permanent movers, such as commuters and seasonal migrants. In the absence of birthplace data of migrants, it is impossible to ascertain if the place of previous residence was different from the birthplace. Their time and residence criteria are not sufficient to identify the multi-dimensions involved in migration particularly for non-permanent movements. But there is no time limit for the migrants who change his/her place of residence for marriage. Hossain (2001, cited in Ullah, 2004) defines migration as a relocation of residence for a specified duration for various reasons, but it dominates the domain of planning since it changes the lives of migrant's families both at the places of origin and destination.

A geographical approach is an important matter to define migration adequately. For example, Skelden (1987, cited in Afsar Rita, 2000) finds that when large units such as the states were used to define migration only 3.6 percent of the total Indian-born population was recorded as migrants in the 1981 population census. However, when smaller units

like districts were used, the proportion of migrants increased to 29 percent, which suggests a completely different level of migration.

Hezo (1987, as cited in Afsar, 2000) in his study of 14 West Java villages, found that two-thirds of population mobility remained outside the purview of the six month criterion adopted by Indonesian Census. Reducing the time criterion to a minimum of twenty hours does not necessarily cover all categories of migrants.

Strategies of Migration

Gilbert and Gugler (1992) clasiffy migration strategies into four principal divisions such as circular migration of men, long-term migration of men separated from their families, family migration to urban areas followed by return migration to the community of origin and permanent urban settlement.

There is a tendency for the male migrants to leave their wives and children in their rural area of origin. A wife manages the farm holding her own in the male-dominated environment with support of male relatives who assist in certain tasks and provide protection. Migrants accept the family separation because of the high living cost in urban areas. This family separation frequently takes the form of circular migration. Migrants return for an extended period with their family after employment for a specific period. Sometimes their returns coincide with the peak labour demand of the farm. Circular migration is a function of the recruitment of men at low wages. Re-petition of the circular movement is common and migrants build up extended urban experience.

Because of the exception of the appearance of substantial urban unemployment circular migration is no longer a viable option. The search for a job may take months and the outcome is aleatory. A migrant who has secured employment has good reason to hold on to it. Thus long-term migration can replace circular migration. Many of the long-term migrants leave their wives and children behind in the village. Short visits to the family replace the extended stay that characterise circular migration. Their frequency of visits varies a great deal with employment conditions and distance. Faster and cheaper transport may allow monthly or even weekly commuting. In many countries like India many migrants cover considerable distances and can visit their families only during their annual leave. Migrants, who manage to obtain a secured job in urban areas, take their wives and children to town. In such situation these migrants can maintain their position in the rural community and even during an extended urban career remain assured of access to land on their return. The migrants can expect to spend their entire working

life away from their home place. Losing their urban employment or trade is the worst calamity, which leads them to move back to their village with their family. Eventually, these types of migrants return to their village home after retirement and live in a village home for the rest of their life.

Migrants securely established in the urban economy may want to reduce their commitment to the village. They may break contact with the rural places and abandon the intention to return. These migrants are fully committed to urban life and instead of planning for return to the village, they press for provision for social security. And they search for sources of earning other than paid employment. Ownership of a home is a common practice, which assures accommodation and the possibility of income from rent while others try to establish their own business. Ultimately, they live in the urban area permanently.

Another type of migration is known as stepwise migration. Alamgir (1973) states that in many developing countries migration takes place in stages in the sense that migration could not change from their one place of origin to the final place of residence in one move. In general, movement takes place from interior villages to those in the suburb of some cities and towns for a period of time, after which the next move into larger metropolis which often becomes their final destination:

Overview of Rural-Urban Migration

Rapid rural-urban migration is the common feature of urban growth in developing countries. In China, for instance, Wang et al. (2000, cited in Ullah, 2004) identifies the magnitude of the floating population in the cities caused by rural-urban migration and the consequence of the tidal wave of migrants. In the 1991 census it is observed that migration contributed 56 percent of urban population in Bangladesh where the rate of rural-urban migration was sharply dominant over other types of migration and it was 52 percent out of total 56 percent. A high rate of migration from rural to urban areas is closely associated with unequal resources (usually land). Rapid population growth in the Third World countries fragments rural land holdings accompanied by low cropping intensity and low yields thus creating surplus labour. An overpopulated rural subsistence economy characterised by zero marginal level productivity is classified by Lewis as surplus labour. This process was once considered socially and economically beneficial because human resources were being shifted from locations where the marginal product was not only positive but also rapidly growing as a result of capital accumulation and technological progress (Todaro & Smith, 2003)

Bhuyan et al. (2004) find that the process of migration in Bangladesh and the concomitant urbanisation were produced by extreme poverty and entitlement contraction particularly among the marginalised and the less land poor. The migration of the poor engendered the ruralisation of the urban centers by directly transmitting rural poverty and backwardness to the towns.

A migration model known as the push-pull model proposed by Lee in 1966 is widely discussed. This model postulates that people decision to migrate is related to two types of factors- the push factors and the pull factors. In the context of Bangladesh the push factors are identified as low land per capita ratio, the frequent occurrence of natural disasters and the effect of the liberation war. The prime pull factors are cheaper food, higher wages, better education, and health facilities, while the secondary pull factors were electricity, drinking water and sewerage (Bhyuan et al., 2004).

Rondinelli (1983) mentions that the increase of about half of the urban population in developing countries is attributed to rural migration. Countries with severe poverty such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India are expected to experience strong rural migration in coming decades. The World Bank predicts that in these countries intensive pressure on land-the rural population per square mile of arable land is expected to be double in the next 25 years which even if it leads to a small percentage of out migration from rural areas, will lead to massive growth in the cities.

Alamgir (1973) indicates that the following factors usually affect rural-urban migration:

(1) Pressure of population on agricultural land;
(2) Land tenure system of the country;
(3) Underdevelopment in agriculture;
(4) Lack of off-farm employment opportunities in the rural areas;
(5) Prospects of higher income and employment in the cities;
(6) Attraction of city life in the form of social amenities like education, recreation, entertainment, shopping centers, medical cares etc;
(7) Breakdown of the traditional social and cultural ties;
(8) Social and political unrest in the country side; and
(9) The high need for proximity to the administrative decision making authority.

These factors are basically the pull and push forces, which seem to have played a prominent role in migration decision in different countries as well as different regions of the same country.

Rural-urban inequalities and inequalities between small and larges cities are the prime motivation for migration to the largest cities. Rondinelli (1983) states that per capita income of people living in Bangkok is four times higher than that of the average in Thailand's rural areas. Bangkok's average per capita income is 232 percent higher than that of the country as a whole. Overall quality of life is a better in cities than that of rural areas. For example, Rondinelli (1983) further mentions that measurement of physical quality of life based on health. education and social indicators shows that people living in Tanzania's capital city have far better condition than rural people. Similar conclusion for Philippines, where 96 percent of households in Manila have electricity compared to 28 percent in the country as a whole, 83 percent Manila's have piped water compared to 40 percent in the rural areas, and half of Manila's households have flush Toilet facilities compared to 1.2 percent outside Manila.

According to Todaro (1969) migration is a selective process. He developed a famous model for rural-urban migration as the decision to migrate has been made a function of the wage differentials that exist between urban and the rural areas and probability of finding a job in cities along with the prevalence of higher wages there, which motivates a prospective migrant to finally migrate.

Todaro and Smith (2003) finally summarises the model as having four basic characteristics:

1) Migrants stimulated by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but psychological.
2) The decision to migrate depends upon an expectation of rural-urban differences, which is based on actual urban-rural wage differential and the likelihood of obtaining employment.
3) The likelihood of obtaining a job is directly related to the urban employment.
4) Migration rates in excess of urban job opportunities are likely under these conditions.

High unemployment rates are the inevitable outcomes of imbalances between rural and urban areas.

For Todaro, (1969) and Hahhis-Todaro, (1970, cited in Ullah, 2004), rural- urban migration in the less developed countries depends on the difference in expected wage from migration (urban wages) versus agriculture wage. The expected wage is equivalent to the industrial wage

weighted by the probability of a migrant obtaining a job in the modern urban sector. In the modified version of the model they cite factors such as rural-urban differences in expected earning to be the leading cause of the process of migration in which the urban unemployment rate plays equilibrium. Hence rural-urban migrants coexist with high levels of unemployment. Renaud (1981) notes that all studies of migration are unanimous in agreeing that long-term migration is perfectly rational; migrants will go where the jobs and opportunities are and when they will improve their living conditions.

Bhyuan et al. (2004) mentions that independent migration by women in the Third World is a result of growing demand in the industrial sector. It is nevertheless limited by factors such as women's inability, socio-economic and geographic causes and social and religious norms. In Bangladesh, large number of females have in the recent past migrated to the cities and have been employed in the garments sector following the proliferation of export oriented garments industries that require female labours. It has been found that about 61 percent of female workers in garment factories in Dhaka were migrants and 35 percent of such families migrated with their families.

Definition of Urban Places

Urbanisation depends on the definition of urban places adopted by various countries. The distinction between rural and urban population is perhaps the most controversial, since there is no agreement among researchers and Governments as to a satisfactory division between them.

A number of definitions are used to describe an urban area. The basis of these definitions varies from the size of place to a combination of physical, demographic and socio-economic characteristics. According to Milos Macura (1961, cited in Alamgir, 1973), there are two criteria that best define an urban area. These are the size of population of a place and the percentage of non-agricultural population. It is better to apply both the criteria concurrently so as to avoid the difficulties that might arise if neither were used alone. By establishing a minimum population requirement for an urban place, many places can be eliminated that have few inhabitants, even though they have a complex economic structure. By establishing the requirement of a certain percentage of population that must be employed in non-agricultural activities, many largest places can be eliminated to qualify as urban which are large in size but lacking an urban economic structure.

Alamgir (1973) states that according to the census instructions of 1961, the urban areas are defined to include: Municipalities, Civil lines,

Cantonments, and any continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than 5000 persons. In addition, areas irrespective of population size had been treated as urban if the following conditions were satisfied:

All areas having town committees under Basic Democracies Order, 1959. Concentration of population in continuous collection of houses where the community sense is well developed and the community maintains public utilities, such as roads, lights, water supply and sanitation; Centers of trade and commerce with a population mainly nonagricultural; Centers of population with markedly high literacy rate.

The definition of urban areas in Bangladesh was not uniform in all the censuses of Bangladesh. In the country urban population is defined on the basis of political criteria. In the census conducted between 1901 and 1974, the areas with pourashava or town committee or cantonment area were treated as urban areas. But this definition was relaxed in 1981, 1991, and 2001 censuses. In the later censuses, the pourashava areas that included town committee areas, cantonment areas, and peripheral unbiased areas adjacent to demarcated pourashava area especially around the metropolitan City Corporation area have been identified as urban areas. According to the redefinition of urban areas in 1981 census all 460 headquarters were upgraded into upazila and declared as urban regardless of the size and character of their population. It is estimated that the redefinition of urban areas contributed 30 percent of the urban growth in 1974-1981 (BBS, 1984 cited in Afsar, 2000).

Hardory and Satterthwaite (1986) note that, the question remains as to what should be the lower limit of the population size as well as the percentage of population that is non-agricultural occupation. The threshold can be as low as 1000 inhabitants and as high as 5000, although most generally fall in 2000-5000 inhabitants have a high proportion of households working in agriculture where as in most western nations and in some Third World regions settlements with less than 1000 inhabitants often have low proportion.

Overview of Urbanisation

Traditional cities in Asia were always administrative centers through Warlords and emperors maintained political control over and extracted revenue from them. Most cities were neither founded nor functioned as commercial or manufacturing centers. Murphy (1969, cited in Rondinelli, 1983) pointed out that the 'city was predominantly a political phenomenon rather than an economic one. After the penetration of European trade, urbanisation in Asia started in Western style at port cities and inland towns connected to them.

Two-thirds of the world's urban population is now living in the developing world, a share that will increase to more than three-quarters in the next century (UNFPA, 1996 cited in Schneider & Vorlaufer, 1997). However, the process of urbanisation is unfolding in a rather unbalanced manner creating spatial, socioeconomic, cultural and demographic disparities on a growing scale. In terms of the urban system, these disparities quantitatively find their expression in the development of large metropolitan areas, or even mega cities and functionally in the formation of primate cities, specially concerning economic, social, cultural, political and administrative functions. On the other hand, the middle levels of the urban hierarchy are left rather undeveloped (Schnelder & Vorlaufer, 1997)

Definition and Concept of Secondary Cities

According to Rondinelli (1983), the range of cities that constitute the secondary level in the urban hierarchy varies among countries depending on their pattern of settlement, level of development and economic structures. The most convenient and frequently used criterion is relative population size. It includes population density, physical size, occupations, the mix and diversity of functions located within the city, its physical characteristics and its relationship with other cities and towns.

Rondinelli (1983) classifies the cities into three levels:

a) The metropolis - a large city, usually the national capital of small country (e. g. Lima in Peru) or a major regional capital in a large country (e. g. Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Kolkata, Mumbai, and Chennai in India);
b) Secondary centers - small cities ranging in population from 1 lakh or 25 lakh or more;
c) The rural - urban interface - small cities or rural growth centers ranging according to country context, with population from 1 lakh or less.

The upper limit of secondary cities may vary. In highly urbanised countries, the largest city may have 10 million or more people and secondary metropolises may have two or three million. In countries with low urbanisation, the largest city may not have million people.

In the definition of Rondinelli (1983), there is a wide gap between the secondary cities and the rural-urban interface in the above mentioned

classification. Hardoy and Satterwaite (1986) try to fill this gap by defining intermediate urban centers as the small urban centres which are nucleated settlements with population of between 5000 and 20000 while intermediate cities are nucleated settlements with population of 20000 and more. Interestingly, it is observable that there is no upper limit for the intermediate urban centers. Regarding the upper limit they mention that the distribution between the intermediate urban center and the large city depends on the scale and type of their contribution to the national production and trade and regional scale provision. Theoretically, this is a question of how many levels are there in the urban hierarchy, which indicates the need for further research.

Dynamics of Growth and Development of Secondary Cities

Rondinelli (1983) states that before 1950 the development of the network of secondary cities failed to appear in the most developing countries. This was either because the spatial implications of national investment policies were ignored or the policies were deliberately designed to contain industrial and commercial activities in one or a few major cities. Little or no attempt was made to create a system of secondary cities that would generate demand for domestically produced goods or make urban services and facilities to a large majority of the population. Significant growth in secondary cities started at the end of colonial rule in the third World Countries. In some cases, secondary cities were encouraged to grow as colonial administrative posts or transfer or processing centers for exploiting the mineral and agricultural resources in the interior.

All contemporary secondary cities grew as service centers. They provided easy access to commercial or personal services. Most of the largest cities in the developing countries are seaports. On the other hand most secondary cities in the developing world are inland. Thus a physical site and the relationship among sites (situation) have controlled the growth of secondary cities throughout the developing countries. Development of transportation networks played an important role in the growth, spatial distribution and functional development of secondary cities. Different modes of transportation had different influences on the growth of secondary cities at different periods in their development.

Rondinelli (1983) concludes that the main stimulations for the growth of secondary cities prior to 1960s were:

1) Their favorable physical location and endowment of natural resources;

2) Their selection as political or administrative or defense centers;
3) The concentration in them of colonial or foreign investment;
4) Conditions favorable to making them commercial and service centre for their region;
5) The influence of transportation routes and technology; and
6) The impact of government investment in infrastructure and facilities.

Although some cities were planned and their physical location was carefully designed, the large majority of the secondary cities grew from spontaneous actions by individuals reacting to favourable condition.

Characteristics of Secondary Cities

Rondinelli (1983) indicates two types of characteristics of secondary cities, such as the demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristics

Secondary cities in developing countries have been growing rapidly in both number and population since 1950. The United Nations Demographic Survey indicates that in Asia the number of secondary cities rose nearly 65 percent from 213 in 1950 to 350 in 1980. But relatively, however, secondary cities have been growing more slowly than the larger and smaller size categories. The survey also indicates that cities of any size that were national capitals and the largest cities grew more rapidly than non-capital cities. This is seen as the spatial expression of government expenditures biased particularly towards the capital city. In Southeast Asia one-third of the urban population was found in secondary cities in 1975. It indicates that secondary cities have played a relatively weak role in absorbing population increases in most developing countries and creating a more balanced spatial distribution of population. In Asia, migration from rural areas and small towns has played a major role in the expansion of primate cities and in the growth of the largest metropolitan areas. But secondary cities in most part of the developing world have absorbed a smaller share of these rural-urban migrants.

Economic and Social Characteristics

Secondary cities tend to have a combination of rural and urban socioeconomic characteristics and they generally perform functions in

both urban areas and countryside. Due to the location of the secondary cities they have a blend of urban and rural characteristics. They share some social, economic and physical characteristics with both larger metropolitan centers and smaller towns and villages. Secondary Cities are not competitive with large metropoliton centers for industrial & even in their commercial & service establishments are in small size.

Small and secondary cities have large proportion of their labour force engaged in agriculture, agro-processing, and marketing and farm services. Thus, they remain dependent on rural hinterlands agricultural production, which is often very low.

The economies tend to be dominated by commercial and service activities with manufacturing employment concentrated primarily in small-scale industrial sector. LO & Seth's study on Asian countries (cited in Rondinelli, 1983) conclude that:

Cities with populations smaller than 1 lakh have a high proportion of employment in agriculture and related marketing and commercial activities, in small-scale cottage and artisan manufacturing, and lower-order services that have a relatively low growth rate in total number of employment.

Cities with a population of between 1 lakh to 2.5 lakh have generally high rates of employment in small-scale manufacturing in consumer-oriented commercial and service activities and have relatively high rates of total urban employment.

Cities with population from 2.5 lakh to one-half million are characterised by an increasing rate of growth in the producer oriented commercial sector. They tend to have substantial manufacturing and tertiary activities with increasing rate of growth in the producer-oriented commercial and services sectors.

Cities with 1 million or more have a relatively high proportion of employment in manufacturing, but their occupational structure is dominated by producer-oriented commercial and service sectors.

Variations in the economic structures of cities in different size groups may be explained in part by their economic of scale. Cities with less than 1 lakh people may not have sufficient population to support large-scale commercial and manufacturing activities that are dependent on local markets. As cities increase in size they begin to offer economic of scale and proximity that allow larger volume of production and generate demands for the goods and services. Secondary cities tend to have a greater diversity and better quality of services and facilities than smaller towns and rural villages, but have a proportionately smaller share and poorer quality of services and facilities than the largest cities.

DATA SOURCES

In this study, data are collected from secondary sources by consulting books, journals, government documents and World Wide Web Site.

Data on rural-urban migration in Bangladesh are severely constrained by range, coverage, and quality of relevant statistics available. Huge (1980, cited in Afsar, 2000) states that Bangladesh Demographic Survey and Vital Registration Survey (BDSVRS) includes only dwelling based households and excludes residential building barracks and boarding house which are frequently the homes of temporary migrants.

The Decennial Census conducted by BBS is the only source of population data in Bangladesh. Afsar (2000) states that the census data fails to address satisfactorily the question of who migrates and whether the duration question is related to the move from birthplace or an intermediate place. Without a last place of residence with a length of duration question, it is difficult to detect non-permanent movements. There is no integrated approach for research on urbanisation. Very little research on urbanisation and almost no research on secondary cities of Bangladesh has been conducted. The data used in this study for urbanisation and secondary cities are collected from the census reports and some research papers .

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: THE BANGLADESH CASE

Motivation for Migration

Urban population in the country grew during the last three decades at an annual rate of about 6 percent compared to the rural population growth of just 2 percent per annum. Internal migration has contributed most of the high rate of urban population growth. This trend is likely to continue in the future as well.

Migration can take place in different form such as rural-urban, rural-rural, and urban-urban. But literature shows that a large scale of migration from rural to urban areas is the most dominant cause behind the rapid urban growth in the Third World Cities and also in Bangladesh (Islam et al., 1997; Kabir et al., 1988, cited in Ahmed, 2003). Although estimates of total numbers of rural-urban migrants are uncertain, BBS (1997) finds that 7 million rural people migrate to different cities in

Bangladesh each year and more than 80 percent of them migrate for economic reasons.

Afsar (2000) finds from her survey that, out of 710 households, all but two and half percent wanted to settle in Dhaka city, and around threefifths of these migrants are surrounded by their kin network who serves as major fallback in case of crisis such as financial and settlement problems. For permanent migrants, network arrangements are stronger at the place of destination particularly due to their proximity of kinsmen in the same city.

Paul-Majumder (1996, cited in Ahmed, 2003) finds that 21 percent of household heads that came to Dhaka city first found a job almost immediately within 10 days with the help of relatives and friends and38 percent got employment after 1 month of their arrival in Dhaka city. Nearly 40 percent of women migrants found work within 6 month of their arrival in the place of destination (Huq & Hossain, 1996, cited in Ahmed, 2003).

Intra-village, inter-region inequalities and also inequalities between largest and smaller towns or rural areas are the major motivation for migration in the largest cities. Afsar (2000) finds that average hours worked in the urban areas were recorded as 47 during the reference week compared to that of 38 hours for rural areas in 1995. Similarly, the average per capita income in rural areas is only 46 percent of urban per capita income. The gini coefficient was estimated at 0.444 and 0.384 for urban and rural areas respectively in 1995-96 showing more unequal income distribution in the urban and rural areas. Afsar (2000) states that the poor migrate due to abject rural poverty and unemployment while the rich farmers, landlord or their sons move out of the village to attend probably better schools or to look for prestigious occupations or getting better health care facilities.

Migration and Employment

Agriculture is the main source of employment in rural areas but the prospect of employment of the increasing number of rural labour force in the sector does not appear bright (FFYP, 1997-2002). It is indicated in the Plan that the most optimistic growth estimate in the agriculture sector can absorb only a quarter or half of the increasing number of labour force. The decline in per capita land to 0.18 acre in 1997 from 0.37 acre in 1960, almost less than half due to the increase in population, indicates an increase in the absolute number of landless and unemployed

people in the country. On the other hand, employment opportunities in the non-farm sector are not enough to absorb the backlog and the currently unemployed and underemployed people.

Rural-urban migration in Bangladesh occurs in a particular type of setting, marked by limited industrial but rapid commercial development centered around metropolitan regions and the capital city in particular. Rapid expansion of the commercial transport and construction sectors and a few specialised types of manufacturing activities such as readymade garments, leather and shrimp fisheriesprocessing is drawing youths, adult's men and women from rural areas that otherwise would have remained largely unemployed. Creation of some other labour labour intensive industries in the export-processing zone also provides work for rural migrants.

Employment opportunities are highly centralised in the large metropolitan cities, particularly in the capital city. Two-fifths of jute mills are located in Dhaka employing one-half of all jute mill labours in the country. Over half textile mills and one –third of total registered factories by major industries are located in Dhaka which accounts for nearly half of Bangladesh's total manufacturing employment, almost the same magnitude of the total jobs in the textile industry, about100 percent of total jobs in rubber produces, publishing, furniture and more or less three-quarters of total jobs in footwear, leather goods and electrical machinery. About one-fifth of non-farm economic activities are established in Dhaka, which generates a quarter of employment in the nonfarm sector (BBS, 1983; BBS, 1990; UN 1987, cited in Afsar, 2000). So migrants are also capital city oriented and hence the distribution of these rural-urban migrants quite uneven in Bangladesh.

Urban Growth in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is predominantly an agrarian country with a fraction of its land occupied by urban areas. In Bangladesh the problem of urbanisation is aggravated by limited land supply in urban areas and lower land utilisation as well as lack of proper planning / land use policy. During British rule, most of the urban centers served the purpose of collection and export-import centers of the British empire. Other urban centers were used as administrative or religious centers. Laskar (1983) terms these urban centers as parasitic in nature. Later, many of these cities flourished as commercial and industrial centers. Again the importance of administrative centers gained a momentum as the expansion of educational and cultural corners as well as marketing

system infrastructure, better communication,electricity and use of modern technology increased the opportunity of employment. However, the level of urbanisation was very low during the British Colonial period (1901-1947). Chaudhury (1980) states that this low level of urbanisation may be attributed to the deliberate policy of the colonial ruler to destroy the indigenous industries and to build up massive industrial-commercial agglomeration around Kolkata. The imperial power developed Kolkata as the principal city to serve as the commercial entrepot. But urban growth received acceleration in Bangladesh when the British left this sub-continent. The phenomenal growth of urban population during 1961-1974 may be attributed to some industrial growth during 1960s and the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country. During this period, industrialisation started and as a result, Dhaka, Narayanganj, Chittagonj and Khulna developed as large cities. Between 1961 and1974 urban population grew at an average annual rate of 6.7 percent as compared to rural population, which grew by 2. 33 percent. Following the revolutionary development of road transport the urbanisation began to accelerate in the post-liberation period. This tendency is likely to be more pronounced since Dhaka remains the centre of activities of national power.

Distribution of Urban Population and Urban Places

According to the 2001 population census, 28, 605, 200 persons live in urban areas, which contribute 23.1 percent of the total population. Urbanisation in Bangladesh has been taking place in three ways-area expansion, rural-urban migration and population growth. The number of urban agglomerations in the country was the highest in 1981 when the urban population increased sharply. On the basis of the population size in the census of 2001 the urban areas in Bangladesh have been classified into four distinct classes such as Mega city, Statistical Metropolitan area (SMA), Pourashava (Municipality) Area (MA), and Other urban areas.

In most cases, although there is no widely accepted definition, metropolis and mega cities are defined as urban with a population of 1 million or more inhabitants (UNFPA, 1996, Bronger, 1996 cited in Schneider & Vorlaufer, 1997). In Bangladesh, any metropolitan area having a population of more than 5 million is termed as mega city. However, Dhaka is the only mega city in Bangladesh with a population of 10, 712, 206 satisfying both the national and international definitions. The Dhaka mega city includes Dhaka City Corporation and Narayanganja, Kadamrasul, Savar, Tongi and Gazipur Pourashava and

other urban areas of Narayanganj, Bandar, Savar, Tongi and Keranigonj Upazila.

The city corporations of the country and the adjacent areas having urban characteristics have been termed Statistical Metropolitan Area (SMA) in the census of 2001. Thus Chittagonj, Khulna, Rajshshi and newly created city corporation areas of Barisal and Sylhet are the SMAS of the country with population of 3, 385, 800; 1, 340, 826; 700, 140, 224; 660 and 3, 20, 280 respectively.

The incorporated areas declared by the Ministry of LGRD&C as pourashavas have been considered as MA in the census 2001. There are 223 Pourashavas in Bangladesh, including the 11 pourashovas that have been included in 4 SMAs. These include all the district towns irrespective of population, and the large industrial and upazila towns designated as pourashava. The upazila head quarter of the country, which is not declared as pourashava during census operation and other non-pourashsva towns, which more or less have urban characteristics, are considered other urban areas.

After Dhaka emerged as the capital of the newly independent country, the influx of people into Dhaka occurred for many reasons. The other divisional cities too, became important and increased in population. Thus the urban population of the country increased at a higher rate since 1961 through 1974. The abrupt high growth rate between 1974 and 1981 was due to the redefinition of the urban areas and inclusion of upazila headquarters as urban areas. After 1981, the growth rate accelerated due to the rapid rural-urban migration in addition to the natural growth.

Chawdhury (1980) mentions that there were 48 places designated as urban areas in 1901. Of these, 52 percent had fewer than 10 thousand inhabitants and 92 percent were under 25 thousand,and only two areas had population of 1 Lakh and over. There were 64 urban cities in 1951 and the number increased to 78 according to the census taken in 1961. Before 1974, there was no city in Bangladesh that had population of 1million (Census, 1961, cited in Afsar, 2000). After 1974, Dhaka emerged as the only such city having 1.7 million population and Chittagonj & Khulna joined the rank in 1981 and 1991, respectively. According to the census report of 2001, there were 522 urban centers in Bangladesh.

According to the census 2001, there are only 20 cities with population more than 11 lakh, of which 4 are within the mega city Dhaka. Only 7.32 percent of the urban population live in the secondary

cities while 19.15 percent live in the intermediate cities. Five point one percent of urban population live in the small urban centres.

Urbanisation Profile in Bangladesh

At the beginning of the last century, only 2.43 percent of the total population lived in the urban areas, and up to 1961, the proportion of urban population was not very high, which was just about 5 percent of the total population. Even till independence the growth of urban population was more or less steady. A sharp rise of urban population was observed after independence due to rural-urban migration. The high urban growth between 1974 and 1981 was due to the extended area of urbanisation in 1981 and inclusion of upazila as urban area. After 1981 till today urban population is experiencing higher growth due to rural-urban migration for better income, opportunity for education and health care. Still today there is a steady rise in urban population with a growth rate of 3.15 percent compared to the rural growth rate of 1.08 percent.

Tempo of urbanisation is defined as the speed at which a country's urbanisation is going on the United Nations (cited in Rondinnelli, 1983) calculates the tempo of urbanisation for each country as the difference between the percent pf rate of growth of urban population & that of the rural population. It has been found from BBS data that the tempo of urbanisation was very high (8%) in 1971-81. According to the last census of 2001, the tempo of urbanisation was 4 percent.

The rise of urban population due to migration and reclassification of urban areas was not even in the different censuses and has been fluctuating over time.The rise in urban population due to migration followed two events. The first was after 1947, when most of the Muslim people migrated from India and again after the independence from Pakistan in 1971. The second was the redefinition of the urban places and inclusion of upazila as urban areas which swelled the number of urban population .

Cities in Bangladesh are now growing competitively, but the capital city is always beyond the reach of other cities. Two other port cities are also following the primate city but keeping a big distance. According to Population census (2001), Dhaka's population is 3 times greater than Chittagong. Similarly, Chittagong's population is two and half times greater than the next largest city Khulna, the population of which is around 2 times greater than the next city Rajahahi. It is quite apparent that the largest city always dominates the overal growth of urban population in Bangladesh. In the beginning of the century, Dhaka

contained 18.38 percent of the total urban population and 0.45 percent of the national population, the sharing of population by the largest city was almost static between 18 percent and 21 percent upto 1961. After the independence from Pakistan, Dhaka emerged as the central government's capital city & got momentum in population growth. Due to its functional headquarter & central location migration of rural people to Dhaka rose sharply & it was 26.77 percent in 1974. Though Dhaka contributed only 0.45 percent of the total national population in 1901, it increased to 8.65 percent in 2001, which was 37.45 percent of the urban population of the country.

Secondary Cities in Bangladesh

Cities having populations between 1 lakh and 10 lakh stabilised at between 1901 & 1951 and rose to 4 in 1961, 6 in 1964 and 13 in 1981. According to the population census (2001), there were 15 pourashavas where the size of population was more than 1 lakh. These pourashavas exclude the 4 statistical metropolitan areas, two new city corporations Barisal and Sylhet and the pourashavas already included in the Dhaka and Chittagong metropolitan areas. There are 5 other pourashavas included in Dhaka mega city, the population of which is more than 1 lakh, which are Narayanganja, Kadamrasul, Savar, and Tongi and Gazipur. Upto 1921, there were no intermediate size towns having population between 0.25 lakh to 1 lakh inhabitants. In 1921, there were only 5 such towns but the number increased to 69 in 1981. The number of same size cities rose to 115 in 2001.

According to the urban hierarchy, the government declared 6 cities including the capital city as city corporations and these cities lie on the top of the urban system. Only the capital city is the mega city and the rest are secondary cities according to the definition of Rondinelli (1983). He has not mentioned the upper threshold of secondary cities and also as these cities lie in the higher position in the urban hierarchy, the position of these cities should be above the secondary cities. In addition, this population threshold should not be the only criterion for defining the cities. There are 64 districts in Bangladesh, which have been playing an important administrative role for a long time. As there are district administrations in the divisional cities, there are 58 district cities other than 6 divisional cities. Of these, 2 cities are included in Dhaka mega city. Hence there are individual 56 divisional district cities, which act as the blood of the country's administrative system. These cities are also in the top position in the four tiers of decentralised system. But the country

shows a greater imbalance of urban population at the district level. Among these cities, 13 have population more than1 lakh each.

There two other cities, Saidpur and Madhabdi with population over 1 lakh, which are not district cities. Among the other district cities 26 have population 80,000 and 1 lakh, 16 (each) have a population between 25,000 and 50,000 and only one has population below 25,000. Following the above-mentioned definition of Rondinelli, only 13 district cities are the secondary cities. But all the district cities have almost the same social and physical infrastructures and are getting equal opportunities from the government. So the function of cities should be an essential criterion in addition to the population threshold for defining the secondary cities. The district cities with population of more than 1 lakh may be treated as secondary city type A while the other district cities irrespective of population size may be termed as the secondary city type B. In Bangladesh, the rate of growth in the number and population of secondary cities has been relatively slow compared to the largest cities. Their growth in number is comparatively slower than the smaller cities too.

Policy Framework

The Government of Bangladesh is formulating many policies to expand and decentralise the small and cottage industries at the district levels to strengthen the economy of the lower level cities. There are some attempts by government to alleviate poverty at the rural level and to create employment opportunities in the lean period and also to create off-farm activities. Some international agencies are trying to build up the capacity of the local government. But all these attempts are suffering from a lack of co-ordination due to absence of integrated rural policy.

Economy

For strengthening the economic base of the lower level cities the BSCIC continues its efforts in creating infrastructural facilities at district level similar to those available in the industrial estates on a priority basis. Irrespective of the amount of investment, BSCIC will approve the plans and lay-outs of the buildings of all industries situated in the BSCIC industrial estates and their controlling authorities, but, for the rapid expansion of small industries, permission is exempted for the establishment of any new large or medium industry in the BSCIC industrial estates (Links, undated).

Establishment of 63 industrial estates under the BSCIC have been completed till June 2004. A total of 1860 small and 20959 cottage industries creating about 83,352 employment opportunities have been established. BSCIC have been implementing its establishment of industrial parks for the entrepreneurs of the private sector. Four of 15 projects are directly linked to poverty alleviation, self-employment creation, WEDP, and IGAs and intended to strengthen the rural economy through development of rural industries (BSCIC, undated).

Poverty Alleviation

Poverty Alleviation (PA) received a top priority in all past five year plans of the GOB. But the PA programs could not attain the expected results during the successive plan periods. The country's economic reforms under the SAP since 1980 had favorable impact on macro-economic stabilisation and growth but had adverse effects on the poor. In such a situation, the Government started Employment Generation Projects (EGPs) as safety net. One is the FFWP to provide employment to the rural poor in the lean period. Others are FFE, VGDP & RRMP. Recently, Government started to provide allowances for the elderly people & the widows, Test Relief (TR), Vulnerable Group Feeding Program (VGFP) and Integrated Food Security Program (IFSP) for the rural poor. Successful PAP strategies as envisaged in the Plan can be expected to contribute towards improving economic condition and quality of life of the rural people, which will reduce the pace of rural to urban migration.

Creation of Employment Opportunities & Income Generation

Bhuyan et al. (2001) mention that Govt. has established the employment bank to provide credit to unemployed eyed youths to create self- employment. The main portfolios of the bank include financing animal husbandry. Fisher is, poultry keeping, horticulture, sericulture and all other off-farm activities in the rural economy. According to GOB (2005), the authorised capital for employment bank was Tk 3000 million & disbursement within the same period was Tk 985 million covering 8834 beneficiaries The expansion of bank services to the secondary cities is likely to encourage the migrants to stay in their place of origin or in secondary cities who would otherwise go to the large cities. Youth Development program of GOB has now been expanded to all upazilas and the depart of youth development imparts residential training to unemployed youths are now given skill development training annually in various trades through 297 training centers in 64 districts

both NGOs and government. Organisations are disbursing micro credit to the poor particularly to the poor women. According to CDF (2005), the total micro credit disbursed by NGOs & GOs is TK 908471.18 million. The share of NGOs is 47.46 percent and Grameen Bank are 28.23 percent. Govt sponsored programs like Ministry, PKSF, and Banks etc. cover the rest of the shares.

Planning and Governing

The pourashavas are constituted with 1 elected Chairman & 12 elected members of whom 3 are females. Like all other elected representatives, they are also motivated by politics. The elected body has the authority to appoint only a few low level staff & central Govt appoints more important officials. Without consultation with the local representatives, responsibilities of traffic management, electricity, telephone, distribution of gas, water supply, education, healthcare, police, public housing & other urban services are handled by the central Govt. The municipal governments have the responsibilities of land use planning, local road management & local fees collection but they have no urban planners/skilled engineers. They have to depend on the central Government to carry out different tasks. Most of the municipalities are not economically self- sufficient. They depend on the Central Govt"s financial Grants. Because of resource constraints as well as lack of transparency/accountability to the Taxpayers, the process of resource mobilisation remains stagnant. To gain popularity the officials remain reluctant to raise taxes and make the tax base weak. That remains impossible to keep pace with the needs of the increasing population.

Urban Policy from the National Perspective

This is a matter of great wonder that a population of 29 million live in the urban areas of Bangladesh. Yet there is no integrated urban policy here. The international & national bodies made a few individual attempts. Afsar (2003) mentions that The World Bank has been involved in the Municipal Sector Project for capacity building & effective financial management of 14 municipalities since 1999 with the help of LGED. The Municipal Service Unit was established there to provide institutional support to the municipalities in order to improve their planning, financial and management capacities. The Municipal Development Fund was created as an independent entity registered under the Bangladesh Company Act 1994 to enhance better municipal services & poverty alleviation. Municipalities can borrow from the MDF depending on their capability and type of the programme they

undertake. Though the donor agencies have no direct policies to handling migration, a few donors like The World Bank, The ADB & UNDP etc indirectly address some migration related issues to develop the capacities of municipalities. UNDP is promoting broader participation in local decision making & building capacity of locally elected bodies to better service & to enable communities to address their development needs. The ADB has been assisting Bangladesh in developing secondary cities through Secondary Town Infrastructure Development Project and LGED since 1990 (Afsar, 2003).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Rural-urban migration is an inevitable phenomenon in Bangladesh. The motivation of migration is primarily associated with economic reasons. The relative deprivation & inequalities play important roles in the migration process. The push factors such as poverty, a high population-land ratio & natural calamities like cyclone, famine & river erosion rendered many people homeless & economically destitute, compelled them to leave their place of origin. The pull factors such as higher wages rates, amenities & chance for getting better employment opportunities inspired them to migrate to the primate cities as the secondary cities are not capable of attracting them. This led them to the growth of slums in large cities, resulting in congestion, overcrowding, shortage of housing, scarcities of urban amenities & basic urban facilities & finally imbalance in ecologocal system. So, creation of economic opportunities in the secondary cities is a vital factor to divert the flow of migrants toward the secondary cities. Even, if the rural migrants get comparatively lower income facilities in the secondary cities than that of larger cities, they will stay in secondary cities rather than going to the larger cities for at least two reasons. One is that living & opportunity costs in secondary cities are much lower than that of the larger cities & the other is that the migrants can maintain the rural-urban linkage easily as these cities are nearer to their village homes.

Strengthening of the economic base of secondary cities is essential to generate more employment opportunities. This requires strengthening of their commercial & market functions, especially the informal sector & small-scale enterprises, & increasing the productivity as well as diversity of SMEs. Also expanding & diversifying the secondary & tertiary sectors may be the most direct & effective way of employment generation that will increase the income of the rural poor, expressing

internal demand for locally produced goods & services & increasing the capacity of the secondary cities to absorb larger population. The industries & business that are likely to absorb the unemployed should receive the greatest attention in assistance program. Large industries are likely to provide the best opportunities to skilled workers who already have jobs & would most likely to be export oriented rather than tied to local demand. In most secondary cities priority should be given at least in the initial stages of development to expand in the marketing & commercial functions that already exist & to strengthen the cities role as the trade and service centers.

Though most of the Third World Governments are urban biased, the GOB is not so & the country's first city receives a disproportionately large share of public investment & incentives for private investment in relation to the country than do other cities or other urban centers. Govt's power and resources are highly centralised in the capital city. Even rural sectors are getting more privileges than the secondary cities & other small urban centers.

The secondary cities type A & B are distributed all over the country. Also these cities are quite near to the original place of rural migrants & play an important role in rural-urban interfaces. Rural migrants who go directly to large metropolitan cities will be partly observed by these cities or will leave only for some period of time. In this way, two alarming problems in the urbanisation process of Bangladesh can be minimised. These are how to maintain a more balanced distribution of urban population and how it will be possible for the primate & other large cities to provide urban facilities for their population.

There has been a revolution in the development of the of the road network in Bangladesh in the last two decades. Now almost all the districts are well connected with the large cities particularly with the capital city. The upazila & their growth centers & their hinterlands are also well connected with the district headquarters, which are defined as secondary cities-Type A & B. But there is no well-managed or integrated transport plan. If a good transport plan can be introduced, many people can communicate to the secondary cities from their village home thus saving the opportunity cost of urban areas.

Though GOB has no direct policies to tackle migration & address urbanisation, Govt. has many programs for rural development, poverty alleviation & employment generation, which would reduce the pace of rural-urban migration. But due to over population, unemployment, high person-land ratio & frequently occurring flood & river erosion, these

programs have failed to reduce the migration rate as much as expected up to the present. So attracting of rural migrants but the secondary cities maybe the best way to handle the emigrational problem in Bangladesh. It is necessary to improve the secondary cities' economies, employment opportunities & infrastructural facilities.

RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

Recommendations

Urbanisation should be recognised as an inevitable process consistent with a worldwide pattern. It should also be recognised as a challenge not as a problem. In particular, the Government policy makers should accordingly view urbanisation as an important component of the development process.

Economy

Strengthening of economic base and employment structure to raise productivity and income & increase the capacity of secondary cities is essential. The Govt may take a number of actions. To stimulate the economic activities in the secondary cities, the steps to be taken are:

- Decentralisation of industralisation based on secondary cities. Employment opportunities should be adequate for rural households by allowing them to commute to manufacturing jobs innear by cities. Taking part in farm activities on weekend is also needed. There should be numerous linkages with small commercial service & repair establishments in rural towns making it possible for small business to develop rural areas. This type of decentralised industrialisation will create entrepreneurial opportunities for rural people. It is necessary to find out the reasons why the private investors are not getting encouragement to establish industries in BSCIC industrial estates & take appropriate measure.

- Assisting small–scale industries with identifying investment opportunities, providing technical assistance to small-scale entrepreneurs in organizing business, helping them to obtain adequate supporting services, infrastructure, access to financial

resources and credit, providing operating assistance and training in management and production and helping them to expand demand and overcome the limitations of small size.

- As the rural migrants mostly manage to find employment in urban informal sectors, it is essential to increase the capacity of informal sectors in the secondary cities and establishment or relocation of small and medium size labour intensive industries, home based manufacturing industries and other service sector for which semiskilled & unskilled rural migrants can seek employment.

- Creation of off-farm employment opportunities should be given more emphasis in the secondary cities to deflect people from going into large metropolitan areas.

- Financial incentives and other inducements must be given to the entrepreneurs who are willing to establish industries to the secondary cities. This may also be governed through allowing loan on minimum interest.

Infrastructures

- Decentralisation of infrastructures, public services, and administrative functions as well as diverting investment from capital city to the secondary cities is essential to attract rural migrants. These include physical infrastructure and social and health care services such as better education. health care service and recreational facilities to enhancing people's choice to stay in the secondary cities.

- Development of integrated, appropriate & convenient subsidised transport system can provide rural dwellers easier access to urban employment & amenities without their having to permanently migrate to cities. Integrating the rural areas with the smaller towns & that with the big cities should do improvement of physical transportation & communication linkages.

Land and Holding

- Formulation of regulations should be made to increase supply of serviced land for various income groups and to increase access to serviced land with secure land tenure for low-income people, particularly women headed households. According to the national housing policy, Government should primarily play a facilitator's role in the provision of housing through implementing a large number of cites and services projects to ensure housing facilities to the low-income people. Local government should be involved in the land management system in the urban areas.

- Measures should be taken to disinflate the cost of land, oppressive taxation on unused land and higher taxes on the owners of more than one house. Government intervention in the land market is essential to discourage rising land price through land business in secondary cities.

Decentralisation and Democratisation

- More administrative & financial power should be decentralised, delegated & devolved to the local government so that the secondary city governments can manage independently and more efficiently in the future without interruption of the central government.

- The stakeholders must be involved in the decision-making & implementation process of local government. Such stakeholders include the private formal sectors, the private informal sectors, NGOs, civil society and beneficiaries. Civil society includes various professionals, intellectuals, women organizations and slum dwellers.

- Distribution of national budgets should not be biased to the first city. The development of secondary cities should be given more emphasis by allocating more budgets for the cities. As there is no urban policy in Bangladesh, even as there is no proper definition of various types of cities including the secondary cities, the urbanisatiom is absolutely going on spontaneously.

Conclusions

The proportion of urban population was not very high till 1961. The urbanisation process accelerated after the independence in 1971. Though demographic fertility decreased over time due to rural-urban migration, the tempo of urbanisation is still in Bangladesh.

High man-land ratio, poverty, natural disasters and unemployment in the rural areas and opportunities for getting employment in urban areas particularly in the capital city are the major motivation for migration decision for the rural people. But the migrational growth in urban areas are not same in all sizes of cities The top two cities along with other two cities are growing faster than the secondary cities and other urban centers. For the secondary cities this is rather a loss-win game and for some cities population is decreasing over time.

This rapid growth and concentration of urban population in a few cities is considered to have serious implications for the level of productivity, the state of urban infrastructure and environmental conditions since cities grow faster than the capacity to support them.

Development of secondary cities is a way of more efficient agro-processing and agricultural support industries in the rural region, providing greater access for rural people to commercial and personal services, increasing food production and providing off-farm employment opportunities. Higher priority should be given to the middle level of urban hierarchy to expand. The capacity of secondary cities in order to make services and production function more efficient because many have low levels of administrative capacity, inefficient service delivery programs and levels of revenue rising capacity are dependent on the Government for authority and financial resources to perform even basic functions. Otherwise the secondary cities cannot perform their potential roles in absorbing the rural-urban migrants and fail to stimulate the rural economy.

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